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* *

AUSTRALIAN PHOTOTEXTS

1926-1966

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION......................................................................................................4

CHAPTER ONE. HISTORY.
1.1 The History of a History...............................................................................7
1.2 The Classics; Max Dupain's Australia and the earlier use of some of the images. 10

CHAPTER TWO. PUBLISHERS.
2.1 Sydney Ure Smith.........................................................................................13
2.2 Oswald Leopold Ziegler................................................................................16

CHAPTER THREE. MOVEMENTS.
3.1 The Views Trade...........................................................................................20
3.2 Pictorialism......................................................................................................21
3.3 Modernism.........................................................................................................23
3.4 Documentary.....................................................................................................27

CHAPTER FOUR. THE NATIONAL IMAGE.
4.1 Cazneaux's Australia; or "of rugged mountain ranges"...exclusively..........29
4.2 Emil Otto Hoppé's The Fifth Continent........................................................30
4.3 Ziegler's Australia tomes..............................................................................34
4.4 The Ektachrome Centre, Hurley's Australia, a Camera Study......................38
4.5 The New Australia, as seen in other books on Australia...............................40

CHAPTER FIVE. METROPOLITAN LIFE.
5.1 The quest for a typical Australian city........................................................43

CHAPTER SIX. SYDNEY.
6.1 Sydney in general.........................................................................................48
6.2 Strength-Beauty-Simplicity; The Sydney Harbour Bridge..............................54
6.3 Life on a harbour wave; Sydney at leisure..................................................58
6.4 Antipodean Bohemianism...............................................................................61
CHAPTER SEVEN. MELBOURNE.
7.1 Melbourne in general....................................................................................64
7.2 Accidentally Collins Street..............................................................................68

CHAPTER EIGHT. OTHER CITIES.
8.1 Canberra and the politics of being capital...................................................70
8.2 Brisbane, the capital of Queensland and the Gold Coast, the capital of Austerica..75
8.3 Newcastle, and provincial New South Wales..............................................79
8.4 Ziegler's post war provincial publications...................................................82

CONCLUSION..........................................................................................................83

NOTES........................................................................................................................ 85

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS................................................................................ 92

ILLUSTRATIONS.........................................................................................................92

CHRONOLOGY........................................................................................................98

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....................................................................................................101
INTRODUCTION.

The twentieth century has seen photography become an important factor in world communication. What had emerged during the nineteenth century as a scientific process had become a widely available asset. At the end of the twentieth century, with the photograph being updated from its long held print on paper format, the concept of the collectible 'fine print' or 'vintage print' has arisen. Photography as a fine art had emerged in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, with the pictorialist school creating impressionist imitations but the actual interpretation of an unmanipulated photographic image as a work of art came during the middle of this century.

The basis of the photograph as art work has its roots in the recording of the past. Fine art style investment in photography in Australia tends towards the older images of known photographers rather than their recent work. The irony is that many valuable photographs were originally taken for mass-produced books, their appearance on a gallery wall removed from the original context.

The participation of Australia's major photographers in the publishing industry between 1925 and 1965 is a part of photography practice in Australia that has been mentioned only briefly in histories of the industry. Publications for tourism, commemoration, immigration or just a patriotic need for promotion were produced using images by many of the nation's most important photographers. Some contained collections of photo-essay-style images while others were anthologies intended to promote photography itself. Books such as these can be classed as 'phototexts'. Phototexts are therefore books which incorporate photography, especially by respected photographers, as a vital, if not exclusive, component. It is important to explore the way in which these books portray the public image of Australia.

In documenting Australian photographic history, writers often choose to portray a history of individual photographers and images, then to group them into schools and eras. This is partly explained by the tendency of photographers in Australia to organise themselves into such groups. This type of chronology is problematic, insofar as altering the original context of images, such as the images appearing in the publications to be discussed, to a footnote or provenance. A photograph which appears in a book as an illustration of modern urban life in the 1930s may reappear fifty years later in an anthology of nostalgia or for its aesthetic appeal. The aesthetic appeal may have been second to its content when selected for publication but when seen in a frame in a gallery, it becomes the essence of the image's overall appeal.
While a copy of Dupain's work in one of Ziegler's Soul of A City books may be displayed in a glass cabinet beside framed photographs, the viewer is denied the chance to turn the pages to become aware of just how many images made it into the book, and how many are out-takes that have come to the gallery wall through chance reprinting. Geoffrey Batchen has discussed the difference between Dupain's Sunbather in the 1948 Ure Smith anthology and the Sunbather which has become the definitive Dupain image. It would appear that the modern version was not printed until the 1970s when the negative was selected, thirty years after the photographs were taken, as the better of the images.

There is an element of contention when dealing with phototexts as the creation of an individual author. The idea behind the book may vary from their commission through compilation and editing to their publication. It is subsequently common to find these books relegated to footnotes in photographic histories, if they appear at all. For instance, very little of Dupain's massive output for Oswald Ziegler appears in his biographies and David Moore's work for Ziegler is almost forgotten.

The period in question covers several decades in Australian history. The use of the aesthetic avant garde photographers for these books began in the 'Roaring Twenties'. The idea was mainly for a readership of quality magazines, especially those of Sydney Ure Smith. By the end of the 1930s there was, due to several centenaries and sesqui-centenaries, a mood of nationalistic self promotion. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the books tended to ignore the depths of the Depression or the effects of Second World War. After the War the emphasis changed to one of external promotion, with the need to encourage migrants into Australia and for individual areas to benefit from the New Australians' skills (existing or potential). During the 1950s the comfortable image of the Nation under Menzies is perpetuated. The call for settlement and investment came to be accompanied by historical ties. By the 1960s migration was less important and the later books discussed here are either aimed at the World Tourist or, like the books of the 1920s, an audience looking for fine photographic illustration. Moreover, after having been aimed at a mature readership for many years, these books began to portray the vibrant youth who typify the culture of the decade.

Certain publishers dominated the genre. Sydney Ure Smith's Art in Australia Limited pioneered the use of Cazneaux's work in these books as a result of Cazneaux's contribution to The Home and Art in Australia. Oswald Ziegler followed his father's footsteps into the production of illustrated advertising brochures, eventually using the Nation's top designers and photographers for books far removed from the picture-postcard images of South Australia that were his seminal work of the late 1920s. Angus
and Robertson contributed to the genre, especially in Frank Hurley's *Camera Study* series, beginning with *Sydney, a Camera Study* in 1948. After 1956 Hurley's work was published by John Sands.

Whether it is considered significant today or not, the phototext was important to many photographers. Cazneaux had given up studio practice due to ill health and was kept in the industry through Sydney Ure Smith's patronage. Ure Smith again was responsible for Max Dupain's emergence, although it was Ziegler who published his first book, *Soul of a City*. Following family tradition, Sam Ure Smith, Sydney Ure Smith's son, used some of David Moore's early work, amongst other photographers, in 1950's *Portrait of Sydney*. Frank Hurley's *Camera Studies* were a way for the explorer-photographer to continue his travels at a time when his skills as an explorer and war photographer were no longer called for. *Melbourne, a Portrait* was an opportunity for German-born Mark Strizic to present an intimate view of the City as seen by an immigrant.

The main factors in the analysis of the phototexts produced between the 1926 photographic salon in Sydney and the posthumous 1966 edition of Frank Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study* are as follows; firstly, the changing aesthetic values of creative photography, from the closing days of the pictorialists, through the heyday of modernism to the development of documentary, secondly, the people involved in the production of the books, the main publishers and photographers and finally the main subjects of the books themselves, Australia as a nation, the major cities as modern metropoli and the aspiring provincial centres.
CHAPTER ONE. HISTORY.

1.1 The History of a History.

In the overall history of Australian photography, the phototext has often been overlooked by writers, aiming to variously portray the history of photographs and photographers. Because of their largely commercial basis, phototexts are generally a footnote to the oeuvre of particular photographers.

There has been much research into the history of Australian photography. The first attempt to write on the subject was Cato's *The Story of the Camera in Australia*, published in 1955. It was a pioneering investigation of the field and all subsequent histories have paid homage to Cato's research. Starting with the earliest professional photographers of the 1840s, Cato recalls the major photographers. Chapters are devoted to groups of photographers in a loosely chronological order, although the regional histories are separate. There are several shortcomings. Cato documents photographers as participants in specific movements or their parochial importance. One example of this is John Kauffmann as a South Australian photographer despite a long residence in Melbourne. Similarly, Frank Hurley is featured as an explorer-photographer while his *Camera Study* series, which was contemporary to Cato's research, are advertised more than they are critically analysed. After referring to Hurley's project to produce a series of books covering Australia, Cato says "several of these beautiful books are already on the market".1 Cato placed his emphasis on those photographers who emerged before 1941, which was the centenary of the first photograph taken in Australia. This leaves out almost fifteen years of photographic development. Fortunately the majority of the younger photographers that Cato includes were involved in publishing but there is a comparative scarcity of relevant biographical detail.2

Between 1955 and 1980 there was little textual work done on photographic history in Australia. Allen G. Gray's *Camera in Australia* of 1970 and Laurence Le Guay's 1976 annual of *Australian Photography* incorporated brief historical sections in their pictorial content.3

Gael Newton's *Silver and Grey* (1980) and *Masterpieces of Australian Photography* by Josef Lebovic and Joanne Cahill (1989) are both extensively illustrative works, intended as pictorial histories.4

*Silver and Grey* documents the first half of the Twentieth Century. It is an product of the Art Gallery of New South Wales's efforts to acquire extensive
photographic collections during the seventies. Each image has a page to itself. The most extensively reproduced photographers are Max Dupain and Harold Cazneaux with fifteen and thirteen images respectively, in accordance with their presence in the Gallery's collection at the time. Their popularity acts as a drawcard for any gallery's collection. Several other important photographers of the era are generously represented: Laurence Le Guay and Athol Shmith are accorded seven images each. Photographers such as Frank Hurley and Jack Cato, who were not well represented in the Gallery's collection at the time, have very little work featured in Silver and Grey. The object of the book, reflected in both its text and images, is to document the changing mainstream of photography from the traditional pictorialists to the photo-journalists through the later pictorialists and modernists. This is achieved through examples of the styles in the possession of the Art Gallery of New South Wales.

*Masterpieces of Australian Photography* is a catalogue for a commercial gallery which moved to include photography sales from its established market as a print dealership. It differs from *Silver and Grey* by treating its imagery as potential private investment rather than work from a public display. It is a catalogue of commercial availability as much as it is a volume of Australian history. In the introduction Lebovic states that...

I have chosen, from among many hundreds of images at my disposal, examples of the most important and desirable photography one can find on the market that are of a quality comparable to those held in institutions.5

Like *Silver and Grey* it maintains a chronological approach but it divides this chronology into periods rather than movements whereby the pictorialists and modernists are treated as contemporaries, for instance. Because of its intended readership of photographic collectors, *Masterpieces of Australian Photography* has the best provenance lists in its captions of all the photographic histories. It also gives a broader example of the photograph buying public's taste and the availability of many photographers' work. From this it is possible to divine the relevance of photographs taken for publication half a century ago in the commercial gallery scene of the late eighties. An example is the section on Jack Cato. Despite many years as a photographer, his *Melbourne* of 1949 is judged the source of his best work.6

Australia's Bicentennial year, 1988, saw two major publications on Australian photography appear. The exhibition catalogue for *Shades of Light* by Gael Newton (on purpose) and *Picturing Australia* by Anne-Marie Willis (by chance) emerged in time for the "celebration of the nation" and all the nationalistic spirit that went with it.7
Shades of Light, as can be expected from an Australian National Gallery exhibition, featured images from many public collections. Recent work was largely from its own extensive collection. This was supplemented by the large range of photographic images collected by Australia's other museums and galleries. The extent of such collections allowed Shades of Light to be a highly comprehensive documentation of photography in Australia. Shades of Light does not limit itself to the important names in the industry. Some amateur work is given a high profile, especially in the section on early colour photography, where rich amateurs' experimentation with the Autochrome process is shown. These amateurs paved the way for the colour photography published later, when Kodachrome and Ektachrome were released from wartime restrictions.

Carefully dividing the exhibition and catalogue into displays of movements and technologies, Shades of Light has a clearer chronology than Masterpieces of Australian Photography. The text highlights the industry, the presentation of photography as it progressed through time, and the importance of salons, societies and journals in contemporary photography movements.

Willis's Picturing Australia gives an insight into the history of photography as a history of Australia's self-image. Whereas Newton's Shades of Light looked at the various photographic movements in relation to the technologies and techniques that were relevant to the time, Picturing Australia places the images in the context of Australia's social, economic and political situations. Without the restrictions of a print's availability (no matter how comprehensive Public Collections may be, some important images may only be known through reproduction) Willis shows many illustrations from publications, allowing participation by photographers and images which would be considered obscure in an exhibition context. Picturing Australia had "began... as a research project towards what was to be an exhibition on nineteenth-century Australian photography".

There are photographic history books which deal with specific topics. Barbara Hall and Jenni Mathers' Australian Women Photographers 1840-1960 (1986) is the most relevant of these. Photographs by women are usually published in 'salon' based books rather than in the commissioned photo-essay styled books. Olive Cotton's contribution to Helen Blaxland's 1946 Flower Pieces is the one of the few times when a woman shares credit as a book's principal photographer (with Max Dupain). Australian Women Photographers 1840-1960 balances the role of each gender as seen in retrospect. Unfortunately the researchers overlooked some of the 'salon' style books such as Ziegler's Australian Photography 1957.
The following chapters will endeavour to portray a history of the publication of what may be termed 'creative photography' in Australia, it does not purport to be a definitive history of photographic publishing or a comprehensive who's who, although it is important to credit the contributors, however minor, wherever possible. The chapters will also attempt to reflect the growth of Australia in its documentation of the changing photographic industry.
1.2 The Classics; *Max Dupain's Australia* and the earlier use of some of the images.

Max Dupain's popularity as an image maker of Australia has greatly increased since the mid seventies. What was once avant garde has become a valuable history and nostalgia collection. In 1986 Viking brought out an anthology of Max Dupain's photographs called *Max Dupain's Australia*. It contained images selected by Dupain himself, rather than by a curator. Dupain has become the main example of a popular photographer in terms of famous imagery and demand for original prints. The photographs often come from commissions for book illustrations but are now in demand from collectors of photography as images in their own right.

Geoff Batchen, in his article 'Creative Actuality, The Photography of Max Dupain', discusses the history of Dupain's famous photograph, *The sunbaker*, 1937. *The sunbaker* is now Dupain's most recognised image, but it was about a decade old before the first version was printed in the Ure Smith anthology, *Max Dupain*, in 1948. The image which appeared in this book is taken from a different negative to the now famous image, which emerged in the 1970s from a retrospective of Dupain's work held at the recently opened Australian Centre for Photography. This begs the question "When is a photograph made?"

The question can be asked of *Max Dupain's Australia*. It is inevitable that many images originally published in phototexts would be found in this book, such was the prolific nature of Dupain's contribution. Most of these are images printed as they appeared (albeit uncropped) in the phototexts. There are, however, occasions where Dupain's 1986 selection differs from the original publication. *Rush Hour in Kings Cross*, 1938, for example, is taken the same evening from the same viewpoint (from a flat belonging to relatives of photographer/cinematographer Damien Parer) as an image in the 1940 edition of *Soul of a City*. The image printed in 1940 is technically much clearer, the traffic seems to have been at an almost complete standstill, the movement was to the side. The image Dupain selected in 1986 shows blurred city-bound trams moving through The Cross, against the flow of barely moving east-bound cars. In his caption Dupain talks of the effect of movement caused by foreshortening and the chance exposure time. The dynamic effect of the movement which attracted Dupain's (and the viewer's) attention in the 1980s was possibly regarded as an unsuitable lack of clarity in a book designed to display the details of Sydney's lifestyle of 1940.

The same could be said of *Central Station*, 1939. A similar image appears in the 1946 edition of *This is Australia*. The 1946 image is used to illustrate Sydney's transport system, in its immediate Post-War peak. At the time it was just an image of
travellers changing from trains onto buses and trams, part of everyday life in the days of petrol rationing. In 1986 a slightly different image was selected by Dupain. In the caption Dupain says that the photograph illustrates the discomfort of the trams.

Another difference is the photograph *Twilight, Sydney, from AWA Tower*, circa 1940s. The image he is referring to appeared in a couple of phototexts, notably *Australian Photography* 1947. The image in *Max Dupain's Australia* is not only printed in reverse but clearly visible along the misplaced Circular Quay is a stream of light denoting traffic on the Cahill Expressway, opened in 1958. In part due to a careless error in the printing, the later image takes on the identity of the earlier.

The tone of nostalgia which dominates Max Dupain's Australia is in some respects its undoing. *Off-Beat*, 1960, is an example of this. Three traffic policemen are walking along George Street reading the afternoon papers. The caption describes the subjects' faces as reflecting the "leisureliness of the period" but the headlines read of traffic chaos that morning with an even worse situation expected that evening. Such details of the editorial were not visible in the image's original appearance in *Soul of a City* 1962 edition, but *The Daily Mirror* 's headline "CHAOS!" was quite obvious. It is not leisure that makes this photograph so interesting but two of the officers' apparent disinterest in the coming traffic jam, studying the sports page for details, it would seem, of the latest cricket team.

It should be noted that Gallery exhibitions of Dupain's work often represent work as originally published, albeit in glass cases which only allow a few images to be displayed. Two exhibitions of his work during 1991 did so, an exhibition of Sydney images at the State Library of New South Wales's Dixon Gallery displayed some of Ziegler's *Soul of a City* pages and the major retrospective at the Australian National Gallery displayed Dupain's early magazine work for Sydney Ure Smith.
CHAPTER TWO. PUBLISHERS
2.1 Sydney Ure Smith.

The views trade in photography had published books since the late Nineteenth Century and Pictorialist photographers had been anthologised by the end of the 1910s. In the 1920s Sydney Ure Smith's journals Art in Australia and The Home pioneered the use of creative photography in photographic promotions. Sydney Ure Smith was the most influential publisher working in the Australian arts industry from the First World War until his death in 1949. Sydney Ure Smith's interest in creative photography emerged in 1917 when he reviewed the Exhibition of Pictorial Photography by the Photographic Society of New South Wales for the journal Australasian Photo-Review. He was reviewing the exhibition from an "artist's point of view". Harold Cazneaux and Max Dupain in particular were to benefit from Ure Smith's publishing ventures. A study of Ure Smith's influence on Australian art has been written by Nancy Underhill. Although a conservative artist himself, with personal reservations about Modernism and outright opposition to abstraction, he used his publishing interests and trusteeship at the National Art Gallery of New South Wales to promoted Modernist work.

