

Selling Tasmania

Boosterism and the Creation of the Tourist State
1912-1928

by

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution. To the best of the candidate's knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



ABSTRACT

Selling Tasmania—Boosterism and the Creation of the Tourist State, 1912-28

This thesis traces a shift in public policy. Its title “Selling Tasmania” is double-edged. Not only do we discuss the advertising of the island to “outsiders”. In fact that issue is minor. Tourist advocates in the first quarter of the century concentrated much of their efforts on “educating” the Tasmanians themselves. In the period 1912-1928 tourism in Tasmania went from being a trade to an industry. As such it demanded “national” outlook and organisation. In 1914 a state Tourist Department was established under the Commissioner of railways. A Director formulated state-wide policies aimed at distributing tourists over a broader geographical and temporal range. This demanded infrastructural investment in roads and accommodations and the campaigns for both helped convince “non-tourist” interests that tourist arguments could be employed in many areas. Tasmania, an island, also found tourism a valuable bargaining chip in its constant battle for adequate shipping facilities. Throughout the period less and less people found reason to voice doubts about Tasmania taking the tourist road.

Although centralisation of tourist organisation under the Director brought immediate and steady growth, a number of commercial and regional interests were less than satisfied with the status quo. In 1923, after a Royal commission into the railways, the Director was removed from office and the Departmental vote for advertising reduced. Then followed a period of testing whether voluntary business-led organisation could fill the Director’s role. Despite some remarkable successes in state-wide organisation, regionalism and lack of proper management saw the government left with little option but to restore affairs to the 1914-23 model. Never since has a Tasmanian government forsaken the industry.

The above events were not decided within government or the public service. Instead the state’s acceptance of financial responsibility for tourist promotion and regulation resulted from the efforts of “boosters”. In the course of the thesis a “commercial-civic elite” is identified. Existing in subsets in the two cities and many towns of the island, they also formed a pan-Tasmanian elite, displaying rivalry at times but basically like-minded. The boosters were the “movers and shakers” of society, essentially bourgeois, imbued with ethics of civic responsibility, and certain that benefit to them meant benefit throughout the community. It was the boosters who kept tourism on the agenda through the period 1912-1928. They convinced government that the tourist industry was “honourable” and worthy of taxpayer investment. Eventually government also came to realise that the Tourist Department afforded a useful tool for bolstering public morale, for Selling Tasmania to the Tasmanians.

By no means a “class analysis”, the thesis nevertheless provides insights into the ruling ideology of Tasmanian urban bourgeois business elites in the period. It brings politics into an area of historical study dominated by geographers, sociologists and economists. Its observations, based on the Tasmanian case study, claim applicability to Australia in general and in fact much of the industrial-capitalist world. While it is in many ways “local history”, reference is made to comparative developments elsewhere. The thesis is therefore a foray into “business history” and “administrative history”, both much-neglected in the Australian genre. Themes also reviewed are parochial conflict and “state-nationalism”, state-federal relations, the regulation-deregulation cycle, technological change, developmentalism, propagandism and “boosterism”. It reflects upon such concepts as “civic pride”, “hegemony”, “natural leadership”, and the media’s role as publicists of the “advertising classes”.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations used in this thesis come primarily from Milford McArthur (ed) *Prominent Tasmanians* (Hobart: GJ Boyle; 1924) and the pages of *The Mercury*, Hobart, and some tourist ephemera produced by the Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau. It has not been considered necessary to list them in detail here as in most cases they relate directly to accompanying text. In the few cases where they do not so relate, they are included for the enjoyment of the reader and do not require reference. However special mention should be made here to the map of Tasmania, facing page thirteen.

The author is happy to provide any other details should they be required.

Most of the illustrations have been prepared from originals with computer technology operated by Warwick Harris of Leo Productions.

1 INTRODUCTION—TASMANIAN BOOSTERS

In the period 1912-28 Tasmania underwent a character shift. Like all New World societies, one of its chief aims was to attract new capital. The island state of the Australian Commonwealth had always struggled in this regard. It was a cheery land with virile youth and rustic charm. But it was also a “sleepy hollow”, an “apple isle” devoid of big industry, isolated and insular. A steady exodus of youth to mainland city magnets stung those who remained because the brains and brawns that departed were more pulled than pushed. Tasmania by the twentieth century was controlled by its businessmen and civic leaders. The urban bourgeoisie, far more than the comfortable, conservative landed gentry, sought ways to retain their children and attract families new. They tried industrialisation and paid heavily. This brought a sort of boom while constructions proceeded, but by the early 1920s conditions were almost back to square one. Despite some evidence of progress, Tasmania seemed torpid, unable to move with the post-War freneticism that characterised more affluent parts of the Western World, including the big Australian states. It was then that the island’s old stand-by, tourism, received the decisive boost which made it Tasmania’s premier industry.

The title of this thesis is deliberately ambiguous. The practice of “selling” a place has attracted increasing attention from historians in recent years. The images attached to locality, region or state are explored as reflections of unreality, discounted as mere hype, ballyhoo, ideal, dishonest. Australian academics have generally failed to admit that literature produced by urban boosters is worthy of study. Perhaps they are temperamentally averse to taking the booster seriously. Any such aversion must be overcome if we are to better understand our past. Rhetoric it may be, but booster literature reflects the hopes and dreams of a dominant elite. Since that elite has been so successful, it seems strange that it should be ignored.¹

American historians began arriving at this conclusion decades ago. In 1965 Daniel Boorstin produced a brilliant and seminal characterisation of ‘upstart cities’.² Ten years later Blaine Brownell described *The Dominant Ethos in the South, 1920-30*. He researched ‘commercial-civic elites’ and found shared characteristics in several cities. The ethics of the elite formed the framework for debating plans for future development, be they town-planning, sanitation, welfare issues, industrialisation, or

¹. This does not dismiss Richard White’s very effective study on *Inventing Australia: images and identity 1688-1980* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin; 1981). White’s framework is Nationalism, his basis Gramscian. He shows how national identities are constructs and, as such, are created for purposes. Changes correlate to changing, mainly economic, needs of ruling elites. Historians - as retainers/clients of the elites - are part of the process. So too are most publicists and advertising people. I feel that when I read this book in 1985 it struck such a chord as to become more intuitive than inspirational. White’s book deals with broad national identity and has a ‘from above’ scope, however, and it remains true that few have produced detailed interpretative histories of...

indeed ‘a plethora of problems’. Brownell stressed the effects of booster literature on the development, among inhabitants, of a ‘sense of place’, loyalty and team spirit.¹

Brownell was not alone. Colleagues across North America were delving in their own neighbourhoods. In 1981 Carl Abbott took the story back seventy years and removed a veil from *Boosters and Businessmen* in the antebellum mid-west.² The rapid growth of prairie cities through to the 1920s was an object lesson to developing New World countries, Tasmania included.³ It was particularly phenomenal along the routes and projected routes of the Canadian-Pacific railways. Thus it is apt that another fruitful source for studies in boosterism is the University of Regina, Saskatchewan, base for the prolific Alan Artibise. His *Town and City* draws together fifteen authors, all of whom reach similar conclusions about the booster phenomenon.⁴

Origins of the term “boost”, or “booster”, are obscure. There are Scottish and Dutch cognates, relating to “boom” and similarly onomatopoeic, referring to the effects of wind, perhaps a sailor’s term. There is no doubt that it is the successor to “boom”, which in Australia soiled itself in the 1890s. 1920s etymologists were uncertain, but consensus had it that “boom + hoist + boast” formed the roots. Whatever the case there is no doubt that Americans shaped its modern usage in the first half of the nineteenth century. *Oxford* defines it thus, ‘to increase the reputation, value, etc. of (person, scheme, commodity, etc.) by advertising, etc. ... A scheme of advertisement; resulting advance in value, etc.’

that Americans gave it an alternative meaning, ‘to steal, shoplift’. There was always an unseemly, suspect, ‘wild cat’ or philistine aspect.⁵ Sinclair Lewis gave these aspects cutting treatment in his masterly sketch of *Main Street* USA. But it was a source of pride, and, once it caught on in Tasmania, inspiration.

Though Brownell used the term freely, it was not until Abbott that an academic felt the need for some precise non-etymological definition. He says economic boom times:

triggered spirited economic discussion about ... the economic needs of the city, and ... the measures which might satisfy these wants. Newspapers, corporate reports, directories, pamphlets, and orations considered how each town could best exploit its new opportunities. Residents described current activities, advocated new projects, and detailed strategies for growth in a diverse and substantial body of literature which later commentators lumped under the term “boosterism.” In fact, boosterism was the entire process by which business and civic leaders assessed the situation they faced, tried to define a

1. Brownell, Blaine A (ed.) *The Urban Ethos in the South 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press; 1975).

2. Abbott, Carl *Boosters and Businessmen: Popular Economic Thought and Urban Growth in the Antebellum Middle West* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press; 1981).

3. Charles Ellis Davies, co-proprietor of the Hobart *Mercury*, was highly impressed with North American civilisation generally, see his *Our Tour in Canada* (Hobart: Davies Bros.; 1921).

4. Artibise, Alan FJ *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* Canadian Plains Studies, 10 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre; 1981). See also Richan, Donald, Stuart ‘Boosterism and Urban rivalry in Regina and Moose Jaw, 1902-1913’ (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Regina).

5. Collitz, Klara H ‘Boost’ in *American Speech* September 1926 pp. 661-672. Mencken, HL *The American Language* (London: Kegan Paul; 1936).

coherent economic program to be carried out by public and private action, and publicized that assessment and program to local and national audiences.¹

The present study shows that in Tasmania slump rather than boom stimulated loudest expressions of boosterism. It will be noted that urban studies have dominated booster historiography in America. Regional histories, where existent, consist of comparisons of cities within the region. I have been unable to locate any state or national studies. Likewise any connection between boosterism and tourism has been cursory. The pattern repeats, on far smaller scale, in Australia.

Much Australian urban history hails from geographers. Their approach largely ignores the character and motives of individuals and groups who determine directions for urban growth. Larger forces prevail, the economics of supply and distribution foremost. Geographers have tackled tourism, but the approach is predictably concerned with land use. JG Mosley's 'Aspects of the Geography of Recreation in Tasmania' has however outlined administrative and developmental sequences useful to the present discourse.²

When historians have examined the boosters' tourist output they have usually done so through the eyes of tourists.³ The title of a recent symposium on 'Travellers, Journeys, Tourists' describes the thrust of research.⁴ Donald Horne's *Intelligent Tourist* is interested in what makes tourist operators tick, but again there is no attention to local discussions on the matter.⁵ Roger Butler has, however, briefly outlined local debate over the need to advertise Australia with posters.⁶ Davison and Dunstan have drawn the important dialectic between boosters and knockers in their study of Melbourne images last century. However the knockers they describe were in Sydney.⁷

Though inter-urban rivalry is a constant in this thesis, equal focus is given to intra-urban debates. There is very little in this country to inform us about the way boosterism, as an ism, affected debates and directions within a community. The local history genre has produced some insights, albeit not focussed as I would have them.⁸

1. Abbot, *op. cit.* pp. 3-4.

2. Mosley JG. *Aspects of the Geography of Recreation in Tasmania* (PhD thesis Austrahan National University, 1963).

3. One work thst does see the creative and reflective value of travel literature is Bonnin, M A *Study of Australian Descriptive and Travel Writing, 1929-1945* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1980). However I am more concerned with the more ephemeral versions of booster literature, especially that wrought especially for local consumption.

4. Horne, Julia & Walker, David [eds] 'Travellers, Journeys, Tourists' *Australian Cultural History* 1991; 10.

5. Horne, Donald *The Intelligent Tourist* (Sydney: Margaret Gee; 1992).

6. Butler, Roger "The Streets as Art Galleries"; Poster Art in Australia' in *Trading Places: Australian Posters 1909-1990* (Melbourne: Monash University Gallery). This catalogue is from an exhibition curated by Peter Spearritt and Jenepher Duncan. Spearritt has taken interest in 'How we've sold images of Australia' *Australian Society* November 1990; pp. 16-20. Again, however the object of the salesmanship is external.

7. Davison, Graeme and Dunstan, David "'This moral pandemonium': Images of low life' in Davison et al., (eds) *The Outcasts of Melbourne: Essays in Social History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin; 1985) pp. 171-8.

8. These are usually funded by interests and uncritical, or written for profit and sensational. See for example Gardam, Julie *Brown's River: A History of Kingston and Blackmans Bay* (Kingston: Rotary Club; 1988), and Michael Jones on Surfer's Paradise, *A sunny place for shady people* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin; 1986).

However, lively writing by Tom Griffiths on Beechworth, Victoria, notes that some of the town's literature 'aimed as much at residents as at visitors', and reports local debates on the town's shift of focus from mining to tourists as economic life-force.¹ Another contributor to the debate on boosterism is Joe Powell. He notes that 'proto-conservationists' were willing when it suited to ally with tourist interests. The present work notes many such pragmatic alliances. Powell's work on environmental planning in Australia couches the booster-knocker dialectic in terms of 'possibilism versus environmentalism'. Powell sees the booster quality of tireless optimism and attachment to technology as only superficially attractive,² a theme also debated by Geoffrey Blainey in his *Great Seesaw*.³

In its original Spanish form, possibilism simply meant "pragmatic advance". Twentieth century possibilists were optimists to the point of arrogance. Masters of "the art of the possible", they identified themselves as people of great "vision". In this their ethic somehow related to Progressivism. Yet although they attached the progressive label to their program, in most cases the boosters were not quite the intelligensia described by Michael Roe. His progressives consisted of bourgeois bureaucrats, professionals and technocrats working mainly through central government. They were committed to the belief that, given scientific management and efficient running, human civilisation's "progress" was almost unbounded.⁴ Roe's progressives were disillusioned by the slow pace of reform in the 1920s and some departed the country. If those that remained were disillusioned many refused to show it. Instead they tried to make a faith of pragmatic optimism. These were the boosters. When government faltered they were loudest. But there are no hard boundaries. The broader stream into which fit both boosters and progressives is explored by Tim Rowse in his *Australian Liberalism and National Character*.⁵

This study therefore derives conceptual inspiration from a disparate range of sources. The footnotes and bibliography reveal others. Every historian aspires to originality of topic and angle, but as someone (I believe it was Manning Clark) once said, far better to follow some fool's footsteps that start from scratch. Perhaps the present work is that of a fool. If nothing else, he hopes his work will inspire someone else to something better.

1. Griffiths, Tom 'National Heritage or Town History: Beechworth in the 20th Century' *Australian Cultural Studies* 1985; 4 pp. 42-53. This study stems from Griffiths' MA thesis at Melbourne University, 'The Stranded Town: Beechworth and its Past' (1980)

2. Powell JM *Environmental Management in Australia: 1788-1914*. (London: OUP; 1976), and *An Historical Geography of Modern Australia: the restive fringe*. (Cambridge: University Press; 1988). As it appears the Australians themselves were doing in the 1920s, Powell disregards the original meaning of 'possibilism'. Instead it is taken as simile to 'boosterism' and 'optimism', whereas the opposite, 'pessimism' is a booster's term for a determinist-environmentalist.

3. Blainey, Geoffrey *The Great Seesaw: A New View of the Western World 1750-2000* (South Melbourne: Macmillan; 1988).

4. Roe, Michael *Nine Australian Progressives* (UQP: 1984).

5. (Melbourne: Kibbie Books; 1978). Rowse seeks to explain why Liberalism has been 'the dominant social theory in Australia'.

The thrust of the thesis is that boosterism made of Tasmania a tourist state in the period roughly 1912-28. Economic contingencies undoubtedly left the state with few other outlets for salesmanship in the period. Migration became a Commonwealth responsibility in 1920 and geographic conditions made the island attractive only to a narrow band of industries. Tourism seemed to some an admittance of defeat, but the boosters, the commercial-civic elite recognised and communicated its advantages to their fellow islanders. They used stunts and “pseudo events” and every other available means to impose their world view on the hoi polloi. Propaganda and publicity are forms of mental imperialism, forming in every mind a dependent colony of a “metropolitan” mode of thinking. Boosters knew that the “metropolis” was that which had the power to disseminate propaganda without opposition. Boorstin traces such thought, in its post-Machiavellian form, to the ‘Graphic Revolution’ of the mid nineteenth century.¹

In 1890 Charles Dilke stated that ‘the advertising classes’ controlled the press.² This truism is patent in our study. If, as seems likely, the press had any power to shape the opinions that shaped government acts, then that power was exercised by drapers, brewers, motor men, importers, realtors, insurers, and all their friends in commercial city life. It is highly significant that the president of the Hobart chamber of Commerce in the period when civic-consciousness was most alive, the mid 1920s, was none other than the general manager of *The Mercury*. John Spierrings has demonstrated the links between Murdoch and Myer in Melbourne and the absolute dependence of the modern press on advertising revenue.³ *The Mercury* was even willing to admit the ‘universal rule’ of newspapers’ dependence on advertisers.⁴ Amalgamation of interests also occurred in the boardroom. Research for this thesis has discovered in Launceston and Hobart cross-investment and directorial influence of incestuous proportions. Much has been delivered to footnotes, which for interested readers contain both a Who’s Who and a Who’s With Whom of Tasmanian business.

Tasmania is incestuous. In politics the phenomenon is remarkable. Few MPs could claim to be absolutely unrelated to all their colleagues, even those on opposing benches. Labor was a force in the period, but the doctrine of Primal Innocence and the Fall was never so apt as in Tasmania. Lyons, the Labor Premier of 1923-28, was

1. Boorstin Daniel J *The Image* (Harmondsworth: Pelican; 1962).

2. In *The Habit of Authority: paternalism in British history* (London: Allen & Unwin; 1966), p. 297, AP Thornton cites Dilke’s *Problems of Great Britain* (1890), which asserted that newspapers reflected the ‘views of advertising classes’. Richard Twopeny’s *Town life in Australia* (1883) included a chapter on the powerful influence of Victorian newspapers. The theme does not date. In 1991, defending the Australian Government’s attempt to ban electronic electoral advertising, Labor Senator Nick Bolkus spoke of ‘The inequity of advertising as a medium ... an inherently undemocratic medium....serves vested interest of a minority.’ (ABC radio, 17/4/91).

3. Spierrings John *Magic and Science: Aspects of Australian Business Management, Advertising and Retailing, 1918-40* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Melbourne, 1989). Spierrings ‘highlights the important role of advertisers as an organised lobby group’. He correctly points out that ‘Standard texts on the Australian media ... treat it as an industry without a local history.’

4. *Merc*, 5/7/24.

hailed as a better Nationalist than the Nationalists. There was political war at times, without doubt, but internecine bleeding the state could not afford and moderate forces prevailed. There was community of mind, and it was neglect of duty not to boost locality, town, city and state. Control of the press ensured that any who dared question the booster ethos were soundly denounced, their patriotism questioned. Hence in this story little space is found for knockers. They were usually silenced before they could make an entry in the historical record.

Boosterism was a dictatorship of sorts. Its people were bombarded at times with booster rhetoric and this proved decisive, in tourism at least. Yet for all the above Tasmania was not a complacent society. There were independent minds and times when events did not pan out as boosters desired. The island's mountainous terrain and colonial history generated an ultra-regionalism that sometimes barred cohesion. Parochial interests and jealousies meant the commercial-civic elites in certain towns and cities clashed. Sometimes it seemed only the mountains kept them from civil war. Launceston certainly waged rhetorical and political war against the capital, Hobart. In such cases solid reason was called for. In tourism it was vital that all interests be convinced there was something in it for them. The whole state had to present a united front on shipping and financial issues bearing on their relations with the Commonwealth. The advertising classes were especially active in the mid 1920s diminishing parochialism and encouraging a "national" (that is state) outlook. That reason did prevail demonstrates the consistency of booster thought regardless of place.

To this point we have ignored the question of the day to day role of government in tourist boosting. It was crucial. Preoccupation with political and social history in Australia has obscured the very commercial function of government. As WJ Hudson and Wendy Way point out:

Australian governments, on an ordinary daily basis, have not been preoccupied by questions of peace and war, of grand defence strategies, of political relationships. In fact their ordinary daily concerns have been with loan raising, with finding markets for Australian exports, with attracting investment, with immigration. ... Australian writers on foreign policy do not as a rule in their learned analyses attach great significance to sales of sultanas. In the real world, this is precisely what does matter to governments.¹

Precisely the same situation exists at all scales and tiers of government. In the localities, municipal government was constantly pressured to apply the rates to "making the city beautiful for tourists". Councils found this easy to accept whenever they had sufficient funds. However there was some reluctance on the part of local governors to "boost abroad". Though there were advances in this field in the 1920s, it was deemed mainly a state function. Only the state had the financial resource and national perspective required to approach developmental questions equitably. Again the

¹. *Letters from a 'Secret Service Agent': FL McDougall to SM Bruce 1924-1929* (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs; 1986). p. x.

developmental agenda was driven mainly by the booster ethos. In Parliament it was supreme.

In tourist matters it can be argued that while some anti-tourist attitudes existed, political ideology played little or no part. Where it did, its dominant outcome was to advance tourism. On one celebrated occasion, when certain private enterprise interests succeeded in diminishing state enterprise in tourist promotion, the reaction of the mainstream commercial-civic elite was far from jubilant. Try as they did, most realised that they could never combine privately and permanently to marshal the necessary resources for selling Tasmania. Thus in 1914 a new government agency was specifically designed to promote and organise the island's tourist traffic. The Tasmanian Government Tourist Department was headed by a Director especially briefed to treat the emerging industry as a national responsibility. He was answerable to the Commissioner of Railways in Hobart, but he was charged with treating all modes of transport and all regions equally. As railwaymen tend to be, both officers were distinguished boosters. They take centre stage through most of this story.

Treasury finances were more decisive than political allegiance in determining state tourist administration in the period. In the 1920s when near-bankruptcy dictated retrenchments across the board, tourist administration did suffer. The Director was demoted, but remained with the railways and stayed interested in a business he considered his own. Although advertising and representation in mainland cities was stripped to a minimum, the remaining core withstood several private enterprise attacks. It was during this period that the commercial-civic elites of numerous Tasmanian urban centres demonstrated the value they attached to the tourist industry. They stepped into the vacuum and boosted vigorous tourist campaigns of their own. This impressed government, and when it was financially capable, the same Labor Ministry that had retrenched the Tourist Bureau committed sums exceeding any past example. Its successor, a government of businessmen, bolstered central administration even further. Reinstatement of the Director in 1928 was a final act. By that stage the tourist traffic had become an industry. Calling it an industry made it a national responsibility. To support it was therefore common sense, to disparage foolish. "Actual industry", manufacturing, would ever remain a higher goal for proud Tasmanians, but for better or worse they had accepted and rationalised a role as Australia's playground. Never since have they suffered any diminution of active, central funding and control.

In 'Chaos, History and Narrative' George A Reisch refutes Hempel's 'covering-law' history and asserts that the only successful epistemological approach is through narrative. Even a covering-law explanation of an historical event must have temporal structure that is essentially narrative. Narrative identifies 'strange attractors', trends

and parameters which reveal kinds of ‘fractal’ behaviour, rather than rules.¹ Resisting the temptation to produce a thematic synthesis of materials that obscures people and chronology, I have taken the narrative path in the following pages. We explore from the ground the Tasmanian fractal of a Western strange attractor. There are thickets in the woods and readers may approach them as they please, as orienteer or meandering naturalist. My hope is that both will derive some pleasure thereby. The ‘first-mention’ name index in the back pages should assist, as should the synoptic Contents pages.

Administrative developments tend to reflect shifts in public policy far more immediately than do the legislation which make them law. The chronological range of this thesis is thus determined. There were three distinct stages in the policy making process. The first is described in Part One. Between 1912 and 1917 Tasmanians sought an efficient and utilitarian method of boosting tourist traffic. Sensing the incapacity of local voluntarism they enlisted the government and centralised. Hobart’s tourist association was nationalised and its booking offices handed to the railways. Annually increasing budget allocations prompted debates on the worth or otherwise of tourism and identified the main attitudes for and against. Dominant support saw establishment of a Tasmanian Government Tourist Department with bureaux in mainland cities. Parochial aggression saw Launceston demand and receive its own government-funded bureau. All were administered by the railways through a Director. By 1917 the railways-tourist nexus was well enough established to be enshrined in “doubts removal” legislation. Dissatisfied would-be monopolists in the catering trades vowed that doubts remained and promised to undermine the new order.

Part Two is divided into four chapters covering the period roughly 1917-22, in which tourist boosting was abandoned by city interests and left to government. Great progress was made by the department despite potent internal and external obstacles. Bureau revenue expanded dramatically, and government funding followed. By the end of this period Tasmanian tourism was booming. Yet this served to excite urban boosters to want further growth, and several failings in the centralised system, recognised always by the department itself, became controversial. Thus in 1922 local voluntarism revived, new city tourist and progress associations formed. Under government aegis they organised a program of events which saw bumper profits accruing in the tourist season 1922-23.

¹. *History and Theory* 30/1, 1991, pp. 1-20. Reisch conveys to historians the implications of the “emerging paradigm” of Chaos Theory. James Gleik’s *Chaos: making a new science* (New York: Viking; 1987) makes the general theory intelligible to non-physicists. Surprisingly simple mathematics can describe apparently chaotic behaviour. Chaotic behaviour is both repetitious and unpredictable. Leaves grow to a ‘fractal’ pattern, ever similar yet never the same. Chaos both frustrates and vindicates the determinist. It shows that one can never get close enough to initial conditions or causes to exactly predict eventual effects. However patterns are discernable. These are measurable ‘strange attractors’, perhaps otherwise ‘norms of behaviour’. Boosterism was one of the strange attractors of the Tasmanian experience, itself a ‘fractal’ of the

Meanwhile, however, a battle had long been brewing between the department and the larger commercial tourist operators who wanted to see the government's role reduced to a mere advertising agency. Ironically, through cooperation with unions hostile to the railways administration, they succeeded in drastically retrenching the role of the Director. Part Three describes in four chapters the retrenchment and explores the contemporary movement back towards voluntary civic consciousness as a motor for development. It is noted that the economic depression of the period was met by a fascination with concepts of "optimism", "confidence" and the potential of mass psychology as a cure for stagnation.¹ The sources of such thought are framed in a world context. Under inspired non-government leadership, citizen groups formed to fill the breach left by Bureau retrenchment. They tapped growing tourist consciousness to raise public appreciation of broader Tasmanian problems. They even succeeded in organising a state-wide cooperative movement. However the very success of this voluntary movement, like that in 1922, again drove discrete regions to seek for themselves a better share. It also threatened the bureaucrats' hopes for a return to the 1923 status quo. The concluding chapter therefore describes how the state-wide voluntary movement lost support, city associations reformed, and it was recognised for all time that national booster goals could only be achieved by a central agency. Through this whole story the actions of commercial-civic elites loom large.

Lloyd Robson's *History of Tasmania* correctly identified many themes of the Tasmanian 1920s.² He noted, in passing, the work of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce, the *Mercury*, and some other business-led groups, but his restriction of political coverage largely to the parliamentary sphere, and his reliance on existing secondary sources, seems to have blinded him to the groundswell of voluntary energy driving things along. He discounted the 1925 Tasmanian Rights League, for instance, as 'never a substantial popular body because its membership was largely commercial.'³ This disregards the *representative* nature of the League and its commercial leadership. Because "average" people are quiet does not mean they do not support movements. There was explicit understanding within the groups that they should not appear too sectional in their interests, and that was one reason why they often moved tourism ostensibly to the top of their lists of objectives. Robson seems to have paid scant regard to the way such bodies work, their wide networks of sympathy, and their exertion of influence often through personal rather than broadcast forms of public

1. As Colin White expounds, careful reading of Australian history reveals the real effects of society's moods on the shape of the economy. See *Mastering Risk: Environment, Markets and Politics in Australian Economic History* (OUP; 1992). This book is itself a reaction to prevalent pessimism. An accompanying article in *Quadrant* (April 1992), subtitled 'The Story of Australian Economic Success', attempts to bolster the confidence of Australian intellectual readers. Herbert Heaton reflected on the effects of popular mood in his *Modern Economic History: with special reference to Australia* (WEA: Adelaide; 1925) p. 102.

2. Robson, LL *A History of Tasmania. Volume II. Colony and State from 1856 to the 1980s* (Melbourne: OUP; 1991). Chapters 19-22.

3. *Ibid.* p. 400.

relations. He also failed to notice the philosophical trends behind their actions. In a nutshell, he forgets the role of the lobbyist, and the people and ideas lobbyists represent. Robson's work was monumental and a great contribution, but also (of necessity) synthetic. A glance at his sources reveals heavy reliance on secondary sources. His use of Governors' despatches gave a very good (and surprisingly unslanted) overview. But the bird's eye view tends to miss the nitty-gritty of political influence. Though it might have paid more regard to them as a force for change, it could never encompass the plethora of extra-parliamentary associations. The current original research hopes to add depth and new elements to the picture.¹

RJ May's work on State-Federal financial relationships in the period was one of Robson's sources. It identifies the course of events and most of the economic forces impelling the advocates of change, but by concentrating on finance it fails to see the role of tourism in their arguments. It leaves room for discussion of particular individuals' and bodies' activities.² George Cox, similarly, describes the issues involved in Tasmania's reliance on shipping, but takes for granted that everyone knows who benefits most from the maintenance of frequent, reliable trade and communications links. His interesting and detailed account of *Bass Strait Crossing* also unfortunately lacks sufficient scholarly apparatus to allow for any claim to 'definitiveness'.³

Peter Cox's BA Hons thesis on Anti-federal feeling 1924-34⁴ was another of Robson's main sources. Cox argued quite convincingly that Northern interests fell in with the campaign reluctantly and outside the South the calls for secession and reform of the Navigation Act were weak. However he simply discounted a large state-wide membership and ignored the fact that the first president of the Tasmanian Rights League (TRL), with its motto (which he also ignored) of 'Justice for Tasmania, or Secession', was the immediate past Mayor of Launceston, Claude James. More important was Cox's failure to see the role of tourist arguments in the league's ability to arouse interest, and the tourist-consciousness of vigilance leaders pushing the state

1. The thesis employs predominantly primary sources. In the absence of complete departmental records a wide net was cast. The Premier's and Chief Secretary's correspondence files were very useful, the former especially as they place tourism within the very broad context of governmental concerns. Inevitable recourse was made to the press, always with an eye to the special problems involved in that source. Particularly useful were newspaper scrapbooks compiled by the Tourist Department and Launceston City Council. Although the former have irksome gaps (for instance during the entire retrenchment period) they detail the many and various concerns of the Tourist Director. They also provide great insight into the director's skill in publicity, his use of disguised autobiographical eulogy and recognition of the value of VIP opinion. Launceston City Council correspondence files, Chamber of Commerce *Annuals*, official guides, tourist pamphlets, Parliamentary Papers and Proceedings, and the extensive resources of the Tasmaniana Library at Hobart have all been covered. Footnotes include references and suggestions for further research in numerous areas.

2. May, RJ 'The Politics of Federalism: Financial Relations Between Tasmania and the Commonwealth 1901-1933' *AJPH*; 1968/14 pp. 373-392. See also his *Financing the Small States in Australian Federalism* (Melbourne: OUP; 1971).

3. Cox, GW *Bass Strait Crossing* (Hobart: Melanie; 1986) especially pp.119-30

4. Cox, Peter 'Anti-Federal Feeling in Tasmania, 1924-34' Unpublished BA (Hons) thesis. (Hobart: University of Tasmania; 1964).

to come to terms with the Commonwealth. He plays down the movement as business-led and therefore not really popular. True, Tasmanian Labor leaders declined to give it full support, but members, including unionists, did participate. Cox sees grievance as the main stimulant to Tasmanian activism. He did not notice undercurrents of booster organisation gaining momentum at the time. Alongside anti-federal feeling the momentum for voluntary self-improvement had been building for several years in city councils, progress associations, commerce chambers and like organisations. Cox's work nevertheless provides a foundation for further research.

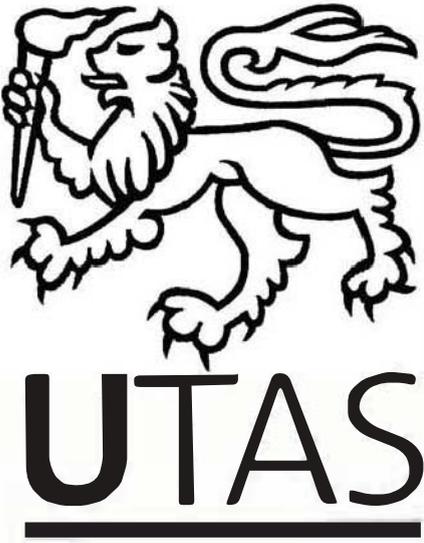
Robson relied just as heavily on Michael Denholm's work on the Lyons Labor administration of 1923-28.¹ Denholm employed mainly newspaper sources and therefore gained a wide perspective, but his focus was on the government and thus he omitted much reference to the way the commercial-civic elite took matters into their own hands. He lumped them all together as 'conservative opinion'. Though his theme was Lyons' amenability to "conservative" ideas, and consequently his increasing alienation from "true Labor", he did not really identify the "conservative" forces. In fact he failed to distinguish between "conservative" and "progressive". Denholm explained Lyons' actions in terms of the need to save Tasmania from the awful legacy of past conservative rule. Coming from a Labor historian, this focus is understandable. The desire to identify "rats" and explain them as constrained by circumstances² is as strong as the urge to glorify, perhaps even deify, those who never lost sight of "the Light on the Hill". However Labor history has had a good run in Australia, especially in academic circles. As Stuart Macintyre recently observed, the trend away from 'recognising the structures of power and political processes' and towards 'history from below' is making balanced history writing difficult for synthesisers.³ Perhaps the following will help.

1. Denholm, Michael 'The Lyons Labor Government, 1923-1928' *THRAPP* 24/1, June 1977 pp. 45-66.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 58. 'The Lyons Labor government's achievement, as regards their work for the State, had been impressive. Yet in a very real sense they had been used.'

3. 'History, a School for Statecraft; or, How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?' (Eldershaw Memorial Lecture, 1992, *THRAPP* 39/3 pp. 105-23.

Part One
The Centralisation Movement



2 CONTROL IN THE CAPITAL

Tasmania is an island. The smallest State of the Australian Federation, it was until 1901 a self-governing British colony. It is blessed with tourist attractions: diverse scenic and recreational resources, a temperate climate, a rich built heritage and a cultural sense of 'uniqueness'. The first "tourists" came unassisted in the Victorian era, European travel-writers like Trollope who quickly dubbed it the Sanatorium of the South, the Garden Island, a Wonderland inhabited by a race of 'latter-Britons'.¹ The inhabitants themselves, stigmatised by the island's penal past, latched on to these more positive images. As visitor numbers increased during the 'long boom' of the 1870s and '80s, Tasmanians increasingly saw more and more benefits in tourist traffic.

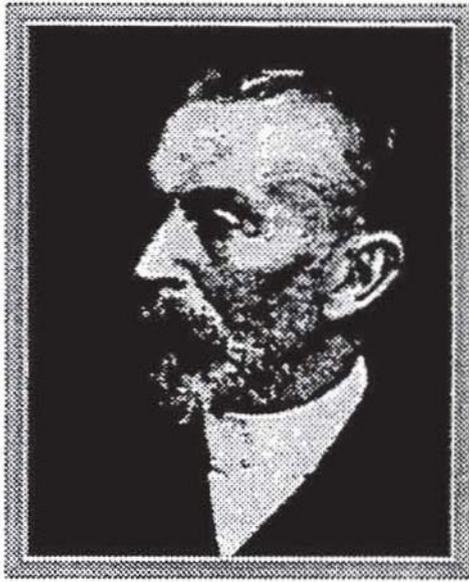
Tourism as an economic activity has four main aspects, sometimes known as the Four A's: Attractions, Access, Accommodation and Advertising. The first three form a mutually dependent physical infrastructure. In Tasmania as elsewhere in the nineteenth century they were first developed by interested parties working for immediate private gain. As the potential of these activities for wider, civic development was recognised, semi-official associations formed under the patronage of influential politicians and other social reformers often not directly interested in the trade. Thus in Launceston in 1889 the bourgeois elite formed a City and Suburban Improvement Association, its main object to develop the city's Cataract Gorge and Cliff Grounds into an attraction to entice tourists to 'stop awhile'.² Financially weak, the personnel of this body handed the grounds to the Launceston City Council (LCC) in 1898, but maintained active interest by forming the Northern Tasmanian Tourist Association (NTTA) in 1901.³ Likewise in Hobart the Tasmanian Tourist Association (TTA) was formed in 1893 by Premier Henry Dobson (1841-1918) and members of the 'leisure class'. Smaller centres followed their example.

All tapped the respectability of leaders and social desires of others to enthuse a general spirit of civic progress. They used local knowledge to identify scenic and other attractions; working bees and influence on municipal coffers to develop access to and beautify the spots; and alternating pressure and favour to encourage the better provision of hotel and boarding houses by private capital. They were motivated as much by civic as personal ambitions: though inevitably some members held private investments in tourist businesses. As their influence grew they impressed government with the benefits they brought to the whole state and thus attracted small subsidies on a pound for pound basis. The TTA and NTTA received up to £400 and £250

1. Trollope, Anthony *Australia and New Zealand* (London : Chapman and Hall, 1873).

2. Minutes of the association can be consulted in QVMAG.

3. Deeth, Jane 'The Gorge Report' (prepared for the LCC, August 1991). See especially Chapter 5.



Henry Dobson

respectively. Country associations shared a pool of £250, pro rata, according to results.

It was soon clear that local subscriptions and government subsidies were insufficient to push infrastructure development ahead of trade. Expansion of commercial operations was limited by past profits. Shipping companies would only improve services in response to increased demand.¹ The Commonwealth was asked to stimulate services through mail contracts. State government was called to provide roads and accommodation houses in outlying areas where private capital would not take the risk. Thus growth was maintained on a small but steady level. But there came a point where any setbacks in the trade would stall the movement. Investment of borrowed capital reached a point where higher growth was imperative. An added factor was increased competition from neighbouring Australian states and New Zealand. All this was occurring in the first decade of what contemporaries considered to be a very 'new' century, with technological change affecting life on every front.

At this point the fourth, nonmaterial yet pervasive and fundamental aspect of tourist infrastructure, Advertising, became the top priority. Increased leisure, consumerism, and the burgeoning 'graphic revolution' increasingly placed advertising at the vital heart of modern commercial practice. Even "antipodean" Tasmania heralded the 'Age of advertising and publicity'.² Advertising had been a concern in the 1890s, but the various interests had carried on in an amateur and ad hoc manner with scarce financial resources. Local loyalties moved advertisers to compete almost viciously against fellow Tasmanians in other centres. Even public bodies in the same city failed to cooperate. Thus the 1910s saw all parties starting to agree that to increase traffic they needed 'systematic' publicity to 'popularise' the state as an entity. Advertising to a nation of would-be visitors was an expensively daunting task. Central organisation became imperative. It would mean concentration of substantial resources. The question was who would control it.

How to define the 'Tasmanian' image was not a problem. That was already determined. Christine Morris has described the 'evolution of a tourist rhetoric' in the nineteenth century. Its characteristic stress on climate and scenery and reluctant exploitation of Tasmania's dark history lasted well into the present century.³ The problem now was quantitative, financial and administrative. The stock answer to developmental questions in Australia has been government intervention, but in a business with established commercial-regional interests the entry of the state was

1. Much information on shipping economics came out in a 1912 Tasmanian Select Committee into Interstate Shipping (Report and Evidence at *TPP* 1912/32).

2. *Ex.* 12/9/12.

3. 'In Pursuit of the Travelling Man' (BA Hons, University of Tasmania, 1974).

problematic. Control of advertising meant control of the trade; the diminution of advantages enjoyed by those in dominance. The issue devolved into conflict.

The Impetus for Nationalisation

From the end of 1911 the persistent politicisation of tourist topics showed the trade was reaching “national” proportions. A number of divisive forces threatened the long-term viability of an emergent “industry”. With its historical origins, capital status, relatively large population and spectacular natural features, Hobart was a ‘Primate City’ approaching the classic mould.¹ It took the bulk of advertising funding and dominated the island’s tourist traffic. This aroused regional grievances, especially in Launceston which believed it had primacy potential itself. Critics blamed government for giving the TTA state funds to boost itself at their expense. The TTA had become a tall poppy and scythe wielders appeared on several fronts. Even within Hobart, people accused it of unfairly allocating work among the various commercial tourist operators. Awarding contracts without tenders to firms partially owned by TTA officials negated undeniable principles.² The TTA also induced tourists to travel by road rather than the Tasmanian Government Railways (TGR). This eroded Treasury finances. An air of ‘official’ authority and control of the Hobart tourist bureau had given the TTA too much power.

Civic voluntarism had lost much of its creative power. The tourist association movement in the largest centres was degenerating into squabbles. In Hobart accusations of TTA corruption led Labor MPs to vaunt ‘nationalisation’. They gained support from small businesses stifled by the status quo. Conservative politicians, loath to eschew the vitalism of voluntary associations, preferred to trust market forces and keep taxes down. Each side had daily newspapers, and this allowed the airing of liberal-democratic, progressive ideas, away from laissez-faire and towards state intervention. That neighbouring states had established state tourist and propaganda departments in recent years, regardless their dominant politics, bolstered the argument for interventionism.

The issue was to some degree one for ideologues. However, there were waverers on both sides, and in Australia the politics of public ownership have usually been

1. See Rose, RJ *Patterns of Cities* (1967) pp. 53-4 for a summary of Mark Jeffers’s (1939) definition of primacy. In the 1920s Hobart fit the model in that its population size, concentrated commercial and industrial wealth and political strength far outranked the next largest city of the state. However Launceston had *half* the population of Hobart, not a tenth as in Rose’s schema. Indeed Launceston, ‘the Northern Capital’, was the primate of its own region by a long bow. Its many situational advantages fortified a strong hope of becoming the state capital, stridently expressed at times (see below, Chapter Three).

2. See W Jethro Brown’s *The Prevention and Control of Monopolies* (London: John Murray; 1914) and HL Wilkinson’s *The Trust Movement in Australia* (Melbourne: Critchley Parker; 1914). See also Michael Roe’s chapter on Brown in *Nine Australian Progressives*, op. cit.



George Wishart Smith

pragmatic: justified more than driven by principles.¹ While we can claim nationalisation of tourist control was an ideal sought for Tasmania, we must not ignore the parts played by institutions and individuals with purely economic and personal motives. Nor indeed the role of serendipity. Considering the strength of parochialism in Tasmania and the personal nature of island politics, even an interventionist government might have failed to unite warring parties. Resolution required the advent of a stranger, someone without local loyalties, yet equipped with a strong power base and a sharp appreciation of persuasive techniques.

A Harbinger of Change—The Tourist-Railways Connection

It was providential that such a person arrived in October 1911 to take up the new position of Commissioner of Railways. As a ministerial department the TGR was very much subject to venal, pork-barrelling politics. With a debt of £4 million by 1910 it laboured under gross inefficiencies. Parliament restructured it as a statutory commission, and transferred its administration from an engineer to a business manager.² The appointee's mandate, put simply, was to make the railways pay. Though there is no specific evidence that he was recruited to reorganise the tourist traffic, there is no doubt his arrival and ideas made it possible.

George Wishart Smith (1869-1960) was a Scottish emigré of 1884 who had grown up in Australia. Strong and innovative, at eighteen he joined the NSW railways, and quickly rose through the ranks. By 1900 he was manager of Western Australia's Midland Junction Railways. In the management of this private developmental track connecting Perth and Geraldton he showed remarkable talent, performing 'a miracle of economy and efficiency'. In the face of unhelpful government land policy, he was 'forced to resort to desperate expedients to create local traffic.' By 1910 he had many influential Westralian allies. WA's Liberal ministers remarked his 'tact and ability' and considered him 'one of the most capable and shrewd railway managers known.' Smith won the Tasmanian job from thirty-eight other applicants. The Hobart *Mercury* thrilled at his youth and apparent verve. Tasmania needed 'the right man', a strong imaginative leader, and he seemed to be it. The paper anticipated a flood of 'new ideas, and a new spirit of enterprise that may make all the difference between stagnation and progress.'³ He arrived in October 1911.

It was soon apparent that one of Smith's innovative aims was assumption of control over the tourist trade, initially at least in the island's south. On arrival he found the

1. Albert Metin recognised this in his 1901 study of Australasia, *Socialisme Sans Doctrines* (Paris: Alcan; 1902). It is a constant theme in the work of RL Wettenhall, for instances of which see *Public Enterprise and National Development* (Canberra: Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration; 1987).

2. Acts of Tasmania, 1° Geo. V., No. 69. See also Turner, Roger 'The Railway Commission of Tasmania 1911-1939—A Political Interpretation' (BA Hons thesis, University of Tasmania, 1986).

3. *Merc*, 5-6/6/11, PD1/8/18/11 details the appointment. For Smith's obituary see *Merc*, 10/11/60.



Alfred John (Jack) Nettelfold

tourist business in Hobart 'drifting into the hands of the principal carrying firms, who would very soon have had full control.'¹ In this opinion he was undoubtedly guided by his new staff and members of the Labor fraternity, with whom he had an early apparent affinity.² At a railwaymen's 'smoke night' on 15 October, Labor leader John Earle (1865-1932) told comrades their Westralian colleagues had commended Smith. The meeting was also addressed by Alfred John 'Jack' Nettlefold (b.1873), an entrepreneur sportsfitter who in 1908 had established the liberal-democratic *Daily Post*.³ Amid hearty applause Nettlefold called for the nationalisation of all monopolies.⁴

Allies 'In the business'

Nettlefold and several brothers made great mark on Hobart, dragging themselves up from childhood poverty to bourgeois respectability by dint of hard work, business acumen, and the popularity accorded successful practitioners of manly arts. Of broadest scope was Thomas (1879-1956). A Hobart Alderman and town-planning exponent, he later became Lord Mayor of Melbourne, but remained ever a barracker for Tasmania. Also prolific was Robert Isaac (1877-1946). 'Smiling Bob' bought Tasmania's first Ford car agency. Through Ford, International Harvester, Yellow Cabs, insurance broking and export operations in primary products, he amassed vast fortunes.⁵

Together the Nettlefolds were part of a group of 'rags-to-riches', first-generation denizens which also included the likes of Henry Jones (1862-1926), the island's leading industrialist. Jones walked with kings (he was knighted in 1920) but, unlike some contemporaries, retained the common touch, benefiting charities, boosting Tasmania's economy and, through his wife, its culture.⁶ So did Jack Nettlefold—he promoted Hobart's public golf course in 1916⁷ and made a fad of roller skating in 1919.⁸ Though ahead of many more conservative contemporaries, his admixture of liberal-democratic ideals and aldermanic personal wealth was sign of the times. He and his fellow

1. These are Smith's own words (see *Ex*, 3/12/15).

2. His management approach later became a bogey to the railway workforce which pressured Earle not to reappoint him in 1915 and forced a royal commission into his administration in 1923-23.

3. See *ET*, *TC* and *PT*. Sir Raymond Ferrall (in a letter to the author, 18/11/92) describes Jack as 'A brilliant innovator.' His father, George (1837-1916), a Baden farmer, was famous for inventing 'Nettlefold's Screws' (see *ET*, p. 452). Jack's cornucopian 'Supply Stores' in Liverpool Street, Hobart, featured in both volumes of *ET*, which says he started 'barely three years ago with very little capital but brains. [his] motto is "progress"'. He sold the supply store in 1909, possibly to raise finance for the *Daily Post*. A committed Federalist and yet a state's-righter, his evidence to the 'Customs Leakage' royal commission of 1911 helped gain for Tasmania a large special grant. He became a realtor in 1916 when he purchased the business and goodwill of EJ Rogers (q.v. below). The two were often found in committees together. In 1922 he joined the Hobart City Council and in 1924 the Hobart Fire Brigade Board. He failed in the Legislative Council elections of 3/6/25. Appointed to the State Tourist Advisory Board, (*DT*, 8/8/25). He increasingly embarrassed fellow aldermen with his critique of their conservatism and timidity. Retired from Council on 14/5/26, his membership of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce lapsed unheralded.

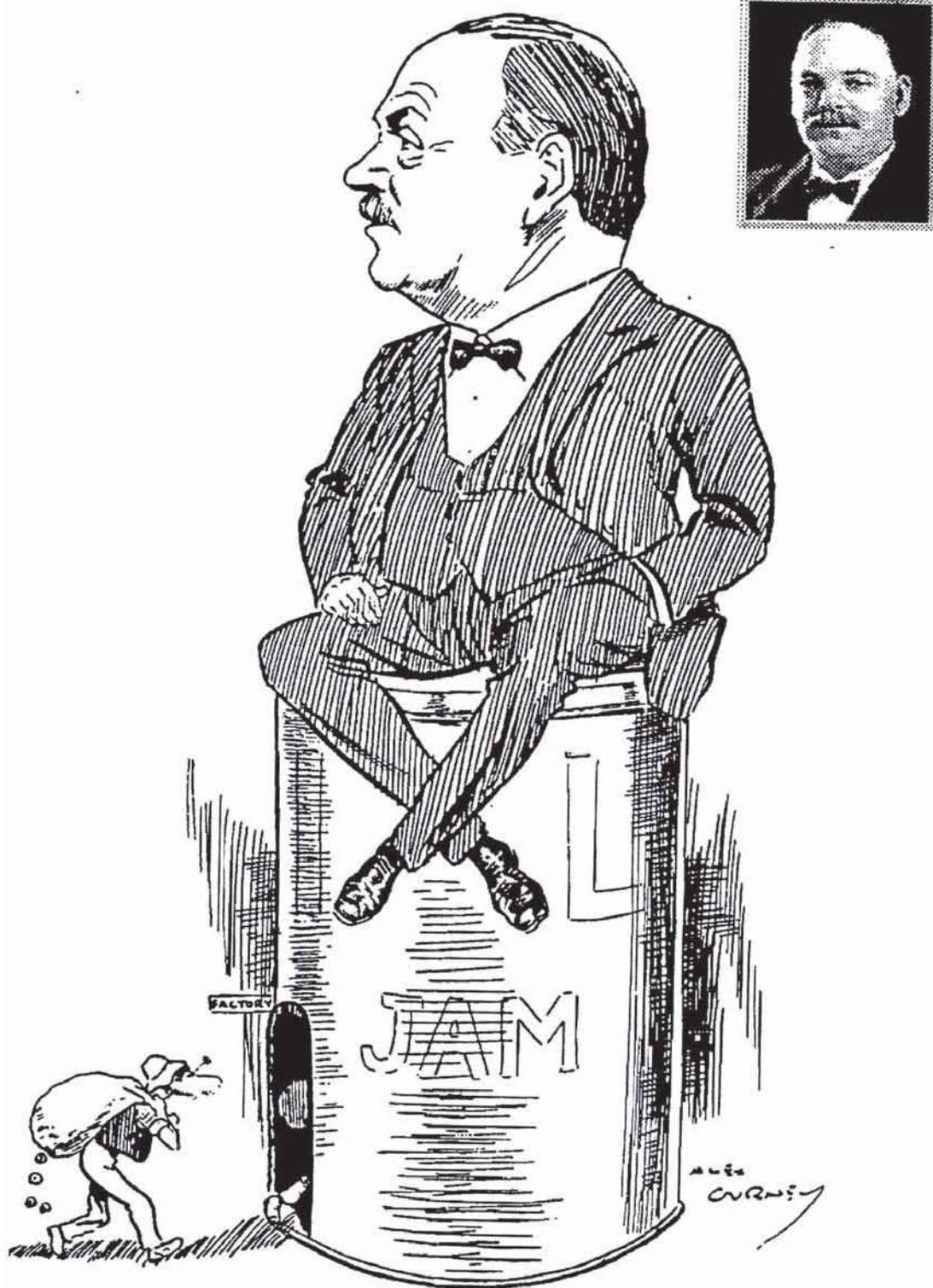
4. *DP*, 16/10/11.

5. See *ADB* for Thomas Sydney and Isaac Robert Nettlefold. See also *PT* for Robert. Thomas's many remarkable interests included the Hume Pipe and Goliath Cement companies.

6. See *ADB* and Brown, Bruce / *Excel! The life and times of Sir Henry Jones* (Hobart; Libra; 1991).

7. *Merc*, 14/8/16.

8. LCCC Box 5B.



SIR HENRY JONES.

Sir Henry Jones, head of the multifarious organisations allied with H. Jones and Co., Ltd., has built up a great business from Tasmania's national industry of fruitgrowing. "Jones's Jam" has gained world renown for itself and a knighthood for its originator, and in the process of its manufacture gives employment to thousands of people, and brings in a considerable revenue to the State. The story of Sir Henry's development of his business from very small beginnings is well known, and affords ample testimony of the ability of the manufacturer and the opportunity which Tasmania affords for successful commercial enterprise.

Henry Jones

boosters in the commercial-civic world would play a continuing role in tourism through the 1920s.

Robert Nettlefold's Tasmanian Motor Service was being passed over by the TTA in its preference for a competing operator, Webster, Rometch & Duncan, better known as Webster-Rometch. This company, under the management of George Gotthilf Rometch (1876-1953), had pioneered the majority of tourist excursions in the Hobart hinterland. It had large capital invested¹ and claimed some right to special treatment. But Rometch's uncompromising nature and public slamming of state enterprise would not serve the company's best interests in years to come.

Smith met all his allies or supplicants in his first Tasmanian month. At the Launceston Show he was fêted by dignitaries including members of the NTTA.² It is likely he then heard claims that Hobart dominated the tourist traffic. The significance of this for the TGR he would have seen for himself. Unlike other centres, Hobart had few railway excursions emanating from its centre and was not particularly lucrative in this regard. However the Main Line was the most cost-effective and it would be TGR policy to try to get every arrival at northern ports to travel south by train. Smith's main motive for combating the TTA was the its influential attachment to motor transport, but he was not about to discard political assistance from the north.

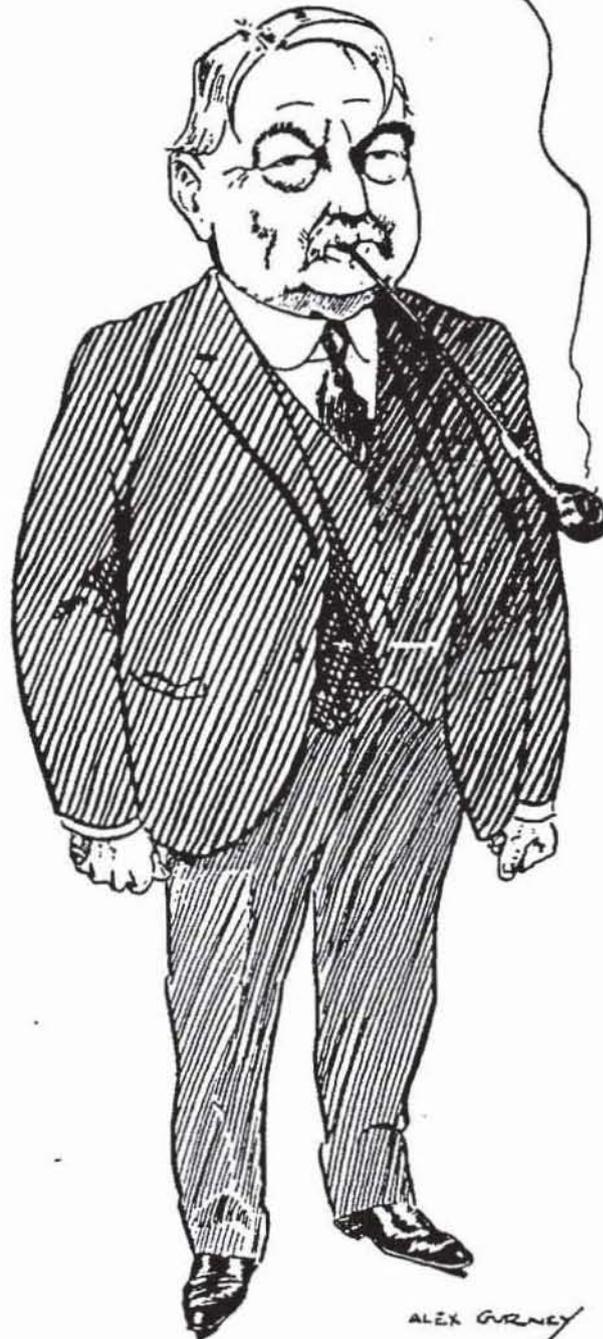
In November 1911 and a long-time supporter of the tourist movement, Premier Neil Elliot Lewis (1858-1935), asked the Assembly to vote £1350 for subsidies and incidentals. Opposition leader Earle put the Labor perspective. Pointing to instances of 'unfairness' in the TTA's allocation of business, and its lack of accountability towards parliament, he said it was 'time the Government took the thing in hand altogether.' Walter Alan Woods (1861-1939), a journalist and one of the Tasmanian Labour's early populists, also called for greater publicity funding, perhaps £5000. Laborites gained some support from northern Liberal, Robert James Sadler (1846-1923), who urged government bureaux on the mainland to get 'people to visit Tasmania.' Increased travel would benefit the state's railways, now in dire financial straits.³ The direction ahead could not have been made more explicit for a business-minded railwayman like Smith.

Railway managers have always been advertisers, studied in methods of mass persuasion to stimulate passenger traffic. Handling advertising space in carriages and stations provided relevant experience and was big business. The Tasmanian Premier's Department received frequent letters from English railway advertising specialists

1. TC, p. 232. Company share register at SC 323/319. Rometch must have changed his name, possibly during the war-time xenophobia. In the Commonwealth Electoral Roll for Denison 1928 he is registered as George Herbert Rometch, coach proprietor. Ob. 17/12/53.

2. Ex, 6/10/11

3. DP, 29/11/11.



SIR ELLIOTT LEWIS.

Sir Elliott Lewis, K.C.M.G., M.A., B.C.L., is another of Tasmania's public men who has occupied most positions of importance, and includes in a lengthy political career a term as Premier and Treasurer of the State. Although no longer taking an active part in politics, he sometimes gives Ministers a hand in their efforts to obtain justice from the Commonwealth, but in these days devotes most of his attention to the business of the well-known legal firm of Lewis, Hudspeth, Perkins, and Dear, in which he is a partner. He has always taken a keen interest in the University affairs, and is the present Chancellor of the local seat of learning, while spare afternoons usually find him on the Royal Hobart Golf Club's links at Rosny.

Sir Neil Elliot Lewis

asking to be agents for the TGR,¹ and Smith himself had no trouble spending about £1000 p.a. on travel literature.² Nevertheless he was increasingly upset that the TGR should bear much of the state's advertising budget while non-rail transport modes favoured by the TTA were able to siphon trade off his trains.

The Commissioner expounded his viewpoint in his first annual report, October 1912. It was reported in the press. He appreciated the pioneering work of the tourist associations, but 'the time [had] arrived when this important business should be undertaken by the Government.' Other Australian states and New Zealand all had tourist departments working to develop the traffic.³ He warned that:

If Tasmania is to retain its premier place within the Commonwealth as a pleasure resort, a definite and comprehensive system of developing and advertising the attractions of the State should be taken in hand, and this can best be done by a central organisation controlled by the State.⁴

Henceforth he would take every opportunity to assert that tourism was a 'national' asset demanding equitable and efficient operation. Thus he enunciated contemporary progressivist ideology. Ready public acceptance of such arguments and ideas shows Tasmania was something more than a 'Sleepy Hollow'. Its bourgeois elite, at least, were vitally aware of modernist forms, and ever rebelled against the idea of being a mere appendix to the rest of the world.⁵

1. PD1/8/18/11.

2. *Merc*, 21/2/13.

3. The New Zealand Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, later known as the NZ Tourist and Publicity Department, was 'the first government department to be established anywhere in the world specifically to develop tourism'. It was established on 1 February 1901, the 'brainchild' of Sir Joseph Ward, then colonial secretary and minister of railways. The NZTP was a body separate from the NZ Railways, but its first manager Thomas Edward Donne had been a senior railways official. The NZTP was briefed to both attract tourists and make the country more appealing to tourists by developing infrastructure. It took control of resorts such as Mt Cook and Rotorua from the Lands and Survey Department and assumed responsibility for scenery and wildlife preservation areas (15 resorts by 1908). By the end of 1906 it had offices in six NZ locations as well as Melbourne, Sydney, Chicago and Vancouver. Donne travelled America and Europe studying tourist and advertising techniques. The NZTP was accused of favouring specific parts of the country and neglecting (especially) the South Island, and criticised for using public funding to compete with private enterprise. It was also criticised for insufficiently advertising the country overseas. It seems to have suffered a shortage of funds for promotional literature in the mid 1920s. In 1903 visitors to the country tallied at 5235. In 1925, 7898. By 1935-36 the arrivals numbered 17,297 and NZTP turnover amounted to £480,788. This was apparently largely due to appointment of a network of tourist commissioners in Europe and America. In 1938-39 inbound tourism peaked at 21,762 visitors. Then came WWII and the industry 'crumpled'. In 1948-49 the arrivals figure was 7,828. In 1985-86 over 700,000 tourists arrived. See Watkins, Leslie *Million Dollar Miracle* (Auckland: Inhouse, Traveldigest: 1987), Chapters 3 and 10. See also p. 17 for clashes over tourist spending: in 1904 a proposal to spend £15,000 on a tourist road was scorned because funds should be reserved for arterial roads for New Zealanders. NZ was spending £19,000 p.a. on tourist promotion in 1915-16 and had outlaid a large amount on resort development. Tasmania was then spending less than £10,000 but visitor numbers were far higher. The wealth of travellers to NZ was greater per capita at the time. A 1930 report in New Zealand supposed the amount spent by Australian tourists at perhaps £100 each (Watkins pp. 54-50). In Tasmania it was more common to reckon tourist spending at £20 per capita (see e.g. *Ex*, 31/7/22), but overseas liner passengers were considered much bigger spenders, worth at least that much per day. NZ also had a far greater domestic market than Tasmania. In all Australian states except SA, tourist departments were first established by the railways. See Correll, Ted *A History of South Australia's Department of Tourism* (Adelaide: the Department; 1986).

4. *TPP* 1912/35.

5. In 1976 Dean MacCannell asserted that tourism was a new 'modernist' trend and "'the tourist" ... one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general'. See *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan; 1976). Though tourism was less accessible to 'the masses' in the early century its identification with technological advance, for instance in transport and photography, gave it 'modern' status. p. 1.



Edmund John Chisolm Dwyer-Gray

The Campaign Begins

So, by the end of 1912, the battle lines were set. Of the newspapers, the *Daily Post* led the nationalisation campaign. It had a new and remarkable editor, Edmund John Chisholm Dwyer Gray (1870-1945). An Irish nationalist and newspaperman, he visited Australia as a health-seeking 'boy tourist' in 1887 and 'lost his heart to Hobart'.¹ He attempted farming but when the Labor Party purchased the *Post* in 1912 he returned to his old career.² Under this fiery, fearless, boozy genius, the *Post* and its successors the *World* and the *Voice* consistently emphasised tourism's potential:

The tourist business is entitled to rank as one of the industries of the State. We in Tasmania are handicapped by a damnable lack of pence, and this handicap operates to prevent us doing what we would like to do, and what we well know ought to be done and what we fully recognise it would pay us to do, in the way of encouragement and development of the tourist business. At the same time the authorities may be urged to do something more daring than they are in their attitude towards the tourist business. It is a business that is already exceedingly profitable, and that if we could and would spend a little more money upon it, could be made very much more profitable even than it is.³

The *Post* waged war on the TTA. It related 'serious allegations' of corruption and favouritism towards firms controlled by members of its executive (notably Webster-Rometch) at the expense of operations run by Robert Nettlefold and the Heathorn family, which also had hotel interests.⁴ Other complainants included the *Lallah Roohk Guest House*, which the TTA levied 10% for referrals given free to others.⁵ The *Fern Tree Hotel* claimed it was constantly 'boycotted' in favour of the *Springs Hotel* on Mt Wellington. The *Post* published an 'illuminating share list' of the latter.⁶ It was headed by Henry Dobson, Philip Samuel Seager (1844-1923), government lawyer,⁷ and the real estate agent Edwin John Rogers (1858-1951).⁸ All were founding fathers and major officials of the TTA. Dobson, Seager and former Premier and fellow TTA executive John William Evans (1855-1943) also had shares in Webster-Rometch.⁹

1. *Stead's Review*, 1/10/27 p. 13.

2. *ADB*. See also *Voice*, 26/4/30.

3. *DP*, 28/1/13.

4. *Ibid.*, 14/2/13. Monty Thomas Heathorn was proprietor of the Beach House at Lower Sandy Bay, a very popular weekend resort. He was a shareholder in HC Heathorn P/L until 1948 (see SC 323/276). Two brothers had TGR backgrounds. Herbert Charles (1880-1935) had left to start his car business in 1908. (Ob. Melbourne, 15/3/35. CBC.) Percy George (d.1955) remained a TGR clerk, spending several years in its tourist department before resigning in 1919 to renovate and operate his father's *Heathorn's Hotel* in Hobart. (See *PT* and *BRADB*).

5. *DP*, 21/2/13.

6. *Ibid.*, 22/2/13.

7. Seager was Supreme Court Registrar and Fisheries Commissioner. *Merc.* 3/12/23 has obituary.

8. Rogers was also founder and first secretary of the Hobart Stock Exchange, a JP and prominent Freemason (see *TC*, *PT*). He may have been related to TA Rogers, a Melbourne travel agent specialising in Tasmania. EJ Rogers convened the Sanitary and General Improvement Association of Hobart and Suburbs in August 1891 (see Robson, *op. cit.* p. 242). This pre-dated the TTA. He sold his real estate agency to AJ Nettlefold in 1916 (see *PT*). By 1918 he had "gentrified", residing at *Stoneyhurst*, a property at Broadmarsh, Lower Midlands (*Merc.* 21/2/18). He remained involved in Hobart civics as HCC Ald. 1921-32. and Mayor in 1926-27. He was awarded the CMG in 1927 (see *Merc.* 9/5/27).

9. *DP*, 11/2/14, 3/3/13. Their direct holdings were relatively minor at 100, 200 and 25 £1 shares respectively, out of a total paid-up capital in 1913 of £11,539 (see SC 323/319). Yet the investments were still substantial, there could have been indirect holdings, and the connection was clear.



THE MAYOR OF HOBART.

Alderman E. J. Rogers is a native of the city of which he now is the chief magistrate. During the greater part of his life he has been enthusiastic in assisting along any movement for the improvement of the State, and particularly of his native city. A retired business man, he now gives almost all his time to the affairs of Hobart, sandwiching in an occasional hour for musical circles and other lighter interests.

Edwin John Rogers

The *Post* called for full and open enquiry.¹ The TTA also invited a government investigation,² but the paper branded this bravado.³ Nettlefold publicly detailed his and Heathorn's grievance: without tendering, Webster-Rometch had exclusive rights to TTA work.⁴ Herbert Heathorn (1880-1935) observed that such should not be the case with an organisation working under a government subsidy. The TTA could only counter the claims with invective. Its secretary John Moore-Robinson (c.1873-1935),⁵ FRGS, scribbled polemics against his 'jealous' accusers. Nettlefold was 'slinging mud' and involved in a 'dark and deadly conspiracy with the Labor Party'.⁶ Nettlefold denied any connection with the party and said nothing about state control on this occasion,⁷ but he had done so in the past. Robinson's 'conspiracy' theory was convincing,⁸ but so was the case against him. 'Robbie' Robinson had been a *Post* subeditor until Gray entered the scene: the two saw things from opposing angles.⁹ As events would show, transfer of the TTA's Hobart tourist bureau into TGR control heavily diluted the patronage enjoyed by Webster-Rometch and boosted the fortunes of Heathorns and Nettlefolds.¹⁰

The TTA still had supporters. The Hobart weekly *Critic* sympathised with its 'Botherations', eulogised its pioneering work and accused the others of envy.¹¹ The *Mercury* was influential friend of capitalist enterprise. It dismissed claims of TTA self-interestedness. There would have been no trade without it, and after all, 'the ox that treadeth out the corn shall not be muzzled.' Rewards were incentive to further progress. Though the trade in other states was state controlled, Tasmania probably could not afford such a system. She was getting all the benefits for a few hundred pounds a year. So why not:

be fair, and give honour where honour is due, and be a little wiser than to kill enthusiasm and public spirit and energy by cavilling and sneers and small-minded insinuations, in a community where public spirited enthusiasm is far from being too common, even as a purchasable commodity.¹²

1. *DP*, 24/2/13.

2. See PD1/38/10/13, 27/2/13.

3. *Ibid.*, 26/2/13.

4. *Ibid.*, 3/3/13.

5. *BRADB*.

6. *DP*, 25/2/13.

7. *Ibid.*, 10/3/13.

8. In 1913 Henry Jones & Co. claimed there was 'a conspiracy' between the *Daily Post* and the Labor Party to get at the company and convince the Commonwealth to pass anti-trust legislation. See Brown, Bruce *op. cit.* p. 121.

9. Robinson, born in Dublin, son of a Anglican priest, fought for Tasmania in the Boer War and WWI (see *BRADB*). Dwyer-Gray was anti-war. In 1919 Nettlefold was a self-admitted 'peace crank' who recommended Australia 'Scrap the Navy'. He said he had been advocating an international police force' since 1909 (*Merc*, 9/1/19).

10. These two families eventually intermingled in blood when Robert's son Len Nettlefold, Tasmania's great golfer, married a Heathorn. Their only son, named Robert after his grandfather, died young. Source: Don Norman and Marcus Hurburgh, at the latter's home in Battery Point, 4/7/91. I have had numerous informative and enjoyable interviews with Don Norman (1909-), whose vivid memories of the 1920s generally match contemporary sources.

11. *The Critic*, 28/2/13.

12. *Merc*, 25/2/13.



SIR JOHN EVANS, M.H.A.

Sir John Evans, M.H.A., former Premier of the State and Speaker of the House of Assembly, a warden of the Marine Board of Hobart, and associated with various charitable institutions, is one of the best known figures in the public life of Tasmania to-day. He has at one time or another occupied nearly every public position of importance possible for him to attain, and has for many years represented Franklin in the House of Assembly. His vacation of the Speaker's chair, consequent upon a change of Government, inspired laudatory speeches from both sides of the House, and the respect in which he is held even further afield was recently shown by the knighthood bestowed upon him. As manager of Huddart-Parker's local office he ministers to the needs of one of the most important lines of inter-State steamers.

John William Evans

Next came expression of firm support from the government, still conservative but now led by Launcestonian lawyer Albert Edgar Solomon (1876-1914).¹ The matter was shelved for the time being, Solomon having demonstrated his Methodist belief in vitality-through-voluntarism and contempt for socialism of any sort.² Meanwhile the TTA and allies had been cooking up a scheme to forestall nationalisation.

Counter Moves

On 20 February the Hobart City Council (HCC) hosted a conference to consider a 'Cooperative Advertising Scheme'. Attending were representatives of the Council, Hobart Marine Board, Chamber of Commerce and TTA. Commissioner Smith was invited but did not show. Several attending wore two or three hats, but all agreed each institution stepped on the other's toes advertising the state. They aimed to consolidate and control authority over the projection of the state's image. TTA chairman Seager said if they were to be the 'Switzerland of Australia' they must be more efficient. The matter was all the more urgent in the context of heavy immigration. There was much anecdotal evidence that well-to-do settlers often first saw Tasmania as tourists.³

The conference formed a committee which would also invite the TGR and interstate shipping companies, Melbourne-based Huddart-Parker and New Zealand's Union Steam Ships (USSCo.).⁴ The Australian Natives Association (ANA) was also involved.⁵ The idea had at least one flaw: no-one thought of inviting northern and other regional interests. Solomon was nonetheless warm to the idea. His hand was stayed by Smith, who wanted more detail of the proposed makeup of the committee. But by July the government agreed to print a discussion paper prepared voluntarily by Government Printer John Vail (1861-1942) and Huddart-Parker's Augustus C Piesse (b.1888).⁶

Vail's plan involved 'advertising Tasmania as a home for the settler, be he farmer, orchardist, or artisan, and as a pleasure resort for the tourist'. He proposed 'a bold scheme consistently carried out, [to end the current] spasmodic and fitful expenditure of effort and money.' The co-op would produce a scenic poster, booklet, pictorial leaflet, framed coloured prints, distinctive adverts for Christmas Annuals, etc, etc. A 'conservative' costing was £605. Piesse's prepared a plan to raise the finance. He suggested a municipal halfpenny poll tax to raise about £400, plus an extra £1110

1. Solomon matriculated at age thirteen. Ill health, however, plagued his short life (see *ADB*).

2. PD1/38/10/13, 14/3/13.

3. Similarly, Rollo Arnold points to the New Zealand government's early use of its tourist department to stimulate trans-Tasman settlement migration, see 'Trans-Tasman Migration 1885-1910' *Australian Economic History Review* March 1986; 26/1: 1-20.

4. *Merc*, 21/2/13.

5. *Tasmanian Tourist Association Annual Report* (Hobart: the Association; 1913).

6. His nautically-named brother Frederick Henry Piesse, manager of the Huon & Channel Navigation Company, was on the Hobart Marine Board and Chamber of Commerce. Their father Frederick William (1841-1902, son of another Frederick Henry) was a Free Trade MHA and briefly, before he died, a Free Trade MHR. He was also member of many civic improvement boards, a man of commerce and on the executive of the TTA, (*BRTF* and *ET*).



Leonard Stanthorpe Bruce

shared by the Government, the Hobart Chamber of Commerce and the state's tourist associations.

The Vail-Piesse plan foundered on its own proud assumptions. When the committee finally consulted the municipalities they intended to tax, they met the resistance they should have expected. By September only nine councils had agreed, five had rejected the idea outright and thirty-nine declined to reply! Solomon, ever battling ill health, wavered. Finally, on the eve of the tourist season in November, he pledged support up to £250, and agreed to ask the Agent-General in London to report on European methods. But the money was too little too late.¹ Intervening events undermined the proposal. Smith's TGR was increasingly uncooperative, and the NTTA was investigating ways to diminish the southern power bloc.

Interstate Competition and the Need for Mainland Bureaux

The secretary-manager of the NTTA and its Launceston bureau was Leonard Stanthorpe Bruce (1881-1940). Appointed in 1904,² he made a life career of publicity. A student of the establishment's Launceston Church Grammar School, he was active in the city's Tramways League and Arts Competitions Association. Having represented the government as Launceston Immigration Officer and secretary of the Labour Bureau,³ he had long sought greater government intervention in tourism, especially the establishment of mainland bureaux.⁴ In 1913 he visited mainland and NZ tourist operations and reported to Solomon and Treasurer Herbert James Mockford Payne (1866-1944) on 'Developing the Tourist Traffic'. With envy and alarm he noted the way NZ spared 'no expense' in opening up attractive resorts, publishing attractive literature, copious advertising and widespread agencies.⁵

Reflecting on his own state, Bruce's concluded that tourists, once in Tasmania, were well catered with information, 'but the fact that this State is inadequately advertised throughout the Commonwealth is very apparent. It is the weak spot in the effort of the State to build up the tourist traffic.' Sydney and Melbourne alone were a 'huge field for operation': they must 'remove their ignorance' about Tasmania. NZ had operated Sydney and Melbourne bureaux for years. Queensland had one in Sydney, where [the converse of Tasmania] it 'sells itself' as a 'Winter Resort.' The work was expensive, and since it of 'national' rather than local interest it was clear that government should

1. PD1/38/9/13.

2. DT, 29/6/17.

3. Merc, 9/9/40 has obituary and photo. Bruce stood for the Legislative Council in 1925 (see Merc, 24/4/25).

4. In DT, 16/7/13 Bruce said he had approached the Premiers Evans (1904-9) and Lewis (1909-12) with his views. In evidence to the Interstate Shipping Committee (TPP 1912/32, pp. 139-44), he pointed out that tourists were going to commercial agents who might suggest other destinations. He said bureaux managers could be used as general reps for government business interstate.

5. PD1/38/34/13; CSD 22/174/3, report dated 11/7/13.

do the advertising and establish mainland bureaux. He also suggested the TGR introduce 'all over lines tickets', and asked Solomon to discuss his ideas with the NTTA in August.¹

Smith concurred with Bruce.² In the spring of 1912 he had sent two TGR officers to Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia distributing a specially-produced poster and literature from the various tourist associations. Reporting back, they strongly recommended permanent tourist advertising bureaux, especially in Melbourne.³ In Smith's words:

It almost passes comprehension how the establishment of a Tasmanian office in Melbourne has been so long delayed, for it must come sooner or later, and every year that it is deferred means so much loss to this island.⁴

The 'tourist business [was] one of the greatest assets Tasmania has, and one in which haphazard methods should no longer rule.' Its 'National' importance meant it should be run by a government department.⁵ Since the government was moving so slowly, he found a way to force its hand. Pre-empting parliamentary approval and funding, he began negotiations with Melbourne landlords.

Smith's call for a government department worried the north, but he made his position absolutely clear. On 23 July he spoke on the 'folly' of destroying the vital input of tourist associations. Hobart was a special case. Only the TTA should be nationalised.⁶ From this point the TTA became more defensive and strident. Smith suggested Hobart's tourist volunteers remain as an advisory body, but this was no comfort for TTA employees and contractors. Moore-Robinson had also been in Melbourne, seeking inexpensive offices without success. Concerned at the well-established TGR policy of appointing staff from its own ranks,⁷ he again wrote to the press upholding the status quo.⁸

Parochial Pressure—Government and Parliament

By August when Solomon met the northerners they unanimously endorsed state-controlled and funded mainland bureaux. The Premier was evasive, reiterated his belief in voluntarism, said the government got the best results from subsidies, and argued against the creation of a new department. He noted Smith was by now in Melbourne

1. *Merc.* 23/8/13.

2. *DP.* 15/7/13.

3. *Ex.* 12/9/12. They stressed that though tourist associations did a very good job in their own realms, mainland publicity and advertising was the weak link.

4. *DP.* 15/7/13.

5. PD1/38/34/13; CSD 22/174/3.

6. *DT.* 23/7/13.

7. The TGR, as reconstituted in 1911, was not subject to the Public Service Act. For a concise administrative history of Tasmanian railways see RL Wattenhall's valuable *Guide to the Tasmanian Government Administration* (Hobart: Platypus; 1968).

8. *Merc.* 19/7/13.

making his own arrangements. He had arranged rooms in William St near the ferry wharves at the 'low' rent of £130 p.a. Solomon warned that Smith was risking money, not yet voted by parliament, but seemed satisfied that if it refused a special vote Smith would make the bureau a pure and simple TGR affair.¹

Solomon's ambivalence annoyed the *Mercury*. His ministry should answer the need for decisive action. The TGR was launching out, advertising for Tasmania, and Solomon should be far more involved. The *Mercury* called for a 'complete scheme' and challenged Cabinet to stake its future on parliament's approval instead of putting all risk in Smith's hands. After all, Solomon had spoken in favour of large increases in the tourist subsidies.² The paper was not suggesting dissolution of the associations, but it was now (thanks mainly to Smith's constructiveness) less suspicious of government intervention.

Just days after the *Mercury's* outburst, Payne announced a £1000 estimate to cover Smith's initiative. As Railways Minister he applauded Smith, though there was no mention of what would happen to the associations. The government recognised the economic value of the tourist trade and wanted to increase it: 'Tasmania can offer attractions and inducements to tourists that are not so easily obtainable elsewhere ... and these can only be made known effectively by a specialised system.' With increasingly keen competition from other states and New Zealand it, 'behoves us to see that we do what we can to retain our present trade, and increase it wherever possible.'³ Thus encouraged, Smith went ahead. In mid October he opened the Melbourne office, placing it under his chief clerk, ET Emmett.⁴

By November's budget the £1000 had been halved. Debate raised new matters for public consumption. One was that tourism was a factor in interstate trade-balance, an economic indicator which affected the state's ability to raise loans. The scope of the bureau was another, with its potential for displaying Tasmanian products and attracting immigrants. Though Melbourne was the primary target, Payne predicted extension to Sydney and other mainland capitals. He also discussed personnel. 'There was no doubt that an accession of immigrants and tourists would result' from the strategic placement of well-trained officers. Emmett was 'one of the most suitable men for the position that could be procured.' However at least one of Payne's colleagues still thought money was better spent improving the TTA's Hobart bureau.⁵

1. *Ibid.*, 23/8/13.

2. *Ibid.*, 25/8/13.

3. *TPP* 1913/14, 26/8/13.

4. *DT*, 3/10/13.

5. *Merc.* 19/11/13.



THE PREMIER.

The Hon. "Joe" Lyons—even the Clerk of the House sometimes balks at Aloysius—is Labour's star performer and Premier and Treasurer of the State. To the public's confidence in "Joe" and his zeal on behalf of the State, was his Party's victory in the last election largely due. He has done much good work in an endeavour to drag the State out of the financial quagmire in which it is at present bogged, and never fails to attract attention at any gathering at which he rises to speak. He can, indeed, show the great Mr. Theodore points in the matter of oratory, and is one of the most fluent and forceful speakers in the State Parliament.

Joseph Aloysius Lyons

About this time the audacity of TTA suggestions outraged some folk. It asked the government to fund a world study tour for chairman Seager (a wealthy lawyer). A 'Tasmanian' wrote 'One hears the proposition laughed at in the trams and at the street corner. Really it is too absurd.'¹ Nine Labor MHAs had re-asserted their pro-nationalisation stance earlier in the month when debating the TTA subsidy.² Now Joseph Aloysius Lyons (1879-1939) was also happy to support the Melbourne 'experiment.' But at least two of his fellows were less amenable. The fiery James Ernest Ogden (1868-1932) saw the vote as 'useless waste of money'. Hydro-electricity and concomitant industrialisation was far better investment than 'frittering away money in advertising agencies.' He cited hydro-industrial advances in Switzerland, seemingly unaware of that country's commitment to and great dependence on tourist promotion. Regardless, the vote passed by a large majority.

In December the NTTA's Len Bruce re-entered the debate, accusing TTA staff of telling tourists there was 'nothing to see in the North'.³ Robinson's violent reaction only served the integration cause. Stating his 'desire to further carry war into the enemy's country' he wrote to all the state's papers with more counter claims.⁴ The most significant result of this outburst was the conversion of the *Mercury*. A long-time supporter of voluntarism, it now came out against the 'shame of rivalry'. To 'maintain dignity' the best solution was to rid both organisations and place the trade under state control.⁵ Obviously, however, Tasmania's politicians needed further convincing. As Smith probably anticipated, Melbourne would do much in this direction. He had made an admirable choice in ET Emmett.

ET Emmett--'Father' of Tasmanian Tourism

Evelyn Temple Emmett (1871-1970) was scion to an old Tasmanian family, with many contacts in "society". Born in Launceston, educated at Stanley and Hobart, he joined the Main Line Railway Company and, as a junior clerk, witnessed its nationalisation. He learnt shorthand early, passport to high office for many men in the days before dictaphones and female personal secretaries. By 1902 he was chief clerk in TGR head office, high up the administrative ladder. An ardent outdoorsman, his close friend and biographer Jack Thwaites said 'his deep appreciation' of the island's 'scenic and historic attractions' was key to his ability to 'assess its tourist potential accurately.' A top cyclist and keen pedestrian, he enjoyed camaraderie and exercise. Pursuit of natural history he extended through the Royal Society. In later life his social grace found expression in ballroom dancing. His photography was often published alongside

1. *Ibid.*, 4/11/13.
 2. *Ibid.*, 6/11/13.
 3. *Ex.*, 20/12/13.
 4. 29/12/13.
 5. *Merc.*, 29/12/13.



Evelyn Temple Emmett

famous professionals such as John Watt Beattie (1859-1930) and Stephen Spurling ■ (1858-1924). The Hobart Walking Club was his brainchild in 1929, and he introduced skiing to Tasmanians in 1922.¹ Love of nature and aspirations for his state equally informed his active involvement in scenery preservation.

Possessed of genial good humour and a 'winning manner',² his moderating effect in committee meetings was appreciated. Service, a guiding principle, later lead him to Rotarianism. His vision for the future of tourism and state development was always optimistic, sometimes overly sanguine, never ridiculous. An avid reader, he loved to write. He was literary gold medalist in Ballarat Competitions of the day, and penned plethoric columns on widely various topics for Tasmanian and mainland journals. His work was at times riotous, sentimental, technical, satirical: always skilful and interesting. As his official status climbed, most articles took *noms de plume*. As 'West Coast Reporter' and 'A Tourist' he extended exposure of his bureau's activities beyond the editorial and advertising columns.

Often as not, however, Emmett wrote for fun. As the sage Chinaman 'Ah Wong' he amused with such far-ranging topics as daylight saving, six o'clock closing, short skirts, the cinema, the war and decimal coinage. Other pen names were 'Sancho Panza', 'Orion', 'Bill Bumpkin' and 'E. Temple'. The work reveals a mind of many facets, both classical and contemporary, delighting in the foibles of humanity. For example, 'Ah Wong' was tickled by Launceston's aspirations as 'the Northern Capital' which he satirised mischievously but not savagely. Interest in planning, scientific management, man's spiritual place in nature, arts and crafts, locate him as man of his times. An ardent British Imperialist, he saw his role as helping Tasmania secure its place in the Western World. Tasmanian-Australian patriots shared and added to the glory of Anglo Saxon experience. A bourgeois in the 'liberal' sense, paternalistic but humanistic, a believer in both state intervention and civic voluntarism, a 'man of business' respectful of expertise: all these qualities place him firmly within the intellectual mould defined by modern scholars as 'New Radical' in North America³ and 'Progressive' in Australia.⁴

Emmett's writing skill and sheer personality were his greatest assets as Tasmania's 'tourist chief'. In 1913 his first book for the TGR, *Tommy's Trip to Tasmania*, described the vacation of a boy from Toorak Road, Melbourne. A huge success, the

1. See TC. Emmett's remaining papers are kept by his daughter, Mrs Dorothy Brownell, Lindisfarne Tasmania. Thwaites penned Emmett's ADB entry. See also Hobart Walking Club *A Record of Twenty-One Years 1929-1950* (Hobart: The Club; November 1950).

2. *Adelaide Critic*, 25/8/20.

3. Lasch, Christopher *The New Radicalism in America* (New York: Vintage Books; 1966). Lasch has recently presented a more extensive critique of 'the idea of progress', see *The True and Only Heaven: progress and its critics* (New York: Norton; 1991).

4. See Roe, *op. cit.*, and Rowse, Tim *Australian Liberalism and National Character* (Melbourne: Kibble Books; 1978).

TOMMY'S TRIP TO TASMANIA.

By: *H. Russell*

MY name is Malcolm Bannockburn McFiggin. They call me "Tommy" for short.

I live at decimal 6, Toorak Road, Melbourne. I am twelve and a bit.

Father said if I got on well at school he would take me for a trip. He said directly I could read right through a "classic,"



"My name is Malcolm Bannockburn McFiggin."

fifth edition was printed around 1939. He later described his intentions and their effects:

... recognising that the schoolboy of today is the tourist of tomorrow, Tasmania's attractions were dangled before the youngsters. An illustrated map of the island was supplied to all mainland schools with an invitation to pupils to send a penny stamp and obtain a copy of *Tommy's Trip to Tasmania*. This ... was followed by an informative brochure. Requests came by the hundred every mail. Better still, in a few years the staff were intrigued by the number of young men and women in the early twenties who volunteered the information that the booklets of their schooldays had resulted in a determination that the first holiday when they started work would be to Tasmania. Now and then both parts of a honeymoon couple confessed to the same resolve. Printed matter was supplemented by lantern lectures to many mainland schools as well as other audiences. The business had to be beaten up in those days.¹

In 1913 at Smith's behest Emmett also prepared the first comprehensive illustrated tourist guidebook for the whole state. This sparked the official career which became his life vocation. Doing much to maintain the path was his appreciation of human motivation and the crucial importance of reputation. He was quite capable of applying to his own image the same booster skills he used to publicise his department, and in anonymous press releases penned most marvellous descriptions of his achievements. Fastidious in public relations, he showed early aptitude in all the skills of that rapidly growing profession. He knew all the "right" people to have at launches and openings—and how to extract quotable quotes therefrom. An entertaining lantern lecturer in the heyday of that medium, he drew large, appreciative crowds.² Just as, in his own opinion, advertising was the 'mainspring' of the tourist trade,³ the booster arts were mainstay of his personal and administrative success.

The Melbourne Bureau

Emmett later called parliament's provision of £500 for the Melbourne bureau 'measly'. Despite the stricture success flowed as if 'some fairy wand' touched the business.⁴ The rooms were well fitted out for displaying Tasmanian products and decorated with a series of Beattie photo-prints donated by the TTA.⁵ Tasmanian timbers enhanced the interior design.⁶ The location gave cause for debate. Critics claimed it was a 'standing joke' in Melbourne because it was out of the centre of the city and the only people who went near it had already decided to go to Tasmania or New Zealand.⁷ Emmett retorted that if it was a joke it at least meant people *knew* of it! ⁸ In any case he thought the location was quite defensible.

1. Emmett, ET 'History of Tasmania's Tourist Business' (Roncoed t.s. dated 17/9/59, hereafter 'ETE t.s.')

p. 3.

2. In a film interview with ABC journalist David Wilson, recorded on his 99th birthday, Emmett describes how he attracted a huge crowd and unwittingly forced the famous tenor and recording artist, Peter Dawson, to cancel his own show. (Film by Tasmanian Department of Film Production, 1970. Held in AOT).

3. PD1/38/67/15, 8/11/15 (Emmett's Annual Report, 1914-1915).

4. ETE t.s. p. 4.

5. *Merc.*, 18/11/13; 20/11/13.

6. TGR Annual Report, TPP 1914/30, 16/11/14.

7. *DP*, 5/11/13 and *Merc.*, 19/11/13.

8. *DP*, 6/11/14.



Herbert Daniel James Webb

The rooms were in William St, two doors from Collins St, on the first floor of the new Dominions Building.¹ Owned and occupied by USSCo., it also accommodated Canadian Pacific Railways and the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Bureau. The latter had recently moved there from central Collins St. William and Collins was very 'central' to the most travel-and-leisure-prone class of Melburnian. After only a few weeks Emmett claimed a 'steady stream of visitors'. Ignorant critics should desist: 'unless Tasmania adopts the attitude that she does not want an increased number of tourists there is no argument against the establishment of an advertising and information bureau [in Melbourne].'² Critics persisted,³ but retention of the address for 22 years demonstrated its true value.

One of the advertiser's first objectives is to identify the market. Dealers in public relations must be in a position to cultivate influential contacts. This occurs on a personal basis—shoulders rub amiably in clubs, familiarity is maintained by kerbside conversations. Given that Smith could only have one Melbourne office, and considering the times, his choice of location was natural. Evelyn Emmett, like all his front-line colleagues a charming raconteur with "people skills", recognised the value of familiarity. So did his Melbourne secretary, Herbert Daniel James Webb (1876-1929), an ex 'Campbell Town boy' and railwayman since 1890.⁴

For little more than a month Emmett dispersed 'information only' from the branch. Consumer demand soon made it a ticketing agency.⁵ In both respects it quickly demonstrated enough success to impress most of parliament. In six months it sold three times more railway tickets in Melbourne than did the TTA in Hobart. The Premier's office took full advantage and the new agency willingly dispensed literature

1. *Merc*, 19/11/13.

2. It was, according to Emmett, only twenty seconds away from shippers P&O and Huddart-Parker, half a dozen big insurance companies, *Scott's Hotel*, the *Menzies*, the Commonwealth Railway offices, etc. The Bureau's sign-writing could be read from Collins St, Flinders St, the wharves on the Yarra estuary, indeed even from 'the deck of the *Loongana*' (the Launceston-Melbourne ferry) and certain passing trains. 'It really is an important and busy part of the city, and I have heard no complaint [from visitors]', he claimed. (see *Merc*, 25/11/13). Emmett might also have mentioned the Melbourne Stock Exchange and Chamber of Commerce, both of which were located in tune with the city's business topography. Also nearby was the Collins House headquarters of North Broken Hill, a powerful company on the verge of heavy investment in Tasmanian resource-based industries, for which see Robinson, WS (ed. Blainey, G) *If I Remember Rightly: The Memoirs of W.S. Robinson 1876-1963* (Melbourne: Cheshire; 1967).

3. See the exchange of letters between Hon. Hubert Alan Nichols, MLC, and Emmett in *Merc*, 13/5/14, 14/5/14 and 19/5/14. In 1916 'A Tourist' wrote that many tourists set out intending to visit Tasmania but seemed to change their minds in Melbourne. A central, ground level bureau would 'capture' the 'vacillating tourist' (see *Merc*, 27/8/16). Ten years later an ex-Tasmanian *DT*, Clinton wanted to supplement his Brunswick printing shop with an information bureau. His letter to then Premier Lyons implied that William St was distasteful from the working class perspective. Clinton's own scrawly illiteracy saw his suggestion diplomatically rejected (see PD1/38/21/26. 30/4/26). Tasmanian bureaux which followed in Sydney, Brisbane and Adelaide were all located in the tracks of the *hoi polloi*. But Melbourne was not moved closer Flinders St station until the 1930s. The effects were noticeable, perhaps because Melbourne clubbishness diminished in the Great Depression.

4. *Ex.* 13/4/22. He had been clerk in the Launceston goods shed since 1904. Webb suicided in 1929, because of 'office worries' according to his son (coronial inquest files supplied by State Coroner of Victoria). Obituary in *Merc*, 3/4/29.

5. ETE t.s. p. 3.

from other departments: Immigration, Lands, later the Hydro-Electric and Agricultural. It was often referred to as the 'Tasmanian Government Bureau'.

Promotional Efforts

The Premier's Department was still preparing state promotional material itself. Just before Christmas 1913 it began negotiations with John Norton's Sydney-based yellow papers *Truth* and *Sydney Sportsman* for a series of booster articles with the subtitle 'Written for the Government of Tasmania by Grant Hervey.' A 'versifier and swindler', Hervey (1880-1933) was at the time *Truth's* 'general advertising representative'.¹ Solomon and his chief official, Undersecretary D'Arcy Wentworth Addison (1872-1955),² vetted Hervey's manuscripts, and in for two summer months articles appeared in eight regional editions including the *Auckland Truth*.

Hervey's first article introduced 'The Playground of the Commonwealth'. Others aimed more at investorsettlers. All were extravagant and provocative, pushing positive aspects, paying no homage to 'truth in advertising'. Urging mainlanders to 'Come over and see the possibilities' of 'Australia's Greatest State' they hoped to appeal with titles like 'Island of Prosperity', 'Island Treasure House,' and 'Tasmania for the Manufacturer.' There was room for all, "be they 'Mr. Tired Businessman' or 'Mr. Thrifty Workman.' In short they urged mainlanders, especially Melbournites, to 'reconsider Tasmania', and of course the first step would be a visit facilitated by Emmett's William St bureau.³ When Labor back bencher Ben Watkins (1884-1963) later questioned the cost of this advertising campaign, no mention was made of veracity.⁴ Indications are that while "puff" and "blow" were acceptable, the only real issue was the cost.⁵ Emmett's own publicity methods, however, were never quite so "enthusiastic".

Emmett was busy with publicity for the TGR and purely tourist matters. He distributed the various tourist associations' pamphlets and compiled a new TGR *Tasmanian Guide-Book*. This replace a government-funded TTA publication which concentrated almost entirely on the south yet misled interstate readers with its title *Tasmania for the Tourist*. The TTA book had prompted angry recriminations from the North-West Coast and "told-you-so" comments from Smith.⁶ Melbourne became distributor for advertising throughout the mainland states. It placed tourist literature on mail steamers at Colombo and Cape Town *en route* for Australia. At summer's end Emmett turned to Victorian country centres, where his lantern lectures were well

1. ADB. Hervey was not the only shyster that Addison made embarrassing deals with (see PD1/38).
 2. BRADB.
 3. Clippings of the articles in PD1/38/61/13 and 38/4/14.
 4. *Merc*, 10/7/14.
 5. The actual deal was for four two-column fortnightly ads published in eight regions @ £43 an issue.
 6. *Merc*, 17/2/14.

attended. Smith felt results 'very satisfactory' and claimed 'large numbers were sent to Tasmania'. He noted Emmett's success in getting visitors to spend more time in 'outlying parts',¹ spreading the glint of tourist gold beyond the cities.

From both TGR and regional perspectives it was important that Hobart and Launceston did not *get all* the trade. This theme runs right through the sources. Emmett's early efforts are illustrated by a series of two page articles in *Stead's Review*. Starting with an introduction to the North-West Coast,² they then described Launceston and the North-East³ and Port Arthur, 'A Scenic Paradise'. When dealing with cities they still stressed railway tours. Hobart's article hailed the Derwent Valley Line, the 'Prettiest in the Hemisphere ... and no-one disputes it.'⁴

Melbourne's immediate success was a watershed to the state's assumption of tourism marketing on the mainland. Once established, it could only expand, and further bureaux would follow. But there remained the problem of the TTA and its perceived hegemony over the trade inside the island. Now chance provided nationalisation advocates with their biggest opportunity.

Voluntarism In Crisis

TTA secretary Robinson was a shady character.⁵ In November 1913 he addressed his employers with glad news that government would renew their annual subsidy. He revelled in recent laudations of his book-keeping. The following month a professional report on the books showed they were in dismal condition. Meanwhile a clash of wills developed between Moore-Robinson and Mrs Stella Chapman, the TTA's bureau business manager of several years.⁶ By February 1914 rumours of financial deficiencies were rife and crisis loomed. TTA treasurer Thomas Murdoch (1868-1946) had recently returned from a lengthy world tour. A general merchant, he made much profit from tourism, was widely active and a 'militant Tasmanian'.⁷ He now resigned

1. *TPP* 1914/30, 16/11/14.

2. *Stead's*, 12/12/15.

3. *Ibid.*, 10/2/15.

4. *Ibid.*, 12/1/15.

5. See Biskup, Peter 'J. Moore-Robinson, A Trader in Records' in *Papers and Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of The Australian Society of Archivists, Inc., Hobart 2-6 June 1989* pp. 47-57. This well-researched paper accuses Robinson of the theft and sale of historic documents from state government archives. The matter was scrutinised by the Solicitor General. Mrs Barbara Valentine (of the Tasmaniana Library) has since discovered that Robinson built a substantial new house about the time of the TTA scandal.

6. I have been unable to find anything to illuminate this unusual character aside from the fact that she lived in Bellerive and managed a private tourist bureau in Hobart for about ten years after the demise of the TTA.

7. See also *ADB* and *B RTP*. Murdoch looked upon the tourist traffic as being 'of inestimable value.' He told the 1912 Interstate Shipping Committee: 'We deal with a lot of tourist stuff—butter, cheese, and other classes of stuff they consume. We are sole agents for Cadbury's cocoa, and there is always a great increase in the sale of Cadbury's goods alone during the summer season—a wonderful increase.' Asked if he was 'very solicitous that the tourist traffic should be well catered for', he answered, 'I think so.' (see *TPP* 1912/32, p. 29). Numerous other members of the Tasmanian business community gave similar revealing evidence to the Enquiry. Murdoch was an MLC for most of the period 1914-44. He was on the Hobart Marine Board, Chamber of Commerce and City Council. As president of the Chamber in 1917 his annual report urged Tasmanians to: 'Always show visitors our valuable resources as well as our scenery and good roads, and at all times impress upon them TASMANIA, where Hydro-Electric power helps industry most. Remember, every tourist not only



Thomas Murdoch

his TTA post to protect his reputation. He gave the Hobart press sheaves of damning correspondence. Robinson asked them not to publish. The *Mercury* acceded, but the unsympathetic *Post* could hardly be expected to let such a windfall go uncapitalised.¹

On 10 February the controversy became public. Another 'vehement' campaigner was William Evans Bottrill (1852-1928), MA, LL.D.² He called for a full and open enquiry to clear the TTA's name and let it go on providing valuable service.³ Fearing 'public opinion should be prematurely moulded', Moore-Robinson called for calm and offered to explain all. Under his letter to the editor appeared another. 'Public Opinion' called for investigation by the Auditor General and mooted nationalisation.⁴ In half a dozen column inches, the two missives summed up the battle objective: affection and acceptance in the 'the public mind'. Robinson knew the propagandist's greatest asset is the approval and endorsement of the titled and influential. He sent in a note appreciating his work by the West Australian Government Astronomer.⁵

No amount of support could save the TTA now. Hasty attempts to assuage disadvantaged businesses failed.⁶ The intricacies of the demise do not belong here. The 'muddle' was so divisive and ugly that the *Mercury*, while calling for TGR control, continued refusing to report details. The *Post* revelled in vindication of its two year campaign.⁷ In late April the association's own auditors revealed deficiencies of £370. Investigation was no longer avoidable. With talk of a Royal Commission, a government audit was ordered.⁸ In August Seager had raised cheers saying if the tourist work was 'taken from the Association and given to the mechanical control of the Government ... then goodbye to the tourist movement in this beautiful State.'⁹ Now he admitted it was 'going to the dogs on its last legs.' If the government could do a better job he would happily pass it over.¹⁰

Smith reasserted his arguments in open letters, again pointing to lack of 'central authority' and 'sound footing'.¹¹ He 'exhausted himself' lobbying ministers for an

returns to talk of Tasmania's resources and scenery, but influences others, all of whom are good assets to the State's revenue.' With all his many trading interests it was natural that Murdoch should feature in any attempt to remove Tasmania's trading impediments. In the 1920s he emerged as the most strident spokesperson of secessionism.

1. *DP*, 10/2/14.

2. In *The Critic*, 4/8/16 'Commentator' says Bottrill fights for causes, right or wrong, with 'the vehemence of a hero.' A fervent conservative he never found his way into parliament, despite at least one attempt in 1917. Bottrill went to Tasmania when he was young, went back to England for a legal career in 1873, and practiced in Hobart from 1909-23, when he retired back to Lincolnshire. HCC Ald. 1917-19. Ob. 3/1/28 (see *Merc*, 23/2/28). Before he left in 1923 he published a four page leaflet entitled 'What Does Tasmania Need' (see *Merc*, 7/8/23).

3. *Merc*, 13/2/14.

4. *Ibid.*, 16/2/14.

5. *Ibid.* The astronomer was William Ernest Cooke (1863-1947, see *ADB*).

6. The TTA agreed to list operators alphabetically and relinquish all preference (*Merc*, 20/1/14).

7. *DP*, 10/2/14, 11/2/14, 17/2/14, 18/2/14, 19/2/14, 20/2/14, 21/2/14, 25/2/14, 27/2/14, 17/3/14.

8. *Merc*, 15/5/14.

9. *DP*, & *Merc*, 12/8/13.

10. *Ibid.*, 28/4/14.

11. *Merc*, 16/2/14; *DP*, 17/2/14.

immediate government or TGR takeover. William George Crooke (1845-1920), 'the Father' of the National Park movement¹ and one-time TTA committeeman, now agreed the business had 'outgrown the present management.' He sympathised the committee and secretary, but conceded they had not shown 'loyal support for our national railways trips by land and water, unconnected with the railways, [had] been boomed.' He endorsed transfer to the TGR.² Yet, as the *Post* put it, 'Ministers decided to muddle along and do nothing.'³ Lack of resolve aided Labor's relentless politicking. Solomon's government faltered.

Political Will—A New Government Investigates

In January a by-election went to Labor and evenly divided the Assembly. When it sat in late March, the inevitable no confidence motion saw independent member for Darwin, Joshua Whitsitt (1869-1943), siding with Labor.⁴ Tasmania's first significant period of Labor rule thus began on 6 April 1914.⁵

John Earle's accession, or coup, shocked conservatives. He had no popular mandate. Though thus constrained, he brought in a fresh outlook and a stronger political will.⁶ Opponents described him as 'a gentleman in a hurry'.⁷ Long critical of Solomon's indecision on tourist issues, as soon as he took government he took action. The new Cabinet was already ideologically committed to nationalisation of at least the southern association. Now it sought proposals for reorganisation and tightening this hitherto loose arm of activity. The *Mercury* sought Ogden's opinion as the new Chief Secretary and thus tourist minister. He was 'astonished' at the deficiencies and said 'no one realises more than me the value of the tourist traffic to Tasmania'. He favoured a Royal Commission not only to investigate the missing funds but also to recommend methods for future control of the trade. Earle, on the other hand, would settle for a government audit and already planned for a new large department for tourist, advertising and labour bureau control.⁸

Government had been presented with an unsigned document proposing a scheme of reform. It envisaged the government taking over the TTA's accounts and opening a bureau of information in a large central Hobart office with accommodation for

1. As described in TGTD, *Tasmania's National Park (38,500 Acres)* (TGTD: Hobart; 1922). See BRADB.

2. DP, 27/2/14.

3. *Ibid.*, 25/2/14.

4. Whitsitt, born in Ireland, came to Tasmania for his health in 1887. See BRTP and Lyons, Enid *Among the Carrion Crows* (Adelaide: Rigby; 1972) p. 31. See also Davis, R *Eighty Years Labor* (Hobart: Sassafrass; 1983). Whitsitt sided with Labor mainly on North-West Coast issues relating to potato exports. He may have also been motivated by the TTA controversy: on 6/7/14 he asked questions in the House about the defalcations.

5. Earle formed a Labor ministry in October 1909, but it only lasted for seven days.

6. See Fagan, Peter R 'The Earle Labor Government, 1914-1916: Tasmania's First Effective Labor Administration' (Unpublished BA Hons thesis: University of Tasmania; 1975), a substantial revision of Marilyn Lake's thesis in *A Divided Society* (MUP; 1975).

7. *Merc*, 26/3/14.

8. *Ibid.*, 29/4/14.

independent booking facilities for the TGR and other tourist operators. Publication of regular tourist guidebooks would become the responsibility of the new bureau's manager, advised by a body of eminent (Hobart) citizens. This body, it was claimed, would retain the desirable community input previously volunteered through the TTA. The writer stressed the need for haste to allow 'a complete system of operation to be evolved' before the following season.¹ The idea quickly grew in size and ambition. Several options were considered.

In a ten page report, received in early May, Agent-General Dr John McCall (1860-1919) detailed tourist arrangements in Britain and continental countries. These were many and varied, involving diverse proportions of government and community involvement, but, he said, offering only a few lessons for Tasmania. In England the trade was decentralised and a spur to healthy municipal competition. The business on the Isle of Man enthused him most. It seemed to hold a message for Tasmania. Man had its own parliament and no income tax. Its 'one industry' was tourism, and it was the only European 'country' to have nationalised it. 500,000 visitors a year were said bring about £1.5 million. Swift steamers delivered 3000 passengers to the island in less than four hours. Such specialised craft, with no sleeping accommodation, could ply Bass Strait in eight or so hours, carrying far greater numbers than the current overnight services. (Someone in the Premier's Department underlined this last point in pencil).

In France *Le Matin* organised the country's 300 Tourist & Progress associations, or *Syndicates d'Initiative*, into a federated body. It campaigned against the awesome French bureaucracy entering into what it saw as essentially commercial enterprise. It welcomed, however, the government's policy of developing tourist roads. Switzerland, 'the outstanding tourist country', enjoyed £12 million annual national income from the traffic. The whole nation was involved, and government, municipalities, chambers of commerce, hoteliers associations, railways, banks, the post office, industries and tourist societies cooperated in advertising through a Union of Swiss Tourist Societies.

The main lesson McCall could draw from his study was that the movement in Tasmania should be more closely associated with the state railways:

If this were done and it were made possible for the Australian tourist to prepay practically the full cost of his tour before starting, it would be a distinct advantage and possibly encourage many more to spend their holiday in our beautiful State and enjoy its salubrious climate.²

This would of course suit the TGR!

1. PD1/38/21/14. 28/4/14.

2. PD1/38/11/14.

A Super-Department to Sell Tasmania?

The day McCall's report arrived, Earle formed a committee of public servants to consider how the trade should be reorganised. Undersecretary Addison chaired meetings with Emmett, William Nevin Hurst (Secretary of Lands) and LA Evans of the Immigration Board. Although besmirched, TTA Secretary John Moore-Robinson was also asked to participate. Earle asked them to formulate a scheme for a whole new 'Central Information Department' to deal with Tourist, Immigration, Labour and 'Intelligence' matters. NSW already had such a department.¹

The committee's 'Confidential' report on 18 May was a vision grand.² Prepared along 'expansive lines' it proposed a department with four branches and dealt with each in detail. It laid most stress on the presently weakest link, tourism, because of the need to press ahead for the coming season. Everything revolved around 'Nationalisation' of the business by a central administration. Activities and responsibilities would involve representation in all other states; supervising the work and subsidies of country tourist associations; improving and opening resorts, roads, accommodation houses; organising and improving hotel accommodation; central city railway bookings; a central office with exhibits of stills and films, reading, writing and waiting rooms and booths for representatives of transport firms.³

'Intelligence' duties would include the preparation of an annual official year book to cover land settlement, production, manufacturers, population and trade statistics, etc; cooperative advertising with local bodies; distribution of state resources bulletins; provision of representatives at exhibitions, agricultural and fruit shows; advertising in papers and magazines; establishing agencies for literature distribution; and lecturing in India and elsewhere.

Many advantages were discussed. The new department would reduce parochialism while encouraging local 'enthusiasm' and activity. It would build on the 'encouraging results' of the Melbourne 'experiment'. Centralism would answer the current 'want of continuous policy'. A CBD booking office for the TGR was a long felt want in Hobart, the station being somewhat removed from the commercial district. Central control could also 'considerably modify' the 'overcrowding and inconvenience [in hotel accommodation] at the height of the Season' by regulating the flow of tourists. The

1. The committee had a copy of the NSW Tourist Intelligence Labour and Immigration Department's Annual Report for 1909 (NSWPP 1910/9). Percy Hunter (1876-1970) was Director. A journalist, he established the agency in 1906 (see *BRADB*). The Victorian model was far simpler, with the railways running the state's tourist bureau. This was the early expedient in Tasmania. But Emmett was bound by the fact he took over a highly-developed organisation in the TTA and was therefore deeply involved in the commercial side of things. In the end he seems to have used the SA Intelligence and Tourist Department as his model.

2. PD1/38/11/14.

3. This latter idea stemmed from Robinson's input: he recommended that the T&I Bureau be information only, but accommodate sales staff from the transport firms (see *ibid.*).



D'Arcy Wentworth Addison

government might even build or subsidise the building of hotels, suggested the committee. Proposed extensions to advertising would make all this more pressing.

Details on staff, costings and projected returns followed. Expenditure was proposed to double that currently spent over wide and disorganised fields. Increased business would more than justify it. The state would benefit from more railway revenue, motor and fishing licences. Increased population would augment Commonwealth payments, income tax revenue, trade and therefore general prosperity. The report recommended location of the new departmental headquarters in the 'old Post Office' or Treasury buildings. It stressed the need for haste, the TGR being anxious for the ensuing season. The committee enunciated a program in touch with the requirements of the trade.

Undersecretary Addison had long been the official who dealt with the sorts of matters being considered for reform, and there is grounds for believing he was a driving force in recent events. His Premier's and Chief Secretary's Offices had always acted as a clearing house for state advertising and enquiries from would-be tourists, migrants and investors. Immigration and industrial enquiries were referred to a short-budgeted Board of Immigration, but Addison usually redrafted its advice over his own or the Premier's signature.¹ The TTA had been consulted on all tourist matters: but its failure to establish mainland branches meant outside enquirers approached the Government direct. All this correspondence took up a great deal of Addison's time.²

The dapper and amiable³ Addison seemed to revel in these tasks, especially when they involved entertainment of VIPs.⁴ A diplomat by nature, he later said virtually every VIP to visit Tasmania 'passed through my hands.' In 1908-9 he was seconded to help the Agent-General in London.⁵ In Switzerland he popularised the Tasmanian 'Bluey Jacket'.⁶ Back home in Tasmania publicity, intelligence and marketing were his prime concerns: all vital to state development.⁷ So, when he pushed for a new super department to deal exclusively with selling Tasmania, perhaps he saw himself in the

1. After 1914 and increasingly after 1916 the Hydro-Electric Department became the government's main arm for boosting manufacturing.

2. Appendix Two lists the broad ambits of Addison's influence and authority.

3. The description is Don Norman's.

4. Addison was Organiser of Royal Tours and most other state occasions. Frank Carter, who held the position 1953-1964 after a long period in the Department, says the job of Undersecretary, 'before it became political', called for 'all-rounders capable of actually representing the state, putting a good face on it.' (Interview at his home, 19/7/89). The line of succession - DW Addison, EO Parkes and F Carter - covered more than five decades from before WWI to 1964. All were career public servants, of a different stamp to the more recent and controversial political appointees.

5. PD1/386/20/1/24, Addison's application for the Agent-Generalship, dated 7/1/24.

6. He met a mountaineer literature professor Roget (possibly Marc, of *Thesaurus* fame) and on his return sent him a 'Bluey Jacket'. Roget said it was perfect he wore it all winter: prompting Addison to advocate the bluey as a major export (see *Merc*, 5/3/14).

7. For Addison's very extensive *curriculum vitae* see *WC*, 6/6/28 p. 5. Few have remarked the pre-eminence of marketing in the foreign affairs policy of Australian governments. See Hudson, WJ & Way, Wendy 'Introduction' to *Letters from a 'Secret Service Agent' FL McDougall to SM Bruce 1924-1929* (Canberra: AGPS; 1986) p. x: 'Australian writers on foreign policy do not as a rule in their learned analyses attach great significance to sales of sultanas. In the real world, this is precisely what does matter to governments.'

position of Director.¹ His 1914 plan for the creation of a new government super-department demonstrated his empathy with Australian progressive reformers such as RF Irvine and his student FA Bland, who were advocating a 'supersecretariat' response to the need for development and the problems of venality in government.²

Urgency and Expedience

Addison's proposal was very ambitious. Later observers may comment that such an agency, given full support and a high degree of autonomy, might have served the state well. It did not eventuate. Politicians may have been wary of such a proposal, which could take developmental decisions out of their parish-pumping hands. At any rate, it was agreed that if the TTA was abolished there would be pressing need for a new agency to fill the tourist vacuum. Because the TGR had got in first and established machinery for handling the trade, it won the prize. Originally it was understood that the railways would pass the new Government Tourist Bureau to the Chief Secretary in 1915, but as time passed a new status quo evolved and the Bureau was kept responsive to TGR needs until 1934 when it was established as an autonomous body.

The committee had considered a report from Emmett detailing costings for a full tourist scheme. With £6,400 Emmett felt he could operate bureaux in Hobart, Melbourne and Sydney, and smaller agencies in Adelaide, Brisbane and Perth. They would spend up to £2000 in advertising. Continued subsidies for the NTTA and country associations would retain the benefits of local 'enthusiasm'. Emmett wanted to operate directly only in the troubled South. He recommended £2000 for opening up and improving tourist resorts to cope with the demand increased advertising would create. The infrastructure question called for a 'settled policy', and Emmett wanted government-built or subsidised hotels in newly opened resorts. He urged consultation with other state tourist directors, especially in South Australia, New South Wales and New Zealand, who had already studied and copied ideas from abroad. He also began to formulate economic arguments for tourism based on indirect benefits. In time Emmett's visions would be achieved and exceeded, but he would have to be patient.

The government sat on Addison's report for over a month. It was waiting for Auditor General JE Bennison's³ report on the TTA finances. At the end of June Bennison revealed that Webster-Rometch personnel had taken to 'helping out' behind

¹. He certainly maintained interest in this field of state policy until his retirement, directing a State Development Advisory Board 1923-26, and filling the Agent-Generalship in 1930-31.

². For Irvine and Bland see Roe, Michael *Nine Australian Progressives op. cit.* Chapter 9, especially pp. 260-1 and 268. In the 1920s Addison's State Development Advisory Board anticipated or was model for Herbert Gepp's Commonwealth Development and Migration Commission (Gepp served on the former body).

³. He may have been related to Ernest Alfred Bennison (c.1872-1933). If so his task was invidious. EAB had close connections with Webster, Rometch and Duncan. His and Peter Grant's Motor Transport Co. amalgamated with Webster-Rometch (then still a horse-powered outfit) in 1912. Grant stayed on as manager until 1917, with Rometch as managing director. EAB went into the Hydro, but kept a substantial holding and directorship in Webster-Rometch (see SC 323/319).



SENATOR OGDEN.

Senator Ogden is one of those people foolish enough to think for themselves, and consequently need expect no reward in this world anyway. So far his efforts to do what he believes to be right have earned him expulsion from the Labour Party, for which he has performed more valuable work than most politicians. The treatment meted out to him by his former Party has done more than ever to enlist popular sympathy on his behalf, and the general respect of all sections of the community for "Honest Jim" Ogden is now deeper than ever. A statesman entirely above considerations of Party, he is an unusual spectacle in Australian politics.

James Ernest Ogden

the counter of the TTA bureau. The company had profited from lapses in supervision and errors in the ticketing. TTA accounts were so shoddy they had to be rewritten before auditing.¹ Editorialising, the *Mercury* said Moore-Robinson's 'grossest negligence' with the accounts had created conditions conducive to fraud. The result was a £402 deficiency. A Royal Commission should apportion the blame, some of which must go to Thomas Murdoch, the TTA's cheque signing treasurer. Though the paper had previously backed the TTA, it now said the position had 'altered completely'. Nationalisation was the best solution.²

Ogden now spoke against a Royal Commission.³ For a time it seemed he would simply augment the TTA status quo by appointing an accountant and supervisor for the coming season rather than rushing into creation of a new department. He may have been a friend of TTA members, an enemy of the TGR (traditionally a whipping boy), or both, but the simplest explanation seems best: despite some expedient comments to the contrary, he opposed government involvement because he disliked tourism *per se*.⁴ He fully supported nationalisation of hydro-electricity as a developmental motor. Richard Davis characterises him as 'a Lawsonsque character ... of sound labouring background' who became increasingly conservative (he eventually abandoned the Labor Party).⁵ Whatever his guiding principles, the uncertainty here points to the great difficulty in trying to align support for tourism with political colour. A Royal Commission did come later in the year. Though inconclusive, it tarred Webster-Rometch with innuendo and the controversy incurably embittered Rometch's relations with Emmett and Smith.⁶

Nationalisation Achieved

Apparently Smith now lobbied Ogden's colleagues, suggesting his department take over the business for the time being, in trust for the government. Its hand forced by the Auditor's report,⁷ Cabinet agreed on 10 July, instructing Smith to deal only with the tourist, intelligence and labour aspects of the Addison scheme, leaving immigration,

1. CSD 22/172/6, 30/6/14: Copy of Auditor General's Report on TTA accounts. A supplement was received on 2/7/14. Full text published in *Merc.* 5/7/14.

2. *Merc.* 3/7/14.

3. *Ibid.*, 4/7/14.

4. In 1919 he said 'the tourist trade brings nothing into the state, it only enriches individuals and builds up businesses (*Merc.* 5/11/19). Later, as a Senator, he argued long and strong against the Navigation Act, saying it hindered development of 'one of Tasmania's greatest assets, tourism'.

5. See *ADB* and Davis, Richard *op. cit.* p. 9.

6. CSD 22/172/6, 23/10/14: William NT Hurst appointed Royal Commissioner into TTA accounts, defalcations. Started 5/11/14, had 21 sittings. The *DP*, and *Merc.* had a daily coverage of the proceedings to about 11/12/14. CSD has copy of Report and Evidence dated 21/12/14 (462 pp). See *Merc.* 1/1/15 for report and editorial comment. For ongoing controversy, see Rometch's letters to Premier and *Merc.*, 1-2/1/15. See also CSD 22/12/13 and PD1/38/51/14 (covering dates 28/12/14 to 12/1/15) which show attempts to influence TGR tourist policy by putting pressure on the political bosses, directly and through the press. The RC cost at least £200 (CSD 22/172/6, 23/12/14).

7. *Merc.* 22/7/14.

fisheries and other matters for later.¹ Smith began takeover negotiations with the TTA.² Ogden, now reconciled with the decision for a new department, reasserted the move was temporary. He was still out of step with colleagues, but the syncopations went unremarked by the press.³ In all, said the *Mercury*, government had acted wisely.⁴ Several applicants for the positions to be created included Moore-Robinson and Bert Pybus, an active tourist promoter in the depressed western mining districts—but they were told Smith wanted railwaymen.⁵

Also concerned was the NTTA's Len Bruce, whose bureau in Cameron St Launceston had operated on the same basis as Robinson's. Local voluntarists raised subscriptions which were matched up to £300 p.a. by the Chief Secretary. Southerners had neglected to tell their northern neighbours what was in store for them. Bruce was 'naturally anxious' and registered his 'claims for recognition.' Government said it had no intentions in the North. It 'expected' the NTTA to 'cooperate with the State Office in Hobart, and to do its best to facilitate its operations in any way that may be practicable.'⁶ Launceston therefore went about its business, as usual keeping an eye on Hobart happenings.

Compared with Hobart, Launceston had not the same level of inbreeding between the NTTA and certain commercial operators, the NTTA ensuring that an equitable system of referral benefited operators and tourists alike. Webster-Rometch had enjoyed 'most favoured company' relations with their shareholder-contractors on the TTA. They stood to lose by nationalisation of the Hobart bureau, but could hardly attract public sympathy because they were so blatantly self-interested. Companies owned by Nettlefold and Heathorn (men who had assisted Smith's early campaign) fared better under the TGTD than the TTA. Private enterprise was already establishing its own bureaux. By mid February Stella Chapman had an office at 124 Collins St and was already doing 'a very merry business'. The *Post* supported her efforts but foresaw the day when government bureaux would book all intrastate tourist business.⁷ Soon came news, however, that Webster-Rometch had purchased a £20,000 corner of Murray and Collins Street for renovation as a tourist bureau.⁸ They were preparing for a fight that would last decades.

1. *Ibid.*, 11/7/14.

2. CSD 22/172/6a, 11/7/14.

3. He said once the new supersecretariat was established the local tourist associations would no longer receive subsidies: their role being relegated to that of 'improvement associations' (see *Merc*, 22/7/14). This was a view shared by nobody.

4. Ogden announced the move would cost about £800 or £900, but the government would only be out about £100 once TTA assets were handed over (see *Merc*, 22/7/14). In fact the exercise entailed an outlay of £1230 plus £100 for labour bureau operations (see CSD 22/172/6, 24/9/14). See Fagan *op. cit.* p. 41 for more on the labour bureau idea.

5. CSD 22/172/6, 9/7/14; PD1/38/21/14, 13/7/14.

6. PD1/22/174/9, 27/7/14.

7. *DP*, 25/2/14.

8. See *Merc*, 5/5/14. *TM*, 7/5/14; photo of Drake's Corner, recently purchased by Webster-Rometch. *TM*, 28/1/15; photo of their new 'up-to-date bureau'. The corner is now occupied by the T&G Plaza.

On 27 July 1914 the TGR formally assumed the advertising, developmental and bookings operations of the TTA on behalf of the government. Emmett left Webb as manager in Melbourne and returned to Hobart to become Director of the TGR's new 'Government Tourist Department' and set up a new Government Tourist Bureau.

Conclusion

Hindsight confirms contemporary views that nationalisation of the TTA was "inevitable" from at least the opening of the TGR's Melbourne bureau. Its occurrence in 1914 coincided with nationalisation of hydro-electric power generation in the island, another case of government taking over a private concern's failed attempt at monopoly.¹ Together they signified Tasmania's entry into the modern century.² The term 'development' had been virtually restricted to land settlement and primary production. It would begin to take on a broader meaning.³ Hydro-led secondary and tourist-led tertiary industries have since vied increasingly for government policy consideration and investment. As developmental engines the government's tourist and hydro-electric arms have been as twins. Like most siblings they have experienced both harmony and conflict. Both started in and around Hobart. Both spent the next two decades establishing their influence state-wide and attaining a high degree of autonomy.

1. Acts of Tasmania, 5^o Geo. V., No. 4. See Gillies, AJ *Tasmania's Struggle for Power* (Burnie: Lillas; 1984); and Harris, Simon 'Power Politics and Progress: The Evolution of Tasmania's Hydro-Electric Commission 1914-1930' (Unpublished BA Hons thesis, University of Tasmania, 1986).

2. A 'Victorian Visitor' said as much in a letter to *Merc*, 14/5/14, which tied the need for systematic government mainland advertising and hydro-electric development to the state's population future. In 1924 the Commonwealth was asked to take part in International Exhibition of Hydro-Electricity ['Houille-Blanche'] and Tourism at Grenoble May-Oct 1925. (See AA A458/1 V104/4.)

3. In the *Economic Record* (Sept., 1975) WA Sinclair briefly discussed 'The Meaning of Development' in the 1920s. He asserted (albeit with no anecdotal evidence) that 'development,' 'progress' and 'population' were a conceptual tripartate, and that the sense of development shifted gradually from primary to secondary production. It seems that Sinclair failed or omitted to recognise the emergence of tertiary developmentalism.



George Becker

3 CONTROL CONSOLIDATED

Pressing ahead with their Hobart bureau, Emmett and Smith also developed the plans outlined to the Addison committee. They cherished the idea of a Sydney bureau, and smaller agencies in the other mainland states. Smith found space in USSCo.'s George St buildings. Chief Secretary Ogden paid lip service to the idea, but kept them guessing as to funding.¹ He wanted to rein in TGR ambitions. While Smith had to hold off press agents, Ogden and Addison did their own booster advertising.² Ogden now espoused state intervention to secure 'continuance and efficient conduct' of tourism one of the 'most important influences in Advertising and developing the resources of the State.' He and Treasurer Lyons planned to have a supersecretariat in place by July 1915.³ In the budget estimates they allocated only £4500 to Smith and Emmett.⁴ This fell £4000 short of expectations. It put any involvement in infrastructure development out of the question. Despite Ogden's calculations it also killed Sydney. To remain in control the TGR's only option was to make itself 'indispensable'. This it had to do in the face of parliamentary antipathy.

Attitudes towards Tourism

The protracted November 1914 budget debate on the tourist vote⁵ exposed political attitudes towards tourism and government entrepreneurialism. A reduction amendment was moved by opposition back bencher William James Fullerton, a rather shady lawyer⁶ and an ex-member of the TTA executive with close personal investment in the motor transport trade.⁷ Voting went mainly on party lines, but the virulent opposition of Labor's own George Becker (1877-1941) swung the balance. By crossing the floor, he and another government backbencher swung the balance 12:10. The year's vote dropped to £3000.

Becker's electoral base was the Fingal Valley, a traditionally depressed mining-pastoral region with sharp class distinctions. It derived negligible benefit from tourism. He had a strong distaste for tourists in general and stood firm against any state involvement. Tourists wanted 'a lot of attention and all the road for nothing the

1. CSD 22/172/8, August 1914.

2. PD1/38/46/14.

3. CSD 22/172/6, 24/9/14 and *TPP* 1914/23, Budget Papers and Treasurer's Statement, 21/10/14.

4. CSD 22/172/6, 24/9/14.

5. *DP*, 6/11/14.

6. The Bennetts found little data on Fullerton for their *B RTP*, but do say he was acquitted of conspiracy to defraud charges in 1920. He was a director of Palace Pictures P/L, which built the Palace Theatre in Elizabeth Street in 1914, the first continuous picture theatre in Tasmania (see *DP*, 30/4/14).

7. When Ogden, in this debate, said Fullerton was operating hire cars, he was referring to Fullerton's majority holding in the Hobart Motor Garage, although he had sold the hiring section of that business in April 1914. A clause in the contract implied HMG would stay out of the hire business. (See SC 323/374) but he obviously maintained interest in car hire. ETE t.s. p. 5 refers to the Hobart Bureau's "First Fleet" ... a fleet of old blue Fords, one owned and driven by a Member of Parliament.' *World*, 8/10/18 has Fullerton presenting a petition to the Minister on behalf of commercial motor operators.



WALTER. WOODS. MHA
HOBART.

Walter Alan Woods

best of everything, and all the fares cut.' They should cater for themselves. Becker claimed hoteliers would rather be without them. Even members voting for the reduction disagreed with that assertion. Government men were convinced hotels and boarding houses employed many people. Lyons claimed mainland advertising was needed if only to maintain those jobs through the war. Launceston's Robert Sadler claimed some tourists spent more than £50 a week. He echoed earlier sentiment¹ that tourists were 'the life-blood of Hobart.' Becker cried: 'We are growing up a lot of flunkies.'

The 'questionable traffic', with people being paid to be 'servile', hurt Becker's country-working class sensibilities. In 1916 he forecast:

a time when a visiting tourist would stand on Mount Wellington and shriek, "Waiter!" and the inhabitants of Tasmania, en masse would answer the call. (Laughter). ...

The tourist traffic led to young men growing out of their hip pockets looking for tips. He objected to the system of tipping. The tourists came and had a good time and then left, employing little labour. This all cost the state too much.²

Becker was not the only parliamentarian to deride the 'abominable system of tipping'.³ He believed that if government was to help anyone it should be the struggling back-blocksman, not city pushers. Hospitals and schoolteachers were more worthy funding targets than tourist comforts. Tourists should be left to the private interests who benefited most from them.⁴ Such attitudes resurfaced when parliament discussed the building of tourist roads.

Becker's colleague, Walter Woods, vigorously contested his argument. Nor did he want 'a nation of flunkies', but like so many supporters of Tasmanian tourism:

He had in his mind Switzerland, which catered very largely for the tourists traffic, but they were by no means flunkies. Many of the waiters in that country, sons of tradespeople, earned sufficient money in the tourist season with which to pay for a university education.

Woods sided with Lyons on the need to combat the expected effects of war. Becker's colleague as renegade, Arthur Anderson (1860-1915), felt it more important to direct funds at areas of employment which, unlike tourism, continued throughout the year. Ideologically he was nevertheless committed to nationalisation, a plank in industrial Labor's platform. Another view was aired by parliament's most recent Laborite, William Sheridan (1858-1931). A small shopkeeper, he had never been strong on government enterprise, but was sure of the value of tourists. If government was to go into it, there should be no skimping. To make it 'a success they would have to advertise, and advertising was a very expensive item.' They should 'let it be known

1. In 1873 Anthony Trollope wrote that 'Hobart Town is kept alive by visitors who flock to it for the summer months from the other colonies.' *op. cit.* p. 164.

2. *Merc*, 7/12/16.

3. See for instance, Davies, CE *Our Tour in America* (Hobart: Davies Bros.; 1921) p. 17. 'Servility' was a consequence of tourism which affronted other people in other times and places. In *Age*, 4/10/22 a long article discusses (and rejects) negative attitudes to tourism.

4. *Merc*, 7/12/16.



Lyndhurst Faulkner Giblin

that there is such a place as Tasmania' and that it was more than just the home of Tattersall's lotteries.¹

Sheridan raised another important point which, surprisingly, had so far remained publicly unspoken. Commonwealth tariff revenues were distributed to the states on a per capita basis. This was calculated on population tallies at the end of the calendar year. Another Laborite, the economist-statistician Lyndhurst Faulkner Giblin (1872-1951), said 5000 extra tourists around Christmas would bring more than £6000 to Treasury. This in itself justified increased advertising.

But did advertising really work? It seems strange that politicians, depending so much on publicity for position, could contemplate otherwise. Some claimed to. Becker said mainland summer heat drove visitors to Tasmania: they would come anyway. He 'doubted whether the advertising of the island had materially aided in inducing tourists to come here.' Fullerton thought no amount would divert tourists from 'the great natural advantages' in the south of the island. Both were unimpressed by Ogden's point that NZ spent £19,000 p.a. in the field. Even the quondam Premier and long-time local manager for Huddart-Parker, John Evans, asserted 'Any amount of advertising won't force people to come here.' Lyons pointed to their true motives: they were 'prejudiced' as members of the old Association.

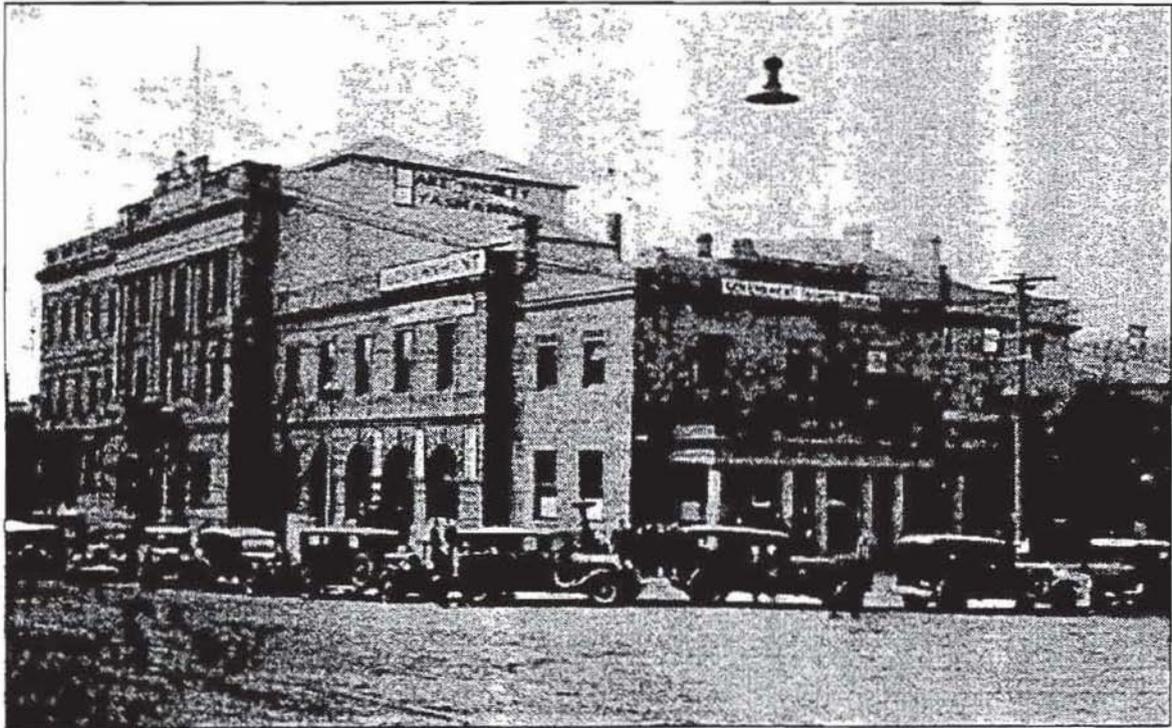
Ogden agreed: objectors aimed to cripple the whole project so Hobart's private operators could continue the monopoly they had so long enjoyed. Ogden now appeared so committed to intervention that entrepreneur-lawyer and opposition leader Norman Kirkwood Ewing (1870-1928)² accused him of a 'deliberate change of front'. But the competitive retaliations of Webster-Rometch had convinced Ogden, for the time being at least. He described their blocking tactics. Asked to work with the new Bureau, they replied they would compete outright with the TGR if it refused them a monopoly over the motor touring side of the business. Ogden would have nothing of it so the firm tried to pre-empt the TGR by getting a lease on the old TTA bureau buildings.³ Letting them compete would defeat the whole purpose of a state bureau.

Ogden's forceful speech on the need to gather areas of monopoly under state control failed to sway Becker and Anderson and the opposition was solid. He became heated.

1. For a history of 'Tattersall's in Tasmania' by Decie Denholm see *THRAPP* 1966; 13/3 pp. 70-80. Tattersall's had natural links with both tourism and boosting. As will be seen, Tatt's trustees were heavily involved in hotel ownership and supported any tourist initiative. The eternal optimism of the booster is akin to that of the gambler. In the mid-late 1920s, heydays for both tourism and Tatt's, some people worried at what appeared a poor basis for lasting socio-economic health. In the *London Times* it was noted that 'thoughtful Tasmanians realise that solid prosperity cannot be built upon the two T's, Tourism and Tattersall's, and are looking to the State's industrial resources for population and wealth.' (Column quoted in *Merc*, 14/5/26.) In a speech on 'The Road to Ruin' the statistician LF Giblin was critical of the sort who always waited for a Tatt's ticket or other outside help instead of solving their own problems (see *Merc*, 12/10/26).

2. See *ADB* and *B RTP*.

3. The matter is covered by correspondence contained in CSD 22/172/6.



Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau, Hobart.

Without the full amount 'the whole thing would be an abject failure.' They would have to drop Sydney, perhaps even Melbourne. They had such grand plans, intending 'to advertise in America and all over the world.' He threatened to drop the whole thing. This called for the moderating influence of Joe Lyons.

Lyons, Minister for Railways as well as Treasurer, put the arguments carefully. Railway cargoes would fall when farmers went to war. Passengers could compensate. He was certain they could bolster this even further through advertising. One precipitant of the TTA's demise was regional opposition to southern power. He therefore stressed 'national' aspects:

This department is going to cut out parochialism altogether, and will impartially administer the business from the capital. The whole of the State will be brought under the notice of tourists on the mainland, for the department would act for the country districts as well as for the town. Surely it is time that catering of this kind is seriously attempted. If I was a member of the firm that practically has a monopoly of the business in the South I would, of course, want to concentrate all the traffic on Hobart; but we are here representing the business of the whole State. Let us give the government institution a fair chance, with sufficient capital.

If the experiment failed they could revert to old practices, but meanwhile he was determined to make do with the reduced vote if necessary. That his passionate plea and disinterested arguments failed to avert reduction showed there was still much work ahead for Tasmania's tourist boosters, whose main task has so often been to win the support of fellow islanders.

With the active support of the Hobart press, the new department and government proceeded vigorously. The *Daily Post* deplored the opposition's stance, saying it was motivated purely and simply by politics. It advised government to employ 'a well known constitutional process' to supply the extra funds requested.¹ This meant obtaining an order to the Treasury from the Governor-in-Council, effectively Cabinet. Government heeded the advice and by the end of the year had forwarded £1235 more than voted by parliament.²

The Government Tourist Bureau—Hobart

In late December 1914 Emmett occupied his new Government Tourist Bureau in the 'old Post Office', a corner of the executive buildings on Murray and Macquarie Streets, Hobart. Contrary to some opinion,³ this was an excellent and attractive position, handy to the wharves, the largest, most exclusive and attractive hotels, and the government, civic and professional centre of the city.⁴ Through a door and down

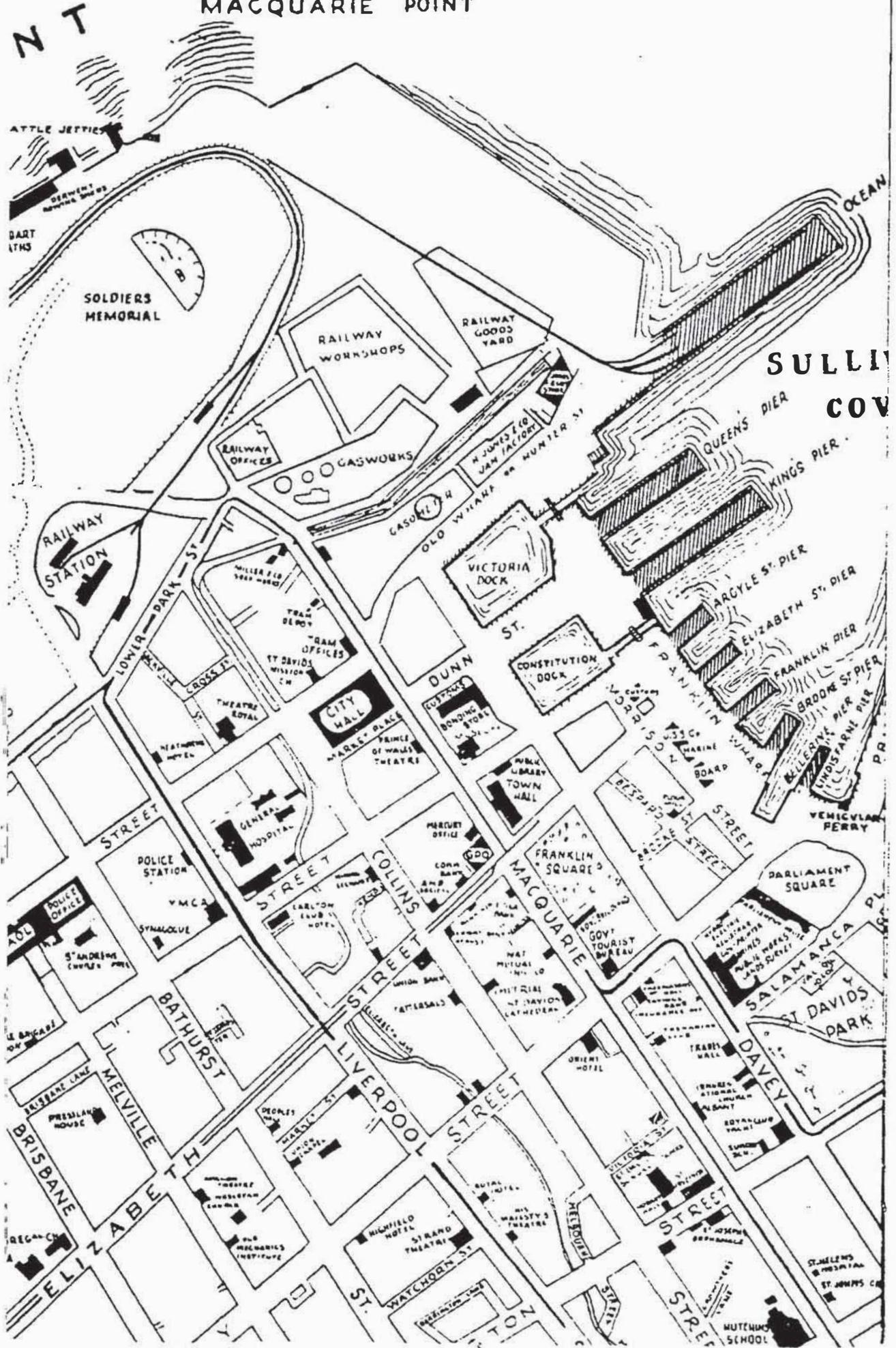
1. *DP*, 6/11/14.

2. Emmett's Annual Report, 1914-1915 (PD1/33/67/15. 8/11/15). *DT*, 10/7/16 was highly critical of the practice.

3. A letter from 'Visitor' (in *Merc*, 29/1/14) thought the position too close to the 'government stroke', too far from the business centre of town.

4. Emmett called it 'the very best site available' (see *Merc*. 27/1/15). In more recent years the whole intersection, encompassing civic, religious and commercial architecture of the nineteenth century, has been recognised as an entity of great 'heritage' value.

MACQUARIE POINT



the hall, was D'Arcy Addison, Tasmania's "chief of staff". The city's tram system converged nearby and centrality to the "establishment" showed in proximity to the gentlemen's clubs. Major media houses were similarly situated for the same reasons. There was mutual benefit all round. Little wonder that a year or two later the Hydro-Electric Department built new headquarters less than a hundred yards away.¹ The bureau's slight remove from the shopping centre paralleled Melbourne, though on far smaller scale. A few teething problems² failed to dampen the high optimism that transcended for a moment even the shock of war.

Soon after New Year the *Mercury* hailed the 'Opening of a New Era'. The island was keeping up with modern trends by recognising the state's role in competing for the 'uncommercial traveller'. Hobart's latest acquisition expressed the campaign. Tasmanians should be proud 'that their State, although the smallest in the Commonwealth, has the largest by far of tourist bureaus.' The old colonial building had been thoroughly renovated inside and out, and now contained a fine suite:

replete with every convenience for the use of the ever-welcome tourist and the staff which ministers to his needs. The building has two floors, the ground floor having an area of about 50ft. by 30ft. Here are tables and chairs for the use of travellers, also stationery and a public telephone. A counter running almost the full length of the main room enables a very large number of inquirers to be dealt with by the staff. Behind the counter, and screened off by glass and wooden partitions, are the offices of the staff. The walls are decorated with photographs of Tasmanian scenery. The whole building is lofty, airy, and well lit, and its spaciousness enables groups of tourists to walk around without rubbing shoulders.

Upstairs were reading rooms and others 'devoted to the separate use of the sexes'. Large tables stocked with journals were a 'great boon to the tourist'. Country Tasmanians were urged to use the facilities. Already over 2000 visitors showed the bureau 'a good advertisement for the State Tourist Department' itself.³ Selective publication of comments in the visitors' book provided a good source of "told you so" publicity, and proof that advertiser's phrases were entering customers' vocabulary.⁴ Later the *Mercury* again tapped this 'library of eulogy', reckoning the Tasmanian would need a larger hat if he were not such a 'level headed chap.' Both reports airily dismissed critical comments as either obscurities or the work of some 'Yankee hustler' with motives of his own.⁵

The official opening on 26 January was a propaganda coup.⁶ Emmett the publicist heightened the anticipation, with plenty of advance notice. Complimentary columns in the *Age* and *Melbourne Leader* urged Victoria to follow Tasmania's remarkable example.⁷ This provided eminently quotable captions, the *Post* and Emmett using them

1. 12b Murray St.

2. Negotiating a site was hindered by the squabble with Webster Rometch. Remodelling the one chosen is dealt with in CSD 22/172/7a, 3/8/14 and 10/9/14. PD1/38/67/15, 15/11/14 and 21/12/14.

3. *Merc.*, 8/1/15.

4. *Ibid.*, 8/1/15.

5. *Ibid.*, 31/12/15.

6. *Ibid.*, 27/1/15.

7. *Age*, 7/1/15. *Melbourne Leader*, 19/1/15.

to justify past events and urge further progress.¹ By opening day more than 5000 people had already visited.² Emmett asked the Governor to lend vice-regal aura to the opening, but, as he was unavailable, settled for the Premier.³ VIPs were conspicuous. Ministers, Aldermen, the Chief Secretary and Town Clerk. Several conservative politicians (including Fullerton) were joined on the podium by Messrs Dobson and Seager of the late TTA. Welcoming guests, Emmett's first comment was politic. He read a congratulatory note from the NTTA, he celebrated the new undertaking as agent for changing the 'old tag "North v. South"' to "'North and South.'" This was an inevitable issue for the new department, and Emmett saw it looming, though it is surprising he did not ensure the presence of a few northern representatives on this Red Letter Day. A disgruntled northern press hardly noticed events.⁴

Premier Earle asserted government aliveness to the importance of the new institution. He commended the work of the old Association, but said it had grown too much for voluntary interests. Despite war and recent mainland drought, it was gratifying to see the tourist season shaping up well. More facilities could soon be expected at the bureau. Emmett would give regular lantern lectures, and modern cinema technology would soon show off the remoter parts of the state. The bureau would also exhibit the chief products of the state, because it was 'not only the tourist who is sought for Tasmania.'

Earle saw nationalised hydro-electricity as means for 'building up a large industrial population'.⁵ Tourism had its own role in the grand vision:

The new department, by its advertising and the information it disseminates, will be able, no doubt, to attract the right kind of settler to our shores. It is no uncommon thing for a family from abroad to come the island originally as tourists, and then return in a few years as permanent residents.

The Hobart and Melbourne bureaux would give advice on settlement and manufacturing in the island. He asked all Tasmanians to support *their* new agent of progress because:

It is not too much to expect that, with intelligent and energetic management, the new department will very soon take its place beside the primary products of the island as one of the State's greatest assets.

For Mayor William Micah Williams (1851-1924), a warehouseman, draper and Chamber of Commerce president⁶ the new bureau was a 'reproductive asset'. Henry Dobson foresaw an Australia crowded with a 'huge' population of twenty million, for whom the native scenery and climatic advantages of Tasmania would be increasingly attractive. By urging retention of the motor tours emanating from the city, he alluded to

1. DP, 16/1/15.

2. Merc, 27/1/15.

3. PD1/38/54/14, Emmett to Earle 23/1/15.

4. On 23/1/15 the DT complained that 'as expected' new literature by Emmett was Hobart-biased.

5. DP, 23/7/14.

6. HCC Ald. 1913-23. MLC Hobart 1916-22. See B RTP. Ob. 11/8/24. CBC.

fears of TGR control. Yet he and Seager bowed out gracefully, pledging support for their successors. Seager referred to past criticisms as healthy: 'only bodies which do little remain immune from criticism.' But he also agreed 'the work had grown too large to be managed by private citizens'. He showered admiration on Emmett. The event signalled the tourist traffic's arrival as 'an industry'.¹

Defining Roles

In correspondence with Addison, Emmett found it necessary to assert his title was 'Director' rather than 'Secretary'.² Yet uncertainty as to administrative structure was reflected in the various names used to describe his agency.³ 'Tasmanian Government Tourist Department' appeared on Emmett's letterhead. It will henceforth be referred to as the TGTD. The acronym TGTB will refer to individual Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureaux: thus 'Hobart TGTB', 'Melbourne TGTB', etc. By May 1915 it was apparent Emmett had assumed control of the state's advertising, at least on a functional level, answering queries on the Premier's behalf.⁴ He was subject to Smith, but soon established himself in the public eye as Tasmania's 'Mr Tourism'.

Apart from organising the bureaux and advertising, three larger issues consumed Emmett's attention. All called for his skills as promoter, moderator, shaper of opinion. The first was to assuage friction between his department and the commercial remnants of the TTA. This took far longer than he hoped. Swifter and more gratifying success attended the remaining problems: gaining parliamentary assent to bureaux in Sydney and other mainland cities; and convincing non-Hobart Tasmanians that he, and indeed the business of tourism itself, could work in all their best interests.

Emmett's first 'Departmental' report to Smith in November 1915 gave a developed expression of his responsibilities and guiding principles.⁵ Advertising was 'the most important function of the office', consuming over half his budget. In the past year he had produced two guidebooks. A small free one had gone to a second edition of 10,000 copies. Illustrated pamphlets covered all parts of the state. Regular adverts appeared, mainly in the Australian press but also overseas. The department now designed and distributed the full-page display advertising previously placed in Christmas annuals by Addison. Mail steamers took the literature, as did the tourist bureaux of other states. Expositions at Cape Town, Durban, and the San Francisco Panama Exhibition took Tasmania's message into colonial and American markets. Webb's Melbourne office distributed most materials interstate and abroad. These were

1. *Merc*, 27/1/15.

2. PD1/38/13/14, 19/11/14 and 28/9/14).

3. 'The Tourist Department of the Tasmanian Government Railways', 'The Tasmanian Tourist Bureau', 'Tasmanian Government Bureau', etc. People often confused the Department and the Bureau.

4. For illustrations see PD1/38/59/15.

5. PD1/38/67/15, 8/11/15. Emmett's Annual Report, 1914 -1915.

not confined to tourist literature but also promoted orcharding and other modes of land-settlement. Informative illustrated maps, copies of Walch's *Tasmanian Almanac* and information on the state's electric 'Power in the Mountains' were broadcast. Melbourne staff lectured on such topics with a selection of 'excellent' lantern slides. Emmett decided to take himself on annual, autumn-winter, mainland publicity forays.

The past season's local tourist business was down on last year, but considering the war it was far more satisfactory than expected. Some hotels had enjoyed record seasons. Advertising had produced this result. So too had recent improvements in accommodation facilities. Questionnaires sent to all establishments applied gentle persuasion, an official accommodation guide incentive. Hotels and boarding houses had 'generally greatly improved', though in some districts they were still far from what they 'should be.' Emmett said there was no attempt to push sales for the sake of commissions. He claimed to treat all modes of transport (road, rail and ferry) equally, in marked contrast with TTA practices. An immediate decline in motor and increase in railway ticket sales resulted. In its last year the TTA sold £339 in railway tickets. The Bureau's first year figure was £1071. Emmett tried a system where all motor operators shared the available trade, but all parties were finding it unsatisfactory.¹

Hobart TGTB had organised two excursions by rail, road and ferry to the Gordon River on the West Coast, personally conducted by the Director. Both were very successful and Emmett saw them as advertisements in themselves. By this stage he had been in contact with opposite numbers in the other states,² and apparently adopted the conducted excursions idea from the South Australian Intelligence and Tourist Bureau Department. The SA Bureau used its own motorised char-a-bancs in an extensive system of staff-conducted tours ranging from half-day to nine-day excursions.³ In Tasmania such operations had been built up by private operators and coordinated by bureaux in which they had a voice. As noted, this had come to work mainly to the advantage of particular firms who viewed the involvement of a 'neutral' government agency as a threat to their privileges. All private operators reacted violently to the idea of direct competition from the state. Emmett claimed a different view—the TGTD was merely taking over and reforming the TTA's operations:

In other states local trips are not handled [by Government agency] to the extent that has obtained in Tasmania, but it would appear that here it should be continued in some form for it is the general opinion on the mainland that visitors to Tasmania are better catered for than elsewhere by reason of local trips being organised by responsible bodies, and not left to private enterprise entirely.

1. Unfortunately a special report to Smith on this topic is no longer extant.

2. He strongly urged this in his 1914 estimates, see PD1/38/11/14, -/5/14. Interstate reciprocity became an issue for contention between Emmett and his TGR bosses (see PD1/38/62/15, 1/12/14 and 21/7/15, *TPP* 1916/25, *Ex*, 23/1/17, and AA A458/F212/10 PT12, 3/8/27).

3. Correll, *op. cit.*

Forecasting the next season was difficult. Aside from the war, climate was a determining factor. The hotter the mainland summer, the greater the exodus to the 'emerald green' of cool Tasmania. Despite the unpredictabilities, Emmett was ever optimistic. His staff had received about the same of number of enquiries as last year, and two seasons of advertising in Melbourne meant Tasmania would 'get its share' of whatever trade occurred.

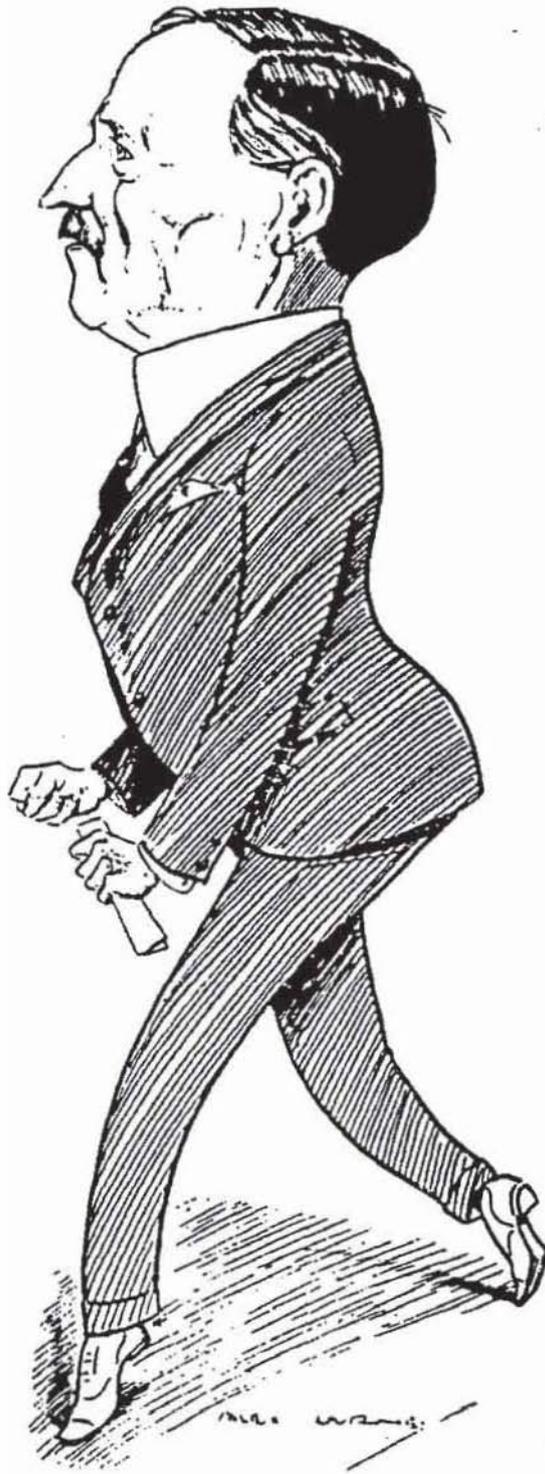
Financial aspects demanded explanation. Expenditure for the year was £4325. Sales commissions returned only £478. But did this mean a loss? NZ spent £49,823 the previous year and gross receipts were only £26,630. It was obvious no tourist department could ever 'pay as an ordinary commercial concern.' There was difficulty measuring advertising effectiveness, even with specific adverts, but it was 'perfectly clear that the Bureau's direct profits include more than mere commissions, and that they cannot be stated in actual figures.' Even the apparently low gross receipts (£4325) in fact represented 'the handling of a considerable number of passengers' since fares to the principal resorts were fixed at a few pence only.¹ That people were coming to see the indirect benefits of state tourist promotion was reflected in the lack of acrimony surrounding the next two years' tourist votes.

In June 1915 Ogden was still talking about a supersecretariat,² but in December the TGR vote included £4000 for the tourist bureau. Debate was dominated by doubts about the reappointment of Smith, who by this stage was having difficulties with his labour force. He insulted the men by refusing to respond to 'comrade' and insisted on being called 'Commissioner'. Unionists called for a new Railways Act to make him more responsive to political influence. Labor was pressured to sack Smith, but the Legislative Council liked his style and blocked the TGR vote until Earle reaffirmed him.³ Bureau spending in 1915-16 amounted to £4146. In 1916 Labor lost power and Ogden's old antipathy towards tourism returned. He and Becker moved that the vote, now £5800, be struck out entirely. But Emmett was having a run of success and they were utterly defeated. The issue that year had been regional claims for 'equal treatment', but it was defused by the time parliament discussed tourist funding in December. Parliament's positive attitude to state enterprise in tourism now reflected the health of the economy, the strength of a newly elected Nationalist government and the need for 'national unity' in war-time. The issue of tourism policy and funding can therefore be seen as a barometer of broader matters.

1. PD1/38/67/15, 8/11/15.

2. *Merc.*, 12/6/15.

3. *Ibid.*, 1/12/15, 2/12/15, 14/12/15, 16/12/15, 22/12/15 and 23/12/15.



SIR WALTER LEE.

Sir Walter Lee, ex-Premier and Treasurer of the State, still makes himself heard quite frequently from the Opposition benches of the House of Assembly and is invariably listened to with attention. Sir Walter remembers with pride the achievements of the Lee Government, and not infrequently tells members about them to the accompaniment of numerous interjections from Ministerial supporters. Now that the Hon. Norman Cameron (lauds the baffling brand of Toryism (according to Labour) in the faces of Ministers, Sir Walter watches the various "crises" that arise from afar off, and on various Select Committees banishes the most ardent hopes of company promoters of getting something for nothing.

Walter Henry Lee

Extending Tasmania's Mainland Presence—Sydney

Almost as soon as he opened the Melbourne TGTB Emmett had ventured north to Sydney and arranged an agency agreement with Thomas Cook & Son in Martin Place. By February 1914 Smith reported Cook's handling of promotional matters was heartening.¹ But general travel agents would not push trips to Tasmania when they had other, more exotic and profitable destinations to sell.² Thus Smith and Emmett welcomed a campaign by the Devonport Council for a full Sydney TGTB.³ As we have seen, reduction of the 1914-15 budget vote thwarted hopes for Sydney, a point made bitterly by Emmett⁴ and Earle,⁵ and acidly by Smith, who thought even the more 'remote capitals', Brisbane and Adelaide, could support sub-agencies at very little outlay.⁶

Emmett considered Brisbane more imperative than Adelaide because of the number of enquiries coming from the northern state. The 'enormous exit' of Queenslanders to New Zealand 'every summer on account of the heat' could be diverted to Tasmania.⁷ At the opening of Hobart TGTB Earle anticipated having a foothold in Sydney ready for the following spring.⁸ However Earle's own government, rather than parliament, restricted activities for 1915-16 by allocating only £4000 that year.⁹

It seems significant, therefore, that in April 1916, when Labor fell to the Liberals, the new Premier, Walter Henry Lee (1874-1963), announced his definite decision to open in Sydney.¹⁰ Selected manager was Sylvester Hinterrocker Donnelly (1872-1940).¹¹ He had joined the TGR in 1895 and was now northern traffic inspector in Launceston. Secretary of the Northern Tasmanian Fishermen's Association, he had a good general knowledge of Tasmania.¹² Smith and Emmett wanted a representative they knew, someone they could trust to encourage rail travel. The internal appointment angered 'Qualified', a press correspondent who bemoaned the 'hole and quarter method of selection to Government billets.'¹³ The would-be applicant was probably John Moore-Robinson, who had suffered a nervous breakdown since the TTA scandal and was now employed as a minor government clerk.¹⁴

1. *DP*, 17/2/14.

2. The 1912 Interstate Shipping Committee heard such evidence (see *TPP* 1912/32).

3. *CSD* 22/172/5, February 1914. See also *PD1/38/16/14*, *Merc.*, 16/2/14 and *DP*, 17/2/14.

4. *PD1/38/13/14*, 19/11/14 and 38/62/15, 1/12/14.

5. *PD1/38/57/15*, 9/3/15.

6. *TPP* 1914/30, dated 16/11/14.

7. *PD1/38/13/14*, 19/11/14.

8. *Merc.*, 27/1/15.

9. *PD1/38/85/1*, 13/10/16.

10. *Merc.*, 20/4/16.

11. *Ob.* 9/10/40. CVC.

12. *Merc.*, 20/4/16.

13. *Merc.*, 20/4/16.

14. On 20/4/16 Moore-Robinson wrote to Premier Lee complaining of his bad treatment. Says Emmett told him TGR only employed from within its own ranks, but that this was untrue. JMR had a 'severe breakdown' in 1915, and was now working as a minor clerk at 8s day. He also said there had been a vote for a government pamphleteer, but nothing had come of it. Smith replied simply that as a TGR appointment it was offered first

Emmett helped Donnelly establish at an 'excellent site' on the corner the USSCo.'s building (on the site of today's 'Australia Square'). It was convenient to Huddart-Parker and Orient shipping offices, and the Queensland Government's Tourist and Intelligence Bureau. A quarter of a million people passed daily,¹ 900 of whom called in during the first month. Many were ex-Tasmanians, whom Donnelly said appreciated seeing the Tasmanian papers.² The value of encouraging expatriates to keep touch with 'home affairs' was not lost. They formed a useful corps of publicity agents—and of course there was the hope that, having succeeded in the 'big smoke' they might invest their accumulated capital back home. Mainland bureaux became centres for expatriate societies, who were encouraged to 'talk Tasmania' whenever possible.³ On return, Emmett said mainlanders had heard more about Tasmania in the past two years than ever before. He enthused about his 'Tasmanian Information Bureau' in Sydney, especially its ground floor location, an advertising asset. Inside were the now-familiar fittings of polished Tasmanian timbers, details in Huon pine. This stimulated interest and stimulated contracts for office fittings throughout the city.⁴

In Sydney Emmett made contacts with numerous businessmen and opposite numbers in the tourist trade.⁵ He disarmed people who might have regarded him as a commercial foe. Instances include superintendent Widburd of the Jenolan (NSW) Caves. Emmett met him on this trip and soon had his advice on developing the island's limestone mysteries for tourists.⁶ Much of the above information comes from a press release published in all Tasmanian papers.⁷ If, as probable, penned by Emmett himself, it reveals his ability to tap the power of the media. He saw the importance of being seen to "do something". Laying stress on how well the state's reps were received abroad appealed to Tasmanian pride (or, perhaps, inferiority complex?). Politicians would be willing to pay for this.

Sydney TGTB's official launch was the biggest such event so far, timed to attract VIP's in town for the opening of Commonwealth Bank headquarters in Pitt St.

to TGR personnel. The TGR was expressly excluded from the provisions of the Public Service Board (see CSD 22/189/64). Robinson recovered his career in later years. *BRADB* says he served in WWI and then was involved in Technical Education for returned soldiers before becoming Publicity Officer [in PD and CSD, 1921-26].

1. *Merc*, 29/5/16.

2. *DP* and *Merc*, 7/8/16.

3. Sydney had the most active society. See for examples *World*, 25/7/22; *Merc*, 3/8/23; PD1/38/12/24, -7/24; Tasmanian Social Club, Sydney, 'non-political, non-sectarian'. Program from the third annual social on 28/7/23 where they danced the Tassy Waltz, Tamar One-Step, Hobart Chocolate Waltz, the Derwent Jolly Miller Waltz, Zeehan Schottische, Devonport Quadrille, Huon One-Step. Premier sends hearty greetings. *Merc*, 22/7/26: pamphlets being distributed through Sydney's ex-Tasmanians club, want branches in other cities. *Merc*, 17/8/28: 'Boosting Tasmania'. Reunion dinner in Sydney being planned, 200 guests expected. To herald formation of the Tasmanian Association. Object is to boost Tasmania and draw together NSW's Tasmanian residents for the purpose. *Merc*, 10/9/34: report of Lyons talking to AGM and dinner of Tasmanian Society at *Wentworth Hotel* Sydney. *Merc*, 3/12/35: Tasmanian Association in Newcastle, annual dinner attended by Sydney Tasmanians.

4. *DT*, 24/6/16

5. *Merc*, 29/5/16.

6. *Advo*, 8/11/17.

7. On 29/5/16.

Tasmanian Railways Minister William Bispham Propsting (1861-1937) officiated. He hoped New South Wales would not see the move as 'creating jealous feelings' between states, rather a means to greater cooperation. NSW (and onetime Tasmanian) Governor Gerald Strickland did the honours, declaring his love for the island. John Earle was also present. He restated his desire that the state's holiday image would not obscure its industrial attractions:

Tasmania aspires to be not only the playground of Australia, but an isle of industry. (Cheers) We are initiating schemes which will make Tasmania one of the busiest States in the Commonwealth.¹

Earle's colleague, the 'visionary' crusader for Tasmanian development, William Ebenezer Shoobridge (1846-1940),² agreed the bureau was 'splendid advertisement' which would bring not only tourists but settlers and business.³ The location, in comparison to Melbourne's, made this a 'live agency, better placed to dispel some popular mainland myths.' In the *Tasmanian Mail* a 'Sydney Letter' described a crowd looking at a TGTB window display of large trout. Donnelly gave the writer a pamphlet: 'a real "fetch-'em-along" production. I carried away with me an impression that Tasmania has a future.'⁴ The Sydney bureau had a future too. It has been maintained continuously, in ever-better locations.⁵

Agencies in the more distant and less populated states have fared less consistently. Emmett early established sub-agency agreements with other organisations in the three capitals and these links had discernible effect in the campaign to improve Tasmania's profile in the Australian tourist market. In 1918 the next full TGTB was established in Adelaide.⁶ Brisbane followed in 1921.⁷ Both were direct results of increased funding, sure signs of the TGTB's growing popular acceptance in Tasmania. Perth had to wait until well into the 1930s. Considered less vital than Sydney or Melbourne, all three suffered partial or full retrenchment as economy dictated, but Emmett always maintained a network in mainland cities. This maintained reciprocity for travel bookings. It also kept Tasmania in touch with methods and ideas and sustained showcases for Tasmanian products and immigration prospects. Emmett was also keen to extend the Tasmanian message abroad. He arranged representation in the United

1. *Merc*, 24/8/16. See also PD1/38/78/16.

2. See *ADB* and Broinowski, H 'WE Shoobridge: A Tasmanian Visionary' (BA Hons. thesis, University of Tasmania, 1970).

3. *Merc*, 7/12/16.

4. *TM*, 25/1/17.

5. Locations for the Tasmanian Bureau in Sydney have included the following: 56 Pitt St. (1922); Ocean House, 34 Martin Place (c. 1927-1934); Challis House, 4 Marun Place (c. 1935-1939). In 1993 it is in Pitt St, close to the MLC centre, one of the city's most popular lunching spots.

6. *Ex*, 15/11/18 says Smith has decided to open an Adelaide TGTB, and an official opening as in Sydney will 'give every possible publicity to the new office.' *DT*, 29/11/18 has Smith and Emmett describing their new TGTB in Grenfell St. See also *TPP* 1919/51.

7. *Ex*, 16/9/21 reports Emmett leaving for Brisbane to open new TGTB. Taking RS Jowett, chief clerk in TGR goods branch, Launceston. ETE t.s. says it opened on 26/9/21, in the AMP building on the corner of Adelaide and Queen Streets. See also *TPP* 1921/51.

States.¹ In London the Agent-General kept TGTD literature, and in other parts of Empire, notably India, Tasmania had a profile of sorts.²

While they might argue about how the industry was managed within Tasmania, politicians generally accepted the need to advertise abroad, if only as funds permitted. As Emmett kept "proving" the worth of mainland bureaux they were extended to all mainland cities. The agglomeration of tourist, industrial, export and immigration matters in the agencies justified them in the eyes of interests other than the tourist. But what of the island's internal organisation? Emmett and Smith found they could not stop at nationalising the TTA.

Satisfying the North

The northern city and Tamar River port of Launceston today sees itself as 'Tasmania's Top Tourist City.'³ Since the Victorian gold rushes of the 1850s it has been 'The Front Door' of the island. By 1914 it was the 'natural gateway' for travellers using a thrice-weekly ferry link with Melbourne. Though the Bass Strait passage could be a nightmare, many Sydney tourists still preferred to include a rail journey and Melbourne stopover in their vacation than suffer the considerably longer direct sea service to Hobart. Wealthier travellers took Sydney-Hobart berths in the luxurious overseas mail steamers of the P&O, White Star and other lines. Known as 'apple boats' these called at Hobart in the summer to load fruit en route to British and Continental markets. But after 1914 international shipping was disrupted by war in Europe.⁴

Many tourists who would have travelled further afield now turned to Tasmania, which offered an 'oversea' experience without the danger of international travel.⁵ Thus interstate tourism generally maintained pace despite the war, and Launceston picked up the traffic. Yet it was seen more as an entrepôt than a destination. The capital, Hobart, remained the major tourist magnet for tourists once in the island. Believing their region had as much to offer as the south, Launcestonians identified Hobart's ability to generate influential propaganda and unfair practices as a major bogey.

1. See PD1/38/9/22 and *Merc.* 9/1/23.

2. See PD1/38/2/21, 20/1/21; PD1/38/9/23, 1/6/23 and *TPP* 1926/20.

3. Launceston City Council 1990s letterheads feature this legend.

4. 12/4/15 *DP*, has *Orontes* in port, but that was one of the last visits for years.

5. Two days after war was announced the Commonwealth External Affairs Department sent Addison a copy of a new *Australia for the Tourist* for comment. Addison replied with an abrupt thanks, 'we are very busy ... only glanced'. He thought it inappropriate to consider tourism when the Empire was in crisis (see PD1/38/39/14, 6/8/14, 10/8/14). But, despite the immediate reaction, there are many references to the surprise in Tasmania that tourism progressed despite the war (see below, Chapter Four). WWII, on the other hand, saw the traffic grind to a halt. As Dwyer-Gray had predicted in 1921 (see Robson, *op. cit.* p. 392), no one escaped involvement in the second war. Those who might still travel for holidays or "R&R" thought twice about Tasmania when it was discovered German Raiders such as the *Pinguin* were laying mines in Bass Strait.



William Robert Rolph

The NTTA early advocated mainland government bureaux as a means of shifting the balance, and Emmett and Smith assured them TGTB mainland publicity would cease giving the impression Hobart was the state's only destination. So, when the TGR took over the TTA, northern interests again felt they might get a better share of the trade. It seemed logical that TGR agents would encourage mainlanders to spend more time in the northern 'hub' city, from which several rail-based excursions were available. But as time progressed expectations were shattered. It looked as if nationalisation in the south had done little to advance the interests of the north.

Thus by November 1914 Launceston's two newspapers, the *Examiner* and *Daily Telegraph*, had redeveloped tourist grievances. The *Examiner's* proprietor, William Robert Rolph (1864-1948), was active in the NTTA.¹ His paper saw the TGR tourist vote as throwing 'good money after bad not required [and] out of all proportion to the needs of the community.' Now the whole state was to pay for the blunders of the TTA. Hobart enjoyed a first class tourist bureau on the public purse, whereas every other town had to pay its own way. The NTTA now received £450 p.a., but still conditional on citizens' subscriptions. Where was the equity? Launceston had experienced generations of 'rape and neglect' by the southern taxman. The *Examiner* predicted the TTA's fate would 'offer a premium to other bureaux to get into difficulties.' This was undesirable for Launceston, which should retain local control rather than allowing a centralism which favoured the south.²

The paper's attitude was typically Launcestonian, "If you want something done properly, do it yourself." The northern press reflected local pride and belief-in-self. It often treated the tourist issue in the same sort of language used to heighten enthusiasm for intrastate sporting contests. Emmett's soothing claim that he was unbiased and wanted to do away with 'North v. South' was a threat in itself. What they really wanted was an unencumbered grant to allow competition with Hobart. For the time being, the NTTA restricted its demands to increased funding.³ While it based the claim on the 'national' nature of its work, it studiously neglected to consider the possibility of being taken over by government. This suited Smith anyway.

At the NTTA's AGM in December 1915 Wishart Smith presided and relations were friendly. Bruce's annual report identified the many ways the two tourist bodies reciprocated and praised colleagues in the TGTD. It also showed just how widespread the NTTA's activities were: from fingerposting the St Columba Falls Road in the far

1. See Ex. 18/7/16. ADB says WR Rolph was a public accountant and trade trustee before buying into the *Examiner* in 1897.

2. Ex. 12/11/14. Southern 'rape and neglect' of the north is an age old story. The author has discussed it in some depth in *A Magnificent Failure: Governor Arthur's Water Supply Scheme for Launceston from the South Esk at Evandale: 1835-37* (Hobart: Institution of Engineers, Tasmania, and Evandale Bicentenary Group; 1988).

3. DT, 2/12/14.



"The Weekly Courier" Portrait Gallery.

Ernest Whitfeld

north-east to publishing road maps covering the entire northern half of the island. Bruce made light of the fact the association's books had slipped into the red with a debt of £145. Smith appreciated their activities and supported their continued autonomy. He stressed the TGTD's principal role as bringing tourists to the state: once they arrived they were left to the local associations. He claimed the TTA takeover was a one-off affair, aimed at arresting private monopoly in the interests of the whole state. Tourists and closer settlement were the only means of making the railways pay. Thus he asked the NTTA to support increased funding for the TGTD. As to their own funds, he offered 'any reasonable assistance' and hoped government would provide more for the NTTA in the next budget. Committed to the ideal of civic voluntarism, he stressed his appreciation of the 'unselfish work of the members' and urged them to continue donating subscriptions.

Other speakers agreed the two organs could work together. James Corcoran Newton (c.1864-1929), president of the Launceston Chamber of Commerce,¹ had previously criticised Smith.² Today he was civil. He thought government could afford a £1000 subsidy. Reports of the meeting depict harmony and reciprocity.³ However someone was suggesting state takeover of the NTTA. The *Examiner* railed against the idea. To introduce 'the stroke of a government department', would be 'nothing short of a calamity.' It would lead to 'creeping paralysis, [the] usual concomitant of state control'.⁴

Thus, while NTTA-TGTD relations were cosy enough, tourism was set to be embroiled in deepening north-south rivalry. From around October 1915, a movement gained momentum to relocate Smith's headquarters from Hobart to Launceston. Its main spawning ground was Launceston's commercial-civic elite, its Chamber of Commerce, Traders' Association and branch of the Commercial Travellers Association (CTA).⁵ Though NTTA membership cross-sected with these bodies, it stood out of the campaign. Bruce's position was becoming invidious. He enjoyed good relations with his TGR colleagues and possibly already foresaw their role as future employers. His present loyalties lay with the NTTA and its founding president-treasurer, Police Magistrate Ernest Whitfeld (1844-1923).⁶ That body restricted itself to firm but diplomatic calls for a 'better share' of the government tourist vote. The Launceston press, however, was far more strident and inflammatory.

1. Newton was Nationalist Bass MHA 1917-28. *B RTP* .

2. Example *DT*, 30/10/15.

3. *Ex*, & *DT*, 3/12/15.

4. *Ex*, 3/12/15.

5. See *DT*, 27/10/15 & 30/10/15.

6. Whitfeld was chairman of the City and Suburban Improvement Association before it became the NTTA. He was a long-term local historian, cataloguer, prominent Anglican, secretary of the Northern club and an executive of the Launceston Mechanics Institute. (See portrait in *WC*, 6/7/01 and obituary in *Ex*, 27/4/23.)



MASTER-WARDEN E.RITCHIE
(LAUNCESTON)
WHO IS DOING HIS BEST
IN THE INTEREST OF THE
"TAMAR"

Ernest Henry Ritchie

In the run up to the March 1916 general election, eighteen state MPs pledged support for TGR relocation.¹ Labor lost to the Liberals under Walter Lee. The new premier was a wheelwright and merchant from Longford, a northern agricultural centre in the Launceston hinterland but not in its electorate of Bass. A 'short, dapper, smallish man' he was one for 'action',² but business and 'national' principles prevailed in his administration—at least in the first years of his administration when Labor's war-time disintegration left him with full control of the Assembly. In 1917 he became a Nationalist and his administration appears largely unaffected by parochial lobbies. He could not be relied upon to serve northern needs simply for northern reasons: yet there were many northerners who felt he might be influenced.

In Lee's first six months north versus south degenerated into a rhetorical civil war. Aware that the squeaky wheel gets the oil, the northern business community tried to demonstrate how TGR policies favoured Hobart and its port. Discriminatory fare, freight and service anomalies headed numerous other long-standing complaints.³ The *Telegraph* complained that Smith, in his desire to cater for tourist passengers, failed to consider the Tasmanians. Parochial issues multiplied, including Mines Department administration, extension of hydro-electric power to the north and reorganisation of the interstate mail service. The north had more than half the island's population, the greatest bulk of primary industry and practically all the mines. Yet the doors of political patronage were all located in the south. Launceston was 'knocking at the door'.⁴

The Northern Tasmanian League

A cry went up for relocation of the state capital to the Launceston 'hub'.⁵ A Northern Capital League (NCL) was formed by lawyer Ernest Henry Ritchie (d.1935).⁶ Realtor George Bushby was secretary. Realising the name would antagonise potential allies on the north-west, they swiftly changed to Northern Tasmanian League (NTL), and Ritchie several times thereafter publicly denied any capital agenda. The *Telegraph* welcomed the north's beginning to 'wake up'. It pointed to previous jealous rivalries between northern centres. The movement was a unifying force to compete with the south's concentration of population in one city. It urged NW and NE interests to be involved, and a definite platform was formulated for clarity's sake.⁷

1. *Merc*, 28/7/16.

2. Reynolds, John 'Premiers and political Leaders in Green, *FC Century of Responsible Government 1856-1956* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1956) pp. 221-6.

3. It was cheaper to rail North-Western goods to Hobart or ship them to Melbourne than rail to Launceston. Railway services were considered insufficient. See for example *Merc*, 11/5/14.

4. *Ibid.*, 9/8/16.

5. *Ex*, 29/5/16 'A Northern Capital'.

6. Obituary at *Merc*, 18/5/35. Ritchie was educated at LCGS, seventh son of David, 'farmer and miller and builder of first concrete silos in Tasmania.' Other brothers were members of the firm Ritchie, Parker Alfred Green and Co., but EHR joined the aptly named firm of Miller and Miller. His uncle William Ritchie (1832-1897) had been the founding chairman of the Launceston City and Suburban Improvement Association.

7. *DT*, 19/5/16, 30/5/16 and 10/6/16.

Within a month, town meetings right across the north gave the plan unanimous support. NTL branches formed from Scottsdale to Wynyard. They were addressed by Launceston representatives, notably Ritchie, Newton, David Sydney Jackson (b.1889), William Alexander Whittaker (1860-1933) and John Duncan (1870-1936). Duncan was merchant, Marine Board warden and ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce.¹ Whittaker enjoyed influence through the Launceston Traders' Association, numerous sporting, social and charity societies, and ownership of the *Daily Telegraph*.² 'Syd' Jackson owned a flourishing lock and brass works, was on the Marine Board and president of the Launceston ANA branch.³ Municipal council and tourist and progress associations furnished local organisation and appointed delegates for a deputation to Smith and his Minister.

In the south the *Mercury* mocked the 'puerile barracking',⁴ 'a stir confined to a small Launceston clique.'⁵ The *Examiner* made light of the critique, but warned Hobart would try to undermine northern solidarity.⁶ On 9 June an *Examiner* leader made tourism control one of the major issues, restating that the bulk of TGTG funding went to attracting tourists to Hobart. Now it was the TGR, not the government, who unfairly boosted Hobart over other centres. The balance, or bias, could be shifted by relocating the Commissioner.

On 20 June Railways Minister Propsting, a Hobart lawyer, met the 'largest and most representative gathering' ever to 'deputationise' in Launceston. The *Examiner* again warned against southern '*Divide et impera*'.⁷ The meeting was long and loud, and the extent of community disquiet impressed Propsting. But the sheer number of delegates allowed little detailed discussion or accomplishment. After returning to Hobart Propsting refused to relocate Smith. To compromise, a new position of Northern Traffic Manager was created, a sort of deputy commissionership. The appointee was Charles Hardwicke Harrison (1869-1945), a well-known booster for northern fisheries and tourist lakes and a member of the NTTA. He had run the Commissioner's Launceston office for years anyway.⁸ The juggle failed to satisfy the NTL's railway aims or tourist grievances.

1. As a teenager Duncan had submitted the winning designs for both the Albert Hall and the Queen Victoria Museum. He joined the executive of the Launceston Bank for Savings in 1913, was president 1930-32, then manager until 1936. The LBS board gathered in a body most of the city's leading businessmen. See Beever, *EA Launceston Bank for Savings 1835—1970* (MUP: 1972) for a character description and photograph. BRADB. Obituary c. 2/12/36.

2. Ferrall, RA *Partly Personal: Recollections of a one-time Tasmanian Journalist* (Hobart: Cat & Fiddle; 1974) p. 3. BRADB. Whittaker tried unsuccessfully for LCC election on 15/12/17. All references to LCC and HCC aldermanic records herein have been graciously provided by the respective councils.

3. He later represented Bass as MHR, see *Biographical Register of the Australian Parliament* and *PT*.

4. *Merc*, 21/6/16. The *Examiner* laid the same charge on Hobart on 30/6/16.

5. *DT*, 14/6/16.

6. *Ex*, 29/5/16.

7. *Ibid.*, 20/6/16.

8. *TC*, p. 68.

Departmental Attitudes

More direct suasion came in the form of a three-week tour of coastal districts by Emmett, Bruce and Webb.¹ This aimed at stimulating interest in tourism and improving the officials' local knowledge and relations with country tourist associations.² It came on the heels of a visit from Tasmania's Melbourne patron, TA Rogers, a private travel agent who annually compiled 'Apple Isle' tourist guides. Rogers urged the 'sadly neglected' coast to press the TGTD for more advertising coverage, to 'let mainlanders know that all the scenery is not in the south.'³ Emmett, however, had been planning the trip for some time.⁴

The tourist officials were charming, enthusiastic and helpful. Though they generated personal goodwill and seemed to get things moving in the North-West, the coast would need to overcome its own local difficulties. A *Mercury* correspondent who followed the officials' tour said coastal towns were 'pulling one against the other, for fear one town or district should receive more plums than the other'. To illustrate the constructive value of unity, he cited the 'splendid Latrobe spirit'. The 'Ready' locals made the most of what they had, their foreshore development at Bell's Parade legendary. In contrast Devonport lived off Latrobe's labours. Burnie had been 'dead as a doornail' but thanks to the officials' tour a new Burnie Tourist and Progress Association was forming.⁵ Its first meeting collected £50 subscriptions. The town's ladies were asked to take interest.⁶

On 17 June the officials met the Devonport-based North-Western Tourist Association (NwTA)⁷ and heard complaints: the town's subsidy was only £10 p.a. and not enough TGTD literature mentioned their locality. Delegates claimed manifold attractions on the coast. All they wanted was more advertising, for which they looked to the government. Emmett took up comments that the coast lacked cohesion. He welcomed moves to 'stir up some local enthusiasm' with a conference and show of leadership. Bruce agreed. His NwTA experience indicated the benefits of local initiative. Couldn't towns like Devonport make a start for themselves?

1. The latter two also travelled to Queenstown where they met the Mt Lyell Tourist Association and its secretary Charles Whitham.

2. *DT*, 22/6/16

3. *North West Post*, 19/5/16. Rogers was on his 15th annual visit compiling his *Accommodation Guide*. See also *DT*, 11/5/16, article by Rogers.

4. See *DT* and *Ex*, 3/12/15.

5. *Merc.* 26/6/16. The article was reshaped for inclusion in *TM*, 29/6/16.

6. *Advo.* 28/6/16.

7. *Ibid.*, 19/6/16.



FATHER O'DONNELL.

Latrobe, so far as is known in the South, is a prosperous community on the North-West Coast: it is chiefly celebrated, however, as the place of residence of Father O'Donnell, who controls its destinies both spiritual and temporal, and fulfils the functions of abbé and squire. Known to football enthusiasts throughout the State, he may be seen chewing desperately at his cigarette when the Latrobe worthies are in a tight corner, but when victory eventually arrives, there is, so it is said, no happier man in the whole of Tasmania.

Thomas Joseph O'Donnell

The tourist is becoming a business-like man, and goes where he can get *all* the things he requires. The association in Launceston has to keep up a fairly elaborate office. Last year 13,000 people passed through our office, which took £5,500 in cash for motor trips and rail tickets. Could not something similar be done in other districts? You should get your business people to realise that the tourist is a big business asset. There must be the local effort, and the Coast has a splendid opportunity. If you got a public meeting and put the matter plainly it would have an excellent effect. By assisting the tourist movement the business people help themselves. If properly managed, there is a splendid opportunity. Arrange trips and make them known. Open a bureau on these lines and you will meet with success.

Bruce revealed his own perspective by asserting his Launceston office was one of the 'central bureaux part of the government scheme.'

Emmett maintained TGTG money spent in Hobart and Melbourne was for 'national' purposes. It advertised the state as a whole and could not go towards locality guide books. Associations should 'boom their own districts', lobby government for greater subsidies. The TGTGs would distribute any literature they published. Until coast tourism developed to national proportions he could not justify a TGTG there. Webb promised to do his best in Melbourne to induce tourists to make Burnie and Devonport their Tasmanian entrepôts. The president of the NWTG, councillor EH Betts felt enlightened. He now 'believed the coast was getting a fair deal.'

Emmett's arousal of the north-west coast meant, however, that Smith was soon again under fire. One of the coast's chief boosters was the passionate, controversial Father Thomas Joseph O'Donnell (1876-1949).¹ He was soon delivering public sermons damning southern preponderance in the TGTG *Tourist Guide*.² Similar missives about the neglect of certain districts produced inflammatory rebuffs in the southern press. 'Anglo-Indian', a recurrent visitor, said there was simply less to do in north: the south should have more space in the literature.³

How were the limited advertising funds to be allocated then? Emmett's policy was to mainly assist centres which already had developed trade or "something worth advertising". Because the small TGTG votes precluded resort development and purely local activities, these were left entirely to local initiative. All the centre could do was encourage and advise. If locals were energetic they could provide attractions the TGTG would then advertise. Locals who claimed government neglect sometimes had to admit they had done little constructive themselves.⁴ Soothing their proud jealousies was not Emmett's function, nor sufficient reason to include towns in TGTG handbooks. When the locals (or, in very exceptional cases, nature⁵) provided a product, he would help

1. ADB.

2. For example see *Ex. 8/7/16*.

3. *Merc.* 27/7/16.

4. At the North-West coast meetings several association officials admitted that the inadequate entries in the *Guidebook* were what they had themselves submitted.

5. *Merc.* 27/7/16 reports Mt Lyell Tourist Association's Charles Whitham gladly saying that his district got more pages per capita in TGTG literature than any other part, but that this could be justified. The Gordon River was a national asset, a natural attraction equal in value to man-made attractions. Emmett saw its immense value in attracting people to the state, but as an excursion which would only help the locals in a limited way. He was therefore willing to take up more of the advertising burden than he would for more settled regions.

sell it. When it grew to 'national' stature he would consider taking over the work. The logic of this argument did not prevent continued agitation. Everyone could see the benefits bestowed on Hobart by the TGTB. But Emmett did not discourage displays of enthusiasm and vitality, upon which he consistently (if somewhat patronisingly) smiled. The North-West would eventually emerge as a more coherent, focused tourist 'product'.

Resolution of local pressures with the TGTB's national aims, according to Emmett's conception of things, was likelier in the more evolved city of Launceston. After Propsting's rebuff the NTL grew in strength. The north-western *Advocate* was somewhat reserved, but the *North-Eastern Advertiser* voiced hearty support from Scottsdale.¹ The increasingly strident Launceston press kept up the momentum. The *Telegraph* generalised on 'The Evil of Concentration in Capital Cities'² and ran numerous arguments against the inequity and inefficiency of Hobart's control of tourism, 'A National Asset'. The TGTB was useful on the mainland, but its expenditure appeared unbalanced. Except when developing tours, it should not be in the business of running them. It should confine itself to disseminating information. That would release funds for improved services in the north, and relieve citizens from the iniquitous subscriptions: no longer would Hobart be 'boomed at the expense of the other portions of the state'.³ Mindful of the NTL's progress, the *Telegraph* included north-western grievances in its expostulations. The *Examiner* consistently stated the NTA should get more, unencumbered money, but also retain independence to boost or defend itself in competition with others.

The subscriptions paid by interested citizens represented an asset Smith and Emmett were loath to lose. Both were civil servants, but enterprising, and not prone to the 'government stroke' mentality. They wanted to keep on tapping 'public spiritedness', the working-bee principle, far more productive than wage or salary. They also noted the obvious fact that voluntary local initiative stretched their own funding. Emmett had been developing a 'Social Darwinist' approach. He saw the associations in stages of development. To his Chinese allegorist, 'Ah Wong', Hobart was 'big blother, Launceston nice boy about ten year old, Burnie little golden hair chapee not yet talk.'⁴ Like individuals, urban groups were capable of creative evolution. Like growth itself, their competitive urge was good. There was a point, however, at which too great a dominance made a state takeover conceivable.

1. See for example the *North-Eastern Advertiser*, 9/6/16

2. *DT*, 23/6/16.

3. *Ibid.*, 4/7/16, 10/7/16, 29/7/16.

4. *The Critic*, 14/7/16. *Ibid.* 1/9/16 has 'Alice in Appleland', another satirical allegory of Launceston's relations with the rest of the state.



Charles Ellis Davies

The NTL had been ridiculed by the Hobart press¹ but as its voice grew in strength, so did fear and reaction in the south. One objective observer noted 'Hobart would probably suffer more by losing its present status than Launceston would gain by displacing it.'² In the *Mercury* a southern "spy" in the north drew attention to Hobart's 'peril'. Launcestonians expected to accomplish their capital ambitions within five years and the feeling was spreading throughout the north. The NTL had good organisation and finances:

Money seems to be no object, so long as they can accomplish their purpose. ... they are prepared to strike, and strike hard, at the next elections. It must be acknowledged, Mr Editor, that the Northerners are good organisers, and once they take a project in hand they have the happy knack of persevering until they bring it off, and unless the residents in the South can bring some strong arguments to bear why the capital should not be removed, I am afraid they will have to put up a strong fight to retain it.

Membership was said to be 'well over four figures and increasing every day.'³ The *Mercury* urged Hobartians to rally at the Town Hall. It noted potential to exploit northern internal jealousies by barracking for Burnie, and seeded discussion with reflections on the need for loyal unity in time of war.⁴

At the meeting ageing retailer, liquor merchant and one-time MHA, George Parker Fitzgerald (1843-1917) pointed to Ritchie's 'colossal cheek', his disregard of the 'canon of citizenship' in leading such a divisive movement. Dr Bottrill, now an Alderman, said northern businessmen were disloyal to the state, the Liberal party, and an Empire in its 'death grips'. He then proceeded to relate southern railway grievances. Others called for a counter force of southern unity. Henry Dobson's son, Louis Lempriere (1871-1934), a lawyer-businessman,⁵ asserted the NTL was funded by a small coterie of interested businessmen. Launceston's port was silting up. It lived 'in a nightmare'. He saw no irony in claiming it sought 'to be kept going by an artificial device.' Fullerton said a haemorrhage of civil servants would drive down property values. Tom Nettlefold successfully moved for a Southern Defence League with a paid organiser of its own.⁶ Bottrill fanned the flames with weekly letters to the press.

Mercury editorials referred to 'unworthy' northern plans.⁷ Its managing director, Charles Ellis Davies (1847-1921) was an independent conservative. Dubbed the 'uncrowned King of Tasmania', his interests were firmly rooted in Hobart.⁸ While his

1. In *DT*, 28/6/16 a letter by 'Defence' suggested that the best reason to support Launceston's claim for capital city status was its port, forty miles inland: no enemy could battle the shallow draught and fogs of the Tamar River!

2. *Australasian* July 1916, quoted in *DT*, 12/7/16.

3. *Ibid.*, 30/6/16.

4. *Merc.*, 26/6/16.

5. Obituary in *Merc.*, 24/8/34.

6. *DT*, *Ex. DP*, and *Merc.*, 29/6/16.

7. For example see *Merc.*, 30/6/16.

8. See *ADB* and *B RTP*. Appointed JP in 1885, he was an MLC from 1897-1921.



MR. L. BROINOWSKI.

Mr. L. Broinowski, Associate Editor of "The Mercury," and one of the best known journalists in the State, has delved deeply into the mysteries of politics, and it would be difficult to find a writer better versed in his subject in Australia. He presents the unusual combination of a good writer and a good speaker, and, when in lighter vein, is one of the wittiest of after-dinner speakers. His deep knowledge of his subject and his brilliance of writing have made his articles appreciated and respected by all thinking people.

Leopold Broinowski

daily pushed the national approach to state political economy, it characteristically took the attitude that national ends were best furthered by Hobart's "natural" leadership. Associate editor Leopold Broinowski (1871-1937)¹ now travelled to 'the other end' to assess prospects for "conciliating or arbitration".² As the paper's 'Special Commissioner' he toured extensively, talked and listened, and contributed a stream of ruddy pen portraits.³

In Launceston Ernest Ritchie, on the other hand, tried to hose down the controversy and bring the argument back to the specific points at issue. He said the NTL had no intention of promoting a northern capital while war raged. Their only intention was administrative reform in the interest of efficiency and economy. A big NTL meeting was being planned for Devonport.⁴

Meanwhile, in mid July a strong deputation consisting the NTTA, Northern Fisheries Association, the Automobile Club and the Deloraine Council waited on Premier Lee. Also present were the Lands & Works Minister John Blyth Hayes (1868-1956) of Scottsdale, and the Honorary Minister Tasman Shields MLC (1872-1947), an ardent Launceston booster, businessman and lawyer. They wanted NTTA funding increased from £450 to £1000 and an end to the subscription system. Whitfeld and Bruce presented by-now-familiar arguments. In terms of callers their business had doubled in seven years. Receipts were up tenfold, rivalling Hobart and Melbourne combined. With success came increased expenses. Northern businessmen resented being asked to subsidise when their Hobart cousins were not. Subscriptions were dropping off. The NTTA now owed £280, but was unwilling to liquidate the figure by retrenchment. Imperative growth demanded a bigger grant.

Lee's heartening response recognised and stressed the 'national' value of NTTA works. A recent mainland trip convinced him tourism was probably worth more to Tasmania than any other state, and more advertising would mean more tourists. He recognised the regional imbalances. While there were many other claims on the government purse, Lee promised to discuss the whole question with Emmett. The two foremost delegates present were MPs: Mayor Frank Percy Hart (1860-1945), MLC, property and company director, and Alexander Tasman Marshall (1881-1966), MHA, insurance agent and secretary. Both suggested government takeover of the Launceston Bureau. This appealed to Lee, indeed seemed necessary, but local enthusiasm was still an asset he would not readily destroy.⁵

1. ADB. Ferrall, RA *Notable Tasmanians* (Launceston: Foot & Playsted; 1980) pp. 63-4 has a detailed character sketch.

2. *DT*, 7/7/16.

3. *Merc. passim* July and early August 1916.

4. *DT* and *Ex.* 30/6/16.

5. All papers, 18/7/16. Len Bruce followed up with a memo to the Premier. see PD1/38/79/16, 22/7/16.

Within days the North-Western Municipal Association was also protesting the 'unequitable manner of expending the Annual Tourist Vote'. It asked government to allocate one quarter of the tourist vote directly to its region. When government failed to respond¹ the *Telegraph* said it had become an electoral issue. The paper began warning towards nationalising the whole state's tourist effort, even if it did affect local autonomy.²

Emmett advised Lee the NTTA's national scope gave it a stronger claim than the smaller associations could muster. It should at least be able to employ an extra clerk and advertise as much as Hobart. The subscription question posed problems though. Hobart had lost the benefit of voluntary capital and work. He personally believed 'Launceston, as Launceston, is better off with an association of interested businessmen working than as a branch of this Department.'³ This was perceptive, but did nothing to ease the government's quandary.

In the lead up to the NTL's big Devonport meeting a sensational series of *Mercury* leaders, apparently by Broinowski, 'revealed' the:

NORTHERN CAPITAL LEAGUE
ITS TWISTINGS AND TURNINGS
SWALLOWING THE NORTH-WEST COAST

The writer implied Ernest Ritchie was a liar, warning the coast that despite his protestations the NTL was a cynical front for the NCL.⁴ Launceston was 'a lion in a dog's skin, shepherding these little North-west Coast lambs, with the ultimate intention of making a meal of them'. The *Mercury* patronised the 'shrewd and solid' of north-western businessmen, predicting they would one day dominate Launceston. It said Emmett's tour had taken the sting out of the tourist issue and Smith had already promised to provide better rail services for tourists in the area.⁵

Forms of Consensus

At Devonport the capital question did not arise, except insofar as Ritchie felt obliged to deny its existence. The delegates decided their objects, constitution and executive with little serious dissension on any part. They unanimously agreed to again push for relocation to Launceston of the TGR headquarters. That the mail service from Melbourne should call at Burnie on its way to Launceston passed uncontentiously, as did calls for a northern hydro-electric scheme and more hospitals.

1. PD1/38/80/16, 27/7/16.
2. DT, 29/7/16
3. PD1/38/79/16, 3/8/16.
4. Merc, 28/7/16.
5. Merc, 29/7/16 and 3/8/16.

Discussions on the tourist grievance brought ready agreement. Ritchie said Emmett had told him that of the TGTD's £4000 vote, £1200 each went to Melbourne and Sydney. After advertising and other expenses this left about £1200 for Hobart, and Emmett had claimed the Hobart bureau to be the 'most palatial' in the Commonwealth. Ritchie set this against the paltry pound for pound votes to the provincial associations. He too now wanted the NTTA's bureau nationalised and vaunted another TGTB for the North-West. After ensuring the plank protected coastal interests, the meeting concurred.¹

Ritchie told the *Examiner* that in four hours of constructive discussion not a discordant note was sounded and there was no suggestion of parochialism. The League had been placed on 'a durable foundation.'² The *Mercury* countered that little had been established as to a plan for carrying out the planks of the platform. Moreover, 'The policy as framed [was] not striking, nor need it cause any alarm.' It again mocked 'the poor little bird, all bones and beak, which [had] sprung from the ashes of that little Phœnix, the Northern Capital League.' The paper said the threat was averted. Launceston had blamed the government to gain support for its own ends, it said, congratulating the North-West for its steadfast refusal to be dominated.³ Considering its blatant campaigning, the *Mercury* might well have taken some of the credit. While it previously played down the substance of Northern complaints, it now agreed tourist grievances were the 'most effective weapon in the armoury of the Northern Capital League', that tourist traffic in the rest of the state was 'niggardly provided for by the Government.'⁴

The organisation needed in the North-West should now, according to the *Mercury*, be led by the TGTD. Emmett should encourage the listing of trips at fixed prices and work through local garages and liveries. They should be given the same publicity enjoyed by the major centres. Thousands could thus be induced to visit the region, to the national advantage of Tasmania. As a domestic destination the coast could become the most popular holiday resort for southerners, especially if the TGR provided cheaper fares. Time had come for government control of the whole state's tourist trade, including Launceston. The paper welcomed Ritchie's call to this effect: providing Emmett and staff did not migrate north 'and take the Chief Secretary with them'.⁵

There was still reason to believe the north would demand just that. The NTL's official formation brought further (albeit softened) southern reaction. When the provisional committee of the Southern Defence League again met its ranks were

1. *Merc.*, 1/8/16.
 2. *Ex.*, 2/8/16.
 3. *Merc.*, 3/8/16.
 4. *Ibid.*, 3/8/16.
 5. *Ibid.*, 3/8/16.

divided.¹ Fitzgerald, Dobson, Murdoch, Fullerton, George Brettingham-Moore (c.1846-1919), MHA, and several others now preferred a National Progress League with state-wide aims and organisation. Dobson said the NTL's plank for equal north-south division of the tourist vote was a 'business absurdity', and pushed for total nationalisation and centralisation under the TGTD. Hydro development, railways and tourism should be pursued on business lines to avoid parochial inefficiencies. On the other hand were Tom Nettlefold, Dr Bottrill and the bookseller-photographer Alderman Nathan 'Nat' Oldham (1860-1938).² They saw no value in a national organisation: 'what was everybody's business would be nobody's business'. They still wanted to meet the NTL head-on with a similar southern organisation. Unable to compromise, the committee recessed to discuss its constitution, but by this stage the sting was out of the tail of southern defence. The *Mercury* now welcomed the advent of cohesive spirit in the state.³

In Launceston however the *Telegraph* said southern opposition showed the NTL had come 'none too soon'⁴ and continued campaigning against Hobart's tourist advantages.⁵ The *Examiner* deprecated failure to discuss the capital question at Devonport and urged readers to 'sound the change of capital tocsin' against the 'overlordship' of the south. Still, it recognised the need to make haste slowly. Interests must be educated as to where advantage lay. Ectoral pressure must ensure a sympathetic parliament. There was 'a great deal of propaganda work to be done yet. ... Public opinion must be ripened for the change.'⁶

This would have looked less than easy to observers of the *North-West Post*. It denied 'Launceston-as-capital' would advantage north-westerners. The coast supported the NTL as it stood, but it was:

not prepared to play the part of the proverbial cat, to pull the chestnuts from the fire for the Launceston monkey ... There is no body of residents hereabouts at the present time, and under existing circumstances, prepared to land the State in the expenditure of some hundreds of thousands of pounds in Launceston, in order to duplicate the machinery for government already in existence in Hobart, and no association is likely to find support upon the North-West Coast having that object in view.⁷

Despite the *Examiner's* stance, Ernest Ritchie again denied relocation was on the NTL's immediate agenda.⁸ Walter Lee also moved to hose down animosities. At the CTA's Launceston clubrooms he said it was time to honour Andrew Fisher's promise *viz* 'the last man and the last shilling'. He wanted progress on national efficiency lines and discountenanced the very idea of north-south 'wrangling'. The meeting applauded

1. *Ibid.*, 3/8/16.

2. Obituary at *Merc.*, 21/11/38.

3. *Ibid.*, 12/8/16.

4. *DT.*, 2/8/16

5. *Ibid.*, 8/8/16.

6. *Ex.*, 7/8/16.

7. *North-West Post*, 18/8/16. Quoted in *Merc.*, 19/8/16.

8. All papers, quoted in *Merc.*, 17/8/16.

his speech, and another similar by Tasman Shields. The war effort was 'much more important.'¹ Yet the northern tourist campaign was still not over.

Parliamentary pressure was next applied. Northern Labor members asked searching questions about the cost of the Hobart bureau.² Emmett and Smith feared the agitation might affect their application for increased funds to pay for Sydney. Emmett again denied claims of southern bias. Of the £1174 spent from Hobart, only £120 was spent in the city, that mainly for public invitations to visit the bureau and see the state's offerings. Great stress, he told the Minister, 'should be laid on this in view of the North versus South argument being introduced into the matter this year.'³ Smith wrote Lee with a similar argument: although the north felt 'neglected' location of TGTD headquarters was 'immaterial'. He also resisted suggestions the department fund the opening up of resorts and attractions in localities. As in other states, 'Local people who want the tourist in their centres should themselves provide the means of entertainment'.⁴ Nevertheless this did not preclude an administrative accommodation with the NTTA.

The NTL executive devised a scheme to allocate half the state's tourist vote to the north, with government bureaux at Launceston and the North-West Coast. Branches and tourist associations approved.⁵ George Bushby asked the Premier for discussions,⁶ but by this time the government had moved on its own behalf. Smith and Shields began negotiations with the NTTA for nationalisation of Bruce's Launceston bureau.⁷ Bruce refused to detail the proposals to the NTL, which had to admit this 'cut the ground from under' them.⁸ The League now faded and died.⁹

A Deal Struck

The NTTA took time to mull over the government's 'suggestions'. It had always cherished its independence and hoped for continued existence with an increased and unfettered subsidy. But while the government would abolish the need for subscriptions it was unwilling to increase the grant. So in late November the association agreed to hand over if the TGTD retained Bruce. This condition was crucial. His local knowledge and enthusiastic management was largely responsible for creating 'the highly efficient

1. *Ibid.*, 14/8/16.

2. In Parliament GG Becker and O'Keefe questioned the Minister re. Hobart tourist expenditure and the cost of Railway advertisements (see *V&P*, 4/10/16).

3. PD1/38/84/16, 13/10/16.

4. PD1/38/79/16, 13/10/16.

5. *Ex*, 6/10/16. *DT*, 18/12/16.

6. PD1/38/84/16, 29/9/16.

7. *Ibid.*, 11/11/16.

8. *DT*, 18/12/16.

9. In July 1917 the Bellerive Improvement Association AGM passed a resolution condemning the claims of the 'Northern Tasmanian Railway League' (see *DP*; 20/7/17), but I have found no other reference. In 1927 an inter-city conference of Rotary Clubs was able to look back and laugh at the Northern Capital movement (see *Merc.*, 24/2/27).

organisation which is a distinctly valuable State asset.¹ Government agreed, but the deal was kept quiet for another fortnight.

Lee finally announced his intentions on 6 December when debating the TGTD's £5800 vote. A lively debate ensued from George Becker's motion that it should be struck out holus bolus, but his only supporter was Ogden. They were easily characterised as knockers who simply refused to see the indirect benefits of the trade. By this stage all other MPs held the tourist movement in healthy respect, and willingly increased the vote despite the state's war-torn finances. Lee said his plan for nationalising the NTTA was based on long-standing, credible dissatisfaction in Launceston, 'After all was said and done, the bureau was doing a national work. It was the front door of the State through which the majority of the tourists came.'

John Evans raised a laugh with his crack that 'The front door is a long way back', but he now supported the TGTD and its growth under Emmett. A 'better man' could not be found in Australia. Evans did object to reports that TGTB officers touted in Hobart hotel lobbies and encouraged the system of tipping so abhorrent to the likes of Becker. Woods agreed: he was all for a government system, but the idea was to improve on private methods not emulate them. Bass conservative Alex Marshall said the interstate bureaux were justifying their existence as 'state ambassadors'. He thought it time for government to control all local bureaux, irrespective of size and place. In this way 'all discrimination should cease.'

Joe Lyons was glad. According to the *Examiner's* report (though not its rival southern or north-western presses) he even felt Launceston should be TGTD headquarters. The state could only improve this already 'well run' bureau. Lyons described his 'anxiety' that tourist numbers be increased and spread evenly throughout the island. Domestic tourism could help bring people of the various regions into closer touch with each other. This could best be facilitated by the tourist branch, which, unlike private operators, was not interested in confining tourists to one area. The TGR should provide cheap excursions to keep Tasmanians holidaying in their own economy. Nationalising this engine for domestic cohesion and state development was imperative.²

The *Examiner* was not so optimistic about the transfer. Its concern remained that loss of local initiative would reduce local benefits. It saw hope in Bruce's retention, but the main worry now was TGR control. The NTTA's tourist drives were a major attraction to the city, but these might 'bring no grist' to the TGR mill and be dumped. In New Zealand control of tourism by the railways had reduced local affairs to mere

1. PD1/38/84/16, 21/11/16.

2. *Merc, Ex and Advo*, 7/12/16.

information bureaux. The product of years' work might 'drift' into a 'railway adjunct.' 'The Commissioner, if he is wise, will continue it on the same lines, and under the same capable manager.'¹ The *Examiner's* warnings, it will be seen, showed a degree of foresight.

In preparation for the change Bruce and Emmett worked closer than ever. The TGR provided an extra counter clerk at Launceston and ticketing procedures were aligned with Hobart. Smith, possibly harbouring doubts as to the move, did not formally agree to the transfer until June 1917. This made Bruce anxious. In the event, his salary was reduced from £300 to £285, to match Webb and Donnelly's, but his career horizons broadened. He would later enjoy transfers to mainland branches. The NTTA's liabilities would cost the government about £400, but its assets, tangible and intangible were seen to be far greater.²

The NTTA held its final meeting on 28 June and the state's newspapers summarised its history as a fine institution. From the south the *Post* said the TGTG would find it hard to match the work of the NTTA.³ Back in Launceston the *Telegraph* referred to the 'funeral obsequies', 'depressing rites'. The NTTA was a 'patriotic' institution working for all Tasmania as well as itself. Hopefully 'antagonism to Launceston displayed in other quarters [would not] discount Mr Emmett's promise to eschew parochialism.' The paper backed Tasman Shields' call for a new association 'for vigilance purposes'.⁴ The *Examiner* still failed to see the need for change and repeated its warnings.⁵

Emmett now had control over the two main tourist centres in Tasmania, TGTBs in Sydney and Melbourne and agencies in the other mainland capitals. Since Addison's supersecretariat idea did not appeal to Lee and his fellow conservatives, the tourist trade by this time was in the de facto control of the TGR. Administratively only one task remained to make this de jure.

A Doubts Removal Act

The Tourist Bureau Act of 1917 ratified the existing structure with the Tasmanian Government Tourist and Information Bureau as a Department of the TGR and control vested in the Commissioner of Railways. Drafted in consultation with Emmett and Smith, the scope was wide, giving Smith retrospective and future power to:

1. *Ex*, 9/12/16.
 2. CSD 22/174/15.
 3. *DP*, 29/6/17.
 4. *DT*, 29/6/17.
 5. *Ex*, 30/6/17.

Continue to carry on as at present carried on a general tourist business on behalf of the State, with power in connection therewith, to make all such appointments, enter into all such contracts, establish and equip such branch or other offices and agencies in the State or elsewhere (including the renting of premises), and provide and maintain such facilities and conveniences for tourists, as the Commissioner thinks proper or expedient; and generally the Commissioner may do and carry out any matter or thing which in his opinion may promote, further, or facilitate tourist traffic to and in this State, or be of service to tourists.

The Bill went through with little controversy. Two Labor MHAs, James Belton (1855-1935) and John Henry Cleary (1854-1937) said some motor operators were complaining. Launceston's Jim Newton reflected residual Northern fears that TGR control would favour the South. He moved an amendment giving the Minister power to veto the Commissioner. Both Houses accepted this without demur.¹

The Act 'removed doubts' and as such is a good place to end this chapter. What had begun as an expedient stopgap until a full new department was created had become settled government policy: that the TGR should control the state's tourist industry. Through three years Smith and Emmett had maintained a balance between centralism and the political need to heed particularist demands—between efficiency and equity—a balance sufficient to win the trust (albeit guarded in some quarters) of parliament. Though their takeover of the TTA and NTTA saw a temporary end to local voluntary vitalism apropos tourist organisation in the major cities, their apparent meliorism and their successes on the mainland meant Tasmanian optimism and faith in its tourist future was merely transferred to the new agency. In country towns it remained a sphere for local self-interest, encouraged as such by Emmett, and this eventually served as a store house of inspiration for the cities when the depressed 1920s renewed the need to boost. In the meantime there was much to be done in the development of Tasmania's tourist infrastructure.

¹. See CSD 22/37/51, 20/8/17 and 12/11/17, and V&P. Royal Assent was given on 17/12/17.

Part Two The Early Fate of Centralism

The Tourist Bureau Act of 1917 confirmed the TGTD as *the* point of reference for all tourist concerns in the Tigh Little Island. Emmett still worked for Smith and the TGR, but as Director he was the recognised and respected 'Mr Tassy' at home and on the mainland. In the ensuing years he pursued with vigour the policies laid down since 1914. Despite some carping critics and considerable internal and external, political and economic obstacles, he had remarkable success. Concentration of tourist boosting in government hands seems to have worked well for the industry and for the time being city tourist interests (always barring Webster-Rometch) were content to let the new order stand. Yet this did not save Emmett or the TGTD from sharing in radical retrenchments imposed upon the TGR from 1923-27.

By 1922 centrifugal forces were again coming into play. Post war optimism failed to see a 'return to normalcy' and, after a brief boom, the Australian economy entered a period of recession. In hard-hit Tasmania this was attended by political instability. A number of large investments had been made on the strength of the boom.¹ After a taste of real progress, the general slump which marked the following decade gave cause for great bitterness. Instead of blaming the world economy, ancient rivalries again appeared. The air of frustration prompted a contraction of boosting efforts from the national back to the local. Launceston's leaders again attacked the central agencies, including the TGTD, for their apparent failure to tend to the city's business. Local progress associations reactivated. A general slump in West Coast mining caused its denizens to cast about for alternative economic pursuits. This saw an organised drive for increased tourism and indignant protest at Emmett's perceived failure to see to their needs. In parliament there was division within the government Labor seized every available opportunity for motions of no confidence. The eventual result of the mounting pressures was a Royal Commission into the TGR in 1923. Smith was unceremoniously sacked and Emmett's Directorship was abolished. A five year period of departmental retrenchment ensued. This section traces the efforts of the TGTD and its developmental allies in the period up to the Royal Commission. At times the discussion extends beyond the chronological boundaries, but this occurs only as necessary either

¹. For example see *Merc*, 3/8/23: Hobart losing what some tourists are pleased to term its somewhat "old English" atmosphere. Reinforced concrete becoming *de rigueur*. List includes extensions and improvements at Wignall's in Harrington Street, Harris & Marsh in Liverpool St, *Criterion Hotel* in Liverpool St made good at cost of £2500, *Ship Hotel* in Collins St recently purchased by syndicate and under renovation expansion, *His Majesty's Theatre* in Macquarie St, Webster Rometch in Collins St, Johnston's Mart and Heathorn's Motors in Bathurst St. New Kodak Building in Elizabeth St. Others too, not to mention new industrial sites. HCC leasing sites and will build factories for new industries. News Ltd evening paper starts building £6500 premises in Brooke and Davey Sts. For similar contemporary Launceston comments see *Ex*, 1/9/23.

for context or when important developments took place later which can not be dealt with in Section Four.

For the first five years after the NTTA takeover (1917-18 to 1922-23) the available evidence demonstrates steady progress in tourism (Appendix One). TGTD gross revenue increased almost four-fold. Consolidation of previously scattered and unpublished accounts through a single agency no doubt accounts for some of the growth. Nevertheless the contemporary impression that Tasmania experienced a tourist 'boom' in immediate post-war years appears justified. When one considers the obstacles confronting the industry, the growth obtains greater significance than hitherto allowed.¹

Aside from advertising the state, Emmett's most immediate concern was to alleviate the effects of unrest in the Australian maritime industries. Obtaining a guaranteed Bass Strait service proved almost hopeless, despite much lobbying of government, unions and shipping companies. Tourist intakes in successive years were restricted by devastating strikes, called for greatest effect in the peak of the holiday season. But Emmett thought laterally, and worked to extend the 'tourist season' beyond the peak summer months of December-March. This demanded imaginative advertising and improved resort facilities, in turn serving his other major goal of spreading the benefits of tourist spending throughout the island. There was a plethora of practical necessities and politics played their part in all. The following chapters reveal the vast extent to which tourist matters already affected Tasmanian commercial interests. By the end of the period it was manifest that they had yet to impress 'the general public'.

¹. By Mosley *op. cit.*

4 THE 'VITAL LINK'—EXTERNAL TRANSPORT PROBLEMS.

Transport and communications have always been vital issues for Australia's only island state. With a small domestic market, its economy is more export-orientated than the mainland states. Thus, in the period before commercial aviation, it depended on maintenance of reliable, frequent sea-going transport and communications across Bass Strait. Interruptions to passenger and cargo operations have almost always been imposed by forces outside the control of the Tasmanian residents. They point up the state's vulnerability and lack of self-determination. In the period under review Tasmanians increasingly recognised the link between their island's reputation as reliable tourist destination and its reliability as supplier or place to invest. Thus, though parochial pressures ever simmered, disruptions tended to draw together sections of the community otherwise disposed to internal squabble. Between 1916-1921, annual and (more importantly) seasonal strikes on mainland coalfields and waterfronts left Tasmania stranded. Tasmania was a ship 'adrift', quipped a Melbourne satirist 'Wireless Persnerkus'.¹ Trade ground to a halt. Commercial bodies complained their business was 'deranged'² by disruptions to the mail service. Both tourists and Tasmanians were left stranded in mutual embarrassment, far from home, their funds exhausted. General traders tapped tourist grievances to demand state intervention in shipping services. Their input was vital to tourism. This was more marked in the mid 1920s when the need for intrastate unity found expression in a business-led mass movement. But when we add to strikes the disastrous effects of the 1918-19 influenza epidemic, the financial figures for the TGT during Emmett's early years as Director begin to look like an economic miracle.

The Bass Strait Crossing

Although it was Australia's shortest interstate sea run³ and well-patronised, the channel separating Tasmania from the mainland produced many a hairy tale.⁴ Some stressed the 'adventure' as the best part of the holiday, but it remained a great

1. Quoted in *World*, 19/7/22.

2. The Launceston Stock Exchange used this term in correspondence with the Commonwealth (see A2/1919/2707).

3. *Merc*, 1/11/13 said this made Tasmania attractive to those for whom seasickness was an impediment to travel further. New Zealand was four days from Sydney or Melbourne.

4. In a booklet gaily illustrated by *Bulletin* artist Hal Gye (1888-1967, see *ADB*), TM Hogan used journalistic skill to underplay with humour and distract with compensations: "Look upon the combing breakers and the yeasty brine" our friends said. We looked and wilted somewhat. Yet we answered bravely withal, "We must see Tasmania before we die." We nearly died, too. It was not a rough trip by any means, but there are sailors and sailors. We were "and sailors." Anyway the subsequent proceedings interested us no more until we entered the peaceful waters of the Tamar. In the mill-pond-like waters of the Tamar Estuary the full complement emerged from their seclusion and came out on deck.' Hogan, TM and Gye, Hal *The Tight Little Island* (Hobart: Walch; c. 1913). p. 11. The rest of their trip was a rosy jaunt. The authors say they were induced by a friend 'Jim Smyth' to visit Tasmania. It is possible that 'Jim Smyth' was Lionel Lindsay, who had recently spent a health-seeking holiday in the 'sanatorium', where he was fascinated by the convict romance, an impression that stayed with him all his life. See Lindsay, Sir Lionel *The Comedy of Life. An Autobiography by Sir Lionel Lindsay 1874-1961* (Sydney: A&R; 1967). p. 245 ff.

Washington. I tipped him three-pence when we got inside the Heads, because the beauties of the Tamar made me feel so happy.



"The steward's name was Washington."

Launceston is a scrumptious place. The Express to Hobart connects with the "Loongana," but we knew too much to go on that day. We went up the Cataract Gorge. Father says no city in Australasia has such a beautiful place within tram distance.

disincentive to travellers despite local publications seeking to diminish its effect.¹ One, for instance, described it as 'like an inland sea'.² TGT literature tended to state bare facts apropos fares and timetables. Some people who had to come to Tasmania would rather have not. The tireless missionary of Imperial Federation, Leopold Amery, was well acquainted with the world's waterways. He described a 1913 night at sea:

which made all previous experiences seem restful. Bass's Straits are so shaped as to invite and concentrate all the worst seas blown up from the Indian Ocean, and the *Loongana* was apparently constructed for marine acrobatics, a little racer that was for ever trying to be a hydroplane or a submarine and never quite succeeding in either direction.³

Amery was a diplomat and saved comment for his memoirs. Others were more immediately candid. One *Age* journalist penned an condemnatory account of his trip to Tasmania, republished by Hobart's *World* as 'Mainlander's Maledictions'. Apart from sea-sickness, he wrote, one also had to suffer the surliness of stewards who, since a recent failed strike, were receiving few tips from an unadmiring public. Combined with the odium of dinner relays, they often kept people from eating at all.⁴ The *Mercury* attacked this 'carper', questioning his true motives:

When smart journalists try to "write down" Tasmania there is always the possibility that they have been briefed to "write up" somewhere else. 'See Australia First—start with Victoria!' is the legend with which the Mainlander is cajoled into neglecting Tasmania ...

After all, the Victorian parliament had only recently voted £50,000 towards a campaign aimed at keeping the state's tourists at home.⁵ But complaints about the crossing were numerous, and often by disinterested parties who otherwise enjoyed their holidays. One wrote in the Bureau visitor's book, 'Will return when the Straits are bridged'; another, 'Oh! that ship.'⁶ It was a standard, if awkward, joke that you would see your dinner twice. Tasmanian stomachs were not immune to the 'embarrassment', but they could still laugh. Such is the nature of sea travel and wild southern waters that conditions have changed little to the present day.⁷

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1. The hero of Emmett's *Tommy's Trip to Tasmania* was less honest than Hogan, or more tongue in cheek: 'All had a lovely trip on the "Loongana," except brother Billy, who tripped on the bottom stair going down to breakfast by catching his foot in his boot, and lost his equilibrium and two teeth. Asked the steward whether it was always as smooth, and he said it was, and explained that Tasmania having once been joined to Australia by land, the straits were so shallow that the "Loongana's" centreboard ran in a groove all the way across, and wouldn't let her rock. He said the previous steward had known a little boy to be sick once, but he had eaten 3 lbs. of cherries just on starting, and that may have had something to do with it. The steward's name was Washington.' (*op. cit.* pp. 8-10).
 2. North-Western Tourist Association, *Tasmania's North-West Coast. The Switzerland of Australia. The Popular Tourist Resort* (Devonport: the Association; 1908).
 3. Amery learnt by experience. During the three-day Tasmanian leg of their 1927 Empire Tour, he left his wife 'B' in Melbourne to spare her another two Bass Strait crossings: 'of which we still had the liveliest recollection. A really bad Dover Channel crossing is only a brief and faint foretaste of that gigantic funnel into which the billows of the Southern Ocean are tempestuously crowded together...' See Amery, *LS My Political Life* (London, Hutchinson, 1953). Vol. I pp. 428, 434-5. Vol. II p. 431.
 4. *World*, 21/1/23.
 5. *Merc.*, 27/3/23.
 6. *Ibid.*, 26/3/23.
 7. The author recalls several Bass Strait crossings on the *Empress of Australia* (a vessel three times larger than the 1920s showpiece, *Nairana*) during which few escaped physical and mental anguish. In 1990 a radical new twin-hull wave-piercing design was introduced to the run. Commenting on a rash of complaints from green-gilled and disappointed passengers, its designer-entrepreneur Robert Clifford said people should simply accept that if you travel by sea you risk being sick.

Travellers, especially tourists, desire a comfortable ride, and this explains why the large 'modern' increase in tourist activity has been almost coterminous with commercial aviation. Aeroplanes started to arrive in Tasmania just at the time when sea transport seemed to represent unsurmountable obstacles. Enthusiasm for the new transport mode was high. Henry Jones donated an aircraft worth £2000 for the war effort, a contribution at first refused by the authorities because plastered on the machine were advertisements for his *IXL* brand of jams and tinned fruit. As William Williams said years before, no one had done more to advertise Tasmania than Jones.¹ The Tasmanian people matched Jones's individual effort. They asked that their plane be called 'Tasmania' and piloted by Tasmanian airmen.²

Lieutenant Arthur L Long, a native Tasmanian, is credited with Australia's first commercial flights. He popularised aviation in his home state by taking a reporter aboard and dropping newspapers over country towns.³ By November 1919 the TGTD, 'ever keeping abreast of the times', arranged joyrides for tourists, almost certainly the first state tourist department to do so. The *Mercury* looked forward to regular services.⁴ The first flights across Bass Strait occurred in December. Long made the trip from Stanley to Melbourne in four hours. He pre-empted a loudly publicised 'pioneer flight' by Captain Ross Smith, winner of the inaugural London-Darwin air race. Tasmania could do things for herself, noted a proud local press.⁵ Some of the state's aviators subsequently made great contributions to Australia's air travel industry, the names Fysh and Holyman predominating.⁶

Aerial photography was soon recognised as a great publicity aid. Launceston's Herbert John King (1892-1973) took the first shots of his home city. These were enthusiastically received and reproduced in the local press, the houses of sponsoring businesses crudely highlighted. Hobart businesses quickly mimicked the exercise.⁷ In 1921 the idea of regular Bass Strait passenger services came under discussion. As with marine services it was thought the best way to ensure viability was to give them mail contracts.⁸ In London Tasmania's Agent-General involved himself prominently in plans for establishing an Imperial Air Service.⁹ The 1930's finally saw the advent of

1. Brown. Bruce *op. cit.* pp. 104 and 128.

2. Robson, *op. cit.* p. 337.

3. Cox, GW *op. cit.* p. 346.

4. *Merc*, 6/11/19.

5. All papers 17/12/19; *WC* 18/12/19; *Merc*, 10/12/26.

6. Wilnot Hudson Fysh (1895-1974) was the adventurous son of a Launceston merchant and great-nephew to a two-time Tasmanian premier. He was knighted for his role in the 1920 establishment of QANTAS, to this day Australia's designated national airline. Among his WWI colleagues (and fellow students at the Launceston Grammar School) were the Holyman brothers, Ivan (1896-1957) and Victor. Scions of a family of master mariners and ship-owners, they founded the company which later became Australian National Airways, substantially the core of the present Ansett Transport Group. Ivan Holyman was also knighted. (See Cox, GW *op. cit.* pp. 348-53 and *ADB*.)

7. *WC*, 21/7/21.

8. *WC*, 16/6/21: Aviation and 'the annihilation of distance'.

9. *Merc*, 13/1/21. *WC*, 16/6/21.

passenger flights across Bass Strait and once this “took off” it greatly stimulated traffic. But the greatest advances were made after WWII and therefore fall outside the scope of this study, which now turns to a description of Tasmania’s external transport problems, 1916-22.

Endless Troubles.

As summer approached late in 1916 hopes were high for a big tourist season in Tasmania. The *Critic* welcomed mainland reports that plenty of disposable money was floating about and looked forward to ‘a goodly influx of visitors before Christmas.’¹ The *Mercury* also saw good prospects despite the war: in fact, ‘the dangers and difficulties of travelling beyond Australia’ saw increasing numbers turning their attention to Tasmania’s safe ground.² Within two weeks the situation changed dramatically.

On the tail of the first conscription plebiscite came a ten day NSW coalfields strike. It soon affected continental transport and caused ‘widespread industrial and social confusion.’ It was swiftly dealt with. The strikers’ demand for shorter hours was met. In compensation the coal companies were allowed a price rise. WM Hughes appointed an ad hoc tribunal to bypass the usual industrial relations machinery. What sort of precedent, asked the imperialist journal *Round Table*, would this set for future industrial relations? There were ‘elements of comedy in the situation’ but:

those Australians who care about the reputation of Australia are in no mood ... to appreciate comedy of this kind. We have got our coal, but we have paid very heavily for it.³

The price Tasmania paid was heavy indeed. Almost immediately, the supply of ships was reduced to a level well below demand. There were also worries about the longer-term effects on Tasmania’s reputation. People decided and booked their holiday destinations at least weeks before departure, said the *Mercury*, wondering if any would choose the island under present circumstances.⁴

Emmett, ever the calming optimist, urged the paper not to worry. He thought the situation would subside after New Year.⁵ The strike’s immediate effects were over by Christmas. Stimulated, it was claimed, by TGTD advertising,⁶ tourists continued to book and travel. However the diversion of ships for war purposes meant gross inadequacies in steamer accommodation, and the problem now, far from being a lack

1. *Critic*, 28/10/16.

2. *Merc.*, 14/11/16. For war’s mixed effects on shipping see also *Merc.*, 1/1/17.

3. The journal noted that ‘a few more days’ of the dispute ‘would have meant an appalling disaster’. It abhorred the way the media and the public, desiring ‘peace-at-any-price’, backed the arbitrary course adopted by the Prime Minister, without regard for ‘the great moral issues involved’. *Round Table*, No. 26, March 1917. pp. 394-6.

4. *Merc.*, 2/12/16.

5. *Ibid.*, 2/12/16.

6. *Ibid.*, 11/1/17.

of passengers, had more to do with congestion, ticketing limitations and fare excesses.¹ The mainland-based Australasian Steamship Owners' Federation (ASOF) responded to the coal price rise, the demand-supply imbalance and the uncertain industrial situation by abolishing return and round-trip tickets. This was all it could do to maintain profits,² but it made planning difficult, reduced flexibility and raised the return passage Sydney-Hobart-Sydney by £1. Melbourne-Launceston-Melbourne saloon fares increased 10s 6d to £3 3s.

For Emmett the situation was 'detrimental to the tourist traffic' and Tasmania's reputation because people would be afraid of not getting a ticket home at the end of their holiday. Traffic in the North and North-West slumped because visitors from Sydney could not be encouraged to venture outside their primary destination at Hobart. The NSW market was severely affected. Tasmania, said Emmett, was spending thousands of pounds on advertising and being prevented from reaping the full benefit. Still, the season could have been far worse. Inconvenienced tourists apparently had no complaints about their treatment once ensconced in the island.³ Later in the year Commissioner Smith opined that, given the circumstances, the net result was promising, but only full shipping resumption would see Tasmanian tourism reaching its full potential. He looked forward to the arrival of the 'new *Loongana*',⁴ Huddart-Parker's turbine steamer *Nairana*. Expected since 1915, it was presently serving as a Royal Navy seaplane carrier.⁵ In shipping matters Tasmania had very little say in her own destiny.

Yet the people did not rest. Grass roots activity in the North-West is measured by the fact that agitation for resumption of return ticketing was mainly sustained in that region. The Ulverstone and Devonport Tourist Associations agreed to pursue the shipping companies. Devonport members lobbied the Post Master General asking that return tickets be pre-requisite to future mail contracts. At Ulverstone a supportive Evelyn Emmett was present when sawmiller-farmer, Edward Hobbs (1868-1936), MHA, moved a successful motion calling for State or Commonwealth-owned Bass Strait steamer services. Cheap fares could be used as an incentive to prospective tourists.⁶ State shipping had been a brooding issue since at least 1912,⁷ but now that government was in Nationalist hands, exporting producers and commercial interests thought its achievement more likely.

1. DP, 4/1/17.

2. Return tickets at return prices were not demanded by mail contracts. The ASOF had given them to stimulate tourist demand and fill the three summer boats a week demanded by their mail contracts. Obviously they now decided it was better to extract full fare from people who had to travel than try to induce more tourists to come.

3. Merc, 11/1/17.

4. TPP 1917/20; 7/9/17.

5. Cox, GW *op. cit.* p. 155.

6. All papers, 11/6/17, 16/6/17 and 20/6/17.

7. See 'Select Committee into Interstate Shipping' TPP 1912/32.

One of the problems driving the North-Westerners was the fact that *Loongana* was out of service. Launched in 1904, she was much admired, fast and comfortable, the first turbine steamer 'South of the Line'. Mechanical problems took her out of the Melbourne-Launceston trade for nine months from April 1917. Her capacity exceeded 420 passengers.¹ Burnie and Devonport citizens suffered most because her owner, the USSCo., withdrew its next-best Bass Strait steamer, *Oonah* (1887), from North-West ports in favour of the Launceston trade. *Oonah* was replaced with an even older vessel *Rotomahana* (1879). *Loongana's* troubles affected Tasmania as a whole in the 1917 Christmas rush, though Union's small steamer *Wainui* made a 'passengers' overflow trip' to Burnie and Huddart-Parker's *Westralia* made a direct Melbourne-Hobart sailing on 22 December.²

The 'Great Strike' of August-October 1917 had no direct effects on the following summer's tourist traffic, but it left a legacy of dissatisfaction with later, serious ramifications. The strike again originated in NSW, with railway workers. It soon spread through coalminers' unions to other industries and extenuated existing conflict on Victoria's waterfront. After the strike was defeated, this time with no concessions to the unions, *Round Table* urged industry to search for better understanding between the classes.³ However the possibilities were greatly reduced by the vitriolic utterances of such opposites as Hughes and the syndicalist Tom Barker.⁴ Strikes became endemic in Australia. For many years to come, the country's industrial reputation severely limited its attractiveness for international investors.

Once again Tasmania had limited influence in the course of events. *Round Table's* assertion that Tasmanian unions refrained from joining the strike,⁵ would have been welcomed in London by Agent-General McCall. Tasmania made much of its relative freedom from internal industrial dispute. A number of British industrialists cited its pliant workforce as reason for placing their branch factories in the island.⁶ Just as important as a lure, and more positive, was hydro-electric development. Hydro-Electric Department general manager, John Henry Butters (1885-1969), enthused how new large-scale electrolytic works at Hobart were, with McCall's help, attracting

1. Cox, GW *op. cit.* p. 149-53.

2. *Merc*, 7/12/17, 15/12/17.

3. *Round Table* No. 29, December 1917 pp. 182-92; No. 30 March, 1918 pp. 383-96.

4. For an overview see Turner, Ian *Sydney's Burning* (London: Heinemann; 1967).

5. *Round Table* No. 29, December 1917 p. 189 says the restraint was total. In fact watersiders in Burnie and Devonport struck for some time, though they were quickly replaced with volunteer labour. In Launceston stevedores did not strike but were locked out and replaced by Grammar School students. Hobart, whose main link was with Sydney, was completely isolated by sea, so there was no point in local workers striking. The strike served most to galvanise 'loyalist' Tasmanians against the 'tyranny' of the 'shirking' mainland unionists (see Lake *op. cit.* (1975) p. 110 ff.).

6. For example, in March 1926 the promoter of Rapson's Tyres told a joint committee of parliament that 'labour troubles over here are considerably less than what they are on the mainland. You are away from ... the firebrand element you get over there. ... those Bolschevik people who are simply out to upset everything. That is a very important point.' Tasmania's cool climate was also said to assist in getting the most out of workers. (See *TPP* 1926/51)

London publicity. Employment spin-offs would help attract British migrants after the war. New industries would also stimulate shipping services to the island.¹ Butters constantly called for organised effort to promote industrialisation in the island. In 1916 he asked for increased funding for advertising. It was time to 'boom the State as it has never been boomed before.'² As it happened, Butters' booming bore fruit, albeit not as swiftly as he hoped. Butters understood the connection between tourism and general development.³

Despite the loss of the *Loongana*, the 1917-18 summer tourist season enjoyed relatively good business. The TGTD's £19,521 revenue compared well with £10,723 the previous year. TGTD income now included Launceston takings, but the total was still greater than the combined TGTD/NTTA results for 1916-17. In October Smith predicted a record season for 1918-19.⁴ No prediction could have been more wrong.

The war reached its most desperate, destructive depths in 1918. In May Hughes extended Commonwealth shipping control to interstate traffic. This posed danger to an island fruit industry already cut off from its traditional Northern Hemisphere markets. Franklin MHR, William James McWilliams (c.1860-1929), failed to get Tasmania's special claims as exporter recognised by the Commonwealth Shipping Board. Commenting, the *Mercury* cited among backing arguments the threat posed to the state's tourist industry.⁵ Everything was interconnected: nothing could progress in isolation. Three days before the Armistice, Emmett rested sanguine predictions for a busy tourist season on the proviso of ample shipping facilities.⁶ Within a fortnight came worrying news. The great post-war influenza pandemic⁷ had found its way to New Zealand.

Within weeks Donnelly reported traffic through Sydney was bound to suffer. Even uninfected ships faced up to seven days' detention. *Moeraki*, *Manuka* and *Riverina*, all used on the Sydney-Hobart run, were in quarantine. Their return was uncertain because crews could not be found to man them. Donnelly described traveller psychology. Because tourists chose destinations well in advance, the disruption was likely to see them react against Tasmania and look to other resorts. A early flood of

1. Hydro-Electric Department Annual Report for 1916-17, *TPP* 1917/17.

2. PD1/38/72/16, 19/1/16.

3. In 1924 Butters' job in Tasmania was complete and he took the £5000 p.a. job of raising the nation's capital from the paddocks. As the new city of Canberra began to take shape he established a tourist bureau. It never made any money but certainly helped publicise and popularise the bush capital, as well as providing four new hotels welcomed by locals (see AA A6266/G28/4357).

4. *TPP* 1918/31.

5. *Merc*, 15/5/18.

6. All papers, press release, 8/11/18.

7. For descriptions see Cumpston, John Howard Lidgett *Influenza and maritime quarantine in Australia* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1919); McQueen, Humphrey 'The "Spanish" Influenza Pandemic in Australia, 1912-19' in Roe, Jill (Ed.) *Social Policy in Australia: Some Perspectives 1901-1975* (Sydney: Cassell; 1976) pp. 131-47; Beresford, Quentin "'That Dreaded Plague": Tasmania and the 1919 Influenza Epidemic' *THRAPP* 1982; 29/3 pp. 108-15.

bookings had promised a record season. 'The people were in a holiday frame of mind, and in good heart, and everything, therefore, was in our favour till the influenza made its appearance.' The companies planned to fill the breach with *Oonah* and *Westralia*, and Donnelly hoped they would be 'regarded as free from the germs ... and perfectly safe for the holiday traffic.' But wholesale cancellations soon followed, and he had to admit there were many who did 'not relish the change, and need persuasion to travel in the *Oonah*.' He diverted some through Melbourne, but the Sydney and Queensland traffic was shattered. He sounded an ominous warning: the Quarantine Service had grave doubts that the 'flu could be kept out of Australia.¹

Emmett remained optimistic. He had just opened his Adelaide Bureau, an enterprise expected to be rewarded by large business. Melbourne was also very busy,² and with war over and *Loongana* on a twice weekly Melbourne-Launceston run the season still looked healthy.³ By the end of December the Launceston and Hobart TGTBs were both claiming record turnovers.⁴ *Loongana* was bringing over 1200 passengers weekly and channelling more tourists than usual through Launceston. 'Peace Time Tourists' were 'flocking to Hobart'. Charabanc and motor excursions were 'packed with hampers and care free humanity'.⁵ Then the dreaded rot set in.

On New Year's Day 1919 the Seamen's Union in Melbourne refused to man *Loongana*. They demanded a wage increase in excess of that already awarded by the Arbitration Court. Comrades in Sydney followed a similar path. The *Mercury* placed the dispute firmly in context with the One Big Union movement being pushed by militants in Australia's transport unions. Farmers and other producers were very angry and conditions, claimed the paper, approached those needed for 'a civil war'.⁶ The strike stranded many mainland tourists in Launceston. Some found berths on the *Rotomahana* out of Burnie, but that was small beer. Once a lovely ship and fast, the quondam 'Greyhound of the Pacific'⁷ was now unable to cope with the numbers. Locals began to dub her 'Rotten Banana'.⁸

Fear of isolation was rife. Some people chose to return to Melbourne via Hobart and Sydney 'rather than run the risk of being indefinitely stranded in Tasmania.' The TGR, TGTD, hoteliers and motor operators all expected drastic revenue losses because the strike came at such a busy period. Worse, those mainlanders who had missed their holidays were not expected to come later in the season; and others would delete the island from their list of holiday choices, perhaps forever. The *Mercury*, ever

1. *Merc*, 23/11/18, 5/12/18.

2. All papers, press release. 27/11/18.

3. *Ex*, 19/12/18.

4. *DT* and *Merc*. 31/12/18.

5. *World*, 1/1/19.

6. *Merc*, 3/1/19.

7. Cox, GW *op. cit.* p. 141.

8. Marcus Hurburgh (b. 1911), interviewed at his home in Battery Point, 17/9/91.

conservative and now increasingly paranoid about Bolshevism, hinted at something sinister: 'It seems something more than a coincidence that these steamship troubles usually occur in the height of the Tasmanian tourist season.'¹

Emmett described the sudden holdup as 'a serious blow'. The Hobart Chamber of Commerce asked the companies to divert Sydney steamers to the Victorian trade. With its Launceston counterpart it asked the premier to urge Hughes to take a hard line with the union. Lee gave them strong support, citing losses in railway revenue, ever a consideration in determining State-Commonwealth financial relations. Ernest Ritchie, as Launceston Master Warden, took more direct action. He asked the union to empathise with Tasmania and man the *Loongana*. From Melbourne the union's secretary sounded sympathetic, but placed the blame elsewhere, and nothing came of the attempt.²

Stories of hardship and inconvenience abounded. Anxiety was high. Burnie police had to prevent people jumping the steamer from the pier.³ Two weeks after the dispute began the Commonwealth moved, reluctantly it seems, to deregister the union involved.⁴ By 20 January *Loongana* was back on the run.⁵ But the damage had been done. A Launceston businessman hoped mainlanders would 'overlook what has occurred and come to Tasmania for their holidays as usual.' His *Examiner* interviewer sounded more realistic: 'Unfortunately the experiences of those who participated ... are unlikely to be soon forgotten.'⁶

Dissatisfaction with the handling of these disputes fortified calls for reform of the Commonwealth arbitration system. Tasmanian employers were voiceless in that arena. They felt they were paying for conditions prevailing in more industrialised states. William Croke saw Bass Strait communications as a 'national highway', a Commonwealth responsibility equatable with Western Australia's rail link with eastern states. The Commonwealth's recently-founded overseas shipping line should be used to ensure the route. Croke also called for laws against strikes affecting the mails or interstate travel and trade. Such strikes were a 'war upon the community at large'.⁷ *Mercury* leaders also attacked the industrial relations system. The present situation was 'tantamount to perpetual economic war and a state of unbearable dread'.⁸ Even with the strike concluded Tasmania's vulnerability was about to be again demonstrated.

1. *Merc.*, 4/1/19. For the paper's attitude to 'Bolshevism' see 6/1/19.

2. *World and Merc.*, 8/1/19.

3. *Ibid.*, 10/1/19. A party from Ballarat related how some of its number had run out of money and found it necessary to sleep in parks. One man paid £10 for a ticket normally worth £1 18s 6d.

4. *Ibid.*, 16/1/19.

5. All papers, 20/1/19.

6. *Ex.*, 25/1/19.

7. Croke wanted official suppression, deportation or imprisonment of unionists (see *Merc.*, 15/1/19).

8. *Ibid.*, 23/1/19. See also *Merc.*, 15/5/18 for a prescient editorial (probably by Clyde Burton Black) on Tasmanian shipping and the island's relationship with the Commonwealth.

Flu!

On 15 January the *Mercury* quoted Quarantine Service Director, John Cumpston, on 'THE INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC ...HOW AUSTRALIA ESCAPED'. The news was premature. By 23 January cases of pneumonic 'flu were reported in Victoria. Several days later NSW was declared 'infected' and cordoned by Federal officers. Suddenly hundreds of new cases were reported daily. By 28 January Melbourne alone recorded twenty six deaths. Public congregation was banned; churches, schools and theatres closed. In Sydney face masks were mandatory public attire. Thousands of troops returning from the war added to confusion.¹

Regardless of reports that this was not the same strain of disease that had devastated South Africa and New Zealand,² Tasmania began guarding against its spread. All but the two city ports were closed. Passengers for Launceston were quarantined before sailing from Melbourne, and Hobart passengers on arrival.³ Tasmania insisted on seven days' detention for all visitors from infected states. Dr Cumpston considered the period excessive,⁴ but such was the paranoia. Tasmania must be defended: her reputation as sanatorium demanded it.

Disruption characterised Bass Strait shipping. When Burnie port closed, the *Rotomahana*, already en route, was ordered back to Melbourne for quarantine. Premier Lee and 110 others aboard were inconvenienced, as were those awaiting the boat in Burnie. *Loongana* set sail for Launceston on 29 January carrying mails and cargo but no passengers. She departed the following day with 350 passengers for Melbourne. She would not likely return for some considerable time. Her owners would not operate without passenger revenue. When *Westralia* left Sydney for Hobart, Huddart-Parker warned it would be their last trip for a while. No passengers would be carried south. Berths on the return trip were already booked up. There would be no tourist advantage, either, in a pending visit by *Zealandia*, on her way to London. She would be forced to lay off the wharf for seven days.

Because Tasmania was the only state free of 'flu virus that summer, in-bound traffic suffered most. There was no interstate tourist trade after that brief interval between the *Loongana* strike and plague's onset. On the other hand there were stranded tourists and other travellers on both sides of the strait. At Melbourne TGTB Walter Lee met his fellow *Rotomahanians* and gave them the news. They would not sail for seven days. In the meantime his government would assist Tasmanians stranded without funds.

^{1.} *Ibid.*, 24-31/1/19.

^{2.} Cumpston (*op. cit.*) denied any connection between the pandemic experienced in New Zealand and other countries and the milder, albeit still lethal, strain which infected Australia in February 1919. He claimed Australia's 'flu evolved from a virus already established in Australia in mid 1918.

^{3.} A Medical Advisory Council was established. The government distributed cheap vaccine and ordered 22,000 masks. Health officers inspected incoming passengers aboard ship. *Merc.*, 24-31/1/19.

^{4.} Cumpston, *op. cit.* pp. 68-71.

Their plight was exacerbated by a £3 10s quarantine surcharge imposed by the shipping companies.

In Hobart over 300 tourists were stranded. So, on 11 February, a large Town Hall meeting called on Hughes to provide a steamer to convey them homewards. The surcharge, deemed unnecessary because Tasmania was 'a clean state', was subject of the strongest protest. One outraged tourist warned that 'Profiteering in excelcis starts a nation Bolsheviking.' The situation in Launceston was much the same. In both cities the tourist bureaux provided fare and accommodation relief.¹ Provisions were described as 'niggardly'. Hobart's *World* newspaper led the campaign for redress. It editorialised on government 'apathy', the mercilessness of 'the Shipping Combine', and served as mouthpiece for the stranded, who quickly organised committees and deputations. The *World* also organised a local relief committee in Hobart to put on benefit nights of theatre shows and variety concerts. This generated goodwill as well as funds.² So did extra hospitality offered by the TGTBs. In Sydney press correspondence favourably compared the Hobart Bureau with the Queensland government's in Brisbane.³ On 20 February the stranded were relieved when 200 departed for Sydney by the *Oonah*. The remaining 160 were given half-price rail tickets to Launceston, where they embarked for Melbourne on *Wainiu* and *Wakatipu*.

For once Tasmanian had a reason to be glad of its insularity. The population was protected from a plague which claimed 12,000 lives on the mainland. Its reputation as a healthy and special place was enhanced.⁴ But all at a price. For Emmett the epidemic was 'an undoubted calamity' which 'absolutely smashed Tasmania's tourist trade.' Ruefully he told how he had cancelled all mainland advertising and dismissed all temporary staff. Statistical indication of the dislocation's severity can be found in the fact that TGTB revenue fell by £2601 in 1918-19 to total £16,920. Total arrivals in Tasmanian ports were cut by almost 14,000 to 23,804. (Appendix One).

The trials at the height of the 1918-19 season revived the question of a state shipping line, business interests tapping tourist grievances in the interests of general trade. At the height of the controversy the Hobart Marine Board seized the opportunity to castigate the companies for their 'exorbitant' fare increases and fares generally. The fact was not lost that Union and Huddart-Parker already enjoyed Commonwealth subsidies in the form of mail contracts. Nor that the Commonwealth failed to use its

1. *Merc*, 12/2/19; *DT*, 14/2/19.

2. *World*, 14-20/2/19.

3. *Merc*, 11/3/19 (quoting recent *SMH*).

4. The community prided itself on its success keeping the disease at bay. Pneumonic 'flu did reach Tasmania in August 1919. It was the last state effected. At least 171 people died from 'the plague' but proportionately the island suffered far less than mainland states. (See Beresford, *op cit*) McQueen, *op. cit.* argues that the pandemic's mild effects in Australia, as compared with northern hemisphere devastation, boosted its optimism as a place marked out for special dispensations against the ravages which effected the northern hemisphere. It can be argued that within the Australian context Tasmania enjoyed a similar effect.

Bay Liners to relieve Tasmania. Why not spend the subsidies on a state line? Despite opposition from Warden John Evans (Huddart-Parker's Hobart manager!), lobbying efforts merged with the Launceston Marine Board.¹ By year's end Premier Lee secured parliament's enthusiastic agreement to spend £500,000 for up to six state-owned and operated steamers. The resulting Tasmanian Government Shipping Department was meant to guarantee the exports and markets of primary producers, which were expected to increase with post-war soldier- and closer-settlement.² Linked with cheap hydro-electricity, cheap reliable shipping was also publicised in England as inducement to British entrepreneurs.³ The state ships did not carry appreciable numbers of passengers, but their manager claimed his operations forced private companies to 'devote more attention to Tasmanian routes'⁴ and this improved shipping services for tourists somewhat.

State cargo-shipping did not however protect the tourist season from strikes, which reinfested the following two summers. Neither had quite the devastating effect of the 'flu. But both demonstrated facts now familiar to Tasmanians: the island's vulnerability to disputes with no direct local cause; the weakness of governments (especially the Commonwealth) in handling the issues; structural weaknesses in the existing industrial relations mechanisms; and the apparent "fair weather friendliness" of the shipping companies. A pattern emerged in which record seasons were optimistically predicted but always with the proviso of continuous shipping.

In mid-December 1919 members of the Australian Marine Engineers Institute, claiming higher pay, declared interstate and some overseas ships black. Red tape prevented the Arbitration Court from hearing their claim. After negotiations they were offered parity with the higher New Zealand award. Perhaps sympathy for Tasmania led Victorian engineers to accept the offer, but they were vetoed by other state branches.⁵ The Bass Strait runs of *Rotomahana*, *Oonah* and *Loongana* were all affected. Launceston had to forego hosting that year's Australasian Bowling Carnival, losing the attendance of 400 bowlers and 'their ladies'. Tasmania's place at Adelaide's All-Australia Peace Exhibition also had to be cancelled.⁶ By mid-January the state's tourist loss was put at £250,000.⁷

1. *World*, 19/2/19. In Evans' autobiography he blithely explains how he was head-hunted for parliament in 1896. The Premier and Attorney-General secured his agreement to be nominated by telling his employer, Huddart-Parker, that 'it would be a good thing for their firm'. See Sir John Evans: *His Life Story* (Hobart: Author; [1943]) p. 31.

2. *WC*, 18/12/19.

3. *World*, 22/7/20 and *Ex*, 27/7/20 reprinted a recent *Empire Mail* article by Agent General AH Ashbolt entitled 'Tasmania: The New Garden of Eden.'

4. Wettenhall, RL 'State Shipping in Tasmania: An Unhappy Adventure', *THRAPP* 14/2, 1967, p. 89. The manager, William Robinson, reappears in Chapter Ten.

5. *Round Table*, No. 39, June 1920 p. 669.

6. PD1/38/18/19 & PD1/38/18/20.

7. *World*, 13/1/20.

The dispute finally broke in late February 1920 when Hughes invoked the War Precautions Act and cut off all supplies to the strikers.¹ But the action was too long coming. There was great dissatisfaction in Tasmania: her commercial world especially was in 'uproar'. Lee offered to pay the difference between pay demanded and received. Hughes rejected this as a form of surrender.² Lee then offered to supply volunteer crews, but Hughes balked at direct confrontation.³ The 'high-handed' Union Company refused the engineers' offer to man the ships *gratis* and relieve Tasmania's plight. In laying up its ships it 'robbed' the island of 1000 passengers a week.⁴ By publishing his correspondence with Hughes, Lee made himself a David to the Mainland Goliath.⁵ Whitsitt forced home the idea that the Commonwealth should take responsibility for Bass Strait shipping and stop treating Tasmania as the "Cinderella" of Australian Federation.⁶ Commentators again urged the nation to forge better industrial relations. Australia could not afford class war, and both sides now thought compulsory arbitration a failure.⁷

The indomitable Emmett still expected a good year's result. By now he had found a lateral solution to the seasonal strike problem: he began boosting Tasmania as an all-year-round resort. This year, instead of cancelling mainland advertising, he matched the strike with a campaign extolling the joys of Tasmanian autumns. The spread of TGTBs on the mainland placed officers with first hand information to counter bad impressions of the island's climate. Many tourists were encouraged to delay their holidays, and a record Easter influx enjoyed Tasmania's autumn colours. Visitors gladly observed that the climate was milder than they expected, and Emmett expected some to stay over for winter. The *Examiner* welcomed the innovation and looked forward to further extension of the season once returning tourists spread favourable reports at home. It urged the shipping companies to introduce cheaper off-peak fares to encourage the trade.⁸ Herbert Webb and his Adelaide colleague, CE Lohrey, agreed, 'Tasmania may still reap a fair tourist crop [and] save something from the "smash".'⁹ Launceston TGTB revenue figures were exceptionally good. By the end of the year Smith could note that despite a £428 drop in expenditure, the TGTB achieved total revenue up £8284 on the previous year's £16,920. He attributed this mainly to the 'systematic advertising policy pursued' and looked forward to the not-too-distant time when all-year-round traffic would be commonplace.¹⁰

1. *Round Table*, No. 39, June 1920 p. 670.

2. PD1/38/22/19; *Merc.* 30/12/19 .

3. *Ibid.*, , 6/10/20.

4. *Ibid.*, 30/12/19.

5. *Merc.* 30/12/19 .

6. *World*, 13/1/20.

7. *Merc.* 24/2/20; *Round Table*, No. 39, June 1920 p. 670; and numerous contemporary articles called for an end to 'class war' in Australia, blaming in large part the industrial relations machinery which could not keep up with pressures created by steeply rising costs of living.

8. *Ex.* 6/4/20.

9. *Merc.* 3/3/20; *Ex.* 6/3/20 and 7/4/20.

10. *TPP* 1920/60.

By November Emmett was confident the season had become an October to May affair.¹ However 'fear' and uncertainty during the crucial Christmas-New Year holidays remained the main hindrance. Would summer be free of disastrous stoppages this year?² Reflecting on Tasmania's run of bad luck, the *Mercury* had warned in October that there were 'mutterings of disturbance'. The state was still in no position to give shipping assurances to potential travellers. The one cargo ship so far purchased by the state was incapable of relieving any break in the passenger service. The Commonwealth had shown itself unwilling to help. Lee was urged to anticipate crisis with contingency plans for the coming season and negotiate special agreements with the companies. Tasmania had, 'too long been the victim of all sorts of combinations, and should begin to fight for her own hand.'³

Nothing, however, was achieved in this direction. On 11 December the Christmas rush began at Launceston when *Loongana* berthed with 200 passengers. *Ulimaroa* had taken 325 from Sydney to Hobart on the ninth. Next week, said the *Advocate*, *Manuka* and *Moeraki* would bring similar 'large crowds'. Enquiries with mainland TGTBs showed vessels were being booked out until well after the New Year. The season was again 'heading for a record'.⁴ But within three days there was another strike. This time the stewards went out over working hours.⁵

Emmett was uncharacteristically crestfallen. In a press release he enumerated some of the 'disastrous effects of the strike', a 'direct blow to Tasmania'. First there was an immediate daily loss of at least £1000, but 'even if the strike ended tomorrow' the effects would be felt for months. General over-crowding in Australian hotels meant people booked their holidays very early. Without Bass Strait shipping security people could not now be expected to book for Tasmania. Thus, after only three days of strike, the mainland TGTBs were 'nearly as busy refunding money to people cancelling their trips to Tasmania as they had been a week ago in arranging trips.' The TGTB was 'keenly disappointed at having its organisation [the previous] winter and spring practically wasted'. Emmett took the opportunity to emphasise the value of tourism to the whole community, stating that 'the Tasmanian public were the greatest sufferers.' Businesses which had stocked up for the expected rush would now have their money 'locked up for another year.'