His opinion on the pictorialist aesthetic of faked tonelessness was critical. "I believe that the prejudice the artist retains against the photograph is accounted for by the prevalence, for some time past, of the "faked" print." He followed this by reporting on the early attempts at modernism, being experimented with by Cazneaux in particular,

I understand that one of the latest developments in the art of the camera is to retain the true photographic quality in a print, and, if what one hears is true, the day of the retouched print is at an end. This is a sound, healthy idea, and I hope it is true.

Harold Cazneaux's photography appeared in The Home from the frontispiece of the first issue in 1920. This photograph, The Bamboo Blind, was reviewed by Ure Smith in the 1917 Australasian Photo-Review article, "a subject seen with the eye of an artist." The tenth number of Art in Australia, produced in 1921, coincided with the centenary of Governor Lachlan Macquarie's departure from office. Because of Macquarie's role as a patron of the arts of the colony, such as Greenway's architecture and John Lewin's paintings, Art in Australia dedicated the issue to the Macquarie era and titled it The Macquarie Book. One of the significant parts of The Macquarie Book was the use of a series of Cazneaux photographs of Greenway's architecture. These appeared amongst images from Macquarie's era (1810-1821) and watercolours by John D. Moore (father of photographer David Moore), showing the major buildings of the era as they would have appeared on completion. Cazneaux's relationship with the Ure...
Smith publishing group was to be a continuing one, he continued to contribute to *The Home* with landscapes and society portraits. In 1927 Ure Smith devoted an issue of Art in Australia to Sydney. [figure 2] A series of Cazneaux's photographs appeared at the end of this issue.

1927 saw the introduction of *Australia Beautiful, The Home Pictorial Annual*. Started as a mainly pictorial production, *Australia Beautiful, The Home Pictorial Annual* became broader in its subject matter. In 1932 it became simply *The Home Annual*. In the late 1920s Ure Smith also produced several photographic booklets. Many used Harold Cazneaux's work, the pictorial content taken from articles which had appeared in *The Home* or *Art in Australia's* Sydney number. *Canberra, Sydney Harbour* and *Australia* appeared in 1928 and *Sydney Surfing* the following year. *Canberra* and *Sydney Surfing* were the most substantial, the others had a small selection of photographs. The books about Sydney, as with the Sydney Number of *Art in Australia*, featured the writing of Jean Curlewis.

In the early thirties Art in Australia Limited produced several books devoted to photographs of Australian cities. Called *The Sydney Book, The Melbourne Book* and *The Brisbane Book*, the first two updated the special numbers of *Art in Australia*. The latter used newer photographs from official sources, differing from the mainly pictorialist images of the Southern cities.


*The Home* had used the photography of Harold Cazneaux as a drawcard from the beginning. In 1935 Ure Smith began to promote the photography of Max Dupain, both in *The Home* and through a feature in *Art in Australia*. Although Dupain's first books were to be published by Oswald Ziegler starting with *Soul of a City* in 1940, it was Ure Smith's anthology of 1948 that launched Dupain as a major name in Australian photography.

Art in Australia Limited had been absorbed by John Fairfax & Sons in 1934 but Sydney Ure Smith worked with the company for a further four years. Unhappy with
the direction that Fairfax was taking his journals, Ure Smith resigned and founded Ure Smith Publications. Until the 1948 the *Max Dupain* anthology, Ure Smith did not produce many photographic books. His *Australia National Journal*, produced during the Second World War and for several years afterwards, incorporated photography in its illustrations. Several of the Ure Smith Miniature series, begun in 1949, just prior to his death, and produced for two years afterwards, feature a strong photographic content, sometimes using images that had appeared in previous Ure Smith publications. In the years immediately after Sam Ure Smith inherited the company it produced such photographic volumes as *Australian Treescapes, Sydney Beaches, Portrait of Sydney* and *Portrait of Melbourne*. Ure Smith Limited revived the ideas behind *Art in Australia* in 1963, calling the new journal *Art and Australia*. *Art and Australia* was among those art journals which documented the rise of fine art photography during the 1970s.
2.2 Oswald Leopold Ziegler.

In the early twenties an advertising agent in Adelaide, Otto Ziegler, entered the views trade by publishing little pictorial souvenirs of South Australian resorts and agricultural centres. By the end of the decade his journalist son Oswald Leopold Ziegler had followed suit and began publishing similar souvenirs for The Mail Newspapers. Oswald's efforts were larger, and established his use of photography and text as the basis for books and booklets promoting resorts and agricultural centres in the Eastern states the subsequent decades.[figure 3]

By the early thirties Oswald Ziegler was in Melbourne, producing large commemorative volumes for Victoria and Melbourne's centenaries of 1934 and 1936 respectively. The 1934 books retold the story of Victoria's foundation and showcased the architectural grandeur of modern Melbourne. The 1936 volume was a photographic record of the various celebrations and decorations throughout the state. The photographic content was prolific but not particularly creative. The design by recent immigrant Gert Sellheim in an Art Deco vein was rather avant garde for its time and purpose. The designs of these books were to launch a long-term creative collaboration between Ziegler and Sellheim.

Despite the Depression, Australia celebrated the successive centenaries of Victoria, Melbourne and the sesqui-centenary of the settlement of Sydney in 1934, 1936 and 1938 respectively. Publications for these events gained a significant visual contribution from creative photographers. However, South Australia, where Zeigler's career had begun, produced little in the way of illustrated commemorations when the state celebrated its centenary in 1936.

100 Years in Victoria was produced by Oswald Ziegler in 1934. Using contemporary images of Victoria combined with drawings based on early images from the La Trobe Library, 100 Years in Victoria set the standard for the 1930s anniversary book. In 1936 Ziegler produced an illustrated record of both the Melbournian and Victorian celebrations. Victorian and Melbourne Centenary Celebrations 1934-1935 was designed by Gert Sellheim, an Estonian recently arrived from Germany. Sellheim's design at this time was heavily influenced by the Art Deco movement.

In March 1937 Ziegler produced a booklet for the Diamond Jubilee of The Municipality of Manly, in Sydney's Northern Beaches region. This was the start of Ziegler's career path of Municipal promotions of New South Welsh towns and local government areas. These books, although they often used a major photographer like
Max Dupain, were commercially oriented, were meant to promote the region to potential settlers and investors rather than showcase Australian photography. Ziegler was none-the-less supportive of the industry, going on to produce the *Australian Photography* 'annuals' in 1947 and 1957.

In the Sesqui-centennial year of 1938 he produced a massive patriotic tome, *150 Years, Australia 1788-1938*, as well as programs and booklets connected with Sydney and New South Wales' celebrations. *150 Years, Australia 1788-1938* was the first of several large patriotic promotions as well as similar volumes dedicated to New Zealand, South East Asia and the Commonwealth of Nations.\(^2\)

One of the results of the Sesqui-centenary was an interesting magazine-like brochure, *Romance in Paradise*. The photographs come from various sources, tourist bureaux and Frank Hurley are credited, other photographs are not. The design, also uncredited, is probably Gert Sellheim's work, its modernity contrasting with the simplicity of most images and the pictorialism of others. Much of Sellheim and Ziegler's output of this era would have to work around the contrasting styles of photography. Reg Perrier's photographs of Goulburn in the 1946 publication *Goulburn, Queen City of the South* and H. Chargeois's images in *Albury* of 1949 are the most visible of these. Those books are discussed below.

Another Ziegler publication, *Blue Mountains*, was published in 1939.[colour plate 1] Like *Romance in Paradise*, it was in the style of a fashion magazine, *Blue Mountains* celebrated the Golden Jubilee of Katoomba Municipality. The coverage was not limited to that township, all the councils on the Mountains were given a chance to show their tourist facilities. This time the local industry was given advertising space. Romance in this particular paradise required the right gas heating and Kodak film from the right pharmacy. If one wanted Hollywood romance Katoomba boasted two cinemas. The book is a record of the Blue Mountains' tourist industry between the wars aimed at the intending tourist.

The photographers credited with the images in *Blue Mountains* are Frank Hurley (the cover image is one of his montages) and a local photographer, M. S. Chisholm. Hurley's Blue Mountains' photographs continued to appear in his *Camera Study* days while Chisholm's work can be found in other local promotions. Her work is based on local knowledge, the small waterfalls and the like, whilst Hurley's is based on the powerful landscapes of the Jamieson Valley. Throughout the book images are printed in a deep indigo colour, an indication of later Ziegler books that would use colour themes relating to the subject.
Unlike Gert Sellheim and the Pictorialist School, Douglas Annand and Max Dupain's styles were compatible. This emerges in Ziegler's first major photographic work, *Soul of a City*. Produced for The City of Sydney in 1940, it was Dupain's first book as principal photographer and the first attempt to follow the overseas trend towards the photo-text, such as Walker Evans's *American Photographs*.

Douglas Annand's layout follows the passage of a day in Sydney. Less intrusive on the image shape than Sellheim, Annand arranged the images beside drawings of the sun as it makes its stylised journey across the sky. Although there are scenes of working life, many images are recreational. This was partly the result of Dupain's commitment to his studio during the working week, *Soul of a City* being a weekend project.

The Second World War limited the output of books but with the cessation of hostilities Ziegler was back in action, helping various towns and shires get a slice of the Post-War Immigration pie as well as the benefits of the expansion of industrial investment. The Snowy Mountains Scheme was promoted with the booklet *Water for the Thirsty Inland*. Australia's war record played an important part of the patriotic tome, the 1946 edition of *This is Australia*.

Between 1946 and 1952 Ziegler's output of books and booklets for New South Welsh regional centres followed a pattern. This pattern included a principal photographer (often Max Dupain) and design work by Gert Sellheim involving odd shapes of pastel colour echoed by the cropping of the photographs. Unlike the promotional books of the thirties, aimed at the tourist, these were arranged to promote various civic amenities and the region's lifestyle, followed by a section advertising the local businesses which had sponsored the publication. Several of Ziegler's works up to 1963 continued this pattern, to some extent.

*Newcastle, 150 Years* was part of Ziegler's involvement in that city's sesquicentenary celebrations in 1947. Another Ziegler book to feature the work of Max Dupain as principal photographer, *Newcastle, 150 Years* was accompanied by a little schoolchildren's booklet called *This is my Home*. Sellheim's dust jacket design for *Newcastle, 150 Years* is a montage of industrial photographs in a russet colour with the title in red.

*Brisbane, Queensland's Capital* was published in 1947 and again in 1949. Although Brisbane is anything but a New South Welsh provincial centre, two of the
books Ziegler produced for Brisbane (the other being *Brisbane, City in the Sun* in 1957) closely resemble his southern productions.

By the late 1950s Ziegler was producing many kinds of books, from simple illustrated promotions for Penfold's Wines to a huge book about Brisbane's centenary. Ziegler continued to produce books for regional centres until 1963. After this the company became more concerned with the larger promotional books, their smaller books were mainly centred on Sydney, especially at the time of the Opera House's completion. A book commemorating the silver jubilee of Queen Elizabeth's reign in 1977, *EIIR 25 Years*, was the last Oswald Ziegler book.
CHAPTER THREE. MOVEMENTS.

3.1 The Views Trade.

Australia was settled by the British at a time when mechanical reproduction was an ever growing means of communication. Engravings and lithographs were often made in Britain from local studies, with the aim of displaying Britain's odd new colony. It was not long before artists like Joseph Lycett were creating volumes of Australian views. By the centenary year of 1888 there was a market, in Australia and abroad, for the massive projects like *The Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*. This was also the period when studio photographers began to lose their trade to the amateur market. The studios of photographers like Charles Kerry began to specialise in the view trade, producing postcards and folders of photographs as souvenirs of various places in Australia.

Several books have been aimed specifically at photographic work in the Nineteenth Century. Alan Davies and Peter Stanburys' *The Mechanical Eye in Australia* (1985) and Leigh McCawley's *The Silver Image* (1991) have the most comprehensive texts, coming as they do from the extensive research of the State Library of New South Wales and the University of Sydney's Macleay Museum respectively.¹
3.2 Pictorialism.

Until the birth of the Photography Gallery system in the 1970s, the exhibition of photographs was all but confined to group shows known as Salons. The majority of these Salons were organised by local camera clubs and served the clubs' immediate areas. For an Australian photographer to be exhibited as part of the World photography scene the photographer had to submit work to International Salons. This usually required the work to be sent overseas as most attempts to hold regular International Salons in Australia were unsuccessful. Of the more successful attempts, the Australian Salons of Photography held in Sydney in 1924 and 1926 have left the best examples of that style of catalogue, Cecil Bostock's *Cameragraphs*.

The *Cameragraphs* reveal the international influence of the pictorialist movement. By the time of the Sydney Salons the pictorialist movement as an international force was being superseded by photographers experimenting with what would become modernism.

Pictorialism had its roots in the photo-impressionist movement of the 1890s. The photo-impressionists believed that art was 'nature seen through a temperament', paraphrasing a quote made by Émile Zola regarding the 1866 Salon regarding the art of the young French painters now known as the Impressionists. Photo-impressionist photography resembled impressionist painting, using soft focus and mist to produce light play, rather than sharp detail of a scientific process. The aesthetic rules of the photographers were more conservative than the painters, particularly the importance of landscape in their oeuvre. Intending to produce photographic works of artistic merit, the photo-impressionists separated from the conservative Royal Photographic Society and formed the Linked-Ring Brotherhood. This group played an important role in introducing pictorialism to Australian photographers. Their work was distributed here via photographic publications and there was the direct involvement of Adelaide born photographer John Kauffmann, who lived in Britain and Europe during the early years of the Linked-Ring brotherhood.

At the turn of the Century, pictorialism was beginning to make a mark on American photography. The editor of the Camera Club of New York's journal *Camera Notes* was Alfred Steiglitz. A supporter of the new style, his inclusion of pictorialist images in *Camera Notes* was unpopular with the Camera Club Authorities. Facing a withdrawal of support from the Camera Club, Steiglitz resigned in 1902 and formed the Photo-Secession and produced its journal, *Camera Work*. Unlike their European counterparts, the Photo-Secessionists celebrated modernity in their images, through
their eschewal of the manipulative effects carried out upon photo-impressionistic photographs. It has been observed that Steiglitz's literary interest in Émile Zola was at least partly responsible for this direction. The resulting interest in everyday subject matter rather than ethereal landscapes had an influence upon Australian pictorialism, particularly in Sydney and Melbourne. It should be noted that the influence of the Photo-Secession on Australian photography was much smaller than that of the Linked-Ring Brotherhood, only one copy of Camera Work is known to have reached Australia at the time.

The emergence of pictorialism in Australia gained momentum after Kauffmann's return in 1897. Important photographers of the style include Harold Cazneaux, Cecil Bostock, Fred Radford, May Moore and Minna Moore. With promotion from local journals such as Kodak's Australasian Photo-Review and the Architecturally based The Salon, the movement came to dominate Australian photography in the first part of the century. Pictorialism in Australia, sometimes known as the 'Sunshine School', grew as the movement declined elsewhere. In discussing the Australian movement, Gael Newton observes that "pictorialism as an avant-garde had finished by 1914". Cecil Bostock and John Kauffmann had monographs published in 1917 and 1919 respectively. Harold Cazneaux received an important patron when Sydney Ure Smith bought his work to illustrate the magazine The Home, launched in 1920.
3.3 Modernism.

We do not wish to be classified as "artists" or "pictorialists" but are bent on developing the aesthetic of the light picture with reference only to natural phenomena and not to the other graphic mediums. Photography is more closely allied to Science than to Art.¹

Max Dupain, 1947.

Pictorialism was getting to be rather old hat by the beginning of the thirties. Overseas developments in photographic style and the arts in general had left the ethereality of pictorialism behind. The new photography was embracing modern life rather than clinging to a romantic landscape tradition. In Australia the phototexts were moving from Art in Australia Ltd's aesthetic souvenirs towards a more directly mercantile promotional purpose.

The first breaks with the pictorialist landscape aesthetic came around 1915. At this time, photographers working within the pictorialist style of painterly images began to take an increasing number of studies of modern urban life. This was taken up by local photographers, as can be seen by the presence of urban Australia found in the Cameragraphs of the mid 1920s. This was followed by rejection of the soft focus and falsification techniques in favour of sharp and exact focus.

While the pictorialists had kept photography and art to an imitation of French Impressionism, the avant garde in painting had changed quite significantly. During the First World War Europe had seen the arrival of the dadaist anti-art tendencies. The Berlin dadaists had used photography in their work, particularly John Heartfield. The surrealists were also emergent. Man Ray's experiments with solarisation and printing the shadows of objects placed on photographic emulsions were influential in linking photographic aesthetics with the new aesthetics of the artistic world. The German Bauhaus school would do the same for the modern design aesthetic.

In *Picturing Australia*, Anne Marie Willis considers Harold Cazneaux's 1929 images for *Sydney Surfing* as a major breakthrough for modernism in Australian photography, especially in comparison with his work for *Sydney Harbour* the previous year. *Sydney Harbour*'s pretty harbourside views, selected from the 1927 Sydney number of *Art in Australia*, were replaced by a clear focus, randomly composed series of modernly dressed beachgoers which were originally reproduced in *The Home*. As Willis notes, the selection of fashionable Bondi rather than a conservative family beach reinforces the modernity that *Sydney Surfing* aims for. It also reveals the general expectations of the readerships of Sydney Ure Smith's major journals, the conservative
connoisseur who read *Art in Australia* contrasted with the thoroughly modern reader of *The Home*.

After the Salons of the mid 1920s, Australia’s next major encounter with overseas developments was the visit by E. O. Hoppé in 1930. His exhibition and, to a lesser extent, subsequent book *The Fifth Continent* included examples of photography of modern urban life.

Another important reason for the abandonment of the soft focus approach was the arrival in Australia of the Art Deco style of architecture. The pylons of the Sydney Harbour Bridge and Art in Australia Limited’s home, Kyle House in Macquarie Place, were early examples. When Cecil Bostock and Harold Cazneaux were commissioned to take the photographs for *The Book of The ANZAC Memorial* in 1934, the two Pictorially trained photographers were faced with a building unsuitable for such imagery.2 Designed by prominent Art Deco architect C. Bruce Dellit to display ‘dignity and simplicity’, the memorial called for defined focus and direct lighting.3 A photograph of the memorial under construction on page forty one looks up at the work in progress through the dark ring of the balcony.

Art Deco was more than just an architectural phenomenon. It could be incorporated into every element of the design world. Gert Sellheim’s early work for Oswald Ziegler was heavily influenced by the style. Magazine design, from main features to small advertisements, was dominated by Art Deco throughout the 1930s. The style called for a new style of photography to accompany the design. Although influenced by the austere modernist movement rather than the frivolous Art Deco, young commercial photographers were found suitable to be incorporated into the Art Deco aesthetic.

The leading photographer to emerge at this time was Max Dupain. His devotion to modernism came to the attention of the photography world with *Silos Morning* in 1933. Within two years he had, with the patronage of Sydney Ure Smith, become a regular contributor to *The Home* and the subject of an article on his surrealist-influenced images in *Art in Australia*.

Advertising and illustration continued to be the oeuvre of modernist photography throughout the 1930s. In 1940 *Soul of a City* became the first major book of modernist photography. Produced by Oswald Ziegler, *Soul of a City* incorporated Max Dupain’s photographs (the first book to use Dupain’s work exclusively) into a Douglas Annand designed chronological layout.
The war affected the modernists in several ways. Firstly there was the rapid development of photographic technology. This would not, however, have been released to the general photographic industry until after the war and subsequent period of austerity.

The involvement of photographers in the war effort, following in Frank Hurley's footsteps, saw the Modernists take on such projects as Dupain's work with William Dobell whilst camouflaging Bankstown aerodrome. Photographers had to record both the truth for the records and the deception for security. As the war drew to a close Dupain, among others, was commissioned to photograph Australia for potential immigration publicity.

One of Dupain's series of life during wartime was of working women. In the studios of the modernists, women played their rôle in maintaining the industry. Olive Cotton ran Max Dupain's studio while Margot Donald took over the running of the Russell Roberts commercial studios. Although obliged to step aside in peacetime, the women remained their place, if on the periphery, of professional photography.

The modernist movement, with its commercial aesthetic, can be seen as a force in *Australian Photography 1947*. Produced by Oswald Ziegler in 1948 following a salon coinciding with Newcastle's sesquicentenary, the selection shows how tastes had changed since the all-pictorialist *Cameragraphs* of the mid 1920s.

Despite the passage of time since the ideals of pictorialism were avant-garde, the pictorialists maintained a strong presence in *Australian Photography 1947*. Although the misty/grainy imagery of pictorialism remained, the photographers had adapted to modern photographic technology. The painterly aspirations of the early days were all but abandoned. One strong interest, mainly expressed by the pictorialist but also employed by modernists, was the study of individual trees. Although following Kauffmann's ti-trees, most of the images in *Australian Photography 1947* are eucalypts. The continued interest in trees was to result in a Ure Smith Miniature, *Australian Treescapes*, in 1950.

The incorporation of photographers' older works is noticeable in the pictorialists' contributions. Harold Cazneaux submitted several well-known images, including a Darling Harbour image which had appeared in the Sydney Number of *Art in Australia* back in 1927. Dr. Julian Smith's portraits were another important aspect of
Australian pictorialism to be featured in *Australian Photography 1947*, although Smith himself had just died when the book was published.

As for modernism, there was a selection of both commercial and amateur work. Much of the commercial work involves industrial images and fashion photography. In the introductory essays, Max Dupain, in a piece entitled 'factual photography', decries the cringe of the pictorialists, hiding the scientific aesthetics of photography under a veil of imitative painterly techniques, as quoted at the head of this chapter.
3.4 Documentary.

During the Depression Years of the thirties magazine imagery began to emulate the cinematic newsreels in their journalistic content. Pictorial news magazines such as *Life* in the United States and *Picture Post* in the United Kingdom emerged. With them came the birth of photo-journalism. Photo-journalism and documentary photography are slightly different terms. Documentary photography is the broader gathering of images of contemporary life, photo-journalism is the populist aspect of documentary, concerned with the production and publication of images which have an immediate appeal and accessibility.

While photo-journalism shared modernism's basic aesthetics of clear focus and contemporary themes, it was aimed at involvement in the subject, rather than modernism's tendency towards cool detachment. Australia's pictorial journals emulated the overseas examples.¹

The first *Soul of a City*, 1940, was a photo-essay which, while composed in a modernist manner, owed some of its inspiration to photo-journalism. It was a deliberate record of modern life as it was at the end of the 1930s, with the Depression over but War about to begin. Although Ure Smith's post-war *Portrait* series (*Portrait of Sydney* and *Portrait of Melbourne*) were not necessarily photo-journalistic, they did bear an active urban imagery. The use of the local social observers Kenneth Slessor and John Hetherington as the narrators add to the books' power as documents of the city.

After success of the New York Museum of Modern Art's *The Family of Man* exhibition raised photo-journalism into the 'Art Photography' stakes, the publishers of phototexts began to imitate the catalogue's style.² The catalogue, as distributed by the Museum of Modern Art, was available in hardcover, soft cover and paperback. The catalogue featured a collage of photographs and shapes of colour. The pages of the book were arranged after the hanging pattern of the exhibition, divided into chapters which followed various aspects of the human existence around the world, accompanied by appropriate poetic quotes.

The most whole-hearted imitation of the *Family of Man* catalogue was *Melbourne, a Portrait*. It bore a soft cover with a coloured pattern by Leonard French over several panoramas of the city. Its text was based on David Saunders's poetry, its approach to Melbourne was at a deliberately human scale.
The final edition of *Soul of a City* appeared in 1962. It also took aspects of the *Family of Man* catalogue, notably the inclusion of poetry (this time by John Thomson) within the captions. Close in format to the first edition, Dupain's photography was once more arranged in a manner reflecting the pattern of life in Sydney. Robert Walker's work in *Life at The Cross* and Quinton Davis's work in *Sydney*, both from 1965, continue the tradition of examining Sydney as a city with a particular lifestyle.
CHAPTER FOUR. THE NATIONAL IMAGE.

4.1 Cazneaux's *Australia*; or "of rugged mountain ranges"...exclusively.

At the end of the Nineteenth Century the Australian landscape had become synonymous with the eucalypt forests on the outskirts of Australian cities. This was because that was the landscape accessible to most Australians, especially the artists. By the 1920s this portrayal had become artistically academic. Harold Cazneaux actively pursued this as his landscape as an alternative to the British pictorialist ideal landscape. In 1928 Art in Australia Limited published a booklet of his landscapes called *Australia*.

The selection of images in Cazneaux's *Australia* is different from later Australia books. Those books are full of photographs of Australia, comprehensively covering the nation, state by state.

In *Australia*, Cazneaux; or whomever selected the images; presents the viewer with Australian photographs. The photographs are landscapes, with emphasis on Eucalyptus trees. Of the six photographs, only one is identified by its location, *Road to Wombeyan Caves, N.S.W.* [figure 4] Another photograph has been reproduced elsewhere identifying its location as being near Penrith. [figure 5] The effect is similar to paintings by the newer generation of landscape artists, especially Hans Heysen and Elioth Gruner. The latter's landscapes of the Penrith region are softer than Cazneaux's image, indicating an early attempt by Cazneaux to move from soft pictorialism to his proto-modernist æsthetic.

In its selection *Australia* resembles the earlier views-style anthologies. It can also be linked to much later phototexts, such as *Melbourne, a Portrait*, by its rejection of the self-explanatory, tourist attracting photographs of most other books of the time. The book is not particularly revolutionary, insofar as its images follow a conservative style of landscape painting.
4.2 Emil Otto Hoppe's *The Fifth Continent*.

After the glitter and pageantry of Ceylon and India you will exhaust the pictorial possibilities in six weeks!

This was said by one acquaintance of E. O. Hoppe on his departure from England. In 1930 the British based travel photographer visited Australia to take photographs for his book *The Fifth Continent*.2

Emil Otto Hoppe was born in Munich in 1878. He studied portrait photography in Paris and Vienna. After military service in Germany he migrated to Britain in 1900, working as a cashier before his portraiture became a successful career.3 After 1913 he began to travel around the world. This became an important part of his photographic output, particularly after 1925 when he began to produce books of travel photography.

Books such as *Picturesque Great Britain* and *Romantic America* set the style which was continued by *The Fifth Continent*.4 The format of these books was a full page to each image, regardless of the image's size. The pictorial content followed a simple pattern of urban images, typical landscapes and the occasional character study (although not in *Picturesque Great Britain*). Hoppe would start each book in the major city (e.g. London, New York and Sydney) then show each state or county in turn, ending; in the case of the United States and Australia; with pictures of the National Capital.5 The familiar dome of Washington's Capitol building is a dramatic contrast to Canberra's sparse Parliament House courtyard, long since altered, yet these are the closing images of *Romantic America* and *The Fifth Continent* respectively.

Hoppe's visit to Australia involved more than just the collection of images for *The Fifth Continent*. He brought with him a selection of photographs which were exhibited at the David Jones department store in Sydney in 1930.6 Some of his images also appeared in *The Home* journal, both his overseas work and some images of Sydney's Harbour Bridge.

The pictorial section of *The Fifth Continent* opens with a photograph of Sydney's St. Mary's Cathedral as seen from Queen's Square. A drinking fountain and tree form a dark frame to the right of the photograph, compensating for the cathedral's lack of spires. The use of foreground silhouettes is a frequent pictorial effect in Hoppe's work, framing the central image. Hoppe used religious buildings, including cathedrals and the ruined church at Port Arthur as well as mission stations as reference points in the book. The penultimate image incorporates what is described as the site of
Canberra's cathedral, bringing an absent centre of religion into the sparse centre of government. As well as Christian religious buildings are an image of an Aboriginal ceremony and a Darwin Joss House.\[figure 6\] Even in the post war immigration drive, Australian photographers did little more than allude to non-Christian immigration, so Hoppé's image of Chinese spirituality against a corrugated iron wall is unique. Even synagogues are all but incidental in phototexts, only Jack Cato, in \textit{Melbourne}, features anything other than Christian buildings in sections devoted to ecclesiastical architecture.

\textit{Melbourne}'s photographic section is a little closer in style to Hoppé's \textit{Romantic America} images. The first photograph shows the River Yarra as it winds through the Domain. A row of palm trees along the foreground road forms a broken triangle through which the river can be seen. Other images show the active urban lifestyle in the crowded city streets. The wharves at Port Melbourne were the most important point of arrival for migrants and visitors to Melbourne. In \textit{The Fifth Continent} horse-drawn drays are shown carrying sacks of produce to be loaded onto the cargo ships.\[figure 7\] In the days when primary industry reigned supreme, Hoppé did not produce any especially industrial photographs of Australia like those he took in Sheffield, Pittsburgh and Detroit for \textit{Picturesque Great Britain} and \textit{Romantic America}, so \textit{The Fifth Continent} carries images of primary exports. Compared with other books on Australia of the period, notably Ziegler's sesqui-centennial volumes, Hoppé maintains the image of the agricultural nation riding on the sheep's back. This was probably, to an experienced travel photographer like Hoppé, what he expected the overseas audience to appreciate. Ziegler, native-born and working for officialdom, was more concerned with showing the nation's progress. The nearest Hoppé comes to industrial photography in \textit{The Fifth Continent} are those showing work on the Hume Weir and the electricity works at Yallourn. There is also an image of Newcastle Harbour which shows the artificial waterfront, crowned by Nobby's Head but this, like the Port Melbourne image, does not depict the industrial side of the city, showing instead the export of natural resources.

By contrast to these photographs, the small sections on Hobart, Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane display serenity. Showing images from parkland, deserted streets and harbours, there is none of Sydney's grandeur or Melbourne's hubbub. Hobart is represented by a photograph of Salamanca Place showing a group of people outside the Sailors' Home seen from behind a eucalypt and photographs of the Harbour. In another photograph of Hobart, Hoppé contrasts the horse drawn vehicles in the foreground with a pattern of masts.\[figure 8\] These masts echo the shape of large steamships which form the backdrop. The other Harbour photograph is simpler, showing Hobart's
low skyline over ferry wharves, seen from a barge. The angles on the barge and the cloud pattern break the otherwise horizontal pattern of the photograph.

Adelaide's photographs show the railway station emerging over the parkland and a photograph of a not to busy city intersection. *Adelaide at Dusk from Mount Lofty Ranges* on page eighty three shows the grid pattern of Adelaide's streets picked out in streetlights. In a manner influenced by the Pictorialists, Hoppe has composed around the silhouette of a tree. Perth is rather poorly displayed. The Swan River is shown twice. The first image, of mooring piers in half light, is placid. The second image, looking across the Narrows from King's Park is rather plain but for the incongruously leaning tree on the left acting as a framing device.

Brisbane fares a little better. Darwin, hardly a capital then, is represented by a hurriedly composed shot of *A Typical Darwin Residence* and a photograph of the local Joss House in use. In Darwin's isolation lay exoticism compared with the Chinatowns of the larger cities which were of little interest to Hoppe, or any other photographer.

The rural photographs in *The Fifth Continent* show more of Hoppe's inconsistency, from great images to dull pictures.[figure 9] The former include images taken during a stay at the Hermannsburg Mission in Central Australia. *Red Banks Gorge in the MacDonnell Ranges* shows the coarse texture of the rock face, broken by the triangle of sky at the top of the image and the water towards the bottom. On a rock protruding from the water stands an Aboriginal guide, giving an idea of the scale of the gorge. Hoppe's images of Aborigines include a lot of hunting and corroboree scenes, images of picturesque savagery.[figure 10] There are also images of missions at Hermannsburg and New Norcia in Western Australia. Among the other rural images are many livestock photographs, vital to the nation's image but rather inconsequential in any aesthetic sense.

Hoppe tried to show Canberra with the same style as he had shown Washington D.C. in *Romantic America* but the lack of progress on Canberra hindered such grandeur. In both books the nation's capital city was used as the finale but Washington, with over a century's head-start on Canberra, was much more amenable to dramatically lit photographs of official architecture.

*The Fifth Continent* continued the pattern books of images of Australia which had started in the Nineteenth Century with such works as the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*. Cazneaux's *Australia* had been a small book which dealt with "Australianness" rather than "pictorial coverage" of Australia. The books that
followed, Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study* and, to a much lesser extent, Ziegler's national books follow the order of Hoppe's work in their state by state coverage. *Australia, a Camera Study* and *The Fifth Continent* both digress where an area of one state has more in common with a neighbouring state. Hoppé, for example, includes the photograph *Bay at Boyd's Farm*, a photograph of the south coast of New South Wales, among images of Victoria's geographically similar Gippsland district. Similarly, Hurley included Broken Hill in the South Australian rather than New South Welsh chapter of *Australia, a Camera Study* because of the city's close economic ties with the neighbouring state. Hoppé, as an outsider, would have been even less concerned than Hurley about offending Australia's delicate state rivalries.
4.3 Ziegler's Australia Tomes.

Oswald Ziegler was responsible for a group of thick quarto; and one folio; books on Australian society and industry.[figure 11] They were published as commemorative volumes. Each of these tomes featured a particular topic which served as the uniting factor behind the text and images. These were mainly anniversaries but the end of the Second World War, the 1956 Olympics and the 1960s mineral boom (as part of the history of planet Earth) were also used as themes.

Ziegler's folio sized Sesqui-centennial publication *150 Years, Australia 1788-1938* show-cased Australia using many photographers including Frank Hurley (most of the colour work is his) and such rising stars as Melbourne's Athol Shmith. It aimed at institutional book collections rather than mainstream sales, being too large for ordinary shelf display.[colour plate 2]

The design work by Gert Sellheim was based on Aboriginal art. This style had first appeared in Ziegler's Sesqui-centennial celebrations programme, *150 Years in Australia*, published for the Government of New South Wales in 1937. Sellheim was among the first designers to allow an Aboriginal influence. Ironically, the text of *150 Years, Australia 1788-1938* perpetuated the concept of the Aborigines as a dying race. *150 Years, Australia 1788-1938* defined the style of Ziegler's tomes devoted to national promotion. Brief chapters were devoted many subjects, including little views of Australian cities and towns, primary and secondary industries, lifestyle and the contemporary event, in this case the Sesqui-centenary.

In the course of attracting migrants after the Second World War, it is the large, nation-wide volumes that did the most to promote the New Australia. Ziegler's first post war tome, *This is Australia*, was published in 1946, when the "New Australian" was going to be British. As the immigration scheme began to accept more European migrants the books slowly acknowledged the ethnicity of the New Australians. The Aboriginal influence upon Gert Sellheim's design work was waning, but *This is Australia* still carries Aboriginal-inspired motifs. Unlike his border designs of 1938, these motifs are large and sparse, with more freedom of shape. The use of Aboriginal design was an identifying aspect of the book's overall "Australianness" rather than an acknowledgment of the Aboriginal people. The colour theme is predominantly russet and black. The photographs are the usual collections of contributions from freelance, corporate and governmental photographers.
This is Australia's contemporary theme commemorates Australia's participation in the Second World War in a large illustrated historical chapter. Australians in action overseas and life on the home front are covered. The attacks against Darwin, Newcastle and Sydney are referred to with forceful foreboding. This was intended to prevent a return to the complacency that led to the severity of the Darwin and Sydney incursions in the first place. The coverage of the Axis surrender was tied in to an emphasis on rebuilding Australia with the newly demobbed workforce. After the failure of previous Governments to properly absorb returned servicemen into the community, this topic was as important as immigration in the future of Australia's population growth.

In 1950, with the help of Angus and Robertson, Ziegler published Commonwealth of Australia Jubilee, 1901-1951. Like Britain's simultaneous Festival, the Golden Jubilee of Federation was an opportunity for Australia to assess the progress of the peacetime economy. Prime Minister Menzies had regained power with the newly organised conservative Liberal Party at the end of 1949 with (among other political issues) a promise to end the rationing system. This was perceived to be the end of post-war austerity. The subsequent tomes on Australia made it a point to celebrate the prosperity of the era. The contemporary issue, celebrating the anniversary of Federation, was a history of the politics and organisation of the Commonwealth. Unlike Ziegler's Australia 1901-1976, delayed by the machinations of the fall of the Whitlam Government so as to document the whole affair, Commonwealth of Australia Jubilee, 1901-1976 avoids judgement of the actual politics involved in the nation's political history. Instead it shows portraits of all the Prime Ministers and showcases a selection of images from significant moments in the Federation movement such as the celebrations in Sydney's Centennial Park on Federation Day in 1901.

Although Gert Sellheim was again responsible for the design work, the main motifs used for the title pages are bas reliefs by Lyndon Dadswell and Tom Bass. Dadswell and Bass were on the verge of their domination of Sydney's public sculpture and the works are distinctively theirs. Sellheim's contribution to the design work includes the use of colour themes. The political history is decorated by a pale yellow, blue-green is used for the lifestyle section and brown is used for industry. Another feature of Sellheim's design, carried over from the smaller books he designed for Ziegler, is his interest in cropping the photographs with odd borders. Several images are printed in their section's theme colour and are used as background for the text.