1. *Merc*, 9/11/20. Tasmania's "seasonality" is further discussed in Chapter Five.

2. *Ibid.*, 9/11/20.

3. *Ibid.*, 6/10/20.

4. *Advo*, 10/11/20; *DT*, 11/12/20.

5. *Merc*, 14/12/20.

A great many people do not realise how closely the tourist traffic affects all pockets in Tasmania. Our small community is closely interwoven, and although the principal sufferers are hotel and boarding house-keepers and carriers, still the ordinary commercial community will be large losers as well. Only last week the proprietor of a large Hobart drapery establishment mentioned that he was looking forward to the tourist season yielding a substantial return, and although possibly his establishment is never actually entered by individual tourists, still their presence in the city means general buoyancy and increased spending power of customers.

Launceston had again lost its chance to host the Australasian bowlers and looked like being passed over in future years. The annual Australasian Science Congress, planned for the New Year in Hobart, was transferred to Sydney. The future seemed ill-boded:

These strikes leave their effects on future seasons. People will not put their capital into hotels and boarding-houses with the risk of it lying idle, and it means that the very first year we have an uninterrupted season, if such ever does eventuate, the accommodation available will be insufficient, and we shall possibly be faced with the unpleasant necessity of refusing traffic.¹

The *Mercury* responded typically to the situation, attacking the 'stupid stewards [who] forfeited all public sympathy by refusing to listen to reason' even from fellow workers. Tasmania was 'humbled'. The 'annual strike plague' inflicted a 'repetition of heavy loss where there ought to be a rich annual harvest'. The only cure was establishment of a state shipping service staffed by public servants with Tasmanian home ports. If night-time passages were replaced with a daylight route stewards could be dispensed with at a pinch. Public servant seamen could be offered the carrot of good conditions, the stick of lost superannuation if dismissed. Legislators might go even further in protecting essential services:

To cease work in such a way as to victimise the public, delay mails and vital services, and cause loss, should be made a legal offence, punishable in a way that can be felt, as a serious breach of contract if not actual mutiny. But first of all we must have a proper State service Tasmania cannot afford to have its life-line cut every year.²

The strike continued into February. But amidst the attendant gloom there was some good news.³ Despite similar circumstances, the December figures were much better than last year's. From Launceston, Bruce reported a revenue jump of 17% to £1374.⁴ This even compared well with the high inflation being experienced.⁵ Bruce hinted at one reason for the increase: Tasmanians were themselves being prevented from going to the mainland. He did not make much of this factor at the time,⁶ but the value of 'domestic tourism' was sinking into the TGTD's scheme of things.

The other reason for increased business despite loss of Bass Strait services lay in the fact that the strike did not affect Sydney-Hobart ships. Tasmania was not cut off completely. It still enjoyed visits by such fast luxury steamers as the Australian Steam

1. *Ex, Advo and Merc.* 17/12/20.

2. *Merc.* 27/12/20.

3. *Ibid.*, 5/1/21.

4. *Ex*, 5/1/21.

5. The retail price index for 1920 was up 11.6% on 1919's figure (see 'Long Term Retail Price Index' compiled by Australian Bureau of Statistics, February 1988).

6. *Ex*, 5/1/21.

Navigation Company's *Kanowna*. A vessel of nearly 7000 tons¹ (*Loongana* was 2448 tons) she carried 300 well-heeled tourists from Sydney at Christmas.² Some overseas ocean liners also called. Luxurious 'apple boats' made a brief reappearance after the war, calling at Hobart *en route* to European ports and carrying interstate passengers. But the 1919 strikes precipitated implementation of the coastal clauses of the Navigation Act in 1921, and such vessels thereafter desisted from the interstate passenger trade until the clauses were abolished in the 1930s. The Navigation Act hit Hobart hardest and did much to stimulate the mid 1920s grass roots revivalism discussed in Part Three.³

As the stewards' strike escalated thousands were unemployed. The Ship Owners and unions could not find common ground.⁴ Hughes this time refused union demands for settlement under war powers. Finally in late February the dispute concluded when the Arbitration Court enforced a peace agreement.⁵ Welcoming the intervention, Emmett felt the season could still show good if not record results. He must have been pleased with the final figures for the financial year. Despite the strike, TGT revenue jumped fully 48% to £35,163. In contrast expenditure increased only 21% (up £1500 to £7084). This again indicated the effectiveness of TGT advertising to encourage season extension.⁶ In Smith's words, the 'steady increase in turnover of cash at each of the bureaux' justified continuing government financial commitment. The vote was increased a further £2000 to £10,500. Still, the losses to the state of the recent dispute were estimated at £250,000.⁷

The point which again made itself most painfully obvious to Tasmanians was their impotence to influence events one way or another. The commercial-civic elites of Hobart and Launceston established 'vigilance committees' during the strike—research and publicity groups to pressure politicians—but they achieved little of practical immediate value. A Tasmanian Shipping Committee formed to coordinate a state-wide approach, but in its early stages parochial conflicts led branches to take unilateral actions.⁸ At a Hobart Shipping Committee meeting in early February, Thomas Murdoch (as Marine Board Warden) successfully moved that the state should purchase

1. Pemberton, Barry *Australian Coastal Shipping* (Melbourne: MUP; 1979) p. 140

2. *Merc*, 5/1/21.

3. The strikes also led the Commonwealth to amend the Act so that, instead of allowing the Governor General to declare certain routes not part of the coastal trade, it was only possible to issue ad hoc permits for specific ships (see CB Black's evidence in *Merc*, 25/1/24). The Navigation Act is a big topic and is discussed at greater length in Part Three.

4. The ASOF stood firm against union moves to entrench 'job control' and withdrew 76 steamers from their runs. Even after the unions involved declared the strike over, the companies refused to redeploy without written guarantees. They scorned a 'vague assurance' given by the communist general secretary Tom Walsh (1871-1943), orchestrator of the 1919 strike (see *ADB*).

5. All papers January-February 1921. The settlement was announced on 25/2/21.

6. *Merc*, 23/6/21.

7. *TPP* 1921/51 TGR Annual Report.

8. The North was incensed at Southern attempts to have all overseas shipping centred at Hobart. This had been a brooding issue since 1919: see *Ex*, 4/1/19; *Merc*, 9-12/6/19; *Advo*, 12/4/20; *DT*, 18/4/20, 19/4/20, 21/4/20 and *South Western Times*, (Bunbury) 9/5/22.

the *Loongana*, or a similar vessel to ensure 'satisfactory and uninterrupted communications'. Hobart Chamber of Commerce president Leslie John Crozier (d.1953)¹ also suggested the use of oil-fired ships to 'do away with' coalstokers. Such resolutions had little practical value, but few were willing to admit it. When Warden Crosby pointed out that labour could easily strike against state-owned vessels, he was simply ignored. The *Mercury* warned that government would hesitate to take 'bold steps', but that was no reason to desist from agitating.²

Tasmania's ferry links with the mainland were regulated by Commonwealth mail service contracts: in effect a subsidy which assured the island (strikes permitting) regular services at controlled prices. In 1914 the contract cost £15,000 p.a. When renegotiated in 1921 the picture had changed. The ASOF now preferred to slough the restrictions and inefficiencies inherent in a mail contract. They would willingly carry at poundage rates, but wanted to maintain flexibility to chase profits. This would have turned the off-season Bass Strait trade into a mere tramp run. The companies held the whip. When Acting Prime Minister Joseph Cook announced he had 'persuaded' them to make a contract, he also had to admit the subsidy had been doubled to £30,000 p.a. This would be supplemented by a rise in freights and a fare hike of 20%. It was to be a short contract of twelve months only, and the companies retained the right to review the agreement after six months' running.³

Cook's assurance that Tasmanian fares were still comparable to other Australian coastal routes did not satisfy the islanders. Launceston's *Weekly Courier* summed up their attitude. Further rises were a 'serious drawback to Tasmania, when the tourist traffic represents such a large asset'. The paper predicted another rise at the end of the contract. Asserting the cult of efficiency and planning, it rued the ad hoc nature of contemporary policy. The contract was 'only a temporary expedient' and the *Courier* urged the powers to seek 'a better way' of securing the link. Implied were state passenger ships.⁴ The *Mercury* said the state was being swept over by a 'tide of depression'. While the shipping companies⁵ warned of continued waterfront disruption, the vigilantes had died away. It was imperative that 'leading business men' revive committees to 'help' government to find a long-term solution.⁶

1. Crozier was manager of the Queensland Insurance Co. until 1923, when he was accused of embezzlement (see *Merc*, 20-25/10/23). He moved from Queensland Insurance to the Farmers' and Citizens' Insurance Company, Elizabeth Street, but then appears to have departed Hobart's commercial milieu (see Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Handbook* 1923-24). He was acquitted of larceny (see *Merc*, 22/2/24) but his address thereafter was the family farm at Kempton (*Wise*). Mud seems to have stuck—when *TC* was printed in 1931 he was omitted from the Chamber's list of esteemed presidents (see p. 102).

2. *Merc*, 1/2/21 said 'it may be necessary for the Shipping Committee, and other public and semi-public bodies, to keep the thing moving and prevent the government from forgetting.'

3. *Merc*, 11/6/21.

4. *WC*, 16/6/21.

5. In the person of William Thomas Appleton (1859-1930), managing director of Huddart-Parker and architect-chairman of the ASOF (see *ADB*).

6. *Merc*, 4/4/21.

The *Mercury* wanted the new state shipping fleet extended to passenger vessels. These could be manned by Tasmanian volunteers in case of a strike.¹ The world-wide shipping glut would provide a suitably priced ferry. Such a ferry should not be thought of as necessarily self-sufficient. It should be run 'in the national interests' as an adjunct to the TGR and subsidised by the Commonwealth. Here was the pragmatic case for "state socialism":

We believe the State Government is not, for obvious reasons, inclined to enter the passenger trade, but it is a pertinent question which is the most profitable course for the State to pursue—an attitude of indifference, which may result in the State again losing heavily, or to run the risk of making a loss on a passenger steamer or steamers that would be counterbalanced by advantages in other directions.

Apart from direct pecuniary losses, strikes brought 'very serious loss in prestige' to the state. This diminished the flow of investment capital for new industries. The building industry, ever a barometer of progress, was seen to suffer the lack of guaranteed shipping, and the community could not 'afford to turn good money away year after year'.

The maintenance of our shipping services is so vital to our wellbeing, and so intricately involved in the whole of our industrial economy that the Government, we think, would be justified in taking extraordinary measures ...²

Since at least 1912 it was manifest that there was no real competition between the regular shippers to Tasmania, USSCo. and Huddart-Parker.³ In December 1921 the two established a joint subsidiary, Tasmanian Steamers Pty Ltd. This assumed title over Union's *Loongana* and *Oonah* and Huddart-Parker's *Nairana*, the trio involved in the Bass Strait mail contract. Yellow funnels with black and red tops combined the colours of the parent companies, as did their new ensign. Directors explained the name was chosen 'to perpetuate memory of the Tasmanian Steam Navigation Company', which sold out to Union in the 1890s.⁴ The *Daily Telegraph* welcomed the move, 'definable only as a matter of sentiment', but nonetheless 'appropriate' and 'construable as recognition of the Island State and its shipping traffic with the continent of the Commonwealth.'⁵

Mention of the *Nairana* cannot pass without some description of the new vessel. As noted, she was ordered by Huddart-Parker before 1914 and served as an Admiralty seaplane carrier in the war. In 1918, following the October Revolution, she was engaged in anti-Bolshevik manoeuvres (an apt role for a future instrument of Australia's shipping combine!). On arrival in Melbourne her four decks and cruiser stern, visible from Flinders Street, attracted such a crowd of sightseers they had to be

1. See also *ibid.*, 1/2/21.

2. *Ibid.*, 4/4/21.

3. See evidence to Select Committee into Interstate Shipping *TPP* 1912/32. The extent of anti-competitive arrangements in the Australian shipping 'Combine' or 'Octopus' was revealed in Wilkinson's *Trust movement op. cit.*

4. *DT*, 30/12/21.

5. *Ibid.*, 5/1/22.

restrained. Her 52 day voyage from England had proven her a good sea ship and therefore well suited to the tempestuous Bass Strait run. Her 3,042 tons were designed to carry 450 passengers in two classes. This did not compete radically with the 1904 vessel *Loongana*, which at 2,448 tons could carry 420 passengers in three classes, but *Nairana* was faster and more salubrious. The first class dining saloon served 88 passengers at a sitting and the islanders eagerly awaited the arrival of their new flagship, its well-lit cabins, spacious saloons and music and smoking rooms with their innovative 'swivel chairs'!¹

Completing her maiden Bass Strait crossing on 20 April, *Nairana* berthed at Launceston's King's wharf. The hope that she hailed a new era of progress for the city and state was reinforced by her cargo of delegates for an Australian Chambers of Commerce conference. The *Examiner's* enthusiastic editorial, under the banners 'Tasmania Must Progress' and 'Manufacturers Must Come Here', pointed to the PR value of attracting such influential tourists and acquainting them with the island's natural advantages. After a year in the Tasmanian trade, according to the *Adelaide Critic*, the *Nairana* had 'won the admiration of every visitor.'² She proved a great asset to Tasmania's tourist industry in another way. She displaced *Loongana* to the Melbourne-Burnie-Devonport run, the first leg of which took only 12 hours as compared with 17 hours between Melbourne and Launceston.³ *Loongana* gave the North-West a better service than the older *Oonah*. This encouraged more mainlanders to brave the waters.

Better Times?

A far more important feature of seasons 1921-22 and 1922-23 was their freedom from industrial stoppages. Port arrivals figures at last returned to pre-war levels at over 40,000, and successive TGTD revenue records were achieved. Revenue for 1921-22 was posted at £70,238, including £24,000 in TGR bookings. The following year's total reached £76,666, a figure nearly four times that of the benchmark year, 1917-18, when NTTA revenues merged with the TGTD's. In contrast TGTD expenditure increased only about 13% for 1921-22 and 1922-23.⁴

Still, bad reputations do not simply disappear. As planning for the 1921-22 season progressed disturbing rumours from Melbourne—strikes on the one hand; lock-outs on the other—kept Tasmania's worries alive. But with Australian shipping now in a general slump, unemployment seemed to preclude a clash.⁵ Returning from the Premiers' Conference, Lee said Hughes had assured him the Commonwealth had the

1. *Merc*, 31/3/21.
 2. *Adelaide Critic*, 15/3/22.
 3. *Advo*, 27/4/21.
 4. See Appendix One.
 5. *DT*, 11/11/21 and *World*, 12/11/21.

power, and accepted its 'duty' to use it, to commandeer ships for maintenance of interstate trade.¹ This heartened some Tasmanians who thought the problem now was to accommodate the expected influx.² Others were not convinced. Crozier wanted guarantees, not just assurances. The Commonwealth should be pressured because 'It was increasingly obvious every year that only by means of a Government ferry service would Tasmania be linked up properly with the mainland.'³ Whitsitt preferred to see the island equip itself for self-determination. He continued haggling for a state cargo steamer capable of carrying 'a fair amount of passengers' and the mails. Lee placed the onus back on the Commonwealth. He doubted a state ship could ensure the link anyway, and instead purchased a small trader to serve King Island.⁴

Meanwhile Emmett had been on the mainland lobbying the "other government", the steamship owners. He returned convinced that at last Tasmania would get her long-awaited bumper season. The prospect of another strike was low, an opinion broadcast in Adelaide by TA Rogers. Now 'proposed trippers to the land of health and beauty' could 'confidently make up their minds' they would 'be able to return safely to their homes.'⁵ Persuaded by Emmett, Huddart-Parker dropped plans to continue its ten-day winter Sydney-Hobart. Instead the fast NZ steamer *Riverina* would leave Sydney on Wednesdays and Hobart on Saturdays. This regular timetable helped the TGTD streamline a developing system of pre-paid excursion ticketing.⁶ Discussing general economic conditions, Emmett noted 'a marked falling off in the general movement of people on the mainland', but Tasmania was now 'so widely advertised, and ... popular' it would need 'a very severe depression before the summer tourist season [was] affected appreciably.'⁷

This time Emmett's optimism proved well founded. By the end of November bookings at mainland bureaux, especially Melbourne, were 'exceptionally heavy'.⁸ *Loongana* and *Nairana* were scheduled for five return trips a week between Melbourne and the northern ports. Combined with *Riverina* the provisions were 'adequate',⁹ each ship carrying upwards of 400 passengers. Charged with overcrowding,¹⁰ Parkers also deployed *Westralia* Sydney-Hobart.¹¹ All tickets went fast. In Hobart, Launceston and the North-West large crowds enjoyed fine weather, filling the shops and the pockets of their owners.¹² At last! The *Mercury's* joy was bitter-sweet:

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1. *Advo*, 16/11/21.
 2. *DT*, 11/11/21
 3. *Ex*, 6/12/21.
 4. *Advo*, 16/11/21.
 5. *Adelaide Critic*, 16/11/21.
 6. *Merc*, 13/10/21; *World*, 18/11/21.
 7. *Merc*, 13/10/21.
 8. *World*, 28/11/21.
 9. *DT*, 28/11/21.
 10. See for example *Ex*, 6/12/21.
 11. *DT*, 20/12/21.
 12. *World*, 23/12/21; *Ex*, 24/12/21; *DT*, 27/12/21.

For the first time in recent years those many people in Tasmania who have invested their capital in utilities for tourists will be able to eat their Christmas dinner without gloomy forebodings. By grace of the seamen, engineers, cooks and other men who have to do with the ships, passengers are allowed to come to Tasmania from other States, and are even able to believe that they will get home again when their holidays are at an end.

Tourist operators had 'such bitter experiences' over past years that they 'got into a really nervous condition'. The problem now lay in finding accommodation for the influx.¹ Emmett advertised asking private houses with billets for tourists to register with the bureaux,² but his successes in decentralisation through promotion of round tours promised to relieve congestion in the main centres.³ In fact, for some, this was too successful. Despite great activity at King's Wharf, Launceston businesses again began complaining their city was used as a mere 'distributing centre'; they were not getting a proper share of the business.⁴

The success of the 1921-22 season served simply to stimulate desire. In Burnie the *Advocate* urged its public to read an *Age* article which enthused about the 'most progressive portion of the island State.' The North-West was a climatic, scenic and entrepreneurial paradise for Victorians. Its 'relative proximity' to Melbourne, compared to other Tasmanian centres, made it almost as Victorian as the Riverina district. With Carlton beer on tap in the hotels and Bendigo tomatoes in the shops, the 'Victorian character of this near cousin of ours' was very attractive. The only complaint was that steamship facilities needed improvement and fares were considered too high. £2 8s, 'for a short run, during which a sea sick passenger shudders at the thought of food,' was 'outrageous'.⁵

North-Western tourist associations again pressured shipping companies for better services. So, too, in Launceston, where its tidal, estuarine port often necessitated trans-shipment at Rosevears from the ferry to a smaller tender. To overcome this great inconvenience, sections of the community called for a 'purely tidal service'.⁶ The fact that this would disrupt other sectors, such as the TGR's timetables, possibly escaped them. Or perhaps it was an attempt to hinder the TGR connecting with the ferry at the wharf and whisking their tourists away! It did not eventuate. More successful was Emmett's request for Tasmanian Steamers to provide excursion fares for a 'Back to Tasmania' carnival being planned for November 1922.⁷ The 1922-23 season was even better than the previous year. But problems with external transport continued to exist, flaring especially in the summer of 1924-25. Plenty of other aspects of tourism presented themselves during Emmett's first period as Director of the TGTD.

1. *Merc*, 23/12/21.

2. *World*, 23/12/21.

3. *Merc*, 23/12/21.

4. *Ex*, 30/12/21; 4/1/22.

5. *Advo*, 28/1/22.

6. *Ex*, 1/4/22.

7. *Ibid.*, 6/4/22. The Back to Tasmania Fortnight is described in Chapter Seven.

5 RESORTS AND ACCOMMODATION

"Seasonality" and Winter Sports Resorts

Lying at the 42° parallel south, Tasmania experiences each of the four seasons of change. This immediately sets it apart from most of mainland Australia. Its population is also relatively decentralised, well acquainted with country life. These factors made "seasonality" a particularly important part of the Tasmanian experience. The cities and towns developed as service centres for a rural economy. Although increasingly urban in outlook, they could never ignore nature and the agrarian cycles. Thus rather than developing a strong rural press in the island, city papers had strong rural flavour. Spring was celebrated by large agricultural shows in Launceston and Hobart, at which interests, attitudes and ideas mingled. Little wonder, then, that the language of the country was applied to all branches of industry. In the winter months Emmett 'must sow the seed' of advertising, mainland lectures, local hotel-renovations, beautifications and the like, 'if he wishes to secure a good harvest.'¹ In the summer and early autumn he would hope to reap a 'crop' of tourists, thus profiting according to his labours.² It was good to see an advertising campaign 'bearing fruit'.³ Yet urban industrial tendencies in the present century have also affected the country. Emmett's time saw a movement against seasonality, or at least attempts to ameliorate its negative trade effects.

Tasmania's "season" for tourist traffic was early defined as the summer months, mid December to mid March, with a brief Easter revival. Internal and external factors combined to constrict it thus. Tasmania's summer offered a mild alternative in the months when most mainland cities were hot and uncomfortable, and when most urban dwellers and their families were free to take holidays. Summer meant hopfields, apple and other fruit orchards, especially in the Derwent and Huon Valleys, were at their most scenic.⁴ Concentration of their produce for export made the port cities, especially Hobart, all the more busy and exciting, as did the number of ships which came to load the produce.

Taking advantage of the weather, a number of well-established events attracted VIPs. This stimulated social life. In January the Royal Hobart Regatta and Hobart Cup centred around the Foundation Day (26 January, later Australia Day) holiday to create a week of entertainment known as 'the summer carnival'. The Australian Naval

1. *Adelaide Critic*, 25/8/20.

2. *Ex*, 6/3/20

3. *Ibid.*, 2/10/26. See also *Merc*, 27/12/20, on strikes: 'repetition of heavy loss where there should be a rich annual harvest'.

4. Launceston's Tamar Valley was beautiful and there were excursions out of the city, but by 1923 the Tamar orcharding industry was still only fledgling. See *Merc*, 5/5/23 for a long article describing the northern industry's halting progress since its start about 1907-8.

Squadron made Hobart its summer rendezvous.¹ Its officers joined the Governor's Establishment to create a focus for upper-class minglings. Their daily ceremonials fascinated less prestigious orders, and there was great competition for invitations to Government House and kindred garden parties and balls.² Press reports of such occasions made columns of copy simply from the names of those present. Indeed this was often the main news. Parvenus improved their own standing by "being seen" in the "right company". Stalls ticket holders subsidised special events for VIPs. Another, seamier, side of society attracted by the activity was well catered for. Police chiefs in Sydney and Melbourne seconded detectives to identify "spielers" and other undesirables'.³ Society was smaller in Launceston and the provincial towns. All established annual summer events, especially sports, to attract interest from outside.⁴ But try as they might, none could compete with Hobart's demographic strength and broadwater setting under majestic Mount Wellington.

In winter the "push-pull" effect of climate reversed. Those southerners who had holiday opportunities in the off-period, Tasmanians included, preferred to travel north to warmer climes: the more privileged leading their entourages to such attractions as the Royal Brisbane Show in August. There was also the winter roughness of Bass Strait to consider. Another negative for Tasmania was that Australians were adapting to their local environment. Poetical nation boosters such as Dorothea MacKellar were teaching them to love their 'sunburnt country'.⁵ Changing tastes reflected in clothing fashions. Flapperdom rejected Victorian 'respectability' for more practical and comfortable couture in lighter materials. "Dignity" could now be maintained without travelling to milder climes. With mainland states stepping up campaigns to keep tourists inside their own borders, Tasmania would have to fight to maintain her reputation as the 'Sanatorium of the South', even during the summer.

1. TGTD, *Tasmania for the Tourist* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1919). p. 5. Howc, E *Hobart Guide: containing plans of the suburbs of Glenorchy, Moonah, New Town, Cascades and Sandy Bay* (Hobart: Walch; 1923).

2. Morris, CA *op. cit.* has described this in the pre-WWI period, see especially pp. vi-vii. However she missed this source: Poore, Lady [Ida] *Recollections of an Admiral's Wife 1903—1916*. (London: Smith, Elder; 1916). pp. 210-2: Visited Hobart with the squadron in January 1909. Accommodated by Government at *Newlands*. Enjoyed the English garden, 'old fashioned' with geraniums, verbena, mulberries. Old acquaintances of Governor Strickland and wife, hospitable and conscientious public performers. Poore found it hard to reconcile the 'smiling' beauty with the convict horrors of the past. Could not read *Term of his Natural Life* — had a lazy holiday with plenty of rest and refreshment. 'There is a little "season" at Hobart which coincides with the squadron's summer visit, and as it is a favourite hot-weather resort with Sydney and Melbourne people there were plenty of gay doings while we were there.' Briefly describes Hobart 'society' and alludes to the attractions, for navy men, of Tasmanian girls. Rider Haggard was less impressed with Hobart society. He left Hobart on 8/4/16 by train via Launceston to Melbourne per 'Lungana' [*Loongana*]. In Melbourne he told his diary that his work was 'very hard and not made easier by its social side.' There is more about the tribulations of such as civic receptions, the bores and cranks 'Then the speeches! These are a nightmare...' See Higgins, DS (ed.) *The Private Diaries of Sir H Rider Haggard* (London: Cassell; 1980).

3. TPP 1917/34 p. 4. Police Commissioner's Annual Report, 1916-17.

4. At Burnie there was an athletic carnival. Railton had cycling. Most country towns had special race meetings, and river settlements had their regattas. Ulverstone's citizens were particularly active, see *Advo.* 26/8/22 'Beautiful Ulverstone. Where Sport Booms' Article by 'Rambler' re. golf and other sports, carnivals planned for this season, expect big influx.

5. MacKellar's famous poem contrasting northern hemisphere tastes with her love of a sunburnt country was first published (in London) in 1908 as 'Core of My Heart.' For MacKellar see *ADB*.



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The above considerations were largely functions of attitudes about climatic comfort. But it was also inescapable that tourists generally do not want to 'rough it'. In the period under discussion, Tasmania had insufficient access and accommodation facilities to take full advantage of potential winter resorts. Thus TGTD advertising in 1917 stressed the attractiveness of the island's moderate summer. Emmett restricted his West Coast conducted excursions to the New Year when camping was most comfortable. The Hobart draper, grocer, ex-MHA and broom manufacturer, William Robert Charles Jarvis (1871-1939), organised trips 'through Apple Orchards and Hop Fields' in early autumn, but Easter saw almost total recession of activity.¹ After the war, however, late spring was boosted and stress was laid on Tasmania's potential for winter holidays.

The 'All-Year-Round' Movement

By the early 1920s industrial capitalism, spurred by hydro-electric development, had begun to modify the island's cyclic, agrarian economy. Henry Jones started with fruit and jam canning, but soon found ways to diversify and spread the flow of his finances to combat seasonality.² New factories began producing 'round-the-clock'. The architects of Tasmanian industrialism included imported technocrats steeped in the progressive ethos.³ The scale and intensity of capital investment demanded efficiency in production. This in turn demanded steadiness and short turn-overs in the production-distribution process. Put another way, progress demanded growth, and growth demanded continuity.⁴

To Henry Ford, America's greatest prophet of industrial capitalism, seasons were anathema, yet merely a problem subject to human ingenuity:

A considerable art of finance is in the overcoming of seasonal operation. The flow of money ought to be nearly continuous. One must work steadily in order to work profitably. Shutting down involves great waste. It brings the waste of unemployment of men, the waste of unemployment of equipment, and the waste of restricted future sales through the higher prices of interrupted production.... We could not manufacture cars to stock during the winter months when purchases are less than in spring or summer.... who would find the money to carry such a stock of cars even if they could be stored?

1. See for instance Feldheim, J. *A Century of Progress 1804-1917. Hobart: Ancient and Modern. History of the Advance of Hobart, the Queen Capital of Tasmania with comparative pictorial contrasts of the earliest days and today.* (Melbourne: Feldheim; 1917).

2. Jones travelled at least twice in America, and spent many months in England, where he enjoyed top-level contacts and learnt the most modern methods in industry and finance. See Brown, Bruce *op. cit.*

3. Men such as John Butters of the Hydro-Electric Department, and Herbert Gepp (1877-1954) of the Electrolytic Zinc works at Risdon.

4. As early as the 1880s proto-socialists like Edward Bellamy had berated any waste of capital or labour, while the agrarian communists like William Morris noted (albeit ironically) that '...the prevailing feeling amongst intellectual persons was a kind of sour distaste for the changing drama of the year, for the life of earth and its dealings with men.' See Bellamy, Edward *Looking Backward 2000-1887* (New York: Random House; 1951. First published 1887), especially Chapter 22. and Morris, William *News from Nowhere* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.; 1940. First published 1890), especially Chapter 15. Both works enjoyed immense readerships into the post-WWII period. See Michael Roe's *Nine Australian Progressives op. cit.* for an exposition of such influences upon early C20 Australian intellectuals, bureaucrats, technocrats, industrialists. See also FW Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management*. For William Morris in Tasmania note that the Railways Union presented Labor leader John Earle with a Morris chair for his wedding (see DP, 16/10/11). See also Miley, Caroline *Beautiful & Useful: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Tasmania* (Launceston: QVMAG; 1987).

....

The factory must build, the sales department must sell, and the dealer must buy cars all the year through, if each would enjoy the maximum profit to be derived from the business. If the retail buyer will not consider purchasing except in "seasons," a campaign of education needs to be waged, proving the all-the-year-around value of a car rather than the limited season value. And while the educating is being done, the manufacturer must build, and the dealer must buy, in anticipation of the business.¹

Ford successfully 'educated' Americans to use motor cars in winter, and tourist interests also saw direct applications for Fordism. In 1921 an 'All-Year Club' formed to extend the tourist industry of Southern California.²

For Smith and Emmett the tourist 'trade' was now becoming an 'industry', and seasonality an obstacle to fuller exploitation of scenic-recreational resources. It restricted the state's tourist income, creating uneven and disruptive patterns for businessmen and workers alike. Newspapers explained how local tourist operators recognised the cost of having plant idle over the winter months.³ The vulnerability of the 'vital link' in the peak period was further stimulant.⁴ As Addison's committee had stated, shortage of amenities made the summer season liable to congestion. The attendant discomfort for tourists was bad advertisement for the state, but a central agency could divert tourists into off-peak months.⁵ This went hand in hand with dispersing tourists geographically. It aimed to create an industry pattern more satisfactory for both labour and capital. Jobs would last longer and skills would improve. Businesses would not have to bear the capital cost of stock or plant through periods of idleness. Tourists would enjoy greater individual comfort and this would stimulate them to tell their friends. Moreover it was possible that, with an accepted image as off-peak destination, Tasmania could tap new markets: people such as Victoria's wealthy agriculturalists who took holidays in winter months.⁶ Emmett's job was to identify seasonal obstacles and find solutions.

1. Ford, Henry, (in collaboration with Samuel Crowther) *My Life and Work* (New York: Doubleday; 1922) p. 165-6. The book was published in Australia by Angus & Robertson in 1923, but the message had reached Australia by other means long before that. See also, on p. 6, 'It is foolish to expect that, if everything be overturned, everyone will thereby get three meals a day. Or, should everything be petrified, that thereby six per cent. interest may be paid.' Henry Jones' evidence to the 1912 Commonwealth Sugar Enquiry showed he was firmly grounded in Ford-like philosophy. See for example Brown, Bruce *op. cit.* p. 108 for comments on the value of competition in keeping prices down.

2. Ellis, Ulrich (Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Commerce, Rt. Hon. Earle Page) 'A Survey of the Tourist Industry in Australia. Together With Suggestions for Further Development' (Canberra: Unpublished typescript; 14 January 1935. Copy held in NLA). p. 40.

3. See for examples *World*, 8/10/18 and 7/2/23; *Merc*, 6/1/23.

4. Smith's Annual Reports repeatedly said so.

5. In his 1914 report McCall had described a House of Commons Bill to enable municipal corporations to impose a rate for development and advertising the health resorts. The principle object of a meeting of the Federation of British Health and Holiday Resorts in March 1914 was to extend the season by having summer holidays started earlier. These and other objectives were considered by the Addison Committee (see PD1/38/11/14). Note also that 'time policy' found expression in calls for calendar reform, a twenty hour clock, and a settled date for Easter (*Merc*, 14/4/28).

6. See *Ex*, 30/5/16.

The TGTD employed several methods. In the first place were public relations exercises. Emmett's mainland officers dispensed information to counter the island's prevailing reputation for cold, wet winters.¹ Local association backed the campaign. The North-West Coast 'Riviera of Tasmania'² proclaimed its 'enviable climatic reputation ... temperate throughout the whole year'.³ The East Coast was now emerging as an identity with a voice,⁴ and attracting investment in tourist accommodation.⁵ It benefited from climatic comparisons. The TGTD publicised Weather Bureau figures showing how St Helen's sunshine made it 'an excellent winter resort' for Melbournites.⁶ When advertising internationally, Emmett took another tack to ensure Tasmania was not identified with the climatic stereotype of mainland Australia. In hotter markets the island's temperate, health-giving qualities were most highlighted of her special virtues. Malaria was 'unknown', a fact especially attractive to retiree-emigrants from the Empire's tropical parts.⁷ Even closer to home, a *Bulletin* article on Emmett said that:

Last time he visited Bananaland [Queensland] he announced solemnly that hot nights and dust storms were illegal in the Apple Isle. Nobody contradicted him, because he had the evidence in a printed book in his bag, and he was prepared to take the oath on its correctness, for he had written it himself.⁸

Stimulating tourism with a 'systematic advertising policy' created, according to Smith and Emmett, a natural 'tendency for the season to lengthen out.' The trend resulted partially from strikes barring tourists at the normal time, but without advertising offensives the tourists may never have returned. As noted in Chapter Four, Emmett welcomed the fact that post-strike tourists in 1920 would experience Tasmania's 'autumn colours', and return to tell their friends. By year's end the campaign's effects showed in TGTD accounts and Emmett claimed 'the season' now spanned eight-months. In October Len Bruce reported traffic was busy already. Bookings over the 'really slack' winter months, June-September, had doubled and

1. For instance it was put abroad that average winter temperatures were only 3° Fahrenheit below Melbourne's, equal to Bendigo's and warmer than Ballarat's (see *Ex.* 23/6/21).

2. North-West Tourist Association, *Tasmania's North-West Coast: The Riviera of Tasmania* (Devonport: The Association; [1909]). This early publication mainly promoted its summer attractions.

3. North-Western Tourist Association *Tourist & Visitor's Guide to Burnie, Wynyard, Penguin & Waratah* (Launceston: *Examiner*; 1922).

4. *Merc.* 18/10/22.

5. *World.* 23/6/20.

6. *Merc.* 11/8/20.

7. For examples see PDI/38/5/20, April-May 1920. See also the various editions of *Tasmania for the Tourist and Settler* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1914, 1918, 1919, 1925, 1933). Griffith Taylor's attitudes were good for Tasmania. He mapped Australia's white settlement potential according to a scale of discomfort based on climate. He admitted it was 'possible, as time goes by, that the effect of the hot coastal regions will have less effect on the energy of the settlers.' But he also said 'it is a matter of centuries'. He decided 'New Zealand ranks highest in our part of the world as a comfortable climate for Englishmen, with Tasmania a close second. each of these is probably more comfortable than London, for they have fewer raw days.' See 'Physiographic Control of Settlement' in Atkinson, Meredith (Ed.) *Australia: Economic and Political Studies* (Melbourne: MacMillan; 1920) p. 333.

8. Clipping found in Emmett's personal scrapbook, 'News Cuttings August 1913 to May 1960 ...' p. 29. (In possession of Mrs Dorothy Brownell, Lindisfarne).

Emmett spoke of seasonality as an 'old obstacle'. Within 'a few years' he expected winter traffic 'of quite appreciable value'. Tasmania would enjoy 'all-the-year-round' traffic.¹

A second method was to promote more energetically the various festivals and events, such as agricultural shows, which hitherto only really attracted locals. Thus Sydney TGTB offered 'a special "off" season trip' in 1921, with measurable results.² Emmett encouraged sports and other groups to stage interstate carnivals and conferences outside summer. Visiting parties' links with other clubs and societies gave them high PR value. Knowing 'the best advertisement is a contented customer', Emmett arranged official, civic and other VIP receptions for them. He even created entirely new events, such as the 'Back to Tasmania Fortnight' of November 1922 (described in Chapter Seven). The belief seems to have been borne out that psychological appeals could, in themselves, convince people to ignore for a time the natural attractions of the "better" season. But advertising was not enough in itself.

Infrastructure Demands—National Parks

To take full advantage of the apparent willingness of tourists to travel in the cooler months, Tasmania needed better facilities for access, recreation and comfortable lodgings. Getting them provided was a task for the booster, the first job being to create local demand. Ever the active recreationalist, Emmett personally stimulated winter sports. He tapped contemporary enthusiasm for Nature through membership in the Scenery Preservation and National Parks Boards (SPB and NPB), both formed by statute in 1915.³ As early as 1916 he saw potential for a winter resort at Pine Lake where roadworks spawned by hydro-electric constructions were approaching the northern end of Great Lake.⁴ Ice skating was there to be enjoyed, so Emmett recommended the construction of a government accommodation house.⁵

Northern journalists also recognised the 'potentialities' of the Central Highlands. DD Griffin and 'L.E.H.' complained that too many tourists saw too little of Tasmania, few venturing more than a mile from a railway track. The Highlands were a huge tract of

1. See TGR Annual Report, *TPP* 1917/20 for the effect of advertising on reducing the effects of strikes, and 1920/60 for the 'tendency'. *Merc*, 9/11/20 also has Emmett talking about the 'tendency'. See *Merc*, 3/3/20, for 'autumn colours'. *Ex*, 15/10/22 has Leonard Bruce's comments on the topic.

2. *Ex*, 23/6/21.

3. For more on these movements see Mosley *op. cit.* and Castles, Gerard 'Handcuffed Volunteers: A History of the Scenery Preservation Board in Tasmania 1915-1971' (Unpublished University of Tasmania BA Hons thesis; 1986). For Victorian variants see Tom Griffiths's 'The Natural History of Melbourne: The Culture of Nature Writing in Victoria, 1880-1945' *Australian Historical Studies* October 1989; 23/93 pp. 339-65; and Powell, JM 'The cabbage garden and the fair blank sheet: an historical review of environment and planning' in Shaw, AGL (ed.) *Victoria's Heritage* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin; 1986).

4. Geoffrey Blainey compares and contrasts Tasmanian and New Zealand experience in the provision of national parks and says both were 'alert to the commercial link between mountain scenery and tourism'. See 'Two Countries: the Same but Very Different' in Sinclair, Keith (ed.) *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988* (Auckland: University Press; 1987) pp. 315-32.

5. *Merc*, 19/4/16. He repeated the call in *Ex*, 23/6/21.



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non-arable land, but they had 'Scenery like Scotland, or the Lakes of Killarney in Ireland'. They offered a 'health giving locality of pure bracing air, where the doctor and his coadjutor, the undertaker, may be dodged for an indefinite period.' Why not 'make the most' of them as a tourist asset? 'Thousands' would visit. Tasmania could become the true 'Sanatorium of the South' if better roads and larger, more up-to-date hotels or boarding houses were provided. Only then could 'ladies and invalids' be expected to make even 'a summer sojourn in the Highlands'.¹ In the south William Crooke talked about 'popularising' Mount Field by inducing people to camp there.² Holding out most hope for Park development were winter sports.

In June 1921 Emmett launched a new campaign with the complaint that the island was unable to offer special facilities for skating and skiing.³ Efforts to develop a 'National Reserve' from Cradle Mountain to Lake St Clair increased. Austrian immigrant Gustav Weindorfer's (1874-1932) *Waldheim* chalet at Cradle had already achieved marked fame despite difficult access.⁴ Notwithstanding some roadwork in 1919, it was still cut off completely each winter, and 'Dorfer' saw potential in a park under government auspices. He approached Emmett and his friend, Tasmanian Museum curator Clive Errol Lord (1889-1933).⁵ They submitted detailed proposals to a sympathetic Minister of Lands, Alexander Hean (1859-1927), and through publicity stimulated southern interest. Emmett toured the North and North-West attuning local interests to the benefits of servicing tourists bound for Cradle. In Launceston the Chamber of Manufactures adjourned their meeting to attend his lecture⁶ and a newly formed Northern section of the Royal Society gave active support.⁷ From Sheffield, the potential 'jumping off place' for Cradle Mountain, came predicted,⁸ unanimous support. The local council took the message on to Devonport, the nearest port.⁹ In January 1922 Herbert King brought three *Indian* bikes up to Cradle. 'Dorfer celebrated the feat by initiating a pigeon post, a novel event with high publicity value.¹⁰

The Cradle Mountain Scenic Reserve was proclaimed in May 1922. The *Examiner* urged public-spirited people to get behind its development as a 'Tasmanian Kosciusko' and create a 'Mecca for state and interstate winter tourists.'¹¹ A newly formed

1. *DT*, 1/7/16 and 30/5/17.

2. *Merc*, 8/8/17.

3. *Ex*, 23/6/21.

4. Branagan, Jack *A Great Tasmanian: Frederick Smithies* (Launceston: Regal; 1984). Giordano, Margaret *A Man and a Mountain: The Story of Gustav Weindorfer* (Launceston: Regal; 1987).

5. *ADB*.

6. *DT*, 30/7/21.

7. *Ex*, 29/7/21.

8. *Ibid.*, 26/7/21.

9. *Advo*, 8/8/21.

10. Giordano, *op. cit.* p. 71. Branagan, *op. cit.* p. 57 says Fred Smithies first brought a motorbike to the district in 1919 and 1920. The arrival of *Indians* was specially celebrated probably as part of the Reserve campaign.

11. *Ex*, 24/3/22.

Launceston Progress Association took up the cudgel,¹ as did the northern naturalist, Frederick Smithies (1885-1979). Smithies was Launceston manager of the Atlas Insurance Company, a natural-born booster, and another 'Dorfer chum.'² Now he and Dr McLinton, an American dentist resident in Launceston, built on the general enthusiasm. They toured the North-West in late July with lantern lectures extolling the beauties of the new reserve. There was much work to be done, but tourists would make it pay:

This new area is going to have a great effect on the tourist traffic of the North-West Coast in the future. I am quite satisfied that it includes scenery not to be excelled, and very seldom equalled, in Australia. It is worth boosting, for it has unlimited possibilities if only the Government can be made to realise what an asset it can be made to the State if properly exploited for tourist purposes.³

For Emmett Mount Field was an even more promising 'Tasmanian Kosciusko'. Its rail link brought it much closer to Hobart than were mainland ski resorts to their respective centres. In July he located suitable sites for ice-skating. At the time the attraction was only for the young and hardy, but a chalet, roads and improved rail service would see an influx of weekenders.⁴ Press support was enthusiastic. Emmett was:

the right man in the right place. He is full of all sorts of schemes, not of the ordinary wild feline [wildcat] variety, but quite otherwise, for developing the attractions of Tasmania, and he is a man of ideas, of just the sort wanted to decoy the holiday maker from the mainland over here.⁵

Within a week local interest mushroomed. Skating parties at Lake Fenton enjoyed the SPB's 'cosily fitted out' hut, where the chief 'innovation was the installation of proper beds.' Given the construction of a motor road and chalet, Emmett 'conservatively' predicted future annual traffic of at least 1000 winter sports tourists p. a. If each spent twenty pounds the economic injection would be 'surely a good return for the outlay'.⁶

At Kosciusko in August 1922, Emmett and Donnelly learnt to ski. Emmett also visited Victoria's Mount Buffalo, where the government accommodation house was booked out. It impressed him that Victorians were willing to go 'all that way to enjoy their favourite pastime.'⁷ Surely they would come to Tasmania in winter if snow and ice sports were easily available. Emmett was not the first Tasmanian ski-buff, but certainly the most influential.⁸ To 'get some movement' at National Park, he bought half a dozen sets of skis and skates and induced friends to 'start the fun at Mt Field.'

1. *Ibid.*, 1/4/22; 14/3/23.

2. Branagan, *op. cit.*

3. *Advo.*, 29/7/22.

4. *World*, 19/7/22.

5. *Merc.*, 27/7/22.

6. *Ex.*, 31/7/22. *World*; 9/8/22 describes the hut. For an alternative view see *Merc.*, 19/7/22: George Rometch attacks 'wild cat scheme' of Lake Fenton six mile road and £6000-7000 hotel.

7. *World*, 19/7/22; *Merc.*, 27/7/22; All papers, 24/8/22 and 8/9/22.

8. Giordano, *op. cit.* p. 44 describes how Weindorfer handcrafted a pair of skis in 1914. In *DP*, 1/7/16 'L.E.H.' tried to enthuse readers about the potential for winter recreation of the Cradle Mountain district, and, for those who did not know, described skis. Giordano p. 88 says Weindorfer introduced Smithies and other Launceston businessmen to skiing in about 1921-22, and 'None of them had ever seen a pair of skis before.'

As they learnt, he took photographs, 'used to good advantage' for advertising that year in Brisbane.¹ He also urged the HCC to 'do more to exploit' winter sports by extending the road in its Mountain Park from the Springs to the Pinnacle.² Once the new recreation took hold he had created a new lobby group to drive for better access and accommodation infrastructures in otherwise uneconomic districts. 'It soon became popular and week-end trips were run in the winter months.' Clubs were formed at both ends of the island. Like walking clubs (also spawned by Emmett, later in the decade) they were 'of practical assistance to the tourist movement.'³

One of Emmett's friends and supporters was the young, progressive lawyer and geologist, Arndell Neil Lewis (1897-1943), the son of Sir Elliot and likewise a member of the National Park Board. He proclaimed its scenery 'the *real* Tasmania' and urged that, like other 'new spots', it should be opened up before tourists started looking for aesthetic delights in other states. New Zealand and the mainland states were getting ahead with new facilities. A third of the island was wasteland and the 'energetic' Emmett offered a way to make revenue from it. Winter sports could extend the season and make spending on roads and hotels more feasible. Tasmanians should shuck their 'fetish' that only settlers were worthy of new roads. Private capital could not be induced to invest while the season was short. Here was a role for the state,⁴ and Lewis sought to influence 'Hobart public opinion' to pressure government for seeding finance. Purely tourist roads would pay. Lake Fenton, for example, only needed a six or seven mile road. Winter sports tourism was 'the biggest chance for attracting money at present open to business people in Hobart.' Nothing would be achieved without boosting: 'Like any trade it must be pushed and developed with initiative and energy.' Given a few 'simple facilities', Lewis sanguinely predicted that:

within five years our winter tourist traffic would probably exceed our present summer rush, and no one need stress the help that would give to hotel keepers, shop-keepers, and incidentally every person in the State.⁵

In urging people to get behind the Director, Lewis defended a friend in whose work he had great faith. Clive Lord did the same.⁶ Emmett had been under increasing pressure from critics in the last twelve months, and the TGR was about to be racked by a Royal Commission. Though others tried to keep the winter-sports-for-tourists idea

1. *World & Merc*, 9/8/22.

2. *Merc*, 15/11/22.

3. ETE t.s. pp. 6-7. Mosley interviewed Emmett and on p. 194 quotes him as saying he first noticed the trend for Sunday excursion trains passengers in Melbourne getting off and walking. He 'believed that by stimulating bush walking in Tasmania he could secure traffic for the railways and at the same time provide another means of publicising Tasmania's attractions.' He points out that the Tasmanian Field Naturalists' Club was formed in 1904. Northern Tasmanian Alpine Club formed in 1929. Ski Club of Tasmania formed and built a ski hut at Mt Mawson in 1926. Uncited information from Mosley. *op cit* p. 176. *Merc*, 8/12/26 has National Park Board meeting at which the latter matter was discussed.

4. In December 1921 Leslie Crozier told the Hobart Chamber of Commerce that only governments could invest ahead of demand in 'developmental' works.

5. *World*, 7/2/23.

6. *Merc*, 16/11/22.

alive in the mid 1920s,¹ budget cuts precluded the necessary development and advertising. Attitudes differed. In parliament some members said it was 'ridiculous' to boost winter tourism as 'Tasmania is a summer resort'.² Others criticised the TGR for not extending the season enough. The Commissioner retorted that extension was:

simply a matter of how much money the Government is willing to invest in the development of the industry. Much could be done to attract Mainlanders to our winter sports in the Tasmanian highlands but until good roads are built and hotels or accommodation houses erected it would be useless to advertise the sports abroad.³

Later in the decade as conditions revived so did season-extension activities. Emmett resumed winter sports advertising with some success. In 1928 he finally published an 'autumn pamphlet' he had been forced to shelve in 1923.⁴

A Long-Term Campaign

Seasonality remains ever a long-term concern for the TGTD.⁵ Emmett's success in the field to 1922 is difficult to assess. The lack of detailed statistics is, and was, confounding. Arrivals and departures figures are insufficient to draw clear conclusions. Factors such as domestic tourism and labour migration are immensurable.⁶ We have to rely on a few statistics issued by Emmett and vague assertions in TGR annual reports. Though selective and optimistic, analysis does tend to suggest increased winter traffic.⁷ Although there was never any real escape from seasonality, the story does seem to be one of expansion, at least on an 'enthusiast' scale. Some of the reason for this might be attributable to Emmett's program. He at least showed that the effects of weather could be diminished with modern roads and hotels in outlying districts. As we shall see, getting them put in place was a big question. It was not really until later, and in tandem with other developments in resource management, that infrastructure approached standards required by the average winter tourist.⁸

1. All Tasmanian papers ran illustrated articles to help boost the activity: See for e.g. *Merc*; 1/8/23.

2. *Merc*, 5/3/24.

3. AB455/4 R19/6. Miscamble to Guy 28/10/25. The commissioner was responding to criticisms from EZ company manager Herbert Gepp and Claude James, MHA.

4. See *Merc*, 22/3/28. By that stage winter sports at National Park had forged ahead. The Tasmanian Ski Club and Winter Sports Club both erected huts at their own expense (see *Merc*, 13/7/28).

5. See for instance Tasmania, Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation *Ten Steps to Success: For Small Businesses Operating in the Tourism Market* (Hobart: the Department; 1992). In 1993 the minister of tourism, Peter Hodgman, announced a 'new departure', season extension. Far more exciting for the media was his decision to destroy 3000 of the leaflets involved, because they did not bear his portrait.

6. In *Merc*, 5/4/28 a TGR press release sought to estimate tourist spending, but indicated the difficulties of separating 'tourists' from Tasmanian and business travellers. It estimated each tourist was worth £25 to the state's economy, but could not determine what proportion of the approximate 40,000 arrivals annually were tourists. Arrivals figures are available only in quarterly chunks corresponding to the financial year and therefore out of key with the seasonal quarters. Any conclusions are further confounded by demographic forces such as 'general prosperity' and labour migration.

7. TGTD business in the 1921-22 summer (December-February) quarter nearly equalled that for the whole of 1920-21 (£35,163). Revenue for the whole year 1921-22 was £70,238, so about £35,075 passed through the TGTD books during the three non-summer quarters. For the strike-prone summer quarter of 1920-21, revenue was roughly £12,000, and for the rest of the year about £24,000. Therefore in the latter, strike-free year, non-summer revenue increased about 50% (see *Merc*, 24/3/22 and TGR annual report *TPP* 1922/43).

8. See Mosley, *op. cit.*, Castles, *op. cit.* and Gee, Helen and Fenton, Janet (eds) *The south west book: a Tasmanian wilderness* (Melbourne: Australian Conservation Foundation; 1978).

Resort Development— Other Tasmanian Tourist Attractions.

Growth in the industry demanded constant care and attention to all Tasmania's natural attractions. Emmett developed new excursions, guided tours and pamphlets to help spread the tourists through districts outside the major cities. But he was hamstrung in other directions. Short finances were devoted almost entirely to advertising and administration. So he enlisted the support of local booster groups. Under his guidance and invocation more and more communities formed tourist and progress associations. Their activities increased. They recognised that beautification and recreation schemes catering to the itinerant tourist had long term benefits for locals. Spurred on by a (mainly friendly) sense of competition they made remarkable progress. The rapid spread of golf links, tennis courts and other recreation facilities gave the tourist greater choice of destination.

As with winter sports and opening up the highlands generally, other developments saw local groups combining with semi-government and inter-regional interest groups. Three examples are useful here. The first is angling. As a symbol of Tasmania's 'Englishness' it was attractive to an Empire audience and employed in the drive to ensure a flow of wealthy tourists. Nevertheless its success depended on local popularity. A second resort attraction lay in the cave districts. Visiting the caves was a far less exclusive pastime. Its potential for creating traffic was recognised locally, regionally and in the capital. Both lake and cave development depended to a degree on road access and advertising, the attainment of which made government funding a focus for boosters. The third example, seaside resorts, is included to show how Tasmanians made the most of their assets. They received less attention from the central authorities, but provide insights into competitive local urges.

An Angler's Paradise—The Inland Fisheries

Tasmania, like New Zealand, sought early to create an English atmosphere and image through the acclimatisation of European flora and fauna. All aspects of the huntin', shootin' fishin' ethos received attention, but angling, especially in the highland lakes, was a Tasmanian speciality.¹ Though mainlanders could lure the trout at Kosciusko, only distant NZ could match Tasmania for the prized rainbow trout, brown trout and Atlantic salmon. Chief among the gentlemen interested in the fishes' introduction was wealthy northern pastoralist cum Tasmanian Agent in London. James

1. Coastal rivers and sea fisheries also provided good sport and were advertised as such. See for examples: Ulverstone Tourist and Progress Association. *An Ideal seaside resort for a Summer Holiday Ulverstone Tasmania. The Beautiful. The champion bathing beach of the Commonwealth. Lovely river trips, charming road excursions, good fishing.* (Ulverstone: the Association; c. 1920). North-Western Tourist Association *op. cit.* (1920). TGTD *North East Coast Round Tour* (Hobart: TGTD; 1920). Inland river settlements also offered fishing and motor boating from grassy embankments. Longford, for instance, see *DT*, 22/7/21. But trout fishing in highland lakes remained the speciality: see Mosley *op. cit.* and Jetson, Tim *The Roof of Tasmania* (Launceston: Pelion; 1989). See also Royal Commission into Tasmanian Fisheries, *TPP* 1916/10.

Arndell Youl (1811-1904).¹ His daughter, Lina Henrietta, married Elliott Lewis. With their son Arndell Neil, the Lewis's influential involvement in nature, sport and tourism symbolised Tasmania's shift to bourgeois leadership in the present century.

Fish were propagated and distributed by the Tasmanian Fisheries Commissioners from their Salmon Ponds hatchery at Plenty, itself a tourist attraction. Chief Commissioner for many years was Phillip Seager. In the late 1890s lobby groups such as the Northern Tasmanian Fisheries Association (NTFA) and Southern Tasmanian Licensed Anglers' Association (STLAA) emerged to urge local needs. They promoted the sport with advertising and better facilities for anglers; coaligned and overlapped with tourist associations to lobby for government assistance.

Tasmania's early non-Labor governments encouraged gentlemanly pursuits and willingly invested public funds in hatcheries, roads and accommodation houses for the leisured. In 1912 Lake Leake's reputation as the 'world's premier rainbow trout field' induced the government to build an accommodation house. One of the first appreciative visitors was the Governor General.² By WWI most inland waters were stocked and two more houses built on sites best served by roads. New opportunities always stood in the wings, but after the war further improvement demanded broader justification than providing for gentlemen anglers.

Though the angler is a hardy creature,³ the ultimate exploitation of inland fisheries, like winter sports, depended on first class accommodation and road access. This strengthen bonds between fishing and tourist movements and closer settlement advocates. Forestry buffs tied their arguments with those of the inland fishermen, as did the Hydro-Electric boss. A debonair English engineer with great feel for PR, Butters often led VIPs to see his highland waterworks. A couple of large trout in the bag magnified goodwill towards the undertaking.⁴ In 1916 dam works created the 'Shannon Rise' and positively boomed Great Lake as an anglers' dream-come-true.⁵ Further damworks raised the lake and saw an entirely new house at Miena in 1921-22. In less blessed places movement was slower. Here the booster's voice found greater expression. Fisheries, like winter sports, could make the "wastelands" pay.⁶

1. In 1864 after several failed attempts he succeeded in exporting viable ova, for which he was eventually knighted (see *ADB*).

2. Municipality of Campbelltown. *Lake Leake 1883-1983*. (Campbelltown: the Council: 1983).

3. Distance was no object to the wealthy angler, who, like his cousin the game hunter, would travel across the globe in search of quarry. As New Zealand was also soon to discover, when, like American novelist Zane Grey, they wrote about it glowingly, fellow travellers would follow (see Watkins, Leshe *op. cit.* p. 71f). After visiting New Zealand in 1926 Grey penned *The Angler's Eldorado*. He returned in 1927 and from Hobart the Mayor and Premier invited Grey to come to Tasmania (*Merc.* 26/1/27).

4. *Merc.* 19/11/19.

5. *Ibid.*, 8/2/27 describes Governor-General Lord Storchaven's fishing trip to Great Lake and the Shannon. His party then went to Lake St Clair and trekked to the West Coast.

6. As early as 26/11/08 the *Weekly Courier* claimed opening up the Lake Country was 'a sound 'business proposition' (cited in Jetson, *op. cit.* p. 82). See also *World*, 7/2/23.

We have seen the interest Donnelly was able to excite in Sydney with taxidermous specimens of Tasmanian trout and 'fetch-'em-along' pamphlets aimed at sporting anglers. Trout also advertised Tasmania in London. In 1922 the University's Biology Professor, Theodore Thompson Flynn (1883-1968), escorted a 25 pound rainbow trout to the Metropolis. The Tasmanian Fisheries Commissioners accepted the Agent-General's advice and paid £12/10 for it to be stuffed. Its display on the Strand attracted great attention.¹

The Agent-General's indent officer was Ronald Worthy Giblin (1863-1936), a surveyor with Imperial experience in Siam. He had recently been engaged in researching Tasmanian history and had a wide if romantic knowledge of the state. This was used in an article for the Royal Colonial Institute journal, *United Empire*, a chummy magazine dedicated to maintaining the imperial bonds of kinship. Writing as 'one exiled from his native land', Giblin chose to give impressions of its tourist attractions rather than 'talk glibly about the industries and resources of Tasmania'. He stressed the affordability of the island for Australians unable to make the 'grand tour' regularly: 'catering for this group of well-to-do seekers after salubrious and invigorating climatic conditions [was] now one of Tasmania's growing industries.' The article stressed the concept that the Antipodean Briton was more fortunate than his cousin at Home. Conditions favoured a healthy lifestyle and opportunity for the cultivation of leisure pursuits. Tasmania catered to this, and was able to provide recreations the author knew would appeal to his imperial audience. Its insular and mountainous nature were especially suited to lovers of sailing, deep-sea fishing and natural history. Moreover, though Giblin recognised that inland rod-fishing 'appeals to the few only', he also understood that 'the few' were his audience. He therefore gave it a paragraph, noting that:

Literature on the whole subject abounds, as the keen fisherman will find on enquiry, and he will receive all the advice and information he needs for his absorbing quest and for the greater gratification of mind and body.²

The *Mercury's* Thomas Charles Dunbabin (1883-1973)³ contributed a similar article to the *Australasian*, another imperial journal.⁴ Government also endowed the literature. *Tasmanian Handbooks* had whole, separately published, sections on angling, which was also stressed by the TGTD's various editions of *Tasmania for the Tourist and Settler*.⁵ These and a number of cinema films⁶ depicting aspects of Tasmanian

1. It was despatched in a solid block of ice and had to be kept in cold storage in London while everyone wondered what to do with it and who would pay. (See PDI/38/5/22, February 1922).

2. Giblin, RW 'Some Impressions of Tasmania' in *United Empire, Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 1923; XIV (June): pp. 346-50.

3. *ADB*.

4. *The Australasian*, 25/1/19.

5. TGTD. *Tasmania for the Tourist and the Settler*. (Hobart: Government Printer; 1918, 1919, 1925, 1933).

6. Cinematic promotional films of Tasmania and the other states were first propagated by the Commonwealth Department of External Affairs from 1911 (see *Merc*, 2/10/11). The first produced were of such poor quality that in 1913 Premier Solomon arranged, through His Majesty's Theatre in Hobart, for

conditions were lifestyle demonstrations, aimed at migrants as much as tourists. The comforting notion that the trout were English matched the fact that English fruit also flourished in the island.¹ The notion also had currency outside the Empire. Emmett used it in contributions to the *Australasian-American Trade Promoter and Eastern Markets Gazette*.²

Name dropping features in much publicity. In 1917 the TGTD published a brief pamphlet describing lakes of variable access, with reference to the fact that in one day the Governor's *aide de camp* caught 54 trout averaging 7¾ pounds.³ Influential visiting anglers became promoters of Tasmania generally. Famous Melbourne publisher and propagandist, Critchley Parker (1862-1944), placed many articles on the sport in Empire and local journals⁴ and penned a pamphlet on *Trout Fishing in Tasmania* for the TGTD.⁵ A man of considerable personal influence, in 1926 he pressed Prime Minister Bruce, another avid angler, for help providing telephone and road services to the accommodation house at Breona. These would help ease the isolation of Melbourne businessmen whilst they pursued their relaxation. Of course there was also a 'national' argument: helping the Tourist Bureau would benefit the state generally.⁶ From further afield came Mr BD Bartleet, representing the world's largest manufacturer of fishing tackle. In 1921 he visited Tasmania and received much hospitality. A publicist himself, he told the locals that, interstate rivalry aside, mainlanders gave 'Tasmania the palm for fishing.'⁷ 1930s advertising took greater strides.⁸

Commercial operators in several small towns early learnt to look for gold in the tracks of anglers en route between cities and lakes. To establish an identity as a staging

Cosens Spencer to produce a local film, *Picturesque Tasmania*. (see PD1/38/17/13). This too was criticised for giving too gloomy a picture of the state, having been filmed in inopportune weather. Agent General McCall was also upset by the state of the art and recommended the use in London of brighter examples such as those shot by the Stephen Spurlings of Launceston (*TPP* 1914/1). At this stage the bulk of the films were taken up with scenery and there were calls for more action shots. Later films took this into account: such as those by the flying cameraman Captain Frank Hurley in 1921 and 1926 (see PD1/38/5/26) and the American expert Merl la Voy in 1922 (see PD1/38/19/21 and *Ex*, 3/4/22). Their filming itineraries always included action shots of trout fishing. In 1926 Critchley Parker found out that the commonwealth was considering films on angling in Australia and urged Premier Lyons to make sure Tasmania got the full benefit (see PD1/38/5/26).

1. See, for instance, TGTD *Tasmania for the Tourist and the Settler op. cit.*

2. A 'pioneer journal devoted to trade development between Australasia, the East and America.' See PD1/38/5/20, April-May 1920. On request, Emmett supplies info and pictures of Tasmania. He writes of 'English trout of heavy sizes' and Tasmania as a little England.

3. TGTD. *The Tasmanian Lakes* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1917).

4. See *Merc*, 29/12/26. As early as 1899 Parker compiled a *Record of fish killed at Great Lake* (see *ADB*).

5. Hobart: 1935.

6. PD1/38/10/26.

7. *Ex*, 20/12/21.

8. The world famous expert, EM Mayes, travelled from England especially to sample Tasmania's offerings. In the *Mercury*, 'Progress' enthused on this publicity 'boon'. The government detailed some of its high officials to act as guides. Emmett spoke to him 'with a view to inducing Mr Mayes to give some publicity to Tasmania.' On his return to England Mayes eulogised the angling at Great Lake in the *Fishing Gazette* and an entertaining pamphlet *About the Giant Trout in Tasmania* (1936). In England he also introduced a film by a Hobart public accountant, TA Stump, which repeated the title *Trout Fishing in Tasmania* and was hailed by the *Mercury* as 'one of the finest advertisements Tasmania has had.' (See *Merc*, 1/2/35, 8/2/35, 15/3/35, 23/8/35, 21/10/36.) The TGTD used quotes from Mayes, Parker and other authorities in a new TGTD booklet, *Tasmania: The Haunt of the Giant Trout* (c.1941) which also carried a section on the increasingly popular East Coast big game sea fishery.

post, they did their own newspaper advertising. This stimulated competition between towns. Oatlands was the closest town to Interlaken, but the more distant *Parattah Hotel* clamoured to secure overnight patronage from lake bound tourists.¹ In 1921 hotel and motor interests at Campbell Town supported a municipal centenary souvenir program. It stressed the town's proximity to Lake Leake, 'Australia's premier rainbow trout fishing resort.'² Devonport interests similarly recognised the benefits of association when they agreed to assert dominance over Deloraine as staging post for Cradle Mountain.³

First to boost the fishing lakes had been country gentlemen. By the end of WWI, however, the commercial-civic elite had taken the initiative and sought to make the pursuit more popular. In 1917 the NTFA had 350 members. Its president, Charles Harrison, was an adept publicist. His annual report detailed activities such as paying bounties on cormorants, hatching and distributing 486,000 trout fry, lobbying for roads and maintaining small accommodation huts. The association succeeded in having licences reduced 'to place the sport in reach of all.' Fees went back into fisheries. Anglers had satisfaction in assisting work 'of benefit to the state.' The NTFA and TGTD jointly converted the report to illustrated pamphlet 'to make the State's sporting attractions better known.'⁴

Only popular local enthusiasm could ensure tourists enjoyed their sport in comfort. The National Park Board recognised the 'popularising' value of angling. It introduced large numbers of fry into manifold lakes and tarns.⁵ The *Mercury* carried a regular column by a board member, 'Jollytail', William Crooke.⁶ The STLAA found the press willing accomplices in their boosting campaigns. Lengthy leisure columns promoted the sport locally.⁷ The NTFA arranged regular local publication of reports by lake managers. From Lake Leake FW Williams regularly furnished names and catches of prominent visitors. The fish were almost always 'in excellent condition and fighting very well.' His lake was well known across the Commonwealth and anglers were 'of material assistance to the tourist movement' generally.⁸ Thus were justified claims for greater government assistance. After the war these came frequently.

In 1920 the STLAA described its voluntary work establishing a hatchery at Lake Sorell, one of the two lakes served by the Interlaken guest house. The lakes had been

1. PD1/8/2/17, 25/1/17 includes copies of adverts describing Parattah as a half way stopping place; the most convenient place to break the journey to go to the Lakes .

2. Pitt, CF *Official Souvenir Programme of Campbell Town Centenary Celebrations 1821-1921*. (Campbell Town: Municipal Council; 1921).

3. *Merc.*, 2/12/22.

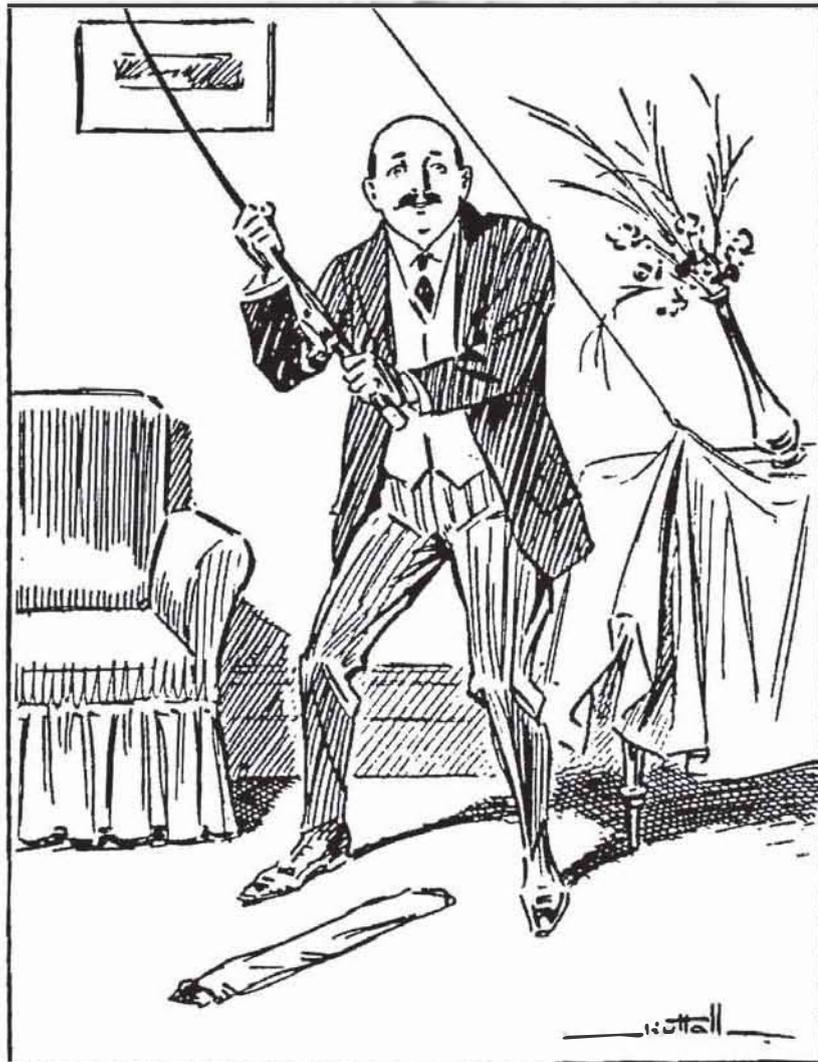
4. *Ibid.*, 21/8/17.

5. National Park Board Annual Report, *TPP* 1921/21.

6. In 1918 the paper's staff fought publicly and privately for the naming of a 'Lake Jollytail' in the park (see *Merc.*, 23/3/18).

7. For example see, *ibid.*, 6/1/23. 'Angling' by "Jock Scott."

8. *DT*, 23/3/18. All papers, 8/11/18.



"Father was itching to have a go at the salmon."

losing their reputation for angling. The Fisheries Commissioners provided new ova, but were unable to assist financially, their revenue limited to license fees with no extra Treasury assistance. So the association sought private subscriptions. These proved insufficient. Hobart solicitor and ANA boardman Thomas Cornelian Simpson (d.1960),¹ penned a letter critical of the government's attitude. He quoted exiled Young Irelander and gentleman journalist, John Mitchel (1815-1875), who had visited the Lake several times in 1850-53. In his *Jail Journal* (Dublin, 1854) Mitchel had eulogised the lake's beauty, which needed only the berhyming of 'some sweet singer' to make it as famous as Windermere, Como or Erie. It could be, like Loch Lomond or Killarney, 'infested' (in the nicest possible way) by the Australian version of the 'cockney tourist'. Mitchel's only complaint was the lack of fish. Now, said Simpson, the fish had come and so would tourists, yet this national asset was left to a 'few enthusiasts' to finance, foster and preserve. Surely the state should follow the examples of NSW and NZ and invest public funds in developing this strong attraction.²

Another lake with undeveloped tourist potential was St Clair. Lying under Mount Olympus, it was 'the most beautiful lake in Australia'. Again, accommodation and access were major obstacles. With government help the TTA had early provided a small hut and a boat, but both were vandalised. In 1914 Emmett said this was ever likely in distant places with no caretaker. He looked to the day when increased traffic would justify a proper accommodation house with diligent lessee such as existed at Interlaken. TTA property at Mt Rumney had also been damaged. Emmett hopefully used such incidents to bring up the subject of funding for improvements and upkeep of 'beauty spots affected by tourists, so that a policy of continuous advancement in opening up new resorts may be maintained.'³ But in its early years funding precluded the TGTD from direct involvement in such activities.

The 'increased traffic' Emmett spoke of depended on access. In May 1914 two *Daily Post* articles described the gruelling travails of a horse-drawn caravan trip on the existing pack track to the lake.⁴ In 1915 Launceston's Dr McLinton demonstrated future possibilities by driving the first motor car there.⁵ Early in 1916 fire destroyed the hut at Lake St Clair and, said the *Mercury*, revived interest in scenery preservation and tourism. The district exemplified the need for fine new roads to open up scenic resources for scientific, aesthetic and commercial access. Later in the year Hamilton interests asked the Minister to initiate work on the Dee-St Clair road for tourists and

1. Simpson had been a member of the 1916 Southern Defence League (see *Merc.* 3/8/16).

2. *Ibid.*, 29/7/20. Mitchel's description was dated 19/10/1851. It was even more imaginative of tourist activities on the lake than Simpson's quote conveyed, picturing large balconied hotels, parasolled picnic parties, private villas, etc.

3. CSD 22/172/9. October 1914.

4. *DP*, 6/5/14.

5. *WC*, 4/2/15.

settlement, and rebuild the accommodation house. But the world was entering its third year of war, and like so many plans and promises this would have to wait.¹

Lake St Clair remained 'a camping-out trip. By 1917 one could travel by railway to Macquarie Plains, 'thence motor coach to the Dee, and afterwards by hired vehicle.' 'For those who are fond of natural scenery and who do not mind a little "roughing it,"' the TGTD 'thoroughly recommended' the lake.² Calls for a road between Hobart and Queenstown were slowly but eventually accepted by government.³ In the late 1920s recognition of tourist needs deviated the road three miles closer to the lake than originally planned.⁴ The final three mile connector, however, remained uncompleted until hydro-electric works raised the lake after 1934.

In 1927 the Commissioner of Railways complained that lack of proper accommodation at Lake St Clair meant he could not advertise it, a great embarrassment to tourist boosters. A similar situation existed at Great Lake where Miena house had fallen below standard and a new house was needed at Breona on the northern shore.⁵ That the Lyons government responded to the latter call with a substantial vote demonstrated the maturing strength of the tourist lobby in general.⁶ Yet accommodation at St Clair was a long time coming. Ironically, this was largely due to SPB antipathy towards private developments within its parks.⁷

The world's leisured anglers would go anywhere for a good fish, but only quality access and accommodation could assure their return, the company of their wives and the volume of traffic needed to make the whole thing viable. Here was just one of Tasmania's "vicious circles", for which the only "cure" was government intervention. The publicity pitched at the angler was somewhat different to that aimed at the general traveller. An attraction better suited to the more *petit bourgeois* tourist lay in the island's underworld wonderland, her limestone caves.

Underworld Mysteries—The Limestone Caves

Caves have always been a source of awe and fascination, a tourist asset developed as attractions wherever possible. In post-bellum Kentucky, Cincinnati pulled itself out of the doldrums with its Mammoth Cave. 'Desperately needed publicity' came when a photographer named Walduck invented special techniques for stereographing the underworld. The resulting postcards' immense popularity⁸ illustrates a relationship

1. *Merc*, 4/8/16.

2. TGTD, *The Tasmanian Lakes op. cit.*

3. See below, Chapter Six.

4. *Merc*, 30/3/28. See also PD1/38/16/28. PWD surveyor's report, August, 1928.

5. PD1/38/20/27, 5/7/27 and TPP 1927/20.

6. See below, Chapter Twelve.

7. See PD1/38/16/28; PD1/38/18/29. The district had to wait until after WWII for the provision of adequate accommodations, outside park boundaries and reliant on government financial assistance.

8. Howes, Chris 'Art of Darkness', *New Scientist*, 23/ 30 December 1989, pp. 13-16.

between 'the scenic', tourism and technology.¹ Caves abound in Tasmania. The earliest developed were in the Mole Creek district west of Deloraine.

By 1914 Melbourne publisher-entrepreneur Julius Feldheim was one of several publishing photographic views of Baldock's Caves,² the first at Mole Creek opened to the public. Also in the district were the Chudleigh 'wet caves'. Visitors were advised to take 'an old suit of clothes' to examine this 'underground fairyland'. More popular were the 'dry', acetylene-lighted Scott's, Marakoopa and King Solomon Caves. The latter two were eventually most popular and famous on account of their extent and beauty, their formations having escaped the destructive hands of vandals.³ The *Weekly Courier* said they 'equalled' those at Jenolan, NSW,⁴ and Jenolan's own superintendent Widburd backed the claim.⁵

In its efforts to concentrate tourist activity in Launceston's hinterland, the NTTA adopted Mole Creek and included photographs in advertisements and posters. It organised motor tours, the 'day-trip' nature of which outraged local hoteliers and other caterers. But although Baldock's Caves were controlled and promoted by the NTTA,⁶ local interests were also active. King Solomon's proprietor, EC James, invested 'a considerable sum' on ladders, hand-rails, steps, pathways and lighting.⁷ Soon the Mole Creek Progress Society changed its name to 'Tourist and Progress Association' and thus qualified for a share in the £225 annual country tourist associations vote. Association secretary Stephens asked for £2 towards signs erected at Western Junction and Devonport railway stations. Given publicity, he thought, the caves could prove a great boon to the district.⁸

Emmett's enthusiasm for distributing tourists into country districts⁹ and his personal interest in natural history,¹⁰ meant he also seized upon the new attraction His 1914 *Handbook* embellished the caves with detail, culling plenty of good copy from the

1. Donald Horne has recently restated this thesis in *The Intelligent Tourist* op. cit. For earlier expositions see Boorstin, Daniel J *The Image*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin; 1962); Shepard, Paul *Man in the Landscape: A Historic View of the Aesthetics of Nature*. (New York: Alfred A Knopf; 1967) and Tuan, Yi-Fu *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes and values*. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall; 1974).

2. Feldheim, J *Tasmania Old and New A Pictorial Contrast. 1804-1914* (Melbourne: Feldheim; 1914).

3. King Solomon's were discovered as late as 1908 when a hunting dog chased a kangaroo into their entrance hall (see *Handbook of Tasmania*, 1914, p. 190). Marakoopa was discovered by schoolboys in 1912 (see *Merc*, 23/3/28).

4. *WC*, 21/12/11.

5. *Handbook of Tasmania*, 1914, p. 188.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *CSD* 22/216/1, -/2/14 and 5/6/14

9. All papers, 24/10/22: Emmett's annual report lays stress on the TGTD's distribution of tourists into country areas state-wide.

10. *Ex*, 11/5/21 says Clive Lord displayed to the Royal Society marsupial bones he and Emmett had collected from Mole Creek limestone. With other members of the National Park Board Emmett also investigated caves on the Tyenna side of Mt Field West in the hope they might be developed for public inspection and thus enhance the Park's attractiveness and tourist value (see *World*, 13/10/20).

nomenclature and description of the spectacular and colourful formations.¹ In November 1922 he stayed a few days naming galleries and features 'for guide book purposes'.² Fanciful naming gave features associative value and appealed to visitors. Here was boosting defined: 'increasing value or reputation by advertising'.

In its early stages the TGTD was unable to fund physical infrastructures, but encouraging tourists to visit places heartened local entrepreneurs to invest in resort development. The Department's first ever 'personally conducted tour', early in 1915, spent four days in the Mole Creek district. It excited great interest³ and henceforth became an annual Easter event of real PR value.⁴ Dissatisfied with the indirect approach, Emmett wanted government to get more involved. The Mole Creek district generally, he said, offered great potential given just a little money for access development.⁵ Again the SPB offered promise for resort developments. The Earle government's passage of the Scenery Preservation Act seems to have been motivated mainly by 'protection of the vital resources of the tourist industry.' Having established the TGTD it was a 'natural step to legislate next for scenery preservation.' It became common for tourist associations to approach the TGTD for assistance improving local beauty spots. If Emmett agreed with the merits of a request he would pass it on to the SPB.⁶

However the SPB did not involve itself directly in the Mole Creek Caves. Rather, a different ad hoc procedure placed them under the TGTD. This was a victory for advocates of direct government involvement and central control in tourist development. In June 1915 Len Bruce noted Victoria was 'making big bids' to develop her own resorts and 'retain within her borders her own tourist traffic'. An example was Buchan Caves near Lakes Entrance. The government 'must not be behind-hand in giving and advertising facilities'.⁷ Soon Emmett urged Earle to accept an offer from James to sell King Solomon's Caves. In other states caves were considered a 'valuable asset' and retained as state property.⁸ Cabinet accepted the proposition in December 1915, and parliament voted £900 for the purchase.⁹

Elliot Lewis, then in Opposition, spent Christmas that year in the district, 'Tasmania's Wonderland'. For Emmett he prepared a lengthy report urging large-scale development. Government purchase of King Solomon's and Marakoopa would help boom a district in which jobs were scarce. Marakoopa's owners lacked the capital

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1. Op. cit. pp. 187-95.
 2. Ex, 23/11/22.
 3. DT, 14/1/15.
 4. See press release in Ex and Merc, 3/4/18.
 5. PD1/38/67/15, 8/11/15.
 6. Mosley, *op. cit.* pp. 215-6, 218-9.
 7. Ex, 9/6/15.
 8. PD1/38/67/15, 8/11/15.
 9. V&P, 9/12/15. DP, 5/1/16.

(albeit relatively small) needed for proper development. A little concentrated investment would bring heavy traffic.¹ Increased passenger traffic would reduce freights and improve the train regularity on the Mole Creek spur line. Mr James, a primary producer, offered his caves cheaply with that in mind.²

Baldock's Caves came under TGTD control when it took over the NTTA in 1917, but when it came to King Solomon's, James would have to wait. In late 1917 Lee overruled Labor's agreement to purchase. The Nationalists happily gave Emmett extra funds for a Sydney TGTB but drew the line at specific local developments, despite the fact Lewis was now Treasurer. Though the idea was good the money was unavailable. The necessary upgrade to electrical lighting would be expensive due to the war's effect on the world copper price.³ Regardless, purchase was next recommended by Edward Albert Counsel (1849-1939),⁴ an advocate of intervention in the interests of developing country districts for settlement and population purposes.⁵ As Surveyor-General he was *ex-officio* chairman of the SPB. Lee eventually concurred in 1918,⁶ but nothing was achieved in 1919.⁷

Government finally bought King Solomon's in 1920 and Marakoopa in 1922,⁸ placing them under Emmett and a Caves Advisory Board. £400 was provided for improvements in 1921-22,⁹ and £500 the following year, but subsequent insufficient allocations delayed complete exploitation.¹⁰ Marakoopa closed and those remaining open were run at a loss to the TGTD.¹¹ Mosley stresses this aspect but ignores the fact that a small TGTD loss translated to a credit balance for the local community, providing economic and civic stimuli. A 1925 Deloraine Tourist Association handbook showed how the motorist could visit 'Tasmania's Fairyland Aladin's Wonderland.' The association erected finger posts at all crossroads, and by these devices one could locate the house of 'Guide Martin', who also provided teas and lunches. George Scott provided similar service, displayed his 'Wonderful Underground Mysteries' for two shillings a head, and later provided rustic repast. A horse-trap and four motor hire businesses were sufficiently lucrative to invest in advertising, as were five hotels and boarding houses, two cafés and numerous other small retailers. Association Secretary Roy Cameron operated a tourist bureau, providing information, bookings and Kodak gear.¹²

1. PD1/38/7/18 has a copy of the report, dated 14/1/16.

2. PD1/38/2/19, 5/2/19.

3. PD1/38/11/17, 11/9/17.

4. PD1/38/7/18, 19/9/18.

5. *ADB*.

6. PD1/38/7/18, 19/9/18.

7. See PD1/38/2/19, 5/2/19.

8. *Ex*, 23/11/22.

9. *Ibid.*, 23/11/22.

10. AB455/4 R21/1. See also Annual Reports of the Auditor General (in *TPP*).

11. Mosley *op. cit.* p. 47.

12. Deloraine Tourist and Improvement Association, *Deloraine: The Tourists' Paradise* (the Association; Deloraine: [1925]).

In 1927 the TGR Commissioner Charles Miscamble¹ advocated spending up to £3000 on caves development. Following Widburd, he recommended Marakoopa, saying that:

efforts in this connection should be centred on one set of Caves rather than make a comparatively puny attempt to develop and light Caves in a number of districts.

Miscamble's successor preferred King Solomon's Caves, which had better road access, and convinced government to allocate £1500 for electric lighting and a better adit.² There were other attractions in the district—Deloraine and Mole Creek vied with other centres as a staging post for Highland-bound lake fishermen; waterfalls, alum cliffs and other scenic delights were available; Christmas and Easter race meets attracted large crowds—but the government's expenditure on caves development did much to popularise the district with a "unique" attraction.

Mosley says visitor numbers at the caves remained low.³ One would not think so from the reports in the press, though of course it must be remembered that these were often supplied by Emmett.⁴ Attendances at Baldock's increased from only 287 in 1913-14 to 1,390 in 1921-22.⁵ In 1929 visitor numbers at King Solomon's made it necessary to open a second adit.⁶ Mosley uses an average attendance figure of 1700 during the worst years of the Depression 1930-31 to 1934-35 as evidence of cave unpopularity.⁷ Though these figures appear small by modern standards, they reflect a great rate of increase, and when one considers the value of a pound in the 1920s the economic benefits for both district and state were far from negligible. On rough calculations,⁸ even if the average tourist only spent £1 towards seeing the caves, 1700 visitors would mean an income of \$170,000 in today's terms. There is every reason to suppose spending was far greater. In 1916 Emmett estimated average tourist expenditure at 15 shillings per day excluding transport,⁹ so an individual on a four day visit to Mole Creek would bring £3 into the district. If so 1700 tourists might be worth \$510,000 in today's terms,¹⁰ a substantial contribution to a small economy without considering any "multiplier effect" or the cash spent *en route* in other parts of the island. Necessarily we should subtract a proportion for "non-spending" visitors and locals. On the other hand, some of the wealthier tourists were thought to spend as

1. Though Miscamble is mentioned several times in this and the following chapter, a full introduction and assessment is reserved for Chapter Eight.

2. AB455/4 R21/1.

3. Mosley *op. cit.* p. 47.

4. *Ex*, 30/3/21 says Mole Creek very popular with tourists at Easter 1921. See also *Merc*, 6/5/21.

5. All papers, 24/10/22.

6. TGR Annual Report, *TPP* 1929/24.

7. Mosley *op. cit.* p. 47.

8. The average ranked clerk's salary was then about £300. Today it is about \$30,000. It therefore seems generally fair to multiply the early pound figure by 100 to get a present day dollar value. This calculation is admittedly debatable. It does not account for changes to the cost of living or other factors. However any calculation would be debatable and this is offered only as a "ready reckoner".

9. *Advo*, 19/6/19.

10. This figure might even suggest that 'average' tourists were worth more then than now. In January 1993 the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation estimated average tourist spending at Hobart's summer festival at \$250. If this were multiplied by 1700 the total would be \$425,000.

much as £20 per day where opportunity presented.¹ This was not to mention the benefit of those who came as tourists, saw, liked, left and then returned as migrants or investors.²

Doubtless, therefore, in economic terms, cave development was seen to be good for the district and the whole state. There will always be argument about the cost-benefit result of tourism. The point here is that 1920s Tasmanian governments, and thus apparently public opinion, accepted the argument that benefits outweighed costs. Proper supervision afforded by TGTDC control was also good for the caves, protecting them from souvenir-takers and stimulating interest in natural history. According to Clive Lord, Mole Creek fossils held great promise for prehistorians.³

In March 1918 the *Weekly Courier* featured in print and photographs a 'Southern Cave Land' discovered by timber workers in the Hastings district in the far south near Dover. The most accessible and extensive cave was named after the incumbent Governor Newdegate.⁴ The district was on Tasmania's southern forest frontier and Esperance Council swiftly seized this opportunity for opening up an area hitherto difficult of access. It asked government to fund a track to the caves.⁵ By June 1919 the SPB had gazetted the caves a reserve, and five months later 19 acres were set aside for the nearby hot springs. Through the 1920s Esperance lobbied for public access.⁶ In the 1930s government used unemployment relief labour to create five miles of access road, cave stairways and electric illumination.⁷

Other major caves were at Gunn's Plains, south of Ulverstone. First discovered by Europeans about 1906,⁸ they were controlled by the Leven Council until 1918 then transferred to the SPB with assistance from the Ulverstone Tourist and Progress Association (UTPA).⁹ An active member was Edward Hobbs, who operated farms at Gunn's Plains.¹⁰ The district had no railway and Hobbs was at least partially motivated by the need for improved access for farmers when he called for government expenditure opening up tourist resorts.¹¹

1. Ex, 31/7/22.

2. Evidence to the Interstate Shipping Committee *op. cit.* pp. 30 and 71 cited a Queensland cattle king who bought a £5000 Huon property just because he liked it when he saw it as a tourist.

3. *Merc.* 16/11/22. Lord also stressed the caves as an asset to the TGTDC's advertising.

4. *WC.* 14/3/18 and 21/3/18. This was not just to honour the Governor. It bought reflected glory. Naming features after the influential can have political motives. During the 1980s Franklin River controversy a cave in the South-West was named after Prime Minister Fraser. Other caves in the Hastings region were named King George V Cave, the Wolf Hole and Beattie Cave. The photographer-publicist John Watt Beattie espoused his namesake's beauty in a 1918 press article (see *Merc.* 12/ 4/18).

5. *Huon Times*, 14/5/18.

6. See especially *TPP* 1927/38 Public Works Committee Report into proposed road to Hastings Caves.

7. Skinner, RK & AD, 'Hastings Caves State Reserve Tasmania. A Visitors' Guide' (Pamphlet available at the site).

8. Notes taken on site in March 1989.

9. *DT*, 22/3/18.

10. Ellis, Bruce *Ulverstone—An Outline of its History* (Ellis: Ulverstone; 1983) p. 174.

11. *Merc.* 23/8/16.

A body in existence since 1890,¹ the UTPA was 'a decidedly wide-awake body', one of the state's most prominent. It reflected the district's strong traditions of civic pride and community spirit, and also the fact that Ulverstone had long been one of the North-West's most favoured seaside resorts. A bustling town and port, it had many boarding houses and hotels. Furner's Hotel in the main street was, and remains, a salubrious and fashionable establishment. Everyday shops aimed their adverts at tourists. Brown's Big Store was 'The Tourists' Rendezvous'; Bonner's Grocery 'The Tourist House'.² UTPA leaders convinced local farmers that tourist traffic was in their interests too. Rural supporters donated bags of potatoes, and local minstrels gave their time for fundraising concerts, thus increasing the government subsidy.³ Although the caves were but one of the area's attractions, they were well cared for. Through the SPB Emmett sourced funds for lighting and access facilities. By 1922 the Board considered installing electric lights,⁴ but as at Mole Creek this was delayed until later in the decade.

Local or special interest groups seized upon caves in other districts but they came to little or nothing. In 1920 the Stanley Progress League and Tourist Association resolved to set aside a tourist reserve around caves recently found at Trowutta.⁵ They have never been reserved or properly opened-up for the general public, but, as with similar attempts at Tyenna near Mount Field⁶ and on the West Coast near Zeehan,⁷ they drew popular attention to pioneering districts. Another method was to develop seaside attractions.

Seaside resorts

Although Tasmanian advertising generally preferred to stress the island's sylvan, river and mountain attractions,⁸ there was ever-increasing demand for beach holiday resorts. The TGTD gave them some attention but policy confined its boosting efforts to generalisms and left the particular to local concerns. When the TGTD stressed the North-West Coast it was mainly in aid of TGR economics and distribution of tourists throughout the state. On the Coast's fringe Emmett urged development at Stanley before any requests from or assistance by the locals was forthcoming, largely because a TGR line was advancing towards the town.⁹ The TGTD also boosted St Helens and

1. Ellis, Bruce *op. cit.* p. 152.

2. Ulverstone Tourist and Progress Association *op. cit.* (c. 1920). See also: *Ulverstone Tasmania: The North West Coast's Premier Tourist Resort The Place For Health & Happiness, Sea Bathing & Beaches, Golf Links, Tennis, Bowls, Marvellous Caves* (Ulverstone: [1925]).

3. *Ex*, 22/5/18 and 3/7/18.

4. *Advo*, 5/11/20 and 31/3/22.

5. *Ibid.*, 3/5/20.

6. *World*, 13/10/20.

7. *Advo*, 24/11/22.

8. TGTD publications often down-played or omitted beaches. See for examples: *Tasmanian Railway Tours: The Western District and North West Coast*. (Hobart: TGTD; c. 1918), *North East Coast Round Tour* Hobart: TGTD; c. 1920) and *Tasmania: Australia's Playground* (Hobart: TGTD; c. 1920). *Tommy's Trip to Tasmania op. cit.* included the East and North-West coasts, but the only swimming mentioned was in the Leven river at Ulverstone.

9. See *Advo*, 25/6/17.

other East Coast resorts in order to increase traffic on its the North-East and Fingal Valley lines. On the West Coast, where railways were predominantly private concerns, local boosters accused Emmett of neglecting, indeed ignoring, demands for increased activity on their behalf.¹

In the absence of central assistance, municipal councils and marine boards became an important focus for boosting forces. Their control of the rates purse, however, made them target for other interests. There was overlap in membership of the various bodies, yet often councils and associations conflicted: the latter seen as progressive agitators, the former unimaginatively conservative.² At other times they cooperated for such things as foreshore improvements³ or advertising.⁴ In some cases the tourist association was buoyant enough to assist smaller bodies like life saving clubs.⁵ The North-West towns pitched several campaigns at the Victorian market, stressing the comforting fact that Carlton draught and other Victorian products were readily available.⁶ They also asked the state government to provide cheap railway excursion fares to encourage southern Tasmanians to holiday in their own state.

Each 'prettily situated' town had a tourist or tourist and progress association. Places such as Strahan, Wynyard, Penguin, Ulverstone, Beauty Point, George Town, Bridport, St Helens, Swansea, Orford, Kingston Beach and Snug originated and grew as centres for the commercial and transport needs of agricultural and other producers in their hinterlands. As substantial permanent populations developed, so did commercial-civic elites. With this grew a further desire to expand. Boosting efforts became wider and more indiscriminate. As in the bigger cities, elements of the elite which sparked and maintained tourist boosterism included vested interests such as the hotel-accommodation, transport and retail sectors. Such people were even more influential because the towns lacked the cities' strong professional sector, the metropolitan "go-betweens" and other professional lobbyists. Because the hotel was a community forum, publicans often enjoyed local fame and following. Transport operators,

1. See *ibid.*, 20/10/22, 25/10/22 and 22/11/22.

2. See for instance *ibid.*, 23/10/18: Ulverstone Tourist Association AGM was told that its 'financial position [was] rotten'. Through falling attendances they were 'rent by strife' and had 'lost the sympathy of the council'. They should form a new 'strong live' committee. After a reshuffle *Ex.* 28/10/18 reports a resurgence of public interest and donations. *Ex.* 6/12/18 says everything is going well at Ulverstone and the Governor will visit on 16/12/18. See also: *Advo.* 22/9/22: Burnie Tourist Association executive meeting wants bathing boxes at West Beach. Mayor against funding the move, but members assert they will prevail on council in session.

3. *Advo.* 12/6/17 says Devonport Council has agreed to match Tourist and Progress Association pound for pound up to £50 for foreshore improvements. In *Advo.* 25/6/17 the marine board also contributes £2:10. *Advo.* 28/6/17 has similar occurrences in Penguin.

4. *Advo.* 19/7/22 says Burnie Tourist Association asked the Burnie Council and Burnie Marine Board for financial assistance publishing a tourist guide. £25 had already been collected from private sources and advertising space was available. The Council reluctantly refused because it had already spent its advertising vote of £25. The Marine Board (which had representatives from other coastal towns) said it would assist if the Tourist Association enlisted support from neighbouring towns.

5. *Advo.* 22/9/22 says the Burnie Tourist Association executive agreed to work in with Burnie Life-saving and Surf-bathing club for a fund-raising carnival. In *Merc.* 2/12/22 the North-Western Tourist Association (i.e. Devonport) agreed to financially support the life-saving and swimming club.

6. *Advo.* 28/2/22.

newsagents and other merchants, and realtors, being well known, became the natural leaders, often increasing their exposure through sporting interests. In smaller towns progressive discussion and activity focussed on the church and church hall.

Some localities which developed primarily as seaside resorts displayed a greater growth urge than others. This occurred where enough shack-owners coalesced to enjoy a sense of community. As ratepayers they agitated for better municipal services: notably roads, water and sewerage. By advertising the place a sufficient ratepayer population could be established to press the claim further. Port Sorell is a good example. Although it was in the Latrobe municipality it appealed to Tasmanians generally and the best way to enlist them as lobbyists was to encourage them to buy property.¹

Boating and fishing featured universally as attractions, as did swimming and healthy climate, but there was a choice of different "flavours". The East Coast stressed sunshine.² Its surf beaches most approximated Bondi and the emerging Gold Coast, which followed American trends³ and gained increased popularity on the mainland. The East Coast served mainly the tourist and holiday needs of the capital, the city most affected by the jazz era. The North-West boasted a 'Rivieran' climate, milder and less garish. Here the resorts served Tasmania's conservative 'Bible Belt'. Ulverstone and Penguin emphasised the safety of their sheltered beaches for children and painted themselves as particularly attractive for wholesome family holidays.⁴ The name of Penguin's *Watcombe* boarding house illustrated the town's English feeling, although 1920s art deco improvements to its *Neptune Grand Hotel* attempted modernism.⁵

As seaside resorts developed in number and the importance of tourists was better recognised, inter-town competition became keener. It was quickly understood that seaside location or proximate beauty spots were insufficient attractions in themselves. Hence a movement for the provision of recreational and entertainment facilities. In the cities, golf, bowls, tennis and other sports developed primarily to serve the local population. Tourist needs were recognised, but used mainly as a spur, a subsidiary argument. In the North-West towns, however, such facilities were often promoted specifically to attract and retain tourists.⁶ Within its own constraints the TGTD did some

1. See *ibid.*, 20/10/20 and *DT*, 27/10/20: Port Sorell as a Tourist Resort. Improving Beauty Spots with working bees. In PD1/38/7/27, 5/2/27: JP Sullivan, an agent and financier at Deloraine, describes for Premier Lyons how Port Sorell is becoming very popular as a resort.

2. *Merc*, 11/8/20.

3. Surfing was introduced to Australia by the Hawaiian American, Duke Kahanamoku in the 1910s. Elder, Bruce. *Memories: Life in Australia since 1900*. Brookvale, NSW: Child & Associates; 1988 p. 41. see also p. 23 for early surf bathing mores, Bondi Surf Lifesavers began 1906.

4. Ulverstone Tourist and Progress Association *op cit* (c. 1920).

5. North-Western Tourist Association *op cit* (1922). The Penguin Tourist Association's Chairman WC Callaway ran the *Watcombe* Boarding House, its secretary (1920-1922) RC Broadby was the fruiterer (see *Wise*).

6. See for instance *The Leven Lever*, 9/10/20: Ulverstone in forefront of introduction of golf to North-West coast, yet now up against 'engineered opposition' from Devonport.

THE LAUNCESTON HOTEL



Established over
100 years



Established over
100 years



Launceston, Tasmania

A. J. HUSTON, Proprietress

The Launceston Hotel, Launceston

boosting in this area by offering advice. When town associations asked how to advance their tourist trade they were told to install golf links and the like. Len Bruce told North-West towns that their councils should get involved. This was the experience in Victoria and in England, where it was recognised such facilities could make or break the tourist trade.¹

The towns that followed such advice kept the booster spirit alive while Tasmanian city dwellers were happy for a time to accept TGTD work on their behalf. Local boosters seem to have accepted this schema. However there were always critics: mainly on the basis of getting a 'fair share' of TGTD advertising.

Beds, Breakfasts and Booze—Accommodation for Tourists

Providing attractions for tourists and inducing them to visit was one thing. Their accommodation needs must also be catered to. An unidentifiable number of tourists stayed in private homes, but there was always demand for commercial lodgements. Cities and larger towns were equipped with quite reasonable facilities, but there was always room for improvement in both quality and quantity. Earlier in the century public spirited groups had established the *Imperial Coffee Palace* in Hobart and the *Springs Hotel* on Mount Wellington. Both were intentionally unlicensed, but though the latter helped stimulate the industry in general, it never paid.² Investors in hotel projects were also leaders in the early tourist associations. The TGTD did not continue this relationship. True to its general policy on urban tourist developments the government refused to be entrepreneurial: those who would benefit directly should take the risk. Thus private entrepreneurs led the way, but there were always matters for political discussion.

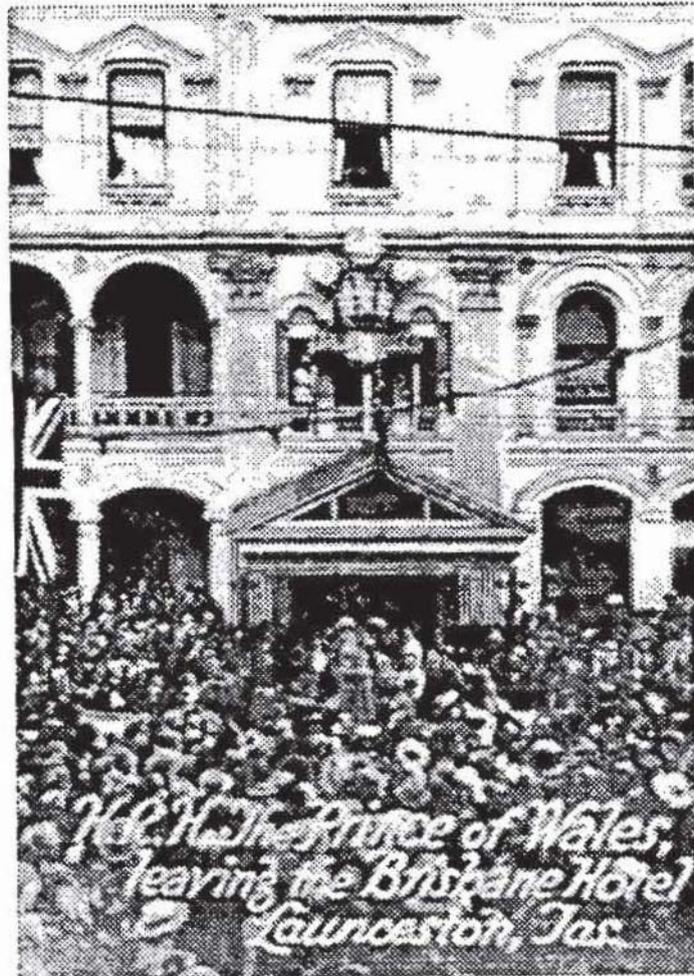
Commercial Houses

The overall economy dictated progress, but Emmett and other boosters applied pressures and encouragements. Contemporary observers noted how TGTB mainland advertising placed pressure on accommodation: a hint that simply by stimulating demand, better supply would result. Of major concern was provision of first-class accommodation. Hoteliers kept abreast of innovations through membership of the Licensed Victuallers' Association, a national federation,³ but they needed to be encouraged into action. Devices such as accommodation directories and TGTD and tourist association contracts stimulated intra-industry competition to improve standards. Tourist associations wrote to local hoteliers asking them to provide more

1. *Advo*, 6/6/22.

2. de Quincey, Elizabeth *The History of Mount Wellington* (Hobart: de Quincey; 1987) pp. 91-2. The hotel was built in 1907. It was grudgingly purchased by the Hobart City Council in 1920 and operated by leaseholders.

3. In *Ex*; 12/5/21 the LVA's Tasmanian secretary LA Bennett reports from recent congress in WA.



The Brisbane Hotel, Launceston.

accommodation for tourists or give them first option over their facilities.¹ The Commercial Travellers Association, an Australia-wide federation, had its own methods. Hobart hotels such as the *Imperial* and *Carlton* vied for registration as a 'CTA House'. The TGTD advertised in the CTA's informative, glossy booster annual *Australia Today*.²

Among the best city establishments there was strong competition, each stressing certain attractions. In Hobart *Hadley's Orient* (200 beds) offered excellence in a location close to the government offices and exclusive clubs. Percy Heathorn's self-titled hotel (100), near the railway station, was thoroughly renovated in 1919.³ In 1922 the *Highfield* (70) advertised recent remodelling 'on the latest lines, additions including a New Bar and Commodious Winter Garden.' In Launceston the private *Metropole* (150) and licensed *Launceston Hotel* (85) vied with the *Brisbane Hotel* (100). Having hosted state Governors the *Launceston* was 'under Vice-Regal patronage'. The *Brisbane* ensured exclusive appeal by hosting the Crown Prince Edward in 1920. Adverts thenceforth carried his photograph and the logo 'Under Royal Patronage', and the hotel was known as 'Northern Government House'. The *Cornwall Hotel* (80) made much of its historical links with Victoria's 'establishment' by Batman and Faulkner, yet stressed its 'up-to-date' facilities.

Other hostelries with some claim to class status existed in the major towns. *Furner's* (50) in Ulverstone and Harry Lane's *Grand* (50) in Devonport, were highly regarded. 'Beautiful Wynyard's three 'substantially built hotels [were] famous throughout the State'.⁴ At boarding house level were several large, comfortable and well-serviced establishments, such as Launceston's *Continental Coffee Palace* (100) and *International Coffee Palace* (80) and Hobart's *Westella* (70), *Astor* (80) *Lenna* (60) and *Hollydene* (60).

Between 1915 and 1922 TGTD directories registered a large increase in bed numbers: the total rising from 4883 to 8691. By 1930 the figure reached 9900.

¹. See for instance the Stanley Progress and Tourist Association in *Advo*, 26/7/22.

². The United Commercial Travellers' Association of Australia was a booster organisation which looked at the "big picture". It was semi-official and propagated "establishment" views. *Australia Today* 1905-1973 is a good source of developing themes in Australian identity. Many Tasmanian CTA members feature in this thesis.

³. WC; 18/12/19.

⁴. *Advo*, 14/9/22.

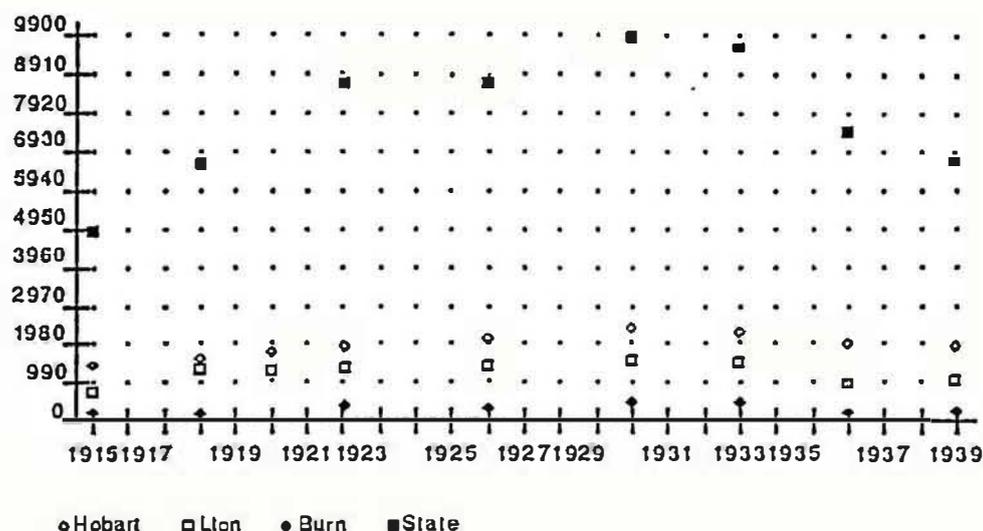


Figure One: Commercial beds available, Tasmania 1915-1939.¹

Behind this growth was the impetus given to the industry by Emmett's department, vindication of his claim to be advancing the trade despite shipping strikes. He advised on standards expected by interstate residents, and stirred up local communities, boosting their confidence to invest.² The relatively greater increase in the state total over those for the major cities reflects the success of his policy of spreading tourists across the state.

Hotels and the larger boarding establishments were quick to employ the new convenience of electricity. It was first used mainly for lighting but there were other applications. In 1919 the *Imperial* proclaimed its installation of an electric lift.³ As the state hydro-electric grid expanded state-wide, establishments in country towns were among its first customers. Campbell Town's 1921 centenary souvenir programme gushed progressive modernism, partly symbolised by commitment to tourist and leisure facilities. Hynd's Hotel was promoted for its 'high class accommodation' with hot & cold water & electric light.⁴ 'Hot and cold running water in every room!' became a proud boast, as did modern toilet facilities. In 1919 the *Scamander Hotel* gloried in being 'The Only hotel on the East Coast with Inside Lavatories.'⁵

Another 'modern' development in hospitality was the bed and breakfast system. By 1921 at least five Hobart establishments offered this economical tariff. Other centres

¹. For the above data see the Annual TGTD *Accommodation Directory* 1915-22; renamed *Hotel and Boarding House Directory* 1922-[at least] 1941.

². For examples see *Advo*, 29/8/21; Emmett in Wynyard says town's only rival is St Helen's, its only obstacle is lack of first-class accommodation; in *Advo*, 28/6/22; Emmett in Burnie talks of his surprise at local tourist 'apathy'.

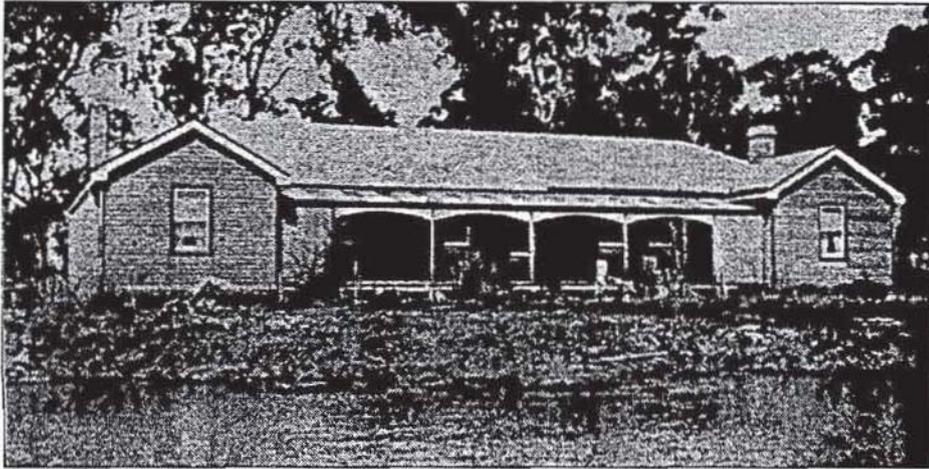
³. *WC*, 18/12/19.

⁴. Pitt, CF *op. cit.*

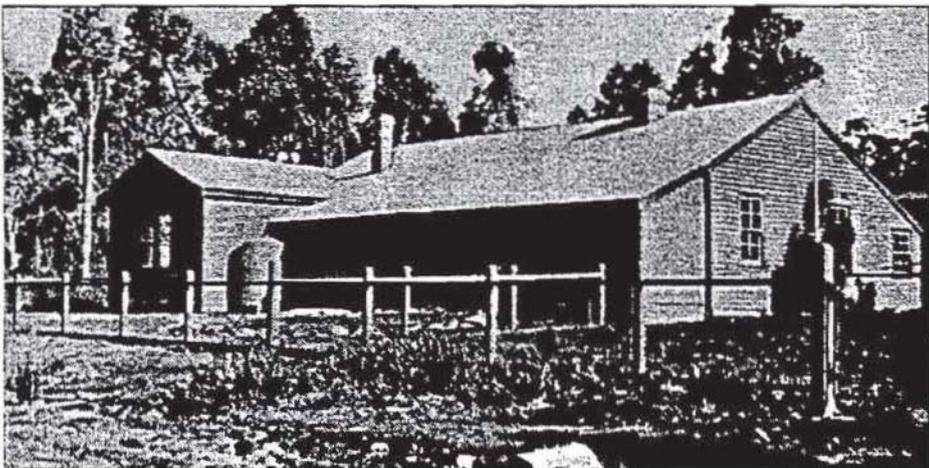
⁵. TGTD, *Tasmania for the Tourist* (c. 1919) p. 23.



GOVERNMENT ACCOMMODATION HOUSE, GREAT LAKE.



GOVERNMENT ACCOMMODATION HOUSE, INTERLAKEN.



GOVERNMENT ACCOMMODATION HOUSE, LAKE LEAKE.

were slower to abandon full board. In 1922 Launceston hoteliers' claimed they were not getting TGTD bookings. Wishart Smith countered by accusing them of living in the past. They lost bookings because tourists increasingly disliked having to stay close to their billets or pay twice for meals. Hoteliers should also be more willing to accept short stays. They waited for the 'long period boarder who did not come' and failure to fill rooms was their own fault.¹ The message, backed by the Launceston Progress Association,² was accepted by several large establishments. The more the TGTD encouraged tourists to rove, rather than stay in one locality, the greater the spread of the 'B&B'.³

Government Accommodation Houses

In unsettled districts where no commercial interests existed government intervention could be more direct and developmental. State-owned guest houses were established at Interlaken, Great Lake and Lake Leake.⁴ Ongoing improvements were largely due to the TGTD and influential fisheries associations who used arguments apropos the indirect benefits of tourist traffic. As mentioned, Hydro-electric developments stimulated replacement of the old house at Miena, Great Lake, where a fine sixteen roomed chalet was completed in 1923.

The Miena project aroused political debate. Hydro works were the main stimulus but tourist flow was cited as good reason for spending nearly £5000. True to form, Jim Ogden opposed the spending because: 'the tourist trade brings nothing into the state, it only enriches individuals and builds up businesses.' Ogden now represented a small minority and the vote passed without a division. Significant among the arguments was the TGR's support for improvements. The houses were miles from any railway, but the tourists they attracted stimulated general railway traffic.⁵ Few lessees of the establishments made more than a living from their long hours of work, a fact exacerbated by continuing government refusal to give them liquor licenses.⁶ Nevertheless the services they provided were appreciated by angling visitors, many of whom promised to be ambassadors for the state. Indirect benefits therefore justified subsidy of the houses, a fact recognised when they were first built by the government and leased by the two city tourist associations.⁷ TGTD officers agreed they were

1. *Ex*, 17/2/22.

2. *DT*, 14/5/23.

3. Compare TGTD *Accommodation Directory* 1921-22 with *Hotel and Boarding House Directory* 1922-23 and thereafter.

4. For brief descriptions see TGTD, *The Tasmanian Lakes op cit*

5. *Merc*, 5/11/19 reports HA vote of £2,000 for Great Lake House; 4/11/20 a further vote of £1,000. Public Works proposals in *TPP* 1921/40 include a further £3,500. *TPP* 1922/32 has another £500 for completion and £800 for furnishings. *Merc*, 14/6/22 describes the new house nearing completion.

6. See for example *MR*, 31/8/27.

7. See *CSD* 22/174/2, 14/8/13. Details of the arrangements dated 4/11/13 show that leases could never repay interest (see *CSD* 22/174/4). In August and October 1914, and again in Sept 1915 there were moves to have the Government resume control of the Lake Leake House. This had still not been resolved by November

indispensable, since if they did not exist the money spent in the State by visiting anglers would go elsewhere.¹ The accommodation houses remained under the Surveyor-General for a considerable time after the TGTD was established. In 1927 they were vested in the TGR and thus came under TGTD central policy.²

The houses were centred at fishing lakes, but they and their access roads were also seen as seeds for 'opening up' new country for closer settlement.³ Highland-development boosters like Griffin and Reg. H Meaburn peppered newspapers with the message that, given a road to the West Coast, 'Palatial hotels and accommodation houses would spring up; golf links and all the accessories of a fashionable tourist resort would follow as a natural consequence.'⁴ Despite such optimism, private capital failed to follow the flag of the Public Works department until after WWII when government lowered the risk by providing cheap loans for hotel development.⁵

In 1919 came a brief movement for government hotels in less isolated areas. Tom Murdoch called on the State to provide quality accommodation at 'five or six' centres in southern Tasmania. He singled out Port Arthur, where the 'old commandant's cottage should be secured, together with the buildings adjoining, and the whole remodelled with chalets built from the present ruins.' Supporters agreed, more or less. One even urged public spending on accommodation at Brown's River (now Kingston), a permanent resort less than ten miles from Hobart.⁶ Nothing came of the suggestions. At Port Arthur serendipity provided where the government would not. In February 1921 a fire destroyed LL Kerslake's *Hotel Arthur*, a 'little hotel,' according to Lionel Lindsay, who convalesced there in 1911. It was 'the fellow of the small English inn, with its dozen bottles behind the counter, and a small barrel of Cascade ale reposing on it.'⁷ The insurance paid for a new improved 'Tourists' Home' at 'Australia's only "bona-fide" Ruins'.⁸

1915 - although Emmett had written to the NTTA he had not received a reply (CSD 22/1747). The matter was resolved when the TGTD took over the NTTA in 1917.

1. *Ex*, 28/7/22.

2. See *MR*, 31/8/27: State Tourist Accommodation Houses Act, 1927.

3. Beresford, Quentin 'The World War One Soldier Settlement Scheme in Tasmania' *TFRAPP*, 1983, 30/3 pp. 90-100.

4. *Merc*, 23/10/22. Meaburn letters linking closer settlement, the need for a West Coast Road and tourism, and criticising Emmett's efforts at publicising Tasmania, prompted snarky defence from Clive Lord, who claimed that: 'Whereas a few years ago the mention of Tasmania caused a smile, it now causes a quickened interest and immediate enquiries concerning our tourist resorts and commercial possibilities' (see *Merc*, 16/11/22).

5. The Tourist Accommodation Loans Act (1945) set up a Loans Board chaired by the Director of the TGTD. By 1964 they had extended £800,000 in loans for new constructions and improvements. In 1966 American experts hailed it. See Harris, Kerr, Forster and Co. Survey Team. 'Australia's Travel and Tourist Industry, 1965' (New York: Harris, Kerr, Forster and Co: 1966). pp. 235-41.

6. *Merc*, 3-9/1/19.

7. Lindsay, Lionel *op. cit.*

8. Fire, see *Merc*, 24/2/21. For inquest which cleared the proprietor of arson charges see *Merc*, 15/6/21. See advertisement in *Back to Tasmania Nov. 15-26 Official Souvenir* (Hobart: Government Printer & Hobart Citizens' Committee: 1922).

Commercial Agitation

As tourist activity grew, perceived lack of quality accommodation, especially in Hobart, prompted public concern. In October 1920 a heavy season was being predicted for the coming summer. 'Vigilant' wrote the *Mercury*. It was all very well selling trips to Tasmania, but the TGTD must also get up scheme to assure the accommodation and comfort of tourists once they arrived.¹ Emmett replied with the official position. The obstacles to development of urban hotel accommodation were threefold: high building costs; short supply of skilled household labour; and fear of another interrupted season. It was not government policy to interfere except in isolated districts where direct profits were unlikely. He could only ask private citizens to register themselves available for paying billets, and assure hoteliers who improved their businesses they would be rewarded with bookings. The *Mercury* mooted a Hobart 'Tourist Accommodation Vigilance Committee' to find places in public buildings should the need arise. But this could only be a stop-gap:

The Tourist traffic is of such present and potential importance for the state that it is worth taking trouble to give our visitors satisfaction; and as regards sleeping and boarding accommodation, it ought not to be forgotten that, even should suitable housing be found on emergency, a good deal more than a bare floor will be needed if those who sleep on it are not to go away with recollections too tender for gratitude.²

Strikes that season "alleviated" the problem and there was no need for billets or committee. The *Mercury* felt Emmett's policy of decentralisation had saved Tasmanian cities from the embarrassment of not being able to provide adequate accommodation.³ Concern for the future remained, however. Some new private investments were welcomed. In 1920 the 'new modern'⁴ *Bay View Hotel* was built at the East Coast resort of Swansea, 'The Premier Sanatorium of Tasmania' It was one of the first in Tasmania to offer self contained furnished flats,⁵ and enjoyed great success.⁶ It was not enough. By 1922 even Wishart Smith was calling for 'a bold scheme' of public capital investment in first-class establishments at Hobart, Brown's River, the Huon and Lake Districts, National Park, Launceston and the North-West Coast 'where more

1. *Merc*, 7/10/20.

2. *Ibid.*, 9-10/11/20. See also *World*, 8/10/20;.

3. *Merc*, 23/12/21.

4. *World*, 23/6/20.

5. TGTD, *Hotel and Boarding House Directory* 1922-23.

6. At its AGM on 31/6/24 the directors of Tourists' Hotels Ltd, Hobart surgeon Ernest Thorburn MacGowan (b. 1871) and lawyer and Tattersall's trustee William Alexander Finlay (1854-1937, see *ADB*), distributed all the year's profits as dividends. In four years the company had almost paid off its mortgage (see *Merc*, 1/8/24). SC 323/534 has company records. Chief shareholder was George McKenzie Duncan, engineer, Hobart (whose wife, Beatrice Duncan, later opened the *Continental* palais de danse in Macquarie St, Hobart). Another director was Cecil Bertrand Davies, a director of Davies Bros., publishers of the *Mercury*. Shareholders of interest included Murdoch Bros. (Tom Murdoch and Charles Grant), Thomas Lyons (Tatt's trustee) and James Quigley (*Brisbane Hotel*). The articles of association (p. 4 para. 17a) provide for the company establishing or assisting any association 'calculated in any way to benefit the company or its shareholders or similar companies'.

tourists would be attracted if suitable accommodation were provided.¹ But while one official arm urged expansion, another barred its way.

Liquor Licensing and Hotel Economics

A paradoxical problem faced Tasmanian attempts to boost tourist accommodation. The Temperance movement had a long tradition in Western Protestant societies.² Its early Tasmanian roots are found in the reaction against convictism, which in the 1850s culminated not only in self-government but also in a restrictive Licensing Act.³ The paradox lay in the fact that government leaders at all levels who supported tourism and capitalist enterprise were also often anti-liquor.⁴ War engendered a new bout of wowsersism when King George V took his famous vow of abstinence. In March 1916 a plebiscite registered more than 60% in favour of changing from ten o'clock to six o'clock closing.⁵

Pre-poll propaganda was rife on both sides. The drink question crossed political party lines. Church leaders railed against the demon drink. City businessmen such as Cascade Brewery director, GP Fitzgerald, and liquor distributor and sportsman, Charles Davis (1856-1930), favoured ten o'clock closure. Advertisements in the *Critic* claimed the earlier hour would see increased and uncontrolled drinking in people's homes, setting a bad example for women and children. In the same issue, Emmett's Chinese 'p'lophet' 'Ah Wong' held a similar view. Why let one boozier spoil things for the other ninety-nine? he asked:

You make gleat big sledge hammer clack 'em little pea. ... You so tie man up with bally legislation till it alee same Germany, man aflaid move for fear him up against authority.

He rightly foresaw what soon became known as the 'six o'clock swill'.⁶

Emmett, as booster of leisure facilities, could be expected to hold liberal opinions re hotel licensing. Though his argument failed, tourist interests did manage to enmesh in the resulting legislation clauses allowing non-residents to purchase liquor where locals were prohibited.⁷ But was this for tourists? To qualify as a 'traveller' one needed to be only six miles from home. Sundays saw a large exodus of Hobartians to Kingston, Launcestonians to St Leonards. For the determined there was always the 'back door' or the 'cordial bar' permitted to remain open after six. There were frequent claims that the government enforced restrictions less rigidly than other states.

1. TGR Annual Report 1921-22, *TPP* 1922/43. Smith made the recommendation without consulting Emmett (see evidence at TGR Royal Commission, *Merc.* 21/5/23).

2. The Australian Temperance Society celebrated its sesquicentenary on 29 April 1992.

3. Kilner, Rod 'Temperance and the liquor question in Tasmania in the 1850s' *TIRAPP* 20/82-97.

4. Thus in 1913 Solomon resisted TTA pressure for bottle licenses to cater to tourists (see PD1/38/57/13; 28/11/13).

5. Robson, *op. cit.* pp. 337-9. There was also a Royal Commission into the Hobart Licensing District (see *TPP* 1916/2).

6. *Critic*, 18/3/16.

7. *V&P*, 23/11/16.

In the short term, Tasmania's tourist trade did not suffer immediate effects from six o'clock closing, its parallel adoption in mainland states and war conditions inuring tourists to drink restriction. In August 1916 Cascade Brewery, of all institutions, announced a willingness to donate £500 towards 'a kind of People's Pleasure Palace'. These had sprung up in Russia after vodka was banned, and in parts of England where liquor restrictions applied.¹ Whether the proposal reached concrete form is unlikely,² but in any case there were a number of unlicensed entertainments, in the cities at least, at which people could gather. For a temperance-minded Australia the reduction of street drunkenness, reflected in police records, could only make Tasmania more attractive.³ Early in 1917 the *Mercury* voted the six o'clock legislation 1916's most important. It came in on New Year's Day public holiday. Despite hot weather it was accepted 'with equanimity' and, 'There was a big run on soft drinks.'⁴

Round Table noted early how Victoria's legislation reduced brewery shares by about 30% and freehold hotel property values by 25-30%. Leasehold values, once held at a premium, had in some cases disappeared altogether.⁵ In Tasmania the process was similar if somewhat slower. Cascade sheltered itself from war-time losses by opening a new market in Queensland, which usually drew large supplies from England.⁶ But in the 1920s restriction of evening trade did hinder the growth and improvement of accommodation facilities in the island. Hotels make their main profits from liquor and surpluses can be reinvested in improvements. The accommodation side of the business was less profitable, but tourist guests created an atmosphere attractive to local diners, dancers and drinkers. Losing their liquor licences meant some establishments, such as Hobart's *Holyhood*, languished and eventually died.⁷

The main problem was recalcitrance of licensing benches when requested to grant new or renewed liquor licences. The police, keen to see constant improvement in city hotel standards, urged magistrates to greater stringency in their demands and inspections.⁸ The Licensing Act was clear in both letter and spirit. It aimed to protect local residents and provide hotels better than mere drinking shops. Local option principles were applied, but the Act gave the benches discretion in questions of local 'necessity'. On more than one occasion personnel were accused of bias, especially, in Hobart, the Wesleyan leader William Williams.⁹ Emmett frequently gave evidence and

1. *Merc.* 24/8/16.

2. No further reference has been found in press or directories.

3. Police records, see Robson *op. cit.* p. 339.

4. A Daylight Savings Act also met with 'universal approval' (see *Merc.* 1/1/17).

5. *Round Table* No. 25. December 1916, p. 173.

6. Beresford, Quentin 'G. P. Fitzgerald: the Career of a Tasmanian Retailer and Politician' *THRAPP* 28/2 p. 81.

7. *Holyhood House* failed in 1920 and 1921 to renew its license. In 1921 it operated as a guest house, (see *Merc.* 6/12/21) but dropped out of the directories several years on.

8. *Merc.* 1/12/22.

9. *Ibid.*, 6/12/21 has such accusations re *Holyhood*. Williams denied membership of the Temperance Alliance or having called for total abolition. He was also on the TTA and National Park Board, quondam

found his economic and developmental logic completely ignored. Controversy over an attempt to license one famous Hobart guest house brought out the issues.

In October 1922 fear of strikes was low and high prospects¹ excited local favour for tourism. Leslie Crozier and his brother Walter applied² for a liquor license for *Westella*, a magnificent ex-mansion in uptown Elizabeth St.³ £10,000 worth of plans provided for 78 bedrooms and numerous recreation rooms. They would change the name to *Hotel Tasmania*. Leslie had purchased the building from the trustees of Tattersall's. Andrew Inglis Clark junior (1882-1953), legal partner of a Tatt's trustee,⁴ took the application to the bench in December. With automatic lifts and every other convenience, said Clark, this would be 'the best laid out hotel in Tasmania.' Close to the city, yet on large grounds, noise would not bother nearby ratepayers. Moreover, the city's general interests made the license a 'necessity':

The city is steadily growing and there is a big influx of people and the needs of the tourist traffic require attending to. At the present time accommodation in Hobart is limited and the Tourist Department is in a quandary as to what to do. The mass of people desire to stay in [licensed] hotels.

Clark's chief witness was Emmett, who attested to a serious want of first class beds. They were always the first booked and Hobart needed another 100-150. He pointed to the current indicators of tourism growth and warned the application's rejection would see *Westella* closed to tourists. The Croziers' alternative plan was to convert it into flats.