The intention behind Commonwealth of Australia Jubilee, 1901-1951 was that it should be...
a combination of creative art, photography and descriptive matter, as a memorial befitting the importance of this fiftieth birthday of Australia as a Commonwealth.¹

The design of the book is its most attractive feature. While the photographs are interesting they are crowded and the printing is of rather poor quality. The authors chosen to contribute to the artistic sections include Laurence Le Guay, photographer and erstwhile editor of the journal *Contemporary Photography*, writing about Australian photography.

After the Melbourne Olympic Games of 1956, Ziegler produced another version of *This is Australia*. Menzies's introduction suggests the book was intended for publication immediately after the close of the Games but within the book is a reference to February 1957 as the present. Despite having references to the Olympics, the book has very little to do with the actual Games, besides featuring them heavily in the chapter on Australian sport, which is the book's contemporary theme, contrasting with the earlier Ziegler themes of politics and anniversaries. *This is Australia* uses colour images, artists' impressions as well as Gert Sellheim's theme colour backgrounds in the illustrations. The theme colour throughout *This is Australia* is a pale olive. This is most obvious in the double page chapter headings. His design work is in a pen-sketch format, with a collage influence.

In 1964 Ziegler produced the ambitiously titled *Australia From the Dawn of Time to the Present Day*. This book dealt largely with industry in Australia, examination of the nation's society was incorporated into a celebration of the boom-time mentality of the day. The book had the largest of Ziegler's theme sections, being an opening section, nearly as long as the contemporary text itself, dealing with Australian history from, as the title suggests, the formation of the planet until the 1960s. The minerals boom of the time contributed to the idea of the Australian economy's connection to the continent's geological history.

Ziegler continued to produce large tomes on Australia for a decade after 1966, celebrating the World Expo of 1967 (*The World and Australia*), the Cook Bicentenary of 1970 (*Australia 200*) and the seventy fifth anniversary of Federation (*Australia 1901-1976*). As a whole the books follow the changing Australian image from a 1930s outpost of Empire to a 1970s technological growth centre. These books, while not as illustrative as other phototexts, use photographers in the same way, albeit without crediting individual photographers. Sometimes images from one of Ziegler's phototexts appear in the Australia tomes. Dupain's photographs from the various versions of *Soul*
of a City appear in most of the post-war volumes. Some of Reg Perrier's photographs of Goulburn from the 1946 book Goulburn, Queen City of the South appear in Commonwealth of Australia Jubilee, 1901-1951 and some of Robert Walker's Life at The Cross images, published in 1965, were used to demonstrate Australia's lifestyle in the 1960s volumes.
4.4 The Ektachrome Centre, Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study*.

In 1955 Frank Hurley's *Camera Study* series were incorporated into *Australia, a Camera Study*. It featured images from previous *Camera Studies*, the yet-to-be-published *Victoria, a Camera Study* and from areas that were not to be covered in the series, particularly South Australia and the Territories. It was Hurley's ambition "to realise the cherished dreams of my amateur days-to produce a book that would portray something of the glory and life in our homeland." 1

Used to montage and similar effects, he expressed "misgivings at having to drop "art treatment" for straight portrayal; but I felt that those who send the book overseas would wish to present to their relatives and friends scenes that are familiar and are shown as they would normally see them." Only his clouds were enhanced.

Having said that, one of the first images is a creatively ordered map and compass, images of the extreme points of Australia occupy their relative positions on the compass. The compass is drawn across an image of coastline, the design of the compass incorporating the continent's outline. This image sets the scene for a record of Hurley's travels across the nation. It records that he had reached the four extremes of the land which in turn implies the potential comprehensive coverage of the book.

Hurley was a pioneer in Australian colour photography. His colour work was used by Ziegler for the Sesqui-centenary and would later form the basis for his *In Natural Colour* booklets for John Sands. His colour work was the first to really show the redness of the interior. *Australia, A Camera Study* was the among first of his books to demonstrate this fully, due to improving standards of colour photography and reproduction.

The interest in Central Australia had been encouraged by both the new found tourist mobility and the work of various popular painters, particularly Albert Namatjira and the other Aranda/Hermannsburg artists. Other artists, from such diverse backgrounds as Sidney Nolan and Hans Heysen, were also producing work based on the Central Australian landscape. The colours of Central Australia were not always portrayed as the deep red now typical of today's imagery.

Ayer's Rock, as Uluru was then widely known, appears in colour in first edition of *Australia, A Camera Study*. A corner of the monolith at sunset is shown, "like a gigantic mass of red hot slag just poured from a crucible."[colour plate 4] Even the outback could not escape the industrial-progress mentality of the age. In later
editions, Uluru is also shown in colour at sunrise and midday. By then there were more visitors to the site and the changeable colours of Uluru were becoming well known. The actual sequence of colours was not as well known, as different editions of *Australia, A Camera Study* transpose captions and images.

The 1966 edition of *Australia, a Camera Study* was compiled as a tribute to Hurley. The idea behind the book was to continue the tradition of showing Australia to the tourist, maintaining as much of Hurley's original content as possible. As some of the images in *Australia, a Camera Study* had been taken during the forties, by 1966 they were too dated to appear in a book that's purpose had been to display contemporary Australia.
4.5 The New Australia, as seen in other books on Australia.

The threat of Japanese invasion during the Second World War and our industrial isolation from our previous trading partners caused a rethink on the nation's immigration policies. At the same time many people in Europe were preparing to leave behind bad memories of the War and seek new pastures.

The initial reason to produce large nationalistic tomes was for souvenir purposes. *Displaying Australia and New Guinea*, printed in Chicago in 1945, was obviously intended for American service personnel to take back after the end of the War. There were frequent comparisons between Australia and The United States, Sydney apparently looked just like New York, our fruit stalls had the same variety as America's... The inclusion of photographs of American servicemen with Australian women could hardly have been intended for returning Australian servicemen to see. Need it be said that the very similar volume, *Displaying Australia*, did not feature images of G.I.s with Australian women.[figures 12-15] Both books were designed by Charles Meere and Freda Robertshaw, the artists responsible for the painting *Beach Pattern* and other images of the athletic Australian, a figure replacing the bush Australian as the ideal.1 The books were aimed at two distinct markets, the local market, full of patriotism, and the souvenir market, full of memories. In either case it was prudent to reinforce the image of Australia as a strong and vibrant nation.

Photographs were often included in books produced as a textual promotion of Australia. One example of this is *This Land of Ours*, produced by Angus and Robertson in 1949. The book is full of essays by prominent authors about aspects of Australian life. The photographic content is similarly concerned with the nation's lifestyle, with city streets, beauty queens, surfers, (British) migrant children, stockmen and a closing image of an elderly New England couple in their horse-drawn buggy on their way to a Glen Innes church.[figure 16] This image of conservative gentility, which could be in America's as well as Australia's New England district, contrasts with an image of Inner Sydney backyards elsewhere in the book. The latter shares a page with an image of upper middle class Sydney residences, demonstrating the mentality of the era of the County of Cumberland Scheme, with its slum clearance and green belt policies. *This Land of Ours* celebrates white Australian culture as it stood in 1949, with little indication that it would change very much. It was a feel-good book written for people who wanted to get an overview of Australia, for overseas friends and relatives or for their own interest.
Around 1951 Colorgravure set about producing Australia books. These were linked to the magazine work of the Colorgravure company. In *The Australian Countryside in Pictures* viewers are treated to an image of Bellingen, home of the Sara Quads. These books were full of simple, magazine style images of early 1950s Australia and equally simple articles about particular aspects of the imagery. These were forerunners of the *Women's Weekly's Beautiful Australia* series, aimed at the readers of the magazine who were attracted by the pictorial content of the magazine and wanted a more substantial souvenir. The images are more illustrative than they are examples of photo-journalism although there are some images of human interest. An image of Aboriginal servant girls watching their white mistress would have been shown as an example of assimilation at work. Today, like the movie *Jedda*, the image serves as a reminder of the oppressive background to the policies of the time.

The 1956 Olympic Games were held in Melbourne. This gave publishers a chance to promote the nation while it remained in the international spotlight. Melbourne's Australian Publicity Council produced *Land of the Southern Cross, Australia* prior to the games. This book resembled the Ziegler products in its design. The Australian Publicity Council published several similar books, which were intended to promote particular aspects of Victoria, such as its Western Districts in *The Western Horizon*, 1958 and its irrigation schemes in 1960's *Liquid Gold* in the context of the state's rôle in Australia's economy.

Another book from the mid 1950s was by a migrant, looking at his new-found home. Czech-born Jaroslav Novak-Niemela wrote the text and apparently chose the images for *Australia, the Great South Land*, produced by Angus and Robertson in 1956. Although portrayed as the product of the author's experience, the choice of images seems too close to every other book not to have been a product of the Department of Information. The book was obviously meant for worldwide distribution, being lightweight in both content and physical form. The pages are littered by platitudes about Australia, "Free men in a free country," "Aboriginal stockmen. In the outback the horse is still a valuable helper", "Irrigation, the great promise for Australia's future" and "Just one among hundreds of ships which after the war brought immigrants to their new country- the country of the future." These books had initially developed from the need to build up patriotism in the aftermath of the Depression and the Second World War. As time progressed, they leaped onto the Immigration bandwagon, much more so than the larger Australia promoters Frank Hurley and Oswald Ziegler. All of these books, however,
demonstrate the emergence of "The Australian Dream" in its affluent mid century incarnation of freedom versus the red menace.
CHAPTER FIVE. METROPOLITAN LIFE.
5.1 The quest for a typical Australian city.

Australia, despite the cultural dominance of the 'outback', is a very urban nation. Most Australians live in urban areas. Sydney and Melbourne are the largest and therefore most influential cities in Australian culture. These cities exhibit two different appearances. Sydney is the Harbour City, any book of images of Sydney has coverage of the Harbour and water-related leisure. Melbourne is the Garden City. Its parks and gardens project the city's lifestyle. Sydney is a peoples' town, populated by a youthful and cosmopolitan society. Melbourne is the dignified mercantile city. Sydney's architecture is a mass of New York imitation mini-skyscrapers among a scattering of public buildings kept on from its years as a penal colony. At the peak of the post Gold Rush boom last century, Melbourne had the money to equip itself with a multitude of High Victorian edifices, giving birth to what Robin Boyd would term the 'Featurist Capital'.

Of the other capitals, Brisbane was the only one to really promote itself through these books. It was the tropical city, the colourful city, in its dress and to a lesser extent in its architecture. This became an advantage as colour publications developed with the advancement of colour printing technology. Like Sydney, its peninsular business district invited comparisons with New York, like Melbourne it was a city of (this time tropical) gardens. The other capitals of similar size, Perth and Adelaide, were rather neglected in the field of quality photographic promotions. Hobart was, thanks mainly to Frank Hurley's work for the Tasmanian Government, given a little more publicity. It had the appearance of a provincial British town with its smaller scale, in both architecture and street traffic.

Then there is Canberra, created for a symbolic purpose, growing when it is bureaucratically correct to do so. What should have been a unified grand scheme was continually interrupted by external matters such as the World Wars and the Great Depression. Internal squabbling between architects and politicians combined with changing urban and aesthetic ideals over a long period delayed the city's arrival at symbolic grandeur until it was about fifty years old.

Newcastle stood alone as a provincial city at the turn of the century but by the Sixties Wollongong and Queensland's Gold Coast had expanded to rival it in size and importance, the former to suit industrial growth, the latter to suit tourism and speculative building. Finally there are the rural cities, looking beyond their agricultural background to accommodate the national shift away from primary industry. Goulburn
and Albury took advantage of the Hume Highway to promote themselves as centres for decentralisation. [Figure 21] Central West towns like Forbes and Orange and Northern towns such as Kyogle and Gloucester used Ziegler to promote themselves to potential settlers, both commercial and residential. Maitland is a late example, which had been usurped by Newcastle as the main provincial centre of New South Wales. It also saw itself as a major growth centre in a decentralised Hunter Valley industrial sector.

A particular concern which developed in phototexts as they developed was the state of Australian architecture, particularly on the domestic scale. In the early years of the phototexts their architectural criticism was passive, showing modern and historic architecture without much comment on their relative aesthetic value. Monuments were monumental, Greenway was historic and local houses were fine structures. Harsh criticism was limited to slums and even they were condemned in the accompanying text rather than by illustration, such as is found in the chapter on the Cumberland County Planning scheme in the first Sydney, a Camera Study. In that case there is no hint of criticism in Hurley's coverage of Sydney's architecture but the text gives an example of a house in the oldest section of Paddington. One of the few exceptions was the photographic content of the 1949 publication This Land of Ours which had a small monochrome image of an inner Sydney slum beneath a large colour image of new North Shore houses. [Figure 22]

In the Twenties the older public buildings, by their pictorial impressiveness, dominated the photography of Australian cities. The Macquarie Book had shown Cazneaux's photographs of Greenway's architecture while other Art in Australia Limited books showed Pictorialist-style images of Town Halls and the like. The value of architectural nostalgia will be discussed later.

The architectural content of a book was dominated by the condition of a city's architecture; take, for example, Frank Hurley's Sydney, a Camera Study. Sydney in 1948 was still caught in the austerity period. Few buildings had been built since the A.W.A. Building's completion as the Second World War began in September 1939. Unlike Melbourne with its plethora of public monuments from the Gold Rush Boom and Centennial gifts, Sydney's streetscape was looking rather tired. The General Post Office had lost its clock tower because of the air-raid risk (it was not to return until the 1960s). Much of Hurley's architectural imagery dealt with the Gothic architecture of the previous century.

An odd example of the use of architectural photography from 1950 was the Ure Smith Miniature Australian Treescapes. The booklet was devoted to photographs which
feature trees, rather than photographs of trees. Several of the images are architectural studies in which the buildings' gardens are used as part of the composition. Max Dupain shows the use of natural landscape with modernist architecture, Harold Cazneaux shows the cultivated gardens of the Georgian Revival. At a time when the spread of suburbia was destroying forested areas around Australia's cities, it is interesting that fashionable architecture was embracing the tree.

By the mid 1950s the photographic industry had changed. Architectural photography had become the meal ticket of many modernist photographers, none so much as Max Dupain, although Wolfgang Sievers and David Moore were also significant. The local magazine Architecture, after an early dalliance with pictorialism when it was known as The Salon, had all but given up on creative photography, leaving pictorial coverage of modern architecture to its rival Building. This changed with the lifting of wartime paper restrictions and by the middle of the decade Architecture had transformed into the glossy journal Architecture in Australia. The increased pictorial content and the building boom made architectural photography the major force of post war modernism. Despite this, Oswald Ziegler's Australian Photography 1957 featured only one true architectural image, a Milton Kent photograph of the King George V Memorial hospital, completed almost fifteen years earlier.

The failure of Ziegler to accord architectural photography its rightful place as the dominant form of its time did not deter compilers of photo-texts from increasing the level of architectural criticism in books. Even if they were originally designed to present a beautiful face for Australia, the growing debate about this nation's aesthetic values became part of its image.

The 1958 edition of Sydney, a Camera Study concluded with a three page coverage of domestic architecture with captions that condemn everything from terrace houses to Moderne style villas of the late thirties (the same style championed in This Land of Ours). The latter style, a late off-shoot of Art Deco, spent the fifties and sixties being reviled before an Art Deco revival in the United States which reached Australia via an article by Daniel Thomas in Art and Australia.

The critic in Sydney, a Camera Study flattered the Georgian Revival style for its "charm and dignity". Moderne buildings were "ostentatious... showing the worst features of oversea [sic.] design", a far cry from when they were "interesting", "attractive" and "admirably suited to the climate". The criticism was at its loudest in New South Wales, probably because many of the most significant works of this style were built in Sydney. Local (overseas trained) architect Sydney Ancher interpreted Le
Corbusier's decree that architects should follow the aesthetic principles of ocean liner design, leaving the Sydney harbourside of the 1930s with mansions that looked like ocean liners. Ancher later joined Harry Seidler as an exponent on Modernist architecture, leaving his early work without a defender.

Victoria had its own bête-noire buildings. Its Victorian era Italianate Style, born of the post Gold Rush Boom, was an architectural reminder that Melbourne was Robin Boyd's 'Featurist Capital'. Condemned in such publications as the 1961 edition of Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study*, time had given the so-called Boom Style a nostalgic value that inspired less vehemence than that displayed towards Moderne. The criticism in 1961 was mainly aimed at the cluttered roofscape of Melbourne beneath the smooth lines of the I.C.I. Tower, the Commonwealth Government Building and the slightly older Royal Melbourne Hospital.

Robin Boyd's *Australian Ugliness* appeared before the Australian public in 1960, soon after the critical captions had first appeared. In the decade or so before *The Australian Ugliness* was published, there had been criticism pre-empting Boyd's work in such journals as *Architecture in Australia* and *The Australian Artist*. These journals were produced for a readership who were actually involved in the process of creating the Australian urban aesthetic. There was an increase in European migration which should have ushered in a new cultural awareness but, as Boyd observed, the migrants assimilated into Australian aesthetics faster than Australians could be influenced by theirs.

While most of the architectural photographs in the photography books were aimed at modernity or landmarks, as the years passed there was a growing nostalgia for historic buildings of lesser value. On the most part the nostalgia was dismissed in favour of progress and the clean lines of the new buildings but by the sixties it was becoming an important part of Australia's cultural heritage.

After Robin Boyd's *The Australian Ugliness* it was only a matter of time before Boyd's followers produced a pictorial coverage of the nation's aesthetic values. In 1966 Ure Smith produced *Australia Outrage*, a book so fiercely critical of 'The Australian Ugliness' that even Boyd protested against its intransigence. Don Gazzard, its editor, was a young architect determined to continue the Modernist style of architecture against the wave of the mellower domestic architecture that dominated Sydney in the sixties. David Potts supplied most of the photographs but others came from departmental sources such as the New South Wales Department of Main Roads. Mark Strizic contributed several photographs of Melbournian Outrage.[figure 24]
One of the things the book found outrageously ugly was the way practical architecture and design were presented to the public. Telephone booths, bus shelters and the large road sign at Villawood (a.k.a. 'The Meccano Set') were presented as neglecting form following function. Other photographs protested against the intrusion of advertising and vandal attracting buildings upon the landscape, echoing images used to argue the case for the County of Cumberland Planning Scheme some eighteen years previously. In the Boyer lectures the following year, Robin Boyd pointed out that condemning telegraph poles as being against functionalism was, in fact, contradictory, as telegraph poles are nothing if not functional.

Inevitably the fibro bungalow came in for some strong J’Accuse style condemnation. Gazzard shows a picture of a typical suburban street, lined with such dwellings and telegraph poles. In a rather patronising manner, the photograph is left to speak of its own outrageousness; there is no explanation of how it is seen to be ugly or outrageous. The reader is evidently assumed to be above suburban aesthetics, something that Robin Boyd's wittiness managed to avoid.

Thus in 1966, forty years of relatively uncritical promotion of "interesting" and "progressive" Australian cities was being challenged. Regardless of how extreme Gazzard's opinions may have been, and in terms of architectural critics he certainly had his predecessors such as Florence Taylor's massive slum-clearance and city-realignment pipe dreams. The rejection of the notion that pictorial books had to accord the better aspects of a city with greater attention than the faulty ones was an important milestone in the lead-up to the political debates, union green bans and community activism which rejected the direction of urban development in the 1970s. Proposals for two of the most significant developments involved in these debates, Sydney's Rocks and Woolloomooloo redevelopments, were featured in phototexts by Ziegler in the sixties and seventies as examples of the nation's progress.

Following Life at The Cross in 1965, Inner City regions, hitherto regarded for their potential as slum clearance and redevelopment, became the subject of a new generation of phototexts. Sydney's The Rocks and Paddington and Melbourne's Carlton were among the areas so covered in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The "gentrification" of the Inner City had begun.
CHAPTER SIX. SYDNEY.

6.1 Sydney in general.

In 1927 *Art in Australia* dedicated an issue to images and literature of Sydney. Cazneaux's photographs were advertised as an important feature of the pictorial content.1 [figures 26, 27] The Sydney number was advertised as a souvenir as well as an art journal's examination of the culture of the city. Cazneaux's photographs were a departure from the Pictorialist landscape tradition, focussing on city streets and industrial areas. Smog replaced fog as the painterly device.2

Cazneaux's images from the Sydney number of *Art in Australia* were later divided into two little booklets, accompanied by texts from the same issue which featured, among others, Jean Curlewis. *Sydney Streets* and *Sydney Harbour* each followed important themes in Cazneaux's contribution to the original issue.3 A feature on Sydney's beach culture in *The Home* in 1929, using Cazneaux's photography and Jean Curlewis's writing, was published as *Sydney Surfing* later that same year. *The Sydney Book* was part of another series produced in 1931.4

While Cazneaux was the house photographer for Art in Australia Limited, Ure Smith supported other photographers. In 1930 *The Home* reproduced several images by visiting English-based German photographer Emil Otto Hoppe. Like Cazneaux, Hoppe was a society photographer from the Pictorialist school who had moved on to landscape and travel photography. They were both as interested in modern, urban living as they were in the landscape.

The Sydney photographs in Hoppe's book, *The Fifth Continent* are dominated by images of Sydney Harbour. An image of Woolloomooloo seen between trees in the Domain was probably featured to prove that there is such a place as Woolloomooloo. A more arresting image shows the *Jetties at Circular Quay*. [figure 28] Unlike most photographs of Circular Quay, Hoppe's image does not try to emulate New York Harbor by emphasising the foreshore development. Instead Hoppe deliberately aimed his lens over the Customs House towards the Lands Department clock tower. In doing so he brings the nearest wharves and ferry into prominence. The weathered piles in the foreground lead the viewer to a small boat in the right side of the photograph where a single figure adds human scale to the overall image. Another visible figure is the classically posed advertisement beneath the Romano's Restaurant sign. Unlike the simply composed landscapes Hoppe took of other harbourside locations, *Jetties at Circular Quay* is quite cubist in its flat and angular composition.5
Hoppé also contributed to the record the construction of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Taken just before the top arch was completed, the photograph is rather simple, with the arch framed by clouds and a tree. Hoppé's next image of Sydney is a view of the Conservatorium of Music and Palace Gardens. The Conservatorium, originally Greenway's stables, occupies the lower half of the picture. It is framed by the parapet of a Macquarie Street building, from which the photograph was taken, and the arc of Farm Cove. Mrs. Macquarie's Point separates the foreground from hazy Port Jackson in the background.

The use of open spaces in the images of Macquarie Street is contrasted by the following photograph of Stanley Street, in East Sydney. Rows of terrace houses pile on top of each other on the rise to Darlinghurst, a pattern broken by the occasional tree. There are groups of figures at the bottom of the photograph. Two terrace houses reveal occupation, a pedestrian walks along Stanley Street while a group of four waits in the shade of a side street. This photograph has been retouched in an attempt to conceal the sign on a factory in the centre-left of the photograph. Most of the buildings are late Nineteenth Century terrace buildings but some, especially the two immediately left of the repair shop, reveal an 1840s development, the area being one of the first to be developed with terrace housing in Sydney. This image contrasts with Hoppé's images of Australia's open spaces, providing evidence of Australia's urban environment.

Hoppé also includes photographs of urban crowds. As a part of modern city life, crowds did not appear in traditional Pictorialist landscapes, but as urban images appealed to increasing numbers of photographers and Modernism began to evolve, the crowd found a place in modern photography. The Sydney crowds in The Fifth Continent are attending the popular events at the Royal Agricultural Show and Randwick Park Race Course. At the Agricultural Show the crowds are milling around a cafe as show bulls are being led along one of the Showground's street. The view of a crowd from above is a modernistic composition, despite the awkwardly rustic setting of the showground. The Randwick photograph shows the sport loving Australians looking away from the empty track towards a building on the right side of the picture. Presumably they are all assessing the odds.

As the pictorialist haze began to clear from Australian photography, the promotion of Sydney began reflect the new aesthetics. Max Dupain emerged from the new breed of modernist commercial photographers in the middle of the thirties and was quickly enlisted as one of The Home's major photographers. In 1940 Dupain fulfilled a commission to produced images for Oswald Ziegler's Soul of a City.
The council of the City of Sydney commissioned the book. *Soul of a City* celebrates the lifestyle of the City. Inspired by the recent sesqui-centenary celebration, for which Oswald Ziegler also provided material, *Soul of a City* was devised by Ziegler, using Dupain's photography and Douglas Annand's design. The concept of photography reflecting the soul of a city had been raised by Berenice Abbott during the 1930s. The term resembles Byron's description of Rome as a 'city of the soul'. The 1940 edition of *Soul of a City* and the fourth, from 1962, are the closest to capturing the soul of Sydney. The first edition presents Sydney's soul as a misty and ethereal phenomenon. The cover, designed, like the rest of the book, by Douglas Annand, features clouds and birds. The photograph shown is a glimpse of the city at night shown through a ring of clouds. The viewer is looking upon the city from up high (the Bridge Pylon lookout to be pedantic), peeping through heavenly mists. The cloud and bird motifs continue into the pictorial content of the book.[colour plate 5]

The first edition was the only one to use a chronological theme. The accompanying text is a verse about the passage of a day in Sydney, this is quoted throughout the book in relevant sections. Annand adds a sun and moon symbol which appears on most pages to mark the time of day. Pre-empting the international 1980s series of "a day in the life of..." books, the concept adds the rhythm of city life to the book.

Dupain's images begin with misty dawn pictures and continue to midnight. The selection of images shows the city coming to life as the fog lifts, firstly the working class such the street cleaners and the grocers, then the middle class commuters and finally the women shoppers.[figure 29] After the recreational pictures of afternoon come the images of Sydney nightlife, theatre, cinema, skating, Luna Park, etc.[figure 30] Amidst the revelry, the fact that the book was prepared at the beginning of the Second World War is barely covered, only through a reassuring caption for a photograph of a military parade does the reader get any indication of the world political situation's place in the mind of the city.

The next edition of *Soul of a City* was published about 1950. This time there was a stronger emphasis on the history of the city, including the use of old paintings as background for the modern photographs in the layout designed by Gert Sellheim. The photographs came from Dupain, Hal Missingham and press photographers, denying the book the unity of the first edition.[figure 31] The photographs in the second edition were more involved in the promotion of the city's landmarks like Hyde Park and the Town Hall than the lifestyle of the people. This was somewhat remedied in the third version of *Soul of a City*, published in 1953. This time there was no inclusion of any
photographer in the credits although it would seem that Dupain's images were once more the basis for the book.[figures 32, 33] The photographs were layed out by Gert Sellheim in chapters according to their subject, like yachting or the Harbour Bridge. Ure Smith's Portrait of Sydney from 1950 (see below) seems to have served as the model for its content. The endpapers feature a brief poem by John Thompson which was expanded into the basis for the fourth and final Soul of a City in 1962.

The 1962 version of Soul of a City saw Dupain back as principal, albeit not exclusive, photographer. Ziegler himself took control of the design of the book, with Stan Ostoja-Kotkowski designing the cover and endpapers.[colour plate 6] There was also a return to images of Sydney's lifestyle.[figures 34] In 1962 the night life was full of teenagers at the movies and dancing for a television music show (6 O'clock Rock?[figure 36]) and, perhaps because of Frank Packer's Australian Consolidated Press's involvement in supplying photographs for the book, the harbour was the home port for Gretel, Packer's new yacht and Australia's first America's Cup challenger. Dupain's interest in historic architecture was also showcased in this book, Thompson's accompanying poem alluded to the role of history in the making of Sydney's soul.[figure 35]

Largely absent from all four editions of Soul of a City is the area outside the municipal limits. While the City Council is justified in wanting the books it commissions to promote its own operations, the dearth of suburban detail is notable by its absence. Sydney is, after all, a very suburban city and images of Bondi, Manly and North Sydney do not address this.

Another book on Sydney which was produced in more than one version was Frank Hurley's Sydney, A Camera Study. Published in 1948 it was the first of Frank Hurley's Camera Study series. It began with a series of colour photographs of the coastline and harbourside, interspersed with wildflowers, fire engines and the like.7 Hurley's series of photographs reveal several important interests. He used a lot of aerial photography. His aerial photography became so popular that in 1952 a separate volume was produced of Sydney from the Sky, A Camera Study.8 Other interests are sailing on the harbour, Gothic architecture and the beach. Hurley's interest in Gothic architecture is more dramatic than E. O. Hoppé's interest in church architecture. Hurley incorporates the Sydney Town Hall and the Great Hall of The University of Sydney into the series.[figure 37] Other, more Classical, buildings get similar attention, notably the Mitchell Library and the Art Gallery. Hurley's images of Gothic interiors can be compared to his landscapes where the dramatic landforms and plant life are enhanced
by backgrounds of cloud formations which are both natural (taken with a filter) and
montaged from stock negatives which Hurley kept. [figure 38]

Sam Ure Smith produced *Portrait of Sydney* in 1950, using a series of Rob
Hillier's photographs as well as a selection from other important photographers. They
included Hal Missingham, director of the (then) National Art Gallery of New South
Wales, Max Dupain and a new photographer, David Moore. *Portrait of Sydney*, is
arranged in a way that emphasises particular aspects of Sydney, in short photographic
chapters which are buoyed by a lengthy anecdotal introduction by Kenneth Slessor.
The Sydney Harbour Bridge, Kings Cross, the harbour, the Domain and other places
are shown, illustrating the most attractive features of Sydney. Besides the landmarks
listed above there are sections on the various parts of the business district. Martin Place
is shown in its capacity as a Banking and Insurance centre with its canyon of tall
buildings as well as its position as a civic focal point with the Cenotaph and General
Post Office. [figure 39] Nearby, is Wynyard Park, once an old parade ground in
Sydney's back streets, is shown as a small open space amongst the York Street
skyscrapers lined with crowds of petrol ration era commuters queuing for camouflaged
buses (which appear in a Max Dupain photograph which evidently dates from about
1945). [figure 40] The unseen but captioned presence of Wynyard Station adds to the
park's importance.

While the business district of Sydney continued to promote its own Manhattan-
style modernity, suburban Sydney was modernising in a more conservative way,
which none the less still bore an American influence. Suburbs began to develop around
the private car with access to local amenities and employment. Suburban shopping
centres were growing into business districts with their own department stores, office
blocks and industrial areas. The average suburban resident's dependence the centre of
Sydney diminished during the mid fifties. Sydney's oldest suburban region was
Parramatta which, with Chatswood and Bondi Junction, led the way in urban
decentralisation. In 1955 Oswald Ziegler produced *Parramatta Pageant*. It was part of
his move away from mainly pictorial to illustrated history books. Amidst the historical
images and a large section on local industries are images of a suburban centre on the
verge of major expansion. The shopping centre is accommodated in both ground level
and aerial photographs. Hurley's aerial image shows how large the business district
was, and how it was dominated by cinemas and silos. [figure 41] Other images take
advantage of the city's modernity, electric trains, factories and modern housing. The
surrounding landscape is featured, much of it protected by parkland reserves. Several
images, however, show the Dundas Valley as a nearby rural oasis, despite the streets of
the Housing Commission subdivision of the valley being incorporated on the
accompanying map.[figure 42] Unlike the centre of Sydney, where open space is relatively, albeit not totally, permanent, Parramatta's open space was then being stripped of its trees and its protected Green Belt status under the ever-weakening County of Cumberland plan of 1948. Another Sydney region to be covered by Ziegler was Kings Cross, in *Life at The Cross*, published a decade later. In a contrast to Parramatta's ambitions as a suburban centre, Kings Cross was promoted for its "Bohemian" lifestyle.

The last word on Sydney goes to Quinton Davis and Gavin Souters' *Sydney*, a project in interpretation published in 1965. Souter was a journalist with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and was able to cover the city as an experienced observer. With Davis's photographs, the book explores its legendary characters; such as Bea Miles and "Eternity", the suburbs, rich and poor, and the rapidly growing business district.[figure 43] From the start Souter disavows any intention to produced a book of solid facts, compressing details such as population and area into a tiny foreword before embarking on his anecdotal text about people and places, inspired by his life as a reporter. The stories are accompanied by aerial photographs of the suburban sprawl and close up pictures of garden corners.[figures 44, 45] Only Slessor's writings for *Portrait of Sydney* and *Life at The Cross* could match Souter's experience and Slessor was limited to Kings Cross for much of his material. Souter and Davis were much wider ranging.

Sydney, in its phototext manifestation, comes across as a city based on its people and their lifestyle. From the 'innocent' days of early beach culture to the heady 1960s, it is usually the citizen, rather than the landmark, who dominates the image. As far as the city's buildings go, they are shown as Sydney's progress or heritage, a backdrop to the play below.
6.2 Strength-Beauty-Simplicity; The Sydney Harbour Bridge.

Something, I suppose, must be said about the Harbour Bridge. It elbows itself into any description of Sydney as truculently as it forces its presence on the city. The Bridge is 20 miles high, weighs 736,000 Persian yaks (which is roughly equivalent to 24,000,000 Turkish yusdrums), is 142 miles, 17 rods, 23 poles, 5 perches in length, carries everything from rickshaws to electric buggies, and feeds on paint. These, as I think I remember them, are the exact figures, or near enough to give an impression of its size, which increases rapidly as you approach it. It has been called a Titan's coat hanger, a circumflex accent over the song of a metropolis, and even likened by the poet Hugh McCrae to his mistress's eyebrow.¹

Thus spake Kenneth Slessor in 1950. Prior to the construction of The Sydney Opera House there was one thing, one icon, that was used as the identifying image of Sydney more than any other. The Sydney Harbour Bridge. Like Melbourne's Manchester Unity Building, artists and photographers were aiming their sights at its location long before it appeared, but its arrival redefined the space between Dawe's Point and Milson's Point. In the context of the Harbour Bridge's presence in photographic books on Sydney, the reaction of the contributor ranges from Hurley's captions which were either matter-of-fact (listing the dimensions and statistics) or glamorous (Symphony in Steel was a title used at least twice) in the various Camera Studies to Kenneth Slessor's sarcasm (quoted above) in Portrait of Sydney.² The Bridge, as Slessor suggests, was subject to much exaggeration in its appreciation. Even serious guide books could not resist anecdotes about the strength of Sydney's strongest gale, the riveter who survived a fall, the night that lightning struck a pylon...³

Even before the Bridge was completed Art in Australia Limited was paying it due attention. The 1927 Sydney number of Art in Australia had featured photographs, drawings and paintings, not only of early work on the Bridge itself but of the lost landmarks in its path: Prince's Street, Dawe's Point and the elegant Milson's Point ferry wharf.¹[figure 46] The Home occasionally featured the Bridge's construction in its photographic section.

In 1930 and 1931, using images which had appeared in The Home as a starting point, Art in Australia Limited produced two Bridge Books, with Cazneaux as principal photographer.⁴ Cazneaux continued his departure from the pictorialist landscape with photographs of the works and arch. This was not to say that there was no attempt on Cazneaux's part to incorporate ethereal images of the Bridge. One photograph in The Bridge Book likens the Bridge to a rainbow (the arch had just joined at the time). Many photographs exploit the form of the incomplete arch and its support cables. The cables themselves are portrayed in a pictorialist fashion in the photographs Cable Silhouette.
Sublime Souls & Symphonics: Australian Phototexts 1926-1966

55

and Taking Strain. The extent to which they can be classed as pictorialist images is limited by the tight framing and stark composition. Besides the ethereality of the focus, the cables are very different to the placid landscapes of true pictorialism. The Second Bridge Book includes a selection of images taken by visiting European pictorialist E. O. Hoppé, such as Feet Across The Sea, showing workmen paving the pedestrian footway. This image, taken after Hoppé had begun to move away from pictorialist aesthetics, shows two workers apparently painting the fence of the eastern pedestrian walkway. The walkway recedes from view as it sweeps off towards the right. To the left of the vanishing point lies the city skyline, still limited by the 150 foot height limit imposed on buildings at the turn of the century. The city is a narrow band above the triangle of Sydney Cove that links the Bridge to its destination.

On its completion Ure Smith published Sydney Bridge Celebrations. Along with local photographers in the main text, E. O. Hoppé provided a photographic series of Sydney landscapes. The book was a celebration of Sydney's culture as much as it was a celebration of the Bridge. Despite its purpose, there are few interesting photographs of the Bridge.

Frank Hurley was another admirer of the Bridge. Like many of Sydney's artists and photographers of his time the construction of the Bridge caught his attention. He made a film about its construction using his favourite title, Symphony in Steel. The various editions of Sydney, a Camera Study feature sections devoted to the Bridge. He also included the Bridge in Sydney From the Sky, a Camera Study and Australia, a Camera Study.