The nearby Congregationalist Memorial Church⁵ brought a petition of local resident ratepayers. They claimed to support tourism but another licensed house was not required in the locality. The bench agreed. Police Magistrate Ernest William Turner (1876-1943) summed up its decision:

... we have to clear our heads of any notion that we are members of a town planning society, or a city improvement association, in which capacity I am sure all of us would gladly welcome a palatial residence for tourists somewhere in our city; and ... here the 'bribe' to grant a license is very handsome.

Mayor and president of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce. As Mayor in 1915 at the Hobart Bureau opening he uttered warm words about tourism.

1. Arrangements for a November 'Back to Tasmania' fortnight were advanced, and specially arranged ships would bring a further influx around Christmas. The 'Back to' campaign is described in Chapter Seven.
2. For Walter Henry Crozier's announcement of application see *Merc.* 21/10/22. For Crozier Bros. operating company see SC 323/553.
3. An 1830s mansion, it had out-rivalled Hobart's original Government House. About 1878 it became a boarding house. With a view over the nearby city, it sat in over a hectare of sculptured gardens. A long list of VIP guests warranted its great reputation for excellence. See Dodson, HL 'Brief Account of "Westella"' *THRAPP* 17/4, pp. 140-47.
4. See *BRADB* for Clark. His partner was WA Finlay The George Adams, or 'Tattersalls', lottery estate still owned the *Highfield* and *Tattersall's Hotels*, both in Murray Street Hobart, as well as the *Grand* at Zeehan. Finlay and another of the estate's Hobart executors Thomas Lyons both interested themselves in moves to increase the state's tourist profile. As already mentioned, they were both shareholders in Tourists' Hotels Ltd, which developed *Chappell's Bay View Hotel* at Swansea (SC 323/53-4. Liquor and gambling interests were strongly linked.
5. Supported by the Tasmanian Temperance Alliance.

The bench refused to change the lives of nearby residents 'merely to oblige certain fleeting visitors'. Turner asked Hobart investors to improve existing facilities or open unlicensed houses.¹ But the Croziers would not invest big money without a liquor license. In mid season, *Westella* closed its doors to tourists.

The *Mercury* dubbed 'the *Westella* case' victory for narrow vision.² Hobart rumoured bedless tourists 'sleeping in the Domain.' Emmett made a special statement on the 'serious inconvenience'. He understood the obstacles investors faced and (rather feebly) suggested hoteliers expand with 'closeable wings'. He again described the vital role reputation played in his trade. Inability to accommodate on a particular night could affect 'the whole season' since mainlanders were liable to imagine the island 'full up' and not bother applying. *Zealandia's* Captain Entwhistle, 'staunch champion of Hobart and Tasmania', said 'it was farcical' to bring more holiday-makers if they could not be 'properly provided for.' Visitors were returning home early, and 'Hobart as a tourist resort would suffer considerably in popularity.' Tom Murdoch, now Master Warden, seized his chance to say 'told you so'. The Marine Board had gone to the trouble of getting big ships only to be 'frustrated by some of our own citizens, who occupied positions of responsibility, to wit, the Licensing Board—who refused to grant a license to *Westella*.'³ An HCC meeting degenerated when Williams was bitterly accused of having prejudged the *Westella* case.⁴

Such recriminations brought indignant defences. To the Memorial Church's Charles Bernard Cockett (b.1888)⁵ there was no need for first-class accommodation to serve alcohol, rather 'sterner supervision of hotels, and a strong extract of the spirit of Oliver Cromwell.' American hotels were booming despite prohibition. Many people preferred the *Imperial* style, 'away from the odours and bestiality associated with bars.' The Women's Christian Temperance Union's Emily C Cox (d.1963) asked: 'Are Hobart's citizens to be invited to support a licensed house for three parts of the year in order that the owner shall reap huge profits during the tourist season?'⁶ Finance was hard to find for temperance hotels, she said. Was it 'because the great financiers are controlled by the liquor interests?'⁷

Towards the end of April the liquor interests moved to clarify their position. Hotel owners approached Attorney General Propsting. They was introduced by Charles

1. *Merc.* 1-4 & 9/12/22.

2. *Ibid.*, 5/1/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 6/1/23.

4. The accuser was a prominent CTA member, Richard Roberts Martin, HCC Ald. 1922-24, 1927-28. See *World*, 30/1/23.

5. *PT*.

6. This flip side of 'seasonality', was rarely mentioned by industry advocates. In a fit of pique, Colin Kennedy, as managing-director of Webster-Rometch, made similar private comments in 1927 (see Chapter Twelve).

7. *Merc.* 5/1/23.



Charles William Grant

William Grant (1878-1943), son of one of Tasmania's wealthiest men.¹ Charles inherited and later secured interests in many of Hobart's most influential companies, including Davies Bros, publishers of the *Mercury*, HC Heathorn Pty Ltd, and the Cascade Brewery Co, of which he was chairman. He was also an active partner in Tom Murdoch's import-export grocery business and a Nationalist MHA for the Hobart electorate of Denison.² Through Cascade and ventures such as the Parattah Hotel Co., Grant was 'the largest owner of hotel property' in the state.

Louis Dobson put the deputation's case. It claimed to be 'promoting the interests and convenience', directly and indirectly, 'of the whole community.' As far as accommodation went, Tasmania's hotel traffic, as in Switzerland, relied on a peak season for all its profits. Discretionary powers exercised by known prohibitionists threatened the £900,000 invested in Tasmanian hotel buildings. The benches demanded accommodation facilities in return for licenses, and the industry was willing to invest. But local necessity decisions were now 'tending to check development ... bound at no distant date to lead to serious public inconvenience and paralysis of the tourist traffic.' In Victoria the situation had become so serious the government was 'forced' to suspend local option for ten years. Dobson asked Propsting to pre-empt such a drastic move by tightening definitions of 'suitability' and 'necessity' under the Act. Propsting agreed the legislation was 'somewhat confused' and promised to treat the matter sympathetically. He hardly needed to mention, however, that at least two of his colleagues, Walter Lee (now Treasurer) and Chief Secretary John Cameron McPhee (1878-1952), were known prohibitionists.

The *Mercury* naturally concurred with the deputation. Again reflecting on *Westella*, it argued the bench should not cover hotels of a locality, but of the city as a whole and of the State. Emily Cox again claimed the Act was just and railed against the blackmailing liquor interest.³ Her voice was not alone in the wilderness. The need for top-class accommodation at National Park was an issue often broached by Emmett, Lewis and others.⁴ In January 1923 the *Mercury* reasserted the viability of a government-built, first class residential house.⁵ In May two private applications came before the New Norfolk bench. Owners of existing boarding houses at the Park, Charles Marriott and Charles Browning both presented plans for new hotels and argued the need to cater for

1. Charles Henry Grant (1831-1901), an entrepreneur engineer, who came to Tasmania to build the Main Line Railway. He established the Parattah Hotel Co. (see *ADB*).

2. *BRTF, ADB*. See membership lists in Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Annuals TC* p. 213 lists directors of HC Heathorn, as does SC 323/276. Note that his brother Cecil Bertrand Davies (1876-1961) engineer and later chairman of *Mercury* publishers. Davies Bros, purchased nearly nine per cent of Heathorn shares when the company was floated in 1910-11. As mentioned above (in footnote) Cecil was also a director of Tourists' Hotels Ltd.

3. Deputation, see *Merc*, 19/4/23 and 20/4/23 for editorial comment. Prohibition movement, see *Merc*, 20/4/23. Cox, see *Merc*, 25/4/22.

4. For examples see : National Park Board. Annual Report, 1920-21 *TPP* 1921/21, and *World*, 7/2/23.

5. *Merc*, 6/1/23.



THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

The Hon. A. G. Ogilvie, K.C., before accepting the portfolio of Attorney-General in the Lyons Ministry, was a familiar figure in Southern courts, and his numerous successes soon made him one of the most prominent figures in the legal profession. The youngest K.C. in the British Empire, he is possessed of lots of determination, but has not achieved the widespread public confidence which has placed Mr. Lyons at the head of the Government. He is a fluent speaker.

Albert George Ogilvie

the burgeoning tourist traffic. Marriott was supported by the National Park Board and a petition from the majority of local residents.

Emmett and others again argued that tourists should prevail over local wowsers. The bench chairman remarked that on this basis tourists might soon want a hotel on top of Mount Wellington. Tourist needs were not under consideration. Marriot's application was rejected on the legal point that there had not been a 'large' increase in local population. Browning's plans described a 'palatial' £7000 brick structure. His application was presented by a publican's son cum successful lawyer and Labor MHA, Albert George Ogilvie (1890-1939), whose evidence implied he was personally involved as investor.¹ After Marriot's rejection, and his own failure to secure 'a fresh mind' on the bench, Ogilvie dropped the petition.² To the present day the National Park remains poorly served in hotel accommodation.³

Despite these abortive attempts at creating new establishments, expansion occurred in existing hotels. Figure One (on page 120) shows a surge in the number of hotel beds available in Tasmania in the early 1920s. This was undoubtedly due to the absence of shipping strikes, the resulting tourist influx and the boost this gave to investor confidence. Note the flattening of the curve in mid decade. This was probably due to the shock caused by a return to strikes and recession in 1924-25. It no doubt also had to do with uncertainty over the Licensing Act.⁴

In October 1924 McPhee, then in opposition, introduced a private member's bill for a prohibition referendum in Tasmania. It was denounced by Jens August Jensen (1865-1936), a massive Beauty Point publican⁵ who estimated his own lifetime consumption at 3000 bottles of whisky and 20,000 of beer. He attacked 'pulpit men' and 'wowsers' who would bring about 'the ruination of a number of the [State's] people just to satisfy some faddists.' He pointed to the social consequences of American prohibition, but economic arguments and tourism featured heavily in his defence. Treasury would lose £20,000 in sales tax. Over 1400 hospitality jobs would be jeopardised. Tasmanians would migrate 'to states where they could enjoy themselves.' Moreover: 'when other states were wet, was it likely that tourists would come to a dry state for a fortnight or

1. For Ogilvie's liquor interests background see Roe, Michael 'AG Ogilvie and the Blend of Van Diemen's Land with Tasmania' *CTHS Bulletin* 1986, 1/2. Detail emerged in the 1927 Royal Commission into his administration of the Public Trust Office (see *TPP1927/31*).

2. *Ibid.*, 11/4/23; 3/5/23; 11/5/23.

3. Browning's application was finally granted in 1926 despite continued opposition (see *Merc.* 13/7/26). The *National Park Hotel*, outside the Park's gates at Westerway, serves mainly as a bottle shop and drinking hole for locals and has only slight tourist function. A few boarding houses in the area are preferred by the Tasmanian Travel Centres. Despite its enormous potential as a longer-stay resort, National Park caters mainly to the day visitor, being easily reached from Hobart under modern transport conditions.

4. The 1000 bed increase between 1926 and 1930 reflects both increased tourist activity in the period and a trend whereby owners of large houses sought to retain them by becoming boarding house proprietors. There is also continued geographical spread of tourist activity to consider. The numbers do not in any way reflect the quality of accommodations. The sharpish fall in numbers in the late 1930s, when government regulation of standards and registration became tighter, must reflect a fall off in substandard accommodations.

5. *B RTP; TT.*



MR. J. A. JENSEN.

Mr. J. A. Jensen, recently readmitted to the fold of the Labour Party, is an experienced politician who has held portfolios in both State and Federal Houses, and is one of Labour's best platform men. In 1910 he was a member of the short-lived Earle Ministry of seven days. Later, as a Federal member during the war years, he became Assistant Minister for Defence, Minister for the Navy, and Minister for Customs. As an Independent Laborite he co-operated fully with Mr. Lyons, both when he was leader of the Opposition and later when he became Premier. At present Mr. Jensen is in an enforced retirement from politics, and is spending the time on his fine orchard on the Taurar cogitating on the matter.

Jens August Jensen

three weeks?' Jensen pictured inbound travellers submitting to luggage searches. He estimated tourist numbers at 15,000 p.a., bringing £300,000 to the state, all of which 'would be lost ... there would be merely wowsers.' Helped by opposition members Grant, Hobbs, and Alex Marshall (who would support no bill that damaged publicans), Ogilvie and Jensen successfully killed the Bill.¹

In 1926 Ogilvie tried to abolish the local option clauses. He was defeated by the Legislative Council after a strong Temperance Alliance campaign² and the issue thereafter rested for some years. However the government relaxed enforcement of early closing. Mainland tourists were surprised at being able to drink in pubs with impunity until ten p.m.³ When the Nationalists recaptured government in 1928, McPhee was Premier and Treasurer. His ministry included Walter Lee and on their backbenches was John Featherstone Ockerby (1864-1951), dubbed 'Six O'Clockerby' for his pro-Temperance stance.⁴ They did nothing to alter licensing rules. On the opposition benches another new MHA, the red-nosed Dwyer-Gray, pointed to the reason: the existence in Cabinet of Cascade Brewery chairman Charles Grant. Gray dubbed the government 'a diplozoon ... a flat worm consisting of two organisms fused together.'⁵

As Premier 1934-39 the 'tourist-minded' Ogilvie liberalised Tasmania's licensing laws. He also doubled the tourist vote, separated the TGTD from the TGR and placed the former under a Cabinet Minister. The Ogilvie period was one of great expansion and is hailed by Mosley.⁶ But this does not deny the argument that Tasmania had by 1928 accepted as set policy that governments could and should support and control tourism. Ogilvie has also been credited with the 1930s expansion in hydro-electricity and road building, but these too were already being planned before he took over. Ogilvie was more interventionist than his predecessors. He had more irrepressible political will, was less conservative. But he was also fortunate that the Depression was lifting when he took power. His achievements in the spheres under discussion, while remarkable, had far more to do with style than substance.

1. *Merc.* 31/10/24.

2. See for instance *ibid.*, 26/11/26.

3. See *ibid.*, 5/5/26 'A Visit to Tasmania'. A WCTU member complained that there was nothing 'we can do while the Labour Government is in power, as the Premier has no time for wowsers.'

4. LCC Ald. 1918-47. *B RTP*. Ferrall *op cit.* (1980) pp. 120-1 has a character sketch.

5. *MR.* 24/8/28.

6. Mosley, *op. cit.*, Chapter One, Section Five.



MIR. J. OCKERBY.

Alderman J. Ockerby, who is here seen enjoying a Nice Cup of Tea, is a pillar of the Methodist Church of Lankeston, and of the prohibition societies. Despite his attitude in this latter regard, he possesses a keen sense of humour and can make a very amusing speech when he wishes, but these qualities apparently were not sufficient to get him into the Senate at the last elections. A former Mayor of Lankeston, he is prominently associated with civic activities, and in the business world is a member of the firm of Cocker and Ockerby, Customs Agents.

John Featherstone Ockerby

6 ACCESS AND INTERNAL TRANSPORT

In Chapter Five we noted that calls to develop the state's tourist resorts with accommodation and leisure facilities stressed the fundamental nature of access. The present chapter discusses internal transport in general. It looks at the trend away from railway construction, describing the growth of a 'Better Roads' movement and political mechanisms by which goals were achieved. Successes were not automatic. Parochial, rural and other interests all played parts in stalling the movement. But it is clear that within our period opinion strengthened that tourism in itself was good reason for governments to build roads, when they could afford to do so. Advances taken by road motor traffic badly affected the railways. The TGR tried to fight back with new comforts and services for tourists. Its use of the TGTD to promote railway travel damaged Emmett's relations with certain interests, despite his own recognition of the importance of roads. The real contribution of tourists to railway revenue was questionable but accepted *prima facie*. The government's dilemma lay in balancing the needs of both transport modes with those of their users and the Treasury.

The 'Cult of the Car'—A Roads Lobby Develops

Observers noted that 'by 1905 the motor-car moved for longer periods than it did not.'¹ The early decades of the present century were quickly dubbed the 'Age of the Motor Car'. Tasmania was not slow to experience this remarkable technological trend and all its socio-economic ramifications. The industry gained enormous momentum from Fordist ideas and techniques. The 'Cult of the Car',² was stimulated by an explosion of media interest, 'Motoring Notes' columns and the spiels of national advertisers. Agricultural shows showcased the latest cars, using the names of well-known local buyers as endorsements. It became a case of "keeping up with the Joneses". Motor vehicle registrations grew from 152 in 1909 to 6676 in 1925, the rate showing no sign of abatement.³ Motor vehicles, while expensive, were lucrative investments for those who could afford them. Their versatility made them attractive to all kinds of distributors. The sheer activity placed enormous pressure on the island's extensive horse-and-cart road system.

1. Heaton, Herbert *op. cit.*

2. A commonly used term of the time, as was the 'cult of advertising' and the 'tourism cult'. It is interesting that *Webster's* (American) dictionary gives definitions consistent with Tasmanian usage whereas the *OED* does not. A similar situation exists with the word 'fetish'.

3. Annual Report of Police Commissioner 1927-28 *TPP* 1928/41 p 13. Turner, Roger *op. cit.* Appendix III illustrates the phenomenon in terms of registrations per capita. Based on the very rough figures available, Tasmania seems to have had a vehicles per adult capita ratio about the same as NSW and Qld; a bit behind Victoria's, about half that of South Australia, but far in advance of WA. (Figures from *Australian Year Book* No. 18, 1925).

Farmers, even those serviced by railways, clamoured for roads in their districts. Recreationalists and scenery preservation buffs urged the opening up of mountain reserves to the motoring public. Various commercial interests involved themselves: from those who would exploit 'locked up' forest and mineral wealth to city merchants seeking access to West Coast markets. Others merely sought more comfortable conditions on existing roads. Selling, servicing and operating vehicles was big business and a strong roads lobby developed. Its leaders enjoyed a close social relationship with those involved in politics. The (northern) Tasmanian Automobile Club (TAC) and Autocar Club of (southern) Tasmania (ACT) focussed the sports-minded commercial-civic elite. All used tourist arguments in their requests for roadworks.

Road conditions were said to bear on Tasmania's reputation. In general they were held in high regard by mainlanders. Fear of losing this asset was a spur to action. It was often stated that Tasmania's wealth of scenic attractions 'needed only road access and publicity' for tourists to visit in droves.¹ In 1916 the Warden of Deloraine claimed the Great Lake road had been commissioned with the object of attracting tourists. £9,000 had been allocated but the road was unfinished and impassable. Visitors had 'a bad impression of the road, and when that occurred with motorists it was like giving a dog a bad name and burying him.'²

For the same reason boosters opposed the idea of taxing visitors' cars. Later in 1916 a joint NTTA-TAC deputation approached Tasman Shields.³ Len Bruce said imposing levies would tend 'to promote the idea that Tasmania was out to fleece the tourist' and contradict the state's investment in advertising. The *Examiner's* Gordon Burns Rolph (1893-1959) noted Victoria made no such imposition. They wanted to encourage the interstate motorist 'because he usually brought his car full of friends' and travelled extensively in the island. George Cragg (1865-1934)⁴ and EA Perry,⁵ president and secretary of the TAC, also called for interstate recognition of licences. Shields was sympathetic but saw administrative obstacles and no exemptions were made during our period. Lack of facilities for shipping mainlanders' cars to the island was a related obstacle,⁶ and one of numerous issues that stimulated agitation.

The lobby had no objection to Tasmanian motorists paying a motor tax based on horsepower and weight, 95% of the tax being earmarked for road improvements.⁷

1. For example see *Merc.* 15/3/18 on Mount Faulkner.

2. *DT*, 18/7/16.

3. *Ex*, 11/12/16.

4. Launceston woolbroker, Marine Board warden, Chamber of Commerce, sports clubs patron, Freemason (see *BRADB*).

5. Possibly related to George Perry, proprietor of Launceston's *Imperial Coffee Palace* in 1921 (*Wise*).

6. See *Merc.* 30/12/22: EH Webster criticises lack of provision for passengers' motor cars on Bass Strait ferries, saying many wealthy people will not come if they cannot bring their cars over.

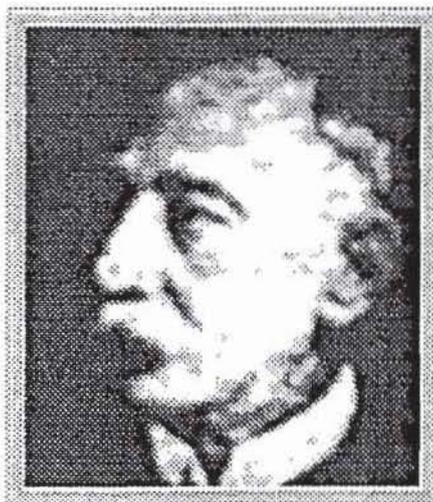
7. *Ex*, 11/12/16.



Joseph James Breen



Raymond John Shield



Colin Kennedy

Regulations operated from January 1918¹ and by 1920 raised £30,000,² yet progress was seen to be slow. In 1922 the Victorian government decided to allocate £50,000 for tourist roads, ironically prompted by the realisation that it was falling behind Tasmania in tourism. Both states recognised such roads had direct spinoffs for increased settlement and production.³ Victorian activity prompted Hobart cartage and tourist operators to form a Motor Hirers' Association. Prominent were Ald. Joseph James Breen (d.1948), managing director of Nettlefold's Tasmanian Motor Service,⁴ and Colin Kennedy (1868-1936) of Webster-Rometch.⁵ Waiting on the Main Roads Advisory Board, they said they were sustaining heavy losses in tyre wear and would pay more taxes for better roads state-wide. They suggested a wheel tax. The board chairman replied that this was a question for politicians, whom they would have to approach directly.⁶ Thus was the lobby encouraged to strengthen.

They gained impetus from the 'Good Roads Movement', an 'internationalist' cause linked to Fordism and Romanism and described as a 'Freemasonry of the Road'.⁷ It hit Sydney in 1920 and soon spread through urban Australia. A politically powerful 'non-political' organisation, it espoused propaganda and 'systematic education'. It claimed links with all associations holding the good of the country at heart. It alleged railways were obsolete and roads were needed for production and commerce. The *Examiner* agreed. Proclaiming the motor 'the traffic of the future', it welcomed an association to keep Tasmania up with world-wide developments. It advocated 'gradual improvement of the roads already opened up' in Tasmania. This would benefit not only the farmer, but 'the country at large'.⁸ Urban middle-class concerns were thus aligned with the 'national' program. The NSW magazine *Good Roads* warned against 'the fetish of the railway',⁹ a sentiment echoed by Arndell Lewis, who urged Tasmanians to abandon 'the fetish' of spending roads funds only for agriculture. It was time to allocate money purely and simply for the motoring tourist.¹⁰

Out of the Good Roads movement came the Australian National Roads Association, a direct copy of the American body of the same name. In 1923 Launceston's TAC invited prominent Victorian members to Tasmania. Civic receptions and public meetings helped them set up Tasmanian chapters state-wide. In Hobart Emmett attended, as did, John Evans, Jack Nettlefold and Raymond John Shield (1891-1954) a

1. *Ibid.*, 11/12/16 and *Merc.*, 15/1/18.

2. *Australian Year Book* No. 4 1921.

3. *Industrial Australian and Mining Standard*, 28/9/22; *Age*, 4/10/22; *Victoria Tourists' Resorts Act* 1922.

4. Breen was TTA secretary until 1912 when he took the TMS job (see SC 323/359, HCC Ald. 1922-26, 1939-44. He was a Chamber of Commerce boardman. See HCC and Chamber Reports and Handbooks.

5. Past-Alderman Kennedy was a mining expert and partner of Sir Henry Jones. He became managing director of Webster-Rometch in 1919 (see *ADB* and Brown, Bruce *op cit*).

6. *World*, 4/11/22. MRAB chairman Walter Ross Reynolds was Engineer of Works in the PWD.

7. See Sanders, Noel 'Private Faces in Public Spaces: The NRMA, 1920-51' in Wilson, Helen, (ed.) *Australian Communications and the Public Sphere* (Melbourne: Macmillan; 1989) pp. 208-231.

8. *Ex.* 6/2/20.

9. *Good Roads*, 15/5/22, cited in Sanders *op cit*. p. 209.

10. *World*, 7/2/23.

chartered accountant and company secretary.¹ Shield 'revived' the ACT from seven years of 'inactivity'.² This elite body increased its power as a lobby by affiliating with the Royal Automobile Club in London in 1924.³ In 1927 it merged with the TAC.⁴ The resultant RACT claimed to be the centre of information on matters pertaining to automobilism' and aimed 'to encourage the development of the automobile movement; to assist in obtaining good roads, and reasonable legislation.'⁵

Roads Funding

Of the island's 12,000 miles of roads, only half were metalled or gravelled. As to new roads, these were all funded by the state. The low tax base meant most were paid with loans floated in London. Total investment came to £4,221,449, of which only £645,674 came from revenue (sale of Crown Lands).⁶ As the state entered a period of virtual bankruptcy in the early 1920s it was harder to justify such expenditure: just when new roads were considered imperative. Roads mooted post-war were largely inter-municipal or into outlying districts. Undeveloped Crown Lands were thought to hold mining and closer-settlement potential, an outlet attractive to boosters convinced by the 'Populate or Perish' slogan. So, just as mainland advertising of the island's message called for an overarching and presumably unbiased state agency, success in opening up new resort areas called for the bird's eye view.

Municipalities were responsible for the recommendation and construction of new roads within their boundaries. Road maintenance was funded by municipal revenue, which included a proportion of the state motor tax. Thus boosters wanting small local roads useful for tourist excursions focussed initial agitation on local government.⁷

1. *TC*, p. 169 has article on Ray J Shield. His father John G Shield (1853-1926) was government inspector of public buildings (1879-1909), HCC Ald. 1915-23, Mayor during WWI, and one-time Marine Board Master Warden (see *BRADB*).

2. *Merc*, 9/3/23. The committee consisted: Thomas Lyons (the stockbroker, in the chair), CE Webster, Weller Arnold and Robert Nettlefold (vice-presidents); Ray Shield (secretary); and others including HH Cummins, LJ Crozier, Jack Nettlefold, Peter Grant, Frank Piesse, AF Golding and Dr Terence Butler.

3. PD1/126/6/24. New members had to be proposed and seconded, over 21 in age and pay £1:1 entry and the same amount p.a. Membership, especially of the committee, reads as a directory of the Tasmanian establishment. After a year's organisation 270 had enrolled.

4. *Merc*, 12/5/26: ACT third AGM in Hobart. Want to link up with northern and north-western bodies. Must support NRMA, 'the influence' the club could 'wield'. Someone points out that 'the social aspect is merely a means to an end' the object being to tend to motorists' needs. The RACT was formed by 1927 when new clubrooms were installed at Waterloo House, an old hotel opposite the tourist bureau in Murray Street, Hobart. The cost was £9250. By that time there were 600 members, which the committee hoped soon to increase to 1000. They expected 100 ladies to join when the clubrooms were available (see *Merc*, 3/8/27). See *Merc*, 20/12/27 for official opening by Governor, description and history. Governor O'Grady speaks on the 'importance of club life': their 'uplifting effect' and effects on community service consciousness.

5. Advertisements in Walch's *Red Book Almanacs*.

6. Tasmania had borrowed £3,575,775 for roads, compared with Victoria (£2,566,032), NSW (£1,841,220) and South Australia (£1,801,943). Statistics from *Australian Year Book* No. 4 (1921).

7. In 1917 the district of Ridgeway on the borders of Hobart's Mountain Park, was a target for tourist advocates, given much publicity and support by the *Daily Post*. Emmett estimated good road access to Ridgeway would provide a new 'round trip' for 'a few hundred pounds'. He pointed out that settlers had been there for 20 years with no proper outlet. Webster-Rometch refused to drive on the existing track. Despite Public Works Department support, Council resisted the expenditure. Emmett joined an angry deputation and took the matter over the head of the HCC to the Minister of Lands, and eventually the road was built. (see *DP*, 8/6/17, 20/7/17). The "stranded" settlers' needs swung the argument but sure enough, tourist facilities followed. The *Homestead* tea gardens prospered until the 1967 bush fires.



STANLEY DRYDEN
EDITOR OF THE
"EXAMINER"
LAUNCESTON



Stanley Dryden

Others wanting 'main roads' between municipalities or new 'developmental roads' into unincorporated areas, focussed on the state, the Main Roads Advisory Board and Public Works Standing Committee (PWC).¹ Main roads, once so designated, became the financial responsibility of the state. Success or failure in attracting funds depended on the propensity of governing bodies to support tourist ventures. This usually hinged on general financial conditions and the likelihood of tourist roads being useful for other purposes.

Regional

Large centres combined with smaller municipalities to generate regional agitation for tourist road development. In 1916 the NTA and sports clubs joined Deloraine boosters to press for government funding for the Golden Valley-Great Lake road. The lake was vaunted as a great tourist asset, but a road would also provide northern access to the new hydro-electric works, where a large work force was attractive to commercial operators, and from there, eventually, to the West Coast.² Launceston also involved itself enthusiastically in the 1920 PWC enquiry into the best route for a main road to Scottsdale in the North-East: via St Patrick's River and 'the Sideling' or via Lilydale. Lilydale was already opened up by the Scottsdale railway, whereas the alternative was presently little more than a track. The Sideling route would be five miles shorter and there was no chance of a railway traversing the territory. Len Bruce extolled its scenic superiority and claimed 75% of traffic already on the track was tourist. *Examiner* editor Stanley Dryden (1869-1954)³ emphasised closer settlement and communications advantages. In the end Dryden's facts were most decisive, but Bruce's certainly carried weight with the PWC and its pro-tourist chairman Alex Marshall.⁴

A less fortunate case was the Cradle Mountain Road. In 1922 the Assembly rejected 17:6 a vote of £465. The *World* summed up the debate as one between 'Tourists and Toilers'. Lands and Mines Minister Ernest Blyth (1872-1933), said this and other tourist roads could provide unemployment relief and pave the way into new mining districts. Labor's Michael O'Keefe (1864-1926) urged politicians not to lose their progressive vision. But while funds were short the road would only increase the state's debt burden, and the return from tourism was not yet dominant for politicians. They did not simply cut expenditure across the board however. Most speakers would support roads to help settlers' bring their produce to market. George Becker and Winkleigh

1. The Public Works Committee Act 1914 required a joint committee to report on all loans funded works proposals above a certain stipulated cost unless Parliament resolved otherwise.

2. All papers, 18/7/16. Len Bruce followed up the meeting with a memorandum to the Premier, see PD1/38/79/16, 22/7/16. Lee promised to help, but see *DT*, 13/12/18: Deloraine Tourist Association meeting to ask Lyons to help them with Great Lake road. *Ex*, 14/12/18 reports Lyons gaining promise from Minister lands to put £1000 in the proposals, to cover last 3.5 miles of road remaining.

3. *TC*, p. 310 says his only real interest outside his profession was Freemasonry. However he stood for the Legislative Council in 1940 (see *BRADB*). He married a sister of Peel Salisbury, whose father had founded the famous Salisbury Foundry in Launceston.

4. *DP*, 4/2/20 and *TPP* 1920/7.

orchardist, Neil Campbell (1880-1960), would not put tourists' ease before farmers' needs. Labor's William Sheridan (like his erstwhile leader, Jack Earle) 'wanted to see the State turned into something better than a resort for tourists.' The political mood in 1922 was highly antagonistic, and this issue illustrated government instability rather than party policies. Opposition members who normally supported tourism, like AG Ogilvie and WE Shoobridge, voted *pro forma* against the item. The climate was wrong for tourist spending.¹

Tourist boosters in the various West Coast centres coalesced in the Spring of 1922 to lobby for a main road from Queenstown to Zeehan, a route traversable only by pack track or circuitous railway through Strahan. Members protested government 'indifference' to West Coast transport needs, important 'not only from a tourist point of view, but also from an industrial one.' A road would open large tracts of timber and country said to be suitable for agriculture and grazing purposes.² The West Coasters' pleas went unanswered a further two decades. However they had more success achieving a road connection with Hobart. This hinged on the road's 'national' profile and the support of many (though, typically, not all) regional interests.

State Perspective—The West Coast Road

In the late nineteenth century navigational hazards hindered Hobart's trade with Tasmania's booming West Coast mining districts. Hobart businessmen had to pass through Launceston, a city visibly enriched by the trade. Rail links through Burnie also advantaged Victorian merchants, who envisioned the region as 'merely another province added to Victoria, another tributary to our national wealth, and another home for our restless mining population.'³ In 1896 a syndicate sought Crown Lands for a 'Great Western' electric railway and surveyed a route from the Derwent to Queenstown and Zeehan. The project never got off the ground. After Federation brought free trade, Victoria did come to dominate the market. In 1915-16 hydro-electric works revived Hobart optimists. In the *Mercury*, a visionary 'Wanderer' urged readers to 'Think Big' and not lose faith in the railway idea.⁴ However favour shifted thereafter towards construction of a road. Hobartians began urging that the Commonwealth be asked for funds. One 1917 correspondent stressed the road as agent for closer settlement and 'national' growth, and hoped Northern 'parochialism' would not hinder debate.⁵

1. See *Merc & World*, 30/11/22. Five Country Party members had been elected in June., leaving Labor and the Nationals with twelve seats each. Lee could not work with the CP and Hayes became Premier in August. Lee stayed on as Treasurer. The coalition was shaky, known as the 'Swap Government'. Labor went out to win CP support. But note that Blyth was CP leader and he wanted the road. He represented the Deloraine-Devonport district. It seems impossible to attribute decisions on tourism to anything like party doctrine.

2. *Advo*, 20/10/22, 25/10/22 and 22/11/22. Conference resolutions in *Advo*, 4/11/22.

3. Blainey, Geoffrey *The Peaks of Lyell* (MUP; Second Edition, 1959) p. 108. This was and still is one of Tasmanian business's biggest gripes. Henry Reynolds explores the theme in 'Australian Nationalism: Tasmanian Patriotism' *New Zealand Journal of History* April 1971; 5/1: 18-30. See also Ferrall *op. cit* (1974) p. 119: 'Tasmania's Owners'.

4. *Merc*, 22/6/15. See also editorial in *Merc*, 18/4/16.

5. *Ibid.*, 20/11/17.

At the Chamber of Commerce AGM, president Tom Murdoch lauded George Fitzgerald's years of seeking a railway. However now 'motor traction had become so efficient' a good macadamised road was more immediately feasible. Murdoch stressed mining and commerce but also dwelt on the spin-off benefits for motoring tourists and thus Tasmania. Tourists could visit the burgeoning industrial centres of the West Coast in their own motor cars. Commercial vehicles would 'ply on this new roadway'. It should be linked up with the road between Deloraine and the Great Lake to make 'a circular tour right round Tasmania.' Tourist roads were good for the whole state and it was vital for businessmen to:

Always show visitors our valuable resources as well as our scenery and good roads, and at all times press upon them TASMANIA, where Hydro-Electric power helps industry most. Remember, every tourist not only returns to talk of Tasmania's resources and scenery, but influences others, all of whom are good assets to the State's revenue.¹

Emmett's work popularising the West through well patronised and documented 'personally conducted tours' also had their effect. In 1918 West Coasters asked Treasurer Lewis, to revive the question. He prepared a paper which ignored railways. The *Mercury* now agreed this was realistic. The motor vehicle's rapid rise entirely changed the picture, and would do so even more after the war. Lewis recommended a route via Lake St Clair to Gormanston and on to Queenstown. He was confident scenic grandeur and the ability to travel across in one day would appeal to tourists and business people. In his definition of tourists he included local Tasmanians, a breed which at present did 'not travel very much in or know much about their own country.' The road might induce them to change their habits. The *Mercury* was pleased to see Queenstown people getting together with Hobart on the proposal.² Henceforward the railway idea was all but abandoned.³

After the war an earnest campaign began. In 1920 'Westward Ho!' suggested a 'Road of Remembrance' to the fallen be built by voluntary labour. The *Mercury* agreed,⁴ but voluntarism on such a scale is fantasy wherever organised labour and unemployment co-exist. By March the PWD was completing surveys on Lewis's route. The surveyor's temporary disappearance heightened public attention. When he emerged from the bush the PWD announced a six or eight foot pack track would be cleared first. A gang was despatched at once.⁵ The PWC began gathering evidence to report on a full scale project.

Now the Launceston press began discussing the question of this 'National Road to the West'. The *Examiner* and *Daily Telegraph* stood as one on the issue. The idea of a

1. *Ibid.*, 27/11/17. See also the Chamber's 1918 *Handbook*, pp. 20-22.

2. *Ibid.*, 8/4/18.

3. AH Ashbolt briefly revived it in 1924, placing great emphasis on tourism (see Chapter Nine).

4. *Merc.*, 15/1/20 and 10/2/20.

5. *World*, 13/3/20.

road monumental to Tasmania's war effort was sound. It was important to foster tourist trade. In fact 'the one sound argument in favour of the proposed road [was] that from a tourist standpoint.' The planned route could have very little purpose other than to convey tourists. But whether the state could afford extensive works solely for recreation was highly debatable. The Hobartians' 'fixed idea' that they could competitively on-sell, to the West, goods they themselves had imported from the mainland, appeared hollow. The country to be crossed was, apart from some forestry and possibly some mineral resources, unsuited to development, certainly not conducive to agriculture and settlement. So if a 'national road true to and worthy of the name' was contemplated, it should travel over different ground. It should serve not only the South and West, but also the North and North-West. Overland routes terminating near Deloraine were preferred for the better quality of land in that area. However if, as appeared, parliament was committed to the St Clair-Gormanston route, there must also be a northern link through the Great Lake.¹ From the North-West came similar comments, again turning on local considerations.²

Thus were defined the elements of a controversy which would characterise the next fifteen years. Keen to assert the national importance of the road to 'Tasmania's Lost Province', the PWC took evidence around the state. Its report recommended a 37 mile, £70,000 road along Lewis's route. It discounted trade potential, asserted the possibilities for grazing along the route, but placed greatest stress on its value for tourists and travellers generally. To become a valuable addition to the state's overall road grid, it must be connected to new routes from the North.³

In October 1921 the first vote of funds passed quietly through the Assembly without dissent.⁴ Progress thereafter was painfully slow. In parliament Ogden suspected 'selfish opposition from the North'. Works Minister Hayes replied that the government's hand was forced by the closure of Mt Lyell earlier in the year, and labour costs sent spiralling by the state's rapid industrialisation. Cabinet was unwilling to spend until the mine's future was secure. Ogden, very angry, said government missed the point: the country must be opened up, mining or not!⁵ By the end of 1922 Hobart lost its sea link with Strahan,⁶ and the fact that roadworks had not progressed helped stimulate revival of grass roots agitation. One prominent figure was Andrew Lawson (b.1873), a baker-grocer and Western Tasmanian Tourist Association champion. In May 1922 he became an MLC and soon led West Coast deputations

1. *DT*, 7/4/20; *Ex*, 20/4/20.

2. See for example *Merc.* 21/6/20 :Leven Council resolution objecting to the road.

3. *TPP* 1920/12.

4. *World.* 15/10/20.

5. *Merc.* 2/11/21.

6. See Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM in *Merc.* 4/12/22.



Louis Manton Shoobridge

demanding the road.¹ In Hobart in October he addressed like-minded Hobart businessmen convened by Chamber of Commerce president Maurice Susman (1869-1959), a Murray Street softgoods merchant.² Lawson complained his region did 'not want to become a suburb of Victoria.' The Chamber gave loud and unanimous support,³ as did the HCC.⁴ A 'West Coast Road Construction Committee' formed.

At a well attended Town Hall public meeting all the by-now-usual arguments were trotted out. The *Mercury* helped with editorial publicity urging a strong turnout. Here was a chance for Hobart and the South, which had been 'much too quiet in the past' and was 'neglected accordingly.' The squeaky wheel got the oil:

The experience of many years has shown that the people who ask in the loudest voice and with the most earnestness, get the bulk of the advantage of the spending of public money.⁵

Francis Marriott (1874-1957), Nationalist MHA for the West Coast seat of Darwin,⁶ said railways in England were being scrapped in favour of roads. The 'trying experience' of a 300 mile train journey brought discredit to the island in a progressive era. For the sake of 37 miles of road, the government turned 'the business of 6000 people out of the State.' Derwent orchardist, MLC and National Park Board member, Louis Manton Shoobridge (1851-1939)⁷ observed the road's tourist potential meant 'the State as a whole would derive some benefit from its construction.' Susman believed 'All they needed was hearty cooperation' to achieve their goal.⁸

The 'commercial, mercantile and civic interests of Hobart' approached Premier Hayes. Mayor Robert Eccles Snowden (1880-1934), MHA,⁹ reiterated the road's national status. Hayes 'launched a bombshell': he was sympathetic, but financial stringency

1. *World*, 7/9/22. Lawson was involved in the Queenstown Council, Chamber of Commerce, Queenstown Club and sporting, cultural and service organisations including the RSL (see *BRTTP*).

2. See *Wise*. Susman's father Leo (b.1832) was a German Jew who emigrated via Sydney in 1853 and set up a warehouse in Murray St in 1854. He educated his son at Hobart High School, Hutchins and Horton College. Maurice went straight into his father's business, importers of fine goods from Britain, Europe and America, including tobacco, alcohol and other tourist wants (see *ET*, pp. 315-6). Rick Snell, of the University of Tasmania Law School, tells that Leo sent his other sons around the world when they reached sixteen years old. Two ended up in America, in New York and California, and another in New Zealand. It is possible that Maurice visited his siblings, or at least corresponded with them. Maurice died in Sydney where his descendants include respected medical practitioners.

3. *World*, 27/10/22.

4. *Ibid.*, 31/10/22.

5. *Merc*, 1/11/22.

6. See *BRTTP*. Marriott was an English grammar school boy who had gone to sea at twenty-one seeking his fortune. In 1897-1901 he worked for the Barber Asphalt Co., New York, and supervised street railway and road construction around the USA. An interesting variation on the 'tourist-cum-immigrant' stereotype, he missed his ship in Hobart in 1903 and stayed in Tasmania. He turned to farming, went to war in 1915 and returned two years later totally blinded. A remarkable man, he did most of his important work thenceforth, settling south of Burnie, serving as MLC from 1922-41 and gaining the CMG in 1934.

7. HCC AId. 1924-38. *ADB* and *BRTTP*.

8. *World*, 2/11/22.

9. Son of a Mayor, Snowden was a dapper but shrewd businessman who drew much popularity from distinguished war service and was thrice elected Mayor himself. In 1924 he became Tasmania's Agent-General in London (see *BRTTP*). His wife, Ivy Isaacs, as Lady Snowden, was appointed 'social hostess in Sydney on behalf of the Tourist Department' in 1935. She said other states had hostesses and 'A woman could give advice to women ... that could not be imparted by men, and there were many details that men would not think about.' (See *Merc*, 14/3/35).

meant the project must be shelved. Inflation had driven the estimated cost to £100,000 with £10,000 p.a. for interest and maintenance. Was it fair to impose such a burden on the taxpayer? The deputation was shell-shocked and Susman became indignant: the people were determined and 'would brook no denial.' Hayes replied that 'everybody advocated economy' but all felt their own interests should be exempt. He ignored Ogden's comment that the Commonwealth should pay for 'Tasmania's transcontinental line' (a reference to Commonwealth spending on the Adelaide-Perth railway). They would simply have to wait, the road's economic viability as a mainly tourist route was questionable and while he was turning down roads for closer settlement their request must be denied for at least a year or two.¹

Public opinion now generally agreed that tourist roads were a good thing, but they would have to take back seat to rural roads when funds were tight. In 1923 Stanley Bruce came to Federal prominence on the 'men, money and markets' platform.² In 1926 he introduced a system of Commonwealth joint funding for states' roads.³ The 'developmental' West Coast Road qualified.⁴ Emmett told Strahanites it would bring the West Coast 'into its own as a tourist resort.' He looked forward to further roads providing a round trip of the West Coast.⁵ Hobart eventually gained its Great Western Highway, but Northern interests had to fight a mighty battle for their 'Missing Link' to the artery.⁶ Meanwhile 'automobilism' went from strength to strength.

Railways

In 1917 the TGR so dominated the tourist traffic that people could say few tourists went more than a mile from a railway track.⁷ Others claimed this was a direct result of the TGTG's attachment to the TGR. They were correct, but the TGR had to do something to maintain revenues. War-time and post-war inflation drove up material and manpower costs during an aggressive, loans-funded expansion. This brought increased capital charges, new lines with heavy working costs, and little extra revenue. From 1915 Smith warned that, notwithstanding all attempts at economy, new lines would soon drive annual losses above £100,000. He asked 'public men', his political masters, to 'give grave attention to the situation'.⁸ But parochialism and pork-barrelling were endemic in Tasmania.

1. All papers, 8/11/22.

2. Bruce gave a developed expression of the policy in a University of Adelaide Joseph Fisher Lecture in Commerce, *The Financial and Economic Position of Australia* (Adelaide: Hassell; 1927).

3. *Merc.* 11/8/26 and contemporary has passage of authorising Bill in Parliament.

4. *Ibid.*, 2/12/26.

5. *Ibid.*, 22/7/26.

6. See for examples *ibid.*, 8/7/26 and 15/9/36; *Ex.* 20/7/32, 8/11/33, 24/4/34, 15/6/35, 18/6/35, 18/2/37, 8/4/38. *Advo.* 6/1/34, 15/6/35, 5/4/37. In *Merc.* 17/9/92: the RACT urges upgrading of Marlborough Highway, suitable only for log trucks and four wheel drives. Only 100 cars/day using it because of poor condition. Would need \$15m to fully upgrade. If repaired it would be a tourist asset!

7. *DT*, 30/5/17.

8. TGR Annual Reports from 1915 onwards.

In 1922 Treasurer Lee was forced to admit that Ministers and members found it 'difficult to withstand' demands for public works. The interest bill to Consolidated Revenue had reached record proportions.¹ Elliot Lewis condemned politicians for the £20m debt 'electioneering tactics' had placed on Tasmanian shoulders.² Smith's warnings had gone unheeded. In the period 1915-22, £536,161 was spent adding 74.5 miles of non-paying lines to the system. Another £320,000 worth were under construction. Smith now predicted losses of at least £150,000 p.a. and urged the politicians to halt all new works.³ The following year's deficit was in fact £196,940. It steadily rose. From 1927-28 it exceeded £300,000.⁴ New roads and increasing motor competition seriously reduced the railway revenue necessary to combat inescapable heavy costs. The TGR's ability to contribute at least something towards interest charges was related to passenger revenue, which began falling from 1921-22 (Appendix One). Though 'Motor Competition' thereafter became a regular discussion point in TGR annual reports, it had long been one of Smith's driving motives for promoting tourism.

Several innovations attempted to meet the new adversary. The efficiency and comfort of passenger services were under constant consideration, but finances restricted Smith to readjusting existing resources. At times the TGR's desire to cater to tourists was seen to neglect the needs of Tasmanians. He often found himself in "no win" situations. In his drive for efficiencies Smith also antagonised his strongly unionised workforce and this combined with the parlous state of the debt-ridden railway finances to bring the TGR into the full glare of politics.

Services, Comforts and Fares

Provision of refreshments for passengers was a long-running issue. Trains were not equipped with dining or saloon facilities. In lieu, the TGR opened and leased to commercial caterers refreshment rooms at key stations.⁵ All were criticised for poor standards: a frustrating hindrance to ongoing development of the tourist traffic. Trains still carried the greatest proportion of travellers in the island. Most were businessmen, politicians, civil servants and tourists. There were also vested commercial interests and all improvements involved money. Thus the issue of railway refreshments was political. North-Western facilities were often discussed in parliament,⁶ but those on the main Hobart-Launceston trunk serve as the best representative case study.

1. Financial Statement of the Treasurer, 1922-23. *TPP* 1923/16 p. 21.

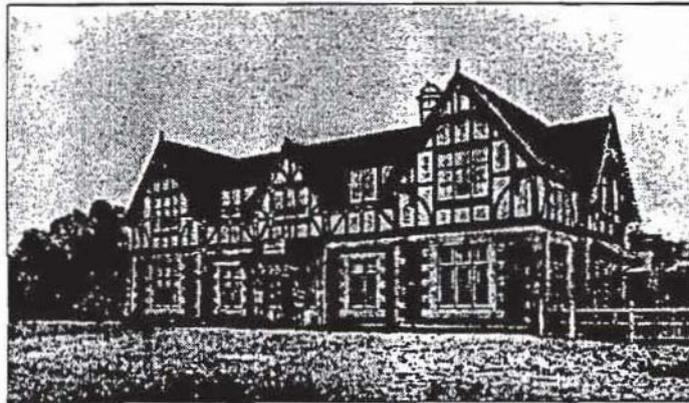
2. *Merc.* 6/9/23. In *Merc.* 7/9/23 WE Bottrill said Tasmania was crying out for 'a statesman a Hercules', but since such a person would eschew pork-barrelling he would find election impossible.

3. TGR Annual Report, *TPP* 1922/43.

4. See *TPP* 1922/14 and Financial Statement of the Treasurer, 1937, Table 21.

5. Such as Wynyard, Devonport, Lilydale, Scottsdale and the Western Junction near Evandale.

6. See *V&P*, 14/10/19, 21/9/20, 31/1/22, 2/8/22, 13/3/23, 9/10/23 (HA) and 20/3/20 (LC). Also *TPP* 1921/40, 1922/3 and 1925/27.



Parattah Hotel, Parattah.

The Main Line town of Parattah was the established meal stop, where the privately owned *Parattah Hotel* provided a twenty minute lunch or drink. Commissioner Smith recognised its shortcomings. Its location was too far from Launceston, too close to Hobart. Its facilities and management brought constant public criticism. Hence a movement for abandoning Parattah in favour of Conara, the junction of the Fingal Valley and Main Lines. Trains from both ends of the island tended to pass through Conara at lunch-time. It already had a small hotel, government property, situated within the station precincts. In 1913, Smith recommended and parliament voted £1600 for extensions and improvements.

Two contentious issues narrowed the voting: state management of commercial concerns, and Temperance. Labor refused to support the vote unless the hotel was managed by the state. The idea of a 'state boozery' shocked Liberals, especially Temperance-minded Solomon, Payne and Lee, who thought it 'the thin end of the wedge' of Labor plans for 'nationalisation of the drink traffic'. However Lee's motion for a dry hotel was defeated on non-party lines. With North-Western support Labor achieved amendment for state control. Property interests set to work. The *Mercury* disparaged the 'sweeping scheme of confiscation' that would follow such a precedent. Its proprietor, Charles Ellis Davies, was in the Legislative Council, which body soon struck out the clause.¹ The Parattah Hotel Co. was powerful. Its chairman was Cascade Brewery magnate, Charles Grant, Davies' co-director on the *Mercury*.²

Earle's Labor decided to close the hotel and incorporate up-to-date refreshment rooms in the station buildings. Plans were drawn up,³ but nothing material occurred before Labor was defeated in 1916. Early in 1917 Premier Lee said the scheme was still in progress. In the meantime he asked the Parattah management to provide a better service.⁴ Grant told Lee he would do more than that, but Smith reasserted his preference for Conara.⁵ In September the PWC reported. Evidence from the TGR, TGTD, city businessmen and midlands interests led it to see the matter as one of 'urgent necessity' and recommend spending of £10,000. This would allow retention of *Conara Hotel* as a convenience to road travellers. The Parattah stop should go and a first-class caterer be induced to run Conara for the government. The PWC calculated the investment would generate sufficient business to pay interest.⁶

1. *Merc.* 19/9/13; 25/9/13; 7/11/13.

2. The company also owned the *Beach House Hotel* in Lower Sandy Bay, managed by Monty Heathorn, the brother of Percy, who worked for Emmett in the TGTD. Their brother Herbert was also on the board of Davies Bros. (*The Mercury*).

3. *Merc.* 9/7/15.

4. *V&P*, 24/1/17.

5. PD1/8/2/17, January-February 1917.

6. *TPP* 1917/22, 14/9/17. As usual at the time there was no consideration of sinking funds or other methods for reducing the principal.

War deferred progress in 1917-19.¹ In 1919 the hotel was again dropped and an £8000 vote appeared for refreshment rooms and station redesign. Whitsitt echoed common sentiment that present facilities were 'a disgrace to Tasmania as a tourist State.' Belton said that although Parattah had improved since 1917, more up-to-date refreshment rooms would give tourists 'a better opinion of Tasmania.' This time the plans passed by a large majority despite another Labor amendment insisting on state control. Absence of the liquor question was no doubt decisive.²

Vested interests hoped to influence the Legislative Council. They organised 'easily one of the most important' public protest meetings ever held there.³ Prominent speakers were Parattah Hotel Co. directors⁴ a fact unmentioned in the press report.⁵ They condemned spending a 'fabulous sum' on a 'white elephant' at Conara and denied it would attract tourists. Longer stops at Parattah would solve any problems. Smith was attacked for putting tourist comforts ahead of the prosperity of local residents. However it seems the Council did not get the message.⁶ That same night it passed the vote 'without demur'.⁷ Parattah interests had a good argument in that their town had sufficient population to provide adequate staff.⁸ By October 1920 staffing problems had turned the government off Conara. Yet Parattah was still out of favour. Parliament now voted £15,300 for new facilities at Campbell Town, a few miles south of Conara, where an established population did exist.⁹ Yet again, nothing actually happened. In August 1922 Lee was forced to hand the Premiership to Hayes. A Hobart businessman, Jack McPhee, became the new Chief Secretary and Minister of Railways. He foreshadowed a PWC report on the Campbell Town proposal.¹⁰ But political instability and blow-outs in TGR and state finances plagued parliament.

Returning from a European trip Edwin Herbert Webster (1864-1947)¹¹ spoke of inconveniences on the 'wretched' Main Line Express. At Parattah 'the crush' was now so great 'that many a passenger fails to get even a cup of coffee.' Hobart-Melbourne passengers had to wait till they get on the steamer to have a meal in comfort. This was 'a great handicap.' Prominent Melbournites told Webster the conditions deterred them

1. See 'Tasmanian Government Railways: Reply of the Commissioner for Railways to the Report of the Royal Commission' *TPP* 1923/31, 20/7/23.

2. *V&P*, 28/10/20. Of five dissenters, three objected on financial grounds. The others abstained from comment, though John Evans, an early Anti-Socialist, had indicated preference for Parattah in 1913.

3. *World*, 19/11/19

4. Charles Grant, Arthur Fox the store-keeper, and Edward Oldmixon Bisdee (1862-1927), a pastoralist.

5. *Ibid.*, 14/11/19.

6. Not reported in the press until two days later (see *ibid.*, 14/11/19) See also *World*, 18/11/19.

7. *V&P*, 12/11/19.

8. See *Wise*, householder entries for 1918: Parattah 48; Conara 14. 1922—55:15. 1929—58:29.

9. *V&P*, 16/11/20.

10. *V&P*, 22/8/22.

11. Webster co-directed the pastoral and merchant company, AG Webster & Son, with his brother Charles Ernest. The firm had interstate and overseas offices and depended on a positive Tasmanian image. Ironically, for all Edwin's complaints about railways, his firm had brought the first motor car to Tasmania. (See *ADB*). Edwin, a prominent yachtsman, was closely associated with Leslie Norman, a central characters of chapters below.

from being tourists in Tasmania. The situation reflected on Smith's relationship with Emmett:

It seems to me to be next to useless for the Tourist Department to make such commendable efforts to bring tourists to Tasmania, if it continues to be so badly supported by the Railway Department.¹

Smith refused to accept blame. In 1923 he averred that since war's end he had 'repeatedly' pointed out that lack of proper refreshment facilities meant 'business being lost to the railway.' The PWC had failed to decide between Conara or Campbell Town. He urged it to bring down its report so he could proceed with the works.² It never did. The new Lyons Ministry abandoned the whole idea and Charles Grant's presence in McPhee's Cabinet ensured its demise.³

Facilities at terminal stations attracted complaints. In 1912 large amounts were voted for new station buildings at Hobart and Launceston. These were never built, initially because of the war, later due to recession and uncertainty.⁴ In 1918 Edwin Rogers complained about the ticket office at Hobart, 45 years out of date, a 'primitive' affair. Rogers felt sure his letter to the *Mercury* would be sufficient to bring action.⁵ He may have been correct, but typically the response was slow.⁶ Other critics railed at the lack of lavatory carriages, and the 'painful inconvenience' thus caused.⁷ Smith again claimed the shortage of funds and war-time deferrals placed the problem outside his control. Two modern corridor carriages fitted with toilets were approved by the PWC in 1918 but financial limitations hindered progress until the mid 1920s.⁸

Corridor cars were an almost radical idea at the time. It is easy to imagine the discomfort imposed by the earlier model carriages, between which there was no communication. The Tasmanian Government Railways were really a rather quaint affair. Their published regulations called 'the attention of passengers'

to the fact that the railway staff have instructions to hold trains if necessary to allow them to visit the station lavatories; or, in the event of cars with lavatory accommodation being on the main, to transfer them to such until the next station is reached, when passengers may return to their own compartment.

This was no place for the discreet! Trains were not heated either, thus:

Fee for the hire of rug and pillow for the journey from Hobart to Launceston or vice versa—one rug, 1s.; each additional rug, 6d.; one pillow, 6d.; each additional pillow, 3d.

1. *Merc*, 30/12/22.

2. *TPP* 1923/31, 20/7/23.

3. See *TPP* 1924/15 and AB455/4 R16/1 'Conara 1921-33'.

4. A £28,349 allocation for Hobart was re-appropriated in 1923 (see *TPP* 1924/15). Australian Archives, Bellerive, holds much documentation on the city stations

5. *Merc*, 21/2/18.

6. A vote of £100 to alter the booking office finally passed in late 1921 (see *TPP* 1922/32, item 820).

7. See for instances *World*, 21/1/23, 'Tourists to Tassy. Trains and Troubles. Mainlander's Maledictions.' Article quotes long letter to *Age* by 'Just Been There.'

8. *TPP* 1923/31, 20/7/23.

First class travellers enjoyed their rugs 'gratis.' This did not satisfy many people. In 1924 Vincent Legge said corridor cars were in use everywhere else. The TGR was 'woefully behind the times'. With passengers 'cooped up in old fashioned "dog boxes" with no freedom of movement', 'no wonder' Tasmanian railways were 'a standing joke'. Nor that 'people everywhere' preferred to use motor cars to get around.¹

Smith worried deeply at the attrition of revenue by commercial road motor operators, a problem affecting railways the world over. But despite frequent cajoling, he was loathe to retaliate by reducing train fares. Ever-increasing costs and deficits, and the hit-and-run nature of early competition, put cuts out of the question. In fact Smith raised fares.² After his departure in 1923–24 the competitors became more established and demanded retaliation. His successor had to make cuts, starting with the Main Line and proceeding to others as they became established commercial road routes. In 1925 return fares dropped by up to one third.³ All Smith had been able to do was employ 'canvassers' and other advertising methods to encourage tourists to travel by train.⁴

Fighting Fire with Fire

In other areas where Smith conceived improvements progress was most marked after he left. One innovation to prove a great boon to the tourist trade was the introduction of rail motor cars, single self-propelled units used specifically for passengers. In 1922 Smith followed successes overseas and ordered two petrol-driven vehicles. His main purpose was to effect economies on branch lines, although 'strictly speaking' the use of cars was 'indication that the line itself is a failure.'⁵ Emmett saw more creative uses for such a flexible transport mode. They could increase excursion traffic on the National Park line.⁶ Smith's successors also put more faith in the rail motors. One, Charles Miscamble, saw a hurried public increasingly intolerant of stop-start mixed passenger-cargo trains. The 'more speedy and comfortable' rail motors would help win back some of the custom from road services. He ordered five new units from England and Victoria and by 1926 had placed the largest and best on the Hobart-National Park and Launceston-Deloraine runs. Their quick commercial success led him to feel passengers were coming back to the railways.⁷

1. *Merc.* 5/1/24. In *Merc.* 19/1/24 'Mercurius' agrees with Legge's desire for settees, lounges etc. Says he would also like to see table games, books and even writing paper supplied. In *ibid.*, 12/6/24 Legge again states the old fashioned railway system, lack of comforts and slow trains.

2. Annually 1918–21, by 10% in 1920 (see TGR Annual Reports).

3. *TPP* 1925/21 and 1926/20.

4. *TPP* 1922/43.

5. *Ibid. Merc.* 13/9/22 has illustrated article on the new rail motor cars, which seated 40 passengers and had revolutionary side doors. They did not have the locomotives' expensive costs of stoking up, were easily assigned to any part of the network, and required fewer operating staff.

6. *World*, 19/7/22.

7. *TPP* 1925/21 and 1926/20. In 1930 Commissioner St Hill purchased steam-driven Sentinel-Cammell rail cars. These were very popular and successful in the 1930s, plying the Main Line and employed in pre-paid

The 'Boat Express' was instituted solely to compete for tourist business. Smith put on a few such trains around Christmas 1921,¹ but Miscamble made them a regular feature. From 1925 a special express train connected Hobart with steamers at Launceston's King's Wharf. Stopping only for water and lunch at Parattah, they were 'a great success in every way a great boon to travellers'. They duplicated some of the daily mixed trains and were expensive, but there was 'no doubt' the new service went a long way towards 'capturing the passenger business.' To make the Main Line even more attractive, Miscamble proceeded with the lavatory and corridor cars deferred since 1918.² In mid 1926 Miscamble also instituted free taxi transfers between city railway stations and hotels. The *Daily Telegraph* admitted the move was favoured in Hobart city circles but doubted it would achieve its object. It would be much better to modernise the carriages with an on-board buffet and shorten the Main Line trip to below five hours. Motor cars, despite a 25 mph speed limit, still managed the 120 mile trip in about 4 hours.³ The TGR feigned satisfaction with its own actions. In Hobart in 1926-27, 18,155 transfers cost £1,135, but resultant revenue increase was calculated at over £4,280.⁴ Emmett later chuckled at this 'paradox of using cars against cars.'⁵

TGTD Attitude to Road Transport

The road versus rail situation was complex and irksome for Emmett because on the one hand he was charged with promoting all transport modes even-handedly and, on the other, his boss was the Commissioner for Railways. He saw the attractiveness for tourists of swift motor cars, but also that for his colleagues 'the motor was a foe to be fought.'⁶ Constrained to walk a fine line between opposing forces, he attempted to satisfy both and approached the problem as pragmatically as possible.

On the Deloraine-Mole Creek leg, for instance, train services were so reduced by motor competition that the Department's own organised tours used hired motor cars. On other excursions he combined road and rail, such as the North-East round tour, where cars carried tourists from Herrick to St Mary's. TGTBs booked tourists into private tours and excursions out of the major centres, such as the Huon, Channel and Brown's River round trip or Port Arthur excursion. They even acted as agents for companies such as the Tasmanian Motor Service, which carried passengers on roads running parallel to the Main Line. As with accommodation, TGTD officers encouraged local associations to mind their roads.⁷ Emmett and his SPB colleagues were ever

railway tours. An advertisement in themselves they were coveted by North-West interests. See TGR Annual Reports 1925-35.

1. *Ex*, 17/1/22.

2. *TPP* 1925/21, 1926/20 and 1927/20.

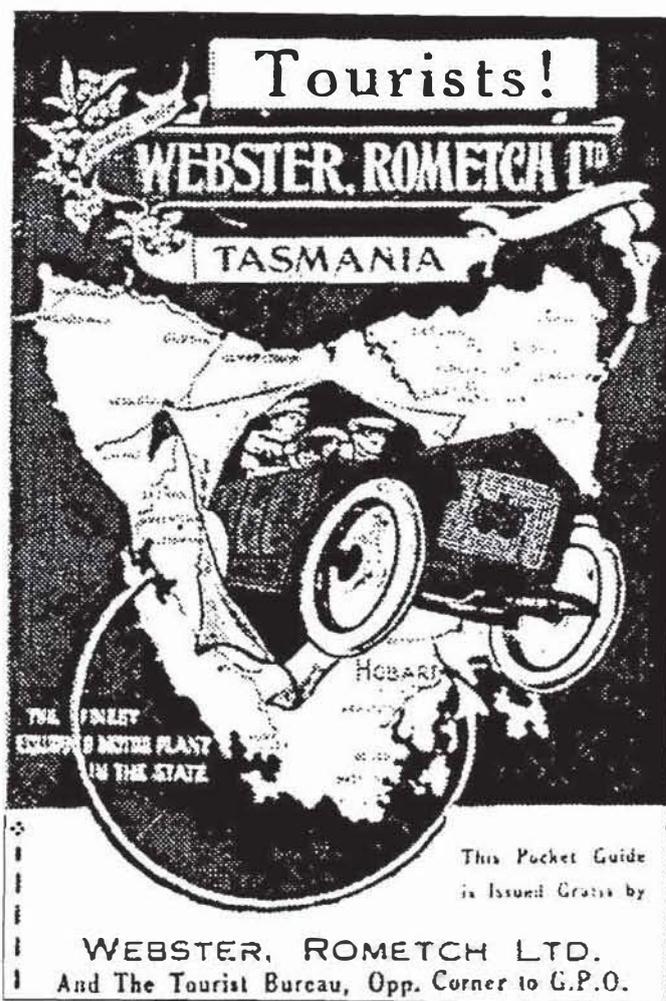
3. *DT*, 8/4/26.

4. *V&P*, 31/8/27 and *TPP* 1927/20.

5. *ETE* t.s. p. 5.

6. *Ibid.*

7. See for example *Advo*, 6/6/22: Len Bruce in Burnie.



Cover, Pocket Guide from Webster-Rometch.

agitating their political masters for roads to and within the National Parks. The positive influence of the TGTD, 'a railway adjunct', on the quality and quantity of the state's roads cannot be underplayed.

Despite vehicle taxes, some mainlanders did bring their cars to Tasmania. Emmett published an annual *Comprehensive Road Guide* for motorists from 1916.¹ This publication was for Tasmanians as much as visitors. As with winter sports, local activity was the key to infrastructure development. Locals were exhorted to holiday within their own state: 'Tasmanians do you know your own country?'² To non-owners the TGTD hired government cars with chauffeurs, and there were numerous private operators willing to do the same. Webster-Rometch issued a similar publication in at least 1920.³ In 1924 the ACT also started issuing road guides, urging users to patronise establishments advertising within.⁴ From 1925 until at least 1939 the Shell Oil Company also published guides with photographs supplied by the TGTD. The *Daily Telegraph* saw this as 'a good example of modern advertising'. Marking the spread of service stations across the island, the booklets urged motorists to 'Watch for the Yellow Spot!'⁵

Simply by boosting tourist traffic, the department stimulated constant improvement. An enthusiastic walker who had shanked it over most of Tasmania's roads and tracks, Emmett finally learnt to drive in 1935-36⁶ and became secretary of the RACT on his retirement from the TGTD. But prior to 1934 the TGR had its claim on Emmett, and, much as he would deny it, the TGTD was often accused of pushing travellers to use the railways. The TGR used the TGTD to boost marginal routes by organising and advertising 'railway tours' on the Fingal and North-East Lines. Other less profitable spur lines, such as those to Staverton via Sheffield and from Myalla to Stanley, were proffered as scenic trips, though low service levels and quirky timetables provoked some humorous and other scathing comments from visitors.⁷ Chief complainants were the Launceston interests, who had long worried about the TGTD being a 'railway adjunct', and the private commercial operators of motor transport companies.

1. TGTD *The Tasmanian Motorists' Comprehensive Road Guide* 1916-17 (and annually thereafter). Covering the whole island with sectional maps, the booklet quaintly detailed routes with hints on how to get through streams and out of bogs and sharing the ways with horses.

2. Tom Griffiths has noted similar phenomenon in Beechworth, Victoria in 'National Heritage or Town History: Beechworth in the 20th Century' *Australian Cultural Studies* 1985: 4: 42-53.

3. Webster, Rometch P/L. *Tourists' and Motorists' Road Map of Tasmania* (Hobart: Webster-Rometch/Cox Kay; 1920).

4. Autocar Club of Tasmania, *Tasmanian Motor Year Book 1924* (Hobart: GJ Boyle; 1924).

5. British Imperial Oil Co. Ltd. *Shell Motor Tours*. (Melbourne: the Company; December 1925). See *DT*, 19/12/25 for review of the first edition.

6. Emmett scrapbook held by daughter. Learner's Licences dated 6/12/35 & 6/1/36.

7. Thomas Wood's *Cobblers* and George Porter's *Wanderings in Tasmania* (both London; 1934) have amusing if patronising comments about the state's rail services. HH Cummins liked to repeat this quip: 'A station master on a Tasmanian railway station was asked for a time-table. "What do you want with a time-table?" he said, "there's a calendar on the wall."' See *That Reminds Me: A Collection of the Best Stories in Forty Years*. (Hobart: OBM; 1946). p. 77.

Advertising Railway Tours

In 1916 O'Keefe asked Premier Lee how much of the TGTD vote was spent on advertising the railways. Lee's reply was 'none': the accounts of the two were kept 'quite separate'.¹ This was spurious. Emmett's departmental advertising of National Park trains overlapped with TGR advertising, and Northern interests felt this drained funds which could otherwise assist them.² Around 1919 the TGTD began issuing a series of small illustrated leaflets describing *Tasmanian Railway Tours*. They encouraged tourists to use the TGR wherever possible, breaking their journey as desired to take side trips or simply relax in pleasant surroundings. They happily mentioned motor services but only where they were not in direct competition.³ This brought complaints from commercial operators who felt a government agency should be even-handed on all routes and called for separation of the TGTD from the TGR. Similar calls came from the West Coast, where the TGTD was said to neglect local tourist attractions and fail to send tourists because most of the railways in the region were private concerns.⁴

Probably the only railway tour in which the TGR did not compete with other operators was a day trip from Launceston to Denison Gorge. According to 10,000 brochures printed in 1919,⁵ there was 'no prettier picnicking spot in the Commonwealth.' Just north of Lilydale, it was described as:

a romantic spot, being composed of an Imposing Gorge through which a Creek runs, and there is a Dense Foliage of Forest Trees, Shrubs, and immense Tree Ferns.

Its coolness made it a 'Delightful Retreat on a warm day', where miles of tracks had been cut and 'Impromptu Seats' had been 'arranged for the convenience of Visitors.' This trip was especially for tourists, available only on week days, when Launceston people were at work. Passengers detrained at the purpose-built 'Denison Gorge recreation ground railway station'. There was little local economic benefit to be gained.⁶

1. V&P, 10/10/16.

2. DT, 10/7/16. There were occasions when both bodies advertised in the same place, such as the illustrated Souvenir for a Christmas/New Year bowling carnival in Launceston, in which they each took a page at £5. (See LCCC Box 9A).

3. TGTD *Tasmanian Railway Tours: The Western District and North West Coast* (Hobart: TGTD; c. 1918). *Tasmanian Railway Tours: Denison Gorge, Near Launceston* (Hobart: TGTD; 1919). *North East Coast Round Tour*. (Hobart: TGTD; c. 1920). These are all extant and available in Tasmania Library. Another in the series, *Mole Creek Caves*, has not been located.

4. Advo, 4/11/22.

5. TGTD, *Tasmanian Railway Tours. Denison Gorge*. *op cit*. Printer's code suggests a run of ten thousand, i.e. 'B86077 .3—10,000—2/19'. The present Government Printer agrees with this deduction.

6. Visitors took hampers with them from Launceston. By 1922 the place had fallen into disrepair and the TGR ceased its special excursions. Attention to tracks and furniture was urged, not upon the local council but the state and the TGR (see DT, 4/1/22). It is unlikely the troubled TGR did anything to help until the Miscamble era. Certainly by 1928 the gorge was again 'well-known'. See Loone, AW *Tasmania's North-East: A comprehensive history of North-Eastern Tasmania and its people*, (Launceston: Loone; [1928], 1981 reprint by Typographical Arts, Launceston), p. 104. The Gorge was still being advertised in 1933. See TGTB, *Launceston (Tasmania): Trips for the Tourist*. (TGTD. Hobart, c.1933). TC, p. 48 has a photograph of this 'popular north-eastern picnic resort.' Post-WWII improvements to the Lilydale-Scottsdale road

Package Holidays

In 1920 the TGT D issued a leaflet advertising its *North East Coast Round Tour*. This gave the combined rail and motor coach fares for tours which went Launceston-Herrick by train, thence to St Mary's by road, and St Mary's-Launceston again by train. Trips could also be taken Hobart-Scamander-St Mary's-Launceston. Road and rail services were arranged to complement one another and an all-in fare could be pre-paid. In 1922 an inventive brochure told Adelaide residents:

YOU CAN BUY

a Coupon Ticket (first-class) for Travel to and through

TASMANIA

and back to Adelaide

—FOR—

£15 - 11 - 0

It merely suggested an itinerary, and did not presume to offer organised touring. The quoted price was for travel only, and there were numerous alternative routes. Accommodation for the fortnight's trip would cost approximately £6:6:0 and bookings could be arranged at the Adelaide bureau, but bed nights could not be prepaid. Local trips (another £2 at least) could only be organised at the Launceston and Hobart bureaux, or with tourist associations and operators at principal country centres.¹

Such an offer may have been welcomed by regular tourists to Tasmania. To novices it must have been as confounding as an extensive Chinese menu! South Australians might have even been deterred. The TGT D recognised this. The following year it offered a greatly improved package: a *table d'hôte* banquet, so to speak. Hotels and eating houses were pre-selected and pre-paid, local trips could be ignored but no refunds were available. The tour made use of motor trips and the popular Mersey River motor launch from Devonport to Latrobe, but concentrated on the established TGR lines. The cost, from Melbourne, was £27: 7:6. No arrangements were made for baggage handling and cabs to and from hotels, but the new tour represented a great improvement.² Here at last was a digestible "taste of Tasmania". It was probably a first for Australian government tourist agencies.³ Through the 1920s the Bureau refined its

eventually saw withdrawal of passenger trains. Unlike the train line, the road did not go near the gorge and it has since disappeared from Tasmania's tourist 'menu'.

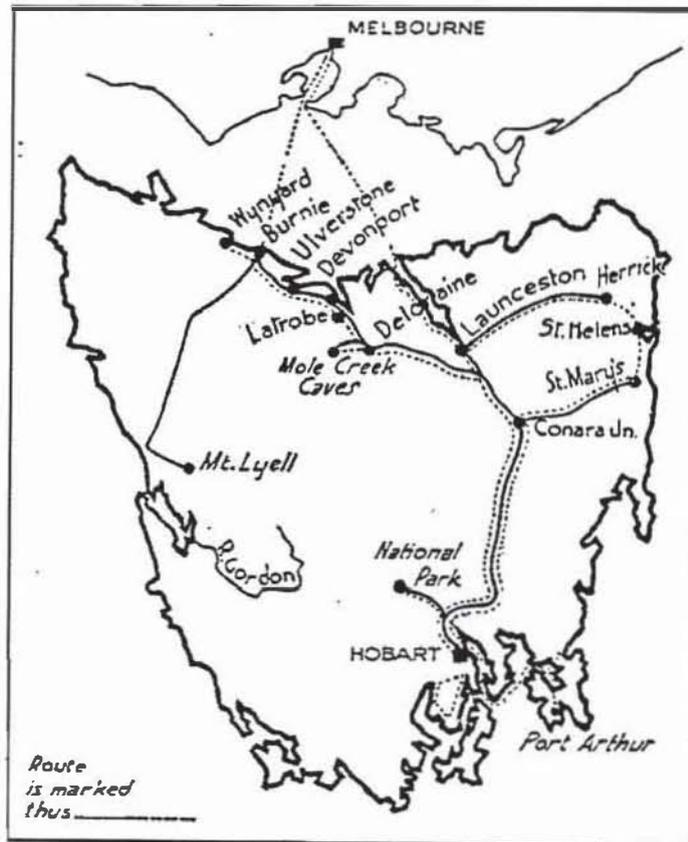
1. Adelaide: the Bureau; 1922. See *DT*, 18/1/23 report on 'A Tourist Fortnight' Tourist Bureau excursion, first Party from mainland has arrived. Full description of the minute itinerary, names of guests, costs, etc.

2. TGT D *Tasmania: A Fortnight's Holiday for £25:7:6* (Hobart: TGTD; 1923).

3. The New Zealand Railway Department first instituted travel and accommodation packages in November 1927, but they were only weekend excursions. (See Watkins *op cit.* p. 61.) Of course private operators such as Thomas Cook's had been arranging packages for over fifty years.

A FORTNIGHT'S HOLIDAY IN TASMANIA FOR £25 7s. 6d.

INCLUDING
STEAMER AND RAIL FARES, LOCAL TRIPS, AND
ACCOMMODATION, BY STEAMER LEAVING
MELBOURNE ON FRIDAYS
(Minimum, 4 Passengers)



'inclusive tours'. Miscamble brought the whole to culmination in 1927 with a range of 'Travel Without Trouble ... Colour Line Tours'.¹

New Railways, New Excursions

As with roads, tourist interests in the island saw every new railway proposal as a potential scenic excursion. Cases in point include two failed attempts, in the Huon and Tamar valleys.² There was some tension in all this between Emmett the optimist and his chief, Smith, who dedicated much of his time asking politicians to stop demanding such unpayable propositions. Once tracks were laid, however, Emmett's definite function was to encourage passenger use. The task was easy on some lines. Most of the new factories of the period had rail access. Cadbury's chocolate factory at Claremont near Hobart is a prime example. Emmett kept a close eye on its construction, which included a railway spur line employable as a tourist excursion.³ A similar case was the Electrolytic Zinc works. Both welcomed the public and provided guided tours. Tasmanians were very proud of these large-scale representations of their modernism. They became instant 'attractions', included in all the tourist literature. Derwent harbour tours soon extended itineraries to the factory sites. Though it is difficult to imagine them holding much attraction for visitors from mainland cities, the purpose was more to impress investors among them.⁴

New railways in frontier districts most attracted Emmett. The £88,888 Railton-Sheffield-Staverton branch line opened in November 1914 and soon proved uneconomic. Such lines sapped trunkline profits.⁵ One of the only avenues available for increasing revenue was to boost tourism.⁶ Little wonder therefore that Emmett visited newly-connected districts telling people how to attract tourist traffic, that he could help with publicity but only they could provide facilities for visitors.⁷ Their work

1. See *Merc*, 27/9/27 for release of Colour Line booklets and *Merc*, 5/4/28 for a TGR press release detailing the scheme's success. See also: *The Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureaux 'Colour-Line Tours: Travel Without Trouble Tours to Tasmania*, (Hobart, c. 1932). *Tasmania—the Wonderland: Colour-Line Tours: Travel Without Trouble*, (Hobart, 1935).

2. Revived proposals for a light electric railway to the Huon attracted Emmett in 1919, when the Assembly voted £4000 for a survey. He and others gave 'optimistic' evidence that the line would be well patronised by tourists (see *Merc/World*, 6/11/19). The TGTD kept a close eye on developments and clipped this and other newspaper extracts for its press books. Surveys suggested a route via Sandy Bay and Tarroona, and included tunnel works under Battery Point. The proposal was finally rejected in 1921 by the Public Works Committee. Despite a good passenger revenue, it would be too expensive in construction and could not pay capital costs mainly because water transport was too effective a competitor in the freight area (see *TPP* 1922/64). Likewise in the North. The TGTD also followed developments in a fruitless movement for a rail link between Launceston and its Tamar port at Beauty Point (for example see *Merc*, 8/3/21).

3. *World*, 3/8/20. One of numerous related clippings in TGTD press clippings books.

4. Other major industrial installations of the early 1920s included two large textile mills in Launceston and a cement factory at Railton in the North-West. All were exalted in tourist literature.

5. TGR Annual Reports from 1915 onwards.

6. The other, cited by Smith, was closer settlement and increased production. For the sorry story of the movement in Tasmania see Beresford, Quentin. 'The World War One Soldier Settlement Scheme in Tasmania' *THRAPP*; September 1983; 30(3): 90-100.

7. See *Advo*, 25/6/17: 'Sheffield as a Tourist Resort'. Emmett says it has great assets and it could become 'one of the most popular tourist resorts in the North-West.' *Advo*, 1/11/22: Sheffield Tourist and Progress Association, excellent attendance. Main worry is their railway branch line.

could help the railways to maintain services. It will be remembered that the owner of Solomon's Caves offered them to government in the hope that increased passenger revenue might reduce freightage on the Mole Creek line. This had happened on the Derwent Line when the National Park became so hugely popular.¹ Other new lines such as the Marrawah and Nietta light tramways attracted TGTd attention for the same reason.²

Tourism was such a novelty in some places that Emmett initially had to work without local help. Extension of North-Western Line saw Emmett returning to his childhood home in the role of patron. Previously, isolation and concentration on developing the land had discounted tourism as a community interest, but there had always been a loud claim for railway services. After a visit in 1917 when no-one turned out to meet him, the press urged Stanley to 'wake up!' to his message. A tourist association formed³ but quickly relapsed. However Stanley's connection to the line in July 1922⁴ saw revival and the tourist association thereafter thrived.⁵ Stanley, the historic port and base of the Van Diemen's Land Company, has since become an epitomal tourist town.

Parochial Grievances

Pressure for greater use of railway passenger services was also placed upon the TGR at stages. When Smith proposed cutting their timetables in November 1922 reactionary rhetoric at Ulverstone and Devonport was more concerned with maintaining mail and newspaper deliveries than fostering tourist movements. Meetings condemned the 'suicidal', 'false economy, driving traffic to the roads and trade to Victoria.' Wynyard's Father O'Donnell urged the Coastal communities to 'get together and demand your rights'. But their approach to Smith was to ask him to offer ten day coast excursion tickets and encourage southern Tasmanians to spend their holidays on the coast. The combined clamour successfully induced Smith to delay his decision.⁶ Tasmanians recognised that increasing the popularity of an attraction could improve train regularity and comforts for everyday users. They also saw that local communities would suffer if a line was too much favoured by the TGR or TGTd.

Economy of scale made the two main trunks from Hobart and Burnie to Launceston the TGR's best payers. They could carry extra passengers with no extra cost. They also had services most acceptable to tourists. The authorities promoted them most. But Smith's attempts to make the Main Line trip attractive to visitors upset the local populace, especially in Launceston. Critics had voiced fears in this direction since

1. *Ex*, 6/1/23.

2. See for example, *Merc*, 12/4/20 (found in TGTd press clippings books).

3. *Advo*, 25/6/17.

4. *Merc*, 12-20/7/22.

5. *Advo*, 14/7/22, 19/7/22, 26/7/22, 2/8/22 and 17/10/22. *DT*, 11/8/22.

6. See *Advo*, 10-30/11/22 and *Merc*, 2/12/22.



Launceston's King's Wharf on the Tamar River

NTTA takeover was first mooted. Timetable changes inconvenienced Launceston's traders and the general travelling public. They also affected the city's ability to keep tourists within its own boundaries. Though this seemed to favour the South, Hobart businessmen also had reasons for dissatisfaction and tried to change things to suit themselves. Some of the most ardent were the motor operators. George Rometch used general grievances to serve his argument that government should get out of tourism.

In 1917 Launceston's King's Wharf was completed and the TGR extended its line beyond the station so tourists could disembark and step straight on to the Hobart express. This was convenient for tourists and others booked for Hobart. It reduced confusion with luggage and abolished the need to tranship by car from wharf to station. It also helped the TGR because previously many who did tranship were inclined to stay in the cars all the way to Hobart. In Melbourne Herbert Webb received a number of positive reports on the new system from returning tourists.¹ But the new system had drawbacks. Because the Hobart Express waited for the boat it was irregular and led in some cases to long and uncomfortable waits in 'bleak' conditions at country stations.² Launceston residents were incensed at the inconvenience of the move occurring six months before completion of the city's new Charles Street Bridge.³ Their blocking tactics angered the *Mercury*. Smith threatened that if Launceston hindered the tourist traffic he would boost Burnie as the main northern entrepôt.⁴

In December 1918 a 'Loyal Tasmanian' spoke of the 'inconvenience and lack of consideration' mainland visitors received on arrival at Launceston. Passengers were rushed to the train and not allowed to recover from the sea journey. First impressions at the wharf made them want to be straight out of the city anyway. Seeing a train there waiting for them made them think there was no reason to stay: the relevant authorities should 'wake up', and so should Launceston.⁵ While strikes hindered the trade, movement was slow. However the introduction of the *Nairana* and return to normal services in 1921-22 saw the resurgence of local agitation. This is taken up again in the Chapter Seven.

Tourist contribution to TGR finances

Measurement of the success or failure of tourism as a railways boon is all but impossible. The statistics are not sufficiently detailed. They are also clouded by the effects of inflation and the fact that capital costs virtually precluded the possibility of railways being anything but a great drain on the public purse anyway. The

1. *Ex*, 16/7/17. *DT*, 20/8/17.

2. *Ibid.*, 2/5/17.

3. Local geography meant that the shift put train loading facilities further from the centre of town. Once completed, the bridge gave easy road access to the new wharf and a tram service from the city centre was inaugurated early in 1919 (see Cox, *GW op cit* pp. 115-6).

4. *Merc.* 19/5/17.

5. *Ex*, 3/12/18.

Commissioners' annual reports never failed to assert the tourist promotion vote as an aide to passenger revenues and thus overall viability. In 1920 Smith estimated the maritime strikes, which 'paralysed' interstate passenger movements, had cost the state up to £20,000. Yet in the same period TGR passenger revenues had increased over £45,500.¹ Intrastate or 'domestic' tourism accounted for some of this, but though it was noted,² there was never any attempt to measure it. Though the railway administrators could give no concrete evidence of causal relationships, however, their comments on the subject always exuded the sanguine confidence of the booster.

Unfortunately the question was never tackled in depth by Smith, Emmett or the Auditor General. Or, if it was, the results were never published. Instead there was simply the generalised assertion that tourist traffic was a useful supplement to railway finances; that expenditure on TGTD activities 'more than repaid itself'; and that the flow-on effects of tourism were beneficial to the whole state. The TGR published annual figures for passenger revenue and passenger journeys,³ but made no distinction between tourist and other passengers. Occasional figures were published for railway revenue taken at the Hobart and Launceston Bureaux, but again there was no way of telling what proportion represented non-tourist Tasmanians using the Bureau as an alternative railway booking office.⁴ In 1923 the TGR began publishing a breakdown of passenger revenue into first and second class and season tickets, with a further division into country and suburban journeys. These could have been useful, but they were discontinued in 1924.

Failure to quantify the tourist input to railway revenue was matched in Tasmania by a failure to collect statistics for tourist arrivals at the ports. This was not unusual, even in the world context.⁵ Indeed the Tasmanians did not seek to rectify this knowledge gap, a great hindrance to planning and marketing, until the 1950s.⁶ The only 1920s exceptions were two cursory attempts by LF Giblin, now Government Statistician and destined to enjoy the reverence of fellow exponents of the 'dismal science'.⁷ In May 1923 he compared arrivals statistics for the two summer quarters with the two winter quarters, postulating that the latter figures represented the 'ordinary to and fro traffic for business purposes.' The summer surplus represented "the tourist traffic". Thus:

1. TGR Annual Report, *TPP* 1920/60.

2. For examples see Lyons in all papers, 7/12/16, and Len Bruce in Ex. 5/1/21.

3. These were consolidated annually. A table *TPP* 1939/21 Government Railways and Ferry Service Report for 1938-39 covers the entire period 1893-1939.

4. As the *Examiner* editor noted on 28/6/21.

5. FW Ogilvie's *The Tourist Movement* (London: King; 1933), a survey of world-wide trends, identified a very recent movement towards international tourist statistics collection.

6. See Hagger, AJ 'An Estimate of the Travel Expenditure by Non-Tasmanians in Tasmania and by Tasmanians Outside Tasmania, 1952-53 to 1956-57' *Royal Society of Tasmania Papers & Proceedings* Vol. 93 pp. 159-64. Tasmania, Treasury Department Survey of the Economic Value of the Tourist Industry in Tasmania (Hobart: Treasury; 1958).

7. Copland, DB *Giblin: The Scholar and the Man* (Melbourne: Cheshire; 1960).

	1921-22	1922-23
Arrivals, summer	27,891	28,780
Arrivals, winter, 1922	-13,950	-13,950
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Tourist traffic	<u>13,941</u>	<u>14,830</u>

Giblin thought even these figures were 'exaggerated because there is probably more to-and-fro business traffic in the summer for climatic and other reasons'.¹ In 1924 he reiterated the difficulty of measurement. No records of tourist numbers were kept, he said, 'for obvious reasons', so he 'arrived at the number of tourists by taking the number of actual arrivals in a month, during which there were no tourists, and multiplied it by ten.' No attempt was made to justify such arbitrary reasoning, and in fact no figures were given! It emerged from his evidence that Giblin had little time for the tourist.²

The Hobart Chamber of Commerce, always firmly supportive of the tourist industry, tried another tack. Although it admitted measurement was all but impossible, it claimed attendance figures at Port Arthur could be used as an 'index'.³ Obviously the problem was complex and the solution potentially expensive. Extra work would be involved asking travellers their motives for travelling. People might also be inconvenienced, even deterred, by such queries. Surveys of willing travellers might have been useful in gaining a representative view of the situation, but there is no evidence of this being done. When suggested by Neil Campbell in 1924, Joe Lyons countered that willing respondents would probably give an inaccurate picture anyway.⁴

One wonders whether the problem was ignored because it was too difficult or for other reasons. Perhaps it was best to have the issue blurred. After all, previous estimates of tourist traffic had hovered around the 30,000 mark, about three quarters of total annual arrivals.⁵ Often, when the TGT D item in the TGR Estimates was debated in parliament, members questioning the revenue effects of tourist traffic had to be satisfied by unquantified assertions of its worth. The TGR's annual reports were ambiguous, though they did attempt some "guesstimates". For instance in both 1919 and 1920 Smith reported his 'opinion' that influenza and shipping stoppages cost the railways up to £20,000 in lost passenger revenue.⁶ If summer tourism brought that

1. *Merc*, 24/5/23.

2. See *ibid.*, 25/1/24. Giblin was deposing to the Commonwealth Royal Commission into the Navigation Act. This is dealt with in much greater depth in Section Four. Michael Roc comments that Giblin was of the hardy breed and probably wanted the bush for himself and his mates.

3. Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Report and Official Handbook*, 1923. Emmett supplied annual descriptions of tourist highlights to the Chamber (see AOT TC2/21/1107).

4. *Merc*, 7/2/24.

5. See for example: *Bendigo Independent*, 10/10/14 (article by TA Rogers); *World*, 30/1/23 (AJ Nettlefold in HCC meeting). In their 1926 *Case for Tasmania* (published as *TPP* 1926/52) Albert Ogilvie and Tasman Shields estimated summer visitors at 20,000, and calculated that this figure represented a decrease since the pre-WWI period of more than 30%.

6. *TPP* 1919/51; 1920/60.

amount extra annually the TGT D vote (£7800 in 1919-20) was more than justified: but only if it could be shown that the Bureau's activities were responsible for the input. This of course was also subject to question, with critics claiming tourists would come, Bureau or no Bureau.

TGR passenger numbers actually increased in 1919-20, by nearly 379,000, and revenue from the source jumped by £45,571. These figures represented increases over the previous year by 20% and 23% respectively. Smith put this down to increased prosperity in the Commonwealth generally. So if increased buoyancy at home could have such an effect, what net value was there in tourists or indeed the TGT D?

The £20,000 estimated by Smith to represent TGR revenue from interstate tourist passengers in a good summer season would have amounted to nearly 5% of the total revenue for 1919-20 and nearly 4% the following year. The figures can be doubled if related to total passenger revenue only. Such an input could have a great effect on the TGR's finances, especially when one considers that increased working costs would be negligible. £20,000 extra revenue would have reduced the burden on Treasury by around 20%. But with continued new works, costs were mounting. In 1920-21, despite strikes, revenue kept pace with expenses and the load on taxpayers remained virtually static. The following year, despite the lack of strikes, expenses grew and revenue dropped slightly, causing the deficit to more than double. The trend continued over the next decade. By 1924-25 the burden had tripled over the figures for 1919-21.¹ Passenger revenues did not compensate these movements.

In the 'peak year' (1922-23) when lack of strikes and increased publicity saw the TGT D's total revenue reach £76,667, total passenger revenue actually dropped by £5150. The problem of motor competition was coming to a head. In November 1922 the *Advocate* called this the 'problem of the future' for the TGR. Branch lines with limited services had suffered most initially, but now the Launceston-Hobart competition was being accentuated and a regular motor passenger service between Launceston and Devonport was being established.² Smith of course agreed with the *Advocate*, but fare reductions were out of the question and he seemed at the time unable to instigate alternative combat plans.³ The following year, Smith's deputy pointed to the crux of the problem when he wrote that:

In regard to road competition, it is unfortunate that practically all our railways run parallel to main roads. These roads are maintained in a fair state of repair at the expense of the general taxpayer, and motors may be expected to continue to compete for traffic.⁴

1. Financial Statement of the Treasurer... *TPP* 1937/14 Table 21.

2. *Advo.* 23/11/22.

3. *TPP* 1922/43.

4. *TPP* 1923/42.

By 1925 competition had reached such 'serious proportions' it was clear the government itself would have to take 'special steps' to meet it. The TGR urged that 'The only fair and obvious way to do this is by placing a reasonable tax upon the road motors, so as to make the competition more equal.' The railways were loaded with debt and heavy maintenance charges, whilst 'the opposition road motor proprietors contribute nothing towards the interest on the capital expenditure on the roads, and only a trifle' on their maintenance. The new Commissioner was pleased to note the establishment of a Roads Commission to formulate regulations to equalise the burdens.¹ In the meantime the TGR's use of tourism to at least maintain passenger revenues put it at odds with a variety of interests. In 1921 Emmett noted increased parochial antagonism. Recognising the value of grass roots interest in tourism, he sought to turn it to account.

¹. *TPP* 1925/21.

7 REVIVING LOCALISM—BACK TO TASMANIA, 1922

Despite calls to the contrary, the TGR's takeovers of the TTA and NTTA had failed to see new tourist associations forming in Tasmania's two main cities. Instead, for several years, Hobart and Launceston acquiesced to the TGTD experiment and allowed it to drive the ballyhoo wagon. Local action was stronger for the time being in the smaller North-West centres which had no TGTBs and therefore kept alive the booster spirit, often thanks to Emmett's cajolements. However about mid 1921 city "movers and shakers" began to "wake up!" their fellow citizens. In foregoing chapters we have noted a number of issues which brought this about: shipping, hotel licensing, fisheries, national parks and winter resort development, slow developments in road and rail services and parochial grievances against the TGTD and TGR. 'The depression of 1920',¹ saw post-war industrial development faltering. Though several large factories were being built, new ones failed to appear on the horizon. A number of non-government attempts in 1921 to work up schemes to attract more new investment and migration stimulated calls for coordinated effort. In Hobart government helped the *Mercury* publish a book on *Industrial Tasmania*.² Launceston public bodies combined for a more parochial *Handbook of Launceston*.³ Then a summer season with no shipping strikes boomed tourism. Some centres thought TGTD methods stopped them getting a fair share of the traffic. Emmett put the ball back in their court. Seeing bad times ahead for the TGTD, he called for increased local tourist boosting.⁴ Consistent with his season-extension program, he encouraged and organised a campaign for a Back to Tasmania Fortnight in 1922. This spawned the creation of new tourist and progress associations in Launceston and Hobart. They learnt much.

Parochial Grievance Revived

In mid 1921, discussing winter tourism, the *Examiner* said the TGTD was doing good work in advertising and taking bookings. The main weakness, it felt, lay in

1. Heaton, *op. cit.* p. 110. Numerous Parliamentary Papers detail the central government's attempts to meliorate the situation.

2. In PD1/38/16/21, 15/10/21 the *Mercury's* WH Cummins writes to DW Addison requesting government help in advertising and bulk orders. As 'Librarian and Publicity Officer' (shared between CSD and PD) Moore-Robinson liaised with Cummins. A series of articles were compiled as *Industrial Tasmania* (Hobart: Davies Bros.; 1922). On 21/6/22 Cummins told the Chief Secretary: 'The point in view assumed [by *Industrial Tasmania*] is that of the public-spirited citizen wishing to supply enquirers abroad reliable information on Tasmania as a field for industrial and commercial enterprise ... the work may be regarded as an investor's guide ...'

3. Stewart, HW *A Handbook of Launceston*, (Launceston City Council, Marine Board, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Manufactures, Launceston, 1922, second edition 1927). This also aimed mainly at industrial investors. Arrangements began in August 1921 and publication followed in July 1922 (see *Ex*, 4/8/21 and 19/7/22; and LCCC Box 5B).

4. His personal scrapbooks contain many references to local self-help, including the following: *Age*, 12/12/21, 'Gateway of the West. The Enterprise of Ararat.' Victoria. Gardens and recreation grounds in old gold mining town laid out with voluntary labour. 'Instead of running to the Government for assistance, the local people organised working bees...' with over 250 working and 25 drays. This is what Emmett wanted to see in his native state.

development of local features. It rued the loss of old NTTA, which had done 'admirable work in this field.' 'After all the heightening of any town's attractiveness to the tourist is mainly its own concern.' If local bodies did not do it, it would not be done at all.¹ By November a movement was afoot to make Launceston and environs 'A Tourist's Paradise'. The idea of a new progress and tourist association obtained support from the press and Len Bruce. Ald. Ockerby, a shipping agent who thought tourism 'a gilt-edged trade', a better asset than even hydro-electricity,² weighed in. He wanted his city to rediscover the 'lost art of booming'.³ Lack of strikes that season gave them impetus.

From Christmas 1921 a buzz went around Launceston. Hobart was reporting a record tourist influx. The Northern city appeared to be missing out on business. Blame immediately fell on the TGTD, with rumours that the Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney Bureaux were failing to boost Launceston as a tourist centre.⁴ A resident returning from Melbourne:

stated that Hobart was 'pushed' at the intending visitor. He said that when he made the fact that he desired to book to Tasmania known the clerk shot the query, 'To Hobart?' As the enquirer was a Launcestonian, the nature of his retort may well be imagined.⁵

Tourists said Webb's staff told them to skip Launceston because it was 'booked up', yet prominent hoteliers reckoned they were experiencing their weakest season in 21 years.⁶ For its own commercial reasons the *Daily Telegraph* stayed silent on the issue,⁷ but the *Examiner* led a vigorous campaign, asking whether the city was sufficiently advertised and endorsing further bids for revival of grass roots organisation.⁸ A great debate ensued.

Asked to comment, Len Bruce defended his department. He offered evidence to show the season in the city was in fact very busy. He said 'definitely that there was no conspiracy anywhere to shut out Launceston.' TGTD literature gave it a 'share of publicity' equal with any other part of the state. Hobart's capital status made it prominent in the minds of first-time visitors, but Launceston was 'not overlooked' the way people thought. He disputed the idea, current since 1918, that the Hobart train meeting tourists King's Wharf was bad for Launceston. Leaving them waiting was 'a worse advertisement than anything.' Most tourists who went straight to Hobart would return for a few days on their way home. This fact even the paper had to admit,⁹

1. *Ex*, 28/6/21.

2. *Ibid.*, 7/8/20.

3. *Ibid.*, 26/11/21.

4. *Ibid.*, 28/12/21; 30/12/21.

5. *Ibid.*, 4/1/22.

6. *Ibid.*, 28/12/21; 30/12/21.

7. Possible reasons for this are discussed in the section on the Fourth Estate in Chapter Nine.

8. *Ex*, 30/12/21.

9. *Ibid.*, 30/12/21.

though others asserted that by the time tourists returned they had spent most of their money.¹ Bruce returned serve:

Certainly, the Launceston people can do much to advertise the city and environs as a resort by means of letters and booklets sent to their friends, and in any other direction which they consider a likely channel for reproductive advertising.²

This struck a chord. The *Examiner* said 'other places' (i.e. Hobart) were able to 'get to the prospective visitor at the psychological moment.' At the mainland bureaux 'The damage is done. And so is Launceston.' If the city was ever to win 'its full share of the tourist trade', autonomous steps would have to be taken:

to see that it 'gets there' in the same way as other places, at the only moment that matters, the time when the tripper is making the fateful decision as to what he is going to do for a holiday, and where he is going to spend it.

The city could not expect help from the authorities. The TGTD, admittedly, was a state affair which did not concern itself with localities. It gave assurance it would assist in advertising 'any part of the state possessing the enterprise and the initiative to push itself and its attractions.' But there was no escaping the fact that the TGTD was a branch of the TGR, controlled by the Commissioner and staffed by railwaymen. Any department so managed would, *a priori*, have two aims: to bring large numbers to the state and 'to get them on to the railways and to keep them there as much as possible.'

The *Examiner* had no real objection to the boat train, but it suspected many passengers were 'going through Launceston not so much because they really want to as because they are pushed.' How was it that so many tourists came to Tasmania 'imbued with the idea that they don't wish to stay in Launceston?' How did they hear of the boat train, if not at the mainland bureaux? And how was it that to go on by that train was 'so generally considered the correct and fashionable thing to do?'³ Launceston had experienced similar problems with new British migrants being sent on to Hobart. Agitation had seen the appointment of a Northern Immigration Officer⁴ to 'intercept' them.⁵ Perhaps something similar should be done in the tourist traffic: 'we lost a live and useful institution when the old Tourist Association went out.' Launceston could never fully benefit from tourism while things were run from Hobart.⁶

1. *Ibid.*, 7/2/22. comments by DS Jackson, MHR.

2. *Ibid.*, 30/12/22. Bruce went on to raise the subject of domestic tourism 'what may be termed a local tourist traffic.' In this alone his bureau served an important and justifying function.

3. *Ibid.*, 12/1/22.

4. First Len Bruce (see *ibid.*, 6/3/20, 13/3/20 and 24/6/20), then Major Burford Sampson (1882-1959), a war veteran, RSL leader and later Nationalist Senator (see *ADB*).

5. They were booked through to Hobart even when their prospective homes were in the North. Interceptions helped them avoid the 'utterly preposterous ... cost of so much superfluous transit.' (See *Ex*, 12/1/22).

6. *Ibid.*, 12/1/22.

Wishart Smith responded at length. The crux of the issue was as the *Examiner* had said: if Launceston wanted special advertisement it would have to produce it itself. The TGTD would render its 'utmost' assistance in advice and distribution. Similar complaints from Hobart and the North-West Coast merely pointed to the department's 'impartiality'. His and Emmett's job was a national concern: what objection could there be to asking travellers if they wanted to travel beyond their port of arrival in the state? He and Emmett had both urged retention of the TTA and NTTA when the TGTD formed. They now welcomed the resurgence of grass roots interest in Launceston and Hobart, where councils were discussing measures to boost their profiles. This could only assist a TGTD hard strapped to stretch its 'limited' advertising vote. But it was 'difficult to retain one's patience at such parochial jealousy.' Herbert Webb was said to 'strongly resent' claims about 'favouritism'. Surely entities wanting better treatment could employ positive public relations rather than display petty gripes:

There is a saying that more flies are caught by honey than by vinegar, and I feel sure that a little commendation to our branch managers by Tasmanians visiting the mainland states would do more to hearten them in their onerous duties than petty pin pricks.

Smith attacked the *Examiner* for arguing on false premises. He denied tourists were passing Launceston, and gave statistical evidence that the local TGTB was experiencing its best ever season. One motor operator had taken more in twelve days than any previous January. Some hotels were turning people away. The others should consider whether they offered the facilities demanded by tourists.

The *Examiner's* rejoinder accused Smith of 'dodging the issue' by not answering its main question: why was Hobart getting more tourists? Did they want to go or were they pushed? Who paid for a Hobart brochure being distributed on the mainland?

What we desired to know was whether it was the result of Hobart doing more and being smarter in the advertising business than Launceston? If that is so, then of course we need to wake up. We don't want to be parochial, but we do want to know where we are.

The paper also asked if mainland managers could inform visitors that 'Launceston is more than a railway siding on a wharf.'¹

Concerned that the matter had 'gone beyond fair criticism', Smith was moved to again deny charges of favouritism. The Hobart brochure referred to was indeed a TGTD publication, but it was matched by similar issues featuring Launceston and other centres.² All were 'widely distributed' in Tasmania and the mainland and placed on steamers. He again urged Launceston to increase its own output. The newspaper again countered. Stanley Dryden said he had asked a friend visiting Melbourne to test the bureau there. He was given a budget of pamphlets describing Tasmania and 'the one

1. *Ibid.*, 17/1/22.

2. One of these is extant in the Tasmaniana Library: TGTD, *Launceston, Tasmania. Trips for the Tourist*. (Hobart: Government Printer; c. 1920).

attractive' brochure was one describing Hobart. The paper welcomed Smith's assurances for the future. But it still wanted to know:

the means by which it is instilled into the minds of so large a proportion of Tasmania's visitors that Hobart is the only place worth while, and that Launceston is only fit to rush through both ways.¹

The question answered itself. 'The real solution', wrote Dryden, 'is propaganda.'

There is nothing Launceston needs more than that it shall be advertised. Nothing will pay it better or bring a quicker return than a publicity campaign.

Launceston would have to go it alone. It could be boomed. Now was the time to do it, and do it alone, but it would require enthusiastic organisation. The city had been 'losing its punch. Its team work [was] not what it used to be.' But there was latent potential, it only needed 'revival.' The *Examiner* readily accepted the role it had long assumed: that of community agitprop. On it went, the sporting allusions flowing:

These are the days of keen competition, when the race is to the strong and the swift. If a community does not push itself to the front no one else will do it. Launceston must push for itself. After all, that is nothing new. It has always had to make its own opportunities. It has had to fight, and often to fight very hard, for whatever it wanted and whatever it got. There is no change today.²

In reaction to financial and political instability affecting central government, similar movements for renewed local vigour were afoot across the state. Smith's assurances failed to stem criticisms now becoming commonplace. Northern MHA JC Newton asked questions in parliament, reasserting that 'the tone' at Melbourne TGTB was 'much in favour of Hobart.'³ Syd Jackson, MHR, lobbied Donnelly. Launceston was urged to advertise in metropolitan dailies to counter the Hobart and railways bias of the Sydney bureau.⁴ In March, discussing Cradle Mountain, the *Examiner* again referred to the TGTB as a 'railway adjunct'. It pointed to Emmett's invidious position when it wrote:

in the present state of public finances it is not likely that the [TGTB], as a branch of the [TGR], will be found able to help much, though the mind of the Director may be appreciative and the spirit willing.

The paper reiterated that positive local action as the only way of "getting things done".⁵ By this stage positive steps had been taken in that direction.

Adapting an Idea

In January the *Examiner* mooted the idea of increasing tourism by inviting expatriate Tasmanians to return home for a week of festivities. If the northern city could organise effectively, a 'Back to Launceston' scheme might be feasible for the coming Easter. However, lest the idea be seen as 'too small a thing on its own', or they be accused of

1. *Ex*, 24/1/22.
 2. *Ibid.*, 18/1/22.
 3. E.g. *V&P*, 24/1/22; *Ex*, 23/2/22.
 4. *Ibid.*, 7/2/22.
 5. *Ibid.*, 24/3/22.

being 'parochial in our views', there was no objection to broadening the proposition to a 'Back to Tasmania' festival.¹ The newspaper's desire for formation of a new local organisation was met the following month by establishment of a new Launceston Progress Association (LPA). With support from the press, the Chamber of Commerce, Licensed Victuallers, Returned Soldiers and Motor Hirers Associations, this was organised by ANA and sports club secretary Percy Carter Weetman (c.1866-1933).² Lauding the move, and claiming much of the credit, the *Examiner* stressed tourism as the LPA's main objective.³

The LPA could not organise in time for an Easter festival.⁴ However the idea of a state-wide scheme later in the year was practical and its merits were not lost on the TGTD. Emmett saw it as a way to draw traffic in the relatively slow month of November, 'when the island is not crowded with visitors, but when the weather is generally very pleasant for holiday making.' In March he circularised all the state's newspapers, municipal councils, marine boards, chambers of commerce and manufacture, tourist and progress associations and other groups such as the Northern Tasmanian Advertising Men's (Ad. Men's) Institute, inviting them to join in the most extensive scheme of intrastate tourist cooperation ever seen in the island. As he said, the TGTD's mainland advertising could 'obviously merely allude to the scheme in a general sense'. It could not deal with localities, which would have to generate their own 'enthusiasm' to fix a program of events. But Emmett would publish a compendium souvenir program to cover the whole state.⁵

The 'Back to' idea was not original. It had originated in the United States and Canada,⁶ and as Albert Penrose, the editor of Stanley's *Circular Head Chronicle*, noted, 'back home gatherings' were already being 'promoted in Victoria with great success'. His own native town of Beechworth was having one at Easter.⁷ In 1921 a 'Back to Creswick' had drawn returnees and others to that old mining town-cum-'Sanatorium of the Northeast.'⁸ At Easter Ballarat, Baimsdale and Geelong had held similar events, the latter municipality profiting by £600.⁹ Indeed, Emmett explained that an ex-Tasmanian resident in Victoria had suggested the idea to him: FV Murphy,

1. *Ibid.*, 18/1/22.

2. *BRADB*. See obituary at *Ex*, 7/2/33. Weetman was a chartered accountant. RA Ferrall (letter 18/11/92) says 'Dry in manner, but efficient.'

3. *Ex*, and *DT*, 3/2/22; *Ex*, 3/2/22, 23/2/22.

4. *Ex*, 1/4/22 describes LPA. Since formation the provisional committee had been working hard preparing for a campaign. They now made a call for membership (and thus funds). In tourist matters they intended to work in with TGTD. Launceston's attractions 'only require exploiting and advertising properly on the mainland to bring a stream of visitors especially to this city.' They also wanted to develop and 'specially advertise' winter sports such as skating. The committee considered asking shipping companies for a 'purely tidal service on the Tamar' to avoid the inconvenience of transshipment to and from the tender at Rosevears.

5. A copy of the circular is available at LCCC Box 40D Folder 34/1. It was reprinted in *Ex*, 6/4/22. The TGTD's souvenir pamphlet, if eventually printed, appears to be no longer extant in public collections.

6. *WC*, 27/7/22.

7. *Circular Head Chronicle*, 12/4/22.

8. Griffiths, *op. cit.* (1985).

9. *Merc*, 28/7/22.

son of a past Mayor of Launceston. It seems likely Murphy had spoken earlier to Stanley Dryden at the *Examiner*, who now saw this was a far more ambitious scheme than his January proposal, applying as it did to a whole state.¹

Murphy again visited Tasmania in April to assist Emmett getting up the scheme. He had lived in towns all over Australia and had met Tasmanians everywhere, 'even in such a remote spot as Thursday Island.' A large number of Tasmanian natives had left the island in the past several decades 'attracted by larger opportunities or other circumstances offering on the mainland.' He was pleased to note that:

in a great many cases they were occupying leading positions in their communities. They were always interested in their native land, and in conversation the subject generally got round to the 'tight little island.'²

Here was a large group of sentimental souls who could be drawn to swell the tourist ranks and extend the season. He made several suggestions apropos advertising. Local communities should draw up lists of expatriates and circularise them with handbills and newspaper items. Groups such as Caledonian Societies should seek the publicity assistance of their fellows in other states. Naturally the Australasian press should be provided with informative copy. The local papers would find it rewarding to print specials for dissemination: in one Australian town such an issue had been so popular it ran to a second edition. Murphy also suggested the TGTD's program of events be published in souvenir form with illustrations.³

The Tasmanian Response

That all this increased activity would generate much printed output was not lost on the state's printshops. That these were almost all attached to newspapers provides one obvious reason for the media's hearty support. Such was the advertising support for the Hobart Citizen's Committee *Souvenir Program* that it must have turned a profit. Well illustrated, the booklet is marvellous in its use of superlatives, its detailed description of Hobart's leisure infrastructure, and the way it conveys the patriotic impulses of the organisers. Lord Northcliffe's positive impressions of Hobart and its harbour were quoted to best advantage. Typically, the booklet's contents were directed as much at locals as visitors. Some of the larger companies that advertised did so to show their faith in the state's future, not to sell a particular product to tourists. How else does one explain ads placed by such firms as the Tasmanian Milk Company or the local branch of an insurance company? The long list of businesses and businessmen

1. *Ex*, 6/4/22.
 2. *Ibid.*, 13/4/22.
 3. *Ibid.*, 13/4/22.



Edward Leeson

who contributed financially to the festivities no doubt in some small way enhanced their local standing and self perception thereby.¹

Before circularising his proposal, Emmett had sought and gained a deal with Tasmanian Steamships to provide reduced steamer fares to 'bona fide Tasmanians'.² Murphy said the company was now considering making the concession available to all comers.³ Soon the TGR and mainland railways made similar commitments. In April the various groups started to fall in. In the North-West the *Advocate* welcomed the 'Big Local Opportunity' which had 'caught the public fancy.' Its editor, Phillip J Cherry (d.1942),⁴ felt 'judicious publicity and careful management', mingled with 'hearty cooperation', should ensure its success. Although it would mainly appeal to 'the irresistible homing instinct' of Tasmanian natives, others would 'be attracted by the novelty'. All would be able to see the 'great strides' taken in industrial matters. They would return to their residences to disseminate the information.⁵ And, as the *Mercury* later hoped, some would be encouraged to return to their native land on retirement.⁶

Aside from the press, local pressure groups worked to ensure the support of their municipal authorities. In Launceston, for instance, the energetic professional secretary and advertising manager Edward Leeson (1888-1969)⁷ wrote two letters to the LCC. One was as president of the Ad. Men, another as secretary of the Northern Tasmanian Camera Club. Emmett had suggested that each town carry out special forms of entertainment. Leeson said 'the town making the biggest effort must necessarily get the greater number of visitors.' He asked the Mayor to call a monster meeting of local societies to draw up a program of entertainments.⁸

By May the original plan for a week-long carnival had expanded to a 'Back to Tasmania Fortnight' and everyone wanted to be a part of it. An ex-Devonport resident waxed lyrical on the effect the new 'slogan' had when he saw it in a Melbourne paper on his way home in the tram. It

1. Hobart Citizens' Committee, *Back to Tasmania Nov. 15-26 Official Souvenir* (Hobart: Government Printer & the Committee; 1922).

2. LCCC Box 40D Folder 34/1.

3. *Ex.* 13/4/22.

4. Cherry edited the *Advocate* for 39 years before his sudden death in 1942, when he was succeeded by his son Jack Reid Cherry (1908-1968), see *Advo.* 27/6/68. *Ob.* 30/12/42.

5. *Advo.* 24/4/22.

6. *Merc.* 18/11/22.

7. Ed Leeson had been the *Mercury's* advertising manager in 1918 (see Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Annual* 1917-18) and presumably moved to Launceston's *Examiner* the following year where he also became secretary of the Overseas Club. He was well acquainted with Emmett, having attended and written up for publication the latter's 1922 six-person conducted excursion to Cradle Mountain in *World*, 5/1/22. Later in the 1920s he moved to a position with the *Advocate* in Burnie and helped launch a North-Western Tourist League in 1927. Life dates are taken from CVC record for Charles Henry Edward Leeson, possibly not the same person.

8. LCCC Box 40D Folder 34/1.

awakened a certain something within me, a vague, indefinable feeling of restlessness, that was akin to joy. Tasmania! Tassie! You see, I am a Tasmanian. ... I don't suppose I would know the old place now. It is only twelve years since I left, yet it seems more like thirty, somehow. I am wondering how the old 'village' looks. I guess it has grown some. A sudden desire to return to Tasmania—to Devonport, and the haunts of my boyhood—crept over me. The longer I dwelt among my fancies the more insistent became the urge until it was almost an obsession. Of course I have nothing for which to reproach myself for leaving the State. I felt at the time ... that I had outgrown my usefulness in the little town, and needed a bigger sphere for my activities. I am now a comparatively successful businessman, and am happy with my wife and family. ... but I just long for a peep at the home town. Perhaps it will be a rude awakening [but] I can feel that it will be a great re-union of friends, and I for one will be there.

The writer wondered why he had left it so long. The *Advocate* supplied the answer. It takes something like this to motivate people: 'It is the power behind the movement which will impel numbers of Tasmanians to pack their trunks and join in the return march to the home town.'¹

Devonport's North-Western Tourist Association decided to spend £15 preparing a special pamphlet.² Spurred on by visits by TGTD officials, tourist associations in Ulverstone, Wynyard, Stanley and many other smaller towns established sub committees to draw up programs and print special pamphlets.³ In Burnie the tourist association asked the local council and marine board to contribute to a special tourist guide. Council reluctantly declined as it had already spent its £25 allocation for advertising that year. The marine board, which covered other coastal towns, agreed to assist if those towns were included in the guide. Thus emerged a cooperative regional handbook, the first of its kind in Tasmania.⁴ The spirit aroused by Back to Tasmania (BTT) inspired Cherry to undertake further local boosting. 'We are too modest', he wrote. The Coast was blessed with numerous scenic advantages, but still more work was needed to open them up and publicise them. There was such a thing as 'legitimate window dressing', and a legitimate regional structure to do it:

Every town should have its tourist and improvement association—that praiseworthy example of the civic spirit, backed in the community interest by a Coastal tourist council, working hand in hand with the Government Tourist Department. We have the goods in stock—why not put them in the shop window?⁵

In Launceston the new Progress Association secured the patronage and influence of Mayor Albert William Monds (d.1944) an influential flourmiller who, like so many other denizens of the northern city, had a seat on the board of the Launceston Bank for Savings and a diversity of other civic connections and responsibilities.⁶ Percy Weetman set about organising the suggested conference. This was held in late June,⁷ attended by an enthusiastic crowd of representatives from groups such as the

1. *Advo*, 2/5/22.

2. *Ibid.*, 12/5/22.

3. *Northern Standard*, 21/6/22; *Advo*, 16/9/22 (Ulverstone). *Ex.* 28/6/22 and 23/7/22 (Wynyard). *Advo*, 19/7/22 (Stanley). *Ex.* 17/8/22 (Deloraine).

4. *Advo*, 19/7/22, 26/7/22, 2/8/22 and 22/9/22. *Ex.* 25/7/22. *Tourist & Visitor's Guide to Burnie, Wynyard, Penguin & Waratah* (Launceston: Examiner; 1922).

5. *Advo*, 23/8/22.

6. LCC Ald. 1919-37. Mayor 1921 and 1922. *Ob.* 10/2/44. See Buever. *op. cit.* p. 156.

7. *DT*, 21/6/22.



Jack Stanley Dean



Francis Josias Heyward

Horticultural Society, Tamar Yacht Club, Agricultural Society, League of Wheelmen, Harrier Club, tennis clubs, other sporting and racing bodies, interested private citizens and entertainment entrepreneurs. Several present said their societies were shifting the dates of annual events to work in with the carnival.

Most were businessmen and they could obviously see the value of attracting extra people to consume their wares. Well-known and aptly-named ironmonger and retailer of household goods, George Henry Cleaver (1874-1955) suggested a window dressing competition. Iles Dore Carr (c.1893-1951),¹ draughtsman and first president of the LPA, thought most of the entertainments should be held at night, 'so as not to interfere with the business life of the city.' Carr's employer was the well-known architect, alderman and president of the Launceston Traders' Association, Francis Josias Heyward (1876-1942). He had designed large textile mills in Launceston for a British firm, and knew the value of tourist boosting in attracting prospective manufacturers.² He disputed a proposal to apply 10% of profits to charity. With its ambitious charter, the LPA 'would require all the money it could get.' Jack Stanley Dean (1892-1968);³ a young commercial traveller with a long career as city booster ahead of him, moved that any proceeds should go to the LPA. The association had 'big ideas,' and hoped to raise working capital. The charity idea probably came from local labour, ANA and RSL leader, Ernest Douglas Pinkard (1895-1981).⁴ It failed, but reflected potential for division.⁵

In Hobart about thirty persons attended a similar meeting on 19 July. Again the ANA did the initial groundwork. Again the Mayor presided. But the character of the southern city's response was somewhat different from Launceston's. Notable for their presence on the podium were two representatives of the State: WB Propsting, as Minister for Railways, and ET Emmett. Several ladies also attended. Propsting spoke as a Hobartian:

1. Carr was wounded at Ypres in 1917. He joined the Agricultural Bank's housing section in 1936 designing subdivisions. A great bushwalker and skier, he was a foundation member of the Northern Tasmanian Alpine Club and designed 'Carr Villa', the club's chalet at Ben Lomond. Carr also served in the Middle East during WWII. Obituary in *Merc.* 16/8/51.

2. Born in Hobart, Heyward moved to Launceston during the war. A bushwalking friend of Fred Smithies, who married his sister, he was interested in Cradle Mountain and scenery preservation, a member of the Launceston Art Society, Royal Society, and later president of the Northern division of the Tasmanian Society, a pre-cursor to the National Trust. He was sometime president of Launceston Rotary. Very successful as an architect, his designs included Hobart's City Hall, Launceston's Church Grammar School and Chapel, Rapson Tyre Works and Patons & Baldwins Woollen Mills, and the Burnie Theatre. Elected LCC 11/12/19, unsuccessful 7/12/22 and 12/2/23 elections. See *Ex.* 8/6/20, and *Ex.* 13/11/22 for photo. Obituary in *Merc.* 2/7/42. Also Branagan, *op. cit.* and Miley, *op. cit.*

3. Dean's grandfather was William Boswell Dean, a pioneer investor and leader in Launceston's public affairs last century (see *Ex.* 3/6/1885 and 11/3/82). Dean's father was also William Boswell Dean (1856-1925), a successful baker who's brother Henry Jennings Dean was Mayor of Launceston in 1893. See NRL LHR Biography file 'Dean'. RA Ferrall (letter, 18/11/92) says Dean became manager of an insurance company in Launceston. He was an executive of the Launceston Fifty Thousand League for many years. Ob. 9/7/68 (CVC.).

4. Pinkard: Post Office Union, ALP, ANA, Punchbowl Development Association, see *Ex.* 28/10/59 for his retirement. Ob. 16/8/81. CVC. RA Ferrall (letter 18/11/92) says Pinkard was 'excitable right wing Labour man, ... Totally devoid of a sense of humour. Honest, but too dogmatic.'

5. The Hobart Citizens' Committee did apply proceeds from BTT to charity (see WE Lloyd's application for the Agent-Generalship at PD1/9/2/24).



James Arthur McKenzie



Joshua Jenning Wignall



Henry Wam Wilson

It is only natural that, the capital having the bigger population, the majority of visitors will come to Hobart, and it is incumbent on the citizens here to make the visit of former residents as attractive as they possibly can.

He also spoke of the economic benefits of the proposed scheme for both the TGR revenues and 'the business people and the place as a whole.' Emmett enthused about the response already received around the island. He announced the dates for the fortnight, 13-26 November, selected to follow the Melbourne Cup: they would 'probably reap a large harvest from that fact.' The cutting of fares, he felt, would attract large numbers, 'perhaps 1000 or 3000 or more'. Business people could see 'what was likely to be spent.' The TGTD was doing all it could to advertise on the mainland. 10,000 gummed advertising stamps had been printed for people to use when writing to mainland contacts. He had already asked the Tasmanian Racing Club to hold a meeting in Hobart, but it was really up to citizens to form a committee to whip up enthusiasm. They could circularise or doorknock residents asking them to invite their people home from the mainland. Picture theatres could use slides to convey the same message. There was much to be done.¹

A Hobart Citizens' Committee formed. Some names are familiar already: Aldermen WM Williams, JJ Breen, EJ Rogers. Presiding was the energetic Mayor, James Arthur McKenzie (1867-1939), a Town Planning Association chairman and contractor who had built many public and commercial buildings.² Other outstanding committee men were the ANA's Charles Henry Carroll (1875-1928),³ Henry Warn Wilson (1878-1963), insurance manager and secretary of the Parattah Hotel Co.,⁴ and Alderman Joshua Jenning Wignall (1859-1941), an ex-butcher involved in commercial property, printing and the National Park Board.⁵ William Ernest Lloyd (b.1883), a professional secretary, advertising agent, ANA acolyte and ALP organiser,⁶ was voted 'Organising Secretary'. He worked from rooms at the heart of the city's commercial-civic sector, in the

1. *Ex.* 20/7/22.

2. HCC Ald. 1921-23, 1927-32, Mayor 1922-3, MLC 1927-33. *PT* and *BRTP*. Ob. 19/8/39. CBC. McKenzie built the Palace Theatre in Elizabeth Street in 1914, first continuous picture theatre in Tasmania. Directors included WJ Fullerton and Ald. Frank Valentine (see *DP*, 30/4/1-4).

3. Carroll, a civil servant in the TGR and then Police Department, was a foundation member of the National Park Board and active on many other public interest bodies. Ob. 20/8/28.

4. *PT*.

5. Wignall started as a butcher and impressed city fathers with his management of the municipal abattoirs. He invested in property and established a caneware shop, and had a one fifth share in the profitable Critic Printery (see AOT SC323 No. 416). HCC Ald. 1922-40 and Mayor 1927-29 and 1932-38. In 1927 he stood for the Legislative Council seat of Buckingham, and stressed the need for 'greater enterprise' in the tourist industry (see *Merc.* 9/9/27). See also *PT* and *TC*. Ob. 2/11/41.

6. Inspired by Henry George, Lloyd frequently wrote and spoke on land and tax legislation as organising secretary of the Rating Reform League. For the ANA he raised record funds for Wattle Day Appeals, organised for the Consumptives Sanatorium, and later became active on behalf of the Trans-Derwent Bridge League. He held numerous advertising agencies, including theatre and tramways contracts and by his own account was financially successful. He also acted as parliamentary reporter for the *Examiner*. Lloyd was unaffected by modesty, as demonstrated in his application for the Agent-Generalship in 1924 (see PD1/9/2/24). He represented Denison at the 1927 ALP conference (see *Merc.* 8/4/27), and stood for Labor in the 1928 state elections, by which time he described himself as Tasmanian manager for International Correspondence Schools (*Merc.* 3/5/28).



Charles Herbert Lamprill

Commercial Bank Chambers, a popular address for small self-styled professionals.¹ The rest of those present, including some ladies, were also added to the general committee. Mrs EA Abbott joined the finance committee. Emmett stayed out of local organisations, but his Hobart manager, Charles Ray Osborne, was very active on several sub-committees.²

Breen spoke of the obvious benefits to transport operators (like himself) and those in the accommodation industry. Here was also a golden opportunity for repatriation:

If we can induce old Tasmanians to come across and see the attractions we can now offer them, compared with what existed when they were previously here, some of them might be prevailed upon to again take up their residence here.

Breen foresaw the need for public subscriptions, but also raised the possibility of a government subsidy. Proposing quickly quashed that idea. Cabinet was not prepared to get into the sticky issue of allocating funds to localities. At any rate the festival was expected to bring profits. Emmett was applauded for suggesting they be used to seed a city beautification fund.³

A meeting held later in the month illuminates the cross-fertilisation of boosterism and local government. On 27 July Lloyd, Breen, Carrol and Wilson joined city businessman, Central Business College principal and MHA, Jack McPhee in a deputation to the Mayor. Charles Osborne represented Emmett, who was absent on the mainland. The purpose was seeding finance. Lloyd asked the HCC to allocate £50-100 of its advertising budget. This would 'encourage the committee to work harder' and relieve them of personal risk. Carrol reiterated that Mayoral and Conciliar 'authority' would ensure the cooperation of all citizens. Osborne spoke of the profits made by Geelong in 1921, where the Mayor had raised £300 in a doorknock campaign. McPhee cited other similar movements and stressed the consistent centrality of the Mayoral role. McKenzie spoke as if unconnected with the Citizen's Committee. He would support the citizens' request and 'wished them success.' He believed the whole of the city's £250 advertising budget could well be allocated, as all Hobartians would benefit. But he also noted that certain businesses would benefit most. Those 'who would be financially bettered should contribute generously'.⁴

It is enlightening that the very largest donations came not from transport or accommodation interests but retailers, especially the emporia of Brownell Brothers and GP Fitzgerald, and the draper Charles Herbert Lamprill (1868-1943).⁵ However the list

1. Information from Don Norman, whose father ran a copying office in the similar, nearby, Bursary Building, 'home' for many other struggling clerical operators, agents, and even doctors and dentists. The Chambers, now a Westpac Bank, are on the corner of Collins and Elizabeth Streets.

2. For the committees see Hobart Citizens' Committee, *op. cit.*

3. *Ex*, 20/7/22.

4. *Merc*, 28/7/22.

5. Lamprill worked at Brownell's emporium until about 1920 when he established his own drapery business. HCC Ald. 1919-21, 1925-27, he resigned 'for business reasons' on 5/9/27 (*Merc*, 6/9/27). Ob.

of contributors reads like a business directory of Hobart¹ and there is little evidence of dissension in the ranks. How could there be, in fact, when newspapers and public speakers alike consistently stated it was 'everybody's duty' to support the movement? As a Hobart correspondent to the *Weekly Courier* put it, 'Nearly every person who comes to Tasmania goes away again as a sort of perambulating advertisement'. BTT was 'bound to boom the tourist traffic, which means a great deal to the state, but the finest result can only be achieved with the cooperation and interest of the people themselves.'²

From August, committee meetings were held every Tuesday evening at the Town Hall. In Hobart Lloyd publicised the scheme with flyers calling for general community support. Citizenship could be measured by participation in this movement. All would benefit, 'either directly or indirectly'. But the message to businesses was clear:

... the expansion of the Tourist Business alone means a great deal to Tasmania and an extension of the season means a decided financial gain to Hobart and Southern districts ... This movement will not further overcrowd the busy Tourist season but create an extra 'Season', during an otherwise less profitable time to those catering to the Tourist traffic.

Some of the events being planned must have fired the public imagination. They included a 'Battle of Flowers', an Illuminated Garden Fête, and an Ocean Pier Promenade Concert.³ Meanwhile Emmett and his officials were pushing the campaign on the mainland. On his return he said people were already booking under BTT conditions.⁴

A Civic Boost

As the festivities approached, citizens interested in town beautification seized the stimulant for their cause. In the northern capital 'Launceston Native' pointed to neglected local parks. For example, the fountain basin at Princes Square was a disgrace, and the writer urged the LPA to organise working bees in lieu of the LCC doing the work.⁵ In Hobart Alfred Charles Seabrook (1867-1934), a builder-cum-commercial traveller now vocal as Nationalist candidate for the coming Federal elections, had much the same to say about Franklin Square and derelict St David's Burial Ground.⁶ A letter from 'Progress' urged the HCC's to tend to the alternatively muddy and dusty city streets and footpaths. A 'back to Tasmania friend' from

11/6/43. CBC. His grandson, Clark Lamprill, is a lawyer employed by the Hydro-Electric Commission. He cites as an example of Lamprill's character the fact that he realised his own assets to cover his firm's losses in the Great Depression. The family's two pre-Depression homes illustrate the wealth to be gained from drapery: *Newlands* in Augusta Road, Lenah Valley (now a reception centre) and *Hathaway* in Mount Stewart Road (now a home for senior citizens).

1. Hobart Citizens' Committee, *op. cit.*

2. WC, 27/7/22.

3. PD1/38/15/22, -/8/22.

4. All papers, 24/8/22.

5. Ex, 4/9/22.

6. Merc, 20/7/22. For Seabrook see BRTF.



Archibald E Garrott

Brisbane told how his council had 'made a clean sweep of everything unsightly' and criticised Hobart's retention of 'old and tumble-down buildings'. Were the 'cobblestone gutters retained ... to remind one of old Hobart Town'? The friend contrasted Launceston, with its 'beautiful parks and other city improvements,' and said the HCC should wake up. It should abandon also its annual custom' of commencing street repairs at the end of December when visitor and local traffic was at its peak.¹ In smaller towns recreation grounds were improved by working bees. In Penguin 'the whole male population' turned out to 'do their bit'.²

Hobart's rapid mobilisation irked the *Examiner*, which thought Launceston was falling behind. By September Mayor Monds' initial enthusiasm had waned. The LPA's fund raising efforts had been less than successful and Percy Weetman had resigned as secretary. His successor was Archibald E Garrott (1885-1968). A chartered accountant, he had recently returned to his home town after a stint as private secretary to Robert Sticht, the manager at Mount Lyell.³ An ambitious man, the LPA and BTT probably appealed to him as an effective entré to Launceston's lucrative top echelons. In late September he led a delegation to Monds requesting an LCC guarantee for a £100 bank overdraft. Alderman Claude Ernest Weymouth James (1878-1961), a secretary-accountant and future MHA, Agent-General and knight,⁴ called for immediate steps to catch up with Hobart. He urged Monds to get more involved and attend LPA meetings. The appeal was successful. Council agreed to go guarantor, donated £10 from its advertising vote, and thereafter progress was more rapid. It also contributed electrical illuminations, mayoral openings and civic receptions, brass band concerts and free use of its Albert Hall, although it could not find the funds to night-light its York Park recreation ground in time for BTT.⁵

Through October the whole state was buzzing with excitement about the coming festivities. Launceston received a shock late in the month with the news that *Oonah* had run aground on the Kelso spit at the Tamar mouth. This resulted from the Marine Board's port development blasting work to remove the underwater Porpoise Rock. With *Oonah* potentially laid up, the mood in Launceston was akin to outraged panic. The steamship company refused to provide another ferry immediately. Councils and chambers met to discuss, sent deputations to the shippers and telegrams to state and federal governments.

It was predictable that a big shipping issue like this would gel the LPA's position. It's formation had attracted the most progressive members of all other commercial-civic

1. *Ibid.*, 26/9/22.

2. Inspired by a 'spirit of emulation', gangs competed to display their masculinity. The local doctor tended minor injuries and all welcomed the ladies' call of 'lunch-oh' (see *Advo.*, 11/9/22.)

3. *TC.* Ob. 16/10/68.

4. *BRADB.*

5. *Ex.*, 19/9/22. LCCC Box 40D Folder 33/2.



MR. C. JAMES, M.H.A.

Alderman C. James, M.H.A., rapidly bringing himself into prominence among the members of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, is a business man of Launceston, and a former Mayor of that city. Although only at the beginning of his political career, he, like the ex-Mayor of Hobart, Alderman Sandy, never fails to secure attention in the House, whatever the subject of discussion, and he is quickly becoming an important figure in the public life of the State, as well as of the northern city. In addition to his other activities, he is the Grand Master of the Masonic Fraternity in Tasmania, and is highly esteemed by all Worshipful Brothers throughout the State.

Claude Ernest Weymouth James

groups, and shipping was the one issue with relevance to all residents of the northern port. Its more influential members—MPs Syd Jackson and Jim Newton, and Aldermen Frank Heyward, Claude James, John Ockerby and Robert Martin Osborne (c.1861-1931)¹—led a large deputation to seek a solution. As Carr said, if something was not done quickly mainlanders would soon lose confidence in the boat service again. Ockerby suggested the Marine Board suspend their blasting until after the season, but this brought an almost violent reaction from Wardens. The entire scene was one of uproar. With Senate elections pending Launceston's Senator JH Keating got a word into the debate. Political noses were attracted by the scent of publicity, and anyone with any standing seemed to involve themselves in the protests. Thus news the following week that *Oonah* had been refloated without damage, while received with great relief, came as something of an anticlimax.² Nevertheless it also showed that Launceston had begun to wake up: that it now had an influential, progressive body, representative of most commercial-civic interests and ready to speak for the city. Some credit for this must go to the TGTD's promotion of the Back to Tasmania movement.

On the West Coast community feeling also gelled in reaction to 'outside' forces in 1922. This time it was Emmett's perceived *failure* to include the region in his BT plans. Westerners thought the lack of TGR services on the Coast underlay the TGTD's neglect of the region. This was reinforced by correspondence from Emmett and Webb which held out little promise of them benefiting from BT. The principal town, Zeehan, asserted local preeminence by forming the so-called Western Tasmanian Tourist Association. In October they organised fellow associations at Strahan, Queenstown and Gormanston for a conference to discuss grievances. They set about doing their own boosting for the coming festival, getting the Emu Bay & Mount Lyell Railways to provide concessions, and negotiating with Thomas Cook & Son in Melbourne.³ The East Coast was also roused to action in 1922 by controversy over its transport links with the capital. The *Mercury* hailed this, saying "Fear God and take your own part," Roosevelt's maxim, is a version of "Self help" which ought to commend itself to all'. The paper claimed the advent of motor-car tourism was the major stimulant of the revival.⁴

Back in the city ports, brass bands were organised to hail the interstate boats as they arrived at the wharves. As the first shipload of 'Back to' tourists arrived in Hobart the *Mercury's* editorial 'Welcome Back' waxed lyrical on the movement. There were two

1. BRADB.

2. Ex and DT, 19-25/10/22.

3. Advo, 20/10/22, 22/10/22, 25/10/22 and 4/11/22.

4. Merc, 18/10/22. Starved of good roads, East Coasters depended largely on circuitous sea transport and saw motors as their salvation. A canal project aimed at reducing nautical mileage was very slow coming. The canal was unsuccessful due to silting, and attention returned to roads and a trans-Derwent Bridge. See TPP 1919/61, 1927/17 and 1927/27.

Casmanian Government Tourist Bureau.

NOVEMBER 1922.

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PICTURESQUE TASMANIA

"BACK TO TASMANIA"
FORTNIGHT

CHEAP
FARES
From



Nov. 13 to 24
Good for
Return
till Dec. 5.

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L.F. Reynolds
AUSTRALIA'S
PLAYGROUND

'superb adventures' in life 'the return to the familiar and the invasion of the unknown.

But as a poet had once said:

There's a joy in climbing mountains; in fording rushing brooks;
In poking into places we've read about in books;
In meeting stranger peoples with unfamiliar looks.

But the joy of joys is ours, untouched by any pain,
When we take the homebound steamer, and catch the homebound train:
There's nothing half so pleasant as coming home again!

Still, there was need to remind the homecomers to approach their past with caution. The passage of years can inflate the memory, sentiment can enlarge the vision of objects known in youth. There was a danger that Hobartians, having lived in bigger cities, would view their old town with disdain, and thus the paper asked them to maintain a sense of perspective to avoid disappointment.¹

The Festivities

The fortnight organised by the TGTD was to run 13-26 November, but neither Launceston nor Hobart was willing to let it go at that. Launceston's official program extended from 13 November to 2 December; Hobart's from the 17th to the 2nd. City and town councils helped dress up the streets in 'holiday garb'. Launceston invested £120 in the proceedings. Tramcars were illuminated with coloured lights. Motivated by its own public relations and advertising needs, the Hydro-Electric department assisted with some big lighting displays at monster sports gatherings, 'Medleyanas' and 'Fancy Dress Football Matches'. The latter, at the new North Hobart Sports Ground, was preceded by a mock wedding and gymnastic pyramids, followed by music (including jazz) and dramatics, and attended by 15,000 people.

Mayoral receptions drew large crowds, as did concerts, balls, *conversaciones* and *palais de danses*. The tentatively hoped for warm weather eventuated. Everything was open late, including shops, museums, art galleries and parks. Launceston's Cataract Gorge and Cliff Grounds formed the venue for an extraordinary aquatic carnival attracting 5000 spectators, and large processions in many towns involved all community groups. Other events included band contests, athletics, and water sports carnivals with 'coloured fire' displays. A carnival at Long Beach, Sandy Bay was so successful as to demand a repeat performance the following Saturday. It was followed by a 'seaside dance' at the Ozone Tea Rooms, where guests were entertained by Reg Rees's Jazzola Band. Then, of course, there were all the usual natural attractions to see: Mount Wellington, National Park, Port Arthur and the like. One hotel offered the advantages of a dual revisitation: the *Victoria Tavern* announced that 'Victorians "Back

¹. *Merc*, 11/11/22. All papers provided daily coverage through November and into December.

to Tassy” could obtain their favourite Victoria Bitter’ there. BTT soon proved a bonanza for tourist providers and business in general: and thus it enthused the press.¹

The TGTD had produced a series of flyers with fares and conditions on one side and each centre’s program on the other. In large letters they urged Tasmanians to ‘PLEASE SEND THIS TO YOUR FRIENDS ON THE MAINLAND.’ They had a sense of urgency, warning readers such an event was ‘not likely to be repeated in this generation.’ But the size of the crowds drawn to Hobart inspired at least the *Mercury* to hope for a repeat performance every year. The crucial ingredient for this to happen appeared to be the cheap excursion fares on the steamers.² Though often mooted, they had not been given in the past. Once proven effective, the shipping companies would be pressured to allow them annually at the fringe of the summer season. Naturally all this worked to the advantage of Emmett’s plans for ‘all-year-round’ tourism in Tasmania.

TGTD Popularity Tested

It comes as some surprise that amid all the congratulation and self-congratulation that characterised the BTT functions, anti-TGTD found voice. This occurred in parliament on 14 November in the debate over the departmental estimate for the coming year. George Becker could still find it within himself to deny the TGTD was ‘responsible for bringing a single extra tourist to Tasmania.’ Pointing to the expensiveness of the Hobart bureau, inefficiencies, and the ‘excessive’ salary of ET Emmett (£600), he moved to reduce the vote by £1 to indicate lack of confidence in the present arrangements. The TGTD, he said, should be placed under the TGR Commissioner’s sole control, and Emmett should ‘be found some more useful position.’ Mainland Bureaux should be handed over to commercial tourist agencies. The savings should be used to market the fruits of Tasmanian soil.

Government members, however, sprang to defend tourism in general and Emmett in particular. Railways Minister McPhee asserted that ‘Tasmania is a tourist state’. He told how the Brisbane TGTB had ‘induced’ a man bound for Japan to change plans and bring his family to the apple isle. ‘That man paid over a cheque for £200 before he left the office.’ Emmett, he said, was ‘worth every penny he was paid.’ How could the likes of Becker argue with figures showing revenue of £70,000 for an expenditure of £9800?! The Bureau was an investment Tasmania could *not* do without: ‘It advertised the State in all parts of the world, and the results were constantly coming to hand.’ Charles Grant and Walter Lee agreed that ‘to abolish it or curtail its activities would be a retrograde step.’

¹. *Ibid.*, 15/11/22. See also programs: For Launceston, a pink handbill in LCCC Box 40/D Folder 33/1, for Hobart, Hobart Citizens’ Committee, *op. cit.*

². *Merc.*, 15/11/22.

No-one spoke in favour of Becker's motion, but four Labor members voted with him: Lyons, Belton, O'Keefe and Ogilvie.¹ They were using dissatisfaction about the railways in general to divide the government.² That very day, an enquiry into the TGR administration and management was announced, but the tourist vote of £10,688 passed through.³ It was up over £750 on 1921-22 and for another year stemmed the advocates of retrenchment.

The Back to Tasmania movement no doubt contributed to parliament's act of faith. The vote was welcomed by friends of Emmett. Reg Meaburn had recently pointed to the success of the Hobart Citizens' Committee as vindication of his claim that private enterprise was more effective than government. Clive Lord responded snarkily, lauding the Bureaux's promotional work at home and abroad. Not only were newspapers and journals employed, but hotel foyers, trains and train stations, ships and ferries sported large views advertising the state, often to the exclusion of all others. Indeed:

There can be no question concerning the benefits that must arise in the future from this advertising, and surprising to note the changed tone towards Tasmania that is adopted by mainlanders today. Whereas a few years ago the mention of Tasmania caused a smile, it now causes a quickened interest and immediate enquiries concerning our tourist resorts and commercial possibilities, in view of the Hydro-Electric Department scheme and attendant industries.⁴

Meaburn kept up the attack regardless. So now William Lloyd, secretary of Meaburn's model body, also defended the TGTD. He pointed out that Emmett had done all the early organisation, including inviting the ANA to take the lead it had. The Committee's only contribution to mainland advertising was £20 for the national magazines *Table Talk* and *Graphic*. All other work in that regard had been done by the Bureaux, including three special BTT issues of its monthly *Picturesque Tasmania*. Beyond the government contribution was the municipal support offered by the HCC, without which it was doubtful the movement would have gone ahead. Although the public spirit shown by 'scores of committee-men' (and women) was remarkable, the success of the movement was no argument for retrenchment of government enterprise.⁵

Even 'outsiders' were drawn to defend the department. At Hobart's Mayoral reception JRH Lewis of Brisbane assured aggressors that without the TGTD:

many people would know nothing of Tasmania. Nor would they know what to do with themselves when in the state. The bureau is most active in its work, and, to put it merely at its commercial value, it brings a lot of money into Tasmania.⁶

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1. *World & Merc*, 15/11/22.
 2. *Merc*, editorial, 15/11/22.
 3. *World & Merc*, 15/11/22.
 4. *Merc*, 16/11/22.
 5. *Ibid.*, 4/12/22.
 6. *Ibid.*, 18/11/22.

That Lewis was news editor of the *Brisbane Telegraph* was mentioned in the *Mercury* report. That he and Emmett were allies (at least by profession) was not.¹

Lewis was one of numerous non-Tasmanians attracted by the 'Back to' gathering. He said he probably would not have come but for the 'inducement' of RS Jowett, the Brisbane TGTB manager, who showered him with literature.² Jowett reported he had despatched over 150 people to Tasmania for the Tasmanian revival. Overall, in his words, it had been 'an unqualified success', the extra publicity bringing his bureau attention from many who previously knew nothing of the state's tourist facilities.³ Victoria and NSW sent the most people south. Early in the piece Webb reported heavy bookings.⁴ Overall figures have not been located, but suffice to say that throughout November the ships from Sydney and Melbourne ran at double their usual half capacity.

A Success?

Assessing the actual success of the Back to Tasmania movement is fraught with difficulties, mainly because of statistical deficiencies. How, for instance, did the BTT campaign effect short-term migration? The available figures⁵ unfortunately do not cover individual months, so we have to deal in quarters. Arrivals at Tasmanian ports in the 1922 December quarter were actually 78 fewer than in the previous corresponding period (1922:14,135 cf. 1921:14,213). Yet we know December-like boat loads were arriving right through November and December. Possibly the increased November traffic was offset by an October decrease. We know official BTT travellers numbered at least 1200.⁶ So the figures seem to suggest many of them would have come home for their holidays anyway: they simply re-scheduled their holidays to fit in with the cheap fares.

In the longer term, comparison of the two corresponding March quarters (1922 and 1923) shows an increase of 976 (14,654 cf. 13,678). The two 'summer quarters' of the 1922-23 financial year enjoyed an arrivals increase of 898 over the previous corresponding period (28,789 cf. 27,891).⁷ This suggests BTT advertising had the *ongoing* general effect Emmett envisioned. Yet none of these figures allows for other variables, (such as increasing oversea settler immigration⁸), which tend to diminish the

1. The *Brisbane Telegraph*, 3/8/22 praised a Tasmanian apple exhibit at the Brisbane Royal Show arranged by TGTB, the model tourist department. "The little bit that slipped off" is well represented.' It was Emmett's business to foster rapport with pressmen such as Lewis.

2. *Merc.* 18/11/22.

3. *Ibid.*, 11/11/22. *Advo.* 2/12/22.

4. *Merc.* 15/11/22.

5. These are culled from Tasmanian Statistics, annually in *TPP*.

6. *DT*, 14/3/23, report of LPA AGM. Emmett is reported saying that 'Only 12,000 people came to island' through the BTT arrangements. The figure is absurd, however it appears to be a typographical error and suggests that he actually said 1200.

7. And the entire year 1922-23 showed the even smaller increase of 473 over 1921-22 (42,669 cf. 42,196).

8. See *Merc.* 27/12/22.

increase attributable to tourists. And there is no way of knowing how general economic, climatic and other conditions added to or lessened the flow of tourists. We are therefore left believing the net interstate tourist effect of BTT was rather below the expectations of its energetic supporters. TGT D revenues rose by about £6,400 in the BTT year while expenditure increased less than £900. But the TGT D was reluctant to publish detailed financial breakdowns and this might obscure the possibility that increased domestic tourism was generated by the heavy entertainment programs created, especially in the cities. Whatever the case it is undeniable that the movement had the desired result of bringing forward, to November, the start of the usual season.

What is most notable about BTT is not so much its effect on overall tourist intake as on local provision of tourist entertainments and the boost it gave to the "hospitality ethic", the "tourist-mindedness" of Tasmanians. In this regard anecdotal evidence suggests regional divergences. Hobart's 'fortnight' was undoubtedly the state's most successful. The *Mercury* consistently judged it 'an unqualified success', a firm basis for another record season and yet another sign of Tasmania's progressive bent.¹ Hotels and boarding houses had not done as well as expected because many returnees stayed with relatives,² but the extra visitors stimulated transport, service and retail sectors. Moreover, their presence and observations helped boost community awareness and feeling. Comments on unsightly buildings and hoardings, street surfaces, stray dogs, sanitation and a host of related issues gave the town planning movement impetus. 'Undue' fascination with convictry and the Vandiemonian past gave rise to a surge of defensive Tasmanian patriotism. Compliments as to the industrial progress of the city also helped boost local pride.³

Perhaps most significantly, the Hobart Citizen's Committee had shown what could be done with sufficient arousal and organisation of civic enthusiasm. When it was all over McKenzie published a letter from Chamber of Commerce councillor Charles Lamprill, one of the major contributors of time and money. Lamprill urged the movement not to drop: the committee should become a 'permanent institution for forwarding the tourist movement in Hobart.' It would greatly assist the 'well managed' Tourist Bureau, especially if it was intended to promote annually a function similar to BTT.⁴ Largely as a result of his work on the campaign, and the exposure it gave him, McKenzie was re-elected Mayor.⁵

1. *Ibid.*, 6/12/22.

2. *Ibid.*, 25/11/22.

3. See example *Merc.*, 8/12/22. Speeches at official functions brimmed with the rhetoric of progress and particularly industrialisation.

4. *Merc.*, 14/12/22. In *ibid.*, 3/2/23 and 16/2/23 'Mercurius' noted some suggestions for future "'Back to Tasmania" how-do-ye-do's.' He lampooned suggestions for the wearing of identifying ribbons by returnees as probably coming from a Tasmanian Drapers' Association.

5. *Ibid.*, 11/12/22.



Ernest Douglas Pinkard

Launceston did not fare so well. AW Monds lauded the LPA's 'splendid' handling of the movement and promised ongoing municipal support, but he also warned that, 'If it was to benefit the city to the fullest extent ... it must have the whole-hearted support of the citizens.' ID Carr agreed. In fact, the 'scheme was not the success hoped for, the association did remarkably well considering the rather poor support given it by the public.' Many people had seen the movement as created for the benefit of traders, not the city generally, and refused to help them line their pockets. Licensed Victuallers' secretary Len A Bennett (1875-1928)¹ reported that when canvassing for subscriptions 'many people seemed to think they wanted something for themselves.' The Committee turned a profit of £65 on its BTT activities, but this was considered small, and had already been diminished by other LPA activities, leaving a credit balance for the year of less than £24. Membership stood around 150.²

The reasons for lack of general public support were amplified by ED Pinkard and a controversially left-wing Catholic priest, Father NM McNally,³ who criticised the LPA for being 'only a tourist association', for concentrating on 'trivial matters that would not greatly benefit the city.' While fostering tourist traffic was one of its functions, the association should 'pay more attention to the practical progress of the city', especially sewerage, deep water port development, a Greater Launceston and the attraction of manufacturers and settlers. The latter would be of far greater value than tourists 'who spent a few pounds and then left.' Pinkard raised cheers with his comment that, 'One industry established was better than several thousand tourists.' Living outside the city proper, he was well acquainted with what it meant to do without comforts and facilities enjoyed by the denizens of Windmill Hill, the choice residential area where most of the LPA's higher officials made their homes. Greater Launceston would create a larger ratable area and allow a more equitable spread of municipal facilities. Implicit in the criticism was the idea alluded to by Carr: that the LPA was dominated by those who would benefit most directly from increased tourist population, the commercial-civic elite. But Carr's drift was that people should be made to recognise tourism's indirect benefits flowed through the whole community.

McNally felt concentration on tourist work reflected a failure to 'take themselves more seriously.' Others flew to Carr and Garrott's support. Frank Heyward 'regretted that the tourist work was depreciated'. In Europe, Switzerland 'lived on tourists', and 'He thought it ungrateful to decry the work in this connection.' Peel Salisbury, president of the Chamber of Manufactures, also knocked the knockers. The LPA's program had merely been a trifle ambitious and they would have to 'learn to crawl

1. Bennett was 'a pioneer of the Labor movement in Launceston' (obituary in *Merc.*, 18/6/28).

2. *Ex.* 9/3/22. 14/3/22.

3. McNally was particularly noticed by Robson, *op. cit.* for his sectarian activities as member of the United Irish League. In 1918 he clashed with Bill Gellie, a 'frequent anti-Labor correspondent' who was secretary of the Autocar Club and later headed the Launceston Fifty Thousand League.

before they could walk.' Emmett and Bruce were also present at the AGM. The former agreed settlers were more valuable than tourists, 'but tourists often became settlers.' The Launcestonians:

should not be discouraged, but rather encouraged, when they attempted big things and failed. The Association had done invaluable work in bringing tourists and boosting the attractions of Launceston.

Emmett linked his Bureaux with the Hydro-Electric Department as the state's chief attractions, and ensured those present that bodies such as theirs also had a definite place in the overall scheme of booming.

The Launceston press supported Emmett's exhortation to keep up the good work. However the *Daily Telegraph* felt tourism should take a back seat to making the city more attractive to industry, commerce and residents. The *Examiner* suggested the LPA create a specialist tourist section: sometimes to perform 'stunts' like BTT, but mainly for civic propaganda purposes. There was still:

valuable work to be done in combating the insidious doctrine that Hobart is Tasmania, and Launceston merely a necessary evil en route with nothing to attract the visitor. Too many come to Tasmania with that impression.

The old TGR bogey still existed:

Everyone appreciates the desire of the Railways Commissioner and his staff to get visitors on to as many railway lines as possible, but it is for the Launceston people in their own interest to see that their fair city and the beautiful country around is not 'done' in a day or a few minutes, as is so often the case.

The LPA could work with the TGTD, but only with strengthened support from the public: 'It must have funds, and the active sympathy of citizens if it is to fulfil its task...'¹ It was patent that Launceston's leaders would have to fight for more tourists, not just as an end in itself, but also as a means of increasing general public awareness and support for movements like the LPA. When the movement matured later in the 1920s convenors were careful to include all classes of residents.

Most active of the smaller towns was the Deloraine Improvement Association, whose Back to Tasmania concert was well attended.² They also staged a 'Euchre Tournament', 'Juvenile Ball', a *palais de danse* at the Town Hall, a procession, carnival and 'Big Sports Day' at the race-course.³ But despite the *Advocate's* early enthusiasm, the Back to Tasmania fortnight fizzled on the North West and West Coasts. No 'coastal tourist council' eventuated. Although there were numerous activities going on, few of the paper's reports of agricultural shows, picnic excursions and sports events mentioned BTT at all. The *Advocate* did not even profit from any spate of BTT-inspired advertising. Unlike the city papers, it carried only one corny,

1. Ex & DT, 14/3/22, 15/3/23.

2. Advo, 21/11/22.

3. Picturesque Tasmania, November 1922.

sentimental Back to Tasmania poem.¹ Wynyard had a fairly successful aquatic carnival, a memorial ball at Burnie was poorly attended, losing most of its potential crowd to the local golf club dance.² And on the West Coast only one event was reported (and that only by Launceston's *Telegraph*). The organiser of a 'Back to Tasmania stunt' at Linda expected over 400 to 'go over the hill from Queenstown' but there was no mention of any ex-pats attending.³

The reason for lack of BTT activity on the North-West and West Coasts obviously lies in the decentralised nature of their population. Individually none of the many town's could provide sufficient events to fill a fortnight's agenda and attract large numbers. While cooperation was strong enough to produce a combined-towns tourist guide, sub-regional groupings (centring mainly on Devonport and Burnie) prevented any effective overall organisation. Even within sub-regions, each town wanted to stage its own events, and the consequent clashes diluted the effectiveness of all effort. Thus even expatriate Coasters were lured beyond their home towns to enjoy the entertainments available in the cities. Some only spent one night with their old families before heading off to Launceston or Hobart.⁴

As in so many things, population density and community cohesion was the key. Hobart's 54,000 people gave economy of scale. Launceston and suburbs contained half that number. Little wonder, therefore, that the *Examiner* had been talking about forming a 'Fifty Thousand League' to boost population.⁵ More stimulus was needed, however, and it soon came: though not initially from within. Events affecting the government, the TGR and TGTD in 1923-24 provided the conditions for a full return to the forceful local voluntarism missing since 1917.

Whether Emmett was forcing or tapping civic voluntarism when he promoted the Back to Tasmania campaign is open to question. Whatever the case, it was ironical that the feeling aroused should turn against him and his department. In 1923 an attack from a newspaper correspondent finally prompted him to acerbic defence. 'Launcestonian' told the *Daily Telegraph* that the Adelaide TGTB had given a party of South Australian tourists an itinerary arriving at Burnie but proceeding directly to Launceston. To their great disappointment, they had not been told about the tourist spots on the Coast. Nor had they been told about the East Coast resorts. The solution was simple:

1. *Advo*, 23/11/22.

2. *Ibid.*, 1/12/22.

3. *DT*, 14/3/22.

4. *Advo*, 24/11/22.

5. *Ex*, 3/2/22. The concept had been around for years. In LCC press cuttings appears an *SMH*, 6/1/14 article on Alex Hume Ford, editor *Mid-Pacific Magazine*. Addressing the Millions Club, he talked about his Christmas in the Blue Mountains and the lessons they could learn from America. Electric trams should provide extensive public transport and develop ahead of needs to encourage growth of population. Towns and small cities should have ten, twenty, thirty or fifty thousand clubs and work in with the state Tourist Bureau to build trails and tracks, improve access and hassle government to build train and tramways. Railways could help 'keep a country a white man's country.'

the sooner our Tourist Department is moved from the control of Mr Commissioner Smith and his assistants the better, especially on the mainland.¹

Emmett was exasperated. Tourists could only see so much in the limited time available to them. Tasmania was the only Commonwealth state where they could break journey on pre-purchased tickets: a 'special grant' by the Commissioner, aimed directly at helping the North-West. He asserted his department's major goal of spreading tourists over the island and attacked the motives of his aggressor.

I do not, as a rule, reply to press correspondents. I am aware that trying to stamp out the North v South feeling is like trying to stamp out a volcano, and each letter causes a fresh eruption.

But he had to defend his managers, pointing out they were all originally Northerners themselves. As civil servants they were well 'accustomed to being vilified'. Their only consolation besides a 'pittance' salary was the large number of tourists who called to thank them for their holidays. Given his position, it is not surprising Emmett's reply ignored the supposed conflict of interests between his department and the TGR. Instead he returned to his boosting, urging constructive community effort:

Unless we cease criticising one another and turn our attention to an extended system of advertising, and take practical steps in the opening up of [resorts] we are not only going to fail to surpass this present record tourist season, but are going to lose some of the valuable traffic we now enjoy.

Here was the booster knocking the knockers and boosting his boost. There was more:

Apathy of our competitors has assisted us. Some at least of them are showing signs of larger activities, and *The Age* reminds us about once a fortnight that we have lived on their tourists far too long. The steamer fare is a big item. In bad seasons mainland farmers and business men, and in periods of retrenchment civil servants and employees generally, will be likely to seek their recreation closer home. We have got to meet this situation by renewed activity.²

As 1923 progressed TGR troubles deepened. Complaints on all sides about railway management generally were focussed by a reunified and ambitious Labor Party to bring on a royal commission. This placed Emmett under a great deal of pressure. He no doubt saw real danger of his own department falling victim to government retrenchment. This would cause a vacuum in tourist boosting. Clearly he wanted his fellow Tasmanians to be ready to step in and defend his role or, if necessary, fill it. Whatever the case, he would not go down without a fight.

1. DT, 17/4/23.

2. *Ibid.*, 30/4/23.

Part Three Retrenchment and Resurgence

Evelyn Emmett described the years 1923-24 to 1927 as 'a period of doldrums for the Bureau'.¹ After a royal commission TGTD funding and scope were cut and his own position as Director was abolished by an 'economy government'. Administration devolved to the TGR Commissioner. He adamantly defended the Bureaux against abolition advocates but was unable to give tourism his full personal attention, and anyway refused to spend much advertising while shipping uncertainty prevailed. Tourist traffic declined markedly. In response the voluntary energy of commercial-civic leaders began to expand. Boosters stepped forward to boom their own districts. They claimed the pursuit of local interests also furthered 'national' prosperity, but had no mechanism for intrastate cooperation and tended to rivalry. Through 1924-25 "outside forces" unified the Tasmanians. Then in 1926 a full-scale campaign, promulgated by Hobart businessmen, affiliated regional bodies and the TGR into a state-wide Come To Tasmania Organisation (CTTO).

Helped by an increased tourist vote it enjoyed great success, reactivating the tourist industry. Substantial achievement in state-wide cooperation prompted the organisation's leaders to seek a future as a permanent alternative to the TGTD. In 1927 branches promised to support retention of the central executive, but only if the government would fund it. They directed their own limited financial resources to local ends and also sought government funding. The government was unwilling and TGR bureaucrats resisted. Given this reality, and the recovery in state finances, people called confidently for restoration of direct state involvement. Thus the 1927-28 tourist bureau vote returned to pre-Royal Commission levels and the state's caves and lake-side accommodation houses were placed under direct TGR control with large new budgets. 1928 saw Emmett safely back in his old job.

Though politics played their part, the above developments were largely determined by state finances. Answers to a mounting deficit problem were sought in a restructure of State-Commonwealth economic and political relations. This generated a number of revealing economic reports, most of which stressed the importance of tourism. The idea was, put simply, "to get things moving". Again the developmental triad was appealed to: hydro-industrialisation (now assisted by city council "bonusing" by provision of cheap factory sites, cheap power and other inducements), immigration (admittedly restricted to a narrow band of eligibles) and the tourist industry. All of these called for a boosting campaign such as never experienced before in Tasmania's

¹. ETE t.s. p. 7.

history. Slow-paced economic recovery helped reawaken a more strident, business-led anti-Federalism and a "let's-do-it-ourselves" mentality characterised by a plethora of extra-governmental vigilance groups and extreme boosterism.

Numerous important industries had established in Tasmania in the period 1917-23. They were attracted with the boast of 'the cheapest power in the Commonwealth.' But 1922 saw relaxation of large scale urban industrial growth, and a shift in Hydro policy saw the grid expanding to benefit the agricultural centres. It is interesting therefore that efforts by the two urban centres to boost industrial development reached new heights in the years from 1923. Lyons's government took every opportunity to advance Tasmanian interests and was highly successful in gaining enough Commonwealth financial assistance to lift the balance sheet and reduce taxation. But in the mid 1920s real leadership came from commercial interests less bounden by the constraints of official protocol. Rising expectations thwarted, people took matters into their own hands when government agencies were retrenched. Boosterism was now on the wax in Mother England, a nation also suffering the economic legacy of war. Recognition of this made it easier for Tasmanians to ignore their earlier distaste for American publicity and advertising methods.

Remarkably, another source of unbridled optimism came from the traditional seat of protocol. Governor James O'Grady, appointed in 1924, was an ex Labor member of the House of Commons with a background in the trades. He likened his diplomatic work to that of a 'commercial traveller'. His outspoken and enthusiastic patronage of leading elements was sought with an eagerness motivated by far more than simple good form. Driven by Rotarianism and other new or revived societies aimed at providing leadership to heal a fractured society, the growth of 'civic consciousness' filled the vacuum left by government insolvency. Their recognition of tourism as a socio-economic motor was crucial to their own success and the future shape of Tasmanian development.

8 'A MOST RETROGRADE STEP'—TGTD RETRENCHMENT

A Political Lynching

Royal Commissions are usually held by a government unable to handle the situation.

Tasmanian Premier Ray Groom on ABC Radio, 29 June 1992.

That the 1923 Royal Commission into the TGR was politically motivated has been amply demonstrated. Resurgent Labor used charges against the TGR to force the unstable Nationalist-Country coalition into an enquiry which would demonstrate its loss of control over the State's finances. The government in turn appointed compliant commissioners who would place blame for heavy losses on Wishart Smith's shoulders. Smith, who had been warning his political masters for years, became a 'scapegoat' for the state's financial troubles. The investigational methods and final report of the Royal Commission were easily exposed as deficient. Despite his many opponents, Smith gained popular support. Business people were disgusted with the prevalence of 'party politics'. Losing faith in the Nationalist-Country coalition's 'swap ministry', they helped force a change to Labor. Lee's final executive act was to sack Smith. Labor pressed ahead with retrenchments and demoted the 'Ex-Commissioner's Men'. Smith claimed wrongful dismissal. In 1924 the government realised the strength of his case and settled out-of-court, though Smith was not reappointed. Previous studies of these events have not considered the Royal Commission's drastic effect on the TGTD.¹

From the very start the *Mercury* opposed the Royal Commission (RC) on grounds of expense and futility. It accused Labor of collecting 'trumpery complaints' about freight rates and using the 'seething discontent' of railwaymen for political purposes.² The *Examiner* held a similar view,³ and both papers nodded smugly when rank-and-file 'grumblers' in the TGR withdrew in protest at the choice of commissioners.⁴ When the government assured the continuance of the RC, the *Mercury* took a more subtle tack. It welcomed the enquiry as a chance to investigate the TGR's political masters. It asked that the enquiry name all lines built for political purposes, and urged that Smith and his officials be given a fair deal.⁵ Later, when it appeared that they were not, the paper deprecated the putting of officials 'on trial for doing their jobs'.⁶

1. Turner, Roger *op.cit.* Chapter 3. See also Wettenhall. *Guide... op. cit.* p. 259.
 2. *Merc.* 15/11/22.
 3. *Ex.* 23/3/23.
 4. *Merc.* 21/2/23. *Ex.* 23/2/23.
 5. *Merc.* 16/3/23.
 6. *Ibid.* 16/6/23.

The Inquisitors

Chosen as RC chairman was George W Stead, an English emigré who had succeeded Smith as manager of the Westralian Midland Railways. His recent adverse report on the West Australian Government Railways had been refuted and dropped. Though this was public knowledge, Lee pressed on, strengthening the claim that Stead was deliberately chosen to produce a negative report on Smith's administration. At the first hint of public criticism Stead tendered his resignation. The government rejected it. Stead thereafter displayed an antagonism to Smith which the latter could claim tainted his objectivity.

Railways Minister McPhee found businessmen unwilling to sit on the RC.¹ For some time it seemed Stead would proceed alone. After protests from both sides of politics² government appointed a midlands farmer, Alfred William Burbury (1865-1944), and a Hobart businessman, Frank Lindsay Gunn (1869-1928), CBE.³ Leslie Norman (1876-1954) was appointed secretary. An expert stenographer, he was a quondam TGR cashier and Railways Employees Association committee man,⁴ now rather tenuously employed in the Industrial Department. An individualist who saw himself as 'too good for the public service', he was third generation Tasmanian with deeply felt historic roots. Closely associated with the secessionist Tom Murdoch, he was nearing the peak of an interesting if financially insecure life as a Tasmanian booster.⁵

Neither unions nor northern business interests were asked to provide commissioners. This gave them every freedom to vent their concerns. Announcing the new personnel, McPhee stressed his main objective was not to salve the railwaymen but go into the whole problem of railway finances in an attempt to find economies and efficiencies capable of reducing the TGR's burden on the taxpayer.⁶ After much public debate the RC was given broad terms of reference.⁷

1. *Ibid.*, 21/2/23 says this was because so much 'cheap political criticism' had been thrown at a recent ad hoc 'Economy Board's' enquiry into the other state departments (for which see *TPP* 1922/58).

2. *Merc*, 7/3/23.

3. Burbury was recommended by the Tasmanian Farmers', Stockowners' and Orchardists' Association. He was a well-known, wealthy Outlands pastoralist. JP, town councillor and future Nationalist MHA (see *BRTF*). A 'leading Hobart businessman', Gunn came via the Hobart Chamber of Commerce. He was son of Thomas of J&T Gunn, Launceston, timber merchants. In 1924 he was president of the Hobart Chamber of Manufacturers. He came to Hobart in 1907 and amalgamated with the 60 year old business of F&E Crisp to become Crisp & Gunn Co-op Co., big building suppliers in Melville Street. Another director was builder and Mayor JA McKenzie. (See *Merc*, 70 year supplement, 5/7/24).

4. *Merc*, 16/7/14. Norman also had experience as a bench clerk in the Launceston police court.

5. Norman was by 1899 on the committee of the Derwent Rowing Club (see *ET*). He had a life-time connection with aquatic sports and wrote several books on Tasmanian maritime history. Don Norman's autobiography, 'A Tasmanian Life' (1987; t.s. held in Tasmaniana Library, Hobart) gives insight into the character of his father. Leslie was closely involved in the Hobart Regatta Association, Tasmanian Rights League, Come to Tasmania Organisation, Dominion League, and etc. Always financially poor, he craved the company and acceptance of those he saw as socio-economic superiors. Judging by his output in the 1920s he worked with dedication for their approval.

6. *Merc*, 16/3/23.

7. 'To inquire into and report upon the system of the State Railways of Tasmania, and recommend such alterations and improvements as may be advisable for the economical and efficient working of such railways with due regard to adequate services, and to investigate and report upon the competition with the State

The threat to the TGTD posed by an enquiry into TGR matters was obvious to Emmett, who was already preparing a publicity campaign to counter his enemies. The first publication ever of a TGTD annual report was in October 1922, only a few weeks before Lyons formally called for the enquiry. Emmett's 1922 *Complete Guide to Tasmania* recognised 'the yeoman work' done by local tourist associations, but pushed the advantages of government administration.¹ While motor interests gathered their own evidence,² he called the first ever conference of country tourist associations. He again pointed to Victorian moves to compete with Tasmania for tourists: further reason for maintaining TGTD presence at full strength.³ Through February-April 1923 a deal of anti- and pro-TGTD literature appeared in the papers. People again called for separation from the TGR, but status quo supporters were at hand. In the *Examiner* 'Nuff Said' and 'Appreciative Tourist' warned Launcestonians government would shut their TGTB if they kept crying "stinking fish". The *Mercury* published most positive eulogies alongside an editorial attacking the knockers.⁴

Thus although the TGTD was not central to the calls for the RC it was soon embroiled. Emmett sat on the Railways Classification Board, which cut wages for the lowest-paid while increasing management salaries.⁵ This made him anathema to the Railway Employees Association (REA). Counsel for the REA was Charles Chant (d.1950), a Hobart labour lawyer associated with Albert Ogilvie.⁶ Ostensibly representing only the men, Chant was also essentially "chief prosecutor" for private

Railways of Tasmania by water carriage and motor traffic by means of tramways, motors, and other methods of transport, and generally to inquire into, and report and advise upon, the organisation, maintenance, and control of the State Railways of Tasmania, and to make such other and further enquiries as we shall deem advisable.' (See *TPP* 1923/18.)

1. 'Visitors now know where to write for reliable information, and where to call, on arrival in Hobart, so as to do best with the time at their disposal. The State itself having control, sees that its guests are properly looked after. Wherever traffic springs up, there will be found—as is evidenced by the clamorous attention of touts in certain European cities—people ready to exploit tourists. It is impossible, even were it desirable, for the Government to regulate private enterprise in this direction, but the Government Tourist Department may be relied upon to smooth the path, and make easy the way, of visitors to the State. The State is fortunate in having the assistance of tourist and progress associations in many parts of the Island. That these bodies are doing yeoman work is fully recognised by the Government, which aims at coordinating and supplementing their efforts.' See TGTD, *Complete Guide to Tasmania (Beautiful Tasmania for health, Holidays, Pleasure & Sport)* (Hobart: TGTD: 1922). p. v.
2. In parliament they forced him to provide financial figures for the Adelaide and Brisbane bureaux (see *Merc.* 27/2/23).
3. *Ibid.*, 27/2/23. Emmett suggested this to Smith on 2/2/23 and circularised the associations on 23/2/23. On 20/7/23 he circularised agenda items and asked for further suggestions. The conference was held in Launceston on 7/8/23. (Documentation in Lilydale Council records, held in QVMAG.)
4. *Merc.* 26/3/23.
5. Likewise locomotive superintendent RW Connor, who denied he had threatened retribution to men 'who "put the dirt"' after the RC was finished (see *Merc.* 20/4/23 and 22/5/23).
6. Chant was admitted to the Tasmanian bar on 23/5/22 (Walch's *Tasmanian Almanac*, 1923). Ob. 31/10/50. Don Norman says he was called 'Charlie Chan' (after the movies' Chinese detective). Ogilvie's partner, Chant was a school-mate of Thomas Arthur Okines (1873-1927), partner of Ogilvie and 'life-long friend' of Webster-Rometch's general manager Colin Kennedy. Okines and Ogilvie represented the firm in its ongoing battles with the Tourist Bureau. Okines was a long-term member of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce and an unsuccessful ALP candidate in the 1925 Legislative Council elections (see *Merc.*, c. 17/6/25). In 1927 he was undone by his own evidence to an enquiry into the Public Trustee's Office. He had misused public funds to help business partners. He died, apparently by suicide, on 20/9/27. The *Mercury* attributed his distress to the fact he had been required to divulge confidential dealings about his many clients. Dave Haywood, a Liverpool Street hairdresser-tobacconist (and therefore trader in street gossip), wrote to the *Mercury* suggesting Okines had been shot (*Merc.* 29/9/27). Ogilvie continued to work for Webster-Rometch, but Lyons had him resign from Cabinet.

enterprise. Though no grievances were aired by Tourist Bureau employees, he attacked the TGTD with zeal. Why? Because the TGTD's old enemy Webster-Rometch paid him to. Of the very handsome £977 Chant got for his work, £100 came from Webster-Rometch. This was publicly revealed only after the RC had reported.¹

The Proceedings

Proceedings opened at Hobart on 20 March 1923 and sittings were held around the island.² Numerous witnesses of varying expertise passed comment on the value and working of the TGTD. Predictable issues were raised. In Launceston Alex Marshall reopened the old question of bringing the TGR's headquarters to the North.³ North-Western witnesses pressed their regional claims.⁴ Many witnesses criticised the TGR and government for inaction dealing with road competition.⁵ Many witnesses hostile to the TGR were satisfied with the work of the TGTD.

Depositions specifically relating to the TGTD took up six sitting days, mainly in Hobart. The TGTD subpoenaed 23 supporters, including an advertising expert, Hobart cinema entrepreneur George B Dean.⁶ None of the branch managers appeared, probably because the role of the mainland TGTBs was not in question. On the 'prosecution' side, Chant's star witnesses were George Rometch and his managing director Colin Kennedy. They were supported by some, but by no means all, motor and hotel operators. Critics attacked TGTD administrative and accounting methods; Emmett's inactivity opening up or encouraging new resorts; his propensity to 'boost unduly'. They claimed it would be more efficient to make the Hobart and Launceston TGTB 'information-only' and leave bookings to private operators.

In a very lengthy deposition⁷ Rometch's first claim was that, contrary to figures Emmett 'caused to be published', tourist numbers in Tasmania were lower since the establishment of the TGTD than before the War. He considered that:

1. *Merc*, 13/12/23. Chant's £977 fee for several months' work might approximate to about \$97,700 in 1993 terms. It was certainly an enriching experience and no doubt explains Chant's change of residential address the same year to the leafy suburb of New Town (see *Wise*). In *Merc*, 16/6/24 a letter from 'Retailer' asked Hobartians to remember that Webster, Rometch had a constant presence in the RC's hearings 'to instruct the solicitor.'

2. Sixty seven sitting days, 232 witnesses and 400-500 exhibits attest to the expense and widespread controversy of the TGR.

3. *Merc*, 10/4/23.

4. HH MacFie and TJ O'Donnell in *Merc*, 20-21/4/23.

5. Some said it could only be combated by improving train services and comforts. Others suggested the introduction of all-lines tickets to attract tourists back. If tourists could buy unlimited train mileage at a cheaper rate than between specific stations they would be less inclined to opt for motor car conveyance (ID Carr and JW Cheek in *Merc*, 14/4/23. HH MacFie, FN Stops and FV Couler, 20/4/23. TJ O'Donnell, 21/4/23. Wynyard Warden J Tabor, 25/4/23). Some pointed out that the TGR could never compete with the speed and convenience of motor transport, not even if train fares were reduced, though Emmett admitted that extra lavatory facilities on trains might have some effect (Harry Lane, *Grand Hotel Devonport* in *Merc*, 19/5/23. Emmett, 22/5/23. Smith, 21/6/23).

6. Dean ran Hobart's Strand Cinema and Dean's Cinema Advertising (see *Wise*). He opened a new cinema in Moonah in 1924 (see *Merc*, 2/6/24). He was referred to as 'a well-known Tasmanian showman' in *Merc*, 29/10/27.

7. *Merc*, 2/5/23.

the increased tourist traffic shown by the bureau's reports was due to the juggling with figures as much as they could to suit their own purposes and make the business look as if it were increasing.

He offered no counter-statistics, but (inaccurately¹) said hoteliers in Hobart would vouch for his claim. His bitterness was tangible. He had been in the business twenty-five years and claimed to have 'really founded the tourist business in Hobart', organising 'every trip that had now become the stereotyped tours' of the TGTD.² Emmett had taken his creation and 'brought others into unfair competition with him' by 'touting' for them. As profits dwindled under these conditions, Webster-Rometch had been forced to retrench. When they dropped some trips Emmett failed to keep them going. This could all be put down to the "government stroke":

There is not the same enthusiasm in running a Government enterprise as is the case with an individual or a company. What incentive is there for Government clerks to cater for tourist when they get the same monetary return whether there is much business or little?

Rometch accused Emmett of 'apathy', of being happy to 'run along in the same old groove', providing visitors with nothing new 'for their delectation'. Emmett was not 'energetic enough [nor] put enough life into the business'.³ Rometch instanced a case where his firm's entrepreneurialism was met by abrupt Departmental threats.⁴ The TGTD's attachment to fairness and decorum might be affordable in a government department but it was anathema to businessmen in charge of large capital demanding healthy returns. For Rometch and Kennedy, Emmett's abhorrence of touting⁵ betrayed an unrealistic, unbusinesslike attitude. All this said something about the different conceptions of tourism's role: as a "fast-buck" industry, or a way to endear outsiders to the state.

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1. The only hoteliers who backed the claim came from the Huon and Channel district, Webster-Rometch's old stamping ground and source of much of its capital. Among those who supported the TGTD schema were: HH Hadley of *Haldey's* and C Belford, *The Imperial* (*Merc*, 2/5/23), *Pressland House* (3/5/23) Mr Chappell, *Swansea Hotel* and J Smithies, *Imperial* (1-2/5/23 and 18/5/23) and Harry Lane (19/5/23).
 2. In New Zealand in 1935 a similar complaint was levelled at the NZTP by Thomas Cook's superintendent. The company said it and other operators had trail-blazed the industry in New Zealand and each innovation had been adopted by the NZTP, coupon tickets, then inclusive tours just as they were 'bringing us some return for the spade work we had done. He went on to talk of the NZTP's 'advantage of controlling the publicity vote from the Treasury, and also of trading free of rates and taxes which as a commercial concern we, of course, have to beat. The Department's coupons and its whole system is based on our work and, in fact, much of its stationery is a replica of our own...' But unlike Webster-Rometch, Cook's solution was not abolition of the government department, rather that the department 'co-operate more heartily with the established travel agencies.' Leslie Watkins, *op. cit.*, points out that the travel agencies were too busy competing with each other to be coordinated enough for a full system of cooperation. The TAANZ was not formed until 1962.
 3. Rometch said the Hobart Bureau's limited opening hours were a case in point; that tourists returned to town from excursions wanting to book trips for the next day only to find that the Bureau was closed. This was worsened by Emmett's policy of insisting that excursionists be returned to the Bureau instead of their temporary residences. In the 'old days' tourists had been picked up from and delivered back to their hotels. Emmett refuted the opening hours complaint. As to the use of Bureau as terminus, he felt his system was more dignified because it discouraged hotel lobby touting.
 4. It circulated leaflets outside the Bureau advertising the benefits of its motor services over horse-drawn traps and advising that tickets could be purchased inside. After talking to Emmett, Smith told the firm that 'if similar tactics are repeated Mr Rometch will not in future be allowed on our premises.'
 5. Touting was actually illegal, though condoned by police when done in decorous manner. *Merc*, 27/6/24: reports a case where a cabman was only charged after defying the police officer concerned.

Colin Kennedy deposed¹ that he 'was only "out" to get a fair deal in respect to private enterprise.' Every move he made to get 'justice' for his company had failed because Emmett, with his railway clerk background, simply did not understand the business: he was 'autocratic', 'a joke, and that was speaking kindly of him.' Kennedy claimed Hobart TGTB staff requested tourists not to ride in Webster-Rometch buses. He asked the Commissioners, 'as business men, to recommend that the bureau be removed from the sphere of discriminating between those to whom it gave its work, and let private enterprise come into its own again.' Enlightened self-interest would ensure a healthy market:

Proper provision would be made by those with the necessary enterprise to cater for tourists, for when dependent on their own resources, it would mean that they would vie with each other in seeing that the industry was looked after, whereas at present it was only the favoured individual who could safely enlarge his plant ...

Although Kennedy agreed the TGTB was 'doing a great work' advertising the state, he made grim play of a publicity 'blunder' committed by the Director when he claimed season 1921-22 was a record. The Prime Minister's used this to justify refusal to relax shipping regulations and give Tasmania more tourists. But the record was 'absolute fallacy' according to Kennedy. Departmental takings may have been higher than before, but the figures represented consolidation of other people's business at the Bureaux, not more tourist visitors. The official January-March arrivals figures for 1914 and 1922 showed a decrease of 1,473 passengers. Tasmania had been denied extra shipping and 'an incorrect statement made by a Government official made it appear that no injustice was done to Tasmania, whereas palpable injustice was done.'

Cross examined on this matter, Emmett was loath to admit culpability. He had to accept the official figures, but denied they 'explained everything' because they covered only a quarterly period. Emmett claimed to be extending the season. Fewer arrivals in the quarter might mean fewer non-tourists travelling, or demonstrate TGTB propaganda's effectiveness in keeping Tasmanian tourists at home. Emmett disputed Chant's suggestion he had 'tried to throw dust in everyone's eyes' and denied he was 'unduly boosting his department.' He did say, however, that he would hold to the value of the TGTB 'in the face of any statistics or statements which might be brought forward.'² His own difficulty furnishing clear records reinforced Chant's charges of mismanagement.

Emmett denied he was running a 'vendetta' against Webster-Rometch and other Hobart operators. They were 'venomous towards him and his management'. Webster-Rometch had always sought a monopoly in Hobart, while the TGTB 'fought the battle of the small motor owner.'³ It gave preference to members of the Motor Hirers'

1. *Ibid.*, 10/5/23

2. *Ibid.*, 21-22/5/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 18/5/23.

Association of Southern Tasmania (MHAST), who gave all their business to the Bureau and fixed a scale of fares which the Bureau upheld. No operator trying to start a price-war would get help from the Bureau: 'Otherwise there would be chaos.' Bureaucratic tendency to level and standardise was apparent here, but when Rometch said the whole TGR was 'swathed in red tape', Emmett responded it was simply a case of being able to quote regular fares. While Commissioner Gunn thought this a 'reasonable business arrangement', it 'suggested a combine' to Burbury.

Burbury's judgement seems closest to the truth. Among the 'small motor owners' of the MHAST were some big city businesses. Robert Nettlefold's and Herbert Heathorn's, for instance: both of which had helped in the demolition of the TTA and its cosy relationship with Webster-Rometch. At least two members were Hobart Aldermen. At their first annual dinner in December 1923, the Bureau was described as 'the heart and soul' of their business. The two guests of honour were Emmett and the Commissioner of Police, who was surprised at the strength of the Association. His first assistant, Superintendent Browne, said this respectable, elite group would 'keep their business clean' and 'prevent individuals getting amongst them who would be undesirable to legitimate motor hirers and a nuisance to the police.' Only thirteen of 130-odd Hobart motor hirers were MHAST members.¹

Report Released and Smith's Reply

The RC submitted its report on 9 July 1923.² It was critical of the TGTD but did not canvass retrenchment and suggested more attention to mainland advertising. Despite the amount of evidence tendered on both sides apropos the value of tourism to the state and the justification for the tourist vote, it decided 'on the data available, these can only be matters of opinion.' It did deem the evidence sufficient to show 'considerable room for improvement in the management' at the Hobart Bureau. Referring to Emmett's inability to counter favouritism claims, it said 'loose' book-keeping and evidence of 'considerable laxity in dealing with the cash' backed Chant's charges. Most stress was laid on the fact that mainland TGTBs had given Smith cash advances and expenses in such a way as to provide an 'avenue for fraudulent payments'. This reflected more on the Commissioner than the Bureaux.

The whole report attacked Smith, his financial methods, management style and failure to foster good relations with staff and public. Its most damning censure concerned the spending of hundreds of thousands of pounds on constructions without waiting for parliamentary approval. While it accepted many of Smith's difficulties resulted from political interference and uncontrollable economic factors, it wondered if

1. *Ibid.*, 12/12/23. The chief policeman was John Ernest Cecil Lord (1870-1949).

2. *TPP* 1923/18.

'effective administration can be obtained under his control.' Smith's detailed reply 'effectively reduced most of the criticisms and recommendations to mere matters of opinion'. In matters where the critique seemed valid, he recalled the complicity of past ministers and parliaments and the failure of officials such as the Auditor General to steer him right.¹ He pointed out that 'after three months' investigation' the RC could only suggest 'alleged' savings of about £11,000 for the whole TGR.²

Smith strongly defended the TGTD, saying many tourist operators and most tourists gave it nothing but praise. The advertising expert, George Dean, had praised the amount and quality of advertising done. As to 'favouritism' and 'loose management', both Stead and Gunn had admitted during the hearings that they were not proved: yet they had proceeded to write an adverse report. They had 'not been fair enough to say that all the charges against the Bureau had failed.' Moreover it was:

not only unfair to the management, but to the taxpayer, to omit reference to the tremendous asset that the tourist business is to the State, how it is fostered and spread all over the island by our activities and booking facilities; and the taxpayer should certainly know that Tasmania is the best-advertised State in the Conunonwealth.

Smith ensured the press reproduced his counter-statement and had 250 copies offprinted and distributed to the state's leaders of public opinion. He and Emmett used other methods to heighten popular sympathy for their cause. At the conference of tourist associations in Launceston in early August, Smith pandered to local concerns and called for more funds for tourist associations. A long speech touched on most areas of tourist policy: including the roles of government and local volunteers, and the importance of advertising. He claimed all credit for the mainland bureaux and stressed the argument that tourists bring new capital and spread it widely. But despite the support gained at the conference,³ the die was already cast.

Lee's Response—Smith Sacked

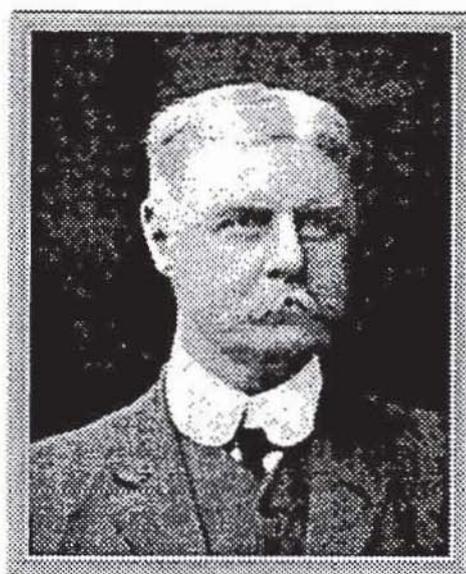
On 13 August the public row attending the RC's report forced Premier Hayes to resign. Lee (who had been Railways Minister since McPhee 'resigned for business reasons' in June) regained the top job the next day. While cynical political negotiations proceeded, public forces acted. Leaflets and press notices 'challenged' government members and 'invited' Smith to attend a meeting at Hobart's *Bijou Theatre*. Agenda items were the RC report, the 'financial straits of Tasmania' and Lee's formation of a new ministry without an election.⁴ The organisers were unidentified and 'an air of

1. Turner, Roger *op. cit.* pp. 40-1.

2. *TPP* 1923/31. p. 14.

3. See *Merc.* 3/8/23 (for agenda), PD1/38/23/24, 7/8/23 and *Merc/Advo.* 8/8/23, 9/8/23 for description and motions carried. Business included a number of policy motions, not all practical. Issues included: the need for mainland bureaux, a Hobart-Melbourne ship service, Gordon River development, a call for £250,000 worth of new roads, hotel sanitation, bridging the Derwent, linking Cradle Mt and Lake St Clair and reconstruction of the recently flood-stricken Seamaner bridge.

4. *Merc & World*, 14/8/23.



William Algemon Guesdon

mystery' attracted a 500-strong audience. No government members attended, but several prominent Laborites did.¹ First to take the stand, however, was William Algemon Guesdon (1848-1926), a wealthy and respected Hobart ex-Alderman, MHA and magistrate.² He disclaimed any party affiliation, but appeared to admire Lyons.³ His leading presence, and that of another prominent independent public figure, William Baillie, lent further nonpartisan support to the meeting's resolutions.⁴

All agreed that state politics had reached 'crisis' point. Parliament was 'a comic opera', 'a burlesque on constitutional government',⁵ with three factions (Nationalist, Country and Labor) and no direction. Guesdon highlighted the effects of political uncertainty on the island's commercial psyche. He accused ministers of trying to shirk responsibility for railway difficulties by swapping portfolios. Watkins said the men behind the 'financial bungling were now looking' to make a 'scapegoat of Commissioner Smith.' With only one (un-named) dissentient, the meeting resolved that the Nationalists had 'brought Tasmania to the verge of disaster' and called for a fresh election. It was quite well understood by all that Labor would probably emerge the victor.

Lee's second premiership lasted only two months. His first act was to prorogue parliament. This postponed discussion of the report until 11 September. On 7 September he suspended Smith, giving parliament forty days to prevent his dismissal.⁶ The news met with immediate, fierce reaction. The *Mercury* said Smith was being hanged without fair trial. His supposed 'negligence, incompetence and misbehaviour in administration' was matched by the government, which would probably fall on the decision.⁷

Up to this point tourist matters had not entered into the public debate. In a memo to the Solicitor General, Lee now said that 'Rightly or wrongly it is considered as a matter of policy and in the best interests of the state that we should have a Tourist Bureau whose business is to attract visitors to the state'. It was impossible to assess the value of its work, but the public needed to be assured that accounts were kept properly and the business carried on in a satisfactory way:

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1. Ogilvie, Shoobridge and Cleary, MHAs. Also prominent were Ben Watkins and Robert Cosgrove (1884-1969), both ALP men whose loss of seats in the 1922 election had merely whetted their political ambitions.
 2. A leading horse racing identity he had inherited well and maintained his position as a commission agent and auctioneer-realtor specialising in hotel property (see *BRT'P*).
 3. In *Merc.* 30/1/24 he wrote in support of Lyons' attempts to get 'justice' for the state from the Commonwealth. His whole thrust was as a non-party patriotic Tasmanian.
 4. Baillie was 'a friend and admirer' of the independent MLC, Tom Murdoch (see *Merc.* 30/4/27). He gave his address as Flowerpot, in the Channel district. He especially supported Murdoch's stance on state's rights (see *Merc.* 9/12/24).
 5. This theme was strong. In a no-confidence debate on 12/9/23 JA Guy referred to the 'Keystone comedy government'. Lyons added, 'A Charlie Chaplin play.'
 6. Under the Railways Management Act, if Parliament did not move to protect the Commissioner within forty days he could then be dismissed by the Executive Council.
 7. *Merc.* 7-8/9/23.

For some years there have been charges and counter charges by those engaged in the motor and cab hiring business of favouritism by the Department, and it is not surprising that nothing definite on this point was ascertained by the Commission. The reference by the Commission as to the laxity in dealing with the cash is certainly serious, particularly in regard to the Commissioner obtaining cash advances from the [mainland] Tourist Branches for accommodation and other personal expenses, the real wrong in this case being in [his] asking his subordinates to do an irregular act.¹

Lee included the latter charge in his published 'grounds' for Smith's dismissal.² He appointed as Acting Commissioner the long-standing TGR Secretary, Alfred John Winterson (1859-1949).³ More influential groups moved to condemn the government. Launceston businessmen demanded 'justice' for Smith. Prominent was John Duncan, a man with previous record of antagonism towards Smith. Even more damning was refusal of the National Federation (the party's organisational wing) to back Lee's action.⁴

On 11 September Lee announced a budget policy of retrenchment and increased taxation. He began discussions with Emmett and Winterson aimed at cutting the TGTD vote by £2688 (to £8000). The cut would entail closures at Brisbane and Perth and possibly Adelaide. With Winterson's support, Emmett fought hard against this 'most retrograde step'. He wrote with the conviction of a crusader. 'Publicity' was 'almost the last item of expenditure that should be curtailed if the prosperity of the state is to continue.' £1570 spent last year in Brisbane had brought 457 Queenslanders to Tasmania with 'spending power' of about £13,000. For £1073 Adelaide booked 922 people worth about £27,000. If Tasmanian information was unavailable first hand, Victoria would get the traffic. Emmett said he would make every effort to save the Adelaide office, even at the expense of advertising in Sydney and Melbourne. All ads in local weeklies would have to go, as would the Department's monthly magazine *Picturesque Tasmania* and production of lantern slides and pictures. So be it, said Premier Lee.⁵

Lee did not want to relinquish the TGTD altogether.⁶ Nor had he plans for Emmett's removal. But his retrenchment initiative softened the way and his sacking of Smith opened the flood gates. On 22 October the Assembly debated the motion to discuss the Estimates. Nationalist Peter Murdoch (1865-1936), like his brother Tom, a man of independent mind, had already sworn to vote with Labor. Ernest Blyth, Country Party leader recently dumped from Cabinet, was likely to follow. Charles Grant said he

1. AB455/4 R.1/7, undated but c. August 1923.

2. *Merc.* 8/9/23. *TPP* 1924/30.

3. *Ibid.* 12/9/23. Winterson, 'a Londoner by birth, although a thorough Tasmanian by adoption', came out from England in 1879 to work for the Main Line Company. When appointed TGR Secretary in 1901, he was succeeded as chief clerk by Emmett (see *Merc.* 12/9/23). He retired in November 1924 (see AB455/1 R2/5. Ob. 27/2/49).

4. *Merc.* 11/9/23.

5. AB455/4. R19/1, 17/9/23 to 5/10/23.

6. When Becker suggested wiping out the TGTD, Lee replied 'We cannot go that far.' (see *MR*, 18/9/23).

would vote against increased taxation. The following day Lee could be certain of defeat on the floor. Virtually his last executive act was to confirm Smith's dismissal.

The *Mercury* placed blame for the government's fall squarely on Lee's shoulders. His 'obstinate ... autocratic rule' had alienated both parliamentary and public support. Those who had stood by him had only done so 'to avoid a worse thing', the ascent of Labor. The 'last straw ... the shameful denial of justice' to Smith eroded all remaining confidence and spirit of compromise. The paper expected an election,¹ but the Administrator refused to grant dissolution and on 25 October Joe Lyons formed Tasmania's third Labor government.

A New Government—Further Cuts and Emmett's Demotion

As if to reinforce the nexus between TGR matters and recent political events, Lyons took the Railways portfolio. He returned Winterson to the TGR Secretaryship and as Acting Commissioner appointed a union activist and nominee, Henry Bye (b.1871). With 32 years' TGR service he had been a stationmaster since 1906, Bye had clashed with Emmett as member of the Railway Classification Board. The *Mercury* noted that his elevation was not universally welcomed.² A nervous air settled over the TGTD.

On 16 November Bye, Emmett and Cabinet conferred. Lyons said expenditure would have to be reduced below £8000, 'in favour of the people of the state who benefited most by the traffic doing the advertising themselves'. Emmett penned another missive, summing up the history of the tourist movement, the national value of tourism, its previous recognition by Labor, and the fact the TTA and NTA had failed. Reiterating the threats posed by other state's publicity machines, he said '£8000 per annum is not too much to spend upon a business worth about a million a year to Tasmania.'

Emmett deprecated the suggestion to close the Hobart bureau for all but information and railway bookings. The salaries of booking and information staff were covered by commissions received on motor tours, which could be increased. Head office budget was now about £2000. To close it would mean disastrous loss of commissions and sales. Losing 'touch with the general public' could only benefit ever-increasing motor competition. The amenity of a central bureau would suffer because 'A number of small bureaux will scramble for the business.' Another facility to go would be the booking of hotel rooms. Last year about 1200 were booked, occupying staff considerably but ensuring that no-one was turned away in busy times. Emmett suggested levying commissions on such bookings. He submitted a scheme concordant with reduced

1. *Merc.*, 24/10/23.

2. *Ibid.*, 27/10/23.

funding, but stressed it would mean losing Adelaide and Sydney. If Sydney was closed Tasmania would lose its facility for distributing NSW tourists around the state.¹

Emmett was loath to see closure of Melbourne. He now gave direct evidence for a truth he had often publicly denied: 'The office is responsible for pushing rail travel and for diverting as many people as possible to the North-West Coast route.' Any considerable reduction would mean 'a loss to the general community as well as in railway revenue.' He urged his masters to stay their hand at least until the end of March. Past advertising had been 'so effective' its results would linger some time, but eventually reductions would effect 'the amount of outside money being spent in the State'. In conclusion he quoted a *Daily Post* article of 1913, 'singularly applicable today', which urged a 'more daring' official attitude to tourist promotion expenditure.²

By the end of the month Hobart was 'full of rumours' about the government's plans. Sympathetic press publicity generated great concern demonstrating the commercial world's implicit faith in tourism and its centralised control. It was 'recognised everywhere' that the Bureau 'kept Tasmania in the limelight' and brought thousands to the state. Reducing Hobart and Launceston to mere information bureaux would, said a *Mercury* leader, immediately effect railway revenues. Worse still, it now seemed the Directorship would be abolished. 'LIVING-ON-IT', a press correspondent, wrote that 'emasculat[i]on' would be 'economy run mad.' Emmett's demotion might save a few hundred pounds, but one had to look at the other side of the ledger. Both writers urged the public to voice its opposition before the plans became reality.³

Asked what he intended Lyons replied that 'nothing has yet been decided.' The *Mercury* then spent a day in Launceston and Hobart rounding up influential opposition to the government's proposed 'blunder' and published opinions ranging from 'fears' to derision. Commercial men were interviewed and 'no one was found with a bad word for Mr Emmett or with an adverse criticism of his organising ability', though some thought there might be ways to save money without diminishing efficiency. Known TGTD-antagonists were not approached. Lee's £2000 cut had already forced a 'slackening of "the sinews of war,"' just as business was reaching its 'zenith'.⁴

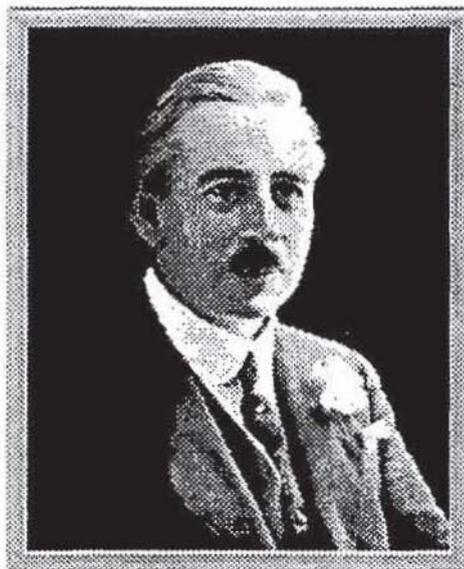
Hobart's Mayor McKenzie, Chamber president John Ross Johnston (1862-1957) and past-president Maurice Susman undertook to obtain official resolutions from their institutions. Johnston, an auctioneer and softgoods importer, said 'Tasmania wants all the publicity it can possibly get.' He called for 'an advisory board composed of men experienced in advertising methods and tourist needs' to liaise between public and

1. Sydney TGTB encouraged NSW tourists to travel Sydney-Hobart-Launceston (or Burnie)-Melbourne-Sydney. Huddart Parker *et al* would seek to have them travel Sydney-Hobart-Sydney.

2. AB455/4 R19/1, 19/11/23.

3. *Merc.* 3/12/23.

4. *Ibid.*, 3/12/23.



Alfred William Courtney-Pratt



John Ross Johnston

department. He appreciated Hobart TGTB's personal touch but if anything had to go it should be at home: not abroad, interstate presence was the chief concern. The Bureau should still sell railway tickets, but the TGTD should break from the TGR, which had 'quite enough to do' managing its own affairs. TGTD publicity machinery was vital to Hobart and Launceston's developing policies of advertising as manufacturing centres. This 'final argument', said the *Mercury*, 'certainly carried weight'.

Johnston was on the *Imperial Hotel* board.¹ It had supported Emmett in the RC.² Its chairman was Matthew Wilkes Simmons (1862-1930), LLB and active tourist champion.³ He would rather efforts increase than relax. Others agreed.⁴ RACT and golf club man, Charles Ernest Webster (1861-1936). His general merchants firm, AG Webster & Son, brought the first motor car to Tasmania.⁵ A 'Tasmanian presence' on the mainland was essential to its business prosperity. Alfred William Courtney-Pratt (1873-1931) directed Brownell's, 'one of Hobart's largest emporiums' and advertisers.⁶ He echoed business sentiment that Tasmania's advantages 'should be noised abroad even more thoroughly.' A recent Ad. Men's convention in Launceston heard many mainland experts state such views. The TGTD was a weapon to stem depopulation.

Launcestonians canvassed by the *Mercury* included Claude James, director of importing firm W & G Genders. Recently elected both Mayor and Chamber president, he abhorred reductions and warned of decreased railway revenue. Motor Hirers' Association president, AH Thompson, backed the Bureau. LPA president Carr said 'every business man knows the value of continuous prominence, and the tourist traffic is certainly a business as far as the State is concerned.'

That night the Hobart Chamber of Commerce restated the above observations. The only dissentient was Frederick William Heritage (1867-1944), a big wholesale merchant.⁷ He denied the TGTD's value and preferred to put resources into marketing primary

1. See *Merc*, 1/8/11 (Imperial Hotel Co. AGM)

2. *Merc*, 18/5/23.

3. Like Emmett, Simmons lived at Lindisfame, bourgeois suburb on the eastern shore of the Derwent. Lindisfame's Hobart businessmen commuted by ferry and enjoyed a certain camaraderie. Simmons was often seen supporting tourism and attacking the Navigation Act. His partner, Horace Walch, was a State Tourist Advisory Board member from 1927. Walch & Simmons also handled company records for Edward Thomas Connolly of the Swansea and East Coast Motor Co. (which formed in 1916, see SC 323/415).

4. One was the pharmacist, Henry Thomas Gould. Born on the Isle of Wight. (1855-1928). Ex-Mayor, youth patron, Hobart Savings Bank director and Fisheries Commissioner. He sold photographic gear from his Liverpool Street homoeopathy shop. (See *PT* and *BRADB*.)

5. With a P&O agency Webster's later built up a large travel business of its own. See *ADB* and *Webster Ltd, Tasmania's Pioneer Company 1831-1981* (Hobart; 1981).

6. Courtney-Pratt, according to his obituary (*IVC*, 9/12/31), was very well-liked in Hobart. Born and partially educated in New Zealand, he emigrated in 1880 and immediately began work at Brownells. In 1923 when the company was floated publicly he became managing director and vice-chairman. He was a Fellow of the Australian Institute of Secretaries, Rotary president and Hobart Chamber of Commerce member. A loyal Tasmanian economic nationalist, he was also a notable philologist. Brownell's was Hobart's biggest emporium in the 1920s, and as such obviously benefited from tourist influxes. Hence his generous support for the Back to Tasmania Movement in 1922. Emmett's daughter Dorothy married a Brownell, the two families having long been friends.

7. Ob. 12/6/44. CBC.

exports. Chamberites knew Heritage's connections with Webster-Rometch.¹ They urged government not to make changes without public consultation, especially before the end of the current tourist season. Johnston said, 'Now is the time when we should boost ourselves.' For Tom Murdoch closure of the official bureau would deny tourists a place where they could get 'reliable information and fair play, and not be taken down.'² Touts outside the TGTB were already 'most irritating and unsatisfactory to tourists, whilst robbing the department of its legitimate business', a taste of 'objectionable conditions that would prevail to a greater extent' if the Bureau lost its booking functions.³

Three days later Henry Bye told the press there was 'no need for alarm. ... I do not propose to do anything that would impair the efficiency of the Bureau because I look upon the tourist traffic as a distinct asset to Tasmania.' Regardless, the HCC put more pressure on the new government. Ald. Peter McKay Grant,⁴ ex-manager of Webster-Rometch,⁵ now moved to defend the Bureau. Jack Nettlefold seconded. He valued the traffic at £600,000-£750,000, all for an £11,000 investment. To propose abolishing 'the richest industry in the State' was 'amazing'. Edwin Rogers, the last remaining TTA patriarch,⁶ thought it 'suicide'. Joe Breen said curtailment was more likely than abolition. A unanimous motion urged the government 'not to entertain' any such proposal.⁷

The Decision, and Public Reaction

Railways Minister Lyons, as Premier, was currently in Melbourne seeking increased Commonwealth financial assistance for Tasmania. His deputy, James Belton, a Wynyard farmer, held no brief for the TGTD or Hobart businessmen.⁸ He ignored the plaudits for Emmett. The *Mercury* said the mice were playing while the cat (Lyons) was away.⁹ On 8 December Bye sent an 'Urgent' memo to Lyons. The Hobart and Launceston TGTBs would be retained 'as usual, with the present staff', but he had abolished the Directorship.¹⁰ Control passed to the Secretary Winterson and Emmett was transferred 'down the street' to his old job as chief clerk. Thus, said Bye,

1. His partner, EA Bennison, was a major shareholder in Webster-Rometch (see Bennison in *BRADB* and SC 323/319).

2. Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM, *Merc*, 4/12/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 10/12/23: letter from JG Webb, Sandy Bay.

4. HCC Ald. 1923-30. Mayor's Annual Report 9/5/32, says Grant found it 'necessary to leave the state for business reasons.' He may have been brother to Charles William Grant.

5. He had left in 1917 to open a local branch of Goodyear Tyres. By 1921 his business was known as the Tasmanian Rubber Company. By 1920 he had also established Agencies Limited, an export-import brokerage. See Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Annals*.

6. Dobson died in 1918, Seager in 1923.

7. *Merc*, 7/12/23.

8. *Ibid.*, 28/11/17 has him bringing forward motor operators' complaints against the Bureau.

9. *Ibid.*, 13/12/23.

10. AB455/4. R19/1, 8/12/23.

Emmett's knowledge was retained, money was saved, and there would be no decrease in efficiency.¹

The *Mercury* disagreed and editorialised 'public resentment' at the 'high-handed' 'deposition of the Director, and the setting down of Mr Emmett to the rank of a clerk'. 'Sinister' motives were alluded to; a high moral stand taken. The paper had sunk its own party affiliations to 'assist' Labor 'for the good of the State', but Labor was not 'playing the game.' Bye, an active unionist, was pushed up to a position where he could autocratically dispose the fates of 'officers of distinctly higher standing'. To stress the height from which Emmett had fallen, an article announced his appointment as *Officier d'Academie* for assisting a French Economic Mission visiting Tasmania in 1918.² General Pau lauded the Australian tourist bureaux: 'like Cook's agencies in a higher stage of development, they have a larger outlook, to make profits is not their object but rather to extend the reputation of the State to which they belong.' He singled out Emmett's 'model' booking facilities and advertising methods.³

In the North the *Examiner* said 'one by one the "ex-Commissioner's men"' were being dismissed or demoted. The new powers were indulging in 'job control' with all its disregard for efficiency. In Emmett they had a 'live head' bringing 'enterprise and enthusiasm' and his demotion would make the tourist industry a 'perfunctory affair'. Without him it would be better to abolish the TGTBs altogether and return to the old system where local interests, subsidised by the government, could lead the way. The paper asked floor-crossing Nationalists what they now thought of the results of their treachery.⁴

Back in Hobart Belton bitterly attacked the 'Conservative paper in Macquarie Street' for arrogantly over-estimating its power as 'guider of public opinion.' The *Mercury* was simply looking after its own, he said, accusing it of 'Yes-No-ism', inconsistency and class bias. He referred to the Royal Commission, concentrated on the negative evidence, and claimed that, 'Any unbiased observer of current events would admit' Bye 'was forced into taking the action he has.' The government was merely trying to affect economy with efficiency. That cuts would benefit Treasury justified the fact 'an individual or two might suffer slightly.'⁵

1. *Merc.* 10/12/23, 11/12/23.

2. *Ibid.*, 11/12/23. See all papers, 17/10/18 General Pau and French Mission arrives, stays until 22/10/18. On 4/10/67 the *Mercury* let out a 50 year secret. When the mission visited Devonport they were greeted with a banner saying, in French, 'Go to the Devil along with the Kaiser' instead of 'To the Devil with the Kaiser'. Luckily they laughed. Mr Emmett, *Officier d'Academie*, let it slip this week - photo. Emmett's French medal (dated 16/8/23) is held by his daughter, Mrs Dorothy Brownell, Lindisfarne.

3. This influential plaudit was used more than once to stem retrenchment attempts. See for example AB 455/4 R 19/6, Miscamble-Guy, 28/10/25.

4. *Ex.* 12/12/23.

5. *Merc.* 12/12/23.

Undaunted, the conservative press kept the debate alive. This economy *would* effect the efficiency of the Bureau. Emmett's 'initiative and enthusiasm' was vital. Leadership should be recognised. If Belton:

were showing unusual initiative and enthusiasm as head of the Lands Department and were suddenly told by some promoted subordinate that he was deposed, but would be made a clerk in the Works Department and expected to perform the same duties, with others, at a lower salary, would it be human nature to expect him to be as enthusiastic as before?

Webb in Melbourne and Donnelly in Sydney had also been forced to take salary cuts. 'Having been 'pitch-forked' into power by 'a political fluke', Belton and his kind, as temporary custodians, were over-reaching their authority and not truly motivated by economy. Their 'sharp practice, the cleverness of an inferior type of mind', claimed the paper, disgusted many unbiased people who had given Labor a chance.¹ The *Mercury* felt it was time for 'plain speaking.' It revealed Chant's deal with Webster-Rometch. Bye had removed a number of union enemies. Now he deposed the enemy of Webster-Rometch, to whom the unions were beholden. Ugly conclusions were forming in the public mind. Lyons was asked to control the union power and reverse Bye and Belton's decisions.²

But Lyons supported them. He denied 'nonsense' conspiracy theories and asserted the actions were economy-driven, nothing more. He refused to limit further reforms and wanted to give the whole TGR a shake up, though he did agree to wait until season's end.³ He claimed well publicised protests came 'only from a section of the public.'⁴ Later he took credit for reducing the tourist vote 'four or five hundred pounds by giving the ex-director a little more work to do and preventing him taking trips to various parts of the country.' Lyons was proud to have stopped the TGTD 'assuming the appearance of a separate department.'⁵ He seems to have forgotten his own supersecretariat plans of 1914-15.

With his £625 salary, some saw Emmett as a "fat cat" enjoying too much personal prestige and servicing a section that could well look after itself. As Opposition Leader, Lyons received only £400 per annum. His wife, Enid Muriel (1897-1981), a prolific mother, has since related the penury experienced at the time by career politicians with no outside resources.⁶ While the Premier's salary was £900,⁷ the Railways Commissioner received £1500, and the general manager of the Hydro-Electric

1. *Ibid.*, 12/12/23.

2. *Ibid.*, 13/12/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 14/12/23.

4. *Ibid.*, 14/12/23.

5. *Ibid.*, 7/2/24.

6. Lyons, Enid Muriel *So We Take Comfort* (London: Heinemann; 1965).

7. Under 1919 Acts members were paid £300, ministers £700 (plus £200 for the Premier) and the Leader of the Opposition received £400. In 1927 Labor increased members' salaries to between £370-£500 depending on distance of seats from Hobart. Ministers' salaries increased to £1250, L. Opp. up £250 and Premier's stayed static. The issue was controversial and prompted a rowdy Hobart Town Hall protest meeting. (See Acts of Tasmania, 1919: 10° Geo. V., No. 3; 10° Geo. V., No. 5. 1927: 18° Geo. V., No. 15, 18° Geo. V., No. 14.)

Department £2500. Differentials such as this helped shape the attitudes of Left politicians, especially men with families as large as Joe Lyons'. Yet the reduction of Emmett's status and emoluments (which as chief clerk dropped to £545) seemed a small saving against the political need to appease "levellers". It was a slap in the face for the tourist-leisure class, but was not Labor "cutting off its nose to spite its face"? Lyons soon learned he could not afford to slight the business elite.

In January 1924, on advice from Harold Winthrop Clapp (1875-1952) chairman of the Victorian Railway Commissioners, Lyons set up a Railway Management Advisory Board to obtain the counsel of 'men in the forefront in financial, commercial and business circles.'¹ This appeased the *Mercury*. It now saw disposition to submerge party and accept advice from society's 'natural leaders' as a 'good omen for his success'. Lyons also appointed an 'entirely non-political' State Development Advisory Board (SDAB) to investigate ways of accessing emerging plans for imperial migration funding.²

Another Enquiry

In December 1923 Lyons commissioned William Alfred Webb (1878-1936), an American recently appointed South Australian railway commissioner,³ to advise on railway policy. Bye's temporary appointment was extended to the end of March 1924. By 24 January his reorganisations had, according to Lyons, effected 'substantial economies'. On the revenue side, he 'embarked upon a campaign having for its object the popularising of the railways'. Motor competition was recognised as the major obstacle. Lyons accepted the need for legislation to remove road users' unfair advantages over railways, but he waited to see how wealthier states dealt with this universal new problem.⁴

Meanwhile he presented the Assembly with a tourist estimate of £7688. Even this £3000 reduction on the previous year was insufficient for the Bureau's old foe, George Becker. He moved that all tourist funding be redirected into marketing primary products. Pointing to continuing claims of favouritism at Hobart, and the fact that the major proportion of mainland receipts went to interstate railways and shipping

1. Membership included George Cragg and the VDL Co.'s Andrew Kidd McGaw (1873-1956, see *ADB*). The EZ Co.'s Herbert William Gepp reappears below. Jack Alexander von Alwyn (1884-1961), a leading Launceston importer and CTA president, was agent for MacRobertson's chocolates, which gave him, like Tom Murdoch, a clear understanding of the spending power of tourists. He was Australian president of the UCTA in 1927-28. His daughter, Phyllis, was 'Miss Australia' in 1927 (see *Merc*, 4/7/27). Ob. 4/3/61 (CVC).

2. *TPP* 1923/75. Treasurer's Financial Statement, 1923-24. Roc, Michael 'HW Gepp, His Qualification as Chairman of the Development and Migration Commission' *THIRAPP* 1985; 32/3, p. 105 comments on Gepp's role in the SDAB. Under the funding agreement the United Kingdom offered cheap loans for developmental works in return for Australia increasing its 'absorptive capacity' for British migrants.

3. *ADB*.

4. *TPP* 1923/75. *op. cit.* Tasmanian and British experiences paralleled in many areas. See William Plowden's *The Motor Car and Politics in Britain* (Pelican; 1973). Though British railroads were predominantly private enterprise they were still a powerful lobby in competition with road users.

companies, he maintained that those 'who reaped the benefits' should pay the piper. Becker's abolition motion received scant support, though many who voted against it expressed doubts about Bureaux efficiency and the justifiability of the level of the state's involvement. Restriction to 'information only' was again canvassed, notably by Eccles Snowden, a Webster-Rometch shareholder¹ who otherwise thought the advertising vote should go back up to £10,000. Lyons's stance was ambiguous, but his general drift implied a desire to end the odium of competition against private enterprise. On one point he was adamant: advertising on the mainland could not be abandoned. He promised to go fully into the matter when the House recessed.²

Lyons released Webb's report on 20 February.³ It largely upheld Smith, recognising that 'political interference or dictation' had imposed capital costs which hindered any attempts to contain costs or compete with motor competition. Webb did however concur with claims at the RC that Smith's 'armchair' style of management was outmoded. The TGR's complex bureaucracy needed immediate reform. TGR management was 'really a one-man job, and it [was] necessary to select a fully competent man, pay him well and leave him alone.'⁴ An 'active Commissioner' could, with political freedom, cover engineering and traffic functions without intermediary officers, and thus 'keep in sympathetic touch with the public—the users of the railways and the highways'.⁵

Webb disagreed with businessmen who urged the TGR to reduce passenger and cargo rates 'to drive the motors out of business.' This could only bring more losses on the Treasury. Motor cars were a 'modern development' and competition would simply drive the operators to cut their rates, making them unprofitable and driving them out of business. His solution was radical. Far better to encourage and regulate them as 'an auxiliary transportation agency.' Webb urged legislators to place sole control of all internal transport under the Railways Commissioner, to grant or deny licences to all public conveyances, extract 25% of their gross revenues and, if necessary, add motor vehicles to his own stock. Angry motor operators claimed such an impost would push up fares and militate against primary producers, especially those in districts with no railway services.⁶

Webb made a special point of saying the above tactics would have 'full force' if the Tourist Bureau were retained as a TGR adjunct. Even firms previously warm to Emmett's administration now complained. This would destroy the motor industry. It

1. Snowden held a substantial parcel of Webster-Rometch shares (AOT SC 323 No. 319).
 2. *Merc.* 7/2/24.
 3. Lyons received Webb's report in late January, but delayed publication until 20/2/24 (see *Merc.*, 21/2/24).
 4. *Ibid.*, 21/2/24.
 5. *TPP* 1924/76.
 6. *Merc.* 22/2/24; 23/2/24.

would be a worse case of government interference than before, said Joe Breen. Even if practicable, it was 'iniquitous':

Motor transport has come to stay. It is an up-to-date system, and boiled down this proposal is to subsidise an obsolete system at the expense of a newer and better one.

In Adelaide the *Register* saw Webb's proposal as 'fantastic astonishing'. The *Mercury* paraphrased:

What these astounding proposals would do, of course, would be to abolish all road transport which competed with the railways! How would it profit Tasmania in the long run nominally to regulate but actually to prohibit the motor services which were proving themselves more suited than the railways to the transport needs of the community?

Tasmania must really be in the 'Slough of Despond'. But apart from this one 'counsel of despair' the rest of Webb's report was well received publicly.¹

On tourist promotion, Webb urged maintenance of the Bureaux and 'an aggressive policy of solicitation and advertising in Victoria and NSW'. A cooperative arrangement with his own bureau in Adelaide would actually improve results achieved there. In a covering letter he recommended Charles Harrison take over administration of the Tourist Bureaux. Emmett was now definitely on the outer.² The Legislative Council pared the tourist vote back another £88.³ What would actually happen remained dubious for some months.

Leaving Bye as Acting Commissioner, the government sought a successor. Meanwhile came early indication that cutting the tourist vote would cause problems for the Executive. When Mt Lyell Tourist Association asked him to subsidise an edition of Charles Whitham's guide to the West Coast,⁴ Lyons had to refuse personally—never a happy task for a politician. Neither tourist nor lands department would divert their own carefully allocated funds. It took Lyons over three months to find £10 from his 'miscellaneous' vote.⁵ There are numerous other instances of the Premier's Department having to deal with uncomfortable matters it had previously hived off to the TGTD.⁶ However Lyons and Undersecretary Addison seemed resigned to the situation while funds were short.

1. *Ibid.*, 5/3/24.

2. The covering letter was not tabled in parliament until specifically requested (see *ibid.*, 15/3/24).

3. Reacting to the pressing need for increased taxes it was in a cheese-paring mood. The cut was moved by Ulverstone's Hubert Allan Nichols (1864-1940, see *BRTF*) who had clashed with Emmett as early as 1914 (see *Merc*, 13/5/14, 14/5/14 and 19/5/14). Joseph Darling (1870-1946, see *BRTF* and *ADB*) had told the 1923 Royal Commission that Emmett was a 'most energetic man in every way' but 'government interference with private enterprise is always wasteful' (see *Merc*, 7/5/23). He now ridiculed Emmett's winter sports campaign and wanted the vote halved and Cook & Son paid to act for Tasmania on the mainland. Others thought bookings could be left to private enterprise, but the less extreme Nichols' motion passed 7:6. Interestingly, Darling was the only southerner to vote against the bureau, while Wardlaw was the only northerner to support it (see *Merc*, 6/3/24).

4. Whitham, Charles *Western Tasmania: A Land of Riches and Beauty* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1924 (2nd edition; original 1917)).

5. PD1/38/5/24.

6. PD1/38/*passim*.



THE CHIEF SECRETARY.

The Hon. J. A. Guy, Chief Secretary, Minister for Railways, and Deputy Premier in the Lyons Ministry, is one of the youngest members of Cabinet, and, like most of his fellow Ministers, is a fluent speaker. He reels off yards of figures with the utmost dexterity, and keeps a watchful eye to see that none of Mr. Miscalable's train services go astray. He is an able deputy for his Premier, and conceals a kindly nature under the determined expression which he wears in this portrait.

James Allan Guy

Mainland Bureaux 'Expansion'

Returning from a mainland trip in May, Lyons told Cabinet he had seen Webb and Donnelly at their TGTBs. They already did all sorts of non-tourist work for the state. Webb acted as an Immigration Officer, shepherding recent Melbourne arrivals on to Tasmania. Both frequently witnessed documents as JPs, made commercial contacts, and had good knowledge of other state and commonwealth bureaucracies. Lyons recommended their appointment as official government representatives. Cabinet approved and the principle was extended to Judge and Jowett's agencies in Perth and Brisbane.¹ Judge, however, received notice in December 1924, when reciprocity was arranged with the WA Tourist Department.²

Though the appointments were funded from the tourist vote, a new direct line of communication was opened up. Increasingly the Premier's Department would be called upon to deal with some of the finer details of selling Tasmania it had since 1914 devolved to the TGTD. Chief Secretary and (since 27 March) Railways Minister, James Allan Guy (b.1890), described the representatives as quasi-'ambassadorial'.³ They were instructed to:

- Keep themselves and the government informed on all matters effecting Tasmania.
- Supply full information on Tasmania's resources for tourists, immigrants and manufacturers to all enquirers.
- Abstain from all party concerns, but correct all misrepresentations or errors affecting the reputation of the State financially, commercially or otherwise to 'maintain its position and credit unimpaired.'
- Extend reasonable official assistance to Tasmanians visiting their offices.
- Promote and encourage the flow of capital to Tasmania, but without associating the Government with any company prospectuses.
- Communicate any information of value (other than day to day tourist matters) directly to the Premier.
- Undertake any further duties entrusted to them.⁴

That the mainland bureaux had performed most of these functions informally since their inception illustrates the fundamental link between tourism promotion and the general boosting of the state. Tourist literature generated and distributed by the TGTD served to 'maintain credit' with potential investors and political benefactors. The elevation of the bureaux managers to status parallel with the Agent-General in London also indicated Tasmania's special relationship with its Federal sisters, its island nature

1. PD1/38/9/24

2. See AB455/1 R19/2. Despite this 'unfair' treatment Judge kept the agency open, and came to Hobart to lobby government in April 1924. Correspondence with D'Arcy Addison demonstrated links with influential politicians in Tasmania and Westralia. He appealed (not only to Lyons but also Ogilvie and Belton) as a patriot, 'I am a Tasmanian and I know the Island from Hastings to Kelly Basin and take a keen interest in my native heath.' He would carry on without subsidy if necessary, but asked for appointment as a 'general government representative' to do work in spheres other than the tourist. In migration, for example, he said only he could induce people to choose Tasmania over New Zealand. With press support he got his way, but only briefly. The benefits flowed mainly to his mainland colleagues. (See PD1/38/8/24. *Merc.* 5/4/24; 23/5/24.)

3. *Merc.* 23/5/24.

4. PD1/38/9/24.

and special circumstances causing it to reach out. There was, after all, something of the 1914 'supersecretariat' idea in all this.

And the Hobart and Launceston Bureau?

While the mainland branches' role was expanding, an inverse trend still threatened back in Tasmania. The former announcement accompanied news that Cabinet had decided to limit the Tasmanian Bureaux to information dissemination and railway bookings only, the new arrangements to take effect on 1 July. Guy said this would leave motor proprietors to make their own arrangements with tourists and thereby remove the odium that had consistently plagued the TGT and its political masters.¹ In response Edwin Rogers urged the HCC to repeat its December 1923 resolution against curtailment. He was successful, but now support for the Bureau was greatly diminished, presumably because Aldermen with motoring interests (such as Breen, Grant and Nettlefold) worried the government might still accept commissioner Webb's tax suggestions. Better to let the TGR to go out of motor excursions altogether than leave the gate open for ready application of a 25% surcharge. The Hobart Chamber of Commerce rejected a motion (again by Rogers) to repeat their resolution.²

Quiet prevailed in Hobart. The *Mercury* and National Park Board abstained from comment.³ Agitation was so sparse that 'Retailer' wrote to urge his fellows to action thus:

What are we doing in Hobart? Letting the sole disgruntled firm have its way seemingly, ... Are the motor hirers going to let this feeder of theirs slip from their grasp without a protest? ... There is now only a remnant of this fine institution left. Are we going to let it expire altogether? The firm, who do not like it, boasted they would have it shut up in six months. After ten years, are the Hobart public going to allow them to have their own way?

'Retailer's' bitterness was stimulated by the fact 'the Launceston people' were not sitting on their hands.⁴ The Motor Hirers' Association 'accompanied by a number of prominent citizens' took their protest to Guy. Launceston MHAs spoke of long-standing harmonic relations between Len Bruce and the hirers. The Bureau had made a £200-300 profit last year, a scale of charges was adhered to and tourists thus knew just what to expect to pay. Why penalise Launceston for the friction occurring in Hobart? They asked government to postpone change. Guy, a Launcestonian himself, was sympathetic. Had Hobart enjoyed the same harmony no change would be vaunted. The 'perpetual wrangling and continual bickering' called for action. Consultation with Bye

1. *Merc.*, 23/5/24.

2. *Ibid.*, 10/6/24.

3. The NPB noted that, with Emmett gone, the TGR refused to run winter sports excursions. These were mainly for 'propaganda' purposes but potentially profitable. The Board resolved to try and interest private operators to run them. No opportunity was taken to support the Bureau or curtail retrenchment (see *Merc.*, 11/6/24).

4. *Ibid.*, 16/6/27.



THE COMMISSIONER FOR RAILWAYS.

Commissioner C. Miscamble is in the unfortunate position of a gentleman endeavouring to collect water in a bucket with a hole in the bottom. He carries on with determination in his task of trying to put the Tasmanian Railways on a reasonable financial basis, but, when he decides to scrap an almost forgotten service, the residents wake up and discover it to be their most precious possession. Tasmania imported him from Victoria to reduce as much as possible the losses on the State's white elephants, and an energetic canvassing of producers and a reorganisation of services have enabled him to make a little oasis of something like profit in a vast desert of deficit.

Charles Miscamble

influenced Cabinet, but it was now less committed and would let the new commissioner make his own decision.¹

By this time clashes with Webster-Rometch had changed Bye's position.² He had already told Guy it would be 'suicidal' to reduce the island's bureaux to mere railway booking offices, repeating all of Emmett's old arguments.³ Someone then supplied the *Mercury* with ammunition. An unusual release of figures showed a fall in revenue of over £26,000 (about 36%). Each TGTB's takings had fallen more than £3000, and Hobart alone had lost £4824 in business. Here were the 'effects of "economy"'.⁴ Lyons tried to turn the figures into an argument for further reductions and Guy claimed poor weather had more effect than the closures in Brisbane and Perth, but the *Mercury* asserted the 50% advertising cut and Emmett's demotion were paramount.⁵ Then the Hobart Motor Hirers' met and, ignoring Colin Kennedy, echoed their northern contemporaries.⁶ Relieved, Guy announced the whole question would be left to the new Commissioner.⁷

Henry Bye's appointment was progressively extended a total of ten months.⁸ After much legal recrimination Cabinet accepted Louis Dobson's opinion that Smith's wrongful dismissal case was solid. Rather than face expensive, drawn-out and politically odious proceedings, it paid Smith out on 25 June 1924.⁹ Meanwhile by May forty men had applied to become his successor.¹⁰

The New Commissioner

Cabinet eventually chose Charles Miscamble (b 1862). Born in Bendigo, he was not an engineer like Smith, but, like Bye, had joined the railways as lowly porter and worked up through the ranks, specialising in traffic matters. In 1919 he became a Victorian Railways Commissioner and thus since 1920 had served with the innovative Harold Clapp, whose American experiences brought many innovations to Australian railway management, including the inspired use of slogans and advertising, much

1. *Ibid.*, 13/6/24.

2. In fact he had already started to feel the venom of Webster-Rometch in January 1924. Colin Kennedy complained that congestion outside the Hobart Bureau was caused by small operators parking overnight to ensure getting full cars the next morning. He said his firm could not afford to pay their drivers to do this and asked for the stand to be done away with and the Bureau be made information only. He felt 'No inconvenience would be caused tourists because of the keenness of those engaged in the tourist carrying business.' Bye now asserted the advantages of a central booking office and claimed that 'The application made by the Firm ... would appear to be one entirely in favour of the Firm now applying' and no other. The first consideration being public convenience, decentralisation would not suit. Moreover the majority of motor men would not agree. (See AB 455/4 R19/4.)

3. PD1/38/10/24, 10/6/24.

4. *Merc.*, 19/6/24.

5. *Ibid.*, 20/6/24.

6. *Ibid.*, 20/6/24.

7. PD1/38/10/24, Bye to Guy, 10/6/24; Guy to HCC, 27/6/24.

8. AB455/1 R2/2. Bye left the TGR on Miscamble's appointment, Albert Ogilvie presenting him with a solid reference.

9. *Merc.*, 26/6/24.

10. Most were Australians, but New Zealand and USA each supplied one applicant (see *ibid.*, 22/5/24).

aimed at tourists.¹ As referees Miscamble cited the CTA and numerous Victorian producers, travellers and merchants. Clapp, it seems, personally recommended him to Joe Lyons. At 62 he said he was 'as active as many younger men', and his youthful demeanour won Ogilvie and Guy.²

Arriving in the state in late July, Miscamble impressed journalists, businessmen and unionists with his service ethic and 'policy of cooperation', his plans to spend two thirds of his time outside Hobart consulting railway users and employees, and his promise to keep his door open to 'everyone, equally to the big or little man'. Unlike Smith, he joined the Hobart Chamber of Commerce.³ He published his desire to 'keep as near to Mother Earth as possible, because when one got up on a pedestal there was a danger of falling off.'⁴ More than anything, the government wanted to bring harmony to the railways and in Miscamble they felt they had found their man. After an extensive tour of the grid he took office on 16 August. Questioned on Webb's recommendations for controlling and taxing motor operators, he replied, 'with a smile':

All I can say about that is that I would be very pleased indeed to have the money—very delighted indeed.⁵

But the issue's political sensitivity constrained Lyons until the June 1925 elections gave him a working majority. Even then the 'zone tax' legislation which followed was 'experimental'. Taxes raised went to Treasury rather than the TGR, and provisions designed to protect travellers' interests were soon watered down.⁶

1. *ADB*.

2. *Merc*, 18/6/24. AB 455/1 R.2/4, application dated 12/5/24. Reflecting government intent to totally review rail administration, Miscamble accepted a three year appointment in *lieu* of the five provided by the Act.

3. Hobart Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report and AGM, 1/12/24.

4. *Merc*, 31/7/24, 1/8/24 and 4/8/24. See also *PF* pp. 15 and 70.

5. *Merc*, 18/8/24.

6. For the zone tax see *TPP* 1925/22, Report of Main Roads Commission, 18/9/25. To combat motor competition, the 'zone system' aimed to penalise trunk line road transport and constrain cars and trucks to the role of railway feeder services. Vehicles could be licensed for the whole state, but the fee was substantial and the system was inflexible. Opposition Leader Jack McPhee was a director of Robert Nettlefold P/L, from whom he rented offices (see *BRTP* and *TGG*, 1928 p. 1324). He agreed 'users should pay' for the roads, but feared the 1925 Traffic Act would unduly penalise commercial road operators and stressed the role they themselves played in opening up the country. He also noted that compulsory third party insurance for passenger vehicles would be a penalty on the operators. It was claimed the 1925 Traffic Act inflicted a "class tax" upon a progressive sector of the economy in order to prop up an inefficient and scrapworthy railways. In 1926 the parliament removed the compulsory insurance provisions. In 1928 a Bill to abolish the zone system quietly slipped through the Assembly. Believing the whole question needed more thought, the Legislative Council killed the Bill and the zone system survived for the time being. (For legislative debates see *MR*, 28/11/25, 17/11/26, 25/11/26, 8/12/26, 9/12/26, 23-24/8/28, 31/8/28, 6/12/28, 13/12/28 and 21/12/28.) In 1927-28 the Commonwealth Development and Migration Commission enquired deeply into Tasmania's internal transport and found it riddled with inconsistencies. A preliminary report was so scathing the DMC decided not to give it publicity (see AA CP211/2/Bundle 54/PT 2/'Investigation - Tasmania - Reports - 1927'). See also DMC, *Investigation into present position of Tasmania. Fifth interim report (Internal Transport)* (Canberra: Government Printer; January 1929). The fact that dilutions to socially and 'nationally' important legislation could be contemplated demonstrates not only the town-country theme but also the links between the legislator class and the owners of motor vehicles. Ogilvie's ongoing association with Webster-Rometch has already been noted. So too the fact that other parliamentarians owned hire cars. It does not seem unreasonable to claim that, given a choice between a 'class tax' on motor owners and a more widely distributed tax on government railway services, the legislators, no matter their wider responsibility for Treasury outcomes, would inevitably choose the latter. Political developments affecting the tourist industry in Tasmania have not always stemmed from the highest of motives. The power of the transport lobby in any industrial economy is enormous, and in Tasmania it has seen some spectacular scandals. The

Miscamble showed he shared Clapp's appreciation of the widely-ramified advantages of tourist traffic. His first full annual report, in September 1925 was a lengthy public relations *tour de force* in which he wrote:

The value of the tourist business, not only to the Railway but to the State generally, is fully recognised by me, and I am of the opinion that no stone should be left unturned to exploit this business to the full.

He had already instituted some practical measures, including train services detailed in Chapter Six. Others included moving the Sydney TGTB to the very central Martin Place, where offices were found at a reduced rent, and the establishment of a State Tourist Advisory Board to consult with interested parties state-wide. Despite his obvious optimism Miscamble was also a realist. He recognised that tourist traffic itself could not save the railways, and pointed to the other two motors in the development trinity: settlement and industries, which would bring the population required for economy of scale and thus future prosperity. Though Tasmania could never expect the TGR to break even, its own developmental nature legitimised its demands for a subsidy from taxation. His job, as he saw it, was achieving the best possible results with available resources, in light of the many obstacles.

One of the outside obstacles Miscamble had to confront was renewed insecurity in Bass Strait shipping. Towards the end of 1924 all looked well for a third uninterrupted tourist season, but in December came a 'disastrous shipping strike, and with it all the prospects ... disappeared.' The state's total loss he estimated 'would probably run into a quarter of a million'. He regretted 'some effective measures' could not be taken 'to ensure that such an important business shall not be interfered with year by year'.¹ Shipping was out of his control, an item for others to solve. But it determined his estimate of how far the TGR should go in tourist boosting. The level of funding was essentially a matter of what the state coffers could bear, but as TGR Commissioner Miscamble could request any figure. He underspent his first year's tourist vote by \$1500.² The vote for 1925-26 dropped to £7000. External problems had to be solved before he could justify increased spending on advertising or any infrastructure development. Despite the apparent sturdiness of this rationale, some commentators would not recognise the limitations and criticised Miscamble for inaction. Others pursued further rationalisations.

whole vexatious problem of rationalising internal transport continued to occupy the legislature for at least another decade until finally a Transport Commission was formed in 1938. This saw the creation of an expert body charged with coordinating road and rail transport, but that story falls outside the ambit of this narrative. For an effective overview see Wettenhall, *Guide.. op. cit.*, especially pp. 258-67.

1. TPP 1925/21, signed 30/9/25.

2. AB455/4 R19/6. For 1924-25 Cabinet had cut the vote another £100 to £7500. The Legislative Council discussed the item but this time only Joe Darling dissented. Half the TGTB vote was spent inside the island, he said, an amount 'too heavy for the state to bear', especially considering ongoing problems with motor operators. George Henry Pitt (1872-1932), a Westbury wheelwright who previously agreed with Darling, now accused him of doing away with the state's assets, and the vote passed without division (see *Merc.*, 20/11/24).

Bureau Functions Again Reviewed

Miscamble tackled early the problem of the Hobart Bureau's status and its relations with the motor men. Before he took the job Guy warned him this issue would demand deep consideration, and others told him the road to success would be 'strewn with pebbles'.¹ In tourist matters the largest pebbles were George Rometch and his manager William R Knight.² In October 1924 they approached Guy with yet another request to reduce the Hobart TGTB to 'information-only' and let the operators do their own bookings. Miscamble was proposing to levy 10% commission from all motor operators, even for tickets sold from their own offices. Rometch and Knight pointed out that while they had their own office, their smaller competitors did not. Small operators got first pick of TGTB voucher passengers, while their large plant only got the overflow. They would happily pay 10% if all the others did their own bookings. Such a system might save the Department £1000 in booking expenses and the commissions could be used for mainland advertising. They refused to accept contracts unless they were relieved from commission on their own bookings.

Guy said it was all up to the new Commissioner. Although sympathetic to Rometch's point of view as one with large capital at stake, Guy certainly thought that if the Hobart TGTB was made information-only it should still get 10% from all operators as recompense for bringing the tourists to Tasmania.³ Miscamble held to both centralised bookings and the extraction of commission. The dispute went to an "adjudicator" but settlement could not be reached.⁴ The government refused to involve itself further in the matter. The Bureau continued apportioning work on an *ad hoc* basis, unsatisfactory to all but the smallest most flexible and energetic operators. In winter 1925, Miscamble dropped the commission on outside bookings and new contracts gave three quarters of the traffic to Webster-Rometch. But despite all efforts he could not appease the "giant", Webster-Rometch, which kept chipping away at the obstacle to its commercial hegemony thrown up by state-enterprise.⁵

The issue just went on and on. Obviously the problem was structural. There was one very large firm and many smaller, including numerous single-car operations. Webster-Rometch aimed at monopoly and were sure they could achieve it without Bureau "interference". The Bureau wanted to control motor tours for the sake of commissions and to regulate standards and fares. But enterprise is nothing if not persistent. Several companies attempted to usurp the official Bureaux with offices of their own. In 1926

1. *Merc*, 31/7/24, 1/8/24 and 4/8/24.

2. Knight was probably related to JCE Knight, who in 1926 represented Tasmania at conferences of Commonwealth automobile associations and the National Roads Association (see *Merc*, 9/9/26).

3. Guy made a special point of having the deputation recorded and a typescript produced (see AB455/4 R19/4, 24/10/24).

4. The "adjudicator", Thomas Okines, clashed with Miscamble and refused to deal with him (see PD1/38/21/24, Okines to Lyons, 20/11/24).

5. AB 455/4 R19/4.

the Astor Company was running a 'Tasmanian Tourist Bureau' at 32 Elizabeth Street, a very central position in Hobart.¹ In Collins Street there was a privately-run 'State Tourist Bureau' for several years. Webster-Rometch called their Launceston and Hobart offices 'Tasmanian Tourist Bureau'. They even issued broadsheets warning tourists not to be 'misled' by the TGTB.²

Late in 1924 Percy Weetman found it viable to open his own Northern Tourist Agency across the road from Bruce's office. Its slogan was 'Keep Tourists in Launceston'. Though he claimed 'no animosity' towards the TGTB, his backers obviously thought Bruce and Emmett neglected to put the city's case to visitors sufficiently.³ A 'Visitor' told the press that in Melbourne, Webb, 'a very superior person', had directed him to make Hobart his headquarters.⁴ The northern capital's new Mayor, Claude James, called a meeting of concerned citizens to discuss further evidence of mainlanders being hustled away from their town by TGTB officers. James's slogan was 'Boost Launceston'. He had previously supported the TGTB, but now saw Thomas Cook & Son as an answer to his city's grievances.⁵ Cook's had maintained a small presence in Tasmania since 1894.⁶ If nothing else, it was an effective spur with which to goad a seemingly inattentive TGTB.⁷

Thomas Cook's Offer

In 1925 Cook's Australasian manager, RJ Anwyl, visited Tasmania and addressed bodies such as the Launceston and Hobart Chambers of Commerce on the benefits to be derived from his company.⁸ He found James a willing accomplice. In an unsolicited report to Guy, James teamed with the EZ company's Herbert Gepp (1877-1954)⁹ to discuss Tasmania's 'tourist possibilities.' Miscamble accepted many of their infrastructural observations, albeit with reservations about practicability under existing

1. Hobart's other main operator, Hildyard Brothers' Astor Company was debarred because it acted for Bardsley's Parlour Coaches, which ran in direct competition with the railways on the Main and North-West Lines (see AB 455/4 R19/4). Large, illustrated adverts for Bardsley's stressed the 'luxurious' comforts available on the coaches. They also provided a considerably faster service than the railways, commonly completing the 120 mile Hobart-Launceston run in about four hours despite regulations limiting their speed to 25 mph. (See *DT*, 19/12/26 for advert; *DT*, 8/4/26 for speed of travel.)

2. AB 455/4 R19/27 and R19/8

3. LCCC Box 42B, Folder 35/2 has pink flyer announcing the initiative dated 21/11/24. Weetman continued to operate his bureau for several years, and frequently corresponded with the LCC (for examples see *ibid.*). See also *DT*, 4/12/24 for an interview with Weetman.

4. *DT*, 11/12/24.

5. *DT & Ex*, 10/12/24.

6. For some time a Cook's agency was operated by the TGR but in 1906 Premier Evans transferred it to the TTA to give the association extra revenue (CSD 22/172/6. 20/6/14 Moore- Robinson to Ogden). When the TTA was nationalised in 1914 the agency was again transferred to the TGTB and Cook's were appointed the TGTB agency in Sydney. See Morris, *CA op cit* p. 25. In Launceston the NTTA formed an early relationship with Cook's and retained it until 1917. Commissions earned amounted to 2% of £1,405 in 1913-14, of £1,119 in 1914-15, and of £1,375 in 1915-16. The relationship provided booking facilities for interstate and overseas tours, which Bruce considered a 'great convenience' (CSD 22/174/14. 5/7/16).

7. In 1922 disgruntled West Coast interests voted to negotiate directly with Cook's for guided tours (see *Advo*, 4/11/22).

8. *DT*, 29/10/25 has Anwyl in Launceston. See also Hobart Chamber *Handbook* 1925-26 p. 31.

9. *ADB*. See also Roe *op. cit* (1985) pp 95-110.



Herbert Gepp



Charles John Rollins

conditions. But he rejected absolutely their idea of turning the mainland TGTBs over to Cook's. Citing General Pau, he denounced as ignorant James and Gepp's claim that TGTB staff were unskilled. There could be, said Miscamble, no advantage in using Thomas Cook's. The TGTBs specialised in Tasmania, while Cooks and similar agencies channelled tourists into holidays bringing most profit to the company. The Commissioner claimed Gepp and James were disloyal towards 'their own' people. Guy shelved the proposal for the time being.¹

Anwyl was a forceful businessman and did not give up easily. Several months later, in February 1926, he approached Premier Lyons and extended his offer to take over the Tasmanian offices as well. Asked to comment, Miscamble said Cook's was 'anxious to take over the business not in the interest of Tasmania, but for what it can make out of the traffic.' As specialists in Tasmania the TGTBs had 'been of immense value' and to 'close them in the interest of a money making organisation would be a calamity.' Miscamble claimed to hold 'much evidence' that Cook's officers did their utmost to dissuade visitors from using the TGR. Cook's sent all its present business to the motor competitors. This evidence, backed by a 'Dear Joe' letter from Emmett's boss, TGR Secretary Charles John Rollins (1876-1945),² swung Cabinet to refuse Anwyl's offer.

Still keen to reduce spending, however, Guy continued canvassing reduction of Hobart and Launceston to 'information only' status. This was again met forcefully by Miscamble. Bookings commissions were means of collecting contributions towards upkeep and advertising from those that benefit. Hotel bookings helped channel tourists to avoid disappointments all round. Booking motor tours helped to regulate operators and set standards essential to good service. Miscamble reminded Guy that last time reduction was proposed the motor hirers and press in both cities opposed it. He quoted the *Ballarat Courier's* opinion that:

Speaking of the Tourist Bureau, let it be said without further ado that Tasmania easily leads the way. The efforts of the big cities on the mainland seems puny when compared with the efficiency, thoroughness, and comprehensiveness of the Tasmanian system.

To maintain this advantage they must have bookings liaison with the mainland bureaux and continue providing the same service to tourists once they got to the island. Again it had to be stated that curtailing the bureaux would be a 'retrograde step'. Government now agreed.³

¹. AB455 R19/6, October 1925. Gepp and James's report is not included in the record, merely Miscamble's response. It is most probable that Gepp and James efforts came together as a result of their membership of Lyons's State Development Advisory Board.

². TC p. 68. Ob. 9/1/45.

³. PD1/38/11/26 & AB455/4 R19/5. February-April 1926.

In 1927 Anwyl made another pitch at the Tasmanian market.¹ By this time, however, the state's finances and shipping certainty had improved sufficiently to justify a £3000 increase in the TGT D vote. Miscamble again stressed that the 'national' character of the industry demanded its direction by 'an organisation whose interests lie equally in all directions [rather] than by private enterprise'.² The idea of employing agents like Cook's or Queensland's Burns, Philp remained an option for discussion but TGR/TGT D arguments prevailed. Claude James's defence of the TGT D in 1931 showed that by then he too was convinced it was the best agency for the job.³ Tourist bureaucrats often employed propaganda skills in their own defence, and throughout the ensuing sixty years Tasmania has consistently retained the concept of the fully-functional, centralised state tourist bureau.⁴

State Tourist Advisory Board

Although Miscamble withstood attacks on the city Bureaux, he was still faced with the problem of how to draw together the strands of activity disorganised by TGT D retrenchment. The State Tourist Advisory Board (STAB) sought cooperation through municipal governments. Convened by Miscamble in mid 1925, it answered earlier calls from business and public bodies to involve them, to maintain 'continuity of action and interest'.⁵ Businessmen were asked for advice on advertising methods. Emmett was appointed secretary and thus maintained input. Jack Nettlefold also took a prominent role. Hobart leaders were keen to ensure the widest possible representation of tourist interests.⁶ Launceston's Claude James worried that the STAB would be 'too large and the various representatives would be fighting for their respective districts.' Emmett, ever the diplomat, said Miscamble was simply trying to do his best for all parts of the state and obtain expert advice. Both Hobart and Launceston agreed to participate if the executive was kept small.⁷

In August the STAB held its first business meeting in Launceston.⁸ An executive of eight district reps was appointed to advise Miscamble and Emmett: Mayor Ockerby and Ald. James for Launceston; Ald. Nettlefold and Rogers for Hobart; Spring Bay Warden AH Salmon (East Coast); Burnie Warden Samuel Bird (North-West); and

1. AA CP211/2/Bundle 55/Box 61/Investigation - Tasmania - Tourist Traffic.' Anwyl to Rose, 25/7/27.

2. *Ibid.* Miscamble's preliminary report to the DMC, 7/7/27.

3. *MR*, 12/11/31.

4. In 1959 the TGT D employed a commercial firm to assist with its advertising and has since done many deals with innovative designers and distributors. However the Department retains complete control over content and output.

5. Miscamble was talking up the idea in May (see *Merc*, 12/5/25). He claimed credit for this in his 1925 annual report (*TPP* 1925/21). It had been vaunted by businessmen since at least December 1923.

6. *Merc*, 16/6/25.

7. *Ibid.*, 26/6/25 has Emmett presenting the idea in Launceston. Present were James, Bruce, Master Warden LJ Abra, TR Tripe of the USSCo., JJ Sheehan of the Licensed Victuallers, TW Quigley of the *Brisbane Hotel*, and JA Bain, a banker. *Merc*, 2/7/25 and *The News*, 1/7/25 have Hobart section preliminary meetings attended by: Nettlefold, Emmett, Monty Heathorn, *The Imperial's* CS Belford, Master Warden JG Turner, and ET Connolly of the Swansea and East Coast Motor Co.

8. *DT & Merc*, 8/8/25.



MR. J. QUIGLEY.

Mr. Jim. Quigley, proprietor of the Brisbane Hotel, is one of the most prominent figures in Launceston, both physically and in the world of hotels and accommodation. His genial countenance is well known to all visitors to the northern city, and under his benevolent guidance his hotel has come to be regarded as a first-class house throughout Australia.

James William Quigley

MLCs Alan Wardlaw (North-East) and Andrew Lawson (West). Other interested parties present included the flamboyant manager of Launceston's *Brisbane Hotel*, James William Quigley (1883-1931), and the tourist-minded Mayor of Hobart, Francis David Valentine (1863-1941).¹ It was soon apparent that limiting the board's personnel denied many clamouring interests their say. Members were admitted from steamship companies, marine boards, chambers of commerce, the press, hotel and motor operators. Miscamble's main object was to decide upon a 'comprehensive and continuous scheme of advertising for the whole state'. He detailed actual and planned methods, including films and posters for distribution interstate and world-wide. Nettlefold had the executive agree to issue a 'special advertising envelope' for businesses to use in interstate correspondence.²

In its early stages the STAB promised to fill the TGTD hiatus. Its avowed enemy, parochialism, was something Ockerby had been guilty of,³ but he now recognised that the island must 'pull together' to compete with recent efforts by sister states to 'boom' their own traffics. The meetings gave each party insight into the others' initiatives. Ockerby reported that the HCC was issuing hotel display placards answering the question 'Where shall we go?'⁴ He wanted to learn from other centres rather than fight them. Despite lobbying by parochial interests,⁵ he maintained support for the STAB. James, on the other hand, started attacking the centralised system,⁶ and Launceston members participated less and less in the proceedings.

Yet roving meetings strengthened state-wide camaraderie and confidence. In December 1925 Burnie hosted the board. Warden Bird thought this was proof it was out for the good of the whole state. 'We have the goods,' he said, 'but we must put them in our shop window'. The STAB would show them how. Miscamble used the occasion to attack critics such as Gepp and James. He urged the boardmen to act as educators: to make the Tasmanians more tourist-minded. He lauded a recent HCC donation of £100 towards the STAB's program and urged others to follow, for:

I am only a unit and unless I get the support of the State as a whole I might as well give up. What we want is united action, cooperation and co-ordination.⁷

1. MHA 1912-13. HCC Ald. 1920-32, Mayor 1926-27. A builder, Valentine retired a gentleman in 1910. He was a director of Palace Pictures P/L, which built the Palace Theatre in Elizabeth Street in 1914, the first continuous picture theatre in Tasmania. The contractor was another Mayor JA McKenzie (see *DP*, 30/4/14). See also *ET*, *BRTP* and *Merc*, 15/12/24.

2. LCCC Box 42B Folder 35/4, minutes of STAB meeting, Hobart, 20/8/25. See also *TPP* 1925/21, Miscamble's first full Annual Report, 30/9/25.

3. In *Ex*, 7/8/20 Ockerby complained about a strong tendency to 'rush visitors off to Hobart.' In *Ex*, 6/1/23 he congratulated the paper on its recent 80th birthday series of articles on Launceston's progress. He hopes it will 'continue to boom Launceston We need more of the Ballarat spirit. If you run down Ballarat to a native, he wants to fight you.' He urges the *Examiner* to help to 'kill all pessimistic croaking'.

4. *Ex*, 22/8/25.

5. LCCC Box 42B Folder 35/4 has an interesting letter dated 29/8/25 from Percy Weetman's Northern Tourist Agency. It argues against the LCC contributing money to any state-wide propaganda, saying Hobart was already well known and the only way Launceston could benefit from the tourist traffic was by 'advertising itself.'

6. As described above, he mooted a takeover by Thomas Cook's.

7. *DT*, 17/12/25.



ALDERMAN F. D. VALENTINE.

Alderman F. D. Valentine, during his occupancy of the Mayoral chair for over two years, received the curses of all ratepayers who consider that the streets should not be torn up, or that they should be torn up, or that there are too many inspectors, or not enough water. Despite all this, however, he bore up nobly; indeed, he actually seemed to enjoy it, for his sprightliness was proof against the fulminations of all the progress associations in the city. He had a hand in most things bearing on the civic welfare, and was an indefatigable worker in all "weeks," "days," and "campaigns" organised for the benefit of any deserving institution in his city, over which he watched with a benevolent and fatherly care.

Francis David Valentine

The plea bore fruit in the form of a joint-publication, *Tasmania The Wonderland*. Eight thousand copies were distributed, mainly on the mainland but also 'world-wide'.¹ The title became a standard for TGTD publications: its literary allusions reflecting the Tasmanian sense of uniqueness.² Some rural councils declined to participate in the scheme, but it was supported by the Municipal Association of Tasmania.³ To head off parochial criticism the towns' order of placement in the book was chosen by ballot. Flinders Island came out first.⁴

Though archives of the early STAB's activities are no longer extant,⁵ remaining evidence suggests it was a purposeful exercise in PR, and went some way towards offsetting the lack of government funding. But it was unwieldy and expensive to convene and did not satisfy those people who thought more could be achieved than Miscamble allowed. Thus in 1926 emerged a body of Tasmanians seeking greater progress in tourism. Seeing an opportunity, Leslie Norman and others promoted an broader grass roots body—a 'Come To Tasmania Organisation' (CTTO)—to fill the TGTD vacuum. Miscamble and Emmett took active roles in the CTTO and thenceforward a year the STAB was all but obsolete.

The commercial community's re-entry into tourist organising was prompted by the TGTD vacuum, but it also reflected a wider movement for reviving 'the civic spirit'. Miscamble's three years as head of the TGR saw the movement increasingly interesting itself in tourism. It can be seen as *the* time when Tasmanians almost unanimously came to see the tourist traffic as an industry in its own right, a fundament of their prosperity, a legitimate responsibility of government. As it came to a close, government expenditure on the tourist item began to increase and never again sank to the levels of the mid-1920s. To review this voluntary movement and its effects on public opinion we must return to the early decade.

1. Tasmanian Government Railway Department Tourist Branch, in conjunction with the Municipalities and Tourist Associations *Tasmania The Wonderland*. (Hobart: 1926). Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Handbook*, 15/12/26, describes the 'handsome illustrated books' saying they will bring a 'rich harvest'. (Distribution details from Miscamble's 1927-27 Annual Report, *TPP* 1927/20.)

2. See the Bibliography. Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was first published in 1868. Its immense popularity was turned to Tasmanian account. In 1913 the government purchased 250 copies of J Mather's *Tasmania's Wonderland* (see PD1/38/36/14-16). In 1917 LC Widburd called the Mole Creek district 'The Wonderland of Tasmania' (*Advo*, 8/11/17), and in 1920 Emmett described Lake St Clair as 'A Wonderland of Picturesque Scenery' (*World*, 8/1/20). In 1920 in Launceston a 'Wonderland Souvenir Parlour' also cashed in. Note that Tasmania had no monopoly on the term: on 21/1/15 the *Tasmanian Mail* was carrying an advert for 'Queensland. The Wonderland of the Commonwealth' which made much of that state's 'Enchanting Scenery'.

3. *Merc*, 6/7/26.

4. *Ibid.*, 4/9/26. *Wonderland* was criticised for insufficient care in letterpress, inconsistency and disorder, an indication that cooperative efforts have their own faults (see *ibid*, 5/11/26).

5. Not in Railways, Premier's or Chief Secretary's Departmental records, nor Railway Minister's or Bureau records. The latter two series for the period are in very poor condition. There is a small file dealing with a re-established STAB from mid 1927 at AB455 R19/9.