Hurley's long-term interest in the Bridge resulted in an interesting record of its changing role in Sydney's traffic pattern. In the first edition of Australia, a Camera Study Hurley used a photograph, taken about 1950, of the Bridge's deck taken from the north western pylon. The photograph was replaced in the 1961 edition of Australia, a Camera Study by a more recent photograph of the same scene. The earlier image shows a city with a low, hazy horizon while the later image is clear and high-set. Both photographs, as can be judged by the shadows, were taken at the same time in the morning. Because of this it is obvious that during the 1950s the Bridge's traffic patterns had changed. Allowing for the replacement of the former tramway reserve with the southbound Cahill Expressway approaches during 1958, there is still a noticeable reduction in southbound traffic. The northbound lanes, all but empty in the earlier photograph, show the increased traffic brought on by the development of North Sydney as a sister business district for Sydney. Always an intended consequence of the Bridge's construction, the Depression and Second World
War delayed North Sydney's ascendancy but the massive M. L. C. Headquarters of 1957 heralded the beginning. The Bridge had fulfilled the ideal of being a link rather than an arterial feeder. These images of the Bridge were popular enough to be used on the covers of road-related publications. The June 1952 issue of the Department of Main Roads' house journal *Main Roads* and the 1962 edition of *Robinson's Street Directory of Sydney* use each photograph respectively.\(^7\)[figures 51, 52]

Many of Hurley's bridge photographs are taken from a low viewpoint to increase the impact of the Bridge's size, as Slessor had lampooned. The arch of the Bridge is sometimes framed by another curve, such as that of the northern approach or one of the pavilions in Bradfield Park.\(^\)\(^{\text{[figures 53, 54]}}\) Hurley's interest in aerial photography was also the means of obtaining a striking view of the Bridge in *Sydney from the Sky, a Camera Study*, 1952.\(^{\text{[figure 55]}}\)

Although Max Dupain has taken notable photographs of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, his work as featured in *Soul of a City* and *Portrait of Sydney* pays little attention to it.\(^8\) In most cases it is reduced to a part of the city's approaches. Like Hurley, Dupain used the Bridge as a backdrop to scenes of Circular Quay. In *Portrait of Sydney*, two similar Dupain images appear, one on the cover, the other on the page devoted to the Bridge.\(^\)\(^{\text{[figure 56]}}\) Taken from the north east pylon, the photograph looks towards Sydney Cove, with the arch of the Bridge making a dramatic right margin.

The caption writers for *Soul of a City*, especially the 1949 edition, were as lavish in their praise as Hurley's writer. A simple image of the Bridge taken from Observatory Hill bears the caption "Nature's handiwork and the artifice of man, each the perfect complement of a majestic whole".\(^9\)

As a ferry passenger, I frequented Circular Quay regularly. In those days I carried a camera all the time and this picture was seized on my way to work.\(^10\)

Photographs of the Bridge can be compared to the contemporary painters' interpretations. The Sydney Modernist painters were attracted by the design of the Bridge, especially during its construction. Roland Wakelin, Dorrit Black and Grace Cossington Smith made important modernist paintings based on the emergent span. The latter's work is of particular interest. Her *The Curve of the Bridge*, painted circa 1928, is almost identical to a photograph by Harold Cazneaux, *The Sweep of the Bridge*, first published in *The Home* in late 1928, then in *The Bridge Book* in 1930.\(^11\) Painters were often reflecting the appeal of the Bridge to their own communities. For
Cossington Smith, like Cazneaux, the Bridge was the link between her North Shore home and the Metropolis. For an Eastern Suburbs painter like John D. Moore, it was another part of his harbour view. The poetic view of the Bridge is also interesting. At the start of the chapter we had Slessor's view, including a reference to Hugh McCrae. In the Harold Cazneaux and Jean Curlewis collaboration, *Sydney Harbour*, Curlewis's poem *A City* features the rather phallocentric lines "Building a bridge in the sea city. Thrust of girders, web of girders over the sea."  

The modernity of the Bridge was a welcome opportunity for modern artists, in all media, to express their aesthetic ambitions with a suitably contemporary subject. Besides its modernity the Bridge came to be seen as a symbol of the British Empire, being a collaboration between a British company and Australian labour at a time when the Depression was weakening the bonds of Empire. This is part of the reason why De Groot, a representative of the conservative New Guard movement, made his notorious dash to cut the ribbon before Labor premier Jack Lang could do so. When the post war Immigration Scheme came into effect the Bridge figured in many images of Sydney Harbour, perhaps to create an antipodean version of New York's Statue of Liberty. When something as large and prominent as the Sydney Harbour Bridge appears on a city's doorstep, it is inevitable that its presence will be felt by most of the citizens and it therefore comes to mean many different things to different people.
6.3 Life on a harbour wave; Sydney at leisure.

Two of the collaborations between Harold Cazneaux and the poet Jean Curlewis, *Sydney Harbour* and *Sydney Surfing*, were designed to promote Sydney's aquatic lifestyle. Sydney's reliance on Port Jackson for trade and (at the time) migration was matched by the city's affection for its major natural landmark.

*Sydney Harbour* was a small folder with five Cazneaux photographs and a poem, *A City*, by Curlewis, which had originally appeared in the Sydney number of *Art in Australia*. Cazneaux's images are of ferries, bays and dockyards. *A City* deals with the relationship between shipping and Sydney's economic prosperity. The opening stanza reads,

Sun and dust. Sun and dust. A city of sun and dust, built by the sea. Sea and ships. A city of ships, sea and ships in the streets of her. Ships and shops. Masts of ships over the shops, funnels of ships behind the shops. Silks in the ships' holds, silks in the shops. Silks in the shops, toys in the shops, cakes in the shops, flowers.

*Sydney Surfing* is a much larger book. Unlike *Sydney Harbour*, a small selection from *Art in Australia*, *Sydney Surfing* was based on a rather substantial feature from *The Home*. There are many photographs of sun bathers and surfers, accompanied by an essay. Curlewis makes several observations on Sydney's beach culture, reflected by Cazneaux's imagery. Discussing the stereotype of the Australian surfer as "young Greek gods" and "bronze statues," she observes,

...the surf is a sculptor. Those tons of breakers fall like mallet blows and swimmers are chiselled slim and straight. The foam, fizzing and stinging like iced champagne, restores to slack fibres the priceless quality that doctors call "tone". The sun polishes the skin to an incredible smoothness. Until the Australian surfer looks like-I cannot help it-a young Greek god.

Such romanticism of the bronzed surfer is matched by Cazneaux's images of male surfers. Women take a more decorative than heroic role. On the growing fashion in colourful and decorative bathing suits she writes,

No one has called Australia an artistic country. But no one can deny that nowadays it has a nice-a very nice-taste in bathing suits. I cannot imagine that anywhere in the world is there such a bursting bomb, a flower bed, a living carpet, a ballet, a kaleidoscope of colour as there is this year at Coogee or Bondi...the designers are making brilliant rubber butterflies and blossoms for girl bathers to wear poised on their shoulders, and caps, and wrists. "Flowers in the ocean", say the conservatives. "How incongruous!"

But it is always the incongruous that gives the kick to the cocktail.
Such lines reveal the nature of 'The Roaring Twenties'. Even with the sepia monochrome images, the lifestyle is depicted as colourful. One image, corresponding with Curlewis's description of colourful bathing costumes, is titled 'Hundreds and Thousands'. Curlewis concludes her essay with a wry comment on those traditional enemies of beach culture...

England's patron saint rescued a maiden from a dragon. Australia's patron saint will certainly be the man who finally rescues her national sport from a shark.

With perhaps a minor, but still honoured, niche for the man who exterminates the bluebottle.5

The accompanying photographs show the sunbathing and surfing culture. There are images of groups entertaining themselves into a stupor, people hiding in the shaded pavilions and bodysurfers. In E. O. Hoppé's The Fifth Continent there is a similar, apparently posed, photograph of four women with a beach ball.[figure 58] Even in black and white it is obvious that the costumes are colourful, as described by Curlewis. As Sydney's beach culture developed in the Twentieth Century the bronzed surfer and bathing beauty became part of the city's promotional background.

Sydney's lifestyle was incorporated into Ziegler's 1938 New South Welsh promotion Romance in Paradise. With its R.K.O-ish title and platinum blonde cover girl, Romance in Paradise suggests a glamorous adventure tale. Rather than that it is a simple record of a holiday around New South Wales, probably fictional but possibly based on Ziegler or a contributors' experience. Romance in Paradise is sub-titled A Modern Pictorial Journal of Australia's Most Glorious Scenery.[colour plate 7]

A good deal of the imagery in Romance in Paradise is of sylvan countryside, a contrast to the beaches that usually dominate the state's publicity. Water sports are featured. Yachting on Sydney Harbour and rowing on Lake Parramatta are included in the imagery.[colour plate 8] The depiction of a holiday in isolation, whether based on true experiences or not, is a result of the motor car's influence. Most, if not all, of the holiday resorts featured would have been accessible by road in the immediately post-depression era. The resemblance borne by Romance in Paradise to glamourous magazines and Hollywood movie posters reveals the commercial intent behind this and all of Ziegler's output. Romance in Paradise promises the romantic holidays made possible by the solitude of the motor car.
A specific book about Sydney leisure was the eighth volume of the *Ure Smith Miniatures*. Produced in 1950, *Sydney Beaches, a Camera Study* (not to be confused with Hurley’s *Camera Study* series) celebrates the city’s beach culture with a historical essay by surfer and sports writer Lou d’Alpuget and a series of photographs.[figures 60, 61] It takes up the ideas of Sydney’s Beach Culture from the *Sydney Beaches* book of 1929. One of Cazneaux’s photographs of body surfers appears in each book.

Most of the contributing photographers were also featured in Ure Smith’s *Portrait of Sydney* from the same time. D’Apulget also authored *Let’s Go Sailing*, the ninth Ure Smith Miniature, with a diversity of yachting photographs. Frank Hurley’s *Sydney, a Camera Study*, 1948, also carries a plethora of boating photographs.[figure 59]

The involvement of many Sydney photographers in aquatic sports, such as the Dupain family’s rowing, made the temptation for Sydney promotions to showcase its recreational waterways irresistible. *Sydney Beaches, a Camera Study* shows the new surf riding culture as well as scenic beach landscapes, broadening the outlook of *Sydney Beaches*, which examined the youthful sunbathers and body surfers as the essence of Beach Culture.
6.4 Antipodean Bohemianism.

In 1897 the City Council bestowed the name Queen's Cross on the junction of William Street, Darlington Road, Victoria Street and Bayswater Road, and eight years later it removed any confusion with Queen's Square by changing the Cross's sex. Sex has always been somewhat equivocal at the Cross.¹

Kings Cross makes its first appearance innocently enough in 1928 in the Art in Australia Ltd booklet *Sydney Streets*, itself taken from the 1927 Sydney number of *Art in Australia*. It appears as the point of view in a photograph of William Street, looking down the hill towards the city centre.[figure 62] In *The Sydney Book* of 1931 Kings Cross appears in an aerial photograph taken by *The Sydney Morning Herald*. [figure 63] Neither photograph is particularly concerned with The Cross itself, it is an incidental feature.

The first *Soul of a City* shows a few images of Kings Cross, mainly images of the tree-lined Darlington Road. There is also a picture of the new Minerva Theatre in the night life section. The most famous image is of evening peak traffic crowding The Cross on a rainy day. Another photograph from this vantage point has been widely reproduced in recent times. Once again The Cross is an incidental location.

*Portrait of Sydney* devotes a double page spread to The Cross.[figure 64] Kings Cross, being home to the book's narrator Kenneth Slessor, is given its first real chance to express its local colour in such a promotional effort. This was the start of the romanticism of The Cross, with a view to its tourist value. In words that echoed his poem, *William Street*, Slessor wrote...

King's Cross, indeed, is not Sydney. It is Sydney seen through the eyes of lonely and homesick aliens, the colonies of displaced Poles and Jews and Hungarians and the itinerant clusters of Americans...Its plan of living represents a cut across the organic structure of the Sydney ant-heap. Hovels are wedged between palaces. Millionaires look out of their "luxury apartments", their silver and velvet suites, at the slum-world looking at them from the tenement next door or across the street. Among the termites of the yelling flat-blocks, ladies of unimpeachable virtue lend aspirin to ladies who come home barefoot with hiccoughs. The most orthodox burghers live door-to-door with baccarat-hells. Police patrol-vans are parked between spirit merchants' delivery-wagons and Bentley cars. Cheeks blush at jowls as they squeeze together in the most thickly populated, and certainly the most noisily infested, square mile of the metropolis. Here the lion lies down with the lamb, the serpent with the dove, the wolf with the chicken, layer over layer of human life in every manifestation of good and evil, riches and poverty...²
Unfortunately the selection of photographs fails to live up to Slessor's experience. The caption to an ordinary image of Darlinghurst Road explains that it "is the parade-ground of the Cross, dappled with shadows, crowded with shoppers and shoplifters, magnates and dowagers, artists in velvet coats, ladies in pyjamas, spivs, dips and miscellaneous Bodgies." If it weren't for the dappling of shadows, the viewer would be most disappointed.

Despite occasional two page forays into Sydney and Melbourne's Bohemia, for most of the Twentieth Century the nation's promoters were at pains to show the wholesome side to Australian life. By 1965 the 'Permissive Society' had emerged and Kings Cross in Sydney became the subject of its own book. *Life at The Cross* was produced by Oswald Ziegler Publications in collaboration with Rigby. The photography was by Robert Walker and the text was written by long-term resident poet Kenneth Slessor.

Slessor's accompanying text was his second contribution to such photographic studies, after *Portrait of Sydney* in 1950. As a long term resident of Kings Cross, Slessor could cast a cynical eye upon the outsiders' opinion of the area. *Life at The Cross*, in both Slessor's text and Walker's photographs, does not shy away from a good, tourist-dollar-making myth.

The Kings Cross of 1965 was, according to the book, a comfortable Bohemia. The gangster era of the Roaring Twenties and early Depression is hardly mentioned. Since the spread of non-English speaking people to the general suburbia of Australia, The Cross's reputation as an enclave of migrants had lost a lot of its exoticism. The Cross could not, however, lose its eroticism. The nightlife is the major factor in the book's examination of tourism in the area. The culture of drugs and prostitution is ignored in favour of the ostentatious strip-clubs. The Cross as depicted is The Cross of legend and characters rather than The Cross of bad reputation.

Kings Cross is shown to be home to the arts, U. S. Sailors on R&R, vibrant youth and lost youth.[figure 65] To the west is crumbling working class Woolloomooloo, to the East the luxury apartments and old mansions of Elizabeth Bay.[figure 66] The bohemian life of The Cross is wholesome fun, not sleazy or struggling. The Wayside Chapel is dealt with optimistically, a sort of Beat Cafe with a chapel on the side.

Robert Walker has said that he wanted the images in *Life at The Cross* to have been in morning through to midnight order in the style of the original *Soul of a City*. 
Ziegler had other ideas, wanting to show the cosmopolitan style of the area rather than the passage of time. Also like Soul of a City, Life at The Cross was taken on a part-time basis, away from Walker's studio practice.

Walker was also apprehensive about photographing people in the street, an integral part of Life at The Cross. The book is full of studies of people on the streets, including several serial images including an art student's morning and a little girl's ordeal at a hairdresser's.

Far below... Kings Cross was a diadem of multi-coloured jewels and the harbour was black velvet spanned by the arch of the bridge which was floodlit at night and glowed a pale, unearthly green topped by a winking, red signal light.4

Even the pulp literature of the time was impressed by the lightshow at Kings Cross. The cover, the only colour image in the book, a blurred time exposure of William Street, is abstracted further by being printed sideways. The bright lights of The Cross served to indicate its red-light nature, especially the ubiquitous Coca Cola sign at the top of William Street.

Walker goes much further into the association of sex and Kings Cross than previous books. It was the mid sixties and sex was selling, if the copies of Sex and the Single Girl for sale in one of Walker's photographs are any indication. He illustrates Slessor's description of strip tease acts to their near-naked conclusion. Walker also observes girls with sailors and, in a photograph of a dark bar, men with sailors.[figure 67]

Kings Cross is part of Sydney's mythology more than it is part of its geography. Ziegler, through Slessor and Walker, was selling this mythology. It nevertheless managed to delight a local audience, judging by Nancy Keesing's review in The Bulletin in December 1964. One of Life at The Cross's virtues, she wrote, was "that it so well conveys the spirit of a really quite inexplicable region which, paradoxically, for each successive generation, seems to become younger as it grows older."5
CHAPTER SEVEN. MELBOURNE.

7.1 Melbourne in general.

Melbourne challenges and contrasts with the depiction of Sydney as the scenery and lifestyle centre of Australia's metropoli. Melbourne owes much of its image to its having developed so strongly during the reign of Queen Victoria. It had no immediate convict past to hurt the reputation of its residents, it was carefully surveyed and, with the coming of the Gold Rush, it had a healthy economy from which to grow. By the twenties, however, the boomtime was long gone, the city's mercantile power had ebbed away after the 1890s depression. The grand architecture and gardens of the previous century now served as the backdrop to a more conservative society, having been created as signs of Melbourne's wealth they were now part of the its dowdiness. Rows of oaks and poplars in the parks and Italianate bank offices in the city gave the city an old world air. The portrayal of Melbourne came to consist of its man-made landscape rather than its natural situation and its people.

Unlike the Sydney production, Melbourne was not numbered as part of the Third Series of Art in Australia, although it was uniform with the journal's format. Instead it was sub-titled a Special Number of Art in Australia. Several of Melbourne's resident pictorialists, including John Kauffmann, present photographs of the city area.[figure 68] Popular subjects include the Yarra and views from Melbourne's surrounding parkland. Melbourne's adherence to the pictorialist School's mistiness was stronger than Cazneaux's. Many of the images in the book are incredibly obscure. The photographers sought out views of city streets that portrayed the grand city architecture and Melbourne's parkland, the dark pictorialist effect rendering the latter as eerie grottos.

The Melbourne Book followed in 1931 as part of another Art in Australia Limited series. It reproduced many of the photographs that were featured in Melbourne of 1928. These were supplemented by clearer aerial images of the city, many of these were taken by George 'Airspy' Hansom for the Melbourne Herald.[figure 69] The combination of the dark, brooding images of the twenties contrasts with Hansom's clear, defined photographs. The grid-like form of the city's streets contrasts the aesthetic of Melbourne with the Europeanised street scenes of ground level, with the dominating forms of very decorative Victorian-era buildings. The differing printing techniques of the photographers bring disunity to the book as dim, dark park scenes accompany crisp, light aerial landscapes.
E. O. Hoppé's *The Fifth Continent*, 1931, features two examples of Melbourne's emergent skyscrapers. One is of Collins Street, discussed later, the other is a photograph of the corner of Elizabeth Street and Collins Street. The Strand, a new Gothic/Art Deco building, dominated Elizabeth Street in Hoppé's photograph. It is seen between columns of the older (Collins Street) buildings, providing an architectural contrast. Another contrast in the image is of Melbourne's transport, with shiny modern cars on Collins Street passing in front of Elizabeth Street's aging cable trams. The transport theme is also featured in the facing image showing the corner of Flinders Street and Swanston Street seen from Flinders Street Railway Station. Commuters are pouring southwards across Flinders Street to catch their trams and trains home. In a parallel line a smaller crowd can be seen heading along on the opposite side of Swanston Street towards Prince's Bridge Station and the busy St. Kilda Road trams. The uniform order of the crowds heading south is interrupted by a cyclist heading north along Swanston Street. Cars complete the image but they are not yet a major part of the workers' lives.