9 GRASS ROOTS RESURGENCE—CIVICS AND THE SEARCH FOR CONFIDENCE

Expressions of complaint were never so strong as in the 1920s. All kinds of extra-parliamentary organizations started up, convinced that even if the state had not been deliberately swindled by federation, it was now being robbed blind. There was a sense of grievance verging on paranoia as well as a sense of being ignored ...

Lloyd Robson.¹

While it is true that Tasmanians did a lot of complaining in the 1920s, Robson's comment diminishes the very *positive* effects outside forces had in the island. To grieve is to don black and make no contracts—this the Tasmanians did not do. Commonwealth policies led some to espouse secessionism, but they also did everything in their power to find creative solutions to their problems. And why not try everything? Tasmanian boosters were motivated by the desire to heal a community badly divided by war issues, and the latent conviction that improvement and local self-help were inseparable. Imperial revivalism and the import of American ideas and methods added further impetus, bringing civic consciousness back into high regard, and heightening the vital, if somewhat crude, force of optimism. The early 1920s saw revival and reform in municipal government, establishment of new bodies such as Rotary and the Economic Society, new progress associations in the two cities, and reinvigoration of CTA and ANA activity. Ever present was the idea that complaint was insufficient basis for attaining goals: there also had to be built up a body of intelligent argument, a team spirit, and a fighting force convinced that combined effort would conquer all difficulties. Booster organisations like the Tasmanian Shipping Committee, Tasmanian Rights League, Come To Tasmania Organisation and Launceston Fifty Thousand League all encouraged and tapped *an already renascent* feeling that the "natural elite" should take more part in the day-to-day of state and civic affairs.

Without civic ethics and 'moral enlightenment' Tasmania would never have achieved local or colonial self-government in the 1850s.² The voluntarists of the 1920s also had more recent precursors. Indeed some personnel remained from the tourist and progress movement of the 1890s, the State Reform League of 1902-3, and the Tamar Harbour Improvement League and Customs Leakage furores of 1910-12. Their heydays were usually times of relative economic insecurity and state fiscal difficulty. They were less evident in boom times. Thus voluntarism and region were giving way to centralism and state in buoyant 1913 and war-time activity saw the final demise of TTA and NTTA localism. Post-war reconstruction further delayed renewal of local action. The swing

1. Robson, *op. cit.* p. 396 and Chapter 21 generally

2. Roe, Michael *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1951* (MUP: 1965) describes the roots of civics in terms of the 'new faith' of 'moral enlightenment'. See also his article on 'The establishment of local self government in Hobart and Launceston 1945-1858' in *THRAPP* 14/1, pp. 21-45, and WA Townsley's description of the *Struggle for Self-Government in Tasmania 1842-1856* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1951).

occurred when years of economic growth gave way to decline and threatened to thwart rising expectations.

Increased participation of the business-civic community in state boosting can be dated to the state's fiscal-political problems and change of government in 1922-23. The Made in Tasmania exhibition and Back to Tasmania movement of 1922 aptly revealed Tasmanian self-assertion. Even these events, inward-looking and dominated by Hobart, are probably best seen as laying foundations for future efforts. Later movements were far more financially successful and diminished, albeit momentarily, parochial jealousies in the interests of presenting a united Tasmanian front. Central was the role of propaganda and tourism in all this: the boosters' recognition of tourism as a vital locus for all discussion of development.

This chapter seeks to understand the forces that underlay and motivated the change. It begins by identifying stimuli for voluntarism: the internal and external, positive and negative, political, economic and cultural-ideological forces that prompted civic groups to seek to take charge of the state's future. It then describes some of the groups and their personnel.

Internal Stimuli—Economics and Politics

From 1921-22 the state treasury started to creak under a heavy debt burden.¹ Political and economic uncertainty meant new investments ceased to appear. Officials such as Smith had for years been warning this would result from pork-barrelling politics. Now mainstream Tasmanian public opinion shapers began to doubt the Nationalists' ability to get the island out of its troubles. Increased unemployment and youth migration heightened the feeling.² Michael Denholm argues convincingly that the change of administration in 1923 was more a case of failed government than triumphant opposition:³

By October 1923 the position of the Nationalist government was untenable. The incompetent and unimaginative administration of the previous anti-Labor governments, the terrible condition of the State's finances, the disunity and ill-feeling in the anti-Labor ranks,⁴ the rapid turnover of ministries, the serious losses on the soldier settlement scheme, the misapplication of funds voted by Parliament for specific purposes to quite other purposes,⁵ the dissatisfaction at the condition of affairs in the Railways Department,⁶ the unpopularity of the Premier,⁷ public resentment at the continual intriguing,⁸ and the prevailing pessimism within the community about the future of the State, with the talk of the possibility of Tasmania losing her independence, by being either taken over by the

1. *TPP* 1921/23, 1922/11, 1923/16.

2. Blainey, *Peaks of Lyell* op. cit p. 251.

3. Denholm, Michael 'The Lyons Labor Government, 1923-1928' *THRAPP* 24/1, June 1977 pp. 45-6. The footnotes are his own.

4. Especially with the advent of the Country Party. In November JC McPhee, a future Nationalist Premier, stated that 'Tasmania did not owe anything to the last seven years of Nationalist administration' (see *Merc*, 21/11/23).

5. *World*, 29/3/23.

6. *Ex*, 10/8/23.

7. *World*, 7/12/23.

8. *Ex*, 16/8/23.

Commonwealth or being absorbed by Victoria:¹ all these made the need for drastic change vital. As Colonel Snowden, a Nationalist member for Denison, said, "the finances are in such a horrible state that unless something is done quickly the people will rise up against Parliament."²

Lee's response to the TGR Royal commission precipitated his defeat. It was the last straw in a series of political scandals. But Joe Lyons was not the awkward stopgap John Earle had been. He improved his position at the 1925 elections and held on to power five years. This was testament not only to his personal leadership but also to popular recognition that, for several years at least, state must come before party. A period of clumsy Nationalist government therefore led to political change which had great positive effects. Local communities were forced to rely less on central government and undertake voluntary self-improvement programs. Local government was urged to take the lead in boosting, and tourism was often the focus for such work.

Lee's 1923 budget 'stunned Tasmanians' with its 'drastic financial programme'.³ His Labor successor largely followed the program. Lyons made it palatable by rejecting several measures abhorred by the business community, such as abolition of the Agent-Generalship. He also initiated some novel and apparently practicable measures for stimulating development without very great expense to the Treasury. Tax hikes were frustrated by the Legislative Council, but so were numerous progressive reforms. This garnered enough support to keep Lyons' minority government in power. There are strong indications that Lyons was early influenced by the *Mercury*-Hobart Chamber of Commerce "combine".⁴

Lee had sought to deflect criticism onto the Commonwealth, but this made Melbourne hostile. Lyons took a different tack. Coming at the end of a long period of high government expenditure he promised to restrain it in future. Hamstrung in regard to development, he nevertheless activated investigational procedures and made great show of trying to attract private enterprise with 'Encouragement Acts'.⁵ He enlisted help from the awakening business community by minimising his former 'socialist' allies. Notable was his establishment of Advisory Boards to deal with developmental problems. He presented detailed, reasoned arguments to Melbourne, and was more successful obtaining 'reparations' from the protectionist Federal authorities. Lyons' consensual politics and claim that Labor was the only party 'capable of developing comprehensive State policies ... made him more acceptable to many Nationalists than their own leaders.'⁶ The conservative *Mercury*, and even the National Federation,

1. See *Advo*, 10/10/23.

2. *Stead's Review*, 1/5/23.

3. *ADB*.

4. Lee was more stubborn than Lyons and the Hobart press-commercial establishment found him 'difficult', accounting in large measure for his downfall and replacement by Lyons. Neil Campbell (see *Merc*, 2/11/27) said a section of press had the government's ear and were apparently dictating policy. The papers wooed Lyons and kept him on track, meanwhile denying direct links.

5. For 'artificial silk', rubber tyres, East Coast development and paper pulp enterprises (see *TPP*).

6. *ADB*.

helped shape this opinion, denigrating party politics in a period when the state needed to project a singular determination to improve its lot.¹ Voluntary movements hostile to Lee could turn to more positive tasks under Lyons. He helped create a better “atmosphere”.

Lyons tapped, on a voluntary basis, the skills and allegiance of Tasmania’s commercial-civic elite, his bourgeois ex-opponents. In order that he should have been able to do this a predisposition must exist. What, then, was the background to the bourgeois community’s willingness to take part, even to lead, actively and voluntarily, in the massive job of ‘saving the state’? What was the wider economic and cultural context of bourgeois interest and activity? And what led them to seize tourism as an answer to their problems? As with internal forces, obstacles and opportunities were both at work, and responses were both reactive and counteractive.

Commonwealth Protection, ‘this triple-headed Vampire’²

Australian protectionism was a great positive stimulus to Tasmanian voluntarism and tourist consciousness in the 1920s. It was the “settled policy” of Australia and has previously attracted historians though few have made much of its tourist ramifications. A trade-off between capital and labour, its tariff, basic wage and compulsory arbitration made industrial development possible in the context of White Australia. But it did not entirely suit the less industrialised states. Tasmania, a producer and exporter of primary produce with no large, concentrated, internal market, fared worst because unlike its mainland sisters it had to rely on a single means of communication, shipping. It made investment in new plant almost prohibitive for capitalists, and thus naturally those most opposed were the commercial-civic elite, the self-proclaimed “natural leaders” of Tasmanian society. They were the innovators, the accumulators and investors of risk capital, the main taxpayers and employers—but the system denied full extension of their desire also to be profit-takers. They ceaselessly sought alleviation from all deleterious aspects of protectionism. Its demonstrable effect on the island’s tourist communications was a potential tool for persuading the Tasmanian demos to back their campaign.

Governments also felt the effect of the tariff on the cost of state infrastructure investment, especially in railways and hydro-electric power. The fact they were nevertheless willing to invest large sums displays their optimistic belief in the island’s industrial future. In fact rapid industrialisation was seen as the only way Tasmania could survive within the Protectionist system. But it imposed a heavy tax burden on a small population and as we just saw drove the Treasury into dangerous debt levels. A

1. *Merc*, 8/4/25:

2. *Merc*, 11/12/23.

“vicious circle” emerged. Inability to service the debt led to higher taxes, this reduced local investment, stifled growth, caused unemployment and emigration, which in turn diminished the local tax-base and market and made growth all the more elusive. When world commodity prices slumped in 1921, unemployment and depopulation soared higher, and a general air of despair drove Tasmanians to seek radical solutions. Yet despite strong press support it was difficult at first for commercial leaders to convey the problem to the public without appearing self-interested. People in jobs were unlikely to accept any dilution of the wages made possible by the tariff and there was strong ideological support for the principles of arbitration and “racial purity”.

Barring the 'flu epidemic, all stoppages had industrial relations roots and lay in the province of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court. The Court's bureaucratic methods were seen to encourage strikes, it set wages at rates Tasmanian employers felt were unrealistic in their economy, and was inaccessible to Tasmanians because it sat only in mainland cities. The islanders had little say in solving conflicts between militant unions, reactionary shipping companies, and Federal governments torn between the protectionist ideal and its industrial consequences. But they could lobby, and they attacked the Commonwealth for its failure to take measures to keep the sea route open. In 1921 citizens' vigilance committees were organised by Chambers of Commerce and Marine Boards into a new state-wide Tasmanian Shipping Committee (TSC). Prominent individuals are by now familiar: Snowden, Monds, Susman, Heritage, Piesse, Johnston, Jones, Malcolm Kennedy, Jim Newton and Tom Murdoch.¹ Hobart's predominance was notable, as was consistent support and publicity by the *Mercury*,² but Launceston representatives (Monds and Newton) gave it a semblance of 'Tasmanian' identity and voice. The TSC had an ongoing charter, but in its early stages it faced both parochial division and public indifference. Whenever a strike ended people quickly forgot it.

The fight, however, gained enormous strength from the operation of the Navigation Act. An extension of protectionism, from July 1921 it gave a monopoly to Australian shipping companies, who in return gave Australian seamen the same standards and conditions as their landlubber colleagues. This immediately inflated interstate freights and fares, impinging directly on all Tasmanians who either wished to travel to the mainland or consume its exports. The Act's coastal clauses debarred non-Australian ships from engaging in the interstate passenger trade. Before the war Hobart had been developing a regular service of overseas liners *en route* between Brisbane, Sydney and Europe. Large and luxurious in comparison to interstate ferries, the mail boats were welcomed by Tasmanians travelling abroad.

1. See *Merc.* 1/2/21; 18/7/21. Also Hobart Chamber of Commerce, *Handbook* 1923 p. 68.
 2. For examples see editorials in *Merc.* 8/10/21 and 13/10/21.

Most important for business was the fact that the overseas ships' mail and passenger function constrained them to a regular predictable timetable, perfect for exporting fruit in fairly small shipments to Europe when the markets were best. Thus they were also known as 'apple boats'. But only carriage of interstate passengers to Hobart made the trip viable. Without that direct but veiled subsidy, Tasmanian merchants and producers had to despatch large cargoes of fruit on international trampers. This was the fact least emphasised in the campaign for return of the apple boats. The business world concentrated its arguments on tourist transport. It could be most easily communicated to the general public without protagonists seeming too self-interested. Loss of the excitement surrounding the arrival of big boats was especially felt by Hobartians who had always watched their port with interest and anticipation. The Act displeased mainlanders, especially the better off who, it was claimed, would not travel on the smaller coastal ferries. It was therefore a powerful symbol of Tasmania's plight, employable in seeking support from Tasmanians and mainlanders alike.

Surprisingly few members (especially executives) of the TSC and its constituent bodies were directly involved in tourist trade.¹ But most saw tourism's power to promote the transport and communication services upon which commerce ultimately hangs. Tourists make shipping viable, and encourage shipping companies to run regular services. Tourists stimulate the economy, increasing the home market for producers and demanding the more profitable lines of consumables from merchants. If protectionism could clearly be shown to hinder the flow of tourists and therefore commerce between Tasmania and the rest of the world a dual purpose would be served. Recognition of this was one of the great motivators of the 1920s. The TSC had an executive flavour and consisted a small group of influential non-Laborites based in Hobart. It excited little public clamour during the strike-free seasons of 1922-24. But when industrial conditions worsened in 1924-25 its members became the sparking nucleus for a popular Tasmanian Rights League. This engendered a sense of Tasmanian identity and helped bring Tasmania's position to the forefront of national politics. The Rights League prepared the ground for a popular state-wide tourist movement.

Empire Revivalism

Anti-protectionism would stimulate Tasmania for at least a decade, but contrary to Robson *et al* it was not the only rousing force. Far more positive was the promise held out by Tasmania's "other link", the British Empire. The post-war drive for imperial reconstruction gave Tasmania hope in several directions apropos trade and

1. See the annual Hobart Chamber of Commerce *Handbooks*. It took special creation of a sectional tourist committee in 1926-27 to bring motor and hotel operators into the active work of the Chamber.

immigration. In the 1920s a succession of British dignitaries visited Tasmania, strengthening ties and urging the state to “keep its end up”.

In July 1920 Edward, Prince of Wales, visited Tasmania and stirred romantic affection for Empire. Here was the ‘Digger Prince’, who had such nice things to say about our soldiers.¹ The event spurred state and local pride. Undersecretary Addison and committees in Hobart and Launceston were keen to ensure it helped project Tasmania to the world. Service providers also saw that the festivities surrounding the vice-regal presence would draw large crowds from the hinterlands. The TGR benefited from the unprecedented activity.

Hobart’s Brownell Brothers printed a souvenir. Two portraits of Edward framed their ‘London House’ Emporium.² Photos of the Prince at establishments bolstered claims of exclusivity. Panic accompanied news Launceston’s visit might be curtailed. To the relief of all, disappointment was averted. Edward was seen to be entranced by the city’s charms.³ 40,000 greeted the Prince, a temporary population boost of over 14,000 for the city.⁴ Keen to exploit the publicity attending the visit,⁵ Council allocated £500 for entertainments and decorations. Floodlit public buildings proudly advertised the hydro-electric works that gave Launceston bargaining power in the chase for new industries.⁶ In Hobart brilliant Hydro displays showed Tasmania ‘in transformation.’⁷ Modern signs abounded.⁸ At the Government House luncheon the Premier’s lengthy roundup of state progress included the tourist industry. The Prince started to reply but gave up on account of ‘hoarseness’: it was as if he had been struck dumb by the island’s beauty and potential.

What was to be learnt from the visit? Apparently little on the Prince’s part, said the *Mercury*, regretting the brevity of his tour. More important was the lesson for the Tasmanians themselves. They had just witnessed ‘a political mission’ to unite the Empire,⁹ part of an ‘Imperial Propaganda’ campaign the paper had noted as early as January 1919.¹⁰ For that purpose, no time could have been more ‘apt, no diplomat

1. See generally *Merc* and *Ex*, 19-24/7/20. The actual visit lasted 19-22 July. For a description through the eyes of an eleven year old boy scout, see Norman, *Don op. cit.*

2. *Merc*, 6/8/20.

3. He enjoyed winning tips at Mowbray racecourse (see *Merc*, 22/7/20).

4. *Ex*, 2/5/20.

5. *Ex*, 12/5/20.

6. The state grid had not yet extended beyond the South. In the Hydro-Electric Department’s Annual Report for 1918 JH Butters had to admit he could not supply a white lead paint factory proposed for Tasmania by an English syndicate, but that Launceston had come to an agreement (see *TPP* 1918/27).

7. *Merc*, 6/8/20.

8. ‘Mercurius’ told how the young Edward enjoyed jazzy dances in Hobart, as compared to ‘ponderous old classic dances’ in New Zealand and the mainland (*Merc*, 10/3/23). The social events, however, were by no means proletarian or without “form”. “Society” formed a tight circle and all practiced their curtsies and bows (*Merc*, 17/7/22). Social climbers resorted to ‘sculduggery’ and ‘cheek’ to obtain proximity (see Norman, *Don op. cit.*).

9. *Merc*, 23/7/20.

10. *Ibid.*, 2/1/19: ‘Imperial Propaganda’, lessons learnt from German propaganda. Philip M Taylor notes the commercial impetus for *The Projection of Britain: British overseas publicity and propaganda 1919-1939* (CUP; 1981). See also MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire*. (Manchester: University Press; 1984).

more charming and successful' than the future King. Coming so soon after the war, the mission would do much to strengthen the golden threads of kinship.¹ The paper gloated as visiting journalists praised the state's marked lack of anti-loyalist sentiment.²

Of course 'golden' had far more than figurative meaning. Britain was still the main source of Tasmania's loan funding and the focus of efforts to attract new industries and settlers. In a leader dealing with 'The Press and the Royal Visit' the *Mercury* said that while 'Princes may make whatever tours they please' it was incumbent on pressmen 'to turn them to proper account.' Few royal tours could be expected, but other 'statesmen, public men and pressmen' would come. It was their function to tell the rest of Empire the opportunities for new settlers and 'the kind of welcome to be expected here.' For an overcrowded Britain, Tasmania offered an outlet, and Empire revivalism could only be good for Tasmania.³ Lee's Nationalists agreed. They spent £11,000 entertaining Edward and entourage for three days,⁴ a sum equal to the year's budget for the TGT. The Prince was 'the transcendent tourist.'⁵

To ensure journalists and others remembered the 'Electric Isle', the press issued souvenir 'Royal Issues' extolling the 'Englishness' of Tasmanians, 'unique to Australia,' probably a function of their 'insularity',⁶ and welcoming the visitors to their 'sunny shores' (it was the middle of winter).⁷ Special exhibits followed Edward up to Brisbane's Royal Show, where Emmett delivered lectures on 'Tasmania as a Tourist Resort' to the festive multitudes.⁸

Although by far the most expensive guest, Edward was not the only imperial ambassador. In September 1921 the government spent £92 entertaining Lord Northcliffe.⁹ This British press baron and 'creator of the modern newspaper'¹⁰ came to the Antipodes 'to solve the riddle of the Pacific and White Australia.'¹¹ He praised the 'excellent propaganda' supplied by Webb in Melbourne, but thought he'd seen the world's superlative scenic features. He came away extolling 'Sunny Tasmania', its beauty and attractions as 'a tourist and sportsman's paradise', and urged the Tasmanians to keep up the good work.

1. *Merc*, 23/7/20.

2. *Ibid.*, 21/7/20.

3. *Ibid.*, 23/7/20.

4. *Ibid.*, 2/12/26.

5. I thank Michael Roe for this turn of phrase.

6. *Merc*, 20/7/20.

7. *Ibid.*, 17/7/20.

8. The government fruit expert set up displays alongside, backdrops showing the island's scenic delights. The *Brisbane Courier* called it 'one of the most attractive exhibits' (see *Merc*, 24/7/20 and 4/8/20). In 1927 on the occasion of another royal tour *Merc*, 11/3/27 suggested erection of an apple arch in Hobart. It would be a 'splendid advertisement ... prominence would be given to the novelty' in overseas reports.

9. *TPP* 1922/11, p. 111.

10. Taylor, *AJP English History: 1914-1945* (OUP; 1967) p. 186-7.

11. Clarke, *Tom My Northcliffe Diary* (London: Victor Gollancz; 1931. p. 220.

Northcliffe met Tasmania's important people and made a special point of interviewing labour representatives. The visit was well appreciated by shapers of public opinion, who welcomed his promise to ensure Britons were better informed about Tasmania. It gave a great boost to the press itself; a chance to assert its social role and the journalist's claim to professional ranking. It further encouraged leaders to seek new ways of strengthening the imperial link and thereby their own fortunes.¹ With visits by other imperial representatives² opportunities soon appeared. Whether and how Tasmania would take them up was always a matter for keen discussion.

In May 1922 the island was visited by Major Belcher and a delegation of the British Empire (Wembley) Exhibition Committee. Col. Archie Christie, brought his observant wife Agatha.³ The party met Chambers, Cabinet ministers and bureaucrats, and witnessed a Made in Tasmania exhibition in Hobart's City Hall. Smith and Emmett were helpful in every way, illustrating their understanding of the nexus between tourism and general trade.⁴ Emmett took Belcher to National Park, saying it would give him the best possible impression of Tasmania's scenic attractions.⁵

Belcher's brief tour involved 'hard travelling',⁶ taking in the North-West and going out of his way to meet local functionaries and citizens.⁷ More than mere curiosity motivated him. When Wembley was discussed at the 1921 Premiers' Conference, Tasmania was the only state to demur on financial contributions. Australian displays coordinated by the Commonwealth were to be organised along national lines rather than state-by-state. It was felt this would swamp Tasmania's profile.⁸ But Belcher's visit had the desired effect: much as had Earl Grey's 1914 promotional tour for the Panama exhibition of 1915. Urged on by Agent-General McCall, Tasmania had sent bundles of literature, which kept Emmett busy answering correspondents,⁹ so he could

1. Northcliffe's Tasmanian sojourn was 17-21/9/21 but see the Tasmanian press generally from 15-28/9/21. His *London Daily Mail*, 12/10/21 carried a glowing article on Tasmania, 'One of the Other Englands' (reprinted in *Ex*, 11/12/21 and *Merc*, 28/1/22). See also a skit by Charles L Graves entitled 'Lord Thanet in Tasmania' in *London Punch*, 28/9/21 (*Advo*, 21/11/21 has reprint).

2. Lord Leverhulme, founder of the British Advertising of Advertising in 1914, came with Mr Kitchen looking at the soap market (see *Ex*, 25/1/24). Governor-Generals Lord Forster (see *Ex*, 31/1/25) and Lord Stonehaven (*Merc*, 2/2/26) praised and cajoled the Tasmanians. Stonehaven's much publicised walking expedition from Lake St Clair to Gormanston did much to stimulate interest in the region and the West Coast Road (see *Merc*, February 1927). We have already mentioned LS Amery's trips to Tasmania. His son, W Bankes Amery, was also active in attempts to find some accommodation for Tasmania in the £34 million migration agreement. He attended public meetings and again brought home the imperial link (see for one of many examples, *Merc*, 1/4/26). In 1928 Sir Robert Home visited Tasmania and said the bulk of Britons knew nothing of the island's resources (see *Merc*, 31/1/28 and following days).

3. Christie, Agatha *An Autobiography* (Glasgow: Collins; 1977) includes four pages (302-6) on Australia, mainly fairly vague memories. They visited in early May, and attended a trade exhibition in Hobart. She was flattering about Tasmania, though her ideas about it seem a bit dizzy: Describing 'Incredibly beautiful Hobart, with its deep blue sea and harbour, and its flowers, trees and stuubs. [She] planned to come back and live there one day.' Several pages later she wrote similar things about NZ.

4. *Picturesque Tasmania*, June 1922.

5. *Merc*, 15/5/22.

6. *Picturesque Tasmania*, June 1922.

7. *Advo*, 9/2/22.

8. *CPP* 1920-21/156. 'Decisions Arrived at... Premiers' Conference, [Melbourne, Oct-Nov] 1921.'

9. See *Merc*, 24/2/14: Mayor Meagher welcomed Grey to 'the tight little island.' Grey said friends in Tasmania had acquainted him with the climate. He talked of voluntarism as collective-socialism. The

now attest to the potential publicity value of Wembley. Strapped for cash, the government agonised whether to participate. It couldn't afford not to, said the *Mercury*. The 'financial crisis' should not govern its response to this important key to state investment, immigration and development.¹ Eventually it had to bow to public pressure. A State Commission for Wembley formed soon after. Emmett's TTA predecessor, John Moore-Robinson, as organising secretary, did the leg-work for D'Arcy Addison.² Tasmania spent £8,326 on this campaign.³

Wembley will re-enter the narrative. Meanwhile there were still more imperial stimuli. In October 1925 the London *Daily Telegraph's* Lord Burnham led an Imperial Press Delegation to Australia. Delegates told Australia to increase the information being disseminated in Britain.⁴ In Tasmania their message was well received.⁵ The *Yorkshire Post's* Anthony Eden, penned positive prose on Tasmania: 'Australia's Playing Fields', 'England at the Antipodes'.⁶ An AP Herbert article on 'TATTSMANIA' gained wide circulation through *Punch*: 'written in an amusing strain ... valuable publicity at no cost to the government.'⁷ In October 1926 Tasmania spent £676 hosting an Empire Parliamentary Delegation.⁸ Newspapers were interspersed with 'brief facts' on Tasmania, full of optimism for the duration of the visit. In Hobart Lord Salisbury talked on the 'Obligations of Citizens' and the 'spirit of service'. The *Mercury* sermonised on the importance of showing 'politeness to our guests'.⁹ The lesson was employed in 1927 for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York.¹⁰

Viceroy & Legates—Ambassadorial Reciprocity

Two major institutions placed Tasmania within the Imperial context, and indeed the Western world: the office of Governor and its diplomatic quasi-equivalent the Tasmanian Agent-General in London. As expressions of Australia's attachment to Empire they were abhorred by radical nationalists. But Australia's main market for

Mercury said it could stomach this sort of socialism. See also *TPP* 1914/11 Agent-General's report; *Merc.* 27/1/15 and 13/4/15. The literature was distributed by the Australian envoy, Alfred Deakin. See AA A2/1/15/1526/68 for Panama Exhibition: report by Deakin dated 10/8/15.

1. *Ibid.*, 21/4/23.

2. *Advo.*, 4/7/23.

3. *Merc.*, 2/12/26.

4. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, 1/7/26, Secy NSW Development League to PM.

5. The *Mercury* prepared to impress the delegates as early as 11/5/25. See the Empire Press Union - Tasmanian Arrangements Committee's *Imperial Press Conference Australia, 1925: Visit to Tasmania, Programme* (Hobart: Mercury; 1925).

6. *DT*, 7/4/26 has reprint of Eden's comments about Tasmania in *Yorkshire Post*. An editorial on 9/4/26 was very pleased with Eden's attitude and sympathetic publicity of 'Tasmania's Troubles' with the Navigation Act. See also Chapter Nine of his *Places in the Sun* (London: John Murray; 1926).

7. PD1/38/8/26, 14/1/26.

8. See *Merc.*, 21-25/10/26 and Auditor General's Report 1926-27, *TPP* 1927/3.

9. *Merc.*, 22/10/26.

10. See all papers, c. 27/4/1927. The children of Tasmania gave Princess Elizabeth a miniature suite of Tasmanian timbers inlaid with block maps of the island. [See Tasmanian University Archives O.2/1 Mrs DM Ogilvie's scrapbook]. Elizabeth was back in England at the time. Little did the Tasmanians know they were entertaining the future King George VI. Two books dealt with the Ducal tour: Ian FM Lucas, *The Royal Embassy* and W Taylor Darbyshire, *The Royal Tour of the Duke and Duchess of York* (both 1927), cited by Dwyer Gray in *Stead's Review* article 1/12/27).



SIR HERBERT NICHOLLS.

Sir Herbert Nicholls, when not fulfilling the honoured duties of Chief Justice of the Tasmanian Supreme Court, may be observed perambulating about the landscape at Kosny with an extraordinary putter of his own design which he contrives to use most successfully in defiance of all natural laws. Sir Herbert is a prominent member of the Royal Hobart Golf Club, and is usually somewhere near the top of the list in most of the championships. In his spare time, as president of the Shakespeare Society, he instills an appreciation of the immortal bard into the minds of hardened picture-goers.

Sir Herbert Nicholls

imports, exports and finance capital was Britain. Direct links were necessary for the real power brokers. Financial considerations sparked an interesting situation in the early 1920s when the anti-Labor Premier Lee was slow to fill the vacant Governorship and actually tried to slough the Agent-Generalship. Labor, the worker's party and anti-Imperial if ever this existed in the state, had little faith in either office. Lyons' opposition insisted on an Australian-born Governor if they must have one. Lee seized this attitude as excuse for inaction and chance to save money. But once in government Lyons asserted the need for both posts. It was a complex issue, but the general impression is that Lee's desperate measures put him out of touch with commercial realities, symptomatic of the Nationalists' failure to consult constituents. Likewise it seems that Lyons' change of stance was an overt play for business support. It paid mutual dividends.

The Governor

Governors were revered as symbols of Tasmania's place in the world. They were more, however: a force for community confidence and a stimulant to local pride. Sir William Lamond Allardyce (1861-1930) held the post in 1920-22.¹ He fell for Tasmania's most "English" countryside and promised to 'be a publicity agent for Tasmania when he got on the other side of the world.'² But he also censured their apathy: 'You don't do enough to make the place attractive for your visitors.' There was not enough advertising, entertainment, attractions or novelties. He compared the Bahamas, smaller than Hobart but enjoying a constant flood of American tourists. He acknowledged the TGTD's 'comprehensive and methodical work' and urged extra funding.³

After Allardyce's departure there was much uncertainty and controversy over the Governorship. This stemmed from the confusing position taken by parliament. Premier Hayes told Britain that Cabinet would 'welcome' an appointment but also that a majority of MPs had expressed themselves 'against the appointment of Imperial Governors'.⁴ The post was administered by Chief Justice Sir Herbert Nicholls (1868-1940), a keen sportsman, explorer, ANA stalwart, clever and reforming lawyer-politician. Though esteemed by most Tasmanians,⁵ he did nothing to satisfy advocates of "a Governor from Home".

1. See *TC*, p. 19 and *ADB*.

2. *Advo*, 12/12/21.

3. *Merc*, 26/1/22.

4. *Merc*, 14/3/23. This reflected a persistent contemporary attitude in Australian parliaments, most of which had Labor governments. *Round Table's* Australian contributor observed that 'many Australians' thought persistence in looking overseas for personnel evinced 'a lack of confidence in ourselves'. (See *Round Table* No. 61, December 1925. p. 171.)

5. He was son of Eureka Stockade backer cum thirty-year *Mercury* editor, HR Nicholls. He fell sick in late 1923 and was replaced by a strange bedfellow of Labor Attorney-General Ogilvie, the ex-Liberal MHA and lawyer Norman Kirkwood Ewing. This did not work (see *ibid.* p. 170). By June 1924 Nicholls was again Administrator, then Lieutenant-Governor. (See *TC* pp. 190-20 and *ADB*.) Ogilvie served his articles under

The *Mercury* reflected on the effects of uncertainty. The Empire was reorganising and suitable personnel were scarce, but delays went on too long and the absence was embarrassing!

Not the least of the inconveniences, perhaps, is that when tourists or other visitors from different parts of the world behold our vacant Government House, and ask for advice, the giving involves a confession that some Tasmanians that take a just and natural pride in their State, and in its reputation for the best kind of conservatism in the observance of constitutional principles, are not always able to make without regret, or perhaps even a blush.¹

Here was rare public expression of a non-economic motive for the tourist movement: the need to be seen as equal to the Western canons of civilisation. To maintain two-way contact with “Home,” the paper called out for an Englishman ‘of tact, ability and goodwill a man of really progressive ideas’.² As noted above, the Governorship was the hub of high society during the tourist season.³ Presence or absence could certainly determine the success of tourist destinations. When Queensland roadbuilding allowed Governors’ holidays on the fledgling Gold Coast, its status greatly improved.⁴

Back in Tasmania uncertainty continued, prompting outrage when ‘good citizens’ were denied the full pomp at the June 1923 opening of parliament.⁵ Seven months later Premier Lyons moved to test if the House would do without an ‘imported Governor’ and stressed possible savings of £2000. Jack McPhee said savings were illusory. The ‘presence of a Governor from England meant more to the State than many seemed to imagine’.⁶ The motion passed on party lines.⁷ The opposition waited until numbers were right and framed a petition asking for an English appointment. In April Lyons announced he had sent the petition to London, but the issue dragged on.⁸

Smith’s Weekly wrote of ‘Tasmania’s Time of Trial’,⁹ but in October “society” was relieved to hear its new Chief Briton was on his way.¹⁰ James O’Grady (1866-1934) was a Catholic cabinet-maker, lately Labor MP for industrial Leeds. His appointment by Ramsay MacDonald flagged a new departure: Australia’s first Labor governor.¹¹ It

Ewing whose Royal Commission into the Hobart Licensing Bench in 1916 (*TPP* 1916/2) had generally supported hotel interests, with which Ogilvie was so closely connected (see *B RTP* and Robson, *op. cit.*).

1. *Merc.*, 14/3/23.

2. *Merc.*, 14/3/23.

3. See Chapter Five.

4. Fitzgerald, Ross *From 1915 to the early 1980s: a history of Queensland* (UQP; 1984), p. 457.

5. See also *Merc.*, 27/6/23

6. *Merc.*, 26/1/24.

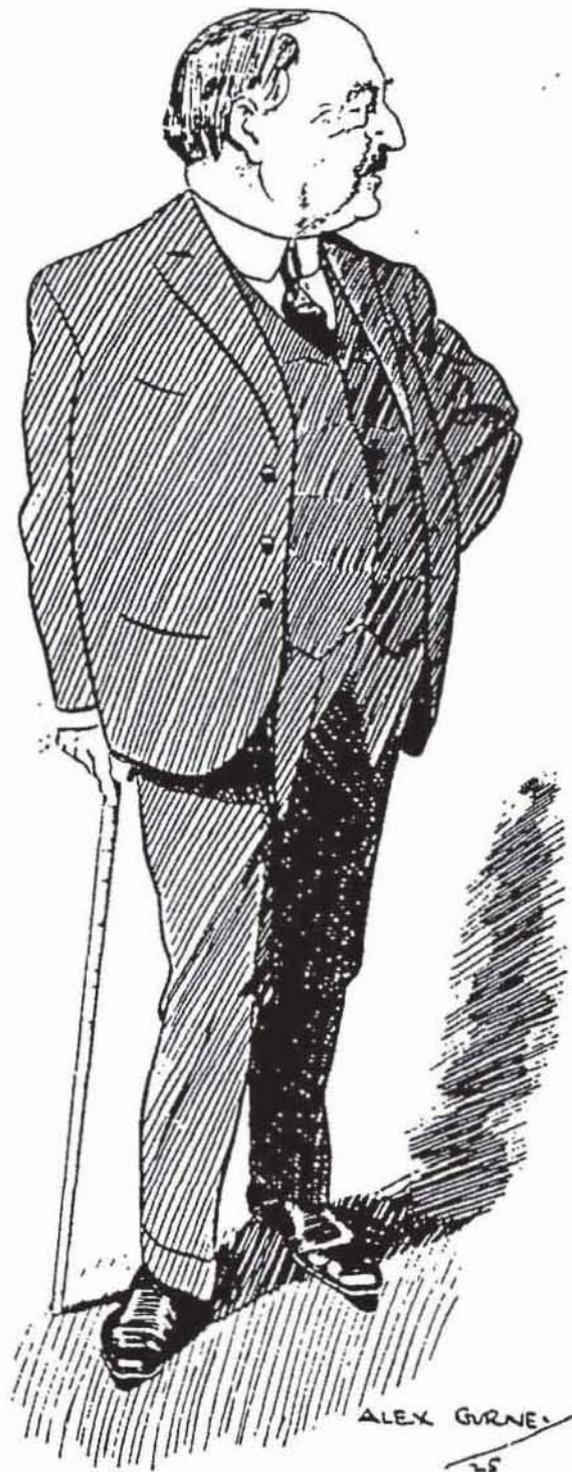
7. There being a majority of Labor members present at the sitting.

8. *Merc.*, 16/4/24. By June 1924 London had selected a man, but he died suddenly ‘on the top of an omnibus’ on his way to accept the appointment (see *Merc.*, 25/6/24).

9. *Smith’s Weekly*, 9/8/24. PD1/110/19/24 contains similar mainland references to Tasmania’s gubernatorial hiatus.

10. Appointed 9/10/24.

11. Ironically O’Grady’s most recent claims to fame had been his diplomatic missions to Russia, possibly including the negotiation of a loan-treaty with the Bolsheviks, the backlash from which helped bring down



HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

His Excellency the Governor, Sir James O'Grady, the State's chief optimist, spends a great deal of his time in pointing out to the inhabitants the advantages of their home, and encouraging them to look on the bright side of things occasionally. He has probably seen a great deal more of the island than most natives, and, from one end of Tasmania to the other, enjoys a deep respect and a hearty popularity. Like most sons of Erin he possesses a genial humour which not even his constant attendance at agricultural shows and regattas tends to curtail, and among his lesser accomplishments he sings a good comic song. An Imperialist in the best sense, Sir James O'Grady has won for himself universal esteem and liking.

Sir James O'Grady

satisfied Tasmanian Laborites, particularly Irish-Catholics. Others had to defer to King George's personal approval of O'Grady.¹ A knighthood and further propaganda preceded the arrival. Sir James, 'A Man at Once Lovable and Earnest', moved to allay Tasmanian fears. He asserted that when he took the office he 'ceased to be a politician, and became the King's representative, anxious only that I might win the loyal affection of all Tasmanians.'²

A war-time diplomat, he, like Emmett, had Kiplingesque qualities which attracted all but the most ardent toppers of tall poppies.³ Once they met this engaging talker, even the most conservative lauded the choice.⁴ O'Grady quickly took to them.⁵ After half a day in the island he described inhabitants as 'a warm-spirited and broad-minded people.' Tasmania was 'Similar to the Old Country.'⁶ The *Mercury* enthused on its place in the new Empire-Commonwealth. Here was a man 'representing not local parties but the Head of the Family.'⁷

O'Grady was undaunted by the disillusion which is said to have been taking the steam out of his Australian 'subjects'. If not 'a progressive', he was a stalwart believer in progress.⁸ For a depressed society Australia's boosters offered the simple solution of optimism, which now, in the absence of material growth, became almost the *essence* of progressivism.⁹ The self-educated O'Grady fit well into such a scenario and was a great force in the transformation. High office tempered any distaste for capitalists he may have had. Because the Tasmanians could not increase his salary to counter post-war inflation,¹⁰ he delayed accepting the job until assured social obligations would be

MacDonald's Ministry. By the time O'Grady boarded the Orient liner *Orama* for Australia, the Conservative Stanley Baldwin was Prime Minister of England. (See Taylor, *AJP op. cit.* pp. 217-21.)

1. In private correspondence George V wrote that although his new ministers were 'all socialists ... they ought to be given a fair chance' (see *ibid.* p. 209). Lee's thinly veiled distaste for O'Grady's background crumpled when he was reminded of his own humble beginnings (see *Merc.* 15/10/24).
2. *Merc.* 20/11/24. On the boat out he praised Tasmanians he met for their 'very progressive ideas.' Australians were 'free and unaffected ... the type of men and women that had made the Empire' (see *Merc.* 16/12/24).
3. *TC*, p. 19 says his every public act was met with general approval; he was 'one of the most popular governors Tasmania has had'.
4. See the celebrations surrounding his arrival, investiture and concourse through the island, all papers, 23/12/24 to at least 26/1/25. See also *TT*, p. 4.
5. He was already distantly acquainted with Tasmania. A daughter, Mrs Kerr-Cameron, had once tried orcharding at Latrobe (see *Ex.* 24/12/24).
6. *Merc.* 24/12/24.
7. Australianists were deluded: 'We can be thoroughly loyal to the Flag of Australia without sacrificing either the Union Jack or our own cherished rights as a State.' See *Merc.* 23/12/24.
8. Perhaps this should be qualified. The war, and governmental failure to modify the economic-demographic turmoil it created in the 1920s, disillusioned the great central planners (Roe's progressives). In Australia progressive commentators such as Frederick Eggleston and Keith Hancock bewailed the loss of direction, while others like Griffith Taylor and Elton Mayo left Australia for more fertile fields in America, a country which had done well out of the war. Possibilists and boosters hounded Taylor and rejected his careful environmentalism as unhealthy pessimism and insisted that "Australia Unlimited's" potentialities should never be circumscribed by "mere academics". See Powell, JM 'Taylor, Stefansson and the Arid Centre: An Historic Encounter of "Environmentalism" and "Possibilism" *JRAHS*; December, 1980; 66(3): 163-183.
9. Compare Roe, *op. cit.* p. 2: Nietzsche's 'ultimate madness presaged the fate of many modernists, warning that vitalism promised no easy optimism, but the rending dialectic of exultant hope and grim despair.'
10. Indeed there were problems finding funds to make the almost derelict Government House suitable for vice-regal occupancy. For discussions see *Merc.* 14-15/10/24. Lyons wanted to relocate the University to Government House and purchase a new gubernatorial residence. The *Mercury* described Government House as

modest.¹ Yet he became very active, showing great enthusiasm and more than ‘mildly distinctive style’.²

Aside from his fondness for the island, the reason for O’Grady’s vigour lay in his official tie with the captains of British commerce and industry.³ With so much British capital already tied up in Tasmania, its economic development, like that of Australia generally,⁴ was important to them too. This lay quiet behind his stated brief, to ‘learn the art of persuading the Tasmanian people to stand firmly and squarely on their economic hind legs, and make the best of their State.’⁵ O’Grady sought not merely to protect existing investments. He was ‘constantly writing to manufacturers and financiers in the Old Country’.⁶ He grasped tourism as propaganda machine for motivating old Tasmanians and attracting new ones, and lent his aura to all campaigns.⁷

The Agent-General

Agents-Generals themselves, while in England anyway, rarely stimulated voluntarism, but the appointment periodically prompted voluntarists to lobby. By ensuring appointment from their own ranks, businessmen placed a man in London who would give the government the “right kind” of advice. In fact the Agents’ role was often to pressure government to boost the state more. In 1919 when John McCall died in London Tasmanians demanded and received ‘a business Agent-General.’⁸ The Hobart Chamber of Commerce recommended⁹ and northern business approved¹⁰ the

1. See *ADB*. The condition went unreported in Tasmania, the press preferring to gloss it over by referring only to ‘further difficulties’ (see *Merc*, 23/12/24), however it is amply covered in PD1/110/19/24.

2. Roe’s evaluation of O’Grady (in *ADB*) seems somewhat reserved, though he is no doubt correct in his observation (to the author) that ‘O’Grady did not have the intellect to measure up as a Progressive’ by the standards elucidated in *Nine Australian Progressives*.

3. This was a Governor’s function, not peculiar in any way to O’Grady, though he seems to have been more active than others. See John Reynolds’ article on Henry Jones (*THRAPP*, Vol. 20, 1973) p. 33 describes Governors acting as representatives for British capital, asking Jones to recommend which investments they should divest during WWI. See also Eldershaw, Peter ‘Guide to the Public Records of Tasmania ... Governor’s Office’ in *THRAPP* Vol. 15/3 1968.

4. See Brian Fitzpatrick’s various works, but especially *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History 1834-1939* (Melbourne: MUP; 1949, revision and abridgment of 1941 edition), especially p. 298 ff. Fitzpatrick showed in a general way how British private capital gained a large measure of control over Australian public finance and policy. For enlightening documentary material see Hudson, WJ & North, Jane (eds) *My Dear P.M. R.G. Casey’s letters to S.M. Bruce 1924-1929* (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs; 1980).

5. *Merc*, 23/7/26.

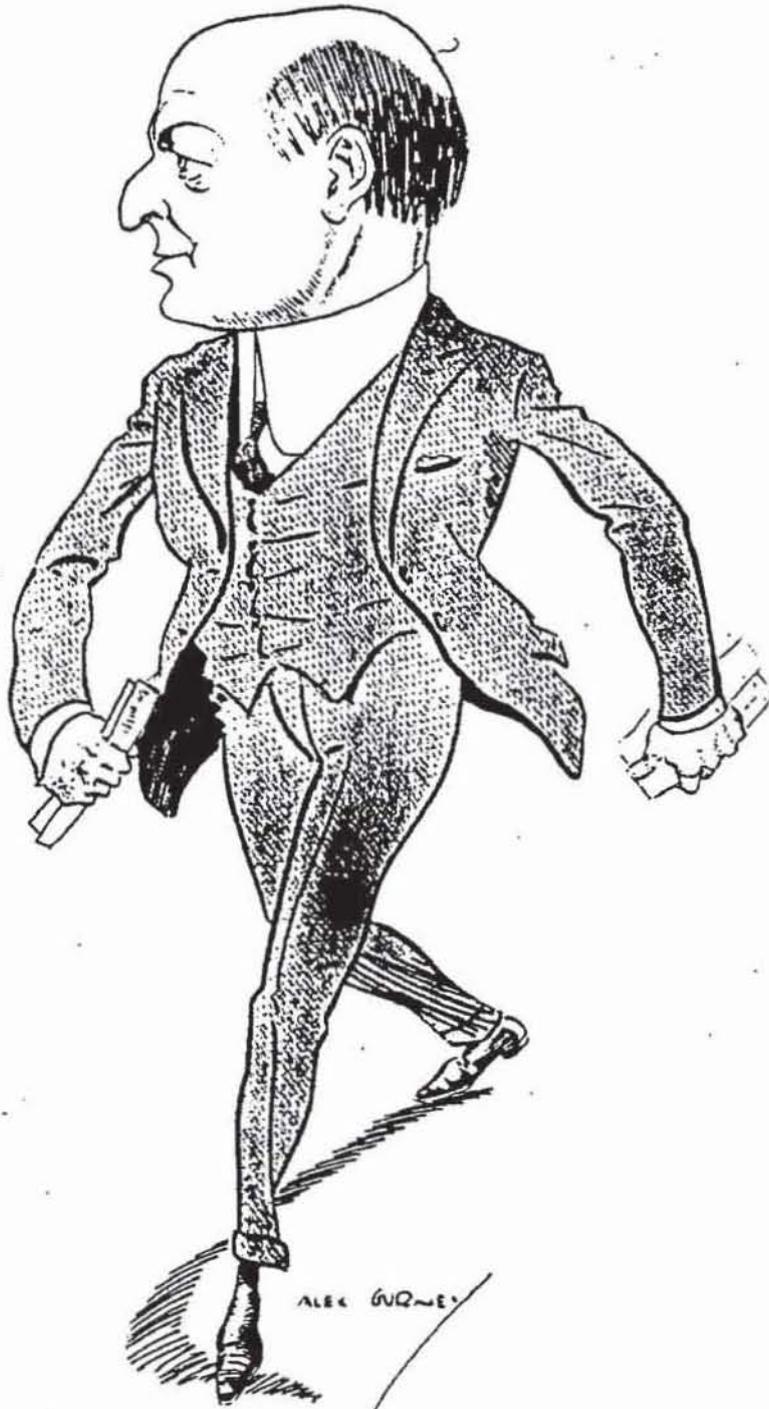
6. *Merc*, 3/7/26.

7. See especially *Merc*, 9/9/26: ‘Governor’s Message’ urges all Tasmanians to recognise their own scenic assets and ‘make their State known. They can do it. It is in the power of each and all.’

8. A *London Financier* feature hailed Ashbolt as ‘only the second Australian “business Agent-General”’. It presented his resumé and quoted his opinions as to the ‘perfect soundness’ of Tasmania’s finances and his glowing expectations for future progress in all areas. (See *London Financier*, 3/5/20, reprinted in *World*, 24/7/20.) The *Mercury* informed readers how Ashbolt was ‘initiating himself into duties of office, and consequently into London social and commercial life in general.’ (See *Merc*, 16/8/20 report dated 8/7/20 ‘From Our Own Correspondent’, probably the Agent-general’s office itself.)

9. Hobart Chamber of Commerce, *Handbook* 1920, citing AGM 24/11/19.

10. In Launceston he met the business-civic elite: the Marine Board, Chamber of Commerce, City Council, Freemasons, and the Retail Traders’, Commercial Travellers, Australian Natives, and Tamar Fruitgrowers Associations. They lauded his ‘non-political’ appointment (see *Merc*, 15/12/19).



SIR ALFRED ASHBOLT.

Sir Alfred Ashbolt, financial and commercial magnate of the city, and ex-Agent General for Tasmania, is the possessor of one of the shrewdest brains in the State. After having been right hand man to Sir Henry Jones in the conduct of his huge business for many years, Sir Alfred was chosen to represent Tasmania in London, as Agent-General, and the State's decision to break away from political appointments to this office proved more than justified, for during his term at Home, Sir Alfred showed himself to be the outstanding figure among Australia's representatives. On his return, he chose to invest his capital in Tasmania, and now takes a hand in guiding the destinies of the firm of A. G. Webster and Sons.

Alfred Henry Ashbolt

appointment of Alfred Henry Ashbolt (1870-1930), 'possessor of one of the shrewdest brains in the State.'¹ A New Zealander with newspaper and accountancy background, he came to Tasmania in 1891 to work for AG Webster & Son, then Henry Jones & Co. He amassed experience in shipping matters. With Jones and the engineer-shipwright Malcolm Kennedy (1858-1944), he reaped a fortune.² As early as 1914, when president of the Chamber, he had written an article highlighting tourist traffic: 'certainly not the least of Tasmania's commercial assets', 'bound in time' to make it 'the national summer "playground" of Australia.'³ Unlike his predecessor and successor, Ashbolt survived London and returned to boost voluntarism and tourism.⁴

In London Ashbolt concentrated on migrants and products but he employed Emmett's literature and publicised 'Tasmania: The New Garden of Eden' in the press of Empire.⁵ Emmett always kept track of Agent-General issues.⁶ He included the London address on his pamphlet, clarifying both departments' recognition of the nexus between tourism, migration and all forms of marketing.⁷ Ashbolt sent home streams of lessons on advertising trends and constantly urged the Premier to spend more in the field.⁸ As a businessman he knew that investment precedes profit.⁹ Through his urgings films of Tasmanian attractions were produced. Though they disappointed the locals, Emmett

1. *TT*, p. 6.

2. The older brother of Colin, and similarly an engineer by profession, Malcolm had various lucrative commercial dealings. The Kennedy family laid the foundations of its fortune in Hobart shipbuilding, iron founding and mining (see *ADB*). Other Hobart business virtuosos who had given them patronage included the banker David Barclay (1846-1929, see *ADB*). Sporting connections were valuable not only in political fortunes. Although Barclay and Jones were from opposite sides of the track, their love of football brought them into contact (see Brown, Bruce *op. cit.* p. 16-17). In 1911 Ashbolt invested in a public float of Charles Davis P/L and became a director with Henry G Gray (see *Merc*, 9/9/27), a timber merchant and son-in-law of David Barclay. The three, with Jones, were also interested in the Tongkah Harbour Tin company operations (see Robson, *op. cit.* pp. 276 and 297). From a capital of £150,000 Tongkah paid over £600,000 dividends in the eight years to 1920. Ashbolt's estate was sworn for probate at £47,225. For further description of Ashbolt see *ADB*; Gillies, *op. cit.*; Brown, Bruce *op. cit.* and *Who's Who. World*, 24/7/20: has long article on his arrival in London.

3. Ashbolt, AH, 'The Trade and Commerce of Tasmania' in *Tasmanian Handbook*. Compiled for British Association for the Advancement of Science, Australian meeting. (Hobart: Government Printer; 1914) pp. 188-95.

4. As mentioned, McCall died there in 1919. The *Mercury* used the occasion to impress upon Tasmanians the value of the post (see *Merc*, 30/6/19). Ashbolt's successor, Snowden, died in London in 1934 (see *Merc*, 2/7/34).

5. See PD1/38/11/21, 14/3/21; *TPP* 1921/38; and *United Empire*, Vol. XII, 1920 pp. 154-69. Articles on 'Facilities for British Enterprise' courted investment with offers of cheap power, state shipping, and a good life for settlers with limited capital. The Agent-General's indent officer RW Giblin published a Tasmanian article in *United Empire* in 1923, as did Secretary LF Smeeton in 1939. Smeeton then came to Tasmania to succeed ET Emmett as Tourist Director.

6. Many references cited in this section were first sourced from TGTD scrapbooks.

7. Further proof lay in efforts to supply London with samples of Tasmanian attractions for sports-fisherman, as described in the section on angling in Chapter Five.

8. Ashbolt pursued manufacturers with details of nascent Tasmanian resources and politely harried buyers of established exports. During financial 1921-22 the office sent 648 despatches home and 6300 letters to all destinations. Ashbolt threw a garden party for the new Governor-General, Lord Foster, attended by 350 ladies and gentlemen (see *TPP* 1921/38). Considering his salary was only £1000, and that for his whole establishment £2800, the event gave some indication of the extent he was prepared to employ his private means on behalf of his native state. There could be no question about his dedication to duty.

9. He asked Lee to advertise more in the *British Australian* because all the other 'Colonies' except Tasmania did. Newspapermen were as fickle as any humans, if not more so, and: 'I cannot get continuing notices from the press if I do not advertise to a more or less extent.' Lee met his request for 'a few hundreds' with an order for £50 (See PD1/38/13/20, 8/9/20 and 2/11/20.) Use of the word 'colony' irked Addison and Lee, who asked Ashbolt to appreciate the improved status of a 'self-governing State of the Commonwealth' (see PD1/38/17/20, 19/10/20 and 14/12/20).

used them for mainland tourist work.¹ Ashbolt facilitated international tourists visiting the island, pointing out that 'well off' travellers should be well catered to.² Ever seeking big projects for Tasmania, he tried to revive the West Coast railway idea, and employed tourist arguments in overtures to British developers.³

Ashbolt returned home in 1924, via America, where he picked up further insights into booster arts. He bought into Websters, and took up residence in state!y *Lenna*, Battery Point. As 'the undisputed leader' of Hobart commerce⁴ he oversaw all attempts to improve the state's fortunes. He invested time and money in numerous proposals for industrial development,⁵ but was increasingly convinced that 1920s economics made Tasmania's manufacturing dreams forlorn. This, however, was no reason to lose confidence.

Tasmania still had one great hope, and that was tourism. In June 1925 he addressed YMCA patrons on 'Tasmania Tomorrow [and the] Need for Optimism.' Tasmanians did not have enough fight in them. They let others run them down. In contrast, 'The American boosts his country up, in many cases on poor foundations.' Ashbolt spoke on manufacturing but said the 'biggest industry ... is the tourist industry, which affects everyone, from the little barber's shop upwards.' The Riviera and Switzerland prospered with no other industries. Tasmania had the attractions: all it needed was reliable transport with comfort and luxury.⁶ This elevation was a new departure. It even shocked the *Mercury*, which sympathised the message, but cried:

In Tasmania as a mere Switzerland for Australia we do not believe ... we do not wish like them to be a nation that has fought gallantly for independence in the past only to become hotelkeepers and waiters and purveyors of enjoyable touring for wealthy holiday-makers to-day.

Tasmania had tourist assets 'par excellence', and needed better communications, but:

1. It was embarrassing in modern London to have to lecture with old-fashioned lantern slides. Ashbolt pestered Lee to keep up with the other states and ask the Commonwealth to make films depicting the state's industries, general living conditions, sports and 'General scenery, taken from the front of a motor car or railway train'. Hughes sent American cinematographer Merl La Voy. Guided by Emmett, La Voy filmed *Advance Tasmania*. Hobart businessmen and officials were disappointed with its 'bad' photography. Elizabeth Street looked like 'a small town thoroughfare'. Emmett edited the prints for his own purposes. (See PD1/38/4/21, February-April 1921; PD1/38/19/22, 'ADVERTISING TASMANIA—PROPAGANDA'; *Ex.* 3/4/22: *Merc.* 21/4/22.) Dissatisfaction with the results saw the Hobart and Launceston city councils commissioning their own films within a couple of years (see *Merc.* 22/8/24; *DT.* 11/12/24).

2. Emmett took matters in hand (see PD1/38/17/21, October 1921 and *Ex.* 19/12/21).

3. He 'inspired' a group of London financiers and industrialists, chiefly the mega-combine Armstrong-Whitworth, with plans to open up the 'Lost Province' for mineral and forestry exploitation. He told Armstrong-Whitworth seventy-five tourists a day would all but make the railway pay: 'The country opened up possesses tremendous tourist attractions and properly advertised and pushed throughout Australia would undoubtedly open up this as one of the biggest tourist attractions in all of Australasia.' (PD1/126/3/24, Ashbolt's underline. See also *Merc.* 14/8/24.)

4. *ADB.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Merc.* 12/6/25.



THE AGENT-GENERAL.

Once upon a time everyone in Hobart knew "Eccles," as Lieut.-Colonel R. Eccles Snowden was familiarly called, but for the last few years he has had his being in the mysterious regions of Australia House in London, as Tasmania's Agent-General. As Mayor of Hobart, a Minister of the State Government for a short period, and, perhaps most popular of all, a sportsman who raced his horses for sport alone, Colonel Snowden enjoyed a wide popularity in the Capital, equalled only by the respect of all sections of the community for his honesty and sincerity. Indeed, the city seems to have something lacking without the dapper figure with the joyously tilted bowler hat, but no doubt, one of these days the Colonel will return to the scenes of his former glories, and also, it is to be hoped, to the Tasmanian turf.

Robert Eccles Snowden

one of the chief reasons for wishing immediate improvement in these facilities for mutual intercourse is, not the mere mercenary one of making profit from the tourist 'business,' but the desire that Australians shall make acquaintance with the real possibilities Tasmania offers for benefiting the Mainlanders themselves, and so shall more and more help us in developing them.¹

Ashbolt could have been thinking along such lines himself. Whatever the case, his rhetoric and patronage were powerful. Tasmanians thereafter paid more attention to tourist traffic. Ashbolt must therefore stand as one of those influential persons who, in the absence of a fully-functional TGTD, kept the tourist ball rolling through the 1920s.

When Ashbolt told Lee he would retire, the Premier sought to save money by having a Secretary for Tasmania appointed by the High Commissioner.² Labor members cheered³ but by the time Lyons introduced his first budget in January 1923 he was all for the Agent-Generalship. A vote for £3200 passed 18:10, the issue crossing party lines. The ever-difficult George Becker sided with Lee; five anti-socialists with Labor. Fruit exporter Ernest Blyth said 'Tasmania would lose caste without an Agent-General it was no good proclaiming themselves as paupers in the eyes of the world in not being able to afford a Governor or an Agent-General. If they did they would lose the confidence of investors.' Charles Grant, whose interests led him often to London, thought the office 'a useful one'. He wondered (quite rightly) if the present economy would allow much to come from England, but urged retention at least for Wembley.⁴

Lyons then raised the vote to £3553, and won resounding support.⁵ Yet the amount was hardly sufficient to advertise the state in England.⁶ One is left wondering whether Lyons' public support for the office was part of his bargain with his recent political foes: keeping the office open mainly for their convenience. Despite the increased vote, Lyons privately told Ashbolt to curtail publicity spending in Britain, an order destined to embarrass the next Agent-General, Eccles Snowden.⁷ Lyons and his ministers were developing a style in which they were at least seen to be seeking development for Tasmania. Only Walter Lee would admit the immediate unlikelihood of any new industry arising to 'save' Tasmania. He mocked his opponents with lines from the popular jazz tune, *Bubble Song*: 'I am always blowing bubbles, blowing bubbles in

1. *Merc.*, 13/6/25.

2. AA A461/348/1/10, 25/8/23, 12/9/23 and 11/10/23; *Argus*, 12/9/23.

3. *Merc.*, 12/9/23.

4. By November 1926 Grant had renewed faith in long-term retention of the office, which was: 'a tremendous advantage to the State, and should never in any circumstances be given up. Quite apart from the good that it does for the State in a direct and most tangible way, I think it would be tantamount to giving up our status as a self-governing State in the eyes of Great Britain if we were to let the Agent-General's office go.' (see *Merc.*, 26/11/26).

5. *MR*, 6/2/24.

6. Salaries for the Secretary, HW Ely, and his two assistants RW Giblin and LF Smeeton, plus two clerks consumed £1,315. With the Agent's £1,000 salary and over £500 rent at Australia House only a few hundred pounds remained for consumables and contingencies (see PD1/9/6/24).

7. PD1/38/8/25, Snowden to Lyons 9/7/25, and 18/8/25, Lyons to Snowden.

the air.' It was all very well to talk about development schemes, but not if you just don't have the money.¹ However Tasmanians were unwilling to heed such bitter counsel.² That they put their faith in advertising and promotional activities was sign of the times.

New World Empire—The Swing to America

'All the Way with LBJ' was merely culmination of an "Americanization process" that had been going on for decades. Right through our period American influences came into play in Tasmania, sometimes independent of mainland Australia. Ideological movements such as antitrust and, indeed, progressivism, had local variants. Technology and business methods made marks right through popular culture.³ The State Government and Emmett corresponded with the Australasian Society of America as early as 1913.⁴ An early TGTD goal was to advertise in America and in 1922 Emmett appointed Kilroy Harris's American-Australian Bureau in San Francisco to represent Tasmania.⁵ Emmett was in regular touch with the Hands-Across-the-Pacific movement's Hume Ford, who in 1914 told Arthur Rickards' Millions Club in Sydney that towns and small cities should have clubs to work in with the state Tourist Bureau, to lay trails and tracks and improve access, and hassle government for train and tramways.⁶ In 1913 in Hobart American consul Hanson also spoke on 'booster clubs'.⁷ The Panama Canal strengthened Pacific regionalism as did the Pacific Relations Institute and the *Australasian-American Trade Promoter*. Tasmanian authorities were in regular contact.⁸ In 1922 we saw Governor Allardyce citing American tourist flow to Barbados as a model for Tasmania. SH Donnelly wrote on American advertising methods in 1924 and 1926.⁹

The 1920s were heydays for Americanism in Tasmania. Jazz and roller skating vied for leisure pennies. In 1922 the *Mercury* said American pressmen went into politics

1. MR, 31/10/24. See also 24/11/26, when it looked as if Tasmania would lose the proposed Rapson Tyre factory to Geelong, Lee said 'the bubble is drifting back across the Strait.'

2. That Lee's opinion did reflect reality was shown by Ashbolt's own final public report. At the end of May he scotched Launceston plans to send an industrial 'Ambassador' to England. He pointed up England's industrial depression as heavy obstacle to Tasmanian development. That such observations bordered on heresy was plain in the Launceston reaction (see DT, 30/5/24).

3. See White, Richard. "'Americanisation" and Popular Culture in Australia' *Teaching History* August 1978; 12(2): 3-21. White outlines the 'process' of 'Americanisation' rather than the impact of consumerism, technology or business methods in Australia, but see his *Inventing Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin; 1981) for some pertinent ideas. Spierrings, op. cit. emphasises American influences. Reiger, Kerreen describes the domestic side of the process in *The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family 1880-1940* (Melbourne: OUP; 1985). For an incisive interpretation of the development of American business methods in America see Ewen, Stuart and Ewen, Elizabeth *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill; 1982).

4. See PD1/38/18/13 and 38/42/14.

5. See PD1/38/9/22. The appointment was short-lived, 1922-23. See also *Merc*, 9/1/23.

6. See SMH, 6/1/14; *Merc*, 22/1/17; *World*, 28/7/21

7. *Merc & DP*, 1/8/13, 12/8/13; See also *Merc*, 29/4/14 and *TM*, 7/5/14.

8. See for examples, PD1/38/5/20.

9. *Merc*, 28/6/24 and 3/8/26.

and asked why not more so in Australia.¹ In 1926 it said Tasmania should develop more like USA.² Rotary arrived in 1924. Although international, it was definitely a vehicle for Americanism, especially the idea of a commercial elite. The NRMA, Tasmanian Autocar Club and the motor car generally symbolised the whole process. Robert Nettlefold made several visits, met Henry Ford and brought Yellow Cabs to the island.³ Ford's *My Life and Work* (1923) entered the University library in 1924. Hobart lawyer and Rotarian MW Simmons bought *The Great To-day and Greater Future* from a local bookshop when it was published in 1926. William Walker owned a copy of *My Philosophy of Industry* (1929). A 1925 Imperial Press Union presentation to the Uni. library saw a copy of Blanchard's *Essentials of Advertising* (1921) accessioned through Fuller's in 1927.⁴ University Economics Professor James Brigden certainly read Walter Lippman on advertising, and probably also Eddy Bernays on *Crystallising Public Opinion* (1923).⁵ Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street* (1920) described 'White Ways' and neon as a typical expressions of urban bourgeois desires and they certainly found their way into Tasmanian wish lists.⁶ Mencken's works on American culture must surely have been read. Although many American *literati* were critical of boosterism, some were also subtle and their works could be read as "how to" manuals. It was in this period that the word 'boost' found its place in Tasmanian rhetoric. Tasmanians were often warned to avoid the more 'substanceless' form of American boost,⁷ and there was disillusionment when booster promises failed to materialise. *Main Street* resonates in some true Tasmanian stories.

American visitors and stayers must have had some effect. In 1925 Tasmania welcomed part of the USA Pacific naval squadron.⁸ Organised tours of Americans aboard the *Carinthia* and *Franconia* helped highlight tourism as a form of fraternal communication. Americans were well known as 'great tourists' and their interest in Tasmania bolstered local confidence.⁹ Launceston's Dr McLinton, who demonstrated motor routes in the Central Highlands, was an American. Harold Clapp's influence on Miscamble and Lyons has been noted, as have Gepp's American influences. Wealthy and influential Tasmanians also visited the States. During the war the Hydro turned to USA plant suppliers and Butters was highly impressed by the great republic, as was

1. *Merc.*, 22/11/22.

2. *Merc.*, 11/10/26 and 15/12/26.

3. See *Merc.*, 17/9/26 for Yellow Cabs. Nettlefold-Ford dealings are footnoted in Chapter Ten.

4. Data from University Library accession notations in the volumes.

5. Bernays, Edward L *Crystallising Public Opinion* (New York: Liveright; 1923). Brigden's elicitation is described below.

6. See for example, *DT*, 31/7/26. Progress was slow. See *Merc.*, 5/6/36: White Way scheme before council, will transform Hobart. *Ibid.*, 20/10/36 has a photo. *Ibid.*, 18/6/36 says Launceston wants a White Way too.

7. 1920s Tasmanian attitudes to American boosterism were mixed and paralleled British attitudes, for which see Knoles, George Hannon *The Jazz Age Revisited: British Criticism of American Civilisation During the 1920s* (Stanford: University Press; 1955).

8. *Ex.*, 28/7/25: Launceston prepares for visit, 20 officers and 100 men. *Ex.*, 4/8/25: Ockerby appeals to Launceston not to drink while they are in town. *Ex.*, 6/8/25: They say 'Gee, this is a great place. Reports reflect mutual novelty and warm New World fraternity.

9. See *Merc.*, 6/1/27 and 21/3/27. Thomas Cook's arranged the visits. Each stayed about half a day. Hobart boosters worked for return visits.

the *Mercury's* Charles Davies.¹ Arthur Charles Ferrall of Launceston returned from Hawaii and Denver Rotary conferences in 1926 with the message, 'advertise!'² The stimulating flow of American ideas was unmistakable. Part of the result was the elevation of a business elite.³

Business and Professional Voluntarism

Lloyd Robson tells a story to indicate the relative social positions of business and landed elites in Tasmania on the eve of the 1920s. He goes on to say that:

Despairing of inducing [the squatter class to do] doing anything publicly useful for the state, [the Governor] reconended that honours be granted to businesspeople—but the Colonial Office shuddered at the prospect of creating an aristocracy of Australian businessmen.⁴

In fact the industrialist entrepreneur, Henry Jones, was knighted in 1920, as was Walter Lee, while Robert Nettlefold and William Williams each received the OBE.⁵ But businesspeople did not need Imperial honours to motivate them to public service. The point is that they were already being seen from on high as the most dynamic elite in society. And by at least the early 1920s they were beginning to express this themselves: to sense the time and circumstance compelled them to take more of a hand in the state's future. Having looked at background stimuli, this section now traces a number of ways in which such consciousness bloomed. Central again is the elite's perception of the role of tourism.

Chambers of Commerce

The Launceston Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1849, predated the Hobart Chamber, which tends to illustrate a characteristic difference between the two cities.⁶ In many ways its vigour and activities were ahead of Hobart, a fact at times noted with

1. Agent-General's half yearly report, 31/12/17, *TPP* 1918/3. Davies, CE *Our Tour in Canada*. (Hobart: Mercury; 1921).

2. *Merc.* 31/7/26.

3. Knoles, *op. cit.* p. 131 says businessmen rose to heights unknown in other civilisations, and 'created standards of behavior and ethics and were the final arbiters on the conduct of society.' Yet they were also traditionalists and in cultural terms also followed the intellectual moves of Europe. Note also RF Irvine's faith in the leadership of businessmen and other experts, in Roe, *op. cit.* (1984) pp. 250-1, 255. For American patterns see also Schiesl, Martin J *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America 1800-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1977) especially Ch. VII; and Wiebe, Robert *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (London: Macmillan; 1976) and *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; 1962).

4. Robson, *op. cit.* p. 389, citing a Colonial Office memo dated May 1919.

5. Lee "gentrified" in 1923 when he bought *Barunah* a dairy farm at Westbury. JH Butters, a "government businessman", received a CMG in 1923. Timber merchant F Lindsay Gunn was CBE by 1923 (*Merc.* 16/3/23), Ernest Rogers, realtor and Mayor, became CMG in 1927 (*Merc.* 9/5/27). Ashbolt, already CMG, was knighted in 1925. Earlier kingsmen were Elliott Lewis (1901, KCMG 1902) John Evans (1906, 1925) and WB Propsting (CMG, 1918). They were Crown Ministers, but they were also urban businessmen, not 'squatters'.

6. See TC. In 1991 the Launceston Chamber of Commerce *Annual Report* perpetuated a long-standing claim to be the first Chamber in the Southern Hemisphere. This is clearly not true: the Sydney Chamber was established in 1826, see Zeigler, Oswald (ed.) *We're in Business* (Sydney Chamber of Commerce: 1968). For a brief history of the Launceston Chamber see *Centenary... 1849-1949 Launceston Chamber of Commerce* (1849). See also materials held by the Chamber and the Local History Room at the Northern Regional Library.

urgency by the latter.¹ Nevertheless Hobart serves as a case study. Established in 1851² its proximity to government gave it more influence than chambers in other centres. It had its ups and downs but the early 1920s saw its membership and activity rise higher than ever before.³

Though it could never forget its duty to Hobart, from 1923 the Chamber affected a more “national” stance than previously. In December, noting the state’s dire finances, President JR Johnston said that though the Chamber was not a political body it could no longer afford to refrain from expressing opinions on ever more numerous political issues. The post-war world was one of change. Time had come for cooperation. Recently, ‘Business men were being strongly urged to enter active political life,’ but, as very busy people, to do so in most cases would be ‘courting personal disaster.’ There were, however, many ways they could ‘assist with their experience’ (and, implicitly, influence political decisions). These were days of advisory boards, special committees, etc, and businessmen were being asked, if not commandeered, to contribute skills on an honorary basis. Johnston credited Lyons for taking ‘the first step’ by establishing the SDAB. They ‘must not let the grass grow under their feet’, nor lose any opportunity to advertise industrial resources. Louis Shoobridge and Tom Murdoch said they should also ‘get busy in the matter of the tourist traffic’.⁴

To increase attendance at meetings the Chamber held more receptions for visiting VIPs who could expose members to ‘new avenues of thought’ and ‘the trend of commerce’.⁵ Most popular was Sydney-born Hollywood “star” Louise Nellie Lovely (1895-1980),⁶ In 1924 the government invited her to film *Jewelled Nights*, a romance by Tasmania’s best-known novelist, Marie Caroline Bjelke-Petersen (1874-1969), whose florid style did much to influence the island’s image makers.⁷ A drawcard in her own

1. For instance in 1925 they noticed that Launceston, but not Hobart, had a retail sectional committee and had therefore been equipped to fight (albeit unsuccessfully) against the Shops Bill that year. Tom Murdoch suggested that had Hobart been united in such a way the Bill might have been defeated: ‘we do not look after our interests in the South.’ A retail section was thereupon established (see Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM and *Annual Report*, 7/12/25). The Launceston retail section resulted from the merger of the Chamber and the Launceston Traders’ Association in 1922 (see *DT*, 13/10/22 and *Ex*, 14/11/22). The Examiner’s editorial lauded the Chamber’s merger with the ‘younger and vigorous’ Traders’ Association., saying thereby the former had found the secret of youth, ‘the principle of the graft’.

2. *TC*, p. 102. Most commercial centres had Chambers. Devonport was established in 1892 (see *Advo*, 27/4/657). Source availability alone dictates my concentration on Hobart. Tasmaniana Library holds a set of Hobart Chamber publications including annual reports, *Handbooks* and the like.

3. *Merc*, 22/2/27.

4. Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM and Annual Report, 3/12/23.

5. *Ibid*, 7/12/25.

6. *ADB*.

7. *TC*, p. 160. *ADB*. See also *World*, 20/1/21: Emmett’s West Coast Tour joined at Zeehan by Bjelke-Petersen, ‘who will no doubt find books in the running brooks.’ *Advo* 29/1/21: Bjelke-Petersen says ‘The Government is especially interested in my work of advertising Tasmania...’ Praises West Coast and Emmett. She is writing this book for Hutchinson (*Dusk*), and already there are enquirers for the film rights. *Merc/Ex*, 30/12/22 have Marie Bjelke-Petersen launching *Dawn*. The papers seem to accept that such literary works have good publicity effects for Tasmania. In 1925 *Jewelled Nights* was filmed in part on the Savage River. At the Hobart launch she delivered a long speech on Tasmania as the coming ‘Hollywood of the Southern Hemisphere’ (see *Merc*, 25/1/26).



Harry Hadden Cummins

right, Lovely was also an accomplished publicist,¹ and co-produced and directed the film herself.² She was the first lady the Chamber had received. The reason was clear: film was already the third or fourth largest industry in America. Already Australia had 12,000 cinemas worth £12 million, spending £2 million in wages and £500,000 in advertising p.a. There was scope for Tasmanian commerce and industry, but with the films and their boosters also came cultural influences.³ Lovely, an Australian nationalist,⁴ criticised her countryfolk as too conservative in advertising. She compared Americans, who 'push themselves ahead, and everything in their own country is to them the best. Australians do not realise what they really have and what they are capable of.' Of Tasmania's many tourist attractions, Lovely cited National Park as worthy of fuller advertising.⁵

Much credit for Chamber revival went to Harry Hadden Cummins (b.1879),⁶ A chartered accountant, he was raised in Victorian commerce and came to Tasmania in 1903.⁷ After nine years in retail trade (joining the CTA) he joined with respected Hobart accountant Frank Reynolds.⁸ In 1915 he became Chamber of Commerce secretary, and remained thus until becoming president 1928-30.⁹ As Chamber rep. on Premier Hayes' 1922 Economy Board he recommended tourist bureaux extension.¹⁰ When the Chamber formed a sectional tourist committee in 1926, he took the chair.¹¹

The University

With other Chamberites, particularly Malcolm Kennedy, Cummins helped establish one of Australia's first specialist courses in commerce and economics, at the University of Tasmania. In 1912 he joined a 'blend' of bourgeois citizens to form a

1. She had already visited Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth on this tour publicising the Australian film industry. See Reade, Eric *The Australian Film* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press; 1975) pp. 117-8.

2. *ADB*. Roe, Michael 'Van Diemenism Debated: The Filming of "For the Term of His Natural Life"' *BCTHS*; 1987.

3. The strength of film as medium for the flow of American culture into Australia is measured by evidence to a 1927 Commonwealth Royal Commission into the Film Industry. Evidence emerged that Australia was the world's largest per capita importer of American films. For a recent review see Glen Lewis's *Australian Movies and the American Dream* (New York: Praeger; 1987). While Lewis stresses Australian-American cultural differences, he marks the influence of American commercial methods in Australia, for which see also Collins, Diane *Hollywood Down Under* (North Ryde, NSW: A&R; 1987).

4. Lovely urged the establishment of a fully equipped film studio to encourage productions capable of competing in quality with imports (see *ADB*). In Hobart she spoke on the remarkable growth of Hollywood, a very appealing topic for boosters.

5. *Merc*, 9/12/24. That night she held a talent quest, but apparently failed to find any. One wonders if the fifteen year old Errol Flynn was present.

6. *PT. Merc*, 22/2/27 credits Cummins with most of the Chamber's recent success. See also *Merc*, 11/3/27 for Chamber function to honour Cummins.

7. *PT*. Note that *Merc*, 11/3/27 says Cummins was educated at Hutchins School, Hobart.

8. Francis Goodall Reynolds conceived and chaired Hobart's honorary delegation to Wembley (see *Merc*, 29/1/24). Cummins gained accreditations from American, English and Australian fellowships, and by 1917 was president of the Commonwealth Institute of Chartered Accountants (*PT*).

9. *TC*, p. 102. Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM and *Annual Reports*. Actually he resigned the secretaryship in early 1927 and was replaced by RF Davidson (see *Merc*, 22/2/27). After an extended trip abroad he became Chamber president.

10. See *TPP* 1923/58. The extensions were to be achieved by adding labour bureau and state shipping functions. This may have been a back-door way of strengthening the beleaguered TGR and TGTD.

11. Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM and *Annual Report*, 15/12/26.



Edmund Morris Miller



Douglas Berry Copland

University Progress Association. Its main object was to press for a strong, dynamic and professionally staffed University in touch with community needs.¹ This 'propagandist agency' persuaded government to provide £1000 for three new lecturers. The 'most important'² was Edmund Morris Miller (1881-1964), a vessel brimming with progressive 'vitalism'. Miller taught economics, psychology and Tasmanian literary studies. He joined the Progress Association, 'publicly lauding the Wisconsin style of socially conscious universities, and calling on the intelligensia to guide national destiny.'³ Extension courses and *Mercury* articles discussed 'scientific management', efficient business methods, town planning, scenery preservation, and daylight savings. Miller applied psychology to advertising, a topic pursued by other Tasmanian academics in the 1920s. He wrote on will-power, optimism and Man's capacity for continual progress. Though 'his own judgements sometimes rang fulsome, folksy, and parochial (he was ever ready to beat the drum for Tasmania and for his personal interests) ... there were sense and insight too.'⁴ Miller bridged any gaps that might exist between 'progressive' and 'booster'.⁵

In 1914 Miller passed his economics portfolio to Herbert Heaton (1890-1973). An English import, he built on Miller, organising state-wide WEA extension work: taking rational economics into the community.⁶ In 1917 the Hobart Chamber provided £500 for Douglas Berry Copland (1894-1971) to head a new Faculty of Economics and Commerce.⁷ In 1919 twenty-one students enrolled for the BCom. Copland's lecturer in Accounting and Business Practice was Harry Cummins, 'who did effective work combining theory and practice'.⁸ Cummins also examined at Hobart's commercial-technical schools.⁹ Economics & Commerce came to maturity in the early to mid-1920s, just in time to assist booster needs. Soon the Faculty had a remarkable number of female and part-time students.¹⁰ Business in Tasmania was improving its expertise and outlook.

As FW Heritage said, Copland was not your usual 'aloof' professor. He augmented university work with numerous layman articles in the *Mercury*. He departed in 1924. He was sad to leave, but glad that BComs were now, 'available for research into Tasmania's problems'. For his own part Copland hoped that he would 'never be classed as one of the mainland people who disregarded Tasmania's rights, because he

1. DP, 7/11/12 has first meeting; 26/4/13 first AGM; 30/4/14 second AGM.

2. Davis, Richard *Open to Talent* (Hobart: University of Tasmania; 1990) pp. 64-5, 67

3. Roe, Michael *Nine Australian Progressives op. cit.*, p. 289.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

5. Miller's shrewd ability to sift substance from ballyhoo was weekly demonstrated in his wry comments as 'Mercurius' in the *Saturday Mercury*. It can be argued safely that boosterism and progressivism both have wide cross-cutting spectra, and that the subset of like qualities is large.

6. Davis, *op. cit.* pp. 73-4.

7. Malcolm Kennedy was on the Faculty Council (see *Merc.* 6/12/24, *PT* and *ADB*).

8. Davis, *op. cit.* pp. 73-4.

9. *Merc.* 4/12/25 and *PT*.

10. Davis, *op. cit.* pp. 73-4.



MR. WILSON J. BAILEY.

Mr. Wilson J. Bailey is a tailor by profession but a cow-keeper by inclination, and when he can tear himself away from his amateur dairy presides at his establishment in Liverpool Street where he sells good clothes if he doesn't always wear them. Cows, however, are dearest to his heart, and his knowledge of the psychology of this useful animal is probably unrivalled. Occasionally he tells the Rotary Club about them, and members listen with rapt attention, because not only does Mr. Bailey know his cows, but he loves them, and any man who has a real fondness for animals is worth listening to—at least that is what the artist thinks.

would endeavour to render good service to Tasmania.’¹ He installed as successor James Bristock Brigden (1887-1950). A Victorian Oxford scholar, from 1921-23 he was WEA lecturer at Queenstown, thence the University’s first Pitt-Cobbett lecturer in ‘employment relations’. An important Brigden innovation was a Diploma of Public Administration.² His long-maintained, innovative and enthusiastic WEA educator role points up his influence on the commercial-civic elite: men who considered themselves as much “Workers” as anyone. Inspired by Walter Lippman, Brigden addressed Tasmanian audiences on *Sources of Opinion*. He emphasised the British press’s demagoguery, but his disclaimers apropos Tasmanian press were unconvincing. On the film medium Brigden noted the political purposes tourism and development propaganda could play:

Why should not our State Premier circulate a tourist picture and a “Develop Tasmania” picture, with cartoons showing new industries flourishing, just before the next election? Someone will do it, perhaps for the Federal elections.³

Lyons followed the “advice”, albeit too late.⁴ Brigden addressed Hobart businessmen on the ‘Social Costs of Advertising’. Another paper by an advertising expert now in menswear, Wilson J Bailey (1867-1935),⁵ also criticised aspects of the industry.⁶ The *Mercury*’s general manager replied in fervent tone.⁷ Clearly, informed discussion on the topic was current in Tasmania’s 1920s.

Economic Society

While appreciating the work of government statisticians, Copland lamented that ‘Economic research and advice is not recognised as necessary for good government...’ Thus in 1924 he and LF Giblin initiated the Australian Economic Society.⁸ Control as Tasmanian secretary passed with the Professorship to Brigden, and Giblin remained ever active. The inaugural Hobart committee included Sir Alfred Ashbolt, prominent

¹ *Merc*, 6/12/24. Notable among graduates was the Tasmanian Rhodes Scholar, Roland Wilson.

² *ADB*. For deeper research on Brigden see Roe, Michael ‘The best and most practical mind’: JB Brigden as educator and economist, 1921-30’ *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 30. September 1991.

³ *Sources of Opinion* (Hobart: WEA; 1927): series of articles reprinted from Hobart weekly *Voice*.

⁴ See Chapter Twelve.

⁵ Bailey was an ex newspaper man proficient in advertising. He purchase JB Mather & Sons shop in Liverpool Street. See *BRADB*. *Wise* says he lived at 55 Swanston St New Town. *TT* p. 49 says he prefers his amateur cow farming to being a tailor, and that he ‘sells good clothes if he doesn’t always wear them.’ He gave talks to Rotary about ‘cow psychology’.

⁶ There followed interesting discussion on state and civic advertising. Bailey said he or some other ‘expert’ could astonish ‘timid’ Tasmanians if they combined and gave him £20,000 to spend advertising the state, especially as a tourist resort. From the chair Giblin ‘opposed the principle of advertising.’ Torliev Hytten drew distinction between advertising and propaganda. Brigden and Bailey were both worried about the power of advertising, an enormous influence, getting into the wrong hands. Brigden attacked the waste of resources committed by small advertisers and public authorities who could not or would not appoint experts. The skills required by the industry meant it was attracting the best brains in the media, often away from the journalistic side. Advertising was becoming ‘a science, almost a Machiavellian science’ (see *Merc*, 5/7/28).

⁷ For WH Cummins’ reply, given to the Economic Society, see *Merc*, 2/8/28. Cummins cited Sir Charles Higham, who translated American advertising lessons for British consumption and organised the world’s first advertising convention in 1924. He features in Eric Field’s *Advertising—The Forgotten Years* (London: Ernest Benn; 1959). See *Merc*, 6/4/28 for a Higham article extolling advertising as ‘the driving force of modern commercial development. ... the most vital factor in our present-day civilisation’.

⁸ At the August 1924 AAAS conference in Adelaide, see Copland, DB ‘The Economic Society—Its Evolution and Constitution’, *Economic Record*, Vol. 1. No. 1. November 1925, pp. 140-2.

lawyers, bankers, stockbrokers and industrialists. It soon added a Trades Hall representative, Labor stalwart Walter Woods and the maverick Guesdon.¹ The *Mercury* welcomed a new society to 'encourage among the people in general a more exact and careful study of the important bearings of economics upon the life and prosperity of the community.' Tasmania's troubles were economic, and talk of secession showed how bad things had become.²

Elected President, O'Grady spoke at length and made much of the presence of labour representatives. Welfare capitalism, Henry Ford, enlightened self-interest and consumerism informed the Governor's conceptions and the idea was mainly to woo the Left. Stalin's consultations with western capitalists would convince labour that private capital was a necessary element. So was psychology. The 'human quality for production was subject to moods' and this non-party body should encourage more 'charitable' industrial relations. He welcomed the formation of an organised body to study political economy from all angles as 'a real live contribution to the welfare of our common humanity, the progress of States, the evolution of States and modern society.'³ This Catholic, Labour Governor could do much for Tasmania.

The Society heard papers on practical topics.⁴ It made pronouncements on all manner of public policy, forming study circles and making care to involve Brigden's students.⁵ As Roe says, the Economic Society extended networks of 'businessmen, bureaucrats, students, and graduates [who] joined in making it part of the *Zeitgeist*.'⁶ National-civic forces were starting to coalesce. They also started to learn how to deal with Labour to diminish inefficient division. The period is notable for a swing in radical opinion towards middle ground, and this included support for tourism. The self-confessed conversion of Jim Ogden vitally evinces the process.⁷

'Non-Party' Politics

Economic Society rationalism was part of a movement for diminution of 'party politics'. This found many expressions in Tasmania's 1920s. In 1925 a surprising

1. *Economic Record*, Vol. 1. No. 1. November 1925, pp. 172-3.

2. *Merc*, 6/12/24. The editorial in fact argued against secession. It did not want a tariff war with mainland. But it did urge for freedom from the Navigation Act, suggesting a ten year experiment. The *Mercury* vacillated on this issue.

3. *Merc*, 8/4/25. The committee resolved to meet monthly thereafter at the Royal Society Rooms.

4. Ashbolt on the London capital market, Brigden on opportunities for American investment and the limits to Australian immigration, Cadbury's Norman Parr Booth on the Bourneville system of welfare capitalism and Louis Shoobridge on preventing strikes in public utilities. Wilson J Bailey delivered a defence for the 'Middle Man in Commerce' (see *Merc*, 8/9/27), and Walter Cummins advocated the development of a 'Business Barometer' (see *Merc*, 5/5/27). Cummins repeated his urgings in an address to the remembrance Club (see *Merc*, 27/5/27).

5. *Economic Record*, Vol. 1. No. 1. November 1925, pp. 172-3.

6. Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

7. As Senator, Ogden found tourism very useful in his campaign for state's rights and better shipping. In *Merc*, 28/7/28 Ogden says: 'At one time he did not think that tourist traffic was worthy of government expenditure, but he had altered his opinion.'

number of businessmen contested the Hobart seat in the Legislative Council.¹ Though many stood as 'Anti-Labor' candidates, they all praised Lyons.² One notable campaigner was Jack Nettlefold, ardent tourist and progress advocate. Supported by Colin Kennedy, he 'despised party-politics' and called for an unemotional, rational approach to solving financial troubles. He supported the 'present enterprising and just policy' of the 'able' Lyons, and like the Premier was opposed to secession.³ In the event the election was won by the Australian cricketer, state footballer and lawyer Charles John Eady (1870-1945).⁴ Eady was both son-in-law and brother-in-law to the liberal-independent WA Guesdon, who both fathered his wife and married his mother: a proverbial Tasmanian!⁵ Guesdon, it will be remembered, led that meeting in August 1923 to express disgust at the degeneration of the Tasmanian political-economy and the evils of party politics.⁶ Like Guesdon, Eady was a liberal-independent, and his election reflected the voting community's like-mindedness.

Further evidence came with the May 1926 formation in Hobart of the Constitutional Club. This grew from the desire for political reform and was enthusiastically received by the community. 'Formed principally for the purpose of combating the political and civic apathy of the people'⁷ it aimed to ameliorate the negative effects of 'party politics': a luxury the embattled state could not afford, and which booster groups were studiously avoiding in the period. The non-party movement was one of the affinities between boosterism and progressivism—both had necessarily to oppose 'party' and deny the inexorability of socio-economic-political division. The movement was essentially a device of the ruling elite to phrase its ambitions in 'nationalist' terms, part of the whole booster-knocker phenomenon. Despite concessions to labour interests, civic consciousness in the period was maintained as the preserve of the proprietorial classes who through their newspapers were able to shout down the knockers.

1. Candidates included Rotarians such as Malcolm Kennedy, Fred Heritage, Thomas Lyons and Hedley Hastings Facy (b.1877) a chartered accountant, professional secretary and HCC Ald. 1924-27. Facy was a director of a tyre retreading operation, the Tasmanian Rubber Company. The managing director was Peter Grant, HCC Ald. 1923-30 (see *TC*).

2. See *Merc.* through May to 3/6/26.

3. *Merc.* 21/5/25.

4. *ADB*.

5. There are many examples of 'cross-fertilisation' in Tasmanian politics. Some of the more interesting (with names of inter-war MPs in bold and sometime, usually erstwhile, *ALP MPs in italics*) run thus: **WJ Fullerton** MHA, whose mother married **WJ McWilliams** MHA and MHR; **GT Collins** MLC, whose mother married Adye Douglas MHA, the brother of Henry Douglas MHA; **CD Hoggins** MHA, who married the sister of **WM Williams** MLC; John Walker MLC, who fathered Robert Walker MHA and married his daughter to Russell Young MHA; **EH Blyth** MHA, who was both cousin and brother-in-law to MHA and Senator **JB Hayes**; **AF Rooke** MHA, who was both uncle and father-in-law to **HIJR Rooke** MHA; **R Dry** MLC, who married the sister of **C and J Meredith**, both MHAs; **CB Brewer**, who wed the sister of **HS Chapman** MLC; **AT Pillinger** MHA, who married the sister of **HA Nichols** MLC; **JD Balfe** MHA, who married the sister of **C O'Reilly**; **AW Loone** MLC and **R Murphy** MHA, who each married a Lister sister; **J Cox** MLC and **J Lord** MHA were brothers-in-law, as were **GJ McElwee** MLC and Senator **J Guy** (the father of MHA, MHR and Senator **JA Guy**), **B Watkins** MHA and **WA Woods** MHA were brothers-in-law; **S Tulloch** MHA married two daughters to **RS Scott** MLC and **RJ Sadler** MHA; **JM Wilson** MLC married the sister of **C Degraives** MHA; **WJ McWilliams** MHA and MHR adopted **WJ Fullerton** MHA. (Compiled from *BRTP*).

6. See Chapter Eight on the TGR Royal Commission.

7. *Merc.* 14/5/26.

A training ground, the club formed a 'Model Parliament' and discussed the issues of the day, including tourist infrastructure such as the proposed trans-Derwent bridge and West Coast Road. All 'MPs'¹ endeavoured to act in a 'model' way, but the mere existence of a Speaker illustrated the enduring power of the Westminster system's basis in position and opposition. This was illustrated by reports of their sessions, the antics of which bordered on the hilarious. That 'non-party politics' was a fantasy, albeit desirable, might have been in the mind of the *Mercury* subeditor who included near one such report an article on the possibility of 'Life on the Moon.'² There was nothing if not optimism! A contemporary well-spring of this was Rotarianism.

Rotary

The 1920 Empire Press Conference in Ottawa attracted the *Mercury's* Charles Davies. His travels covered New York, Chicago and other USA cities, and the string of Canadian-Pacific prairie hubs so famous for their rapid growth and civic pride. As Grand Master of Tasmanian Freemasonry he had carte blanche in high circles and enjoyed 'chaffing' with local leaders, telling them they lived in a place second only to his own. A series of articles told how he always compared North American scenery to the antipodean canon, 'to beautiful Tasmania, the Eden of the Southern Hemisphere, etc., the loveliest place in the world...' He was asked to address a Rotary gathering, and was keen to join the movement when it reached Australia,³ fitting sentiment for a man whose paper had long asserted its leading role in Hobart and Tasmanian society.

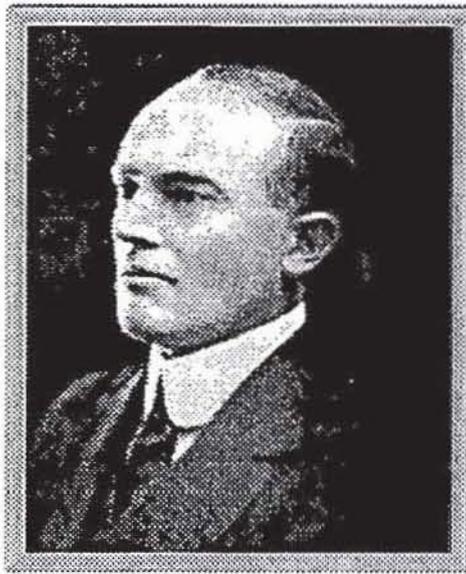
Davies returned home in October bristling with new ideas for tourist, civic, port and state improvements, and Rotary's creative force in city building: all well communicated to the Tasmanians. The usual round of civic and other receptions saw many people keen to hear the lessons of his trip. Sir Henry Jones said Davies had 'advertised Tasmania' and urged other world-travelling Tasmanians to emulate. Chamber president Malcolm Kennedy heartily agreed on the need to be known. 'If Australia only advertised itself half as well as Canada did,' he thought, 'things would be very different.'⁴ Davies died the following year and missed the opportunity to organise

1. Which included EW Turner, Al Clark, junior, and Rotarians Walter and Harry Cummins; Robert F Davidson (a Glaswegian who arrived in Tasmania about 1902. Secretary to southern timber interests and the Hobart Chamber of Commerce on HH Cummins' retirement, see *Merc.* 23/2/27); lawyer Charles D'Arcy Cuthbert (1880-1942); future MHA Eric James Ogilvie (1892-1962, see *BRT P*); future MHR Major-General Sir John Gellibrand (1872-1945), war hero and inspirer of *Legacy* (see *PT* and *ADB*); Professors Brigden and Albert B Taylor (b.1866); and WRC Jarvis of the Hobart Citizens' Committee.

2. See for example, *Merc.* 19/10/26.

3. He sent back a stream of articles for publication in the *Mercury* and *Tasmanian Mail*, later compiled and published in *Our Tour in Canada*. (Hobart: Mercury; 1921).

4. *Merc.* 26/10/20. In *Our Tour* Davies had written: 'Canadians have a most exalted opinion of the importance of their great country, and their whole souls are centred in advancing its interests. No one can blame them.,' p. 19.



Walter Herbert Cummins

Rotary in his home state. But his successor as *Mercury* manager, Walter Herbert Cummins (1881-1953) was prominent when it arrived in early 1924.¹

From Melbourne the Rotary Lamp was carried to Tasmania by the progressive *litterateur* and physiology Professor WA Osborne (1873-1967).² His enrolment of pressmen ensured local interest, first in Launceston, then Hobart. The *Mercury* noted Rotary's rapid international growth.³ Clearly its roots were deep in Rooseveltian progressivism and mid-Western civic boosterism:

The idea of the club is the promulgation of the spirit of service, the objects, broadly speaking, being to encourage and foster high ethical standards in business and professions; the ideal of service as the basis of all worthy enterprise; the active interest of every Rotarian in the civic, commercial, social and moral welfare of his community; the development of a broad acquaintanceship as an opportunity for service as well as an aid to success; the interchange of ideas and of business methods as a means of increasing the efficiency and usefulness of Rotarians; and the recognition of the worthiness of all legitimate occupations and the dignity of the occupations of each Rotarian as affording him an opportunity to serve society.

Rotary was more than just 'an organisation':

It is associated vision and effort; it is cooperative, not competitive, service. It transmutes kindly desires into helpful deeds, and turns dreams into accomplished facts. It is a training school in unselfishness, where personal gain is subordinate to the general good.

Setting Rotary apart from other groups was its elite restriction of membership to one representative of each business or profession. This created and sustained interest, promoted attendance and placed high value on membership. Rotary claimed leadership in clubland itself. It had its own activities, but its primary community influence was felt through member activities in business and the various civic groups to which they were expected to belong: an endeavour 'to make effective the work of existing agencies.' Every member selected for Tasmanian charter membership was already active in Chambers of Commerce, the YMCA, or 'some other organisation'. Members abroad were enjoined to seek out meetings of colleagues.⁴

Thus Rotary strengthened bonds of fellowship across distance as well as within discrete communities. This would make it particularly useful in ultra-regional Tasmania. Henry Jones's prominence in the movement is illustrative.⁵ He attained the

1. Cummins was born in Hobart (see *PT* and *BRADB*). He may have been related to HH Cummins, with whom he cooperated closely. He moved to the Brisbane *Telegraph* in 1931, and subsequently managed the Australian Associated Press Office in New York.

2. Osborne, see *ADB*. Brooks, GV *30 Years of Rotary* (Hobart: Rotary; 1955) p. 57 relates the clubs origins. Two 'special commissioners' brought Rotary from Canada to Australia in 1921 and formed clubs in Melbourne then Sydney.

3. Since its origins in Chicago in 1905, 100,000 members had joined 1500 clubs across the world.

4. *Merc*, 25/2/24.

5. When Osborne came to Hobart he approached Henry Jones and his ready acceptance of the presidency ensured general support and enthusiastic competition for membership. See Morris, Bob 'Early Days of Rotary in Hobart' in Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 47. As Jones's biographer notes, he had always had a broad vision and imperial scope, but when it came to Tasmania he had been a one-eyed Hobartian and Southerner. At this late stage of his life, his interest suddenly focussed on the north of the State in particular.' (See Brown, Bruce *op. cit.* p. 174 ff.) Perhaps it was close contact with Launceston Rotarians and absorption of Rotary ideals that sparked this shift of focus. His cooperation with northern Rotarians such as Claude James, Tasman Shields, the Rolphs, Percy Hart, Peel Salisbury, Frank Heyward and Master Warden Lawrie Abra was said to assist in the introduction of new industries in Launceston. They were often industries in which he held a



Thomas Lyons

rank of living legend, and helped translate this to inspiration for the commercial-civic elite by adopting the Rotarian credo, which in Tasmania increasingly included an effort to stamp out intrastate bickering.¹ Ideas of civic service encouraged businessmen not directly involved in tourist trade to pursue it for the common good. Freemasonry, grandfather of service organisations, must have seemed somewhat self-centred and decrepit under the dazzle of Rotarianism.²

At the inaugural luncheon in Hobart 23 charter members attended.³ Many names are already familiar: Sir Henry Jones, Clive Lord, Herbert Gepp, Walter and Harry Cummins, Malcolm Kennedy, John Butters, Fred Heritage, Bob Nettlefold, Alfred Courtney-Pratt, Charles Webster and Matt Simmons. Robert James Morris (1880-1963), a prominent bookseller with London experience,⁴ 'reluctantly' bore the burden of secretaryship.⁵ Also present was Director of Education George Vickery Brooks (1877-1956), who would reintroduce the study of civics into the state school system.⁶ Rotarians reinforced that arm of things by fostering the Boy Scout movement⁷ and running school essay competitions on such topics as 'Training for Public Life.'⁸

To educate themselves, the club heard members such as Maurice Susman lecturing on 'Character in Business, Personality a Big Factor'. Emphasising the use of psychology by businessmen he repeated the Rotary dictum, 'He profits most who serves best.' Business psychology had community applications.⁹ Other notables joining the movement were Anglican Bishop Robert Snowden Hay (1867-1943),¹⁰ and stockbroker, Tattersall's trustee, hotel investor and autocar club president Thomas Lyons (1861-1938),¹¹ Charles Grant, Frank Valentine, Charles Miscamble and, indeed, Evelyn Emmett, who ended up the 'The Grand Old Man of Hobart Rotary'.¹² From their lofty positions the Rotarians oversaw the work of most Tasmanian boosting

share, and his extension of fruit handling services to the Tamar River extended his company's influence in the region. On the other hand there is little doubt that, while some smaller exporters suffered, what was good for Jones was generally good for the state of Tasmania. This was recognised in his own lifetime.

1. *Merc.* 24/2/27 has annual conference of Hobart and Launceston Rotary Clubs: Condemns North v. South feeling. Healthy rivalry useful, but bitter parochial feeling destructive. The Rotarian creed 'Service above Self' should be supplemented with 'State above City.'

2. Many charter members of Tasmanian Rotary (Claude James, HH and WH Cummins for examples) were also involved in Freemasonry. The latter does 'good works', especially for the aged, but it is, after all, more introspective: a mutual help fraternity (or 'boy's club' characterised by secret handshakes and the like) than a strictly service organisation. While the Freemasons worked for elderly citizens, Rotary concentrated on youth and did much to further the YMCA and Boy Scouts movements.

3. *Merc.* 1/3/24.

4. See *BRADB*. Bookselling was an influential profession in a city then deficient in public libraries.

5. Morris, Bob *op. cit.* Chapter VIII.

6. *Education Record*, 24/9/28; text of the lesson in *Voice*, 18/5/29.

7. *Merc.* 12/12/25. *Merc.* 16/3/26: Hobart Rotary. Ugly Men's Contest. Special project to promote Scout movement. Fostering civic spirit. See also Brooks, *op. cit.*

8. *Merc.* 2/12/26.

9. *Merc.* 31/7/24. For similar recognitions in Victoria see Spierrings, *op. cit.*

10. *ADB*. See *Merc.* 23/12/26 for Hay's Christmas address to Rotary.

11. *PT* and *ADB*. Lyons has been mentioned several times in footnotes above, especially apropos *Chappell's Bay View Hotel* and *Westella* in Chapter Five. *Merc.* 22/11/26 has Lyons and Charles Grant returning from trips to Europe with ideas about marketing, tourism, etc. They received civic and other receptions.

12. Brooks, *op. cit.*



Florence Mary Parker, OBE



Enid Lyons



Mary Adelaide Taylor



Edith Waterworth

organisations in the 1920s.¹ There was nothing particularly new about Rotary ethics, but the club's attractive form helped gel ideas about the elite role of business people. Since its formation, at least, Tasmania has rarely looked for leadership in the ranks of landed "nobility".²

Women In Public Life

Urban women were quite optimistic for progress in the Tasmanian 1920s as they too achieved a greater role in affairs, including tourist promotion. In 1922 they gained the right to stand for state parliament and the Women's Non-Party Political League (WNPPL) was formed.³ Among the prominent⁴ was Lesley Elizabeth Murdoch (1881-1961), a 'modern' socialite who led a loving but independent life from her more staid MLC husband Tom. She was only the third woman to stand for parliament in Tasmania: by no means not the last to be unsuccessful.⁵ Thus also Edith Waterworth (1873-1957), a teacher whose optician and "magnetic healer" husband's staunch Laborism did not stop her standing as a WNPPL independent for Denison in 1925.⁶ Women did stand on party platforms though. Notable for Labor were Eliza Burnell and her daughter, Enid Lyons.⁷ Mrs Florence Mary Parker, OBE, (1872-1966), sister of Charles Davies, was president of the women's division of the National Federation,⁸

¹. Bob Morris (in *ibid.*) remembered the esteemed lawyer, Matt. Simmons, as a man he could never bring himself to address more informally than 'MW'. Morris says he was a 'very retiring man [who] lived in a conservative circle ... and I am sure Rotary was good for him as it enlarged his circle.' In 1926 when Simmons was President of Hobart Rotary he took a high public profile over the trans-Derwent bridge issue, (see for instance *Merc*, 26/11/26). For further expressions of the 'personal and collective responsibilities of Rotary Club members ... to the community at large' see *Merc*, 23/2/28.

². The "squatter class", rather, has been seen as the agent of ultra-conservatism, even regression. It resided in the Legislative Council. The insoluble Legislative Council brings mixed blessings to Tasmanian politics. As a "house of review" it has often blocked expenditure Tasmania could not afford. On the other hand it has been sectional, and is seen as the big bogey by Left forces because it has blocked social legislation. Many have noted how governments used the Council as excuse for not passing impractical or politically odious legislation. Faced with a Labor government the Council was more the seat of reaction in the mid 1920s than ever before. In condemning it, Lyons and Ogilvie were joined by the Nationalist opposition leader and the conservative press. Its rejection of the West Coast Road vote in late 1925 brought emphatic protest from the Hobart Chamber of Commerce. Denholm's University of Tasmania BA Hons thesis on 'Lyons Labor Government' (1976) has a good summary of the Council's retrogressive activities. The question of the Council's power is well treated by historians and political scientists (for examples see Robson, Townsley, Davis, Fagan and Denholm: all *op. cit.*), and beyond noting its actions relevant to tourism, it is not dealt with here.

³. *Merc*, 28/1/22.

⁴. Who included Mrs Francis Edwards, one of the state's first female JPs and an executive in the League of Nations Union, and Ethel Frenel Darling, secretary of many women's associations (*PT*).

⁵. *ADB*, Murdoch, Thomas. Biography of Leslie held in Tasmania University Archives. Leslie and Tom differed in opinion, for instance over the character of the 'racy' Eccles Snowden and his flapper Sydney wife Ivy. *Merc*, 10/12/26 has WNPPL meeting with Leslie Murdoch presiding. Topics covered include Hobart trams, charity and the arts.

⁶. *ADB*. She attended the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom conference in Washington DC in 1924. Her husband John Newham Waterworth (1867-1949) and his son Eric joined AJ Nettlefold in a company producing razor blades in Hobart in 1932 (see *Merc*, 24/4/33; 11/5/33 and 11/8/33).

⁷. Enid Lyons gave a spirited defence of women in politics at her campaign opening in Hobart, see *Merc*, 12/5/26. Enid and Joe Lyons were the first Australian married couple to stand simultaneously for parliament, a fact recorded with a photograph in *Merc*, 4/6/25.

⁸. *PT* and *ADB*. See also Miley, *op. cit.* p. 55. Parker was in 1918 one of the first two OBE appointments in Tasmania, for her Red Cross work.



Beatrice Ella Duncan

secretary of which was Mary Adelaide Taylor (d.1929).¹ Prominent in the National Council of Women was Octavia Susman (1865-1926), sister of Maurice.²

Such women's demands to be heard was measure of their independence of mind and contact with world-wide trends. Most travelled overseas, several attending Women's Internationals in Europe and America. This gave them useful tourist insights. Their political bases were in "women's issues"—child welfare, bush nursing, education and the Red Cross. All this organising had practical application should their men care to listen. Indeed in the 1920s the men did start to take heed. Women were increasingly asked to participate in civic movements, and not merely as 'hostesses'. Mrs EA Abbott served on Hobart's Back to Tasmania finance committee in 1922. Mary Taylor did the same for the 1926 Come To Tasmania Organisation's Hobart organisation³ and Mrs ML Moore,⁴ of the Empire Trade Defence League, was a competent publicist and exhibition-organiser.⁵ In specifically tourist-related matters their opinions were highly valued: Parker and Waterworth both wrote about the effects of poor comforts, entertainments and public health on the tourist traffic.⁶

In tourism and the hospitality industry women found much scope for direct and overt interest in business: Stella Chapman's tourist agency being a case already mentioned. In 1923 a well-known Hobart businesswoman and horse racing identity, Mrs Beatrice Ella Duncan returned from a world tour.⁷ Using knowledge gained in England, Europe and America, she created *The Continental*. Considered 'one of the most modern and up-to-date establishments of its kind in the Commonwealth', it comprised a ball room, roof garden, café, ten self-contained flats and six shop fronts. Artists and musicians could rent rooms by the hour for studio teaching, a convenience used by Hobart's 'foremost teachers'. The premises warranted a vice regal opening in January 1924, and were thenceforth 'the scene of most of the exclusive society functions held in Hobart.' Business was very good, and in 1928 an 'Oriental Lounge' was added, 'lavish ... comfortable and luxurious to a degree.'⁸ Another professional outlet for women was illustrated by WH Cummins' daughter Constance, who, with a staff of female journalists, edited the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*.

1. PT.

2. BRADB.

3. Norman, Leslie *Come to Tasmania, The Wonderland, Nov. 6th to 30th 1926: Official Illustrated Souvenir Programme State-Wide Movement to Attract Tourists* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1926) p. 45.

4. Either Madge Lucy Violet Maude Moore, typiste, High St Sandy Bay, or Mary Louise Moore, wife of Max Lyell Moore, clerk at the *Continental palais de danse* (see Commonwealth Electoral Roll, 1928).

5. *Merc.*, 24/4/26 and 13/10/26.

6. *Merc.*, 22/7/26 and 24/7/26.

7. *Merc.*, 1/12/23. a.k.a. Mrs George Duncan, whose husband was prominent in Tourists' Hotels Ltd and the RACT.

8. *TC*, p. 200. See *Merc.*, 6/2/26 for a raid on Mrs Duncan's *Continental*, 'a fashionable ballroom and café in Macquarie Street. Men drinking Mercury Cider. Proprietress and son to be charged.



MISS C CUMMINS
EDITOR
ILLUSTRATED MAIL

The Fourth Estate: Politics, Publicity and Advertising

Overarching, moulding, responding, reflecting: the media's role in any mass democratic society is enormous if not fully understood. As an interpreter of issues it has potential for good, but one should never forget that its control lies in the hands of 'the advertising classes', nor that it has its own commercial imperatives.¹ The need for mass circulation, for instance, can lead to sensationalism and demagoguery, with great capacity for subtle twists of reasoning. As Brigden noted: 'newspapers are always advocates, and ... it is not human for advocates to be fair to the other side.'² One of the great advertisers, be it also noted, is government, and in the period when Launceston and Hobart each had two daily newspapers, editorial content reflected the relationship in both omission and commission. The imperative went beyond direct advertising too. The papers vied for contracts to print government pamphlety. Municipal and Ministerial correspondence files contain many examples of newspapers and printshops courting favour with lengthy and detailed suggestions for advertising campaigns. A big client for such work was the TGTD.

Newspapers are businesses, and among the most entrepreneurial. The press naturally supported government funding for the TGTD, which spent so much on local advertising and did not place all its pamphlet contracts with the Government Printer. Emmett was careful to spread its custom among the several main players, and on occasion it is demonstrable that judicious tendering could influence press attitudes towards his Department. In early 1922 Launceston was railing against the TGTD 'favouritism' towards Hobart. The *Daily Telegraph* stayed silent. It had just won, or was still negotiating, a big TGTD contract to print its monthly *Picturesque Tasmania*. It was a worthwhile commercial proposition.³ The *Telegraph* was, according to Sir Raymond Ferrall, struggling to compete with the *Examiner*. Its only comment on tourism in January was a long and obsequious reiteration of the TGTD's point of view coupled with an over-glorious description of the scene at King's Wharf when the boat came in.⁴ The *Examiner* enjoyed far greater local prosperity and thus independence, and could therefore air the local grievances. On the other hand, the *Examiner's* attitude, which did seem both extreme and prey to Smith's logical replies, may have been a case of sour grapes at losing the contract. If so, the incident sheds light on the fickleness of pressmen, as described above by Alfred Ashbolt.

1. The *Mercury* was willing to admit this publicly. See *Merc*, 5/7/24: seventy years of the *Mercury*, special issue has much revealing stuff on the paper's self-perceptions, but see especially the section on the advertising department and the 'universal rule' of dependence on advertisers.

2. *Sources of Opinion* op. cit. p. 3.

3. A letter, dated 23/1/22, from the paper's manager to the LCC implies that the contract allows the *Telegraph* to make the most of advertising revenue available from the publication. (See LCCC Box 40D Folder 33/2).

4. See *DT*, 5/1/22 and 23/1/22



William Henry Simmonds

Pressmen in Tasmania were very powerful in their own right. In Launceston the *Examiner's* James Vincent Sullivan (c.1861-1937)¹ and Gordon Rolph enjoyed stints as Chamber president. Likewise Sir Raymon's father, Rotarian Alfred Charles Ferrall, a manufacturer-retailer prominent in the Marine Board and Chamber of Commerce.² In 1924 he headed the consortium that purchased the *Daily Telegraph* from WA Whittaker in the hope of making it pay.³ Hobart's commercial elite was even more influentially represented by pressmen. Cummins was Chamber president and, as mentioned, Davies was styled 'uncrowned King of Tasmania'. Although personally 'wraith like', 'invisible' and 'extremely self-effacing' the paper's chief editor, William Henry Simmonds (1860-1934),⁴ was willing to stand up on big issues.⁵

Other *Mercury* staffers were active in the Chamber and campaigned personally for state-federal reform. The paper willingly seconded them as state publicists. When Leo Broinowski stood as a Nationalist in the 1922 Senate elections an editorial cited UK and USA precedents for 'The Journalist in Politics'.⁶ The man's influence on Lyons's 'state before party' policy and conversion to conservatism is unmistakable. Though they sometimes clashed on details, Lyons worked closely with, and eulogised, Broinowski. The relationship damaged both Walter Lee and Albert Ogilvie.⁷ Indeed 'Bron' was 'a power in the land, both directly through his personal influence and as a maker and writer of brilliant and penetrating editorial policy. ... he had the confidence of the men making things happen and he knew it.'⁸

Perhaps more than any other profession, politicians fear and respect the press. In 1924 The Australian Journalists Association met in Hobart. Lyons wrote regarding an article in the Melbourne *Herald* that described 'Tasmania's Wild, Wet West living

1. Sullivan was Chamber president 1907-9 and 1917-18. An Irish Catholic he was first president of the Northern Tasmanian Australian Journalists Association for 20 years. He helped found the St Vincent de Paul Society in Launceston and was president for 30 years. See *BRADB and Launceston Chamber of Commerce Annual Report* 1991. Sullivan was a registered real estate agent in 1928 (*TGG* 14/2/28).

2. As grocer, importer, manufacturer operating the Tasmanian Soap and Candle Company, Ferrall gave evidence to Interstate Shipping Committee in 1912. He led the Launceston Traders' Association, then Launceston Chamber of Commerce president 1921-23, 1926-27. Launceston Marine Board 1923-30. Hon. representative Wembley 1924. Treasurer Launceston Foreshore Improvement Association from 1924. Represented Tasmania at a Rotary conferences, Hawaii and Denver 1926; returned with the message 'Advertise!'. Advised government as member of State Development Advisory Board.

3. Correspondence Sir Raymond Ferrall to author, 18/11/92.

4. A Worcestershire born Empire journalist and writer of stories for boys (see *BRADB*). The quotes are from Ferrall, *op. cit.* (1980) p. 61. See also *TT* p. 30.

5. At the 1922 elections his editorials were sufficiently political to require statutory endorsement. See for instance, *Merc*, 15/11/22: Editorial 'written to express the views of the *Mercury* by WH Simmonds' urging Tasmanians to vote in Federal elections for candidates committed to 'Tasmanian Objectives'. This was directed against Labor candidates committed to the party pledge. See also *Merc*, 8/11/22: Editorial 'written to express the views of the *Mercury* by FW Forster' on Senate's role and politicians' obligation to represent their states and not their parties. Says many Senators' speeches are not designed to convince the House but to be placed in *Hansard* for circulation in their electorates.

6. *Merc*, 22/11/22.

7. Lee: see *MR*, 14/10/24, 9/11/27. Ogilvie: see Davis, *op. cit.* p. 24.

8. Ferrall, *op. cit.* (1980) pp. 63-4. The quote is from Jack Williams, *Mercury* roundsman in the 1920s and later editor of the *Examiner*. Sir Raymond Ferrall was a pressman himself and in Chapter Nine he provides some colourful insights. See also his *Partly Personal: Recollections of a one-time Tasmanian Journalist* (Hobart: Cat & Fiddle; 1974). Through correspondence with the author, Sir Raymond has provided great personal assistance with some details of this thesis.

up to its reputation Fifty four inches of rain for 99 wet days is the record ...' The Premier said 'reports of this kind do incalculable harm to the tourist traffic in this State, and indeed, the State generally.' He asked them kindly not to cable such news.¹ Conversely his thanks was effusive for Critchley Parker's 'magnanimous' Tasmanian publicity in the *Industrial Australian* and his private lobbying of Prime Ministers anent roads and phones to Tasmanian angling spots.² *Stead's Review* did similar "favours" for the state.³ Naturally their proposals for paid Tasmanian advertising were always well received.⁴

In 1918 the Labor *Daily Post* fell victim to internal political pressures and left Left opinion with only a weekly mouthpiece. *The World* incorporated another radical, *The Clipper*, but it folded in 1924 after attacking proponents of Navigation Act amendment. The 1920s also saw the demise of conservative daily competition for the *Mercury* and *Examiner*. Despite heavy investment the *Daily Telegraph* flopped in 1928.⁵ The city had supported two dailies for generations, but modern practices and efficiencies⁶ made choice no longer viable. The aggressive, more interesting and best-connected *Examiner* prevailed.⁷

In Hobart the fate of *The News* was mildly spectacular. It was an extension of News Ltd, Adelaide, recent brainchild of that great Australian independent press innovator, James Edward Davidson (1870-1930).⁸ He came to Tasmania with Gerald Mussen (1872-1960) an entrepreneur with Collins House connections interested in using Tasmanian hardwoods for paper pulp. Mussen was described as 'an optimist ... perhaps dangerously so', but pluckily courageous.⁹ Hobart businesses promised advertising support. In May 1924 was launched an evening daily, an up-to-date, 'non-party' tabloid full of optimism. Seventy staff included twenty two journalists. A sanguine local board comprised Sir Elliott Lewis, Wilson Bailey and Charles Davis.¹⁰ The paper

1. PD1/38/17/24, -16/24.

2. PD1/38/10/25, 20/7/25 and 29/7/25. Lyons wrote, 'I very much appreciate the interest which you have been good enough to take in the affairs of this State, and I am certain that if other influential journals would also be magnanimous enough to stress our claims for consideration our disabilities would in the course of time be removed.'

3. See PD1/38/29/27.

4. This started in Lee's time. See PD1/38/19/20.

5. Final issue, 28/3/28. The *Mercury* began early morning deliveries in Launceston (see *Merc.* 15/3/28), but they were never very successful despite printing a special northern edition.

6. In *Sources of Opinion, op. cit.*, Brigden described the forces driving media owners to takeover and consolidation.

7. Ferrall, RA *op. cit.* and correspondence with author. Orchard, JR *Not to Yield* (Launceston: Telegraph; 1982), p. 5, says the *Examiner* "outgunned" its rival'. When the *Telegraph's* last manager sued the company for unpaid salary, it emerged that the *Examiner* had held a controlling interest in the failed paper as early as October 1927 (see *Merc.* 3/8/27). Much of the *DT's* plant and some staff were relocated to the new Telegraph Printery in Charles Street, so, in printing matters the *Examiner* still had a major rival. The Telegraph Printery exists to this day.

8. ADB.

9. Mussen was eventually successful. The resultant APPM complex and some enterprising port development transformed Burnie into a city. He was knighted in 1939. ADB.

10. Geoffrey Lauderdale Burgoyne (b.1877) was managing editor (see *PT*, pp. 32 and 45). *World's* last issue was 24/5/24, *The News'* first edition six days later, 30/5/24.

lasted nineteen months. It gave scant support to tourism.¹ In the final issue Lewis bitterly castigated the advertising community for its pessimism and apathetic lack of support.² “Fault” more likely lay in aggressive *Mercury* price cutting. Thus from the second half of the twenties, the two Tasmanian cities have woken up to one morning newspaper apiece. The spoils of concentration went to the papers most amenable to the “advertising class”, the class most committed to tourism.

Combating Pessimism—Boosting Tasmanian Identity

In the twenties Tasmanian boosters attacked the community’s ‘inferiority complex’. The *Mercury* said it was ‘possible to err on the side of modesty and self-deprecation.’ Tasmanians failed to challenge the ‘sneering remarks’ of outsiders. In fact they adopted the untrue opinions themselves, filling senior jobs from abroad. A poor self image meant failure to command respect from Commonwealth and other powers. Intelligent mainlanders were discovering and appreciating Tasmania; but the islanders themselves knew too little about the state. Scenery, for example, was a fine asset even solely from commercial point of view, and its development should not be considered a focus for the negative workings of parliamentary democracy. Much was inaccessible and the government did not do enough to open up the place. What little it had done was due to pressure from optimists like Emmett. The TGTD vote was well spent and ‘reproductive’.³

Governor O’Grady quickly seized upon the need to boost the Tasmanian’s sense of identity and worth. Other forces fostered it through the Royal Society’s history section. John Moore-Robinson knew how deeply ran interest in Tasmania.⁴ He took an important lead. Alfred Ashbolt also helped by facilitating RW Giblin’s work on Tasmanian historic documents in London. But in the 1920s history was not an unmixed source of pride for all Tasmanians, especially those who still bore the ‘hated stain’ of ‘Vandemonianism’ in their ancestry.⁵ In 1925 a Royal Society dinner witnessed the centenary of VDL’s administrative separation from New South Wales. The event no doubt pleased participants, but apart from newspaper features public

1. *The News*, 19/12/25, editorial said Tasmania’s problems could only be solved with ‘More Production’ and commented on the idea of tourism as an economic panacea. ‘Valuable as the tourist traffic is to Tasmania, it cannot be regarded in the light of a staple industry.’ It was subject to the ‘vagaries of seamen’ but even if Bass Strait communications were continuous tourism ‘should not be viewed as anything beyond a very welcome addition to the State’s revenue earning resources.’ While Tasmanians had been ‘bemoaning’ Federal policies, ‘we have done very little to help ourselves.

2. *The News*, 26/12/25.

3. *Merc.*, 3/1/22. Critics of ‘visionary’ schemes in 1924 provoked a parliamentary outburst from Jack McPhee. Tasmanians, he said, were ‘too prone to condemn a thing because it was Tasmanian ... one of the greatest curses of the State.’ A better attitude towards things Tasmanian would ‘go a long way towards the solution of the State’s problems.’ See *MR*, 14/10/24.

4. Biskup, *op. cit.*

5. See Reynolds, Henry “‘That Hated Stain’: The Aftermath of Transportation in Tasmania’ *Historical Studies* October 1969; 14/53 pp. 19-31; and Roe on AG Ogilvie (1986) and the filming of *Term of His Natural Life* (1987), both *op. cit.*

interest was fleeting.¹ Queen Alexandra's death obviated any official independence celebrations.² The day withered beside annual Empire Day celebrations, occasions for stressing dual loyalties as proud British-Australian colonists.³

Interestingly enough the 1925 centenary did not excite even secessionists.⁴ Alfred Ashbolt instead used it to call for a more 'cheerful outlook'. But he and his class must have felt at times like prophets in the wilderness, crying to the wind. We have already noticed his June 1925 "call to arms" and swing towards tourism as Tasmania's economic saviour. The following month he was venting spleen and showing signs of despair. In a letter to Lyons he attached an advert for Australia placed by the Commonwealth in the Empire Day supplement of the *Times*. This would have cost £750 and Tasmania would have contributed 'our little quota'. Yet it left Tasmania 'entirely out of the map ... further instance of the injustice done to our State.' Melbourne blamed the High Commissioner and promised to be more careful in future. Not four months later Ashbolt sent another instance to the Premier.⁵

How could Tasmania ever project an identity to the world when it was thus treated by its partners? cried the patriots. They must try. The 1920s were remarkable for the flowering of grass roots activity. While Lyons and his economic advisers sought a sober approach to state-commonwealth financial imbalances, others could not refrain from crying 'stinking fish' and high flying talk about secession. But they said they did this to 'wake up Tasmania'. Driving the Tasmanians was not only a sense of grievance but a belief and determination that voluntary, concerted and informed effort could get them out of their troubles. This is not to say that things had only to be said to be done. Quite often there was more talk than action: but always working were people who realised the need for data collection, shows of determination, and constant pressure on all tiers of government. Such people used grievance to unify Tasmanians and draw outside attention and assistance.

1. *Merc.* 13/6/25 mildly recorded the passing of the century. The news was not received in Van Diemen's Land until December 1825, so the dinner commemorated that date. That too was less interesting than sport (see *DT*, 4-5/12/25).

2. *Merc.* 4/12/25.

3. See for example *Merc.* 23/5/25.

4. *Merc.* 3/12/25: Centenary of Tasmania's independence. Big feature. Review of quiet celebrations. Not really a popular occasion.

5. PD1/38/9/25, June-November 1925. In the latter instance a *British Australian* advert for the Commonwealth Shipping Line gave no recognition to Tasmania. This added insult to injury by heightening the unfairness of Tasmania not being served by the *Bay Liners*.

10 A CONDITIONING PROCESS

In the depressed 1920s, the state treasury empty, Tasmanian commercial-civic elites sought to revive urban voluntarism, a vital force which had acquiesced to the centralising pressures of war. Boosters lobbied municipal councils for advertising abroad and development works locally. The job was not easy. There was much talk and considerable resistance from the guardians of ratepayer resources. Hobart's Mayor John Soundy (1878-1960) was not alone in protesting at people seeking to make a 'milch cow' of the council.¹ It was far easier to get rates funding for city improvements than city advertising. Early attempts to get councils to join in state advertising schemes failed. Business people did not give up. They spent years conditioning popular support for community and state advertising. The fight for federal justice aroused Tasmanians. It taught businessmen the value of sticking together and cooperating to present a united Tasmanian self-image and attitude. This also took a few years of conditioning. This chapter traces the process of "boosting the boost", the development of booster rhetoric.

Community Boosting—Advertising and Improvements

After the 1922 Back to Tasmania carnival the Launceston Progress Association and Hobart Citizens' Committee receded somewhat, but personnel remained active. In January 1923 Launceston Mayor George Shields (1854-1933)² called a public meeting to prepare for an Australasian Advertising Association convention in the city in November. The attendance list read like a walk down "Main Street".³ They gave unanimous support for the conference. Len Bruce stressed the tourist benefits of such a visit. Though his TGTB did 'a tremendous lot', Launceston still 'lacked advertisement'.⁴ Hobart's Tasmanian Advertising Association also planned receptions and publicity for the 'Ad. Men'.⁵

Other proposals stirred public consciousness. They centred for a time on industrial boosting. February saw the Rolph press urging Council to consider sending a representative 'Home' to tell English Chambers about the city's advantages and resources. Shields estimated it would cost up to £1000, but he 'really thought it would be worth it.' Another single coup like Patons & Baldwins' recently completed textile

1. *Merc.* 1/2/24. Soundy, a Rotarian and leading Baptist, was HCC Ald. 1918-34, 1939-49, Mayor 1924, Lord Mayor 1939-46.

2. The older brother of Tasman Shields, lawyer and MLC, George was blacksmith, produce and fuel merchant. LCC Ald. 1915-33. Launceston Chamber of Commerce, Fire Brigade Board, health and technical education associations. MHA 1923-25.

3. Names included McKinlay, Cleaver, Perrin, Fotheringham, Birchall, Eberhard, Tilly and Warland Browne (all retailers); Huston and Gladman (hoteliers); architects Carr and Heyward, and accountant Archie Garrott; the *Examiner's* Gordon Rolph; Len Bruce of the Tourist Bureau; and Ed. Leeson, local secretary of the 'Ad. Men'. Most were LPA members. Launceston's main street is Brisbane Street. Its denizens have long been known as 'Brisbane Street Barons.'

4. *Ex.* 10/1/23.

5. *World.* 10/1/23.



William Robert Peel Salisbury

mills¹ would provide 1000 jobs and pay for itself. In the Chamber of Manufactures, some thought money better spent improving the city, and that the ‘ambassador’ idea, while good, was a matter more for the state than particular councils. £1000 special funding for the Agent-General was suggested,² but president William Robert Peel Salisbury (1874-1944) enthused³ and the LPA agreed to approach other local bodies for a cooperative effort.⁴

In May an *Examiner* editorial focussed on Council’s slow uptake of the idea. The paper reprinted an article from New Zealand’s Christchurch *Sun* which said Tasmania’s coat of arms should be ‘a tortoise dormant in a field gules with two sloths regardant,’ and the motto “‘Festina Lente’” [hasten slowly]. ‘Tasmania,’ it said ‘has not hurried for the last 100 years [and the] absence of anything approaching hustle can positively be felt’.⁵ Fear of outside ridicule was often used to spur action. Council agreed to give £50 out-of-pocket expenses to an ex-Lancashireman David S Riley, who offered to do some publicity work for Launceston.⁶ Mayor Shields attacked colleagues for ‘nibbling at the matter.’⁷ He stressed the need to make direct representations to investors and compete with Hobart. The *Telegraph* thought Riley would get copy into the British press, but correctly predicted he would not satisfy advocates of a quasi-diplomatic mission.⁸

Meanwhile Hobart public bodies formed a new Hobart Advertising Committee. Prominent organisers were Jack Nettlefold and his patron-colleague, Edwin Rogers.⁹ The Premier agreed to attend a ‘cooperative advertising group’ conference on 17 July.¹⁰ A week later they pressured Council to lead an advertising scheme for the whole state. A heated debate ensued.¹¹ Council agreed to seek legislation to let it spend £500 p.a. advertising the city abroad,¹² but the co-op idea was defeated 6:5. The majority accepted Frank Valentine’s exhortation to ‘stand as a city, and advertise as such.’ Mayor McKenzie vowed to proceed.¹³ In early August Nettlefold called a new conference. The Hydro’s John Butters threw his weight in when told advertising would proceed in tandem with a local development scheme. After lengthy debate the

1. The design of which had enriched architect Frank Heyward, one of the LPA’s early mainstays. RA Ferrall (letter 18/11/92) says Heyward was well known locally, considered to be rather conventional. ‘He had no opposition hence achieved some degree of local prominence.’

2. *Ex*, 2/3/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 16/2/23 and 17/2/23. For Salisbury see *ADB*.

4. *Ibid.*, 9/5/23.

5. *Ibid.*, 14/5/23.

6. *Ibid.*, 15/5/23.

7. He had recently entertained two English industrialists very impressed with Launceston’s industrial offerings. One was Leonard Grimwade of Stoke-on-Trent pottery fame, (see *ibid.*, 3/2/23).

8. *DT*, 15/5/23. *Ex*, 23/5/25 called Riley’s mission ‘a poor little flutter in publicity enterprise.’

9. *Merc*, 29/5/23.

10. *PD*1/38/1/23. 9/7/23.

11. *Merc*, 24/7/23.

12. See Acts of Tasmania 14^o Geo. V., No. 55. The legislation was retrospective. Launceston sought and received similar permission (see 15^o Geo. V., No. 59).

13. *Merc*, 24/7/23.



Thomas Arthur Newton

Mercury announced an 'Advertising Hobart' project would go ahead.¹ It moved to keep the movement alive, educating the public on 'How Advertising Pays'.² An article on 'advertising as a science' stressed the profession's use of psychology and cited the *London Times* on the need for 'Truth in Advertising'. Players should never suspend advertising: reduce if they must, but always remember that the 'creation of goodwill is the essence'.³ Cinema operators in Hobart had been using the 'Truth in Advertising' slogan since at least October 1922.⁴ It had American origins,⁵ but English precedents were yet more palatable to Tasmanian general readers.

Back in Launceston new moves were afoot to raise the city's profile in England. In July 1923 Captain Thomas Arthur Newton (1863-1954) gained official recognition as 'Honorary Correspondent'.⁶ Three days a week he advised the LCC on publicity questions. He soon reported that an article in the English magazine *Sunday at Home* had already attracted 130 enquiries.⁷ He contributed streams of copy and won a London United Newspapers competition for the best article on overseas cities.⁸ Council eulogised his services and gave him an honorarium of £25.⁹ The *Examiner* welcomed Newton but wondered whether Council was not toying with development. Hobart was 'all in the "boost"', and Launceston must compete, do far more than write Home! The city had contracted for state hydro-electricity to attract more new industries:

1. *Ibid.*, 2/8/23. There was a poor attendance, though apologies came from Addison, Gunn, Gepp, Lamprill, Moore-Robinson, the Mayor and Wilson Bailey. Nettlefold surprised Butters with news the HCC planned to erect factories to subsidise new industries. In *Our Tour in Canada op. cit.* p. 32 Charles Davies had reported on Canadian 'bonusing' methods for encouraging industries to locate in particular towns. See also *MR*, 31/10/23: Snowden brings in Bill to allow HCC to borrow £15,000 for buildings, street improvements and recreation grounds sports.

2. *Merc.*, 14/8/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 15/8/23.

4. See *ibid.*, 14/10/22 for example.

5. See Bernays, *op. cit.* (1923) and *Propaganda* (New York: Horace Liveright; 1928). ES Turner recalls his own career in England in *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Joseph; 1952). Truth in Advertising was 'an impossible goal.... Many ... were satisfied with an unvoiced slogan of "Half-Truth in Advertising".' At Wembley in 1924 British Advertising Association was formed, with the object of raising professional standards and efficiency. British advertisers had moral qualms about using psychological appeals to 'greed, fear and snobbishness [while] The American public, notoriously, were conditioned to crudities.... But.... As the 'thirties neared, more and more voices were heard proclaiming that the only hope for Britain was to model her salesmanship on the American pattern.' Thus also Tasmania. Spierrings, *op. cit.*, has shown that business and advertising methods flowed direct from America to practitioners in Victoria and NSW through trade papers.

6. LCCC Box 40D Folder 33/2. An English book-binder and government war propagandist, Newton was well connected in British political, industrial and commercial circles and represented the (British) National Union of Manufacturers in Tasmania. He had spent many years in the army and his old chief at HM Stationery Office was in charge of the Wembley Exhibition (see *PT* and *Ex*, 18/6/38, 14/5/54)

7. *Ibid.*, 20/8/23.

8. *Ex*, 6/5/24. The article was carried by *Lloyd's Sunday News*.

9. Council cited pieces published in the widely circulated *News of the World* and *Daily Mail*. It was said these articles attracted eighty letters from intending settlers, that he was working purely out of love for the city of his adoption, and that his work was worth hundreds to the city (see *DT*, 13/10/24). The only dissenter to the vote was Percy Hart, who claimed Newton was being 'run' by Shields and Ockerby. LCCC Box 42B Folder 35/4 shows that TA Newton and George Shields were at that time (18/12/23) lobbying for the former to be sent to Wembley where he offered to spend six days a week talking about Launceston for out-of-pocket expenses. On 12/1/24 he made a definite offer, asking for a set fee of £500 for six months' work. Hart consistently opposed the honoraria renewed each year until at least 1929. In *Ex*, 2/2/26, he asked how Newton could be 'honorary' when he was paid and said the appointment was 'engineered'. LCCC Box 12B Folder 36/2 has much on Newton, including a list of payments made to him, totalling £195 between 1924 and 1929.

it was useless to develop resources and then not properly advertise them. The paper suggested a full-scale advertising campaign and was sure citizens would allow a penny rate for the purpose.¹

The Launceston Progress Association was disgruntled with Newton's concentration on British publicity. It asked Council to do more advertising in Australia, especially for the tourist traffic.² Yet dissenters remained. 'Dark and Dirty' and 'Too Right' claimed 'Beautiful Tasmania' type advertising was all very well, but the best advert was a happy citizenry. While businessmen clamoured for promotional funds, several suburbs lacked decent services. What did Council prefer, rowdy visiting tourists or 'hard working men settling down to family life?'

We welcome you, ye tourists, with all your fine entourage,
But what we'd welcome even more are water, light and sewerage.³

LPA campaigners were learning to heed such messages.⁴

Council equivocation about advertising was demonstrated in September when asked to contribute towards entertainments for the Ad. Men. Two hundred Australasian delegates were coming, most accompanied by wives. The LCC voted only £10.5 Nevertheless Shields provided a civic reception, the bourgeoisie entertained delegates privately, lavishly, and the Ad. Men seemed impressed.⁶ Hobart businessmen published a souvenir booklet.⁷ Rotarian Hugh Paton (1871-1951), the doyen of Australian advertising,⁸ said that only now did he realise "'Slowbart" is misnomer, and Launceston is not behind either.' He lauded the 'spirit which "boosted"'.⁹

The following month Launceston's Claude James became Mayor, welcomed as demonstrating Launceston's progressive swing. As Chamber of Commerce president he had long criticised citizens for failing to appreciate the value of advertisement.¹⁰ He now brought in a 'slogan all [could] echo and support BOOST LAUNCESTON. They must all work together for the city and push it ahead.' Never had the time been more

1. *Ex*, 19/7/23.

2. *Ibid.*, 22/8/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 27/8/23. See also *ibid.*, 14/11/23: 'Mayor Shields said the Ad. Men should be impressed with Launceston's modernity, but Dark and Dirty' relates how the suburb of Invernay has trouble with light and water. 'The LCC is not "alive"—it would take a Japanese earthquake to wake them up!'

4. *Ibid.*, 10/5/23: editorial glad to see LPA doing more than just *attracting* tourists, in considering sanitation and port they are also working to make the town more attractive.

5. *Ibid.*, 11/9/23.

6. *Ibid.*, 6/12/23 has letter from WR McFerran, general president of the Advertising Association. Those who helped most in Launceston included the Quamby [Ladies] Club, Launceston Hotel, UCTA, Mrs E Leeson, 'Peel Salisbury, the local Ad. Men, politicians, journalists, etc.

7. Tasmanian Advertising Association *The Advertising Association of Australia and New Zealand, 4th Convention 1923, Tasmania 10th to 17th November. Souvenir Programme of the Delegates' Visit to Hobart* (Hobart: Davies Bros.; 1923). The weekend 10-12 November was spent in Hobart. Delegates then returned to Launceston for a week of business.

8. *ADB*.

9. *Ex*, 14/11/23. The Ad. Men's call for continued progress was heard. *Merc*, 22/12/23 said conferences brought 'men of importance and influence ... who see for themselves ... and thereafter serve as advertising agents for the State.'

10. *Ex*, 18/12/23.

opportune.¹ But methods remained in doubt. Shields thought boosting had to be done abroad:

It is all very well to boost it at home, but that will not bring what we require for Launceston—industries using power and bringing with them work people who will swell the population of this city and the state. Our great aim for Launceston should be to push it along to make it 50,000 people. I hope something will be done, if not for Launceston alone, then for the whole state.²

Though keen to see ‘something’ done, James doubted Launceston’s capacity to fund an envoy. Albert Monds urged Launceston not to be parochial and mooted a joint effort by the government and larger councils. Salisbury now concurred. Other states were already moving, and ‘We must not wait behind closed doors; we must put punch into our effort and go after industries.’ All agreed Wembley was a great opportunity and called for further cooperative discussion.³

As always, it was difficult to arrange cooperation between the deeply suspicious civic rivals. In *Manchester Guardian Commercial* articles they argued over which city was better suited to cotton manufacture.⁴ Such bickering was hardly a recommendation for the state, each region devaluing the credibility of the others.⁵ Later in 1924 they attempted to ‘fraternise’, but failed to agree on newly mooted cooperative advertising.⁶ By December Launceston was launching a new offensive against Hobart’s predominance in tourism.⁷

1. *Ibid.*, 18/12/23, 19/12/23.

2. *Ibid.*, 19/12/23.

3. *Ibid.*, 19/12/23.

4. *v.*, 17/1/24 and *Merc.*, 29/1/24. Newton’s one-eyed Launcestonianism was incorrigible. For an example of his prose and claims see ‘Empire Development: Tasmania’s Industrial Cities: Launceston.’ in *The British and Colonial Review*, March 1925, (reprinted on broadsheet by *Examiner*, copy held by NRL Local History Room).

5. Intrastate rivalry was partially responsible for Tasmania’s failure to attract the Ford motor company when it investigated Australian factory sites in 1923-24. A Launceston land developer offered free land on his estate at Newnham, and Mayor James cabled the company offering cheap power and rates (see *Ex.*, 12/1/24 and 29/2/24. The developer was EJ Sidebottom, the estate was ‘Fairfield Park’). Hobartians quickly responded and each city faulted the other’s claims. Jack Nettlefold and Edwin Rogers could not convince the HCC to tender free land to the company. Nettlefold was accused of losing sight of his responsibilities to ratepayers by offering £5000 to ‘the richest man in the world’. Nettlefold, growing impatient with his colleagues’ conservatism, dubbed his city ‘The village of Hobart!’ (See *ibid.*, 12/2/24). Later in the year his motor-dealing brother Robert announced a unilateral departure (*Merc.*, 10/10/24). He had already met Henry Ford in America (*ibid.*, 10/12/23 and 21/12/23), and was again invited to Detroit to discuss Hobart’s offerings (*ibid.*, 14-15/10/24). He did manage to get a small assembly plant for Hobart in 1927 (*ibid.*, 20/9/27). Herbert Heathorn and associates also established the Auto Bodies Ltd assembly plant in Murray Street in 1926 (*ibid.*, 27/4/27). But with its quick land link to, and unjealous support from, Melbourne, plus a good deal of boosting and bonusing, Geelong won the main prize. Three other Ford plants were established in 1925-26, namely Granville, NSW, Brisbane and Fremantle, WA (see *Australian Encyclopedia* (Sydney: Grolier; 1965) Vol. 6 p. 178b). In *Ex.*, 1/2/27 Launceston Mayor George Shields says ‘The Mayor of Geelong told me ... “I would not like to say what we have spent on advertising.” Look at Geelong today!’

6. In October at the HCC and LCC annual conference Rogers secured a motion to establish a joint advertising committee to investigate a scheme and seek cooperation from government and other municipalities (see *Merc.*, 15/10/24). Two weeks later Launceston held a dinner for ‘Fraternising with Hobart’ (see *Ex.*, 30/10/24), but despite desire for better relations the advertising question went unresolved (see *Merc.*, 9/12/24). Launceston councillors were ‘unable’ to attend a reciprocal dinner in Hobart the following month, and in their absence it became, according to Mayor Soundy, a forum for creating ‘a sense of civic pride and responsibility amongst our people.’ (See *Ex.*, 30/10/24).

7. *DT & Ex.*, from 10/12/24.

As to Wembley, neither city was capable of firm decision. Several Tasmanian businessmen were going privately. The government's Wembley advisory committee appointed them honorary state commissioners. Thus endowed, Launceston woolbroker, grain and produce merchant, Colonel George Edward Harrap (1856-1937), departed in late January 1924. The *Examiner* still wanted more: a full-time Launceston rep. with a £1000-£2000 budget to lecture at Wembley then tour the industrial counties. The most suitable man, said the paper, would be thoroughly reliable, knowledgeable, able and tactful: 'Above all he should not be a stranger to the art of publicity.'¹ About the same time a committee formed in Hobart to coordinate its honorary representatives. Chairman was Harry Cummins's partner, Frank Reynolds.² A month later they were still debating matters, Nettlefold all the while increasingly frustrated at the HCC's reluctance to 'spend ... for boosting Hobart.'³

The Hobart Advertising Committee had made several resolutions since August. One called on the HCC to vote a three to five-year annual budget of £2000 for items such as a supplement in the *Manchester Guardian* and a follow-up booklet on Hobart. Council would not commit itself to an inchoate proposal. Businessmen were unwilling to draw up a complete scheme without some agreement in principle from the HCC. In January 1924 a new meeting included the recently-demoted Emmett.⁴ Nettlefold, outspokenly angry, threatened to disband the committee and Wilson Bailey said Hobart was 'not in earnest' about advertising. He wanted something like Launceston's cooperative booklet of 1922. Had the HCC sanctioned the principle, he would have donated time preparing details. Instead Council frittered away its advertising budget on small ad hoc exercises. John Johnston agreed. It was:

an absolute waste to spend a small sum on advertising. ... a bold scheme was ... wanted. He would not like the committee to turn down the scheme altogether, and lose the opportunity to boost the State, and Hobart in particular.

Emmett, loath to see the chance for strong local effort escape, seconded a Lamprill compromise reducing the request to £1000 for the first year. He would break the vicious circle, work up a full proposal himself, and ensure Hobart's attractions for tourists and settlers were included alongside industrial claims. Moore-Robinson agreed. He also wanted to see a businessman sent abroad to canvass British industry, but felt this should have a national basis with intrastate and government input.⁵

Two weeks later the committee again urged aldermen to make a start. Advertising had become 'imperative' because 'other places were doing it'. Lamprill found it

1. *Ex.* 21/1/24. See also *ibid.*, 22/1/24 for Harrap talking to a reception on eve of his departure.

2. *Merc.* 29/1/24.

3. *Ibid.*, 19/2/24.

4. Also present were Mayor Soundy, Ald. Rogers, Nettlefold and Cuthbertson, Marine Board Wardens Murdoch and Turner, and Messrs Johnston, Lamprill, Gunn, Bailey, Malcolm Kennedy, Moore-Robinson and Courtney-Pratt.

5. *Ibid.*, 18/1/24

necessary to stress the committee's bona fides. They were 'substantial citizens, deeply interested in the movement, and on account of their advertising activities had a better knowledge of ... advertising methods than the City Council.' Bailey 'had travelled the world ... making advertising his specialty'. Yet sceptics remained. As in Launceston, manufacturers felt 'the best means of advertising the city was to improve its attractions and conveniences.' Bailey disagreed. If they waited to make 'a perfect city before launching out on the advertising scheme' the latter would never eventuate: 'A business man, by advertising, finds he has more money to develop his business' and the same applied to cities. Bailey cited world examples of cities that had 'doubled their population through a forward advertising policy': Los Angeles, Seattle, Edmonton in North America, Lowestoft in England.

Again arose elements against parochial advertising. To 'guard against duplication' Addison and Moore-Robinson favoured cooperative efforts and urged Hobart to vote £1000 to prompt others. Robinson recalled how the TTA's lead encouraged government participation in tourism. Mayor Soundy complained it was unfair that because the government was financially hamstrung people were looking to the HCC. He also favoured state-wide cooperation. Lamprill and others said such schemes had been tried and failed. Hobart should 'move on.' Much confusion remained. This time the committee went away believing they had in principle agreement.¹ Three weeks later Council fobbed off their proposal to spend £500 on 25,000 city booklets for Wembley.²

Back in Launceston a similar situation existed with much noise, little action, and confusion as to means and ends. Press letters urged the LCC to 'Boost Launceston' by sending a representative to Wembley.³ The *Telegraph* re-emphasised that boosting was a job for all, even 'the humblest and poorest.'⁴ As in Hobart, internecine municipal politics was the chief obstacle to decision making. The *Examiner* parodied 'Boost Launceston' as a baby with too many godparents squabbling over how it should be reared. James had lost control to a committee and 'at once ... began to go off' the whole idea. Others refused to participate unless their ideas were adopted. The youngster would wither: 'on a nice little headstone it will go down to history that "Boost Launceston" like the good died young'.⁵ In the background un-named lobbyists maintained 'ambassadorialism' was a state function, not one for municipal effort.⁶

Council's position angered many citizens, who asked the *Examiner* to expose dissenting aldermen. On the eve of yet another meeting the *Daily Telegraph* boosted the

1. *Ibid.*, 1/2/24.

2. *v.*, 26/2/24.

3. *Ex.*, 19/1/24; 30/1/24; 6/2/24.

4. *DT*, 26/1/24.

5. *Ex.*, 5/2/24.

6. *DT*, 23/1/24. *Ex.*, 30/1/24.



THE MAYOR OF LAUNCESTON.

Alderman Alexander Evans, B.S.O., M.C., V.D., J.P., A.A.I.S., served with merit in two Wars—the South African and the Great War—and returned to his native city of Launceston to carry on the family tradition of public service by becoming Mayor. His father had been a Master Warden of the Marine Board, and his grandfather an alderman of the city. He has been equally active in the athletic world, and has represented Tasmania on three occasions in the Warrnambool to Melbourne cycle race, was a member of the Tasmanian Harriers, and has taken a prominent part in State rowing. At present he fills in his spare time by being handicapper for the League of Tasmanian Wheelmen, and acting starter for the Tasmanian Turf Club and Newham Racing Club.

Alexander Arthur Evans

boost: 'if we don't boost ourselves no one will do it for us.' In the Commonwealth booklet *Australia for the Tourist*, in which all states were represented, the Tasmanian section gave 'the usual official impression that Hobart and its environs are Tasmania.' It was, 'this sort of chronic overlooking which makes us so insistent that it is time Launceston did some practical publicity on its own account.'

Unfazed, Council refused a proposal to spend £600 on an envoy. The slim majority affected support for boosterism but said the time was not ripe nor the suggested method apt. Percy Hart led the negatives, saying he would support spending two or three times the amount in more opportune circumstances.² Shields, James and Ockerby were incensed, as was Alexander Arthur Evans (1881-1955), a company secretary, realtor and accountant partner of the LPA's Archy Garrott.³ The *Examiner* still thought Wembley a 'golden opportunity'. It so blurred Hobart's troubles dealing with the question that it seemed southern interests were really getting ahead with their own boosting. 'Yes, we are not going to boost Launceston', said the paper. Excuses for 'keeping in the old rut' were 'mutually destructive', yet the city was 'doomed to sleep on.' Using the arts of publicity was 'a business proposition. But apparently anything savouring of modern business methods is still anathema to the majority of aldermen.'⁴

James now mooted a joint Municipal-Government representation to Wembley.⁵ Hobart rejected the idea.⁶ By then the Government had decided to send a state representative anyway.⁷ At the end of January 1924 the Assembly agreed to pay the second instalment (£1,979) of Tasmania's share of Australian Wembley expenditure. Asked by George Shields if he intended to send a Tasmanian representative, Lyons replied 'Yes—we have no bananas'⁸ but this was recognised as bluff.⁹ Ernest Blyth suggested State Forester Llewellyn George Irby (1883-1964),¹⁰ who was producing a stream of reports on 'Migration in its Relation to Forestry'.¹¹ But in February Cabinet agreed to send WD Reid, the state geologist based in Launceston. Lyons allocated

1. *DT*, 11/2/24.

2. *Ibid.*, 12/2/24.

3. Major 'Lex' Evans's was LCGS class of 1895. He was involved in the Boer War and WWI. His family had three generations in Council and Marine Board. His father had soap works in Launceston. LCC Ald. 1922-31, Mayor 1926. MLC Launceston 1936-42. Lex was also involved in horse racing and Freemasonry. See Branagan, *op. cit.* p. 18, *B RTP*, and *TT* p. 36. *Ob. Ex*, 4/6/55.

4. *Ex*, 13/2/24.

5. *Ibid.*, 14-15/2/24.

6. *Ibid.*, 1/3/24.

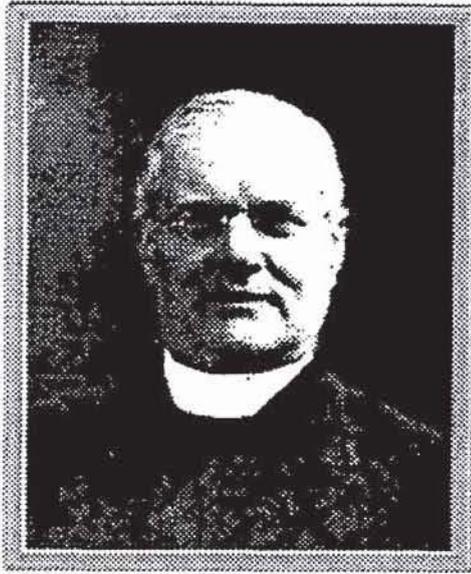
7. For considerable material on the state's involvement with Wembley see PD1.

8. *MR*, 30/1/24.

9. *DT/Ex*, 12/2/24.

10. *MR*, 30/1/24.

11. Irby, LG (Conservator of Forests, Forestry Department, Government of Tasmania), *Migration in its Relation to Forestry* (Presented to the British Empire Forestry Conference, Ottawa 1923). See also: 'Interstate Conference on Forestry, Hobart, April 1920: Report of the resolutions, proceedings and debates' (*TPP* 1920/13). *Forest Plantation Scheme: Possibilities of exotic pines and suggested method by which much of the state's waster land may be converted into valuable forests* (Hobart: EF Blyth, Minister for Lands; 1923). *The Timber and Pulpwood Resources of Tasmania* (Hobart: Government of Tasmania; 1924). Annual Reports of the Forestry Department *TPP* 1921/44; 1923/39. 'Forestry of Tasmania' in *ANZAAS Handbook to Tasmania* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1928). *Conquest of the Button Grass Plains and Heathlands of Tasmania* (Burnie: Advocate; 1955).



David Ross Hewton

£800 for the purpose, saying that if, by the plan, 'millions of money came into the State in return the future of Tasmania would be assured.'¹

With Nationalist support the vote passed 14:9.² The Legislative Council—truculent towards Labor and disinterested in mining—rejected the item.³ But Lyons obtained a Governor-in-Council order for Reid's expenses and within a month he was on his way to London.⁴ Mayor James and Tom Newton despatched 150 copies of the Launceston handbook to a London press agent contracted to insert reviews in provincial newspapers. 500 copies went to other distribution points.⁵ In Sydney they prompted calls for a direct Launceston-Sydney passenger service.⁶

Attention now focussed more on 'boosting closer to home'.⁷ The initiative fell back to the press and other pro-commercial groups and individuals. St John's Anglican church rector David Ross Hewton (1863-1933),⁸ contributed the first of a series of *Telegraph* articles on 'Boosting the City of Launceston.' Hewton saw no distinction between the secular and the sacred. In Canada he had witnessed mid-west boosters at work. In one place the YMCA showed him its silver 'Booster Cup', a municipal trophy for the individual or society that did most to advance city interests. This left a deep impression in his mind that any city with 'a large number of citizens in friendly competition striving to win the "Booster Cup" is sure to make real progress.'

It is this community idea, this striving together for the common good, which cuts out much selfishness and calls up many who might otherwise be disposed to sit back and let the other man pull the boat.

Character-building is of the utmost importance. Every man has public duties as well as private responsibilities. The city that will make the greatest mark in the history of the Commonwealth is the one which has the greatest number of public-spirited men and women of the right stamp.

May the Great God who called me into existence and opened my eyes to behold the stars inspire me with a desire to win the 'Booster Cup.'⁹

The *Telegraph* kept the series going for over a month. Ald. Osborne, who had voted against the ambassador proposal, mooted a long list of 'easy and inexpensive' ways of boosting—city beautifications, increased consumption of electricity, loyalty in spending. Everyone could do their bit to build population. All should realise that 'every visiting tourist is a possible settler, and residents who do all they can to make the stay ... of visitors pleasant may well be "casting bread on the waters."' Individuals

1. *MR*, 28/2/24.

2. *Ibid.*, 4/3/24.

3. *Ibid.*, 6/3/24.

4. *Ex*, 16/4/24. On division, the Legislative Council passed the vote (reduced to £600) 7:6, on 13/11/24. Despite the division the debate was not reported to any extent because it was a *fait accompli*. By the time the Auditor General reported on the year's finances (*TPP* 1925/6) the amount expended was £732. Reid's salary was covered by a separate item, as were many other Exhibition expenses such as transport, printing, cost of exhibits and contributions to the Australian Pavilion.

5. *Ex*, 19/3/24.

6. *Ibid.*, 6/5/24.

7. *Ibid.*, 15/2/24 letter from HW Castley.

8. *PT*. Obituary in *Ex*, 29/9/33.

9. *DT*, 9/2/24.

could extol antipodean virtues in letters to friends, relatives and their local newspapers in 'the Old Country'. Subscriptions to English journals could serve as levers for placing publicity copy. If Council ever had the funds for a corporate effort, he recommended cinema as best way to reach Britain's multitudes.¹

That the word 'boost' had become a buzz word in Launceston's quiet valley was not to everyone's satisfaction. One H McEwin said there was already 'more talk than necessary'. Silent action was more effective: "The man who minded his own business" made the city what it was. He attacked 'boost' as an Americanism 'distasteful to patriotic Australians'. A 'Booster Cup' could lead to 'exaggeration, and some disregard for the truth on the part of some eager competitors'. He offered instead 'an Honour Cup'.² Osborne and McEwin's sentiments echoed 'Bridport', who asked:

Would it not be better if the misguided and fruitless efforts of the "boosters" were utilised in the direction of achieving material and substantial benefits for the city and its citizens? "Boosting" is essentially a product of the land of brag and boast, viz., America. There, in every 10 cent hamlet, boosting is indulged in per medium of the local press, with local hoardings, etc. Many fading "boost" notices can be seen in towns that were boomed or "boosted" and now stand as abandoned monuments of the "booster."

'Bridport' listed sporting facilities, events and other entertainments, and 'steady and plenteous pick and shovel work' that Launceston could encourage instead of taking up:

the parrot cry of 'Boost," or ... a silver cup or golden casket (which would eventually become the property of the biggest liar in the community), to make it progress as it should but does not.³

Alderman Ockerby's musings were more positive. He found "'Boost" by no means a euphonious verb', but saw its great application to modern life. He noted its electrical meaning, as in a 'machine for raising the voltage charging accumulators'. This connoted 'rouser'. A man with an amusing flair with words, he continued thus:

The word 'Wowser,' said to have been coined by a man who couldn't pronounce his R's, actually means 'Rouser,' and it is a compliment to any man so named. 'Booster,' in common parlance, means the same thing, a 'rouser'—a Shaker up of Dry Bones. As an electrical term 'Booster' is particularly applicable to this city, which has blazed the track and paved the way for electrical ventures throughout the Commonwealth.

The pessimist says we have nothing to boost. He wears blue spectacles continually, and nothing short of a charge of dynamite would shake his convictions. He forgets that the glorious Tamar is the Rhine of the Southern World. That Launceston's position makes her the 'Hub of Tasmania,' the natural centre of Tasmanian activities. That to stand on any of Launceston's hills, especially at sunset and view the rugged mountains, the woodland hills, the silver rivers, and the splendid little city nestling on its banks, is a panorama that even the Bay of Naples cannot eclipse. Is it any wonder that a poet sang:

'Tasmania, gem of the Southern Sea,
Eden Alone Surpasses thee.'⁴

Ockerby was clearly in the running for any booster prize on offer. His equation of wowser and booster provides insight to the self-concept of teetotal and temperance

1. *Ibid.*, 25/2/24. Osborne "retired" to Tasmania after a successful South Australian career in journalism and newspaper management (see *BRADB*).

2. *DT*, 1/3/24.

3. *Ibid.*, 11/2/24.

4. *Ibid.*, 8/3/24. *Truth* publisher John Norton claimed to have invented the word "wowser". See Dunstan, *Keith Wowzers* (Melbourne: Cassell; 1968).

businessmen. Their strict Protestantism and work ethic were not as anti-progressive as some hoteliers would claim: growth could be treated as a religion, provided it be kept 'clean'.¹ Others who shared Ockerby's world view included Jack McPhee and John Soundy of Hobart, both of whom were close personal friends by Joe Lyons, a man who liked his whisky, would for a brief while run a liquor outlet, yet made a point of praising such men and their contributions to Tasmanian civic development.²

Summing up the 'Boost Launceston' articles, the *Telegraph* instanced more overseas booster cities and asked if Launceston was now convinced. Though some criticised James's Americanisms, they could learn a lot from the USA, where cities went ahead, and not just from hot air: 'they plan and scheme and advertise.' So did English cities like Hull, Manchester, Liverpool, Swansea and Cardiff. Jacksonville, Florida was the most startling. Since 1919 its campaign spending had grown to \$25,000 (£5000) p.a. Its Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, Real Estate Board and other bodies cooperated through an advisory board. Jacksonville, like Launceston, had a tourist traffic but also wanted industry, settlers, wholesalers and investors. In 1923 it had 600,000 tourists and population had doubled to 100,000 since 1913.³

The problem for advocates of 'the outside boost', of advertising and envoys, remained the structure of local politics, the difficult task of getting Council to agree. Only two months after the LCC rejected the ambassador idea it was back on the agenda. This time it was led by Alderman Howard Charles Linney Barber (1877-1950), a textile manager from Birmingham who, after experience in India, had been attracted by advertising to purchase Tamar apple orchards. Like Osborne, Barber had opposed James's motion, thinking it better to wait until Wembley was over. He now wanted a man to interview British textilers at their factories. Given past experience the *Examiner* held little hope for the motion, especially as it was so narrowly industrial. It advocated Launceston be more diversified, but was willing to support any move if only a move be made.⁴

In May 1924 Council surprised constituents by agreeing to at least advertise the job of city representative, though they reserved the right to appoint no-one. Only two dissentients remained. Monds saw it as an unfair burden on ratepayers. Hart, annoyed that Riley had asked for more money as soon as he arrived in England was not 'going to be made use of by anyone who might want a trip Home at the expense of the Council'. James defended Riley, saying his reports showed Tasmania and Launceston needed much more publicity to combat New Zealand's recently increased efforts.

1. *Ibid.*

2. See for instance *Merc*, 15/12/24: Lyons says Soundy 'not a wowser', a political opponent but personal friend. Lyons joined Harry Lane, MHA, in a liquor business in his interregnum between state and federal politics 1928-29 (see *B RTP*).

3. *DT*, 14/3/24.

4. *Ex*, 16/4/24.

Ockerby's only reservations were to do with the appointee. It should be someone familiar with both Launceston and England, who could convince manufacturers Launceston was the 'hub of Tasmania...' Perhaps an Alderman should be sent, though Captain Newton would be perfect.¹

Nine applicants stepped forward offering proposals between four and six hundred pounds. The unusual step of publishing their names² made decision invidious. Private advice came from a London perfumer, Keith Denny (1888-1975), who had recently established Bridestowe Lavender Farm at Lilydale. He pointed out the great expense of contacting English industrialists. Only through lavish luncheons could necessary personal introductions be obtained. Far better to seek the assistance of 'some of the very brilliant brains' in England's advertising and publicity trade: men who knew their markets, the latest trends and methods.³ More 'cold water' came from Agent-General Ashbolt's final report on depression in English industry and recent rebuffs he had experienced.⁴

The *Examiner* would not listen to such 'pessimism': the present was always the best time to boost and now was the time to educate Britons for when they became affluent again.⁵ Hearing Council was about to kill the scheme, the paper blasted its 'fickleness'. If this was an engineering problem, Council would have consulted an engineer. The Ad. Men were the equivalent experts in propaganda methods, so why not consult them?⁶ Ashbolt had 'come to regard his own groove as the only one worth following, and so may be led to undervalue the efforts of others.' There was plenty of scope outside his realm, wrote one of the applicants, LJ Bryant.⁷ Bryant's optimism was 'opportunely' matched by an unexpected ally, the recently-retired Agent-General for Western Australia, who said there was plenty of scope for advertising Launceston in England, even if simply for migrants. If Tasmanians invested local capital the show of confidence might well attract English branch factories.⁸

On the eve of Council's decision the press again attempted to influence opinion. The LCC must decide whether it wanted to boost, and if so, how. 'A chronic policy of postponement will never get us anywhere', wrote the *Examiner*, 'There is no more

1. *Ex*, DT and Merc, 14/5/24.

2. *Ex*, 27/5/24. The applicants were: HW Jones of Winkleigh, JW Shirriff, Alf. Tyson, LJ Bryant, Gordon L Creasy and TA Newton of Launceston, George McGowan of Scottsdale and the novelist-publicist Will. Lawson (1876-1957) of Sydney who also wanted to lecture and do publicity work in North America. A ninth 'confidential' application came from WJ Reeves, a London native now working as linotypist for the *Examiner*. The *Daily Telegraph* pushed for Gordon Creasy, an ex-London chartered accountant with twenty years' business knowledge of Launceston.

3. LCCC Box 42B Folder 35/2. Letter to Mayor dated 20/5/24.

4. The report for calendar 1923, dated 30/1/24, was not published until May as TPP 1924/4. See DT, 30/5/24.

5. *Ex*, 2/6/24.

6. *Ibid.*, 4/6/24.

7. *Ibid.*, 9/6/24.

8. *Ibid.*, 9/6/24. The speaker was Sir James Connolly (1869-1962).

certain way of losing the industrial race than to stop at every fence, and to shy at every shadow.’¹ But, faced with division over the applicants, Council decided withdrawal was ‘the only way out’. They said they might reconsider, but this was the end of the ambassador idea. The following month, they passed a Shields motion to spend £500 for overseas advertising ‘as good opportunities emerge’. The *Examiner* appeared pleased, hailing recognition that cities had become entities which must advertise to maintain progress.² But rumblings of dissatisfaction would ever continue: of propaganda there could never be enough.

Calls for city envoys gave way to bursts of civic pride centring on city beautification. The period from about 1923-24 saw many physical manifestations of renascent civic consciousness. Credit was due in part to aldermanic individuals: but it is arguable that without the vigilante efforts of voluntary bodies and the press, progress would have been slower. A movement began for a municipal zoo at the Devil’s Punchbowl near Launceston’s southern entrance. This would replace the neglected menagerie at the City Park and be ‘one more attraction for Launceston’ with tourist and educational value.³ ED Pinkard led a group of citizens inspired by the 1890s Improvement Society. They would develop the site for transfer to Council.⁴ The South Launceston Progress Association organised working bees and fund-raising festival events.⁵ The *Examiner* lauded this ‘inspiring example of self-help in local development ... the spirit of emulation [and the] parochial application of it to meet their own practical needs.’⁶ Another ‘community syndicate’ emerged in 1924 with plans to buy and develop picnic grounds at St Leonards. This was already popular, attracting 4000-5000 people at times.⁷ Though outside Launceston’s municipal boundary, the grounds were ‘a city asset’, and negotiations to purchase began.⁸ The price being too high, LCC leased the grounds and the Northern Tasmanian Friendly Societies Association kept them in good condition.⁹

Far more momentous were foreshore beautification developments at Royal Park. Once the grounds of the government Invalid Depot, it was an ugly site and embarrassing link with Tasmania’s convict-colonial past. For many years individual

1. *Ibid.*, 9/6/24.

2. *Ibid.*, 8/7/24.

3. *Ibid.*, 15/2/24 and 23/5/24. Hobart City Council purchased a private zoo in 1922 and operated it for fourteen years. Municipal purchase was justification tourism and education grounds (see Guiler, ER ‘The Beaumaris Zoo in Hobart’ *THRAPP* 1986; 33/4 pp. 121-71).

4. *Ibid.*, 25/11/24.

5. *Ibid.*, 18/12/24, 2/2/25 and 21/1/26.

6. *Ibid.*, 16/12/24. The association faltered in 1926 due to lack of LCC support (see *ibid.*, 3/3/26), but was revitalised in 1930 (*ibid.*, 6/11/30) and in 1937 persuaded Council to purchase the land and create a reserve (*ibid.*, 6/3/84). The projected zoo, however, did not eventuate until the 1960s, only to be closed again in 1984.

7. *Ibid.*, 7/2/24.

8. *Ibid.*, 24-25/11/24.

9. *Ibid.*, 9/1/25. LCCC Box 42B Folder 36/1.



William Robinson

Aldermen mooted a 'Boulevard'.¹ Now healthy rates revenue made it seem feasible.² Early in 1924 a new Henley-on-Tamar committee offered to conduct working bees at the park.³ *Telegraph* staff approached the Mayor, who called a citizens' meeting to formulate a definite proposal.⁴ Frank Heyward suggested a design competition⁵ and by August several schemes were submitted. The Marine Board agreed to cooperate: largely thanks to Warden George Cleaver, a member of the LPA, which also pledged support.⁶

A Royal Park development plan was compiled from ideas by Heyward, HS East and CE Ritchie.⁷ In December 1924 a large gathering formed a Launceston Foreshore Improvement Association (LFIA). Here, said the *Telegraph*, was tangible evidence of 'a "civic consciousness" on the part of the citizens or a genuine patriotism and desire to help forward their home town'. President was Mayor James, who said the fine Tamar panoramas greeting tourists were marred by the unsightly foreshore of the city itself. Again the 1890s improvement movement was cited and the atmosphere of revival was charged with the electricity of the boost.⁸

The LFIA embarked on an ambitious program with a large organisation advised by technocrats and other experts. Committee membership numbered forty-five and broadly represented the bourgeois professions. Included were most of the aldermen, press proprietors and LPA members, notably Jack Dean. In contrast to his own body, the LFIA's objective was very definite, tangible and "democratic". This no doubt accounts for the high level of initial support. It was a lesson for the LPA. Primary objects were threefold: the foreshore development, modernisation of the sewerage system and any other improvements to advance the facilities and attractions of city and port. Treasurer was the manufacturer, retailer and *Telegraph* co-proprietor, Arthur Ferrall. Secretary was William Robinson (1879-1960), a shipping and customs agent prominent in rowing.⁹ When Tasman Shields said sewerage was a Council matter, Robinson exclaimed the group 'could mould public opinion!'¹⁰ Royal Park became one

1. Along the line now taken by the city's flood prevention levy.

2. *Merc*, 11/4/23 editorial says Treasury has 'financial crisis' but the private economy seems to be booming. *Ex*, 1/9/23: Editorial on progress of the city, says signs abound, building etc. Not a 'boom' in the 'flash-in-the-pan' sense, but real and sustained. *Merc*, 3/8/23: 'Advancement of Hobart: Boom in Building Trade. Reflection of Industrial Development.' 'It is not so much a "boom" in the ordinary sense of the word as a reflection of real industrial growth.' *ibid.*, 11/5/25 reports the HCC AGM and an editorial enthuses over Hobart's growth.

3. *Ex*, 19/2/24 and 20/3/24.

4. *DT*, 18/3/24 And 19/3/24

5. *DT*, 19/3/24. *Ex*, 13/8/24.

6. *Ex*, 18/8/24.

7. *Ibid.*, 23/8/24: Ritchie, an artist with forty years' interest in the river, lived in Trevallyn, the hillside suburb overlooking the park. He was associated with Peel Salisbury's Harbour League, whose successful lobbying saw the Hunter Plan for the Tamar commissioned in 1911-12.

8. *DT*, 3/12/24.

9. Robinson had been Manager of the Tasmanian Government Shipping Department 1919-24. Later he was 50,000 League president, Launceston Marine Board 1933-51 and Master Warden 1936-45. MLC 1942-1948 See *B RTP*, and Wettenhall, *op. cit.* (1967), pp. 86-94.

10. *DT*, 6/12/24.

of the city's prize reserves and the LFIA did achieve containment of the nearby Margaret Street sewerage outlet in 1927.¹

The foreshore issue revived interest in the LPA, which critics such as 'Progress', 'Interested' and 'Anti Apathy' claimed had become supine in the face of official favouritism towards Hobart. A new committee formed, though mainly from the original line-up. Carr, Pinkard and Bennett were still prominent, Cleaver became president and Jack Dean took secretarial duties. Cleaver vaunted the LPA as a training ground for public men and wanted to enlist a thousand members. Dean said they had been essentially a vigilance committee to pressure official bodies, but now called for more practical work, especially to develop the city's tourist traffic.² A tourism sub-committee formulated aims. Systematic publicity through mainland newspapers offered cheap advertising. Posters at mainland railway stations announcing the cheapest available rates could attract people able to afford £10-20 for a fortnight in the city. This was now seen as an important market sector, possibly more lucrative, given sufficient numbers, than wealthy tourists who brought their cars and departed for other regions. Dean asked citizens to help 'stop ... the constant exodus southwards.' They must also pressure for cheap accommodation. The committee resolved to devise a complete scheme.³

In May 1925 the *Examiner* discussed 'Community Advertising', inspired by recent articles in the *Manchester Guardian Commercial*. James as Mayor 'did his best but failed to get the council out of the rut [in which] it had for so long been content to travel.' Although it voted an amount for publicity, it rejected 'anything concrete in the form of a "push"':

The idea of "boosting" Launceston remains in the talking stage. We are constantly hearing from public men about "this beautiful island" and "this great little city" and the like, but how much ice does that cut?

They must be prepared to spend where spending would work: 'We of Tasmania know all about it. What we need to do is try to get it into outsiders' heads.' The paper went on to discuss worldwide 'awakening to the value of community advertising even in England'. If only civic authorities and commercial associations had 'the courage of the retailer's convictions community advertising would forge ahead'. In the USA about \$3,000,000 (£600,000) was spent in 1924, a third derived from direct taxation. In Tasmania there was keenness for tourist advertising, but why stop there?

1. *Ex*, 13/2/27 and 25/2/27; *DT*, 27/6/27 and 28/6/27; *Ex*, 30/9/27.

2. *Ibid.*, 10/5/24 and 13/5/24. *Merc*, 14/5/24. For further examples of LPA revival see *Ex*, 22/2/24: LPA asks Mayor to ask LCC to provide more drinking fountains like the modern example recently installed in Prince's Square. *Ex*, 1/4/24: Beautification: LCC agrees to remove iron fence from front of Town Hall despite Hart and Ockerby's dissent. Hart says undesirables will now 'doss' in the portico. *DT*, 29/2/24: LCC experimenting with asphalt roads, first section on St John St block fronting Town Hall. St John St will be just like Broadway, Park Avenue, etc! LCCC Box 42B, Folder 36/1. 6/10/24: LPA asking for Mayoral meeting on tourist facilities and fingerpost signs.

3. *DT*, 16/7/24.

For those who felt uncomfortable with the idea of ‘booming’ and called for ‘steady and increased business and prosperity’, there was an address by Sir Charles Higham to the Leeds Publicity Club. It was impossible to:

inform the world of anything unless you startle them first, and if, as a result of startling you develop the “boom,” then you must continue to startle them so that you continue the “boom.” The trouble with so many business firms and towns is that they start with a bang and then develop into a splutter. You have to keep on hanging.

When would the LCC learn this lesson?¹

By this time James had lost the mayoralty to John Ockerby. His first act was to re-initiate long-forgotten pre-meeting prayers and ceremony, and declare the Council cupboard ‘dry’.² He then announced a new policy for Launceston, with ‘Stability, no plunging’: the city would have progress just the same, but less American-style ballyhoo.³ Some months later he launched an Anti-Tattersall League, a ‘cleansing’ move which aroused some support but more criticism from parties who saw Tattersall’s as a harmless asset bringing revenue and publicity to the state.⁴ But, as mentioned, wowserism and tourism were not mutual exclusives, and Ockerby had long demonstrated support for both. He stood behind the Launceston-boosting work of Captain Newton and strongly supported Miscamble’s STAB as an agent for Tasmanians to ‘pull together’ and compete with other states’ recent efforts to ‘boom’.⁵ It became increasingly apparent that only centralised projects would attract concentrated effort.

In May 1925 Jack Nettlefold renewed his call for an advertising campaign to boost Hobart’s population and prosperity. His brother Robert had just returned from a world tour inspired by the extent of city advertising, and both were aghast at Tasmanians’ failure ‘to realise their enormous potential wealth.’ Advertising could multiply tourist numbers tenfold. Alluding to his scheme’s failure in 1924, Jack said he would persist until it succeeded or the electors threw him out of office. He had advocated a purely Hobart scheme but his opinion now changed in light of the appointment of the ‘far-seeing’ Miscamble, who was floating a cooperative scheme and the STAB idea. Agreeing that ‘tourist traffic was the best asset Tasmania had’, Louis Shoobridge seconded Nettlefold’s motion for a £2000 advertising budget. Despite the support of Mayor Frank Valentine, opponents remained. Joe Breen said it was pointless to do anything until Tasmania’s shipping problems were solved, and Nat Oldham simply felt ‘It was too fantastic a scheme for him to agree to.’ Charles Lamprill did not want to commit the HCC to any specific budget, but again framed a passable amendment which

1. Ex. 23/5/25.
 2. *Ibid.*, 16/12/24.
 3. *Ibid.*, 17/12/24.
 4. *Ibid.*, 20-27/5/25. See also EA Davenport letter in *DT*, 27/10/25.
 5. Ex. 22/8/25.

kept city advertising on the agenda, dependent on the fate of the STAB idea.¹ In the end Hobart contributed £100 to Miscamble's *Wonderland* publication. Nettlefold's scheme came to nothing and he joined the drift abroad.²

While willingness to 'boost at home', to fund city beautifications and other improvements, was remarkable in 1920s,³ city aldermen remained averse to spending ratepayers' funds on faraway projects unlikely to bring immediate concrete results or electoral advantage. In 1925 the LCC spent only £78 on publicity.⁴ It seemed neither council could initiate local or state-wide boosting schemes: the only way to get them together was under the leadership of some third party. The STAB only involved industry people—to whip up popular enthusiasm would need a more powerful source of inspiration, a new state-wide event like Back to Tasmania. Although the concept of spending for publicity purposes had a halting start, it flourished from about 1926. To understand how unified opinion grew we must look at the other great motivator of the 1920s, the outside obstacles posed by federalist policy. The 'triple-headed Vampire' is described in general terms in Chapter Eight. How did Tasmanians approach the problem? They began by building rhetoric.

The Navigation Act

The anti-Navigation Act⁵ movement centred in Hobart, which was harder hit than the northern ports. It did not have the Bass Strait ferries but did have an extensive fruit-exporting hinterland, the markets for which lay in Sydney and Europe. Hobart businessmen had long profited greatly by this trade, which now threatened to diminish dramatically. Hobart missed out on the wealthy travellers: those who day-tripped or shopped in the city while *en route* from Sydney to Europe; others who simply enjoyed the comforts of the large ships, the 'apple trip', and were disinclined to travel on the likes of *Westralia* or *Zealandia*. Those in transit could not benefit the north except in

1. *Merc.*, 12/5/25.

2. First came a two-year tour of North and South America as 'attorney' for brother Tom's Hume Pipe Company. On his return to Hobart, he gave much detail on other countries' and cities' tourist-awareness. He then departed for Europe (see, *ibid.*, 30/8/27 and 29/9/27). In 1930 Nettlefold gave evidence to a Commonwealth committee investigating Tasmania's finances. His description then was 'Manufacturer, Sydney' (see *CPP*, 1929-30/108 p. 63).

3. For Hobart improvements see Petrow, Stefan, 'Making the City Beautiful: Town Planning in Hobart c. 1915 to 1926' *THRAPP* 1989, 36/3 pp. 99-112, especially p. 104. He notes that in June 1924 hopes for the coming tourist season were tapped by Hobart Fire Brigade Superintendent HE Trousselot. In the interests of averting fire dangers he promoted a Clean Up campaign, laying stress on the tourist benefits to be gained from aesthetic conditions. The Labor Party claimed this was 'conjured up' to benefit hardware, paint and furniture stores. There may well have been truth in the claims, but, as Petrow has noted, 'infected with another bout of civic pride, many citizens participated enthusiastically.' In November 1927 the HCC approved over £400 worth of improvements to the Mountain Park. £200 was contributed by the Advertising Committee for the purposes of furthering the city's tourist traffic (see *Merc.*, 29/11/27). By April 1928 £1200 had been spent on works including the Rock Cabin at the pinnacle of Mount Wellington 'Hobart's Greatest Asset.' (See *ibid.*, 16/4/28.)

4. *Ex.*, 1/2/27.

5. The Commonwealth perspective is documented in AA A458/F212/10 PT1 and PT2. The Tasmanian response is covered in thick Premier's Department files, PD1/33/3, from 1921 onwards. The files also include press clippings and correspondence relating to the citizen reaction.

the most indirect and general ways. Nevertheless the North could be, and was, enlisted in the fight.

In July 1921, the TSC briefed Premier Lee to approach the Commonwealth protesting the heavy losses the new Navigation Act was likely to impose upon the Tasmanian business community. They asked for general exemptions for any overseas passenger ships that might trade with the island in the peak tourist season, and to allow 'apple boats' in late summer and early autumn to carry 'a considerable number of tourists'. Western Australian ports had been granted exemptions and Tasmania was 'entitled to concessions similar'.¹ Commonwealth Customs officers replied that legislative discrimination in favour of particular states was unconstitutional but provisions allowed specific exemptions on tourist routes where existing licensed interstate services were not 'adequate'. Section 286 of the Act loosely defined 'adequate' as 'comfortable and up-to-date vessels' able to meet quantitative demand.² The bureaucrats determined that interstate ships could 'adequately cater for the trade' offering. Existing services had a 61% average vacancy rate over the past four months. The Sydney-Hobart service was expected to pick up with the approach of summer, and the new *Nairana* was expected to double the Bass Strait traffic.³

The definition of 'adequate', however, is always subjective, and Lee called for reconsideration. While the interstate boats may have sufficient berths, they afforded nothing like the comfort and conditions enjoyed by travellers on the big ocean going ships, the loss of which was a 'severe blow to the State'. In the absence of Commonwealth assistance his own government was frequently pressed to provide a state passenger service it could not afford. He again asked for exemption,⁴ but Hughes would not undermine the Navigation Act and a formal Cabinet decision reaffirmed bureaucratic advice.⁵

Lee's inability to influence Melbourne had much to do with politics. Hughes had not changed his opinion of Tasmania since condemning it as 'The Anti-Socialists' Arcadia' in 1909.⁶ He and Lee did public battle over the Navigation Act at the Premiers' conference in January 1922.⁷ Meanwhile Orient Line requests to carry interstate passengers on its mail boats were denied.⁸ In this unconstructive atmosphere the Hobart Chamber of Commerce acted unilaterally. President Maurice Susman berated and pleaded the Prime Minister to reconsider. His rhetoric, based on justice,

1. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, 7/7/21.

2. *Ibid.*, 26/7/21.

3. *Ibid.*, 13/8/21.

4. *Ibid.*, 21/9/21.

5. *Ibid.*, 6/12/21.

6. Hughes, WM. 'Tasmania, The Anti-Socialist's Arcadia' in: *The Case for Labor* (Facsimile ed. SUP; 1970). Originally in *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 13/3/09.

7. *CPP*, 1922/32 pp. 68-72.

8. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, 27/12/21 and 29/12/21.

economics and politics, gained ample *Mercury* publicity and echoed through the 1920s.

Susman said the concession asked was a mere 'stroke of the pen' for Federal powers. Was the Commonwealth 'so impotent', 'so thoughtless', that it could not do 'even-handed justice to this state, which is peculiarly dependent on its sea communications?' Before the war the mail vessels were 'bringing an increasing prosperity to Hobart and developing a traffic purely of their own making', a new, specialised traffic of wealthy tourists. In 1913 and 1914 about 1500 Sydney-Hobart tourists used the mail boats. The traffic was 'widespread in its ramifications' and Tasmania's trading community and travelling public had been looking forward to its return. It was 'extremely vital' to Tasmania that sea communications be of 'the best and most frequent kind.' Overseas steamers covered routes neglected by the coastal trade: Brisbane-Hobart-Melbourne for example. How could the Commonwealth conclude that Tasmanian services were adequate? asked Susman, 'Are our lines of communication never to be improved?'

Vacancies on local steamers were 'no guide' because 'many hundreds' would only travel by the larger vessels. The Act would see a 'very large number of people forsaking Tasmania and the other states, and spending their holidays in New Zealand, to which country they [could] have the choice and novelty of travelling in an ocean liner.' The Orient Line backed this claim. The money value of tourist losses was difficult to calculate, 'but in the aggregate it must be considerable.' The Act would also push up apple freights, devastating Tasmania's chief export. It was also of great importance 'from health, education and economic considerations to preserve and extend the travelling facilities of the Australian public'. Susman warned Hughes that failure to respond would 'alienate public support for your government The public is deeply irritated.'¹

Apparently moved by Susman, Hughes ordered Commonwealth *Bay* liners to Hobart for the autumn fruit season 1922.² However he was totally unsympathetic to the tourist arguments, which he saw as favouring Hobart and overseas shipping companies at the expense of broader national interests. The Act, he pointed out, was a 'well considered and carefully balanced compromise between the different shades of political opinion' and his government would not risk the 'hostility' of mainland capital and labour by making special cases. He would do all he could for the fruit and other freight trade, but tourists were well enough catered for.³

1. *Ibid.*, 9/1/22.
 2. *Ibid.*, 21/1/22.
 3. *Ibid.*, 31/1/22.

Susman fired another volley in March. By now the Orient line was seeking release from obligation under their mail contract to call at Hobart, sure sign that only passengers made the trip viable.¹ For the time being they only carried overseas passengers. This infuriated Tasmanians because mainlanders could not use them for interstate holidays. (Nor could the islanders themselves, but Susman avoided saying that.) Ships in port became an insult, a frequent reminder of iniquity. Interstate passengers could once book in Sydney for Hobart, Melbourne, Adelaide or Fremantle and travel there on one ship. Now they had to swap and change between inferior ferries and railways. The *Bay* liners, with 'only very limited accommodation for first class passengers', did 'not supply the need'. To say they were adequate was 'tantamount to saying "Nothing is good enough for Tasmania."' ²

Hughes made Susman wait until July before replying,³ a common procedure causing further indignation.⁴ He said many Sydneysiders who Susman claimed would not go to Tasmania still did, by train to Melbourne and on to Launceston on 'fast comfortable vessels.' Shipping was 'cargo first' and it would shrink or grow according to cargo demands: and 'In any case it is impossible to consider the alteration of the law merely to meet the convenience of these fastidious few.'⁵ Hughes told Lee that 1.35 million cases of fruit exported by Tasmania last season was 'a wonderful record'. *Bay* liners had saved growers £135,000 in freights. He cited Emmett's recent claim that the island had experienced a tourist record in 1921-22, the TGD doubling its receipts over 1920-21. What was all the noise for? That the Orient mail boats had now gained exemption from calling at Hobart was sad: but the injury to Hobart was 'more a sentimental than a material one' and there was still hope that trade improvement would see ships returning on their own behalf.⁶

Susman's response was brisk. The apple arguments spuriously referred to bulk transport whereas perishable apples needed to be carried in smaller more frequent consignments. Bass Strait ferries were not 'swift and comfortable', their first class saloons often uncomfortably crowded. Passengers paying first class fares for what amounted to second class accommodation swore never to repeat the exercise unless compelled by business. Talk of protecting the merchant marine was an 'unnecessary

1. In *ibid.*, 29/12/21 Orient had said it would not press for an exemption from their obligation to call at Hobart despite the loss of passengers making them unprofitable. They voiced 'their desire to serve Tasmanian interests', but they must also have known that the presence of *Ormonde*, *Orvieto* and *Osterley* in Hobart would serve valuable propaganda purposes. The propaganda was insufficient to change Hughes' mind and their beneficent 'desire' dissolved.

2. *Ibid.*, 18/3/22.

3. The reply (*ibid.*, 16/5/22) was drafted in the Customs Department by Percy Whitton (1861-1923), Tasmanian born but long-time Victorian public servant (*BRADB*).

4. *Merc.*, 23/10/22.

5. AA A458/F212/10 PT1. 7/7/22.

6. *Ibid.*, 10/7/22.

bogey'. This was not a matter of 'discrimination but of common justice' to Tasmania, whose insularity made it a special case.¹

The situation was intractable and debate raged on. To Tasmanians, especially in Hobart, the 'sentiment' Hughes referred to was no inconsidered trifle, especially coming on top of fiscal grievances. It grew in October when they learnt that the *Ormonde* had been permitted to carry Sydneysiders to the Melbourne Cup. The two cities had a rail link and 'adequacy' provisions had been ignored for the sake of mainland high society.² In 'the politest possible manner' Susman congratulated Hughes on doing the 'right thing' and pointed out the precedent made justice for Tasmania unavoidable.³

Federal politics in late 1922 left Hughes with no alternative but to soften his stance. Tasmanian Nationalist Senator John Henry Keating (1872-1940)⁴ made a stirring speech and led a deputation of Tasmanian Federal members to the Customs Minister, who agreed to put their claims before Cabinet.⁵ Urged on by the Tasmanian press, Keating told Home and Territories Minister George Pearce about the 'great indignation' in Tasmania over the Melbourne Cup episode. Pearce advised Hughes early announcement in favour of the state's claims was 'essential' to the survival of Nationalist candidates at the coming election.⁶ Hughes allowed Keating local kudos for the decision to make permits to Tasmania easier to obtain in the coming tourist season. Business groups were gratified, but kept demanding a general exemption for the island.⁷ But on the eve of the December election the crafty campaigner Hughes told the TSC he would never meet such demands. He could do 'what he could' through regulation, but only if he was re-elected.⁸

Hughes rightly assumed TSC members were not yet ready to campaign against his Nationalists. Anti-Labor candidates won six of the eight Federal seats to help secure his return. However Country Party politicians from the 'smaller states' gained balance of power and refused to work with him. Close to the action, a Tasmanian parliamentary clerk, Frank Clifton Green (1890-1974), later wrote that British interests played a part in Hughes' demise. His nationalism, individualism and Labor background was increasingly 'dangerous to their interests' in Australia. Green mentioned the Navigation Act.⁹ If Tasmanians and British shippers thought his

1. *Ibid.*

2. All papers, 21-25/10/22.

3. *Merc.*, 24/10/22.

4. A Hobart lawyer with manufacturing links and Launceston family connections (see *ADB*).

5. *Merc.*, 20/10/22.

6. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, 25/10/22.

7. *Advo.*, 26/10/22. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, 27/10/22.

8. *Ibid.*, 2/12/22.

9. Green, Frank C *Servant of the House* (Melbourne: Heinemann; 1969) p. 38. Not only were their ocean liners restricted by the Act: British shipping companies also had large holdings in Australian interstate operators whose costs were greatly increased by the Act. As mentioned in Chapter Nine, British capitalists

successor would amend the Act they were mistaken, at least in the short run. Despite his spats and proud British image, SM Bruce was Australian protectionist. He was also unificationist and loath to countenance legislation favouring single states even had the Constitution allowed it.¹ Tasmania would have to wait until the next election for new dispensations, and even longer for a proper solution. In the interim nothing could stop the clamour, and the game of politics saw their hopes raised and dashed. It is these fluctuations that are so fascinating. Tasmania's situation was such that to display either optimism or pessimism could work against the state. Yet they tried every angle, and in doing so expressed their hopes and dreams for Tasmania. Their agitation helped convince "everyone" of the vital role of tourism.

Tasmanian advocates sought mainland support. Sydney's free-trade traditions provided friends at the *Bulletin* and *SMH*. The other 'small states' WA and SA were natural allies, and on the Navigation Act question so was Queensland.² Several conferences of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Australia urged Act amendment.³ Allies were harder to find in old protectionist Victoria. Melbourne, still the seat of Federal parliament, was dominated by the powerful Symepress. Tasmanian papers battled the 'Protectionist Goliath', the *Age*, which sought to denigrate island concerns.⁴ The *Age* was read first on Melbourne mornings and formed a powerful block against Tasmanian development when it depended on mainland support.

Keating's small 'coup' seemed to put the lie to *Mercury* claims that Tasmanian Senators were keeping to their 'party ruts' rather than representing their states; that their speeches were more for electoral consumption than to force conviction on the Commonwealth.⁵ Pressured from home, the state's representatives increasingly cooperated against 'the bane of party politics' as the twenties wore on.⁶ Former unionist and anti-tourist, Jim Ogden, was first to break ranks. By 1923 his state patriotism and opposition to the Labor pledge were sailing him into Nationalist waters.⁷ In August he obtained a Senate resolution for exemptions for British ships. Since the

had much invested in Australia's continued economic growth. Protectionism endangered those interests. Hence Northcliffe's fascination with the White Australia Policy. Lord Leverhulme also causing controversy by floating abandonment of White Australia Policy. How else could she repay her debts? he asked the ANA in Brisbane (see *World*, 1/2/24).

¹. *Merc*, 16/3/23 and 19/4/23. *World*, 20/4/23.

². Queensland had shipping links with the Australian 'coastal territories' Thursday Island and Papua New Guinea. On other aspects of protectionism, notably its sugar bounty, it was less amenable to Tasmanian arguments.

³. *Merc*, 20/10/22 and 4/12/23. See also *ibid.*, 25/3/27 and 28/2/28 for similar resolutions at Perth and Hobart respectively.

⁴ For example see *ibid.*, 16/4/24: editorial rails against recent article by 'phoney ex-Tasmanian' which derides Tasmania as part of the *Age's* ongoing 'propaganda' campaign for Protection. *Ibid.*, 30/6/24 reports a contrasting article from the *Bulletin* which says Tasmania is not a 'cadger'. *Ibid.*, 27/4/26 editorial mocks *Age* suggestion that Tasmania and Victoria merge. See also *ibid.*, 28/3/25.

⁵. *Ibid.*, 23/10/22.

⁶. They formed a Tasmanian parliamentary committee to coordinate non-partisan actions.

⁷. Ogden was expelled by the Tasmanian Labor Party in 1926 after he openly supported Bruce's navigation and immigration bill's (see *ADB*). By at least 1923 he thought that militant unionism was going to far, as seen in the debates cited below.

Commonwealth had given Western Australia its transcontinental railway, it should also ensure the Bass Strait 'highway' with an 'up-to-date Federal steamer service between Melbourne and Tasmania's Northern Ports.' A House of Representatives committee also surveyed the issue.¹

Noting a possible sea-change Lee approached Bruce. The state shipping department's four boats were losing £30,000 p.a. and Lee wanted to abolish the service. He was most concerned with cargo, but also mentioned passenger services. 'In a mood of controlled desperation',² he offered the ships to the Commonwealth, which he said was obliged to accept. Bruce accepted the Australian Commonwealth Shipping Board's rejection of the proposal.³ Lee angrily accused Bruce of taking a 'cavalier attitude' towards Tasmania and demanded greater consideration. Relations slipped backwards.⁴

In October 1923 Lee lost to Lyons, who continued urging the Commonwealth to free up interstate trade. Tasmania had insufficient sway in Federal politics but WA Country Party interests secured⁵ a Royal Commission into the Navigation Act. Naturally this aroused great interest in Tasmania. The seven member Royal Commission comprised members from all three Federal parties. Its secretary was Frank Green, and Hobart Nationalist MHR, AC Seabrook, represented Tasmania.⁶ The Hobart Chamber of Commerce compiled on tourist and primary producers' evidence for presentation by John Johnston and Henry Jones. The Hobart sittings in late January 1924 ran over familiar ground but some matters merit mention here.

Particularly salient was the "revelation" that tourist passengers made it profitable for the mail boats to call for apple shipments, not vice versa. Inability to carry passengers pushed up overseas freights and cut services. Expression of such facts had been rare until now but it seems the time had come to reveal all.⁷ Increased recognition of the economic importance of passengers helps explain broadening support for the tourist movement in the 1920s. Although the port of Hobart showed rapid cargo progress in the early decade, hopes for a full post-war revival were being dashed by the Act. Anecdotes abounded to show how inflexibility in administering regulations was irksome and damaging to Tasmania's reputation as tourist destination.⁸ To the hard-

1. Commonwealth *Hansard*. 2/8/23. See also 19/7/23

2. Wettenhall, *op. cit.* (1967), p. 89.

3. AA A458/F212/10 PT1. 27/8/23; 13/10/23.

4. *Ibid.*, 19/10/23.

5. Green, *op. cit.* (1969).

6. *Ibid.* pp. 43-4.

7. By 1927 it was an accepted argument. At a conference convened by Lyons to ensure state-wide unity of purpose and argument for another Commonwealth investigation into Tasmanian shipping, CB Black said the Navigation Act cost primary producers from 10 to 20 shillings a ton. A sixpence per case reduction in the cost of export would have saved fruit growers £50,000 in 1926 (see *Merc*, 4/5/27).

8. Johnston told one of the many anecdotes that would be used to illustrate this. A young Melbourne woman holidaying in Hobart was summoned home to tend her ailing mother. Although P&O's *Moldavia* was leaving port the following day, it could not carry interstate passengers. Because the *Oonah* was full up the



C BLACK
HOBART "MERCURY"
CHIEF SUB-EDITOR

headed politician-commissioners, Johnston complained that Federal ministers 'had recognised in words, though not in deeds, the disabilities of the island State.'¹

Although recently retrenched, Emmett gave evidence. Concentrating on the relative luxury of the overseas boats, he saw their potential for creating 'a traffic that at the present day does not exist at all.' The Bureau sought not merely to maintain but extend the traffic. The 'cheap tripper' might be adequately accommodated by interstate boats, but not the first-class traveller. That *Zealandia's* top deck was always booked before its steerage proved people wanted comfort on the Sydney-Hobart run. The Bureau also wanted to extend the tourist season and the big ships would 'offer just the inducement that is wanted.' The *Westralia* was put on the run in winter and people did 'not travel by a boat of that class for pleasure.' It was:

galling to the timid and would-be traveller to Tasmania to notice a 15,000 or 20,000 ton liner sailing from Sydney to Hobart with empty berths, and have offered to him instead, perhaps, a shake-down in the smoking room of a crowded 5,000 ton steamer. A trip under such circumstances is a hardship, whereas the facilities exist to make it a pleasure.²

Asked if he believed in 'working up a mercantile maritime in this country' Emmett said he had not considered it. A vocal witness who had considered all angles was the Bothwell-born *Mercury* journalist, Reuters representative, Hobart Chamber of Commerce member and Australian Journalists' Association functionary, Clyde Burton Black (1878-1936). He had long been the *Mercury's* expert on shipping matters, gave detailed, vital evidence to the 1912 Interstate Shipping Select Committee, contributed many articles on Tasmania to mainland and overseas papers, and would eventually go down in history as 'largely responsible' for repeal of Navigation Act's coastal clauses.³ Although he saw tourism as 'Tasmania's biggest asset' he stressed the effect on fruit exports. Heightening the plight of primary producers played to Country and Labor party sympathies.

To Black, Tasmania was as Britain under the Corn Laws: he and his colleagues were Cobdens and Brights. Just as in England from Oliver Cromwell to Pitt the Elder, just as in America from Independence to WWI, Tasmanian trade and industry were stifled by the repression of free enterprise.⁴ Tasmania was 'in a nascent condition as regards population and industry' both of which it desperately needed to import. It had insufficient domestic market viability to operate as a sealed unit 'and any interference with trade, especially of a seaborne character,' worked against development.' The

woman had to travel via Burnie and the *Loongana*. While *Moldavia* reached Melbourne on Friday, she did not get home until midday Sunday 'perhaps to find her mother dead' (remember, there were no telephone cables across the Strait). Cox, *GW op cit.* pp. 122-3 has several more examples. It was most embarrassing when VIPs were affected.

1. *Merc*, 22/1/24.

2. *Ibid.*, 25/1/24.

3. See *BRADB*. See also his *History of the Navigation Act* (Hobart: Mercury offprint; 1932).

4. No doubt recalling the Free Traders' attitudes towards Chartists, the *World*, 26/1/24 repudiated Black's arguments, pointing out that America was not a Free Trade country, and nor was Britain until her manufacturing infrastructure was in place and she needed to import most of its raw materials.

Navigation Act, hailed as a release from outside shipping claws, had delivered Australia into the hands of a local monopoly, under which freights and fares had every year increased.' Black called for total repeal of the coastal clauses.¹

Tom Murdoch gave vehement pro-Tasmanian, anti-Federal evidence and again centred on tourism. His and Emmett's tourist figures were attacked by 'the defendant's counsel'² Charles Henry Hughes, general manager of the USSCo, representing the ASOF. He claimed it would be unfair to allow British ships into the coastal trade because operating costs under the Act already made interstate companies' uncompetitive. He also attacked Black's claim to represent 'the opinion of a large proportion of the people', and referred to evidence of conflict within the Tasmanian populace.³

Hughes cited a two year old *Examiner* edition,⁴ but the paper now denied Launceston was 'perfectly satisfied' with the Act. Northern business groups opposed any extra regulations which pushed up freights and fares. Launceston had lost its direct passenger link with Sydney in 1921 because of the Act, and though its trade was mainly interstate and thus not as hard done by as Hobart, it supported its southern sister.⁵ Northern discussion of the issue carried a distinct feeling that it was best to keep out of the Commission lest undisciplined evidence might inflame natural rivalries and add weight to pro-Act arguments.⁶ The TSC had been wise to involve the north.

Hughes was more accurate when he cited Labor opinion as voiced by the *World*. Dwyer-Gray's departure as editor in 1922 had left the paper without a tourist advocate, or at least one sufficiently motivated to sink division for the sake of Hobart's mainland links. The *World*, lurching left, followed proceedings with great interest, especially when Tom Murdoch took the stand and Labor's Frank Anstey elicited his antipathy to White Australia. This 'gave the whole show away The principle objection to the Navigation Act seems to come from Tory Tasmanians', said the *World*, repudiating 'on behalf of the Tasmanian people' any suggestion the Act was injurious. Australia needed a mercantile marine with 'our own sailors' ready to defend the nation. The only way to do that was to provide Australian working condition on the boats and that meant 'barring cheap coloured labour crews'. Tasmanian fruitgrowers and housewives were committed to White Australia and therefore the Navigation Act, and they must not bow to a few Tories who desired to be served by blacks. Though there should be some Federal financial readjustments, protectionism was no problem for Tasmania.⁷ That the

1. *Merc.* 25/1/24.

2. According to *ibid.* 1/2/24.

3. *Ibid.*, 30/1/24.

4. i.e. *Ex.* 22/9/21.

5. *Ibid.*, 1/2/24.

6. *DT* printed brief reports of Commission proceedings, but made no editorial comments.

7. *Ibid.*, 23/1/24, 24/1/24 and 25/1/24.

World folded not long after this outburst suggests its stance was not appreciated by Hobart advertisers.¹ Vocalisation of such attitudes nevertheless convinced boosters they must quell discord or never achieve their aims.

That there was division over the causes of Tasmania's troubles was perhaps most dispassionately evinced by the Government Statistician, LF Giblin. Though he agreed 'Tasmania would be better served to some extent if the Navigation Act were amended', he claimed the harm it had done was 'exaggerated': it was 'like a mosquito ... annoying, but the sum total of the effect ... difficult to find.' He admitted tourist statistics were open to debate, but felt the Act had not affected traffic as seriously as general recession, competition from mainland states and increased motor car use keeping tourists in their own regions. Giblin, a man who revelled in tough living, held no brief for advocates of luxury.² If Australians were 'so sensitive in regard to their comfort that they would not make a two-day trip unless they could make it on an ocean liner' he was 'sorry for my countrymen'. There was no doubt Tasmania's was 'in a very bad way', but problems were self generated, an old story. Mountain terrain made development and production more expensive than on the mainland plains. The islanders were driven to try to keep 'well in the race' with their neighbours and heavy loan expenditure had been pushed along by booms, but now Tasmania was 'in the soup'. While the position had to be faced some found it easier to blame Commonwealth protectionism than 'buckle up their half in order to carry on.'³ Giblin was increasingly unpopular with Tasmanian boosters in the 1920s.⁴

If there was division events soon militated to heal it. The Royal Commission was a shambles of politically-motivated division. Its report was tabled in September 1924. Seabrook and WA's JH Prowse stood firmly in favour of coastal clause repeal. Labor's three commissioners defended the status quo and ridiculed Hobartians for desiring a wealthier class of tourists. The two eastern-states Nationalists largely agreed, but would not sign with Labor, and thus fell somewhere in the middle. In the end three separate sub-reports⁵ composed a 'useless' whole. 'Each party section ...

1. Last issue, 24/5/24.

2. Copland, DB *Giblin: The Scholar and the Man op. cit.*

3. *Merc*, 25/1/24.

4. Brigden had ideas similar to Giblin. In 1927 the two wrote environmentalist interpretations of Tasmanian prospects for the ANZAAS. See ANZAAS *HANdbook to Tasmania* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1928). Brigden told a DMC officer his 'Economic Sketch' 'may not be welcomed' (see AA CP211/2/Bundle 54/PT 2., 27/12/27). The natural optimists in society (the boosters: businessmen and politicians) were unwilling to be limited by the experts, whom they rejected as 'knockers'. Later in the decade Giblin left the state for greener pastures at Melbourne University. He stung the likes of Dwyer-Gray with a speech on Tasmania's inherent poverty, see *Voice*, 16/2/29: editorial says 'irreparable harm' done by 'yes-no man', one of the 'intelligentsia'. *Ibid.*, 23/2/29 has his 'Beetles and Kings' quote in full, and see 18/1/30 and 25/1/30 for fuller reviews. Gray said Agent-General Snowden was embarrassed. *Voice* even agreed with Tom Murdoch, now president of the Hobart Chamber, who replied to Giblin with optimism. See *Mercury* and other conservative papers, similar dates, for more condemnations of Giblin. *SMH*, 14/2/29 has the statement; 18/2/29 has Murdoch's refutation; 20/2/29 says the Premier cabled a refutation to Snowden to counter wide circulation of Giblin's statement.

5. *CPP* 1923-24/103.



W M Hughes, H E Pratten, and S M Bruce

was not concerned with any evidence unless it supported its own views.’¹ This aggravated islanders² and gave them common cause.

Where would Tasmania go from here? Again her leaders asked for the Commonwealth attitude to Act amendment, again Bruce consulted his bureaucrats. The Director of Navigation³ could only suggest further study.⁴ This meant shelving the problem, and did not suit Tasmanian business interests. In late November they were visited by the Minister of Trade and Customs, Herbert Edward Pratten (1865-1928), ‘a passionate protectionist’ influential in Bruce’s Cabinet.⁵ He made much of claims that Hobartians were doing all the complaining about the Act, that their figures were ‘sometimes illusory’, and again pointed to Emmett’s ‘record’ tourist season of 1922-23. He would only promise to administer the Act ‘sympathetically’.⁶ Hobart was inflamed, the *Mercury* asserting that the regulations were so onerous to Tasmania that such promises were red herrings.⁷ From Brisbane Jowett wrote to explain how the Act stopped him delivering tourists to Tasmania. The *Sydney Bulletin* called for repeal.⁸ It was clear that Tasmania would have to unite and get another hearing. Something had to shake them up. Equipped now with a rhetoric, state’s-righters used growing appreciation of the potential economic value of tourism to attain their goals. Further anti-federal campaigning resulted in extra Commonwealth funding which carried with it pressure to make the most of the island’s resources. Tourism then formed the focus of a new campaign aimed at doing just that. A strong genetic thread linked the city boosters, the Tasmanian Shipping Committee, Tasmanian Rights League of 1925 and the Come To Tasmania Organisation of 1926.

1. Green, *op. cit.* (1969) pp. 43-4.

2. *Merc.* 1/2/24 condemned the whole show as ‘set-piece staged [to uphold the Act] for the benefit of the inter-state shipping companies, the sailors, the protectionists, and any other people who want it.’

3. Ex-Antarctic explorer and Director of Navigation, John King Davis (1884-1967), see *ADB*.

4. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, 3/10/24.

5. Pratten was three times president of the NSW Chamber of Manufacturers, see *ADB*.

6. *Merc.* 17/11/24.

7. *Ibid.*, 1/12/24.

8. *Ibid.*, 8/12/24.

11 TASMANIA'S BIG BOOST

Once conditioned, Tasmanian boosterism needed only a spark to ignite. Pratten's visit in late 1924 incensed Walter Cummins and Tom Murdoch. Then came a return to shipping strike conditions. This time the response was not short-lived. The TSC organised a popular movement for propaganda, research and unity. Reasoned arguments for federal justice appeared in a series of economic cases placing all blame on Commonwealth powers. They seized on tourism as barometer of and engine for economic prosperity. They educated opinion and versed voters in grievance. While pessimism was prominent, much was contrived and purposeful. Though the Commonwealth criticised their attitude, it meliorated their complaints. The grievance stance threatened to go too far but boosters tapped the feeling and turned it to enthusiasm. Some did the state-wide organisational work lacking since Emmett's demotion. Others took upon themselves the work rejected by municipal governments. Resultant was increased state funding for tourism and a very successful season. The experience taught cities once and for all they had to have strong and permanent local organisation. In the long run it also convinced government to treat tourism more like the 'national industry' it had become.

Tasmania's anti-federal *movement* dates from Pratten's visit. Though secessionism had found voice before,¹ it had never reached the heights it did in 1924-25. Most extreme exponent was Murdoch, inspired by a recent visit to Western Australia.² He chose the Hobart Chamber of Commerce AGM for a campaign launch. A motion specifically attacked the Navigation and Arbitration Acts and called on Tasmanians to consider separation from the Commonwealth if it would not meliorate state problems: 'Justice or Secession'. Without 'some fairer economic and working conditions' the 'State must go to the wall', he said. The resolution would help 'their good friends, the *Mercury*, who had spared no expense or effort to keep on showing the Tasmanian outlook.' He did not expect it would get very far, but it would 'show the people of the Commonwealth how we are suffering here.' Chamber president and *Mercury* manager Walter Cummins seconded. Pratten's 'insult' showed secession might have to be 'the final resort'. He suggested High Court action against the Navigation Act. President-elect, FW Heritage, muttered something about the Boston Tea Party. The motion passed 'on the voices' and the *Mercury* began pushing 'The Cry for Secession'.³

1. DN Cameron unsuccessfully contested the Federal seat of Denison in 1922 on a secessionist platform (see *World*, 19/7/22). In the lead up to the Federal budget in July 1924 JTH Whitsitt attacked Federation and threatened secession if no assistance was included for Tasmania (see *Merc*, 4/7/24).

2. Where he consulted WA secession leader and fellow Caledonian, J McCallum Smith (1868-1939, see *ADB*). At the height of the controversy sparked by Murdoch's motion, Smith's *Sunday Times* cabled Murdoch with congratulations and support (see *Merc*, 3/12/24).

3. *Ibid.*, 2/12/24.

Others were less strident. Even some Chamberites were obliged to deny *Mercury* charges of 'timorousness' and assert the constitutional impracticality of secession.¹ Wilson Bailey dubbed the scheme 'harebrained' and pointed to Murdoch's inability to explain how it would work. How could Tasmania 'dream of becoming a manufacturing state' outside an Australian tariff wall? Secession would not shield Tasmania from the unity of Australian labour. Malcolm Kennedy probably summed the general public's attitude at this stage with his simple statement that 'he was too good an Australian to secede without a lot of trouble'. Answers to the island's problems could only be found in legislative change. Tasmania must insist its Melbourne representatives vote en bloc. Murdoch should be more constructive and refrain from general damnations or the Commonwealth would not take their claims seriously.²

Murdoch sought to justify himself. The tariff 'impost' and strike-causing Arbitration Act made production costs unbearable and hindered industry. With secession the basic wage could be reduced, the extra costs imposed by the anti-competitive Navigation Act meliorated, imports of materials such as sugar made duty free and Tasmanian manufacturers freed to compete on world markets.³ Although Murdoch later claimed secession to be a 'stunt', his determination was convincing. His economics would not attract much public sympathy outside business circles, but if his aim was simply to 'stir up Tasmanians'⁴ he was very successful.

A Call to Arms

Anti-federal sensitivities were soon further inflamed. Through winter and spring industrial battles had affected overseas shipping. This inconvenienced merchants, and again the Commonwealth was brought to book. By promising to abolish the right-wing Sydney Shipping Labour Bureau, Bruce halted the strike. But just as that occurred a new dispute ground Bass Strait ships to a halt. On 16 December the *Mercury* bitterly described the problem of 'Strikes and Tourists', a theme now familiar to all. A dispute between a staffer and a seaman had quickly escalated to hold up *Nairana* and other ships were bound to follow. People had heard the strike was planned so seamen could have a Christmas holiday. Despite such rumours, the paper had 'tried to be optimistic about the prospects of the coming tourist season ... and said nothing which might provoke doubt.' The Arbitration Court and Federal ministers would go through their lengthy motions, promising everything to the unions, yet time

1. Under Section 128 of the Constitution, secession requires the consent of a majority of electors in a majority of the states. The same section applies to all proposed Constitutional amendments, the history which is stacked with failed attempts. For an overview see McMinn, Winston Gregory *A Constitutional History of Australia* (Melbourne: OUP, 1979).

2. See *Merc*, 3-8/24.

3. See *ibid.*, 5/12/24. In *ibid.*, 14/12/23 Lyons attacked secessionism as 'illogical'. See *ibid.*, 20/12/24 for Murdoch's reply.

4. As he said in *DT*, 15/4/26. Murdoch's admission that secession was 'a stunt' has hitherto escaped historians.

was of the essence. This would upset the annual wool sales as well as tourists. Two causes were given: 'bad legislation and worse administration.'¹ Tasmanians became progressively angrier, and the *Mercury* rounded up their comments. Charles Grant called on Tasmanians to unite to fight the Federal foe. Sir Alfred Ashbolt also wanted to get militant and 'kick'. He called for a pledge to be taken from all Tasmanian Federal MPs. United, they could hold balance of power in Melbourne. From the other side of politics Lyons and Ogilvie rued the fact the strike threatened to ruin the tourist industry and deepen already serious depression.²

Three days before Christmas the strike ended and tourists started to flock. Hobart's population was visibly swelling and the shops (open till ten p.m.) reported heavy trading. Several conferences were planned for coming weeks, the weather was 'behaving', and hotel operators could still anticipate a record season 'provided, always, that the gods and the seamen are kind.' But agitation continued on the waterfront and the *Mercury* warned against premature public pleasure. A new overseas shipping dispute hindered Hobart exports to Sydney. There were brawls at Woolloomooloo. Southern growers were urged to be ready to load overseas boats themselves: to ensure peace they must arm for war.³

By 4 January interstate ships were embroiled in a new struggle. Most tourists were stranded.⁴ Outbound products lay idle on the wharves. TGR Commissioner Miscamble thought the state's total loss would 'probably' run to £250,000. He did not attempt to quantify lost tourist revenue, but his passenger revenues were down nearly £40,000 and probably at least half was due to the tourist slump.⁵ The remainder he put down to further headway made by motor competition and 'the general trade depression'.⁶

This strike was the most severe since the war.⁷ Bruce's response was labelled 'silly'. He despatched *Hobson's Bay* to relieve the stranded. En route to Hobart it was redirected to Launceston and tourists chased around the island trying to get a berth. The *Examiner* joined its Hobart contemporary in condemning protectionism and demanding the Commonwealth take full responsibility for the vital link.⁸ The strike ended on 27 January, but continued battle between Bruce and unions threatened total collapse of the industrial relations machine. Coming against a background of increased

1. *Merc.*, 16/12/24.

2. *Ibid.*, 16-18/12/24.

3. *Ibid.*, 23-24/12/24.

4. The small Holyman steamer *Marrawah* was chartered for passengers, but only at a premium.

5. If one accepts Smith's figures in his 1920 Annual Report. *TPP* 1920/60, 6/11/20.

6. TGR Annual Report, *TPP* 1925/21, 30/9/25.

7. The TGR did not publish Tourist Bureau revenue figures for 1924-25 and there is no breakdown in the Auditor-General's Annual Report because there was no TGTD. However arrivals-departures figures show negative growth for the first time since the war (Appendix One). The 1924-25 strike has been described by several writers (see especially Cox, GW and Cox, Peter, both *op. cit.*). The pattern of ramifications exceeded in most regards those of previous stoppages, especially after two strike-free seasons and rising expectations had encouraged investment in tourist facilities.

8. *Ex.*, 14/1/25.

taxation, the fight against the Navigation Act, and Murdoch's secession movement, this stimulated far greater and enduring public outcry and organised activity than had occurred in decades.

In Hobart the TSC organised a public meeting for 24 January. Sir Henry Jones took the helm, his lieutenants as usual the leading commercial denizens of Hobart. More than usual interest was aroused. The *Mercury* claimed it would convince the "Pooh-pooh!" party—a very small one!—that a good many Tasmanians are in earnest in calling even for "Secession".¹ In mind was formation of a state's rights association, a non-political vigilante society to pressure politicians and take propaganda beyond the realm of newspaper publicity. Resolutions passed were:

- (1) That the coastal clauses of the Navigation Act be repealed.
- (2) That the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act be repealed, and in lieu thereof each State be permitted to enact its own legislation.
- (3) That this meeting resolves to oppose all candidates for the Federal Parliament who will not pledge themselves to vote against any Government that will not pledge themselves to bring in legislation and give effect to resolutions 1 and 2.
- (4) That this meeting urge upon the Prime Minister the absolute necessity of resuming the full service of the *Nairana* and *Loongana*, and it is considered the full duty of the Commonwealth:
 - (a) To make such arrangements as will permit of resumption of those services.
 - (b) To take such steps as may be necessary to guard against a repetition of the present disturbances.²

Cessation of the strike did not cool the Tasmanian ire this time. Hobart leaders sought intrastate cooperation for a state-wide movement³ and in Launceston in March a preliminary conference heard delegates from diverse districts.⁴ The press withheld publicity of their work until ready for a big campaign launch,⁵ but meanwhile virtually every issue of every paper carried some anti-federal copy. Much notice was taken of Western Australian secessionism, and a Commonwealth Royal Commission appointed to enquire. WA had got its enquiry by being united. Governor O'Grady told his people they too must coalesce and sink all differences for the general good.⁶ Tasmania was 'somewhat cowed' by the Commonwealth. Its strategic defence role, if nothing else, made it vital to both Australia and the Empire. Tasmanians should:

stand on their hind legs, ... face the world, and even challenge it. ... The people were not doing justice to their children by adopting a self-deprecatory note and regarding themselves as 'small fry' in the federation ... The children would grow up in the same way and that was not good for them. Tasmania was not a 'speck'.⁷

1. *Merc*, 23/1/25.

2. *Ibid.*, 24/1/25.

3. Mayor Valentine wrote to the 45 other municipalities in the state, see LCCC Box 42B Folder 30/1.

4. Hobart, Launceston, Scottsdale, Longford, Devonport, Ulverstone, Burnie, Stanley, Zeehan and Queenstown.

5. *Merc*, 4/4/25.

6. *Ibid.*, 3/3/25.

7. *Ibid.*, 6/4/25.

O'Grady's 'taunt' ran through the state like beacons alerting England to the Spanish Armada.¹ New statistics demonstrated Tasmania's depopulation through emigration² and slumping trade.³ At public meetings business leaders urged their fellows to steel their hearts and be optimistic that combined effort would win them justice. The Premier travelled back and forth to Melbourne, kept receiving unsatisfactory condolences and no definite promises,⁴ but cried, 'We must keep yelling!'⁵ Orient Line manager Sir John Field Beale came and wondered aloud how anyone could tolerate the trade impediment, without which Hobart would be regular port of call for his ships.⁶ By early April enough had been uttered to more than fill an issue of *Mercury*. *Oronsay* arrived in Hobart on its maiden world tour. It attracted 'thousands of people' to inspect a 'floating palace' they might board for Sydney or Melbourne if not for the Act.⁷

Time was now ripe for a Tasmanian Rights League (TRL). Ten monster meetings were planned around the state to coincide on 16 April 1925. The objectives to be put had modified since January:

- (1) The establishment and maintenance by the Commonwealth Government of a ferry service across Bass Strait, with the possession of ships to be manned by permanent officers of the Commonwealth Public service.
- (2) The amendment of the Navigation Act so as to exclude Tasmania from the operation of the [coastal clauses] thus providing for freedom of intercourse by any ships between Tasmania and mainland ports.
- (3) To obtain such amendment of the Commonwealth arbitration law as will provide for local conditions of industry, quicker decisions, and at a more economical cost to the parties concerned, with the assurance of proper observance of awards of the Court.
- (4) Recognition by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of the obligations of the Commonwealth to secure financial stability for the small States so as to ensure equitable treatment to those States.⁸

Incantations to Tasmanian patriotism, optimism and fighting spirit rose to fever pitch, further impelled by imminent state elections. Henry Jones and Frank Valentine called on Tasmanians to 'sink all parochial feelings.'⁹ Mainland papers,¹⁰ even the *Melbourne Age*,¹¹ congratulated Tasmanians for showing unity at last. The movement tapped forces latent since the last great campaign, ironically that for Federation itself.¹² Even the ANA, that powerful force for federal unity, swung in behind the TRL. Tasmanian president and Deputy-Mayor of Hobart, Peter Grant, addressed its state conference. Good times would come, but only if his members acted. They:

1. *Ibid.*, 24/4/25.

2. *Ibid.*, 19/3/25.

3. *Ibid.*, 23/3/25.

4. *Ibid.*, 24/1/25; 9/2/25.

5. *Ibid.*, 7/2/25.

6. *Ibid.*, 28/2/25.

7. *Ibid.*, 4/4/25.

8. *Ibid.*, 9/4/25.

9. *Ibid.*, 6/4/25.

10. For examples the *Adelaide Register and Advertiser*, and *Brisbane Courier* (see *ibid.*, 17/4/25).

11. *Ibid.*, 21/4/25.

12. *Ibid.*, 9/4/25.

could do a lot personally by endeavouring at all times to override the feeling of pessimism which was undeniably so widespread at the present time, and by fostering a general optimism. Pessimism was causing the State the loss of many good citizens.¹

On the eve of the TRL meetings came news of further Commonwealth 'injustice'. The WA Royal Commission would not, as earlier promised, take Tasmanian evidence. At a meeting for Anglican Synod saw Bishop Hay and Governor O'Grady praying for unity and optimism. All the "big guns" readied to stir audiences. From Hobart Ogden went to Burnie, Colin Kennedy to Franklin. The scene was set.² Only one thing threatened otherwise sanguine hopes: party politics.

Lyons sensed a trap. TRL leadership came from the commercial-civic elite. It professed to be entirely non-political. Charles Grant and Alfred Ashbolt promised to resign if it drifted from that tenet. But recent attempts to reunite anti-Labor forces for the coming election had thrown up the idea of a 'Tasmanian Party'.³ Although it was limping, Lyons feared close alignment of names and personnel would damage Labor. The rank-and-file also pressured him not to attack seamen's conditions. He gave cautious support to the aims of the TRL, but refused requests to join in.⁴ Ogden, nominally Labor, was far more active, and John Cleary MHA registered support.⁵ Other Hobart Laborites, Albert Ogilvie, Bill Sheridan and Ben Watkins, nodded support, but mentioned only state-federal finances.⁶ They could not be seen to countenance the anti-protectionist planks. Overall, the ALP politicians' posture was politically expedient and did little to dampen TRL enthusiasm or effectiveness.

Mercury reportage of the TRL meetings was jubilant. At Hobart a committee of forty men and four women formed. Most have appeared in this thesis. A notable addition was Andrew E Mansell (1856-1949). A pastoralist recently retired to Hobart,⁷ he brought farmers into the TRL fold.⁸ To avoid controversy Tom Murdoch held his secessionist tongue for the time being.⁹ Ashbolt was pre-eminent. At last, he said, Tasmania could assert its rights with a united voice and slough the need to go 'cap in hand, asking for a "dole" like Oliver Twist'. He spoke in familiar terms of the great tourist asset and its politically imposed shipping obstacle. Tasmania should be freed to take its rightful place as 'Riviera of the South.' Not a discordant note was heard. Many speakers stressed the need for propaganda to educate mainland opinion.¹⁰

1. *Ibid.*, 11/4/25.

2. *Ibid.*, 22/4/25.

3. *Ibid.*, 16/4/25.

4. Laborites had been invited to participate 'from the inception', and the *Mercury* said Lyons would have been president had they done so (see *ibid.*, 23/4/25).

5. *Ibid.*, 24/4/25.

6. *Ibid.*, 25/4/25.

7. *PT*.

8. *Merc*, 17/3/25.

9. See *ibid.*, 2/5/25 and 26/5/25 for examples.

10. *Ibid.*, 24/5/25.



Albert Edward Webb

In Launceston Laborites took part in ‘a moderate but representative attendance of different shades of political thought.’ Mayor Ockerby presided and with William Robinson enthusiastically supported the spirit and platforms of the TRL. Others were still wary. WA Sadlier questioned the motives of the *Mercury*, which had only recently checked its cry for secession, a course of action still questioned in the North. The Navigation Act was also a Southern issue and Northerners should ensure they were not joining a movement aimed solely at those objectives. He was applauded, and Ockerby quickly asserted that he was no secessionist as long as justice could be otherwise achieved. CTA president Albert Edward Webb (1887-1937), a fruit export and stevedoring agent,¹ warned against being used by a Hobart ‘Star Chamber’. Pinkard wanted more information. Another Laborite, Albert Henry Blundell, balked at ‘playing blind man’s bluff.’ But northern TRL secretary, Burford Sampson (c.1882-1959),² assured them the published objectives were open to change at a coming state conference. More soothing, anti-parochial tact from Claude James and Tasman Shields saw the motion to form a branch pass unanimously. The committee was enormous with seventy members, and again the names are familiar.³

Similar discussions and resolutions took place in numerous other centres, influential committeemen tailoring the appeal to suit the district.⁴ In no time the press reported enthusiastic subscriptions. For a minimum subscription of 2s 6d ‘large numbers’ received membership badges.⁵ When the state delegates met in Launceston on 15 May 1925 to formalise the constitution, 24 branches had formed and more were.⁶ By the end of July a manifesto pamphlet showed membership totalling 2,000.⁷ A petition to the Commonwealth attracted 10,420 Tasmanian signatures and by February 1926 thirty-six branches had total membership of 3,010.⁸ Only a third of members lived in the South.⁹

Peter Cox stated in 1964 that the TRL had state-wide membership but ‘apart from the commercial and businessmen, there seems to have been little support’. He quotes the above figures, but sees them as relatively insignificant.¹⁰ However when one considers that membership was not free, that direct tax payers in the state totalled only 30,000,¹¹

1. *PT*. Webb was unsuccessful in LCC elections 9/12/26, 13/12/28 and 23/6/31.

2. Northern immigration officer. war veteran, RSL leader and soon to be Senator. Sampson’s strong White Australia convictions (see *ADB*) did not preclude his anti-Navigation Act stance.

3. *Ex*, 24/4/25.

4. See *Merc*, 24/4/25 through to 11/5/25.

5. *Ibid.*, 25/4/25.

6. *Ibid.*, 16/5/25.

7. *Ibid.*, 23/7/25.

8. *Advo*, 5/2/26.

9. *Merc*, 14/8/25.

10. Cox, Peter *op. cit.* Chapter III.

11. *Merc*, 14/5/25; campaign speech of IC McPhee.

and that total participation in the June 1925 Assembly elections was only 77,381,¹ the TRL seems more vital. 10,420 signatories to a petition to the Commonwealth equated to 13.4% of the voting public and more than 34% of taxpayers, large minorities in any terms. Cox was keen to argue the TRL enjoyed little public support, but he admits the state's newspapers were behind it, and he does say that they represented public opinion.² Could he simply deny that business leadership formed or reflected grass roots public opinion? George Porter enthused about the way the state's political economy was 'a topic of ordinary conversation to a greater extent than in England'.³ Cox offers no evidence of apathy; only the antipathy of Lyons and Jack Nettlefold (whose interpretation of the league's aims was demonstrably confused, and who was increasingly unpopular in the period⁴). To say that the league 'did not live up to expectations' is to ignore that (1) no-one can expect immediate results in politics and (2) in time most of the league's aims were achieved. It can be at least mooted that the remedies would not have come without business leadership.

The May 1925 state conference elected Launceston's Claude James foundation president, Harry Cummins general secretary and Charles Grant treasurer. The state council comprised three members from each of the three main regions. All were businessmen and Nationalists, some politicians.⁵ By this time Ashbolt had reduced the Bass Strait shipping clause to a call for general Commonwealth responsibility without demanding a government owned and staffed service. Acceptable to all parties, it passed without demur, as did the State-Commonwealth financial clause. Labor interests successfully watered down the Arbitration Act resolution. Businessmen, keen for unity, would save that issue for later.

The Navigation Act item was more controversial. A northern delegate, AJ Higgins, said Trades Hall was 'decidedly against it.' But Grant said Lyons had told him his party favoured repeal of the coastal clauses. Ashbolt assured them the proposal would not affect coastal steamers, it was aimed 'merely' at the carriage of passengers. Robinson added 'it would induce the thousands of tourists who used to come here to again visit Tasmania.' Launceston's popular pharmacist and Master Warden, Lawrie Abra (1870-1959),⁶ said he was convinced Hobart's claims were just. Thus the anti-Act

1. 'The public' and 'public opinion' had narrower definitions in the period before compulsory voting, first experienced in Tasmania at the November 1925 federal election. In *Sources of Opinion* (Hobart: WEA; 1927), p. 1, JB Brigden defined public opinion in terms of the voting public.

2. An interesting choice of words: 'representation' has many nuances. In *Divided Society*, Lake asserts that the war saw newspapers' power to *shape* public opinion reaching its peak. See also Brigden, *op. cit.*, p. 3, which elevates the press to 'The Modern Demagogue' status.

3. *Wanderings in Tasmania* (London: Selwyn & Blount; 1934) Ch. 30. This relatively objective description came out of Porter's holiday from England in 1927.

4. See for example *Merc*, 14/10/24: Nettlefold accused of 'holding the HCC up for ridicule on the mainland. Nettlefold polled poorly in the 1925 Legislative Council elections and left the state in disgust to join brother Tom's Hume Pipe Co.

5. i.e. AH Ashbolt, JE Ogden and MW Simmons (South) LJ Abra, W Robinson and J McBain (North-North-East) J Hope, A Lawson and WA Harrison (North-West and West).

6. Lawrence James Abra (see *BRADB* and *PT*).

plank went through after an amendment stipulated that only British ships be allowed to enter coastal trade.¹

Again the *Mercury* was exultant: 'at last Tasmania is awake'. Though Labor had not joined as a body two of its organisers had taken leading roles in the debate. Henceforward any failure to get a 'fair deal' from the Commonwealth would not be due to disunity.² Committees went to work with propaganda and publicity. A blue sticker placed on out-going mails cried, 'Tasmania wants a Fair deal from the Commonwealth. She has never had it!' Melbourne's *Herald* reproduced it, wryly commenting that Tasmania's lion was very rampant. As in Western Australia, the secession threat (reinvoked after the state TRL conference), made people take notice.³ The Adelaide *Advertiser* laughed at the irony of using the Commonwealth Post Office as vehicle for anti-federalism.⁴

In state and federal elections that year the TRL extracted more-or-less willing support from the politicians.⁵ MHRs and Senators returned to Melbourne with renewed verve. Although Labor MPs remained reluctant to break party ranks, Ogden was particularly vocal. So were Nationalist Senators John Evans and John Dunlop Millen (1877-1941).⁶ Latrobe MHR, Llewellyn Atkinson (1867-1945), worked more quietly in Bruce's cabinet.⁷ Every opportunity was taken to press Tasmanian claims, and while mainland MPs' slurs continued,⁸ rejoinders became more confident. Sympathy for the island grew apace. In both Federal Houses pro-Tasmanian motions were more frequent, concentrating mainly on coastal clauses and Bass Strait strike-breaking.

In September Charles Miscamble added to the campaign by asserting the futility of large-scale tourist boosting while shipping was insecure and inadequate.⁹ His STAB strengthened popular recognition of the situation. The lesson again hit home that tourism was a fickle industry demanding outside influence to break vicious circles. The TGR could do so much, but it relied on state government funding: useless unless the Commonwealth ensured external transport and unavailable until the Commonwealth relieved Tasmania's fiscal problems. Anticipating a Royal Commission, Lyons had appointed a Tasmanian Disabilities Committee of Ashbolt, Brigden, Giblin, Elliott

¹. *Merc*, 16/5/25. Grant may have misled Launceston opponents of Navigation Act repeal. The next day Lyons denied saying mainland Laborites promised support, merely that he actively sought it.

². *Ibid.*, 16/5/24.

³. Reprinted in *ibid.*, 11/7/25.

⁴. Cited in *ibid.*, 14/7/25.

⁵. A circular letter dated 26/10/25 was a study in veiled blackmail (LCCC Box 11B Folder 30/1).

⁶. Millen was an ex-Mt Lyell mining engineer now resident in Launceston (see *ADB*).

⁷. Atkinson, a lawyer, was vice-president of Bruce's Executive Council (see *BRTP*).

⁸. *Merc*, 26/1/24: 'Mercurius' comments on a list of anti-Tasmanian aphorisms as recently commented upon by WE Bottrill. RJ May *op. cit.* (1968) p. 383 gives examples of labels such as 'the mendicant state', 'Tasmania's Oliver Twists', 'If ever a statue is built to Tasmania it will have its hand extended for a tip.' See also Commonwealth *Hansard* 30/8/28: E Riley says 'The Government of Tasmania is always appealing to the Commonwealth for assistance, and has even hinted at withdrawing from the Federation ... a millstone around the neck ... ever since Federation.'

⁹. *TPP* 1925/21, 30/9/25. See also: AB 455/4 R19/6, 28/10/25; R19/7, -/1/27.

Lewis, Walter Woods and Under-Treasurer Percival John Filby Strutt (1871-1945),¹ Notable was their assertion of Tasmania's 'dependence' on tourist traffic and Federation's effects thereon.²

The committee said Navigation Act protectionism fell heaviest on Tasmania, and estimated it stopped 2,000 wealthy tourists p.a. going to the island. Their 'high spending power, would make a very useful addition' to tourist revenue 'which plays so important a part in our balance of trade.'³ Bass Strait ships to Launceston were well patronised in summer and the service was profitable, but only for a limited season and the 'facts indicated' decreased post-war traffic. Without statistics, pre-war tourist numbers for a good summer were estimated at about 20,000 spending about £400,000. Post-war seasons had been plagued by strikes and in no year since the war had total arrivals exceeded pre-war figures.⁴ Meanwhile Australia's population had increased 20%, and at least that many more tourists should have come. People were more inclined to travel and spend freely after the long restraint of war and 'something of a boom in holiday travel might have been expected.' Yet the best year since the war (1924) saw 7% less passengers than 1912. It was difficult to see any reason beyond 'uncertainty, discomfort and expense of the shipping service.'

An "invisible export" as important as fruit or potatoes, the tourist traffic's 'continued prosperity and steady expansion' was 'as essential to the economic welfare of the State as any branch of material production.' Compared with the Act's effect on general freight costs, passenger traffic was 'secondary'. But there was a qualitative, political aspect: the coastal clauses provoked 'a great deal of bad feeling, because they appear as an almost wanton aggravation of a very unfortunate position.' Though the committee recognised specific state disabilities could not be directly met without 'serious breach' of Federal policy, redress and relief could be found in altered financial relations. Australia should follow North American practice of differential per capita payments to states according to their needs.⁵ Drafts of the report went to the Hobart

1. Research secretary was Roland Wilson, one of Copland's first BComs and now the departing Rhodes Scholar.

2. Lewis, NE (chairman) 'Report of Committee appointed to inquire into Tasmanian Disabilities Under Federation' *TPP* 1925/8. The report was submitted to Lyons on 30/9/25. For a positive contemporary response see Lemmon, RB 'Review of Report on Tasmanian Disabilities Under Federation' *Economic Record*, November 1925; 1(1) pp. 135-7. Lemmon was a Melbourne businessman.

3. Tasmania's exports for 1924-25 totalled £8,848,000. As a proportion of this £400,000 is 4.52%, a substantial contribution comparable with potatoes (3.9%), jam (3.74%), apples (7.84%) and timber (6.63%). Wool exports amounted to 16.6%. Minerals exports were the largest group, with zinc alone amounting to 17.77%. While the mining provided employment and other flow-ons, the profits mainly flowed out of the state. In comparison most of the food and foodstuffs exports (which totalled 31.65%) directly profited Tasmanian producers and merchants. By increasing the local market, tourism could also claim to stimulate the domestic economy. For statistics see *Merc*, 16/12/25 and *Australian Year Books*. Note that the Australian Department of Tourism in 1993 claims overseas tourism contributes 11% to the credit side of the national trade balance (*Bulletin*, 11/2/93).

4. Arrivals for calendar years 1912-1925 were 46669, 45883, 42647, 39767, 41361, 35924, 37639, 23804, 34829, 38709, 41763, 42896, 43664 and 40227. Thus the estimates for 1912 and 1913 considered tourists as comprising less than half the total arrivals.

5. In *MR*, 31/8/28 Dwyer-Gray lamented the pigeon-holing of the per capita idea. It found full expression in the establishment of the Commonwealth Grants Commission by Prime Minister Lyons in 1933. See Else-

Chamber, Trades Hall, TSC and TRL before submission on 30 September. Undoubtedly the Commonwealth was aware of it well before formal publication. It is equally probable that Bruce's next move was designed to dilute its impact.

By early October, another Federal election looming, Bruce had heard enough. He told Atkinson he would ask Cabinet to redefine 'adequate' to specifically address tourist needs. They would use British ships as the canon:

where it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister that the Tourist Traffic between any ports in the Commonwealth is being injured or retarded by reason of the fact that the licensed ships engaged are in point of size, speed and comfort substantially inferior to unlicensed British ships [a *Gazette* notice would be sufficient to permit exemption for all such ships].

Atkinson could take credit for the change of heart and announce it to the press.¹ Tasmania had not gained repeal, but it now had a reasonable amendment, or so it seemed. Bruce promised also to investigate fully Tasmania's financial position under Federation, and now accepted Commonwealth responsibility for maintaining Bass Strait services. Though TRL leaders would continue to find bones to pick, Bruce's promises quietened hullabaloo long enough to secure return of anti-Labor MPs for all Tasmanian seats. The promise of shipping relief was a boon to tourism, and the 1925-26 season showed marked recovery.²

When the Act amendment bill was introduced on 21 January 1926, TRL president James cabled thanks to the PM.³ Despite Federal Labor opposition, based on the emotive White Australia issue, Parliament's mood now overwhelmingly favoured Tasmania's claims, thanks, it was said, to the unity and propaganda of the TRL.⁴ There was a rush for Royal Assent but it took until 25 February. Finally a *Gazette* allowed apple boats general exemptions for the season 6 March to 31 May. The notices were repeated annually, with extended duration. But the amendment was really little more than a cynical attempt to shift blame from the Commonwealth. It did not bring back the apple boats. The British companies declined to use the notices. It was 'pretty clear' that they exacerbated Tasmania's grievances simply to serve their own campaign for total repeal of the coastal clauses.⁵ Within weeks there were grumbles that the amendment

Mitchell, Rae *The Australian Grants Commission* (Canberra: Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, ANU; 1975).

¹. AA A458/F212/10 PT1. 8/10/25.

². *Ex*, 1/1/26. See Appendix One.

³. AA A458/F212/10 PT1 ATT.1.

⁴. See e.g. *Merc*, 11/2/26.

⁵. In AA A458/F212/10 PT1. 19/11/29 Lewis Findlay East, Secretary Marine Branch, Commonwealth Dept Trade and Customs, reviewed the situation for Scullin. Exemptions for British ships over 10,000 tons and 14 knots had been granted annually since autumn 1926, but despite 20-30 apple trips (Syd-Hob-Mel) per year 'not more than probably half a dozen passengers' had been carried on the overseas ships. Evidence (especially to a recent Tariff Board Enquiry) made it 'pretty clear that it is the definite policy of the overseas passenger companies to use the discontent of the Tasmanian people at being unable to travel by the large and luxurious vessels visiting Hobart, to assist in bringing about the total repeal of the coasting trade provisions of the Navigation Act.' The Orient Line and P&O said they would not go back into the trade without 'liberty right through the year.' Lewis said political backlash from 'disappointed holiday makers' could be avoided by granting an exemption and throwing the responsibility onto the companies. This had been the case since 1926, when the Tasmanians were made to see it was not the Commonwealth's fault.



Nicholas Colston Lockyer

would have only small positive effect *if* taken up. Once Tasmanian opinion awoke to the situation, anti-federalism again harshened and the cry went up for total repeal or secession. This produced an extreme and sectional stance which re-alienated Federal partners. But for the time being Tasmanian attention turned to finance.

Lyons had been producing submissions to the Commonwealth since he became Premier. In November 1923 a memorandum attacked the Tariff but refrained from direct criticism of Arbitration Court or Navigation Act. The focus was on State-Commonwealth financial relations, the central aim increased special grants for Tasmania.¹ That Tasmania was doing all it could to solve its finances through taxation was backed up by a report on Tasmania's low 'taxable capacity' by LF Giblin.² Neither report mentioned tourism, but in 1925, after months of TRL activity, the Disabilities report had used the tourist industry as fundamental indicator of the state's economic condition. Tourism was becoming a powerful public opinion rouser.

Instead of a Royal Commission, Bruce sent 'special investigator', Sir Nicholas Colston Lockyer (1855-1933), a retired public servant who had helped frame the first Commonwealth tariff.³ The Hobart Chamber 'persistently' urged Lyons to prepare a full account of Tasmania's claims. It successfully recommended the advocates Albert Ogilvie and Tasman Shields⁴ to compile the economists' research and produce the first 'Case for Tasmania'.⁵ Like Lyons's 1923 report, 'The Case' targeted the Tariff and only hinted at dissatisfaction with Arbitration. But like the Disabilities report it made much of the Navigation Act and laid stress on tourism's legitimacy as a vital "'industry" of special importance to Tasmania'.

Shields and Ogilvie expanded on the Disabilities committee's figures and claimed the recent amendment was all but futile. They made much of the "'vicious circle"' concept, but, far from admitting state government expenditures played any part, they placed all blame on protectionism.⁶ In other states, they said:

¹. Lyons, JA 'Memorandum in Support of Tasmania's Claim to Special Consideration from the Parliament of the Commonwealth' *TPP* 1924/74.

². Giblin, LF *The Taxable Capacity of Australian States* (Hobart: Government Printer, 1924).

³. *ADB*.

⁴. *Merc*, editorials 13/12/26 and 15/12/26.

⁵. 'The Case for Tasmania' appeared in the press and as *TPP* 1926/52. It was compiled as a non-political extra-parliamentary job, and acknowledged Brigden, Giblin, Strutt and Auditor-General Batt. (See *Merc*, 10/12/26: 'Case for Tasmania' Bill for payment of £1050 to Shields and Ogilvie reduced to half but passed by Assembly in very late night sitting. *Ibid.*, 13/12/26 Editorial supports the payment.) In the 1930s numerous reports were presented by a Case for Tasmania Committee, see *TPP* 1933/14; 1934/1,2 and 30; 1935/4 and 33; 1936/7. They prompted Lyons' establishment of the Grants Commission. At the University of Tasmania's Centenary Politics Forum on 12/2/90 Emeritus Professor WA Townsley opined that the Case of 1925 was probably the best ever. On the other hand Michael Roe, *op. cit.* (1986), sees the 'Case' as a 'limited achievement'.

⁶. They claimed that the island's difficult topography made state infrastructure development particularly expensive and denied any extravagance. The circle was described thus: protection -> shipping monopolies -> high costs and lower service -> decreased taxable income -> lower revenue [and cuts in government services] and higher severity of tax -> discourages production and leads to emigration of people and investment to 'more fortunate States ... too near for comfort.' -> other states not disadvantaged -> therefore no change to protection -> and so the circle rotates.

another "circle" operates, far from "vicious," and altogether contrary to the sequence in Tasmania. The "vicious circle" must be broken if Tasmania is to survive, retain her population, and balance her expenditure.

They took pains not to question Australian protectionism *per se*, but argued the 'inequality incidentally resulting' had 'disastrous results upon Tasmania.' Instead of urging abandonment of settled policy, they sought a £545,000 annual cash grant for ten years to relieve tax severity and improve 'opportunities to attract industry and retain population.' Presumably this would break the circle and boost the economy. Better shipping would be a natural consequence.

The Power of Pessimism

Lockyer's presence was opportunity for discussing the relative merits of optimism and pessimism. 'Case' authors asserted 'the causes of our distress have been brought before you to show that Tasmania is no mendicant' that their claim was one of equity rather than charity. A Lyons addendum attempted optimistic tone by outlining development proposals and asserting that, given careful management and relief from the burdens of federalism, Tasmania's natural resources assured a 'prosperous and progressive' future for the island. However, as perceived from outside, the overwhelming tone was grievance. But one must consider who was driving it. Local public opinion, as conveyed by the press, was bitter in early 1926. In January, to prime the community for Lockyer's visit, the *Mercury* ran a series on 'Tasmania and Federation'. In February Lockyer's investigations¹ attracted mainland attention and another series, apparently by Broinowski, tackled the question, 'Tasmania-What is Wrong with Her?' Even with the tourist season progressing well, the air of depression was visible in business, trade and agriculture, empty shops and houses and 'scores of people' leaving weekly: all due to Federation. This was 'not pessimism but a statement of fact.'²

Years of conditioning meant Broinowski had no difficulty finding influential and eloquent state-wide anti-federal opinion.³ The tourist issue took back seat to general trade because lack of strikes meant traffic was flowing. Yet there was much ado about shipping. Men with long memories, Tom Murdoch and Clyde Black prepared a paper on the 'Barriers to Tasmania's Trade Highway'. They compared pre and post-war fares and services and argued that protectionist-induced rises and falls 'must have an effect retarding the movement of holiday makers.' They pointed out that the threat of 'union antagonism' made British shipping companies unlikely to take advantage of the

1. Lockyer and his assistant, LF East, began their enquiry in early February (see *Merc*, 9/2/26).

2. *Ibid.*, 18/2/26. This was the first 'What's Wrong' article.

3. Interviewees included North-Western timber interests and the Launceston wine merchant and hotel investor WC Oldham. The final article was in *ibid.*, 3/3/26.

amendment.¹ The *Examiner* agreed: beyond bringing a few more tourists to Hobart the amendment's benefits were slight. Protectionism meant spiralling costs, while neither arbitration nor tariff stopped interstate strikes from wrecking export and tourist seasons.² North and South both gave unqualified support to the 'Case'.³ All denied undue pessimism and asserted their duty to educate. Asking 'what's wrong' was excusable: Australian eyes were on Tasmania and the opportunity must be taken to gain their sympathy. In fact there was nothing wrong with the island: Federal policy was wrong.⁴

Taking depositions from business bodies, Lockyer kept saying he would 'prefer a more optimistic tone' and asking 'Why preach hopelessness?' Because we are 'hamstrung until we get relief from the Federation', replied Walter Cummins.⁵ Launceston complainants were met by Lockyer's request for more 'constructive suggestions' and definite proposals for remedying the state's position. They thought they were providing them. He 'regretted the pessimism indulged in' by so many 'leaders of public opinion.' It:

tended to depress those in the state, and to deter others from coming here. Such pessimism getting abroad must have a harmful effect and it should be checked. There must be a more hopeful note among the people themselves if they wished to progress.⁶

The *Mercury* said Tasmanians realised that if they told Lockyer 'everything was splendid' he would report thus to Bruce. It was all very well for a visitor from a prosperous state to attack them for pessimism, but 'it is for the Commonwealth, which sits with the whole of its weight on this State, to get up first, and give us a chance.' Optimism was always desirable, 'but foolish and unthinking optimism has brought more people to ruin than the most extreme pessimism.' Tasmania would be free to assume more sanguine demeanour if Lockyer's report brought a positive Commonwealth response.⁷ The *Examiner* agreed.⁸ The further from Hobart the greater the propensity to criticise Tasmania's own administrations, but opinion was constant that improvement depended on Commonwealth lifting the burden of protectionism.⁹

1. Sydney-Hobart fares had increased 92% from £5 to £9:12. Melbourne-Hobart (via Launceston) fares had increased 42% £4:9:6 to £6:13:6. The Melbourne-Hobart direct service had been cut out entirely (see *Ex*, 1/3/26).

2. *Ibid.*, 1/3/26.

3. *Ibid.*, 23/2/26. Lockyer received the Case on 19/2/26, see AA A458/F212/10 PT1.

4. *Ex*, 10/2/26; 11/2/26. *Merc.*, 22/2/26.

5. *Merc.*, 26/2/26.

6. *Ibid.*, 10/3/26.

7. Cummins later said Lockyer 'entirely misunderstood the psychology' of the Tasmanians. 'The leaders of public opinion were advocates for Tasmania, and if they had not put the case as strongly and effectively as they had, they would have been fools. To say that they had not faith in Tasmania was entirely wrong.' (See *ibid.*, 19/5/26.)

8. *Ex*, 10/3/26, *Merc.*, 11/3/26.

9. Dr WA Harrison, Burnie representative on the TRL executive, spoke of 'vote catching' politics and 'inflated Civil service' and was willing to give Tasmania half the blame (see *Ex*, 11/3/26).

Lockyer's report repeated his exhortation to optimism. He said he was told 'the spirit of optimism had been tried for many years, but that it had not proved successful.' Tasmania was 'a beautiful country' with 'rich potential natural resources' begging for exploitation. Wise government and 'greater confidence' (plus a Commonwealth grant) were all that was needed. The state should abandon its fixation with secondary industries and look more to increased primary production for its salvation. Tourism was vital and West Coast road construction 'most urgent and advantageous'. The Navigation Act was 'retarding progress', an unfair burden, but popular opinion made too much of it. Lockyer 'hoped' the recent amendment would increase traffic. While Tasmania did suffer Federal policy, 'excessive loan expenditure and other objectionable features in the state administration'¹ played their part. He recommended grants totalling £445,000 p.a. for ten years, with specific items contingent on reduction of state taxes and other special provisions subject to Commonwealth supervision. Simply to grant money would 'defeat the purpose' and relieve the State of any incentive to internal reform.²

The Tasmanian reception to the report was mixed. The *Examiner* said it was 'packed with common sense'. The *Telegraph* and *Advocate* were quite satisfied, as was the Launceston Chamber of Manufacturers.³ Hobart's reaction was hostile. the *Mercury* dubbing it 'hopelessly futile', a 'deliberate insult'. The Hobart Chamber, upset at Lockyer's failure to take the Navigation Act more seriously, again called on Bruce to bring the big ships back to Hobart.⁴ To Lyons the imposition of conditions would make Tasmania 'State Vassal to the Commonwealth'. He accused Lockyer of ignoring government and business depositions, and obtained a unanimous dissatisfaction motion in parliament. A state deputation to Melbourne pressured Bruce for a better offer.⁵ Opinion, in both Hobart and Launceston, was inflamed when the *Age* suggested the only solution for Tasmania was a merger with Victoria. Peel Salisbury was incensed. It was no good 'throwing up the sponge'. Tasmania should stop 'adopting a mendicant attitude and going cap in hand' to the Commonwealth. They

1. Such as the 'want of wisdom and foresight' in giving a forty year below-cost-price hydro-electric contract with the EZ Co.; 'parental indulgence of the State' making loans and guarantees to public bodies and companies; 'acts of folly' in the construction of unpayable railway lines and roads; the 'disastrous experiment' in State Shipping; and over-attention to secondary industries encouragement and parallel inattention to scientific development of the 'vital' agricultural industries. One of Lockyer's colleagues from the Commonwealth Customs Service agreed. Stephen Mills (1857-1948, see *ADB*) said the 'vicious circle might more appropriately be called a "depraved ellipse" for it is generated from two foci, the Commonwealth and the State. Though Lyons's outlook was 'more refreshing', the 'Case' itself was 'conceived and executed in a depressing monochrome. The film has been over-exposed and the print has not a single bright point.' 'Review of 'The Case For Tasmania' *Economic Record* November 1926; 2(3) pp. 244-52. *Merc.* 2/12/26 said of Mills's review, 'the rhetorical flippancy ... is in keeping with its superficial treatment of this State's side of the general question.'

2. Lockyer, Sir Nicholas 'Report on the Financial Position of Tasmania as Affected by Federation' *CPP* 1926/24, Submitted on 25/3/26, the report was released and reprinted in Tasmanian papers on 20/4/26.

3. All papers, 20/4/26. *DT*, 24/4/26.

4. *Merc.* 20/4/26 and *DT*. 24/4/26.

5. *Merc.* 20-21/4/26.

needed business government, and if politicians were better paid they might get it.¹ It seemed objective pessimism had backfired. Tasmania must pull itself up by the boot straps after all. That would entail a full scale boosting campaign.

Triumph of the Boosters

It can be argued that Lockyer looked through too dark a glass. While he was casting his damnations, movements calculated to improve the Tasmanian outlook were already stirring. It is most interesting that, though this next major grass roots organisation to take up the state boosting campaign addressed all aspects, they concentrated on tourism. They knew it was the tool for the times. It was politically potent, not only here but elsewhere, in the campaign for better communications and financial help. It brought new money into the state and improved markets for domestic producers and merchants. By creating activity it improved local outlook and hopefully stemmed out-migration. It improved Tasmania's image in all directions (especially industrial and immigration). And, apart from boosting primary production,² it was really all they could do in a relatively short time. In short, it was a winner! At last, after years of talk, the boosters found general support, and, with that, funds for a big campaign.

In December 1925 a group of Launceston ANA and LPA members had formed a Launceston Shopping and Carnival Association to organise a 'cash shopping week' for the coming regatta season. Secretary was William Robinson of the LFIA and TRL.³ It soon became evident a more permanent organisation was wanted, something wider in scope than an 'ordinary Progress Association'. The *Examiner* urged more 'individual and community self reliance, and began a special column on local tourist matters.⁴ Len Bruce told Launceston Rotary his department wanted 'a forceful and live' association in every community. He urged them to stop referring to 'tourist traffic' and recognise its status as one of the state's 'most important industries'. Rotarians could help the Department raising more resources for advertising.⁵

1. *DT*, 24/4/26. See also *Merc*, 27/4/26.

2. Which was pursued from the end of 1925 when the Agricultural Department was reformed with new experts appointed to advise farmers through a system of local 'Agricultural Bureaux'. Note that Herbert Gepp and his EZ Co. were very much behind the scheme. The company was then establishing itself as a major producer of chemical fertilisers (see *The News*, 19/12/25). See also *Merc*, 2/7/26: New Director of Agriculture, FE Ward meets constituents and discusses the value of Ag. Bureaux, prospects for improvement, new export industries, need for united voice. Refers to NZ examples. Following day has leading article, in which Ward says farmers *must* use the new methods.

3. *Ex*, 10/12/25.

4. *Ibid.*, 1/1/26 editorial. On 7/1/26 the paper started a special series with columns of copy and adverts selling 'Launceston: Tasmania's Natural Tourist Centre'. Northerners were exhorted to advertise its offerings more to counter the prevailing impression that it had little to offer tourists. Hobart had 'commercialised the tourist, and finds that it pays. It will pay Launceston to follow the same active policy, and offer visitors the strongest possible inducements ... It was a bad day for Launceston when the old Tourist Association was allowed to go out.' There was room for its revival, and such a body was needed to develop new excursions business (see *ibid.*, 8/1/26, 9/1/26). By the end of January the column had become an advertising section with far less copy.