Under contract to Georgian House to produce five books (starting with his autobiography *I Can Take It* in 1947), Jack Cato, with his son John, compiled his imagery of Melbourne that he had been working on since moving there in the twenties. From this he produced *Melbourne* in 1949. *Melbourne* is a book of large tinted images, with little vignettes below some images to add to the subject. Cato shows the city through photographs of individual buildings, with cityscapes used to show what Cato describes as the 'cubist' pattern of Melbourne's development. This cubism seen in a view of Melbourne's business district, revealing the flat planes of masonry and advertisements on the sides of buildings waiting for a neighbouring building to cover the space. It is also, perhaps due to Cato's background in the pictorialist tradition, the only book of Melbournian images to take advantage of the city's reputation for regular rainfall, with an image of a city street corner at night with the city lights reflecting in the rain and puddles.

As a sequel to *Portrait of Sydney*, Rob Hillier was sent to Melbourne to compile a sister volume. Unlike *Portrait of Sydney*, however, *Portrait of Melbourne* lacks the investigation of the people of Melbourne. They appear as detail in images of the city streets, shopping in Bourke Street, going to the main theatres, lying on the banks of the Yarra, etc. but very few instances are given of the character of Melbourne's residents. A section on the city's back lanes is the closest to *Portrait of Sydney*’s populist approach. Instead, Hillier adds a section of colour photographs of the city, these images are most successful in illustrating the parks and the reflections in the Yarra River. The bridges on the modestly sized Yarra are shown as part of the Seine-like river
scenery. As is common to most books on Melbourne, only the Prince's Bridge, in the
centre of the city, is shown as a landmark on its own merits but Hillier's treatment of
the other bridges was partly based on the bridges' histories.

Colour imagery of Melbourne also features in the early section of Frank
commercial reputation, Hurley shows the crowds along the main streets.[figure 76] It is
obvious from the various decorations that Christmas Shopping is underway. The
colour photographs feature the bluestone buildings and parklands of the city. Hurley's
eye for dramatic, monumental photographs is found here in photographs of the Shrine
of Remembrance and State Parliament House. There are also aerial images of the city
and a panoramic view of St. Kilda. Hurley follows the Mornington Peninsula beaches
as a means of moving his coverage of Victoria from its capital city to its provinces.

*Melbourne, a Portrait.* was published in 1960. In contrast to the previous
books' uses of landmarks and panoramic views, the photography by Mark Strizic took
an introspective approach, accompanied by a similarly personal poem written by David
Saunders. As well as the use of poetry as a narrative, *Melbourne, a Portrait* was
influenced by the style of the *Family of Man* catalogue in its design. The phototext was
soft covered with a cover design by Len French.[colour plate 9] Saunders's lengthy
blank verse began with these explanatory lines,

Each man has in his heart
His own portrait of his city;
To discover this portrait is revealing,
For his city made him while he made his city.2

The role of the individual is championed in this book. The crowds of shoppers
and commuters in the city streets are featured in *Melbourne, a Portrait* in a different way
to earlier books. Instead of general views of busy footpaths, the Melburnians are
shown in action, window shopping, waiting for trams or sitting down for lunch. Most
of the photographs feature only a few people.[figure 79] There is, as the poem
suggests, a modernist approach to city life. Contrasts between the individual and the
crowd are found in Nineteenth Century French writings by Baudelaire and Zola, and
have influenced the photography of Walker Evans, Bill Brandt and Berenice Abbott to
name just a few.

Rather than portraying Melbourne as seen by a tourist promenading along its
broad avenues and through the Central Business District, *Melbourne, a Portrait* is
Melbourne as seen by locals.3 This is Melbourne with its little back lanes, its failing
road surface revealing the Nineteenth Century woodblocks, the cracked mosaic floor of The Block Arcade, etc. Landmarks are viewed from different angles.

An example of the differing viewpoints of landmarks is the Russell Street Police Headquarters. A rather non-descript governmental building of the forties, it was initially seen in full as the central subject of an image. In *Melbourne, a Portrait* it is seen from behind a terrace house, as a backdrop rather than on its own as an example of architecture and radio technology, as Sydney's similar A.W.A. Building was portrayed.4[figure 77] Despite the Headquarters' presence in earlier books on Melbourne as a landmark, it would be a few years yet before the television series *Homicide* brought the building into Australia's living rooms. The back streets to the north of the city which feature as the foreground in Strizic's images were representative of the part of Melbourne then enjoying international fame through Ray Lawler's *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*.5 While Strizic did not follow Cato in the portrayal of Melbourne in the rain, he does feature early morning mist and puddles in some images. His main reaction to Melbourne's wet image is humorous, one shopfront photograph features an advertisement for rain damaged goods.[figure 78]

The captions to the photographs in *Melbourne, a Portrait* are in English, German and Italian. Thus there is an indication of the effect of immigration on Melbourne's lifestyle. Strizic himself was German and Italians made up a large percentage of the non-English speaking immigrants of the time. The use of three languages points to the publishers' acceptance that Melbourne was home to a broad scope of people who did not necessarily identify with the conservative Anglo-Saxon image of Melbourne's past celebrated in past books. With two Continental languages and a reputation for a European style, the city was confident enough, in the pages of *Melbourne, a Portrait*, to contrast itself with Vienna as well as the usual comparison between an Australian city and London through the use of maps showing the relative sizes and patterns of development, explained by Saunders's verse thus,

Its beginning was only yesterday,  
yet already its suburbs spread as far as those of London.

In the Old World, where many centuries have shaped a city's form-
history is plainly told by a map;

In Melbourne the Surveyor  
walked in front of progress.6
7.2 Accidentally Collins Street

There is no doubt that the section of Collins Street which gives the warmest glow to honest Melbourne hearts is the eastern end, usually called the top. Here on a hill a distincer and pleasanter character has emerged than you will find in many cities with so short a lifetime. The building here is not pretentious; it forms a subdued and mercifully plain background to the opulent and well-established plane-trees which make it an avenue rather than a place of business. When autocrats decided to route Melbourne's particularly noisy electric trams through this section of the street, newspapers led an outcry against such vandalism. The campaign was vigourous and fruitless; the trams came and they have made little difference. Paris is still Paris, in spite of the Eiffel Tower...This is the hilltop most favoured by photographers; over the brow of the hill the towers and pinnacles of the Block already show above the plane trees.1

Every city has at least one view which is definitively its own self image. For Melbourne it was the view of Collins Street looking down the hill from Russell Street (either from street level or from the air). [figure 80] When the Manchester Unity Building was built in 1932 it gave a new dimension to this image, towering over the City Hall which had been the previous centre of attention.

Collins Street itself is the pride of Melbourne. Being the mercantile centre of the city, its architecture bears a conservative grandeur. Various areas of Collins Street were special for their individual appearance, particularly before modern architecture began to replace the distinctive regions with a more generic style. At the east end of the street, starting at the Treasury, is the tree-lined 'Paris End'. Between Swanston and Elizabeth Streets is 'The Block', where Melbourne's shopping precinct passes across Collins Street in its up market arcades. Further west is the 'Gothic' end, where Nineteenth Century investors celebrated Victoria's prosperity by loading their headquarters with decorations.

The importance of Collins Street as an æsthetic centre for Melbourne was demonstrated during the late 1920s, about the time (1928) Art in Australia Limited produced Melbourne. At the time central Melbourne's elegant but aging cable tram system was being rebuilt as an electric tramway. As Geoffrey Hutton observed, Collins Street's professionals and the city's æsthetes joined in a newspaper campaign to prevent the conversion of the street's cable tramway, citing the overhead lines and the relative loudness of the replacement electric trams as a threat to the peace of Collins Street. In Melbourne, the pictorialist images of the cable trams moving along the street give the street an air of dignity.
E. O. Hoppe's *The Fifth Continent*, 1931, features an image of Collins Street, shows the beginnings of a skyscraper canyon, emphasised by the street's descent from Russell Street in the background. The majority of the visible buildings are from the nineteenth century and stand only a few stories off the street. Looming above them is a more modern tower, coming of a building otherwise uniform with the height of the neighbouring buildings. Conservatively decorated, the building contrasts with the busy Gothic and Italianate details of the Collins Streetscape.

Cato's photography of Melbourne's buildings was almost as important as his society portraiture. His photographs comparing the Classical and Gothic sections of Collins Street had been seen in several places, including *The Home* magazine. He featured the in his 1947 autobiography *I Can Take It* and then in 1949 they formed part of his architectural study in *Melbourne.*

Rob Hillier's photographs of Collins Street in *Portrait of Melbourne*, 1951, include a page devoted to the four seasons. His images are taken at the top (Paris) end, using the avenue of deciduous trees to denote the passage of time.

Mark Strizic's photographs of Collins Street in *Melbourne, a Portrait* (1960) show the street at close quarters. As with the rest of the book, the intent is an intimate viewing of the city rather than a grand vista. The Manchester Unity Building, instead of dominating the streetscape, appears as a Gothic folly behind a tree. This is the building seen as part of a walk along the street rather than carefully composed as an architectural landmark.

While the essential view of Melbourne was the aforementioned view of the Town Hall, the Prince's Bridge maintained a degree of popularity with Melbourne's image makers. Like the Sydney Harbour Bridge, in its day it was one of the world's widest bridges, it was built in an imitation of an English design (London's Blackfriar's Bridge rather than Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Tyne Bridge) and it was celebrated by the nation's avant garde painters.
CHAPTER EIGHT. OTHER CITIES.
8.1 Canberra and the politics of being capital.

Cazneaux photographed Canberra for The Home's special Canberra issue in May 1927 to celebrate the opening of Parliament and consequently the start of Canberra's role as Federal Capital. The following year Art in Australia Limited released a booklet incorporating some of those images. [figure 83]

Canberra shows the city as it was at the very beginning. The centre of the city was the new but temporary Parliament House, only a few other substantial buildings had been completed at the time, most of them were for accommodation.

Emil Otto Hoppé's The Fifth Continent shows a very underdeveloped Canberra. A "still-born child of jealousy and ambition", Canberra in the depression was stagnant. There was not only the lack of funds but planning chaos as the residents succeeded in disposing of the Commission that had replaced Griffin during the twenties. Canberra is represented by three dull views taken in the vicinity of Parliament House, seemingly deliberate in showing the lack of cohesion in the partly built city. The Site of Roman Catholic Cathedral, which appears to be where the west rose garden is today, looks from where there isn't a cathedral [to this day] across where there isn't a lake yet towards where there isn't much of a city centre. [figure 84] At least Hoppé didn't show the workers' hostels in any detail. The final image shows the Parliament House Courtyard. The image shows the simple white walls, with unkempt ivy on the right. The foreground shows a series of white concentric circles on the pavement. Besides complementing the ball light on the column above, the circles are mysterious but their mystery cannot match the moodiness of the Capitol as shown by Hoppé on the final page of his Romantic America.

In 1945 the wartime souvenir book Displaying Australia compiled file photographs of the nation into sections on states, cities, aborigines, wildlife and main industries. The section on Canberra displays the very conservative architecture of the governmental buildings. [figure 85] The classical vertical lines of the few completed buildings, such as the Institute of Anatomy, were a fitting vehicle for the book's designers. They were those champions of the bronzed athletic Australian, Charles Meere and Freda Robertshaw.

After the war, Max Dupain took a series of images of the capital. Canberra, Nation's Capital appeared in 1949. [figure 86] During the Second World War several government departments relevant to the War Effort were rapidly moved to Canberra. In
the post-war austerity Canberra had been growing slowly, most of its growth being adaptation to its role as a peaceful society, with the start of the Embassy district. The start, with the United States' embassy, of a regional architectural style for the diplomatic buildings was the first move away from Canberra's official Classical Modern style of official architecture. It would not be long before the Hollywood-like Spanish Mission Civic Centre was joined by plain suburban style shopping blocks. Parliament was still sitting in the temporary 1927 building, shown by Dupain behind a foreground of grazing sheep.[figure 87]

The text boasts of Canberra's nearness to the Griffins' plans. In 1949 however, the city was still two regions separated by the Molonglo floodplain. The domestic architecture was no longer as carefully regulated, the temporary workers' houses in the Causeway district survived from the Twenties and the suburbs of Lyneham and O'connor were developed with cheap fibro and weatherboard houses. The new houses appear in the book, but only from such a distance that their appearance is obscured. Buses appear in several photographs of the city, to reassure potential residents it would seem.

To link the capital with the rest of Australian culture, a photograph of Kingsford Smith's aeroplane Southern Cross appears above Parliament House. The plane had been restored for the recent film Smithy. Film was a major form of entertainment, several images of Canberra's cinemas appear, as does a local radio station.

In 1961 Oswald Ziegler produced Canberra A.C.T. using David Moore as principal photographer. Only five and a half years before, Canberra had been the subject of a planning enquiry. This resulted in the formation of the National Capital Development Commission in 1957, which would oversee the development of the Capital. This was to be done without involvement in local governmental matters, a provision based on the unpopularity of a similar commission's powers during Canberra's settlement.

In the period between the initial settlement and the establishment of the National Capital Development Commission, Canberra's growth was based on the demands of a slowly growing community. Although many Public Service Departments arrived from Melbourne in the late Twenties, it was not until the Second World War that the inconvenience of two centres of Public Service became stifling. The arrival of Departments involved in the war effort had to be undertaken as rapidly and economically as possible.
This, above everything, was the reason for Canberra's loss of planning direction initiated by the Griffins. Robin Boyd's *The Australian Ugliness* summed up the loss of foresight.

... new suburbs grew almost as undisciplined as in any other Australian city. Canberra reached its nadir about 1954. A rule which required roads to be made before houses was all that remained of the early idealism. The centre was still dry and empty, Parliament House was still the "provisional" 1927 building next door to the permanent site, and as ill assorted a group of offices, banks and commercial buildings as ever were built- blue tiles, bacon-striped stone, yellow porcelain, concrete grilles, aluminium- began to disgrace the once sleepy Civic Centre. There were no effective building regulations. The airport reception building was a wooden shed.

While the commercial architecture followed fashion, the Administration Building underway during the Fifties continued the tradition of stern, classically inspired buildings. The Treasury, built on the opposite side of the Parliamentary Triangle a few years later, attempted to bring Classicism to the curtain-wall style but looked like the product of a developing nation's Dictatorship.

The National Capital Development Commission's main population task was the imminent transfer of the last external Defence Offices to the Russell Hill area, which would surround the Australian American War Memorial to make the difficult north-east apex of the Griffin Triangle an active part of Canberra's landscape. The personnel transferred to the capital as a result were anticipated to number sixteen hundred, with the National Capital Development Commission given the task of housing them, beginning in January 1959. Because Canberra was growing beyond the bureaucratic service capital and expanding into light industry and tourism, it saw also itself as a potential destination of the migrant intake. Despite a slowdown in the Immigration Scheme, Canberra was expecting a population of 100,000 by 1974. The purpose of *Canberra A.C.T.* was to attract settlers to Canberra. As the city's growth began to speed up it was necessary to assure potential residents that the days of pioneering and boredom, that the initial population had found there, were over.

Unlike most publications of this sort, *Canberra A.C.T.* did not feature a Canberra landmark or monument as its cover image. Instead it bears a photograph, which seems to date from the late Forties, of a 48-215 Holden (the first model, built between 1948 and 1953) and an austerely dressed woman standing near Commonwealth Avenue opposite the Hotel Canberra. The heavily efflorescent image is constructed in a way that makes the Holden and its assumed owner seem to be in their own garden, yet there are certainly no private dwellings within the Parliamentary...
Triangle. With the book's emphasis on the Capital's modernity it is an unusual choice for the cover.[colour plates 10, 11]

One reason for its use could be the reassurance of an established city, using one of the grander of the original buildings as a backdrop rather than any of the recent houses. In the December 1959 issue of *Architecture in Australia* the modern houses of Canberra are shown to lack the established gardens so necessary in the promotion of a Garden City. The journal used some photographs by David Moore, presumably taken at the same time as the series that appears in *Canberra A.C.T.* Apart from the Holden (which was an American design anyway) there is only a sparse (lerp eaten?) eucalypt to suggest that the subject of *Canberra A.C.T.* is in Australia.

The design of the initials A.C.T., in large, black, intertwining letters across the photograph and a dull brown background, suggests a new found pride in the Territory. Although designated the Australian Capital Territory in 1938, it was the National Capital Development Commission's influence that started a Territorial pride. The Territory was being defined as a separate entity to the surrounding Monaro region of New South Wales.

There is a sketch on the endpapers of the plans for central Canberra. This is called 'Canberra Vision'. This is a prototype for later books on Canberra which used photographs of the same area. In 1961 the central area was not developed enough to be displayed by photograph. The sketch had the advantage of displaying this part of Canberra as a complete entity, which would be difficult even in a modern image taken over thirty years later. The artist of the sketch would have seen Lawrence Daws's paintings of the future central triangle, commissioned by the National Capital Development Commission as part of the Lake development. Elsewhere in *Canberra A.C.T.*, photographs of the central area draw attention away from the lack of the lake.

At the time of *Canberra A.C.T.*'s publication, Canberra was subject to criticism over the National Capital Development Commission's decision to finish the lake project. Complaints about the 'Bush Capital' resurfaced. Although the Depression was long over, at the time of the lake's construction the post-war boom was starting to falter. Prime Minister Menzies took advantage of *Canberra A.C.T.* to defend the lake project in his introduction.

The photographic content of *Canberra A.C.T.* begins with images of monumental architecture. The next images are of educational and religious institutions. Parliament House, the city's raison d'être, does not appear until the ninth page of
photographs. The scenery of the Australian Capital Territory follows, thence recreation and commerce. \( \text{figures 88, 89} \) As well as the endpapers, plans for the future appear on the final page.

The opportunity is taken to display the Garden City's parklands. The colour photographs represent all seasons, with a bias towards autumnal images. Unlike *Canberra, National Capital* of 1949, the spaces around important buildings are not shown to be grazing land. Canberra was now a sophisticated and aesthetically pleasing capital, not a 'good sheep station spoiled.'\(^5\) Despite the lack of trees in the newer areas, shown in the December 1959 issue of *Architecture in Australia*, Canberra's early tree planting excesses and resistance to telegraph poles managed to avoid the syndrome identified by Robin Boyd as arboreaphobia.\(^6\)

The Canberrans of 1960-1961 are shown working, playing and shopping. The images of shopping are taken around the Civic Centre. As for the other, older, shopping centres, Manuka and Kingston, they appear in an aerial image of Telopea Park. The shops of the Civic Centre include a Waltons-Sears as well as innumerable small businesses. The make up of the centre, with one visible department store surrounded by small specialists is of a more suburban than city shopping centre. The citizens of the public service city are promised the suburban dream.