5. *Ibid.*, 14/1/26: Bruce related the history of the tourist movement and the central function of advertising. Businessmen had to realise that while hoteliers usually got 'first bite from the tourists' money' the profits flowed on to their suppliers. Therefore it was in every business's interests to support expenditure

Jack Dean, Robinson and a newcomer, Albert Edward Chapman (1875-1947) began organising.¹ Chapman, an accountant, had been imported from New Zealand to manage Ludbrook's department store.² He told how a twenty thousand league in Napier, NZ, had raised that city's population from 13,000 to 20,000 in seven years. Meanwhile in Hobart 'Nil Desperandum' wrote to say the idea that all Tasmania's woes were imposed from outside were 'done to death', and called on locals to do more than seek a big grant. Developing the tourist industry and diminishing seasonality offered roads to self-reliance.³ Presbyterian minister BL Semmens gave a well-attended lantern lecture on 'What's Right With Tasmania?' Deploring editorial pessimism, he said the island's chief asset was its natural beauty.⁴ Before Lockyer even left the state this sort of backlash against pessimism had advanced considerably. Leslie Norman was working up another Back to Tasmania exercise.

Norman had lost his government job and was now running a small roneo agency for J Walch & Sons, printers and stationers. He was involved in a new Tasmania Regatta Council. For months they had considered some repetition of the 1922 carnival. In February he drew up a plan to inspire Hobart and Tasmania. By early March he had interested Mayor Valentine, who called a meeting attended by Rogers, Rometch, Breen, Johnston, HW Wilson and other representative commercial-civic leaders. Also present was Charles Miscamble, while Alfred Ashbolt and Walter Cummins offered apologies and support. Norman suggested a November program including a Civic Week, an Exhibition Week, a String of Regattas and an At Home Week. Though some differed on details, all responded with enthusiasm. In 1925 4,500 people had left the state and 'Tasmania wanted some stirring up.' A new Hobart Citizens Committee formed and Norman, as secretary, stressed the crucial importance of cooperating with similar bodies in other parts of the state. Miscamble promised full TGR/TGTB support. The *Mercury* saw the meeting as symbolic of Tasmania's inherent fighting spirit, and though it could not stop telling Lockyer what was wrong, predicted a future when the island would 'boom' again.⁵

■

A week later, at his own expense,⁶ Norman travelled to Launceston with 'his assistant', George Collis.⁷ They were welcomed by the new Mayor, 'Lex' Evans.⁸ At

in advertising. He estimated the traffic in good years at 25,000 visitors spending £30 each. £750,000 was 'encouragement for an increased advertising programme.'

1. See *ibid.*, 12/3/32 for more, and a typescript memoir by Jack Dean held in QVMAG. Dean's memoirs clash somewhat with contemporary evidence, which is preferred here.

2. Chapman arrived in 1924. A keen sportsman and sports administrator, he was first chairman of the Launceston 50,000 League and its official pianist. When he died he was credited with being the 'founder ... prime mover' of the League (see *ibid.*, 4/1/47).

3. *Merc.*, 22/2/26.

4. *Ibid.*, 16/3/26.

5. *Ibid.*, 3/3/26.

6. Or so he said, see *ibid.*, 17/3/26.

7. Collis was an interesting all-rounder, a ventriloquist and concert entertainer with many sporting connections and political aspirations as an independent (*TC*, p. 148). He was secretary of the Surf and Life-Saving Club of Southern Tasmania in 1922 when he served on several Back to Tasmania committees (see

■



George Collis

the Town Hall the predictable parade of personages presented. Asked whether the movement would stem population drift, Norman said if it struck 'one note of optimism it would be worth it.' Linney Barber stressed the need for new industries, but agreed activity generated by a tourist carnival would make potential investors more confident. As Collis put it, 'it was only when the State was showing activity that capitalists would be encouraged to invest.' At present it was 'practically dead', and manufacturers were put off by shipping uncertainties. Tourists would attract ships and business would be better for all. 'Boost Tasmania from the hilltops' he cried, urging the break-down of North vs. South. Assured that Norman was working for the whole state, Tom Newton and Gordon Rolph successfully moved formation of a Launceston committee.¹ The *Telegraph* welcomed the advent of a "Wake Up" and "Build Up" Tasmania movement'.²

Norman compiled a long list of prospective business subscribers and the city councils promised support.³ On 31 March concurrent public gatherings saw further progress. In Hobart O'Grady's presidency ensured a large gathering. He repeated his familiar exhortations to Tasmanian pride and self-determinism. There was no place in the world more beautiful, and a systematic advertising campaign would guarantee its future. William Bankes Amery, visiting in connection with the £34m migration agreement, was invited to witness Tasmanian vitality. The meeting gladly heard of Launceston's enthusiasm, and that Burnie wardens were organising the North West Coast.⁴

By 23 April the movement in Hobart was well advanced. O'Grady regretfully announced he was constitutionally debarred from the presidency. He became patron and, declaring 'unbounded faith in the movement', vowed to 'use all the driving force he had to make it progress.' Mayor Valentine now took the chair and announced the HCC would donate up to £100. Appointed treasurer was HW Wilson, who, like Rogers, Collis and Wignall, brought experience from the Back to Tasmania campaign.⁵ Norman set up headquarters in the old Derwent & Tamar Bank chambers, opposite the tourist bureau. The Governor and Mayor would often 'pop in for their marching orders'. Leslie Norman was at last at the centre of things and 'making a buzz'. He wasn't making any money, but boosters are not driven solely by the back pocket.⁶ He eventually assembled an influential local committee of 49 members. Miscamble chaired

Hobart Citizens' Committee. *op. cit.*). Chairman of the Surf Club was HW Wilson, also secretary of the Parattah Hotel Co.

⁸. When Evans was elected he announced that the Mayor's cupboard was 'wet again' after Ockerby's teetotal administration (see *Ex.* 14/12/25).

¹. *DT & Ex.* 12/3/26.

². *DT*, 13/3/26.

³. *Merc.* 17/3/26.

⁴. All papers. 1/4/26.

⁵. *Merc.* 24/4/26. Wilson was on the BTT finance committee.

⁶. According to his son, Don Norman, Leslie was far more motivated by social factors and a restless, patriotic mind.

LAUNCESTON FIFTY THOUSAND LEAGUE



OUR CREED

- 1. I believe in Launceston, its future, and its possibilities.
- 2. I believe in broadening its horizons and across frontiers, and in commercial penetration to the four cardinal winds of Australia and the world.
- 3. I believe in the Northern Frontier, in the Garden of Eden, and in commerce with the most advanced countries in the Commonwealth by the shortest air routes.
- 4. I believe in Launceston's climate, growth, and the great advantages and an equable climate.
- 5. I believe in its prospects for increased production and new industries, impelled by technical progress, and with permanent traditions in the fields of service.
- 6. I believe in the advancement of my city and in the great principle of working for the welfare of all, for we are a great enterprise.
- 7. I believe in a great future, in a progressive and united people, and in the motto: "Enthusiasm and hard work, in the spirit of the Launceston of the future, in the spirit of the Launceston of the future, in the spirit of the Launceston of the future."

Number 1

OUR OBJECTS

- To promote the progress and prosperity of Launceston in particular, and Tasmania generally, by doing everything in its power to secure and encourage financially and/or otherwise:
- 1. A Tasmania uncontent.
 - 2. The betterment of the land.
 - 3. The development of industry and commerce.
 - 4. The betterment of the Launceston Trade.
 - 5. Commerce.
 - 6. The holding of an annual conference in Launceston.
 - 7. The holding of a great annual conference in Launceston.
 - 8. The holding of a great annual conference in Launceston.
 - 9. The holding of a great annual conference in Launceston.
 - 10. The holding of a great annual conference in Launceston.

Members

A. B. Evans

OUR OBLIGATION

I promise to direct my best energies wherever possible, in assisting in the work and advancement of Launceston and district, and to give my whole-hearted efforts to the League of which I am a Member. I also pledge myself that I will act in such a way as to have in my sphere of activity, and to encourage others to follow my example, and progress. I will endeavor to strengthen my own personal conviction, daily that as a city we have a great future before us, and to implant a similar conviction among my fellow citizens. I will constantly bear in mind our motto of Work before Words, Faith before Action, and Progress before Prosperity. A "Greater Launceston" shall be my aspiration and my hope. To spread the gospel of a "Program with a Purpose" will be my constant task. I readily promise to extend facilities to the needs of the League and to do fully whatever my post, however small or great, in order to assist in bringing nearer the day when Launceston and district shall be more flourishing and more progressive.

President

G. B. Evans

THE FIRST MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATE (No. 1) OF THE LAUNCESTON FIFTY THOUSAND LEAGUE, HELD BY THE MAYOR OF LAUNCESTON (ALDERMAN A. A. EVANS).

the tourist and transport sub-committee and sat on the trade displays branch, chaired by the Hydro's general manager Harry Curtis (1882-1933). On the program and advertising committee he joined Emmett, who also chaired the broadcasting committee and helped with press publicity. Most participants, however, came from commercial-civic quarters. No MPs served.¹

There was much discussion on the topic of 'helpful slogans'. Inspired by Harold Clapp, the *Telegraph* said these gave people 'something cheerful to say and think about.' 'The state improvement and development movement as a whole might be popularised by the use of a few bright slogans of the bucking up kind'.² Instead of the 'somewhat hackneyed term "Back to Tasmania"' people suggested something more like Honolulu's 'Paradise of the Pacific', or 'Come to the Riviera of the South'. Linney Barber mooted 'Back to Appleland', but 'the most high sounding and attractive slogan', according to the *Mercury*, was 'Come to the Land of Sparkling Days and Jewelled Nights'.³ O'Grady also thought 'Back to' unoriginal and uninspiring. The intention this time was to attract tourists as well as expatriates, so he offered 'Come to Tasmania' or 'See Tasmania'. Even this lacked freshness, according to Miscamble,⁴ who offered 'Wonderland—Tasmania at Home.' After considerable discussion they compromised on 'Come to Tasmania—The Wonderland'⁵ and officially appointed Norman organising secretary of the 'Come To Tasmania Organisation' (CTTO).⁶

Meanwhile Launceston's boosters had been meeting daily for lunch, cooking up a scheme of their own.⁷ Through April they approached other bodies and word leaked that they had in mind a 'Fifty Thousand League'. The Rolphs' intimate involvement gave their paper the scoop over the ailing *Telegraph*. The *Examiner* hailed the new league under the banner 'Shoulders to the Wheel'. Recitation of woes, though necessary for Lockyer, had threatened to create 'a habit of mind that the state is sick unto death', but it was not: Tasmanians must believe in their own 'powers of self-redemption.' The league aimed at 'heartening' the city 'and the country around it'. Launceston's geographical centrality and fertile hinterland fitted it well for a population of 50,000. The league would not overlap with established administrations but give them the 'refreshing sensation that there is a vigorous movement which can be relied

1. Norman, Leslie *Come to Tasmania, The Wonderland, Nov. 6th to 30th 1926: Official Illustrated Souvenir Programme of State-Wide Movement to Attract Tourists* (Hobart: Government Printer; 1926) pp. 43-9.

2. *DT*, 10/4/26.

3. *Merc*, 16/3/26.

4. *Ibid.*, 24/4/26.

5. *Merc & DT*, 5/5/26.

6. *Merc*, 24/4/26.

7. *Ex*, 1/4/26. Dean's t.s. describes how he, Evans, Chapman and a couple of others met in Robinson's office every day for lunch for several months and 'evolved the idea, the ideals and objects'.

OUR CREED

I believe in Launceston, its future, and its possibilities for progress.

I believe in broadcasting its climatic and scenic attractions and its commercial potentialities to the four cardinal winds of Australia and the world.

I believe in the Northern Paradise, in this Garden Island, and its conversion into the most alluring tourist centre in the Commonwealth by the alchemy of civic optimism and the exercise of individual initiative.

I believe in Launceston's ultimate growth into one of the great manufacturing cities of Australia by reason of its natural advantages and its equable climate.

I believe in its prospects for increased population and new industries, inspired by communal enterprise robed with personal endeavour in the crucible of Service.

I believe in the advancement of my city and in the great principle of working for the welfare of all as I would for my own private interests.

I believe in a great destiny before a prosperous and united people, and in the motto: "Each his allotted task."

I believe in work, in Optimism as the foundation of our work, Energy as the corner stone of our accomplishment, and Enthusiasm as the inspiring of the League.

OUR OBLIGATION

I promise to direct my best energies, whenever possible, to assisting in the great and advancement of Launceston and district, and to give my whole-hearted efforts to the League of which I am a Member. I also pledge myself that I will act in such a way as to have its welfare always in view, and to encourage others to follow my example and precept. I will endeavour to strengthen my own personal conviction daily that as a city ours has great things before it, and to implant a similar confidence among my fellow citizens. I will continually bear in mind our ideals of Work before Words, Faith before Feat, and Progress before Privilege. A "Greater Tomorrow" shall be my aspiration and my dream.

To spread the gospel of "Progress with Prudence" will be my constant care. I shall promise to remain faithful to the aims of the League and cheerfully undertake any part, however small or great, in order to assist in bringing nearer the Day when Launceston and district shall be more flourishing and more populous.

upon Such a spirit means much.’¹ A committee appointed Evans president, confirmed goals and constitution, but cunningly kept people waiting for details.²

On 12 May the Launceston Fifty Thousand League (LLL)³ was finally launched, not by a public meeting but local press release and much editorial ballyhoo.⁴ As further mark of its hopeful, democratic attitude its scale of membership fees was set low enough to encourage a large enrolment. Children were enlisted in this ‘great civic army pledged to fight the spirit of pessimism with an intelligent force’. A ‘juvenile party’ at the Albert Hall raised money for advertising.⁵ The Mayoress chaired a special ‘Women’s Interests Committee’. Numbered membership certificates were issued and citizens were reminded that ‘the smaller the number the greater the honour’. (see figureTMs TMTM)

The League had far wider scope than the CTTO. Its tenfold objects concentrated on Launceston development, though what was good for the North was ‘good for the state’. Its ‘Creed’ was civic optimism enshrined: it began, ‘I Believe in Launceston’. The motto, ‘To Each His Allotted Task’, stressed individual duty to society. Though ‘Doubting Thomases’ might try to ‘throw a wet blanket’ on the scheme, ‘these few may be discarded’. Encouragement of tourist traffic ranked behind industrial development, but all objects encompassed the spirit interesting this thesis: Tasmanians selling Tasmania not only to outsiders but to themselves. The League got off to a good start thanks to its energetic officials.⁶ Involving himself was John Moore-Robinson, who had recently moved north to join the *Examiner*.⁷ He addressed Launceston Rotary on ‘the utter dissipation of pessimism and its replacement by the optimism, determination and persistence of our ancestors.’⁸ This and a similar appeal by chairman

1. *Ibid.*, 14/4/26.

2. *DT*, 15/4/26.

3. As the manifesto document explains, LL in Roman numerals denotes fifty thousand. The other L was for Launceston. LLL featured on the League’s logo.

4. See *DT & Ex*, 12/5/26. The *Examiner* editorial says the creed is optimistic and the motto signifies willingness to act, a happy combination. The ideas are not only visionary but practical. Such a league ‘though centralised in name, cannot be centralised in activity and succeed.’ A ‘Greater Launceston’ must mean a greater district more thickly populated. LLL cannot afford to be less than district-wide in outlook. The ideas are ‘redolent of good citizenship’. ‘This is by no means a League of General Interference, but an attempt to organise on a wider basis the civic spirit which sporadically has done much for the city. The *DT* editorial welcomes the announcement. The trickle of news up to now has been ‘sufficiently mystifying to excite curiosity’. Also talks about civics. Notes that the concentration is on primary and secondary industry but that League recognises that ‘work and no play tends to dullness. Its combination of utilitarian and recreative interests is big and broad, and elastic enough...’ All it needs is ‘sound and enterprising executive direction’. See also *WC*, 20/5/26.

5. *Ex*, 16/7/26.

6. *DT*, 21/5/26: 50,000 League meeting at Evans & Garrott’s office hears how membership committee organising the drive for enrolments, ‘and judging by the enthusiasm displayed by the officials, good results should be achieved.’ Carnival committee organising children’s event to get them interested. [It is spelt out that] all monies received are properly audited. Executive members meet daily at lunch and all are invited to weekly meetings on Thursday nights.

7. PD1/38/25/26, 11/6/26 WW Bentley to Lyons.

8. *Ex*, 13/5/26.

Chapman received warm Rotary responses.¹ By the end of the year Moore-Robinson succeeded William Robinson as LLL secretary.

In this changing atmosphere Tasmania received the Commonwealth's response to the Case and Lockyer's report. On 14 May Bruce offered a special grant of £378,000 for two years. It fell short even of Lockyer's recommendation, but carried few conditions and was well received, even in Hobart. Calculated to relieve the TGR, and thus the state's, deficit, it made tax reductions possible. On top of the grant came £100,000 under Bruce's new national roads development policy, and return to Tasmania of another £111,000 in lottery tax. The formal offer criticised the 'undue pessimism' of Tasmania's 'leaders of public opinion'.² Perhaps stung by this, such people now affected bravado and determined to make the best of resources.³ They fêted Lyons at a Hobart Chamber luncheon, especially when he announced tax cuts would result from the grant. He thanked business, and especially the Cummins sector, for putting up such a good fight over the Case. A long list of investors waiting to see 'which way the cat would jump' would now pour money into Tasmania. There was much talk about what had been achieved in the absence of party politics.⁴

The May 1926 Premier's Conference witnessed a statement of the Commonwealth's attitude to Tasmania.⁵ Lockyer's report would not be accepted on its own as a blueprint for the island's recovery. Instead a decision was reached which in effect made Tasmania a laboratory for developmental investigations for the next few years. From 1926 to 1930 it fell under the scrutiny of Herbert Gepp and fellow experts in the new Development and Migration Commission. The DMC was established to administer the £34m agreement and finance developments calculated to increase Australia's 'absorptive capacity' for migrants. Working closely with the Council for Scientific & Industrial Research and Prime Minister's Department, it had a broad brief. Gepp was a superman, 'a Mussolini',⁶ and an 'ex-Tasmanian' long-acquainted with its transport problems. His appointment brought great hope.⁷

The *Mercury* dropped its grievance stance. To counter its own 'What's Wrong' series it ran a boosting campaign under the title 'Tasmania's Future'.⁸ O'Grady opened proceedings. After a depressing period, he said, agricultural, mining and industrial indicators now showed the state was standing 'on the threshold of a new existence.' With Ernest Rogers, now Mayor of Hobart, the Governor called for new advertising departures to attract industries and retain population. Walter Cummins said that hopes

1. *Ibid.*, 24/6/26.

2. *Merc.*, 15/5/26.

3. *Ibid.*, 17/5/26.

4. *Ibid.*, 19/5/26.

5. AA A458/F212/10 PT1, May 1926

6. *Merc.*, 18/11/26.

7. See *ibid.*, 25/9/26: DMC commissioners fêted by an overawed Hobart Chamber.

8. *Ibid.*, daily from 3/7/26 to 31/7/26.

of prosperity lay along three lines: increased primary production, a forward forestry policy and development of tourist traffic. Contrary to O'Grady and Rogers, he said it was 'a waste of money' advertising to attract secondary industries until 'we have induced a state of prosperity'. Like Ashbolt, he knew this was a primary function of tourism.

Tourism was worth advertising because here they had 'something worth shouting about.' Cummins warned however that 'we cannot live on optimism and promises all the time', and again called for shipping, accommodation and roads improvements. He also warned that advertising was not worth doing unless it was long and loud. There must be commitment to meet its high costs. MW Simmons, now Rotary president, also thought tourism needed still greater attention. Revival of government commitment to the industry, especially its road-building aspects, would assist farmers and miners. Most other urban contributors agreed: Enid Lyons, John Ockerby, Mary Parker and Edith Waterworth. The lady writers focussed on catering for tourists, providing more entertainments in the evenings. Parker said people could sit in hotel lounges or go to the pictures at home. If the island was setting itself up as a resort it needed more. She was even willing to consider Leslie Norman's controversial mooted of a Monte Carlo style casino-resort at Kingston Beach, though there must be controls, 'unfair exploitation' of tourists being the most efficient way to kill the traffic.¹

To bolster this constructive euphoria, Rogers held a Mayoral luncheon: 'A Rout of Pessimists'. Introducing a procession of prominent optimists, he invoked public men to 'foster the spirit of goodwill' and dispel the 'wave of pessimism' that had beset the state. He recited an epitome of the new belief system:

Boost your city, boost your friend,
Boost the lodge that you attend;
Boost the street on which you're dwelling,
Boost the crowd that you're selling,
Boost the people round about you,
Possibly they can do without you;
But success will quicker find them
If they know that you're behind them.

Boost for every forward movement,
Boost for every new improvement;
Boost the stranger and the neighbour,
Boost the man for whom you labour.
Cease to be a chronic knocker,
Cease to be a progress blocker;
And if you would have your home town better,
Boost it, boost it, to the final letter.

Other speakers, notably the Governor, the Bishop, Claude James and WH Cummins, entreated an end to all parochial croaking. Faced with such unity and purpose, said the *Mercury*, any remaining 'undesirable' Tasmanian pessimists should 'clear out across the border'.² Though anti-federalism remained a latent force, and some still dared to criticise optimists' ideas as 'only palliatives',³ the civic campaigns of mid 1926 boosted

1. *Ibid.*, 22/7/26. Norman made the Monte Carlo proposal anonymously. The *Mercury*, 16/7/26 dismissed it with a laugh. Others had casino ideas for Hobart, but none succeeded until charismatic Arthur Drysdale convinced people to let him expand his *Wrest Point Hotel* in Sandy Bay in 1968. This was, and is, considered a decisive move in the history of Tasmanian tourism.

2. *Ibid.*, 23/7/26.

3. For example see letter from 'Businessman', *ibid.*, 27/7/26.

the islanders confidence to act on their own behalf. Optimistic reports from Donnelly,¹ Webb² and the STAB³ added impetus.

Closing its 'Tasmania's Future' series, the *Mercury* placed tourism at the top of the list and summarised the suggestions offered thus:

1. Improved steamer communications.
2. Guarantee against dislocation of shipping.
3. The development of tourist resorts.
4. Improved hotel communication.
5. More attention to our reputation, specially regarding health matters.
6. Regular calls by Commonwealth 'Bay' and subsidised Royal Mail steamers at Hobart.
7. Better accommodation at lower rates.
8. The development of our 'show spots.'
9. The provision of better means of recreation and amusement in our cities.
11. The cessation of unfair exploitation [of tourists].
12. A road to the West Coast as a scenic drive, and a means of access to that beautiful district.⁴

Though the CTTO's initiatives came from Hobart, the committee knew it had to encourage other centres to organise themselves for November. Though the Southern press missed the LLL launch, Norman did not. He waved it at a CTTO meeting in Hobart and also announced the formation of a CTTO branch by the North-Western Municipal League. Signs of state-wide cooperation encouraged him to write to all municipalities and address the Municipal Association asking for money.⁵ Through June and July the Hobart committee worked up proposals for advertising.⁶ A circular on 'Tasmania's Big Bid For Tourists' and radio addresses by O'Grady, Cummins and others saw more district branches forming.⁷ In Launceston the LLL addressed itself to specific civic tasks: a 'White Way' for Brisbane Street, catering for visiting Victorian grammar school boys, a smoke night with the Governor,⁸ an 'October Bride' competition, tracks to nearby mountain resorts,⁹ lobbying for mail and steamer services, and countering in Melbourne the 'Tasmania is Hobart' idea.¹⁰ A Launceston Grammar 'Old Boy', Walter Tasman Conder (1888-1974),¹¹ was now manager of Melbourne's 3LO. He broadcast lectures on 'Launceston the Beautiful Centre of

1. *DT*, 31/7/26 and *Merc*, 3/8/26. Donnelly's TGTB had recently moved to Sydney's 'hub', Martin Place.

2. *Merc*, 31/5/26.

3. *Ibid.*, 29/5/26.

4. *Merc*, 31/7/26.

5. *Ibid.*, 20/5/26. *Ex*, 28/5/26.

6. See for instance, *Merc*, 1/7/26.

7. *Ibid.*, 1/7/26 and 31/7/26. The CTTO letterhead prior to July was southern. It thereafter listed the executive and committees in all regions with the logo 'Tasmania the Wonderland' in top left, and at the bottom in large print 'TASMANIA'S BIG BID FOR TOURISTS.'

8. *Merc & DT*, 31/7/26.

9. *Merc*, 17/11/26. The League also concerned itself with regional matters such as 'dilapidation' of the *Breona* guest house at the northern end of Great Lake (see PD1/38/39/26).

10. *Merc*, 27/5/27 has the first AGM and Annual Report of the LLL.

11. *ADB*.



John Barclay Reid

Tasmania's Playground.'¹ The LLL tourist sub-committee doubled as Launceston's CTTO branch.

On 21 July an enthusiastic Launceston conference constituted a state-wide CTTO executive.² Launceston's Mayor Evans became chairman, Hobart's Valentine his deputy. John Barclay Reid, a Hobart tailor and CTA official,³ became treasurer. A large delegation then asked government for a £500 subsidy for mainland advertising. Norman said this was the only way his organisation could raise such a sum. It was granted because of the CTTO's 'national' character, though Cabinet decided the money should be controlled by the TGR. Henceforth Miscamble's STAB now merged into the citizens' CTTO. Government funding attracted private contributions. Tattersall's donated ten guineas and stamped their vast outgoing mail with 'Wonderland' messages. Others donated debentures as incentives, tying contributions to expected profits.⁴

The campaign gave TGTB advertising powerful focus in 1926. Miscamble placed pictorial supplements in twenty mainland papers.⁵ Use was made for the first time of electric sky signs in Melbourne and Sydney.⁶ 3LO and 2BL broadcast the 'Come to Tasmania' message as far as China.⁷ That local centres planned to make the most of the opportunity was reflected at an LLL luncheon, attended by patron O'Grady, when a new slogan was announced: 'Get the Tas-Mania. See Launceston First.' O'Grady used the occasion to again force pessimists out: 'Anyone who will not boost Tasmania is not worth a thimbleful of salt.'⁸ State-wide cooperation was still strong. In August the CTTO state executive met in Burnie and Emmett and Leeson (now working for the *Advocate*) became its advertising committee.⁹

In September the hype began peaking. The HCC issued a broadsheet calling all to 'Hobart—The Riviera of the South'. Above a panorama of 'Australia's Most Interesting Capital' was the slogan 'See Naples and Die—See Hobart and Live!'¹⁰ All Tasmanian journals published special supplements. The *Mercury's* concentrated on

1. The *Telegraph* printed the texts, see for instance 11/8/26 and 28/8/26.

2. *DT & Merc*, 22/7/26.

3. Reid was chairman of the CTA's advisory board in Hobart. He was closely associated with the *Imperial Hotel Company*. His London-American Tailoring Co. was housed in a shop adjacent to and owned by the company (see *TGG*, 1928 p. 1324). *Merc*, 26/10/27 announces Reid's appointment to the State Public Servants' Board of Reference. *Voice*, 26/4/30 has CTTO farewell function at *Imperial Hotel* for Reid - new job in Victoria. The Melbourne University Archives hold UCTA records but membership applications for 1930-33 do not mention Reid.

4. *Merc*, 6/8/26.

5. *Ibid.*, 28/9/26.

6. These were described as a 'ridiculously cheap' and effective method, see *ibid.*, 22/7/26.

7. *Ibid.*, 14/8/26.

8. *Ibid.*, 6/8/26.

9. *Ibid.*, 14/8/26.

10. Reprinted in *ibid.*, 9/9/26. This was not a slur on Naples. Apparently the slogan 'See Naples and Die' meant to convey that after seeing that city one could die happy. It was therefore complimentary for one visitor to Hobart to write in the TGTB visitors' book, 'Whoever was responsible for the slogan "See Naples and Die" had obviously never seen Hobart' (see *ibid.*, 21/5/27). Marie Bjelke-Petersen described Hobart as the 'Naples of the Southern Hemisphere' in *Jewelled Nights* (London: Hutchinson, 1923) p. 274.

COME TO TASMANIA

THE WONDERLAND
NOV. 6TH TO 30TH
1926



OFFICIAL
ILLUSTRATED SOUVENIR PROGRAMME
OF STATE WIDE MOVEMENT TO
ATTRACT TOURISTS

Hobart but covered the whole state,¹ urging readers to 'Do your bit for Tasmania' and 'get as many copies as you can' to send - away to friends and relatives.² London's *Syren and Shipping Illustrated* said the Tasmanians had raised American boost 'into what is literally a fine art.'³ Children's involvement was constantly stressed and an essay competition attracted great interest in mainland schools.⁴ News that the first ever 'Miss Australia', Beryl Mills, 'Australia's Most Beautiful Girl', would visit the carnival aroused interest in other quarters.⁵ Hotels and drapers clamoured for endorsement by this diplomat of New World modernism.⁶ JC Newton considered the CTTO and LLL 'the most influential and enthusiastic organisations known in the history of Tasmania.'⁷

When a Melbourne businessman said Come to Tasmania advertising occurred 'inside Tasmania more conspicuously than on the mainland, where it is needed' the TGR admitted efforts were hampered by finances but still pointed to a great deal of work being done.⁸ Yet the movement was always intended to follow O'Grady's advice and interest Tasmanians' in their own.⁹ The CTTO published 10,000 copies of a 182 page official souvenir by Leslie Norman. Its cover graced with a 'short shirted maiden', the 'Tasmanian Maid', it aimed at world-wide distribution.¹⁰ It virtually begged mainlanders to 'come on over', but reserved its strongest exhortations for 'Tasmanians Generally':

whether at home or abroad, we say 'BOOST TASMANIA; TALK ABOUT YOUR HOMELAND; WRITE ABOUT IT.' You have, as our Patron said, the 'Goods.' You want no favour in this movement from anyone. All that you want is the peculiar attractiveness of your HOMELAND to be known.¹¹

The programme named prime-movers and, by Norman's own proud admission, 'eulogised' Tasmania. Of over seventy pages of advertising, very little could be considered national. All kinds of businesses gave support, some of whom had little to do with mainland visitors.¹² The book was chief revenue earner for the central

1. *Merc*, 9/9/26. The *Examiner's* special was on 22/9/26.

2. *Ibid.*, 3/9/26.

3. *Ibid.*, 15/12/26. This was brought to the paper's attention by CTTO Hobart Treasurer HW Wilson. America's own lavish trade journal *The Printing Art* said similar about Australian methods, but also that Australian style was distinctive. See 'The Advertising Art of Foreign Countries: XIII—Australia' in No. 41 (1923) pp. 31-40.

4. *Merc*, 16/9/26 and 21/10/26.

5. *Ibid.*, 16/9/26 and 23/10/26. The original 'Miss Australia' competition was run by *Smith's Weekly*. It had no connection with the more recent charity event. Miss Australia was taken to America as an example of Australian maidenhood. See McKay, Claude *This is the Life* (Sydney; 1961). Miss Australia 1927 was Launceston's Phyllis von Alwyn (see *Merc*, 4/7/27).

6. *Ibid.*, 11-12/11/26.

7. *Ibid.*, 28/9/26.

8. *Ibid.*, 27/9/26. The businessman was WD Bauld, in Tasmania promoting Rapsons tyres. He said Hawaii could not compare with Tasmania as a tourist resort, yet by 'the "boost"' the former had acquired world fame. Advertising was the key. For a TGR reply see *ibid.*, 28/9/26.

9. See *ibid.*, 10/3/26: O'Grady address to Royal Society 'know Tasmania better', teach your children, use the empty trains. In *ibid.*, 5/10/26 Vincent Legge hails CTTO and points out that, as O'Grady says, many Tasmanians and many more mainlanders do not appreciate their island state.

10. *Ibid.*, 15/10/26.

11. Norman, Leslie *op. cit.*, p. 41.

12. Such as the Public Trustee and several local financial and agricultural concerns.

executive.¹ It cost £407 to print and Norman soon claimed it had paid for itself through advertising.²

By September's end the government grant was over-allotted. Cabinet refused to give any more, and several good offers had to be refused. In Hobart support flagged somewhat. Even politicians began politely refusing invitations to receptions.³ Constant publicity was needed to maintain interest. Rogers found it necessary to assert the Hobart committee was 'working for the community, not for itself.' It was 'endeavouring to boost the place, and ... the public would reap the benefit.'⁴ When JB Reid toured other districts, he found the movement live and enthusiastic. He was welcomed particularly on the West Coast, where citizens feared exclusion.⁵ The Mt Lyell Railways improved Western prospects with reduced excursion fares.⁶

Hobart confidence revived with news that shipping companies would discount passenger fares for November. State executive members had to go to Melbourne to achieve this. They announced that other states' railways would also reduce fares for passengers *en route* to Tasmania, 'in itself ... a great inducement'. Mainlanders who still remembered the strikes of 1924-25 drew attention to the need to assure them they would not be stranded. Bruce's assurance in late 1925 had 'greatly added to the number of people who visited' and Valentine asked acting premier Guy to secure such federal promises again this year.⁷ Guy preferred to deal direct with the unions. In late October they agreed to give Tasmania immunity from any disruptions during the festival, indeed for the entire season. With this guarantee, said Guy, Tasmania's tourist traffic could look forward to a return of past records.⁸ By agreeing to submerge the Navigation Act issue, businessmen forged a remarkable alliance with unionists in 1927.⁹ The unions maintained their guarantee for years. Shipping shortages would ever agitate the islanders, but thereafter they directed all acrimony with united voice at the companies and Commonwealth.¹⁰ When Lyons became Prime Minister his United Australia Party government abolished the unhappy coastal clauses.¹¹

1. *Merc.*, 22/7/26: Launceston conference of CTTO. Norman outlines method of financing the executive: i.e. by publishing booklet with advertising. He builds in salary and expenses for himself. He expects to raise £500 net for advertising and other expenses.

2. *Ibid.*, 21/10/26.

3. PD1/38/30/26. For expenditure details see *Merc.*, 14/8/26, 10/9/26,

4. *Merc.*, 7/10/26.

5. *Ibid.*, 15/9/26, 7/10/26.

6. *Ibid.*, 23/10/26.

7. See *ibid.*, 14/8/26, 1/9/26, 10/9/26, 24/9/26, 30/9/26 and 2/10/26, and PD1/38/30/26.

8. *Merc.*, 25/10/26.

9. See *ibid.*, 20-30/7/27.

10. In November 1927 after comments in mainland papers that maritime troubles were likely to affect Tasmania's tourist traffic Webb approached the unions, who promised that the commitment they had made in Spring 1926 still held good (see *Merc.*, 19/11/27). The conference with the unions cost £500 (MR, 9/11/27). See also *Merc.*, 30/11/27 1/12/27 and 8/12/27. *Voice*, 5/10/29 said the conference made the maritime unions 'firm friends of Tasmania' and there had been no strikes affecting her since. This did not suit some Hobart interests who preferred outright war against the Act. Parliament subsidised Hobart-Sydney service.

11. *Merc.*, 13/7/35 reviews effects of recent repeal.

Through October 1926 Tasmania buzzed with anticipation. Miscamble buoyed enthusiasm with cheap TGR tickets. He asked all Tasmanians, directly interested or not, to treat tourists hospitably so they would return. The TGR erected signs on Tamar banks: 'Good Morning—Welcome to the Wonderland' and 'Au Revoir—Come Again Soon'.¹ Melbourne composer Reginald Stoneham dedicated a 'publicity song', *The Mellow Mersey Moon*. 'Popularised' on Hobart's 7ZL by the 'CTA Merrymakers' and Harry Hallam's 'Palm Grove Band', sheet music and records found their way abroad. (A 'haunting melody' it was still popular in 1930 and Dwyer-Gray expected it to 'live forever' as 'one of the most important means of advertising which this State has ever had'.²) Hobart was urged to 'Clean Up! Paint Up!' for the expected influx.³ The HCC put extra money into electric lighting at North Hobart oval. Newsagents distributed Norman's souvenir without commission.⁴ Shops used carnival themes in their advertising. Brownell's proposed patrons buy a piano 'for the occasion'. Similar excitement and willingness prevailed in the North.⁵ The final state executive meeting on 21 October heard 25,000 handbills had been distributed on the mainland.⁶ North-West towns vied to offer the best attractions, the most valuable trophies for sporting events.⁷ They were offended by one CTTO poster showing Tasmania with its hat on. Their region was obscured. 'Mercurius' assuaged them with verse:

... in or out, from morn to night,
 They keep their courage firm;
 For in themselves their faith is strong,
 They never let it squinn.
 For who boosts not his own home-town
 Is called a soulless worm.

 It may be, too, that 'neath the hat
 Are had the best of brains,
 And our Miscamble thought of that,
 And hopes to fill his trains
 With folk who'd like to peep beneath,
 And stay at Harry Lane's [*Grand Hotel*, Devonport].

 Peace to you, then, North-Western men!
 The trick's not what ye thought,
 To whet our curiosity
 Is why this poster's wrought.
 And all who come to Tas. must come
 North-Westward as they ought.⁸

The state festival was planned for 6-30 November but the committees postponed farewell functions and continued providing events through December.⁹ Proceedings

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1. *Merc*, 1-2/10/26.
 2. *Voice*, 27/12/30.
 3. *Merc*, 19-20/10/26.
 4. *Voice*, 19/10/26.
 5. See *Ex & Advo* generally in late October.
 6. *Merc*, 21/10/26
 7. *Ibid.*, 29/10/26, 4/11/26.
 8. *Ibid.*, 6/11/26.
 9. *Ibid.*, 25/11/26, 30/11/26.

need not be described here. Suffice to say that, despite some bad weather,¹ they outshone in every way the 1922 'Back to' carnival.² In Hobart a 'Made in Tasmania' exhibition added to attractions. To O'Grady it showed the island's destiny as most important Australian state, the nation's 'pulsing heart.'³ All regions gained increased tourist and local spending and the advertising generated much mainland goodwill. Miss Australia drew media attention across the country. Melbourne newspapers pictured *Nairana* laden with tourists for Tasmania.

A Better Outlook for Tasmania

The rout of pessimism and increase in business confidence, largely thanks to the LLL and CTTO, stimulated tangible activity in economic sectors other than tourism. In early October increased building activity signified 'Depression Passing. Investors Regaining Confidence.' It was not a full-blown boom, yet, but definite activity had 'dispelled pessimism'.⁴ New buildings showed Hobart was not stagnating, a retort to any 'wailing Jeremiahs who would have us sit still and do nothing instead of using every effort to push ahead our city and our State.'⁵ In November Lyons offered a surplus budget and £140,000 in tax cuts. Tasmania had 'turned the corner both financially and economically. I am sure we have no reason to be doubtful about its future.'⁶ While the Commonwealth special grants held up, at least, the prognosis seems to have rung true, though no place escaped the Great Depression.⁷

Come to Tasmania activities stimulated the whole tourist season 1927-28. Traffic in October and November was unprecedented, and Norman described as 'phenomenal' the 13,100 arrivals between 15 December to 14 January. TGTB revenue also increased considerably, up 28%, though the return per tourist was trending downwards. Fully booked steamers persuaded the companies to put on extra runnings, but numerous complaints showed that, despite union guarantees, adequate shipping would long continue a central problem.⁸ The North-West did especially well and Leeson, who

1. *Ibid.*, 8/11/26: Editorial says 'Come To--Hobart!' If there is snow on Mount Wellington it is a novelty for mainlanders. CTTO and public anxious to please visitors so they will return. Plenty of entertainment. Hobart has very fine cinemas and theatres, so don't worry about the weather.

2. See the press generally through November and into December.

3. *Merc.*, 17/11/26.

4. *Merc.*, 6/10/26.

5. *Merc.*, 14/11/26. Works with tourist implications included entire remodelling of the *Brunswick Hotel* in Liverpool Street and a 'very modern' picture theatre, the *Prince of Wales* (see *Merc.*, 9/12/26).

6. *Merc.*, 17/11/26. See also *ibid.*, 24/11/26.

7. WH Cummins agreed with Lyons' outlook in a speech four months later to the Hobart Chamber. By that time Mt Lyell and EZ Co. operations had picked up considerably and investigations by the DMC also 'justified a more cheerful view'. Cummins urged Tasmania's leaders to continue to inculcate imagination, courage and optimism, especially among the young (see *ibid.*, 11/3/27). Blainey, *Peaks of Lyell* op. cit. pp. 260-4 shows Cummins' Mt Lyell predictions were confirmed. By the end of 1927 opposition members were attacking Lyons' surplus budgets as a mistake, claiming that they would induce the Commonwealth to reduce assistance in 1928. However the Commonwealth kept providing special grants, see May, RJ op. cit. (1971), p. 17ff.

8. *Merc.*, 23/11/26, 4/12/26, 6/12/26, 10/12/26. *Ex.*, 24/12/26. See also Leslie Norman and Claude James's evidence to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee investigating Tasmanian

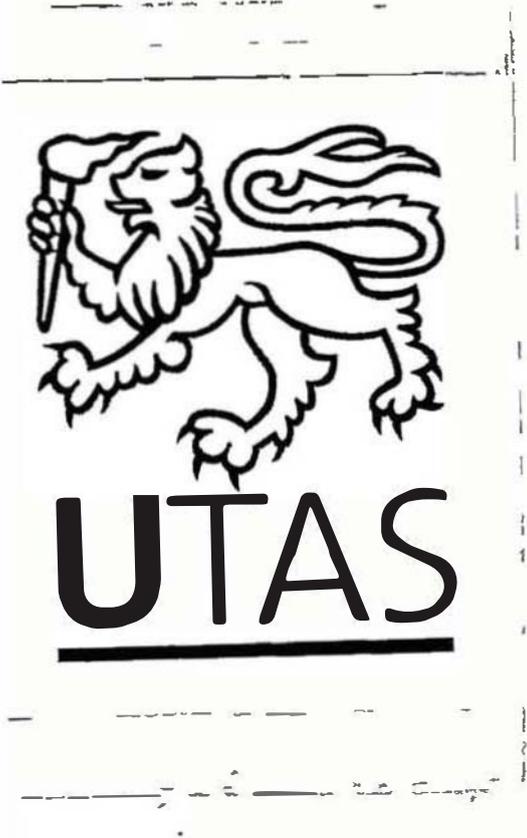
could take much of the credit, also thanked the TGR for sending more tourists his way. The increase showed what a 'tremendous boost' Tasmania had received on the mainland 'as a result of the campaign.'¹ There could now be no doubt that tourists were worthwhile, nor that more of them could be obtained through concerted advertising. The big question now was who would fund and direct that advertising.

Success whetted appetites. The CTTO saw itself as a permanent alternative to the STAB, Norman an alternative to Emmett. They began planning to that end, but their grand vision was fraught with obstacles. Tasmania's rosy fiscal outlook itself threatened grass roots organisers because government could now consider strengthening its own agency. A second, decisive, factor confronting the CTTO was the return of that age old parochialism it had striven so hard to diminish.

communications (*Merc*, 14/7/27, reiterated *ibid.*, 20/12/27). They accused the shipping companies of capitalising on the CTTO by cramming vessels rather than providing a more frequent, comfortable service.

1. *Merc*, 14/1/27.

Part Four
A Settled Policy



12 A NATIONAL INDUSTRY

The Come to Tasmania festival was a happy occasion. It brought together family and friends and benefits all round. Record arrivals at Tasmanian ports showed how extra advertising could bring extra tourists. It also demonstrated the importance of popular state-wide unity. The CTTO drew strength from such lessons and agreed to continue operations. But the idea of a private body performing the government's state-wide functions proved fleeting. Like many family reunions, enthusiasm waned. Parochial forces began to reassert themselves. So did the railways. Private motor competition retarded the TGR's enjoyment of the benefits of advertising. Hobart did not do as well as Launceston and the *Mercury* still bemoaned TGTD retrenchment. The unions had promised ongoing guarantees and the state Treasury was healthy. It therefore comes as little surprise that the years 1927-28 saw a trend back to central government control. This did not mean the end of local or regional boosting. The period is also notable for maturation in that area. Launceston, especially, went from strength to strength.¹

In mid December 1926 the CTTO committees around the state agreed to hold further functions the coming autumn.² Despite the success of the recent campaign, satisfaction with the present organisation was not universal. Country branches, disappointed at the support received from the central executive, reneged on commitments to contribute portions of their profits.³ Some events, though popular with locals, the *Mercury* considered unattractive to tourists.⁴ Dissatisfaction centred for some time in Hobart. At the Chamber of Commerce, Walter Cummins lauded the bringing together of 'Commerce and Community' but felt tourism was developing too slowly. One could read in his comments implied criticism of Norman's Barnumesque boosterism.⁵ The Chamber created its own tourist sub-committee. Charter chairman Harry Cummins signified many a confluence.⁶ The committee worked mainly behind the scenes.⁷ Others were more populist.

1. See reportage of the LLL's first AGM in *Ex*, 27/5/27. Compare with the Hobart equivalent in *Merc*, 11-12/28.

2. *Merc*, 14/12/27.

3. In *ibid.*, 14/1/27 Brighton council hears their CTTO gymkhana raised a £44 profit but decides not to contribute any to the central executive because 'they had received so little support from the promoters'. *Merc*, 30/11/27 says a Venetian Carnival at Devonport posted a £140 profit but the local CTTO committee refused to pay a proportion to the executive.

4. *Merc*, 17/12/26.

5. 'No one but a fatuous optimist would really believe that a sound tourist trade' could be built up while accommodation and shipping facilities still needed attention (see AGM in *Merc*, 15/12/26). In February the *Mercury* also warned against the devaluing effects of outright boosting (*Merc*, 9/2/27). Norman's language in his CTTO souvenir and other propaganda was rather Barnumesque. An English tourist commented on the topic. He recommended an 'intensive publicity campaign—not blatant "boost" or harmful distortion, but what I would call, for want of a better definition, refined publicity.' (See *Merc*, 16/2/27).

6. See Hobart Chamber of Commerce 1927 *Handbook*. Other members included company secretaries, motor and hotel interests, and members of the hardware and building industries: Ray Shield (public accountant and RACT), John Soundy (men's wear), HC Ikin (import-export broker and commission agent), HT Hey (Hobart Brick Co. and therefore partner of AG Kemp), JHV Scarr (hardware merchant), WG Spencer (Co-op Motors), ET Boddam (*Hadleys Hotel*) and HW Wilson (Parattah Hotel Co.). By 24/11/29 ET Boddam (*Hadleys*) was Chairman, and the others had been joined by Leslie Norman, JB Reid, E Dwyer-Gray (MHA and editor of the

Hobart CTTO branch had made a £30 profit, which the committee gave Norman as an honorarium.¹ But to many it seemed Launceston was thriving in comparison with the capital. The *Mercury* pointed to the northern city's 'characteristic energy and enterprise'. The Fifty Thousand League had successfully included Come to Tasmania activities in its already forceful local boosting and mainland advertising campaign. Its interest in industry and migrants seemed to be bearing fruit.² Hobart's CTTO leaders resolved to emulate the north. Rogers called for 'a "boosting" league', and with Valentine established a Hobart Development League (HDL). Notably present were a large number of Rotarians. Notably missing were Norman and his treasurer JB Reid. Rogers asserted they would remain state organisers, keeping the commercial-civic community in touch with the TGR.³

Reid suggested the CTTO seek branch and government assistance and appoint Norman as full-time organiser and publicity man. In the absence of Emmett as Director this proposal seemed logical and received Miscamble's support.⁴ However, by the time the CTTO was ready to approach government for the necessary funds two vital flaws emerged. In the first place the goodwill uttered by Rogers dissolved and regional bodies refused the CTTO any practical support.⁵ This alone removed the CTTO's chief argument, that it was a force for breaking down parochialism. Then it was revealed that the executive had over-extended itself and owed the Government Printer nearly £400. These two points inclined Minister Guy to withhold support. Norman's apparent belief that the government owed him something, and that financial aid would be ongoing, made Guy's decision easy.⁶

The refusal might have killed the CTTO but its debt was guaranteed by Hobart businessmen⁷ and it could not simply retire. The organisers were dedicated to their cause, for a mixture of personal and civic reasons. For all their optimism, Tasmania still suffered unemployment. As Norman's son, a working teenager in the late 1920s, recalls, 'everyone had to hustle back then.'⁸ The CTTO ran a couple of fundraisers and

Voice), Horace Walch (lawyer representing hotel interests), JJ Breen (TMS, and Yellow Cabs since July 1926, see *Merc*, 29/7/26), W Knight (Webster-Romerch) and Charles H Sims (Kodak). (See *ibid.*, 1930, AGM in *Merc*, 25/11/29.)

7. In July 1927 Cummins waits on TGR with suggestions for pamphlets, resorts, conferences and catering (see *Merc*, 19/7/27). The Chamber hosted Australasian colleague bodies at conference in late February 1928.
1. See *Merc*, 10/12/26 and 14/12/26 and 1/2/27.
2. *Merc*, 16/12/26. For a review of the LLL's first year see AGM at *Ex*. 27/5/27.
3. *Merc*, 16/12/26.
4. *Merc*, 14/1/27. The executive agreed to collect sixpence per capita from branch memberships, £250 from government 'for expenses', and pay Norman £500 p.a.
5. See *Merc*, 9/2/27.
6. The debt almost exactly equalled the £383 Norman claimed for his work on the souvenir (see *Merc*, 22/7/26), which he had already said had paid for itself through advertising (see *Merc*, 21/10/26). It seemed the committee had used remaining souvenir revenue to subsidise other advertising and events. Their balance sheet was obscure (see PD1/38/10/27, 28/2/27).
7. Ald. Lamprill revealed this in a failed attempt to get HCC financial assistance for the CTTO (see *Merc*, 9/8/27 and 23/8/27).
8. Interview with author, 26/12/91. For Tasmania's 1920s through a battler's eyes see, Lane, HA (Jim) "I had a quid to get"—*Adamsfield 1925 and other Tasmanian stories*. (Burnie: Lane; 1976).

then recessed while Norman helped Clyde Black and FW Heritage prepare submissions for yet another Commonwealth shipping enquiry.¹ Norman would attempt a comeback later in the year.

Advised by the LLL, the HDL got off to a hopeful start. It incorporated the Hobart CTTO and organisers were surprised at the turnout to a February meeting called to ratify objectives. Present among a host of Rotarians were a number of fresh faces, notable for youth and in some cases non-Nationalist affiliation. Opposition leader McPhee became vice-chairman. The seven objectives put to the meeting were 'all Hobart', designed to make the city more attractive to tourists, industry and settlers.² However an eighth was now mooted, to work for the advancement of the state. This worried the *Mercury*, which would like to see propaganda organised on the Swiss system with a representative state council but recognised that "each city for itself" [would have] to be the order.³ There was more comment on the use of 'empty boost' and the need for truth in advertising.³ As time passed the paper was also increasingly concerned with the HDL's apparent disregard for tourism and 'obsession' with attracting secondary industry.⁴ The paper suggested the slogan, 'A Better and Brighter Hobart for Tourists.'⁵ Instead the HDL chose 'Buy Tasmanian made and build Tasmanian trade'.⁶ It seemed that company promoters had usurped the usual leadership, and when they launched into a consumer loyalty campaign they alienated influential retailer support.⁷ Labor smiled for a time upon the organisation,⁸ but denied its requests for subsidies. Businessmen should support their own organisations. The CTTO, LLL and a newly-formed North-Western Tourist League (NWTL) received the same reply.⁹ The NWTL made establishment of a TGTB at Burnie its chief focus for agitation.

1. This was a Commonwealth Committee of Public Accounts enquiry (see 'Report Concerning Communications between Tasmania and the Mainland', CPP 1926-27/131). The committee was very sympathetic towards Tasmania. Members made public, pre-report statements to the effect that the island was getting rough treatment under Federation (see *Merc*, 9/7/27- 5/8/27).

2. To foster and develop among the residents of Hobart and its environs a keen civic spirit, with a due appreciation of the scenic beauty and many other advantages of the city.
To bring before intending visitors the undoubted suitability of Hobart as a manufacturing centre.
To promote the interests of Hobart especially in regard to tourist traffic.
To give wide publicity to the port of Hobart as the finest deep-water port in the Commonwealth.
To foster and support all existing organisations aiming at improvement and beautification of the city.
To encourage use of locally manufactured products and the support of local traders wherever possible.
To cooperate with all sporting bodies working in the interests of the city.

3. *Merc*, 8/2/27.

4. *Merc*, 28/3/27.

5. *Merc*, 15/6/27.

6. *Merc*, 15/9/27.

7. The HDL was unable to hold its first AGM until July 1928, at which much comment was made about past 'disasters' and public apathy. Louis Shoobridge was close to the truth when he asserted that Hobart was too blessed with natural and political advantages: this resulted in a proclivity to rest easy (see *Merc*, 11/7/28). See also *Merc*, 12/7/28 for a biting editorial contrasting the HDL and the energetic LLL.

8. AG Ogilvie addressed and praised the HDL at a public luncheon in May. He stressed its work in fostering 'patriotic purchasing and saw tourism as a worthwhile afterthought (see *Merc*, 15/6/27).

9. *Merc*, 15/7/27 and 3/11/27. The North-Western CTTO branch merged with the Burnie Tourist Association which then helped form the NWTL. Ed Leeson was central to all developments.

Throughout the retrenchment years the TGR had kept its core infrastructure for selling Tasmania interstate and distributing tourists around the island. By 1927 government had invested over £90,000 in that infrastructure. It is worth stressing that though Lyons let the tourist vote slip after 1923 he never seriously considered abolishing the bureaux. He strengthened Webb and Donnelly's status at Melbourne and Sydney, and refused Thomas Cook's offers. When the CTTO asked for funds it was natural to have Miscamble control the spending. Government tourist advertising had to serve national functions. No private organisation, however "representative", could be given control of large chunks of state money.¹ During its recent campaign the CTTO had formed links with Cook's in Melbourne, and Cook's were agents for motor companies. Now traffic was picking up, TGTB results, while satisfying, indicated loss of market share.²

Time was ripe to reassert the relationship between tourism to railway finances, and the importance of the infrastructure already in place. The DMC was in Tasmania investigating means of increasing its productive capacity. Herbert Gepp advised Lyons to get 'a man like' Harold Clapp to show them how to 'organise a regular flow of tourists to Tasmania from one end of the year to the other, as he did in Victoria.' The *Mercury* thought the whole industry needed 'a thorough overhaul by an expert'.³

For some time Ashbolt, Cummins and other establishment figures had been saying secondary industries held out little immediate hope for the state. Industry would not come while shipping remained inadequate or home markets weak, and both were best stimulated by tourism. As one of the architects of Tasmania's industrial dream, Gepp's concurrence with the argument was eloquent of the shift in focus. To Lyons, Gepp described tourism as an 'important phase of Tasmania's prosperity'. Miscamble, who was about to retire, told Gepp he had been 'handicapped' by lack of funds.⁴ The two felt 'increased tourist traffic was going to be the salvation of the Tasmanian Railways.'⁵ The Premier endorsed the DMC's efforts⁶ and Miscamble submitted a detailed report on 5 July. He was surprised at 'otherwise well informed people'

1. Later, in Opposition, Guy raised parliamentary cheers by asserting this maxim (see *MR*, 1/11/28).

2. See Appendix One. TGTB revenue increased 28% in 1926-27, from £58,057 to £74,370, a figure closely approaching the £76,666 received in the record year 1922-23. However, averaged arrivals in 1922-23 were only about 42,300, while in 1926-27 they were closer to 48,400. Ratios based on these figure show that the TGTBs handled £1810 per thousand arrivals in 1922-23 and only £1530 per thousand in 1926-27. Though the TGR did not publish such breakdowns, there can be little doubt that it recognised the trend.

3. *Merc.*, 15/6/27.

4. AA CP211/2/Bundle 55/Box 61/'Investigation - Tasmania - Tourist Traffic.' Notes from DMC and Tasmanian Government conference in Hobart, 3/6/27. *ibid.* Gepp - Lyons. 15/6/27.

5. In this, even Miscamble's view had changed. In his 1925 annual report he had said that tourism alone could not save the railways, that closer settlement and increased production were also necessary. For a sorry story see Beresford, Quentin. 'The World War One Soldier Settlement Scheme in Tasmania' *THRAPP*; September 1983; 30(3) pp. 90-100.

6. The DMC generated several in-house reports on Tasmanian tourist needs and made early, influential suggestions. It found the issue inextricable from general internal transport problems and decided to concentrate first on agriculture and resource industries. Its report on internal transport did not appear until 1929. Lyons' successors in government resisted Gepp's rationalisation plans. Detailed coverage can be found in AA CP211/2/Bundle 58/PT 2/ 'Investigation - Tasmania - Summaries - 1928-29.'; CP211/2/Box 64/Bundle 58 PT 1/ 'Investigations Tasmania Transport File No. 1.'; A458//M403/1; A786//A100/2; A786//G22/6; and A786//Y22/6.

discrediting the value of tourism, and 'the influence ... brought to bear to restrict the operations of the Government Bureaux.' To reduce Bureau control would be 'detrimental to the industry a national industry'. There was:

no money equal to tourist money, for the cash is well circulated, and the visitor takes nothing away with him in exchange for his outlay, the asset being not only unimpaired, but improved, by the increased business.

The TGR had to further educate Tasmanians as to the national benefits of tourist traffic. Miscamble was now willing to countenance extensive government resort development. To achieve these things required more money, strictly and centrally controlled. Tourists were best 'served by an organisation whose interests lie equally in all directions than by private enterprise'. With 'proper organisation and an adequate annual vote' tourism could be made 'the biggest asset that Tasmania possesses.'¹

Though reluctant to forsake manufacturing dreams, Lyons, now looking at a budget surplus even greater than expected,² agreed to follow the advice and almost double tourist spending. An extra £10,000 included £3000 for more TGTB advertising. This took the tourist vote back up to 1922-23 levels (£10,500). Caves and lakeside accommodations houses attracted a huge increase, up to £7000 from almost nothing.³ Not a penny was earmarked for regional or 'sectional bodies'. To appease regional interests the government appointed⁴ six business-civic leaders to work with the Commissioner on a new State Tourist Advisory Board. The revival might have been suggested by the DMC,⁵ itself in the throes of forming an Australian National Travel

1. AA CP211/2/Bundle 55/Box 61 *op. cit.* Gepp received the report on 7/7/27. It was seen as the skeleton for a more detailed report, but this was never submitted. Lyons and Guy also received copies (see PDI/38/20/27 & AB455/4 R19/7).

2. The full extent of which was reported in *Merc.*, 26/10/27 and *TPP* 1927/3.

3. Before the end of August a State Tourist Accommodation Houses Act was before Parliament. There was no resistance in the Assembly. Harry Lane (1873-1955), MHA and Devonport liquor merchant whose family ran Devonport's *Grand Hotel* and *Majestic Cinema*, urged his mate Lyons (*B RTP*) to be 'fair to the tourists' and give the houses liquor licenses (see *Merc.*, 31/8/27). After ensuring the Commissioner would get no extra pay for the extra responsibility, the Council passed the bill without amendments (see *Merc.*, 13/10/27). Improvements costing £1500 were approved for Miena and £4000 worth of work began on a new house at Breona, north end of Great Lake (See *Merc.*, 22/3/28 and *TPP* 1929/24.). £1500 of improvements to the caves at Mole Creek were well in hand by April (see *Merc.*, 21/4/28 and 26/6/28). With a new entrance and electric lighting they opened in time for the 1928-29 season and attracted great interest (*TPP* 1929/24). With Commonwealth Federal Roads funding, preparatory work now also began on the long-postponed West Coast Road.

4. Miscamble's successor, said in his 1927-28 annual report that the STAB was a government move. Archival records for with the formation of the board have not been found. A scanty record of meetings is available in AOT AB455.

5. If so the message was verbal. On 23/7/27 DMC investigator Walter J Rose reported to Gepp with comments on Miscamble's report. He noted that local progress associations had limited funds for advertising and 'Of course ... some impartial central body would have to carry out this activity.' (See CP211/2//Bundle 55/Box 61 *op. cit.*)

Association.¹ The Board was leaner than before but economically representative.² After two initial meetings in July five more took place in 1927-28. They could be quite intensive. The STAB had no real power but was forum for consultation, liaison and new ideas, and a useful voice, its resolutions adding weight to the TGR's own recommendations.³ Emmett was secretary. His star was on the rise.⁴ Before very long he had STAB "approval" for a great rush of TGTB literature, including winter sports, angling and other pamphlets shelved since 1923.⁵

STAB restoration worried but did not daunt Norman and Reid. Despite fund-raising attempts they were still heavily in debt, but Norman claimed it would be sheer folly to 'pull the horse while it is leaping'. Their slogan had already sunk into the subconscious of mainlanders, to be readily recognised when repeated.⁶ In August they launched a new CTTO campaign at a farewell function for Miscamble.⁷ Rogers presided and Valentine and several other disgruntled HDL councillors supported.⁸ For Reid the 'future of Tasmania lay with the Tasmanians, and that fact needed to be impressed on every citizen. ... Unity meant progress.' He gave Leslie Norman 'every credit' for past successes. The CTTO was now 'universally recognised', he claimed, it 'should continue permanently so that it could continue to do all the work possible in the interests of the State. Ongoing seamen's guarantees assured the coming season and a 10% increase on last year's tourist traffic was expected. Moreover Hobart anticipated an unprecedented series of interstate conferences in February-March. If nothing else, the CTTO hoped to persuade the companies to provide sufficient shipping.⁹ Like Emmett, they wanted to extend the traffic into autumn, possibly right through to May. The intention was to seek renewed state-wide cooperation. Norman and Reid began

1. ANTA was fostered by the DMC in conjunction with Clapp's Victorian Railways, British shippers, hotel and retail interests. Its success *hinged* on official leadership, imprimatur and funding, but the need for business input was also considered vital. Its first director was Charles H Holmes. His successor, Basil Atkinson, has penned a history of the institution in a biographical manuscript entitled 'Love Affairs' (copy supplied to author by Mrs Malvena Holmes, Mount Eliza, Victoria). ANTA published an article in *Year Book Australia* No. 52, outlining the history and growth of travel and the structure of tourist organisations in Australia. Note that unlike Mosley, *op. cit*, it saw tourism between the wars as an industry enjoying steady growth.

2. Mayor Linney Barber and *Brisbane Hotel's* Jim Quigley spoke for Launceston. Quigley had recently been outspoken about Launceston not getting its fair share of the Royal Visit arrangements (see *Ex*, 12/3/27 to 21/3/27). Both men could be seen to represent the LLL. For the North-West was Burnie Warden Samuel Bird, a coachbuilder and associate of Ed Leeson, in process of organising a North-West Tourist League. Bird and Quigley had served on the original STAB (see for example *DT*, 8/8/25). Scottsdale's Warden and bike-builder, William McCann (Ob. 1/10/49) spoke for the North-East. Hobart's Mayor Wignall appeared with the lawyer Horace Walch (1871-1930). Both were active in the HDL. Moreover the four civic officials remained CTTO state delegates.

3. The first meeting is reported in *DT*, 16/7/27, the next in *DT*, 30/7/27 and AB455 R19/9, 3/8/27. Five more meetings were held around the state in 1927-28 (see: *Merc*, 8/9/27, 12/10/27, 25/1/28, 21/4/28 and 16/7/28).

4. As Addison's deputy organiser for the April 1927 royal visit he had displayed his skills to the government that earlier sacked him. (see *Merc*, 24/11/26 and 10/8/27).

5. *Merc*, 8/9/27 has details.

6. *Merc*, 1/6/27.

7. *Merc*, 11/8/27.

8. Including the "born again" tourist booster, FW Heritage, Sir John Evans, and Richard Roberts Martin the Hobart CTA club secretary and therefore close associate of Reid. In June Rogers had lost the HDL presidency, with his Mayoralty, to JJ Wignall.

9. For their lobbying in this regard see *Merc*, 7/9/27, 22/9/27, 21/9/27 and 3/10/27.

'strengthening personnel', courting any body conceivably interested in their objects. The LLL, NWTL, CTA and other regional, business and sporting groups simply fell in.¹ The HDL and TGR were less accommodating.

The HDL by this time saw the CTTO as a rival to its own self-concept as progenitor of a State Development League. Its organising secretary, George Davis, described himself as a 'commercial organiser'.² He warned the HDL against the CTTO "stealing our thunder" in the general campaign of Tasmanian development.³ The League sent Davis and two others⁴ on a mission to wreck the CTTO at its state-wide inaugural meeting in early October.⁵ O'Grady opened proceedings and registered admiration for the 'persuasive' Norman. He liked 'the sense and go-aheadness of these propositions.' There was more to tourism than 'the mere money aspect.' Year by year the campaign would 'import sympathisers' and educate the bigger states about Tasmania's problems. It was important to greet their mainland 'brothers', to extend 'a warm, loyal welcome from this "little England"".

The HDL's antagonism was no secret. O'Grady's 'final word' was prophetic, 'don't let there be any sectionalism.' Regardless, Davis accused the CTTO of attempting to 'usurp' the STAB, and moved that the Organisation dissolve itself. It was a bold move and ended in disaster. HDL delegates had to suffer the ignominy of their own President, JJ Wignall, wearing the cap of Hobart Mayor and opposing them. The meeting heard Launceston's George Shields questioning the relative positions of the STAB and CTTO and exclaiming that the latter could "do the whole job." Others vacillated, but Ed Leeson spoke for Norman. The STAB was limited in scope. The CTTO's work was to 'put down sectional jealousy.' LLL delegates agreed, emphasising the stimulative effects vigilant civic bodies could have on government. Jack Dean said Lyons 'had promised aid to a body representative of the state.' Reid and Norman were careful not to hear anti-STAB sentiments. There was room for cooperation and only through quiet inoffensive achievement could they convince the government to forgive the debt to the Government Printer. Nevertheless they secured agreement to re-establish the CTTO as 'a centrally constituted authority ... charged

1. In September the LLL formally reappointed its delegates from the 1926-27 campaign: Aldermen AA Evans and George Shields and JS Dean (see Ex, 2/9/27 and *Merc.* 7/9/27). The North-East and West Coasts also readily agreed to take part (see *Merc.* 17/9/27 and 27/9/27).

2. See his MHA nomination for the state elections in 1928 (*Merc.* 3/5/28). Davis was sixth on the ticket and was only there to make up numbers. He lived at an inner city boarding house (*Wise*) and disappeared from directories by 1929.

3. *Merc.* 9/9/27.

4. An architect and town planning advocate. William Waldemar Koch (1874-1952), and Charles S Neil, Hobart Manager for Ford Motors. Koch was very active in all HDL dealings aimed at supporting flotation of Tasmanian Carpets Ltd, offshoot of a Sydney company attempting to play Hobart and Wagga Wagga off against each other. *Merc.* 18/5/27 reveals that he was directly interested as the company's consulting architect.

5. For which see all papers 5/10/27.

with the duty of advertising the state'. A new constitution included far-reaching planks calculated to dampen HDL pretensions.¹

That night a new CTTO state executive formed and reconfirmed Norman organising secretary. Reid now became chairman and Jack Dean his vice. Other directors were Ed Leeson, Frank Valentine and WJM Pierce, a Launceston shipping agent and CTA president.² Gone was the "ex officio" status of the Mayors. This had consequences anent pounds and patronage. The city councils were now pursuing their own active local improvement agendas.³ They appointed aldermen to the CTTO council, but refused financial aid.⁴ Though the Organisation was back on the rise, the HDL had done some damage. Reid and Norman had to resist calls for a CTTO request for government funding. They knew this would meet with embarrassing refusal, and preferred to make the necessary appeal to Lyons once they had proven themselves. Meanwhile they set substantial subscription rates and aimed recruitment at businessmen and civic institutions.⁵

Amid the hopeful hype of the October meeting the absence of government and TGR delegates was cause for grave concern. The *Examiner* urged caution. There was 'only one opinion' as to the need to attract tourists, but the STAB had already agreed to thousands of pounds worth of TGR advertising. This clearly indicated the government's preferred channel for publicity expenditure, and CTTO enthusiasm should be 'wisely directed lest it develop into chaos.'⁶ The *Daily Telegraph* worried at the possible restraint the trend back to centre might impose on Launceston's recent

1. Published a few days later (see *Merc*, 8/10/27), the objects were:

To attract tourists to Tasmania.

To arrest in every way possible the drift of population from our shores.

To attract settlers.

To improve the knowledge of and access to beauty spots.

From time to time ... arrange for a collective scheme of advertising in respect of tourists and settlers.

To do all that humanly can be done to secure adequate shipping.

To consider conferences whenever considered necessary to deal with urgent matters of shipping, unemployment, or the like.

To establish on the mainland, wherever possible, amongst ex-residents of the State 'Go to Tasmania' organisations ...

To take any action likely to improve hotel accommodation in the State, and generally assist the Health Department therein.

To take such action as will establish, if possible, an intimacy between the executive and the proposed 'Come to Australia' organisation, Messrs Thos. Cook and Sons and like organisations, the Railway Department and Tourist Department of the State, and the Tourist Advisory Board.

To do anything which ... will enhance the prosperity of the State.

2. WJ Pierce and Coy were shipping agents and machinery merchants (see *DT*, 5/10/27). Pierce sometimes represented the CTA, rather than the LLL, on the CTTO (see *DT*, 25/2/28).

3. The most remarkable move in 1927 was the LCC's £4500 purchase and removal from Hobart of JW Beattie's 'Port Arthur collection', and the consequent expansion of its Queen Victoria Museum. Though education was a factor in this decision, the attraction of tourists was the winning argument (see *Ex*, 14/5/28 and *Merc*, 31/7/28). In November the HCC approved over £400 worth of improvements to the Mountain Park. £200 was contributed by the Advertising Committee for the purposes of furthering the city's tourist traffic (*Merc*, 29/11/27). By April 1928 £1200 had been spent on works including the 'Rock Cabin' at the pinnacle of Mount Wellington 'Hobart's Greatest Asset' (*Merc*, 16/4/28).

4. *Merc*, 2/11/27 and 5/11/27. Hobart appointed Wignall, Rogers and Valentine, Launceston appointed Barber, Evans and Shields.

5. Half a crown for associates and half a guinea for institutional members

6. *Ex*, 5/10/27.



Felix Percival St. Hill

advances in tourism.¹ The whole issue was still highly questionable but with the aid of hindsight it is patent that the regulation cycle was on the turn.

When Miscamble retired on 16 August the Acting Commissioner was Charles Rollins. Equipped with increased funding and government commitment, the TGR took a decided turn away from “outsiders” attempting to do its work.² This was more than just the result of extra funding. Bureaucrats are not impersonal machines. Emmett and Rollins’s working relationship spanned 25 years and Rollins was on first-name terms with the Premier. Rollins made Emmett his acting Secretary and let him call himself ‘Head of the Tourist Department.’³ The two no doubt watched proceedings in Launceston with mixed feelings. Their refusal to attend was highly significant. The last time the TGR stood distant witness to such affairs was in 1913 when Wishart Smith refused to join TTA attempts to establish a state-wide cooperative advertising scheme. That resistance helped kill the scheme and went a long way towards the nationalisation and centralisation of tourist control. Several days after the CTTO meeting, Rogers stressed desire to work in with STAB and TGR as before.⁴ STAB members asked Rollins where he stood. He blithely said he would welcome any suggestions from any body that interested itself in selling Tasmania.⁵ There was not much commitment in his words.

The TGR was now running a quiet campaign. It refused CTTO requests for railway passes to facilitate their state-wide organisation. Ministers concurred in this⁶ and in November Guy praised Emmett and told parliament he would not extend funding to any of the booster bodies.⁷ He then appointed another of Emmett’s allies as Commissioner. Felix Percival St Hill (1874-1960)⁸ was very tourist-minded and a fluent advocate for the ‘efficiency of central control.’⁹ He made Emmett ‘Tourist and Publicity Officer’¹⁰ and Emmett later recalled how his wise administration saw the tourist business boom to the point where it needed a department of its own.¹¹ For the

1. *DT*, 6/10/27.

2. In his final annual report Miscamble bowed out gracefully, reviewed his three years, and thanked the CTTO for its help (*TPP* 1927/20). Although the CTTO were active in 1927-28 the new Commissioner St Hill avoided mentioning it in his first annual report (*TPP* 1928/27).

3. At a Public Works Committee enquiry into Hastings Caves proposals (see *Merc.* 15/9/27).

4. *Merc.* 8/12/27.

5. *Merc.* 12/10/27.

6. *Merc.* 9/11/27.

7. *MR*, 3/11/27

8. The son of a colonial soldier-cum-newspaper editor and MHA, he started working life in journalism but was attracted to the romance of engineering in a period of heavy construction. He joined the TGR in 1892, then spent three years gaining business experience in a New Zealand mercantile firm. After railways experience in Western Australia he returned to NZ where he practiced privately and gained a solid reputation in administration and industrial relations. From 1913-21 he was in charge of Tasmanian railway constructions and he became Chief Engineer in 1924. (See AOT AB455/1 R.2/1-7 and *Merc.* 10/11/27.) St Hill’s term officially began on 16/11/27.

9. See his evidence to the Federal Constitution Commission in *Merc.* 19/1/28.

10. See *Merc.* 19/11/27.

11. *Merc.* 14/11/60.

time being they aimed for return to pre-1923 conditions. Progress would be steady rather than spectacular.

There is no direct evidence that the CTTO was tied in any special way to Webster-Rometch, the bane of the TGTB. However if one considers their willingness to pay to get rid of Emmett at the 1923 Royal Commission, a substantial contribution to the CTTO is not out of the question. During the budget debates in November some members attacked all private competitors of the government bureaux as 'pirates'. Webster-Rometch's use of the words 'Tasmanian Tourist Bureau' was deprecated and there was pressure to prohibit such use.¹ This might explain an extraordinary outburst, albeit semi-private, by Colin Kennedy. To an associate of DMC investigators he panned politicians for lack of intelligence raising the TGTB vote. He claimed government funding actually hindered development of tourist traffic. The trade might be worth up to £500,000 p.a. to Tasmania, but it only lasted four months. Tourists were charged high prices and the costs of living stayed high all year, 'we poor deluded Tasmanians have to carry the baby'. The tourist was:

a nice boy to cater for from an economic point of view, certainly he has a certain amount of advertising value but a population of 215,000 want to look a little more a head of themselves not to exist on death duties gambling and tourists, and stop becoming the helots of this great Federation bound down by the workings of party Governments and by officers who have no direct bearing in connexion with competition in trade.

Other Webster-Rometch staffers made similar critiques.² Though there was truth in some of their comment, the TGR had its own persuasive counter-arguments, and the internecine bickering of motor operators meant few people were inclined to take any one party seriously.³ Kennedy's comments never became public anyway, but their defensive tenor did demonstrate the weight of the trend back to government control. Indeed it can be speculated that the forced resignation from Cabinet in October 1927 of Rometch's lawyer, Albert Ogilvie, freed Lyons and Guy from the 'push' element in Labor that had secured Emmett's demise in the first place.⁴

Still hopeful, the CTTO kept strengthening personnel and working up its plans for the autumn of 1928. TGR officers found themselves running a parallel campaign. They sought to interest Lyons personally in numerous schemes, even when paltry sums were concerned. In September Herbert Webb recommended to Lyons an offer by 3LO's Walter Conder to run a Tasmanian promotion. Three or four times daily the

1. *Merc.* 3/11/27.

2. AA CP211/2/Bundle 55/Box 61 *op. cit.*

3. A centre-page poster in the *Tasmanian Mail*, 1/12/27 depicted motor-men fistcuffing outside Hobart TGTB.

4. As described in Chapter Eight, Ogilvie had a long relationship with Webster-Rometch. In September 1927 his partner, Thomas Okines, was exposed misusing Public Trustee accounts. About this time Emmett began calling himself 'Head' of the TGR's tourist department. Ogilvie's involvement was being questioned and Lyons forced him to resign from Cabinet (see *Merc.*, 13/10/27). Ogilvie represented Webster-Rometch in a spurious attack on TGTB methods in December 1927. Minister Guy replied in official terms upholding Bureau methods (see AB455 R19/8, 23/12/27 and 11/1/28).

station would broadcast a jingle.¹ Listeners were to be invited to enter a competition for two prizes of TGR Colour Line tours. These were valued at about £28 each, but the TGR got hotels and tour operators to contribute their services free. Lyons, Addison and Rollins all agreed the scheme was 'excellent.' The competition attracted over 23,200 entries and obtained a useful mailing list.²

Facing elections in 1928, Lyons was especially open to suggestions that might tap state publicity for political purposes. He negotiated a contract with *Stead's Review*. For six month articles gloried Tasmania and Labor. Far more expensive than the 3LO scheme, the total cost of £900 came out of the Premier's miscellaneous vote rather than the Tourist.³ Lyons also accepted proposals, as Brigden had predicted, for a touristy film which promised to portray Tasmanian conditions, and thus the government, in beneficial light. On this occasion £500 was provided through the STAB.⁴ Emmett assisted in both projects. While he balked at funding businessmen's boosting collectives, Lyons found the tourist bureau increasingly useful.

Dwyer-Gray penned the *Stead's* articles for Lyons. Having returned from his mainland exile, he was now editing the *Voice* and aspiring to a career as Labor MHA. Gray was Labor's most outspoken tourist advocate. He had led the attack against the TTA back in 1913. His presence was missed (albeit perhaps only by us) at the Navigation Act Royal Commission debacle when the *World* split the Tasmanian case. Gray had involved himself in the HDL, but he also lived next door to Norman, who made a point of walking to work with him each morning.⁵ When the HDL lost impetus Gray became the CTTO's chief political advocate. St Hill refused to bulk-buy £10 worth of the *Voice's* special CTTO issue. Gray had the decision reversed.⁶

In January when Norman asked St Hill to appoint STAB delegates to the CTTO, St Hill retorted that 'the tourist business was in the hands' of the TGR and STAB. However he did ask government to appoint a CTTO member to the STAB. Board members agreed,⁷ but Guy refused. Only after Dwyer-Gray started publicly disparaging⁸ the government he hoped to join, did Guy relent.⁹ Gray did more. With

1. Five octets of doggerel began: 'A Christmas trip to Tassy As the gift of 3LO; A Christmas trip to Tassy Where the bonzer apples grow; The Apple Isle at Christmas Is a rendezvous supreme,- As fair as ever figured In a seasoned tripper's dream.'

2. PD1/38/31/27, 17/9/27. See also *Merc*, 27/9/27, 28/11/27 and 12/12/27.

3. PD1/38/29/27.

4. The film was Brandon Cremer's *Tasmania at Work and Play*. Filmed by Bert Cross, it starred Miss Mollie Grey as 'Mollie from Melbourne.' It did not come out in time to affect the 1928 elections. Auditor General annual reports 1928-29 and 1929-30 say the amounts paid to Cremer totalled £725.

5. The two lived in what is now Sandy Bay Road. Don Norman recalls their close, 'almost conspiratorial' relationship.

6. PD1/38/7/28, 22/3/28.

7. LCCC Box 12B Folder 36/2, STAB minutes, 24/1/28.

8. *Merc*, 28/2/27.

9. This was the limit, said Guy, further 'sectional representation' would make the 'central body too unwieldy and costly' (see AB455/1 R19/9, 1/3/28). The question of cost was real. The next meeting of the STAB was held over three days at 14-16/2/27 Mole Creek, and travel and accommodation expenses were met from the tourist vote.

Valentine he convinced HDL remnants to fall in with the CTTO.¹ Although the relationship remained uneasy it helped attract the long awaited government debt redemption.²

So did the CTTO's continuing vigour. With business support it generated a frugal but extensive propaganda campaign for autumn 1928. Through Gray, *Stead's* and numerous other journals gave Norman space to extol the island's climate in March, 'the king of Tasmanian months', and 'make April also a bumper one for tourists.'³ The CTTO printed 10,000 envelopes, 20,000 letter fillers and 50,000 'poster stamps' with new 'Beautiful Autumn' illustrations. It distributed 48 radio lectures and 'hundreds of paragraphs' of copy in mainland papers, and ran essay and 'souvenir song' competitions. In another *Stead's* article Dwyer-Gray detailed the arrangements to 'indicate how we "do things" in Tasmania by voluntary effort.' The program consisted mainly of usual annual sporting events and had heaviest concentration in Hobart,⁴ but was sufficiently 'state-wide' to pass as 'national'. Emmett welcomed all the activity and took advantage of everything going. He had long sought strong local booster bodies, but the CTTO had become a considerable rival.

In March the carnival began. An Empire Trades Defence League 'Made in Tasmania' exhibition took CTTO 'imprimatur', and many commercial entertainers inscribed their ads 'Come to Tasmania.' With conferences in Hobart attracting flocks of Rotarians, Australian Chamber of Commerce and ANZAAS delegates, the late season was very festive in 1928.⁵ Hobart had probably never seen a busier autumn for tourist activity. TGTB revenues for the year neared the record level of 1922-23, but again there was strong evidence that motor competition limited the return the TGR got for its advertising.⁶ From about mid March Emmett and Norman openly competed for credit. In a long statement on the revival of Tasmanian tourism, Emmett spoke of the extended season and claimed the figures proved his arguments for government publicity. He failed entirely to mention, let alone thank, the CTTO.⁷ Norman conceded that STAB

1. *DT*, 25/2/28 and *Merc*, 28/2/28.

2. The actual timing of the decision to forgive the debt to the Government Printer has not been detected. Auditor-General's Annual Report for 1927-28 (*TPP* 1928/31 p. 126) says £379:11 was provided through the Premier's 'miscellaneous general' vote. It was ratified without demur by Parliament in November 1928 (see Supplementary Estimates Bill 1928/68, in *V&P*).

3. *Stead's*, 1/2/28. See also *Merc*, 18/1/28.

4. *Stead's*, 1/3/28. See also *Merc*, 28/2/28.

5. See for example *Merc*, 3/3/28: visitors could 'Dance and be Cool at "The Bucks"', swing around the floor at the Annual Regatta Dance, The Trocadero or try the new Ritz Winter Garden late-night dance club. At the Strand there was Hobart's First Midnight Cabaret with movies, *A Night in Montmartre* and *Underworld*, and dancing. The Hobart Repertory performed *Pygmalion* especially for Rotarians. At the Theatre Royal, Nellie Bramley played Edgar Fraulin's *Anne 100 Per Cent*, and Fred Thomson rendered the *Tough Guy* 'with his Equine Wonder "Silver King"'

6. Revenues were £75,608, as compared with £76,666 in 1922-23. But for an extra £3000 in advertising they had increased only £1239 over 1926-27. See Appendix One.

7. *Merc*, 22/3/28.

propaganda was somewhat coordinated but insisted a broader organisation was needed.¹

Soon Tasmania was in full election mode. Lyons announced his platform on 26 April. On tourism his choice of words was significant. Labor was 'beginning to realise the full value to the state of the tourist trade.' He referred to increased advertising and resorts spending in the current year, and gave the TGR all the credit for expanding business. He promised to do 'everything' to improve tourist infrastructure, and to carry out 'adequate' advertising on the mainland.² He made no mention of local or state booster bodies. Labor's attitude to tourist administration had firmed. Nothing could convert George Becker, but 'Honest Jim' Ogden, his quondam fellow anti-tourist, was now a devotee. He told Walter Lee, 'At one time I did not think that tourist traffic was worthy of government expenditure, but I have altered my opinion.'³

Opposition leader McPhee had been pushing tourism for years.⁴ In November 1927 he had brought parliamentary attention to tourist 'grumbling and dissatisfactions' over baggage handling on Bass Strait steamers. It was up to government to maintain 'good will', to do 'everything possible ... in the interests of tourists.' McPhee taunted government, saying 'Tasmania claims to be the tourist State' and asking how it intended to rectify the sins of the shipping companies. For the first time this turn of phrase, now integral to the Tasmanian idiom, attracted no dissension in the House.⁵

In his platform speech, McPhee promised Nationalists would 'create a strong public feeling against' the Navigation Act. His party would give 'special attention' to tourist business, 'much more' could be done. McPhee wanted all interests commercial and civic to form a 'State Tourist Council'. This would be 'linked up with the Government' and good publicity officers appointed. Thus could better services and greater publicity be provided 'without much expense'. McPhee was adamant that 'the greatest possible use should be made of the strong patriotic community efforts' of the LLL, HDL and 'similar local bodies'.⁶ His vision seemed compatible with the CTTO schema, and was sufficiently vague to satisfy most tourist interests. Tourist issues were not yet sufficient to swing a Tasmanian election, but it remains significant that the Nationalists recovered power at this time.

Tourist and business interests welcomed McPhee's accession as Premier on 15 June 1928. It was not necessarily that he had more time for tourism. Lyons had shown that if finances were available he was willing to direct more to the industry. But McPhee

1. *Merc.* 27/3/28.

2. *Merc.* 27/4/28.

3. *Merc.* 28/7/28.

4. At least since 1919 when he first gained his Denison seat (see *Merc.* 30/5/19).

5. *MR.* 16/11/27.

6. *Merc.* 3/5/28.

was a businessman himself, and had until recently been vice-president of the HDL. He could be expected to make decisions in his first 'hundred days'. Not surprisingly, his first few weeks in power saw delegations putting cases for special consideration, undermining those of others.¹ McPhee soon saw that if he subsidised one body he would have to extend the benefits to all.

Most attacked was the CTTO. Jack Dean made a strong personal appeal, addressed to 'Dear Mac', suggesting that his LLL and similar associations be represented on the STAB 'and so avoid the necessity for any other State Executive such as the Come to Tasmania Movement.' Dean denied Reid's claim that the CTTO 'embraced' the local leagues. They were merely affiliated, not under Reid and Norman's control, and the CTTO's continued requests threatened their own claims to financial aid. The CTTO had 'outlived its usefulness'. McPhee replied in most appreciative tone. He asked St Hill to convene a conference at Launceston, where the whole matter would be thrashed out.²

As the conference approached, the CTTO sought to bolster its position. Reid toured the West Coast, still the lost province where any attention was welcome, and formed a 'strong local committee' at Queenstown.³ It did not help. Far more effective was a 'flattering reception' tendered McPhee at an LLL luncheon before the afternoon conference began. The Premier referred to all the requests he had been receiving and said Cabinet would soon discuss the matter of funding, but, really, 'it was up to the businessmen of the city to get behind' their organisations and 'see that they were not worried by finance.' He restated his commitment to tourism as one of the state's 'biggest' assets, and said creating tourist demand could induce shipping companies to provide better services. Cornelius Evans, advertising manager at the *Examiner* and an LLL executive, outlined the League's financial difficulties and said they must have at least £500 p.a. 'to pay a secretary, etc.' It was odious to have to keep 'going cap in hand' to obtain funds. A call for contributions then and there produced 'excellent' results and within minutes £120 had been promised. The press noted the presence of several prominent Rotarians. McPhee was most impressed by this show of self-assertion.⁴

When the conference opened it was obvious he and St Hill had already decided the outcome. McPhee opened, saying the meeting would largely determine 'how far the government would come into the matter' of tourism. St Hill said they wanted to get as many views as possible, but there had been far too much overlapping of work. Since the Directorate had been abolished 'there had not been proper working'. There should be 'one body solely responsible for finance' and 'a permanent head for the Tourist

1. See PD1/38/-/28 *passim*. In *Merc*, 28/7/28: CTTO delegation asks for £500.

2. PD1/38/12/28, 31/7/28.

3. *Merc*, 15/8/26.

4. *Merc & Ex*, 17/8/28.

Department was essential.' Ed Leeson supported St Hill. The lack of a Director and reduced funding for mainland branches had seen marked failure to maintain growth. Tasmania needed to spend at least £15,000 p.a. on the business. He commended the STAB and moved for appointment of a permanent head. Supported mainly by northern delegates the motion passed without dissent. Reid agreed that a Director would help bring unity of purpose to the industry, but he denied there had been any overlaps and defended the CTTO as being affiliated with 'nearly every public and semi-public body in Tasmania.' He argued with Leeson, who said the CTTO was not as interested in tourism as the Bureau. Leslie Norman also defended his organisation, denying any overlapping or dissension, and asserting that the CTTO had always worked well with the TGR. It 'had broken down parochialism.'

At this point McPhee intervened and politely laid the CTTO's claims aside. The meeting then formally recommended continuance of the STAB to advise the permanent head. 'There should be Government control of the whole business' but the Advisory Board could do useful work, said Leeson and Dean. Launceston's Mayor Barber then moved that Emmett be appointed Director of the TGTD, and the meeting concurred unanimously.¹ Within days Emmett was back in office, his salary increased from £540 to £675.²

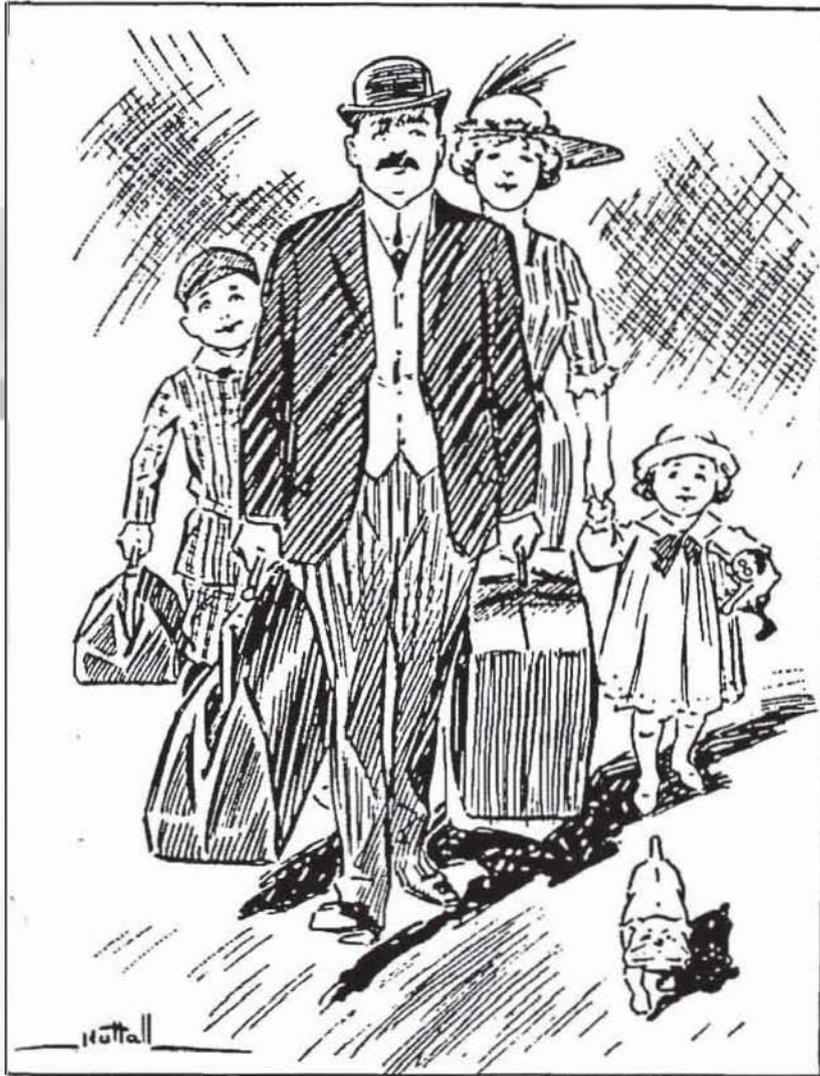
By the start of the season RS Jowett was back in harness too, reinstated in a new Brisbane TGTB. In October McPhee gave the TGTD its highest vote ever, £12,500, and again refused to sponsor any of the commercial-civic organs. Though MPs, especially Dwyer-Gray, cried aloud for the boosters, no-one was prepared to obstruct the vote for their sake. Railways Minister Claude James claimed CTTO funding would set a 'dangerous precedent.' If the Organisation wanted funds it would have to ask the STAB, and that body was unlikely to accede. The debate was lengthy and gave more evidence of overwhelming acceptance of tourist principles. Notable was continued commitment to resort infrastructure spending, and now at last Burnie received its long-sought TGTB. Apart from Becker, the sole anti-tourist MP, the only effective criticism came from John Ockerby, stung by his own failure to get an allocation for the LLL. Ockerby revived discussion of the problems attending the TGTD's status as a railway adjunct. He did not want the Department abolished. Rather he sought separation from the TGR. For him tourism was now 'Tasmania's chief primary industry, and should be given the best attention possible.' Becker's denial that tourism was 'an industry', could only be seen as reaction to the power of the new rhetoric.³ The trimming, paring Legislative Council passed the increased vote without demur.⁴

1. All papers, 17/8/28.

2. AB455/4 R19/20, 30/8/28.

3. MR, 24/10/28 and 1/11/28.

4. MR, 14/11/28.



"It means another trip next year."

To seal the question of how far the state should go in tourism, parliament now also paid Huddart-Parker £2000 to keep *Zealandia* on the unprofitable Sydney-Hobart run for three months from mid-January 1929. Shipping issues had continued to preoccupy Tasmania, especially Hobart. Businessmen's willingness to treat with unionists in July 1927 signified an understanding that shipping was so vital they should sink even the most basic of differences. The conference effectively put all onus on the Commonwealth. So did the report of a Constitutional Commission which heard coherent, unified evidence in Tasmania early in 1928. Yet the Commonwealth refused to subsidise the Hobart route, claiming the Bass Strait mail contracts fulfilled their obligations. In November 1928 when the Legislative Council objected to paying the subsidy, the *Mercury* employed the device of inserting an Emmett statement on the urgency of the matter into its 'Hansard' offprints of parliamentary debates. Councillors panned the Commonwealth and the 'parasitic' shipping companies, condemned the principle of the proposal, but 'felt that in the circumstances they were compelled to support it.' That the representatives of regionalism would countenance funding for Hobart shipping was a momentous act of faith in tourism.¹

Tasmania's leaders did not wake up one morning in 1928 full of the new faith. It had been a gradual process. The year is important nonetheless. 1914 was a watershed year for tourism, establishing its national character. However the policy of government controlled and centralised tourist administration and active involvement in the boosting of the state had to be tested. The retrenchment years did that, and 1928 was the result. Despite Emmett's removal as Director, all attempts to usurp the Tourist Bureau core functions failed. The regional bodies that emerged in the retrenchment period had mixed futures, but again the principle was set that they were necessary if districts wanted to influence their own share of the market. Emmett had lucidly expressed the schema as early as 1914. Businessmen worked hard to fill the vacuum, but they could not resolve parochial pressures. When tourism revived, so did the TGTD. Although the tourist industry has had its ups and downs since, never has there been a successful attempt to undermine the principle that the government should actively, centrally and systematically direct its fortunes.

¹. For this issue see *Merc*, 24/2/28, 28-29/3/28, and 13/7/28; *MR*, 6-7/12/28, 12/12/28 and 14/12/28.

CONCLUSION—WHO WERE THE BOOSTERS?

This thesis has seen a parade of over 200 characters. Perhaps they have imposed a welter on the narrative. However the objective has been to link boosterism with tourism and to do so we had to cover a broad spectrum of players. We are now in a position to consider some generalisations about booster personnel, aims, methods and success.

Of the 220 people named in our index we have life dates for 199. Of them at least 120 were born in the 1860s and 1870s, clustering about 1872. These were the children of 'moral enlightenment' the great motivator of mid-nineteenth century anti-convict and pro-self-government activism. Their upbringing was steeped in civic consciousness, the legend that civic responsibility and united agitation would deliver objectives. Civic duty led them to take part in public affairs, enter into government, shape and mould a liberal, bourgeois society. Undeniably, other motives were personal prestige and material rewards, and there is ample evidence of self-interest. But the civic ethic was strong and there were many successful businessmen who took no part in public affairs. Those who did, people who were middle-aged in the 1920s, must be given some credit for altruism.

Sixty seven names denote state parliamentarians. All were male and only a few took seats in Federal parliaments. All, including the twenty who at some time bore Labor tags, and a similar number who had rural backgrounds, can be described as bourgeois in outlook. Virtually all were in business of some kind, self-employed and involved in several undertakings. There was a close intertwining of interests. Numerous members had interests that could be seen as conflicting with their roles as public protectors. John Evans was manager of one of the shipping companies that were often accused of holding the state to ransom. He died a wealthy man. So did Albert Ogilvie, who saw to the interests of his private clients in the motoring and hotel trades at the expense of the Public Trustee and the Government Railways. Tom Murdoch, Charles Grant and Charles Davies together had the Hobart markets for food, alcohol and news pretty well fixed. There was surprisingly little public comment on such matters. This stemmed from an overwhelming acceptance, among those who had public voice, that the best interests of such people were the best interests of all. Fractal repetition existed at local government level.

Our boosters include thirty people directly involved in producing and presenting "the news". Numerous others enjoyed regular acceptance of their contributions to newspapers. Journalists, proprietors, printers, all understood their privileged positions and dependence on good relations with their clients, the advertising classes. All of these, even FW Heritage in the end, saw the ubiquity of benefits that could be derived

from tourists. They spent a great deal of energy persuading their fellow Tasmanians of the importance of welcoming tourists and ensuring their return. They also worked hard to diminish conflict wherever this threatened to wreck the state's claims for preferential or "just" treatment under the Federation. The vital importance of reputation was ever asserted. It was an asset in itself, fragile but valuable beyond measure for an island short on material resources.

Similarly the importance of optimism. At least twenty of our boosters were involved in insurance, a business which trades on pessimism but depends on hope. Allied professions were real estate and stockbroking. Comprehension of the economic force of group confidence informed the campaigns of the mid-1920s. Pessimism was pushed forward as a motivator, then followed at the crucial moment by a burst of optimism. Bad cop, good cop. Manipulations of public feeling were probably intuitive, but the rising disciplines of psychology and sociology added impetus. Advertising and publicity specialists have also featured in our story. Courtney-Pratt and Wilson Bailey demonstrated fine appreciation of the art of motivation. We have not mentioned graphic artists of the period but a glance at any 1920s Tasmanian newspaper will demonstrate the expertise available. Through University and WEA extension courses modern business practices were expounded by both practitioners and academics. The boosters of Tasmania were well equipped. They found their public especially responsive to patriotic appeals and often raised foreign bogies with fruitful outcome. This operated at every level, region against region, State against Commonwealth. Ever moderating extreme expressions, Rotarians ANA and CTA members focused feeling into effective lines of activity.

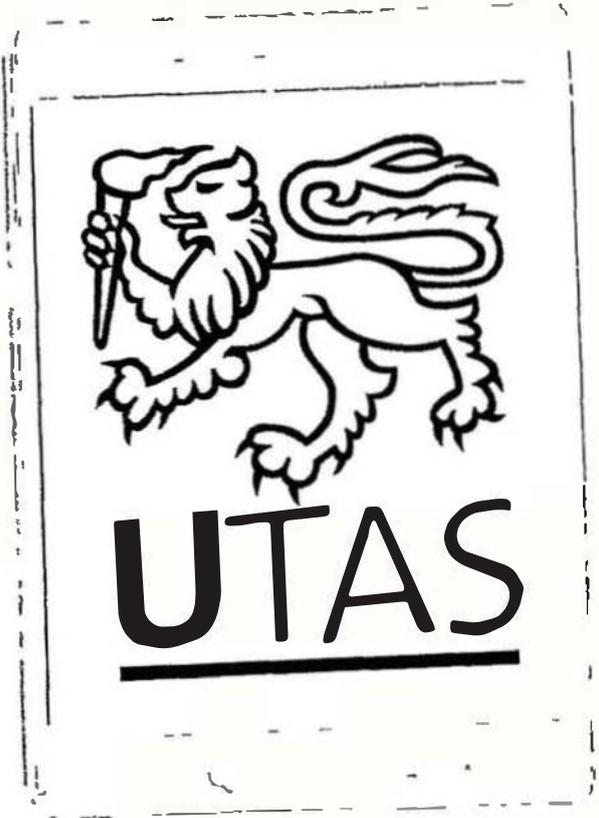
Perhaps insufficient stress has been laid on the sporting background of the boosters. In fact it is difficult to find personnel who did not at least claim sporting club connections. The sports club is the very seat of grass roots competitive and associative urges. One coach urges his team to combine against another. Loyalty is bolstered by club social functions, at which presidents speak rousingly and secretaries circulate collecting subscriptions. Our period is marked for the rising importance of the professional 'organising secretary'. They were more often than not accountants. Harry Cummins is a prime example. Through the Hobart Chamber of Commerce, the University, commercial schools, Freemasonry, Rotary, several directorships, government commissions, and the automobile club, he epitomised the commercial-civic elite. It was hardly surprising that he should chair the Chamber's tourist committee when it first convened in 1926.

Absences are enlightening. Only twelve women have been mentioned. This reflects the sources somewhat, but also to a degree the focus of research. The whole story could well be rewritten through attention to women's newspaper columns and associations. Women were boosters when they urged better entertainments and

comforts for tourists. In sympathy with the booster ethos, they saw tourists as a way to bring better facilities for their own enjoyment and urged governments to provide. As a rule, however, they left state tourist boosting and Federal issues to their men, who, after all, held whatever direct political power offered. Another absence is Trades Hall. Rarely have we seen labour opinion entering booster debates. When it did it was often to assert that sewerage was more vital to a city than luxury hotels or community advertising. ED Pinkard was one who uttered such thoughts. However it is enlightening that, having done so, he proceeded to organise his suburb for beautification works. He saw, as did Jim Ogden with federal shipping, that one thing led to another. That the mainstream commercial-civic boosters realised the need to teach such lessons has been amply demonstrated.

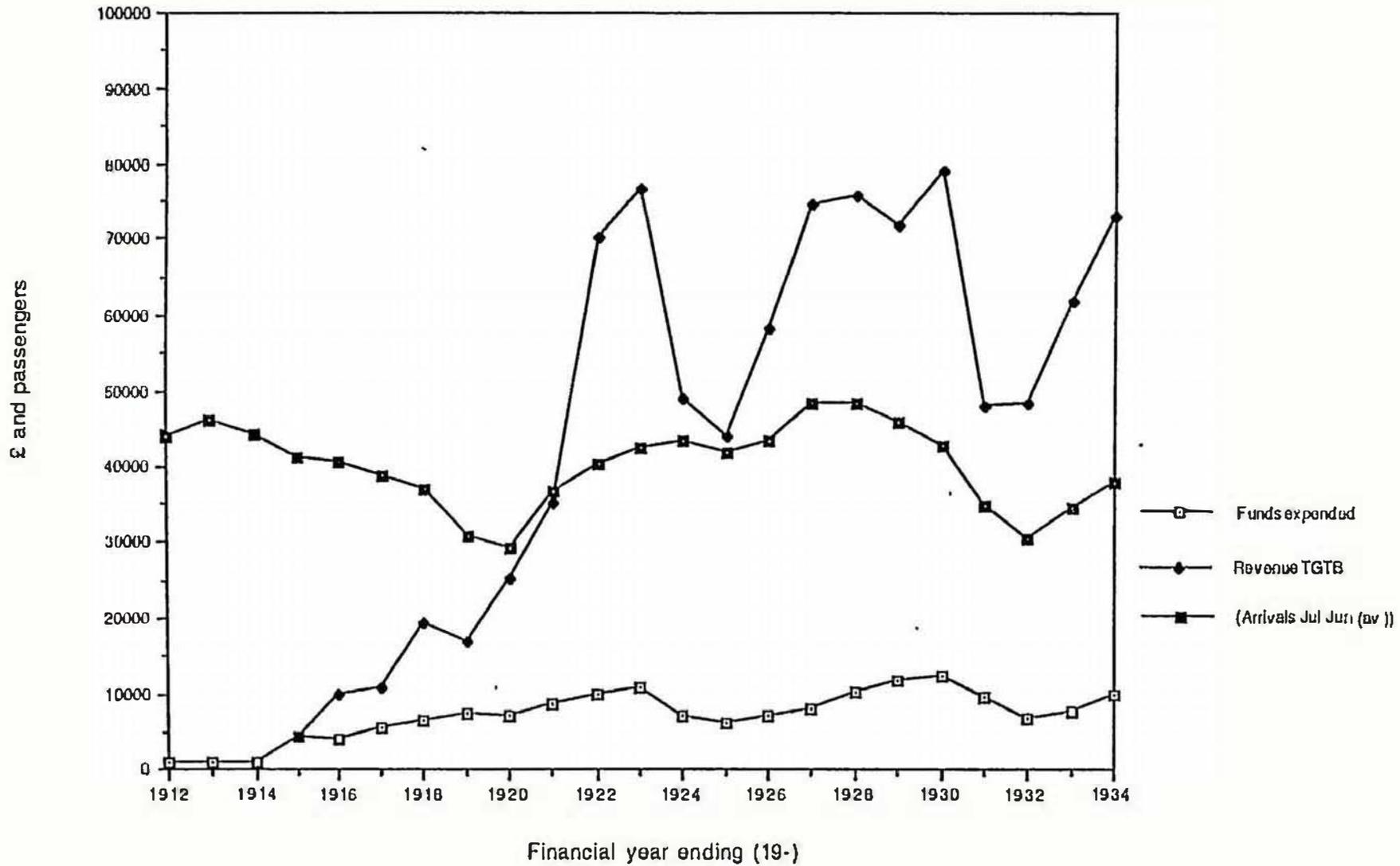
Much can be learnt by studying boosterism, a persistent strange attractor in public policy-making. It remains ever relevant and has great capacity to explain broader developments. If the academic took the booster more seriously we would have a more lucid understanding of forces in our history. In much history writing things just seem to happen. Analysis of political and economic decisions tends often to ignore the role of the lobbyist in initiating discussion and the propagandist/PR professional in attaining goals. There are numerous obvious reasons why the machinery of power is rarely revealed. These include the secret nature of events and the resultant paucity of historical artefacts. The privilege of power is attended by an obligation not to reveal the secrets of its sources and methods. This does not mean answers cannot be found for questions well asked — it just makes it more difficult. There should be no need to excuse attention to leaders. “Great persons” do exist and so do many lesser but effective ones. They are not always in politics, not necessarily in business, but they all somehow have the ability to see trends and turn them to advantage, to tap “public opinion”, preferably for the public good. In this regard in Tasmanian history ET Emmett ranks high. Whether tourism is good for Tasmania is a subject for debate, but it is generally held to be a boon. What began as a movement became an industry, a group responsibility to be expressed by government policy and action. This opinion is the legacy of 1920s boosterism.

Appendices



TGTB Finances In Relation to Passenger Arrivals, 1914-1940

Source: TGR Annual Reports and Commonwealth Year Books



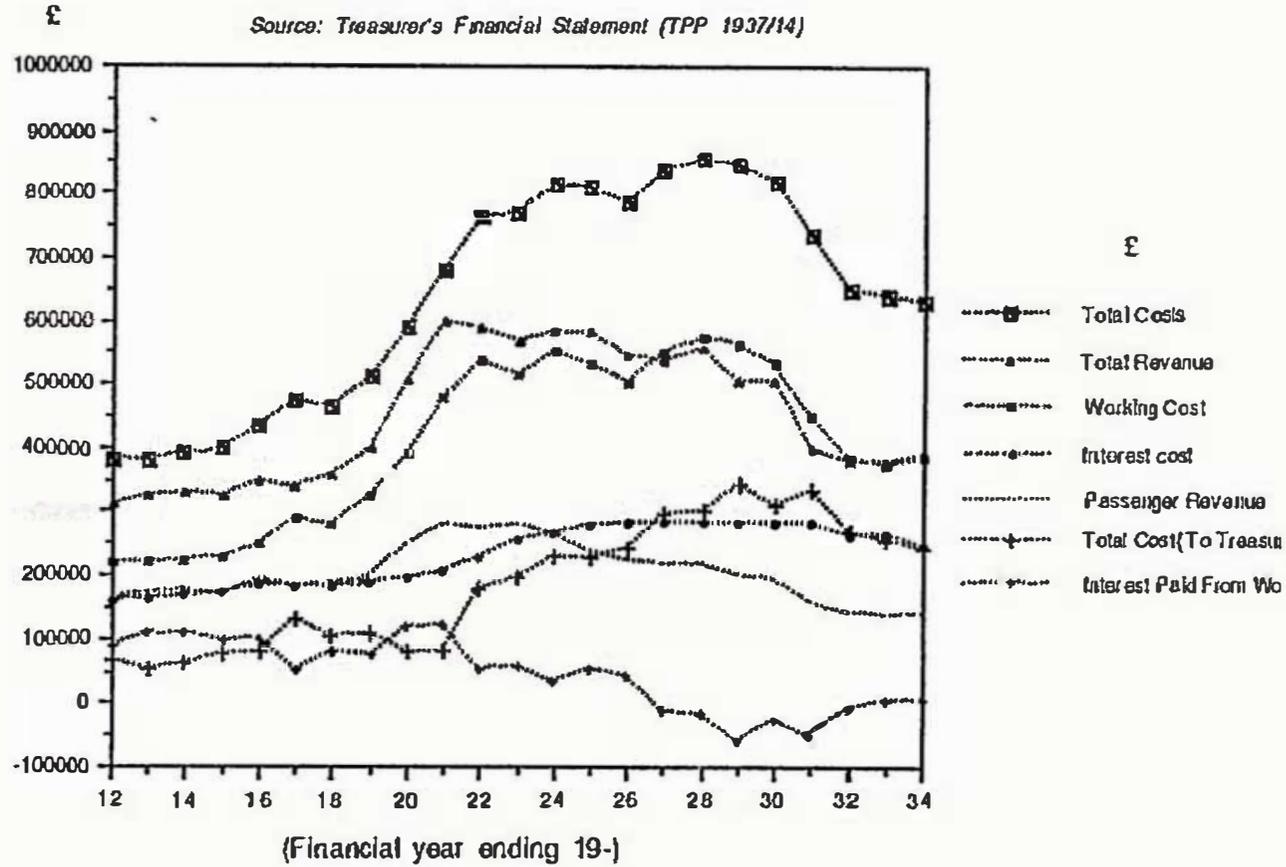
Fin. Year Ending	Funds voted	Funds expended	Revenue TGTB	(Arrivals july-june (average))	Revenue : Expenditure
1914	1000	1000		44265	
1915	3000	4325	4260	41207	9849.711
1916	4000	4146	9751	40564	23519.126
1917	5800	5677	10723	38642	18888.087
1918	6550	6497	19521	36782	30046.180
1919	7550	7512	16920	30722	22523.960
1920	7800	7084	25204	29316	35578.770
1921		8548	35163	36769	41135.940
1922	10650	9816	70238	40236	71554.600
1923	10688	10731	76667	42330	71444.410
1924	7600	7211	48977	43280	67919.800
1925	7500	6008	44116	41946	73428.760
1926	7000	6925	58057	43322	83836.820
1927	7500	7937	74370	48432	93700.390
1928	10500	10012	75609	48441	75518.380
1929	12500	11756	71772	45868	61051.380
1930	12500	12364	79024	42796	63914.590
1931	10000	9423	48133	34900	51080.340
1932	7500	6675	48367	30564	72459.930
1933	7000	7845	61779	34432	78749.520
1934	10000	9991	73051	37996	73116.810
1935	20000	20117	87064	40608	43278.820
1936	25000	26500	116410	45974	43928.300
1937	30000	30090	142544	50996	47372.550
1938	30000	30312	159449	55314	52602.600
1939	32000	32000	215692	58722	67403.750
1940	32600	31177	141177	55501	45282.420

TGTD Finances in Relation to Passenger Arrivals 1914-1940 :

Source TGR Annual Reports and Commonwealth Year Books.

TGR Finances 1912 - 1934

Source: Treasurer's Financial Statement (TPP 1937/14)



Fin. Year Ending	Total Investment	Interest cost	Working Cost	Revenue	Total Cost	Interest Paid to Treasury	Total Cash Loss	Rail Mileage	Passengers	Passenger Revenue
1912	4253014	159123	221172	312786	380295	91614	67509	495.50	1715464	164586
1913	4400292	164412	217357	327113	381769	109756	54656	508.50	1649539	172591
1914	4496634	169268	222713	330168	391981	107455	61813	519.00	1708334	175604
1915	4628911	172349	225995	323265	398344	97270	75079	533.00	1750905	169420
1916	4798646	180772	248651	348028	429423	99377	81395	562.25	2078228	191168
1917	4913395	181617	289186	340505	470803	51319	130298	581.50	1971888	182343
1918	4979399	183977	277952	356735	461929	78783	105194	587.75	1874029	189640
1919	5076014	186402	324595	401364	510997	76769	109633	601.25	1889102	197952
1920	5240276	197587	390191	506177	587778	115986	81601	627.75	2267856	244519
1921	5383192	205766	476187	600045	681953	123858	81908	629.50	2687837	279247
1922	5753381	228488	538066	588297	766554	50231	178257	636.75	2757702	275407
1923	6199725	255007	514350	572417	769357	58067	196940	663.50	2884210	277586
1924	6374783	263158	550185	585468	813343	35283	227875	673.00	2959887	266800
1925	6416193	279829	531590	584256	811419	52666	227163	673.00	2656018	235550
1926	6450185	283799	504038	545191	787837	41153	242646	673.00	2455824	224443
1927	6486108	285255	551192	539352	836447	-11840	297095	658.25	2328970	220076
1928	6483281	284076	572885	554263	856961	-18622	302698	658.25	2322410	219312
1929	6494003	283554	563652	503855	847206	-59797	343351	653.50	2212817	198568
1930	6524421	284464	535414	507374	819878	-28040	312504	664.25	2243265	195705
1931	6549965	285882	448838	400176	734720	-48662	334544	664.90	1852145	158718
1932	6562301	263898	386929	381283	650827	-5646	269544	664.90	1680897	146297
1933	6561324	263861	373762	381483	637623	7721	256140	644.90	1678483	140506
1934	6562664	246762	385383	390903	632145	5520	241242	644.90	1789329	142642

TGR Finances (£) 1912 - 1934

Source: 1937 Treasurer's Financial Statement TPP 1937/14

References to Premier's Department Correspondence Files (PD1) In the Archives Office of Tasmania, 1914-1933, With Notes on Other Official Archives.

The list below is representative rather than complete. Yet it demonstrates the vast range of Premier's Department involvement in matters directly and indirectly relating to this thesis. It is selective, omitting many more matters, such as health, welfare, industrial relations, education, applications for favours, complaints etc, all of which might also have some bearing on Tasmania's image. The thesis has concentrated especially on PD1/38 (see list below for topics included under that file number). But many others have been scanned and several have been studied in some detail. Note that although there are seven file numbers for various aspects of the Agent General's work, his correspondence is also often found in many of the other file numbers.

Note: while PD1 is the main body of government correspondence consulted, relevant areas of policy were also dealt with by other departments. Notable is the office of Chief Secretary, which, for instance, administered many of the miscellaneous grants to voluntary organisations involved in selling Tasmania. Thus CSD22, with all its sub-files, is also an important source, especially where it deals with grants to tourist and progress associations, placing advertisements in the media, exhibitions and other matters. CSD22 correspondence, although not as organised as PD1, often overlaps with the latter. This reflects the closeness of the two portfolios. It should also be noted that the Premier's and Chief Secretary's offices were both administered by the same staff under, from 1914-29, Undersecretary DW Addison.

Interpreting the references: the file numbers below represent collections of varying length. Each file can have up to 100 or more sub-files. All are compiled in large volumes which run in series for each year. Thus a typical reference such as PD1/38/17/21, contains a request from the Agent-General to the Premier asking him to entertain Mr Edward Gray of the Royal Geographic Society, who was organising world in 1921. The reference is derived thus:

PD	Premier's Department
1	Correspondence (PD2 is a correspondence register for PD1 and PD3 is a rudimentary index)
38	File Number: 'Advertising Tasmanian Resources' – a plethoric file!
17	Subfile Number: Created especially for the correspondence relating to Gray's tour.
21	The year: 1921.

File #	Topic	Dates
1	Visits Of Fleet	1917-33
7	Visitors - Distinguished	1917-33
7	Visits - Official	1917-33
8	Railways - Generally	1917-33
8	Railways - Management	1917-33
8	Railways - Reports	1917-33
8	Railways - Staff	1917-33
9	Agent General Department - Staff	1917-33
11	Agent General - Dispatches	1917-33

17	Fisheries	1917-33
18	Agent General Department - Reports	1914-16
18	Reports - Departments	1914-17
18	Reports - Miscellaneous	1914-17
18	Tourist Bureaux - Reports	1914-16
19	Agent General - Expenses	1917-33
19	Reports - Departments	1917-33
19	Reports - Miscellaneous	1917-33
20	Agent General - Appointments	1917-33
20	Agent General - Reports	1917-33
20	Australia House - London	1917-33
22	State Advisory Board	1917-33
22	Anglo-Indian Immigrants	1914-16
22	Complaints	1914-16
22	Development Of Tasmania	1917-33
22	East Coast Development Company	1917-33
22	State Development Board	1917-33
25	Agent General - Finances	1917-33
25	Commonwealth Loans	1917-33
25	Finances - Tasmanian - Lockyer Commission	1917-33
25	Grants To Tasmania	1917-33
25	Immigrants - Advances To	1917-33
25	Loans Council	1917-33
27	Lotteries	1917-33
33	Board Of Trade	1917-33
33	Ferry Services	1917-33
33	Navigation Act	1917-33
38	Advertising - Resources	1913-33
38	Enquiries - Tasmania's Resources	1913-33
38	Fifty Thousand League	1913-33
38	Photos Of Tasmania	1913-33
38	Publications - Official	1913-33
38	Resources Of Tasmania	1913-33
38	Tourist Bureaux	1913-33
38	Tourist Traffic	1913-33
39	Agent General - Publications	1913-33
39	Official Publications	1913-33
45	Railway Passes	1917-33
47	Aliens In Tasmania	1917-33
49	Agriculture - Conferences	1917-33
49	Agriculture - Shows And Conferences	1917-33
55	Emigration	1917-33
55	Immigrants - Settlement	1917-33
55	Immigration	1917-33
55	Migration	1917-33
55	£34m Migration Agreement	1917-33
58	Dredging	1917-33
58	Harbour Improvements	1917-33
60	Recreation Grounds ,	1917-33
61	Apple Trade	1917-33
61	Fruit Industry	1917-33
61	Markets For Fruit	1917-33
61	Shipping	1917-33
63	Refrigeration	1917-33
67	Cabinet Meetings	1917-33
68	Dairy Industry	1917-33
68	Dairy Marketing	1917-33
68	Tasmanian Produce	1914-16
69	Exhibitions - UK And Europe	1917-33
73	Hobart Development League	1917-33
73	Municipalities - Loans To	1917-33
78	Cellulose Production from Wood	1917-33
78	Forestry - Generally	1917-33
78	Forestry Conferences	1917-33
78	Irby - Dismissal	1917-33
78	Wood Pulp	1917-33

80	Latrobe Shale Oil Co.	1917-33
80	Oil - Deposits	1917-33
82	Aerial Exhibitions	1917-33
82	Aerial Navigation	1917-33
82	Aerodromes	1917-33
83	Australian Made Goods	1917-33
84	Employment	1917-33
84	Industrial Conferences	1917-33
84	Unemployment	1917-33
86	Publications - Unofficial (E.g. Walch's)	1917-33
87	Jam Industry	1917-33
88	Strikes - Industrial	1917-33
95	Grants To Tasmania	1917-33
99	Communications	1917-33
99	Shipping	1917-33
100	Aluminium	1917-33
100	Iron Mining and Process	1917-33
100	Mineral Resources	1917-33
100	Mineral Resources Bureau	1917-33
105	Exhibitions - Canada And America	1917-33
118	Agriculture	1917-33
118	Cotton Industry	1917-33
118	Empire Marketing Board	1917-33
122	Power - World Conference	1917-33
126	Motor Traffic	1917-33
126	Sentinel-Cammell Cars	1934-36
126	Uniform Rail Gauge	1917-33
129	Chambers Of Commerce	1917-33
129	Exports	1917-33
129	Imports	1917-33
129	White Lead	1917-33
130	Australian Journalists Association Congresses	1917-33
130	ANA Congresses	1917-33
130	Preference To Unionists - Press Coverage	1917-33
130	Press Congresses	1917-33
134	Exhibitions - Australia And New Zealand	1917-33
136	Exhibitions - Asiatic	1917-33
137	'Advisory Council' (especially PDI/137/56/16)	1914-16
140	Liquor Trade	1917-33
140	Sundays - Observance Of	1917-33
146	Fat Lamb Industry	1917-33
147	Premiers' Conferences	1917-33
153	Irrigation	1917-33
162	Regattas, Etc.	1917-33
165	Cinemas	1917-33
165	Films	1917-33
165	Films - Tasmanian	1917-33
176	Closer Settlement	1917-33
176	Soldier Settlement	1917-33
179	Artificial Silk	1917-33
179	Cement	1917-33
179	Flax	1917-33
179	Manufactures	1917-33
179	Tanning	1917-33
179	Tobacco	1917-33
179	Wool	1917-33
183	Imperial Economic Committee	1917-33
200	Manufacturers - Boost Trade	1914-16

There is a small collection of Minister of Railways correspondence in the Archives Office of Tasmania (AOT AB 455), however the actual TGR records for our period are either destroyed or 'missing'. This is made the more frustrating by the sole existence of indices showing the depth and detail of what is lost (AOT TC 12). In the absence of Tourist Bureau and Railway Archives, recourse has been taken to

the Premier's and Chief Secretary's Correspondence. Fortunately these are fruitful, indication of the close interest taken by the executive in the Selling of Tasmania. Mention must also be made to the Supreme Court Registrar's Company Records, AOT SC 323, an enlightening source for business history, very largely untouched by historians.

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As the footnotes reveal, much resort was made to newspapers, especially the Hobart *Mercury* and *Daily Post*, the Launceston *Examiner* and *Daily Telegraph*, and the Burnie *Advocate*. Other papers have been consulted as seemed necessary. Much newspaper material is collected in press clippings books held by the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation in Hobart and the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery in Launceston (repository for the Launceston City Council). Both of these latter sources are invaluable, as are the collected *Mercury Reprints of Parliamentary Debates*, copies held in the Parliamentary Library and Archives Office, Hobart. The Australian Archives in Hobart contain numerous files relating to State-Commonwealth affairs and these have been consulted. The Hobart and Launceston City Councils have provided details on their respective aldermanic personnel. The LCC correspondence boxes, though disordered, yielded some gems. These are also kept in the Queen Victoria Museum. Several oral sources have kindly donated their time to this research. These have been helpful in providing pointers and insights, however every care has been taken to check oral testimony against contemporary hard sources. The delver in any study of Tasmania will do well to peruse the indices to the Tasmanian Parliamentary Papers and be aware that many documents which should be in the Tasmanian Archives Office are gathering dust in the cellars of Parliament House. Ephemera in the form of tourist brochures, posters, postcards and souvenirs are collected by the Tasmaniana Library, Hobart. I have also found many interesting pieces in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Latrobe Library, Melbourne and Australian National Library, Canberra.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AA	Australian Archives, Canberra.
AAAS	Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.
AGPS	Australian Government Publishing Service
ANZAAS	Australian & New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science
AB455	'Minister for Railways correspondence c. 1924-32.' AOT.
ACT	Autocar Club of Tasmania, Hobart
ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> .
<i>Advo</i>	<i>The Advocate</i> , Burnie.
AGD	Attorney General's Department.
AGM	Annual General Meeting.
<i>AJPH</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Politics and History</i> .
ALP	Australian Labor Party.
ANA	Australian Natives Association.
ANTA	Australian National Travel Association.
AOT	Archives Office of Tasmania.
AR	Annual Report.
ASOF	Australasian Steamship Owners' Federation.
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science.
<i>BCTHS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Centre for Tasmanian Historical Research</i> .
<i>BRADB</i>	Gibbney, HJ & Smith (comps. and eds.), <i>Ann G A Biographical Register 1788-1939: Notes from the name index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> (Canberra: 1987).
<i>B RTP</i>	Bennett, Scott & Bennett, Barbara <i>Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament 1851-1960</i> (Canberra: ANU Press; 1980).
BTT	Back to Tasmania.
CBC	Headstone at Cornelian Bay Cemetary.
<i>CPP</i>	<i>Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers</i> .
CSD	Chief Secretary's Department.
CTA	Commercial Traveller's Association.
CTTO	Come To Tasmania Organisation.
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CVC	Headstone at Carr Villa Cemetary.
DMC	Development & Migration Commission
<i>DT</i>	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Launceston.
<i>ET</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Tasmania</i> (1900).
ETE t.s.	Emmett, ET 'History of Tasmania's Tourist Business' (Roneoed t.s. dated 17/9/59). Copy obtained from Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation.
<i>Ex</i>	<i>The Examiner</i> , Launceston.
FRGS	Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.
HA	House of Assembly
<i>HAGP</i>	Hughes, CA & Graham, BD <i>A Handbook of Australian Government and Politics 1890-1964</i> (Canberra: ANU Press; 1968).
HCC	Hobart City Council.
HDL	Hobart Development League
HED	Hydro-Electric Department.
LC	Legislative Council
LCC	Launceston City Council.
LCCC	LCC Correspondence
LCGS	Launceston Church Grammar School.
LFIA	Launceston Foreshore Improvement Association.

LLL	Launceston Fifty Thousand League.
LPA	Launceston Progress Association.
LVA	Licensed Victuallers' Association
MCC	Mainland-Communications Committee.
<i>Merc</i>	<i>The Mercury</i> , Launceston.
MHA	Member of the House of Assembly
MHAST	Motor Hirers' Association of Southern Tasmania.
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives.
MLC	Member of the Legislative Council
<i>MR</i>	<i>Mercury Reprints of Tasmanian Parliamentary Debates.</i>
MRAB	Main Roads Advisory Board.
MUP	Melbourne University Press.
NCL	Northern Capital League.
NLA	National Library of Australia.
NPB	National Park Board.
NRLHR	Northern Regional Library Local History Room.
NTL	Northern Tasmanian League.
NTTA	Northern Tasmanian Tourist Association, Launceston.
NWTA	North-Western Tourist Association, Devonport.
NWTL	North-Western Tourist League.
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary.</i>
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PD1	Premier's Department, Correspondence Files.
PR	Public Relations.
<i>PT</i>	McArthur, Milford (ed.) <i>Prominent Tasmanians</i> (Hobart: GJ Boyle; 1924).
PWC	Public Works Standing Committee.
PWD	Public Works Department.
QUP	Queensland University Press
QVMAG	Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.
RACT	Royal Automobile Club of Tasmania.
RC	Royal Commission
RSL	Returned Soldiers' League.
RSSILA	Returned Soldiers' & Sailors' Imperial League of Australia.
SC 233	Supreme Court of Tasmania, Companies Indents and Share Registers.
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald.</i>
SPB	Scenery Preservation Board.
STAB	State Tourist Advisory Board
SUP	Sydney University Press
TAC	Tasmanian Automobile Club, Launceston.
<i>TC</i>	<i>Tasmanian Cyclopedia</i> (1931).
TFNC	Tasmanian Field Naturalists' Club
<i>TGG</i>	<i>Tasmanian Government Gazette.</i>
TGR	Tasmanian Government Railways.
TGTB	Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau.
TGTD	Tasmanian Government Tourist Department.
<i>THRAPP</i>	<i>Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Papers and Proceedings.</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>The Tasmanian Mail</i> , Hobart.
TMAG	Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart.
TMS	Tasmanian Motor Service.

<i>TPP</i>	<i>Tasmanian Parliamentary Papers.</i>
<i>TRL</i>	Tasmanian Rights League.
<i>TSC</i>	Tasmanian Shipping Committee.
<i>TT</i>	Gurney, Alex <i>Tasmanians Today: Caricatures and Cartoons</i> (Hobart: Davies Bros.; 1926).
<i>TTA</i>	Tasmanian Tourists Association, Hobart.
<i>TTLIC</i>	Tasmanian Trades and Labour Council
<i>UCTA</i>	United Commercial Traveller's Association (of Australia).
<i>UQP</i>	University of Queensland Press.
<i>V&P</i>	<i>Votes and Proceedings of the Tasmanian Parliament.</i>
<i>WC</i>	<i>The Weekly Courier</i> , Launceston.
<i>WCTU</i>	Women's Christian Temperance Union.
<i>WEA</i>	Worker's Educational Association.
<i>WNPPL</i>	Women's Non-Party Political League.
<i>WTTA</i>	Western Tasmanian Tourist Association, Zeehan.
<i>Wise</i>	<i>Wise's Post Office Directories</i> for Tasmania, annually.

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