In 1966, following the success of *Life at The Cross*, Ziegler, Rigby and Slessor reteamed to produce *Canberra*. *Canberra* was a less successful book than its predecessor. This was partly because of the lack of a clear principal photographer but also because Slessor was writing away from his oeuvre of King's Cross. Canberra's new found image as a cosmopolitan city was given so much attention in the text and captions that the whole exercise oozes pretension. Canberra's main theatre did have a larger proscenium than Covent Garden, but to suggest getting out of an FB Holden taxi equals the glamour of a West End opening night?\( \text{figure 90} \) This could be called a delusion of grandeur, and why another old Holden?

Pretension aside, the city was genuinely beginning to lose its suburban-ness. The buildings in the Civic Centre were getting taller and there was the Monaro Mall complex adding to the shopping precinct. The completion of Lake Burley Griffin allowed for the unity of the city to be portrayed in aerial photography. The city was finally growing according to plan.
8.2 Brisbane, the capital of Queensland and the Gold Coast, the capital of Austerica.

Brisbane was the only other Australian capital city to get much attention in the field of phototexts. Hobart and Perth figured in Hurley's books on their home state, Adelaide was only featured in books about Australia in general. Of course these cities all had little publications devoted to them but their contribution to the phototexts debate was minimal. Hoppé's images of Brisbane in *The Fifth Continent*, 1931, are the first major images of the city to appear in a phototext. *The view from Mount Cootha* [sic] is well composed, if familiar. The photograph of a city street is interesting. The centre of the image is occupied by a horse and sulky, behind which is a truck, with a man (its driver, presumably) sitting on a fender. The image is framed by a Moreton Bay fig tree and its shadow, in the background two city streetscapes converge to the left.[figure 91]

Art in Australia Limited's *The Brisbane Book*, 1932, was much simpler in style than the *Sydney* and *Melbourne* Books of 1931. Most of its content was supplied by the Government and was subsequently full of photographs of public buildings in clear definition rather than the more artistic product of the pictorialists used in Sydney and Melbourne.[figure 92]

Ziegler's 1949 production, *Brisbane, Queensland's Capital*, shows the city immediately after the Second World War, where so many of the visiting American forces had stayed. The book shows Brisbane as a busy commercial centre with typical emphasis on health, religion and recreation. Also featured is Brisbane's rôle as a link in the air travel industry, which would grow to be part of the tourism industry. Ziegler's next Brisbane book, *Brisbane, City in the Sun*, from 1957, shows the same city as *Brisbane, Queensland's Capital* after a decade of growth. The same emphasis on society and air travel is shown here. By this time, as the title suggests, more is made of the city's tropical reputation. By then Brisbane had already began its symbiotic relationship with the nearby resort towns of the Gold Coast.

Brisbane is also featured in Frank Hurley's *Queensland, a Camera Study* from 1950. Hurley's interest in the dramatic covers not only the civic architecture and landscape but also includes the agriculture, as evidenced by a photograph of a pineapple crop.[figures 93, 94] Hurley's book also included the resort of Coolangatta, which was then on the verge of becoming part of an important tourist growth area, the Gold Coast.

At the end of the 1950s two architectural critics, Robin Boyd and Peter Newell had some quite similar points to make about the development of the Gold Coast.
(The wind) blows a low cloud of sand over the beach, driving the local inhabitants into the township for their coffee and real estate deals. There, in glass-fronted offices, the accepted dress is the lightest cotton shorts and shirt. Waitresses at an espresso bar wear some sort of reduced sarong. A stockbroker stands on the footpath outside his office-shop on the yellow Pacific Highway dressed in black bathing trunks, brief case, and a flapping floral shirt. Everywhere in the streets, shops and cafes, chocolate-brown limbs bulge out of short sleeves and shorter trouser-legs. There is a feeling of adventure and excitement, rare enough in Australia. You might call Surfers a sort of cream, or thick skin, skimmed off the top of Australia's mid-century boom. It is rowdy, good-natured, flamboyant, crime-free, healthy, and frankly and happily Austerican. It sets out to be a little Las Vegas. It is proud of being a poor man's Miami.1

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Colourful shopping arcades, motels, own-your-own-flats, sophisticated coffee houses and cabaret are appearing around the new hotels competing with each other in designs of almost valid vulgarity and "glamourous" names emblazoned in neon lights.

The glamour of the Gold Coast is now having widespread infectious influence. When the afternoon winds banish visitors from the surf beaches, a popular pastime requires driving the family's two-tone flight-form power-packed vehicle to admire and colour-photograph the latest "architectural" creations.2

Queensland's Gold Coast, like Canberra, was a rural by-way until the developers moved in during the mid 1920s. Unlike Canberra's bureaucratically controlled growth, the Gold Coast grew as the economy dictated. Surfers' Paradise started to grow in 1926 between the established townships of Southport and Coolangatta but it was the 1950s boom that saw it emerge as the new tourist centre.

Until then, it was the older resort town of Coolangatta which appeared in such volumes as Frank Hurley's *Queensland a Camera Study* in 1950. Photographs centred on the beach life, the townscape served as a backdrop. Coolangatta was a border town, linked by road and rail to Brisbane and little else. During the 1950s the domestic air travel market expanded to the point where Brisbane's little hideaways became national tourist destinations.

With the new tourist potential, the little townships of Southport, Coolangatta and Surfers' Paradise threw on bright coats of paint and welcomed new hotels and residences. At a time when Canberra was carefully dictating the aesthetic quality of each new house, The Gold Coast, as it came to be known, let itself be covered with endless variations of spec. built fibrolite weekenders. It is little surprise that, in 1959, the journal *Architecture in Australia* devoted two issues to the development of each city. This equality of attention pre-empted Robin Boyd's observation of 1960, that Surfers'
was "the capital of Austerica." Austerica, according to Boyd, was that section of Australia which envied and emulated the American Dream, a taste Boyd contrasted to the conservative Anglophiles.

Until 1958 the Gold Coast had been included in books about Brisbane or Queensland. The most important of these was Frank Hurley's *Brisbane and the Gold Coast in Natural Colour*, circa 1956. Unlike the architectural critics, Hurley was there to show the commercial, flattering side of the region. He wasn't there to poke his nose into corners where it wasn't welcome. He shows a Gold Coast that is bright and cheery. The chaotic modernity of Surfers' Paradise sits comfortably between the rural townscape of Southport and the old fashioned holiday camp atmosphere of Coolangatta. It is amazing what a few coats of colourful paint could do to unite the disunity of form. Especially when reproduced in the blocky, exaggerated colours that the printing industry of the time was capable of using.

Hurley's most definitive insight into the capital of Austerica is a photograph of "The Walk". "The Walk" was an arcade in Surfers' Paradise which obviously revelled in its own modernity.[colour plate 12] Closer in form to an American Shopping Mall than the Victorian arcades of Australia's major cities, "The Walk" was part of the commercial aesthetic which was appearing in new shopping centres. The buildings were highly contemporary with louvres, decorative screens, fluorescent lights and cantilevered balconies, painted white and detailed in navy blue above and deep red at street level. An ambitious mural on a tower to the left documents the progress of human culture, offset by a tropical plant. The three visible shops are, from left to right, a swimwear boutique, a detached barbecue restaurant called "La Ronde" and a broker's office. Leisure and affluence, the Austerican dream. The native pedestrians are dressed informally in pastels. Outside the broker's office waits a large green limousine. The image is pure show. Only a tell-tale weatherboard shop poorly hidden by a modern extension allows the story of the area's humble past to intrude upon the image.

In 1958, not long before the region was incorporated as a city, Oswald Ziegler produced one of his promotional books, bound lavishly in golden cover. The first half of *Gold Coast* is like most Ziegler books of the late 1950s, which tended to give greater emphasis to a textual history of the region rather than using contemporary illustration. Because the tourist appeal of the Gold Coast was a recent event, *Gold Coast* offers a rather uncharacteristically dull history to the region, full of details of early settlers and primary industries which had little or nothing to do with the region's latter day success. Unlike other regions, there was not even a mercantile link which could be forged between the old and new.
This suddenly changes at the start of Chapter Five, entitled 'Australia's Glamour Coast, Surfers Paradise to Currumbin.' Conservative Southport and Coolangatta are relegated to peripheral status, the former is promoted for its business opportunities, the latter as another little resort.

Bikini-clad bathing beauties appear in this section, gone are Hurley's family groups, to be replaced by cheesecake. The family resort was about to be replaced by singles bars. Bright lights are shown, neon signs for motels and cabarets. The same reclaimed swamp housing estates that *Architecture in Australia* decried as irresponsible are touted as 'gaily coloured butterflies (emerging) from drab looking chrysalises'. A similar contrast can be made of the housing style. Even 'The Walk' appears, although this time it is in the foreground of an image of the palm-lined Pacific Highway.

Most images are of restful, contented tourism. One awkward image stands out from this. Taken at the Currumbin bird sanctuary, it shows the birds arriving at feeding time. Not only are the tourists obviously nervous about the flock of lorikeets that has descended upon them; one woman is laughing while hiding behind her hand; but the man in charge is obviously most uncomfortable with about ten hungry lorikeets on him. Amidst the posed glamour of the other images, this photograph, however awkward and poorly exposed, is charmingly honest.

Not every part of the Gold Coast was youthful and near-naked. Southport's contribution to the recreational images is a photograph of the bowling green. Behind the youthful zest of the Gold Coast's public image, there has always been a swarm of conservative developers promoting the growth of the region. The presence of such a normal suburban image pre-empts the eventual domination of suburban development behind the façade of the coastal resort. The Gold Coast's reliance on a particular image continues to contrast to an ever decaying reputation. Its youthful getaway appeal, like Sydney's Kings Cross's Bohemian image, disguised a good deal of decadence, presenting it as neon signs and cabarets.
8.3 Newcastle, and provincial New South Wales.

In the late fifties Oswald Ziegler's phototexts on provincial centres in New South Wales changed from small booklets to larger, well-bound books. The earlier books often included very rural districts, like Coolah in 1949 and Gloucester in 1952, or tourist centres like the Blue Mountains in 1939 and neighbouring Penrith in 1948. Starting with Newcastle in 1947, Ziegler developed a series of books on the larger provincial centres of New South Wales.

Newcastle was Australia's largest provincial city. It was also the city with the strongest connection to industrial growth. When it celebrated the sesqui-centenary of Lieutenant Shortland's arrival at the Hunter River in 1947, it took advantage of an Oswald Ziegler book to show its industrial might. The principal photographer for *Newcastle 150 Years* was Max Dupain.[colour plate 13]

Newcastle's foremost reputation was always that of the industrial city. Its earlier appearances in photographic books was consequently as an industrial city first, then, depending on available space, a more detailed visual analysis was made. Dupain showed much more than the industrial side of the city. There are pictures of city facilities, public housing and parks.[figures 99, 100] Interesting features, such as the weatherbeaten coastline and an eroded sandstone wall, appear. There is also an example of a typical Dupain night-time exposure, looking over the Harbour from Church Walk, near the City Hall. One of Dupain's photographs, of logs waiting to be loaded on to a ship, was such a strikingly composed picture it was used by Laurence Le Guay in his 1950 *Portfolio of Australian Photography* and was later featured in *Max Dupain's Australia*.

A tendency, mainly of Frank Hurley but also in Max Dupain's work, was to portray Newcastle's industrial workings through a vignette effect.[figure 101] This is an interesting contrast to the American style of industrial photography, which was decidedly phallic.1 Perhaps Margaret Preston was right when she observed that "Newcastle must be feminine; it has changed its name three or more times."2 The first such Hurley photograph appeared amongst Dupain's work in *Newcastle 150 Years* in 1947. This image, of a propeller being fitted in the State Dockyard, appeared with similar images in *Sydney, A Camera Study* the following year. The Newcastle section of *Sydney, A Camera Study* was largely industrial but a fine aerial shot shows the wedge-like business district, perched on a peninsula, with department stores, trams office blocks and other trappings of city life of the forties.[figure 102]
In the days when the Cold War was just beginning, and its effect on the reputation of the more Socialist aspirations of Australian politics was minimal, Newcastle City Council was quite boastful of the diversity of its operations, which included two theatres, one near the older Town Hall in the business district and the other as part of the developing Civic Centre. In 1947, as well as the theatre, the Civic Centre, underway since the twenties, consisted of a large City Hall, a small park and NESCA House, home of the council's electricity company, designed by leading Art Deco architect Emil Sodersteen with a local firm.

A decade later Ziegler returned to Newcastle, producing *Symphony on a City*. As its title suggests, Newcastle was projecting a more cultured image. In 1958 Newcastle was celebrating the completion of its War Memorial Cultural Centre, featuring the city's library and art gallery. *Symphony on a City* showed the cultural life of Newcastle with more detail than the industrial areas which had previously dominated the city's image.3[figures 103-105]

In 1963 Ziegler published books on both Maitland and Wollongong.[figures 106, 107] These were his last rural phototexts. These cities shared a commercial similarity to Newcastle. In the mid 19th Century, Maitland had been the major city of the Hunter Valley region and had been the original home of the region's manufacturing industries. Wollongong emerged as a city in the 20th Century out of a string of South Coast mining towns, dairying communities and tourist resorts. This development was backed by B.H.P.'s investment in the Port Kembla steelworks.

Maitland featured in both of Ziegler's Newcastle books, albeit as a briefly mentioned satellite. In 1963 the Rutherford estate on the western edge of the city had become a major growth centre in itself. A new Belmore Bridge was nearing completion after the old bridge sustained damage during the 1955 flood. The city council celebrated its centenary with a view to expanding the business district. Like Canberra before it, in *Canberra A.C.T.*, Oswald Ziegler's *Maitland 1863-1963* featured an artist's impression of the future city, surrounded by ring roads and parking lots, as it is indeed today.

*Sublime Vision*, Ziegler's Wollongong book, took its title from Sublime Point, the dominant image of Wollongong, featured in many books on New South Wales or Australia. Views from the Illawarra Escarpment feature throughout the book but they do not dominate. Like Newcastle, Wollongong was controlled by the one Greater City council, making promotion of civic services, in this case libraries and baby health centres, an important part of the book. Because of Wollongong background as a series of small towns, these towns-come-suburban-centres are examined one by one, north
through south. The prospect of employment, television and sport is enhanced. Youthfulness is celebrated in an image of youths sunbaking and riding horses in sand dunes, but the expressions on the nearby sunbathers reveal a distrust of the photographer-intruder.

The business district of Wollongong was only then beginning to feel the effect of the city's growth. Its first office blocks were being developed, the first department stores opening. The historic strength of Wollongong's suburban centres, particularly Corrimal and Port Kembla, undermined the importance of the business district. Since decentralisation was becoming a force in urban planning, this was not a big problem until more recent times.
8.4 Ziegler's post-war provincial publications.

Published in 1946, Goulburn, *Queen City of the South* was the first of Ziegler's post-war provincial promotional books to appear. Based on the photographs of Reg Perrier, the book so impressed Goulburn's community that the local paper re-issued it two years after its first appearance. Taking advantage of Goulburn's position between Sydney and Canberra, *Goulburn, Queen City of the South* promotes the pastoral community as a future industrial centre. The residential possibilities of the city are featured, encouraging new residents. It became a practice of such provincial promotions to depict the most modern and, if practicable, affluent of the region's housing in order to impress the comfortable lifestyle upon the intending settler.

*Penrith* was published in 1948, while the town was still a rural retreat. Penrith's proximity to the Lower Blue Mountains was its main drawcard, as well as small resorts along the Nepean River. The industrial estate at St. Mary's where the United States Army had set up an armaments site during the Second World War receives a little promotion, but the idea of the booklet is nonetheless for the tourist. *Valley of the Winds* was published for the Coolah district in 1949.[figure 1081 *Albury*, also from 1949, has in interesting colour scheme, divided into colours representing the four seasons. This is to promote Albury as a year-round resort or a site for business investment. *Forbes* and the *Vale of Gloucester* followed in 1951 and 1952 respectively. The former is notable for the layout, the latter for its Dupain photographs.

Ziegler's provincial publications began to diversify in the middle of the fifties. Books like *Coonamble Centenary, 1855-1955* moved away from pictorial coverage towards a textual history while *Parramatta Pageant*, also of 1955, continued the pattern set in the forties, albeit with a larger format and hard covers.

Some of New South Wales' other major regional centres were also given coverage by Oswald Ziegler about this time. Goulburn celebrated its centenary in 1959 with *Goulburn, Gateway to the South*. The title, more than reminiscent of the Peter Sellers sketch *Balham, Gateway to the South*, suggested the city's advantageous position on the Hume Highway, between Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne. *Orange 1860-1960* was another anniversary volume. Both books dealt with the cities' modernity, job prospects and tourist potential. Goulburn had its history, Orange had snowfields. These volumes marked the end of the provincial phototext. From this point, the phototexts became an œuvre of the main cities.
CONCLUSION.

The purpose of historical research is to promote a view of history which has been under-promoted in previous years. To this end, the preceding data and observations were intended as an examination of the role of creative photography in the promotion of Australia as well as the role of the promotion of Australia in creative photography.

The limited extent to which the phototexts were analysed in previous photographic histories was the basis of the argument. A long-term interest in these books initiated the research but the cursory way they were dealt with in the course of documenting Australian photographic history was the determining factor in the development of this piece.

The intention was always to present a thesis documenting the phototext from its emergence from the views trade and salon photography in the mid 1920s to its separation into photo-essays and coffee table books in the mid 1960s. The basis of this argument had to be chronological, listing the various books in the context of their order of their appearance. Next to this there was the need to relate the books to their environment. Sometimes it is the book's region that dictates its content, sometimes it is the time in which the book is created. Following that, came the need to examine some universal aspects of the books' content, such as the portrayal of the Sydney Harbour Bridge or Melbourne's Collins Street.

A problem with interpreting these books is the knowledge, or intuition, that these books were not necessarily honest with their audience. They were mainly produced as promotions and as such had little latitude with which to examine any negative aspects of their subject. In some cases there is a blatant cover up, as there was with the images of American servicemen with Australian women in Displaying Australia and New Guinea and their telling absence in Displaying Australia. (both 1945)

In other cases it seems that the photographer is being witty. Max Dupain's image of sheep grazing behind Parliament House in Canberra, National Capital, 1949, brings to mind the accusation that Canberra was "a good sheep station spoiled", a common enough criticism at the time. The supplied caption, "the rural simplicity of old Canberra lingers on the threshold of the Nation's Parliament", only hints at irony.

In the end the thesis has been an exercise in Australian history as much as it has been an exercise in photographic history. At a time when history, as a topic, is being questioned in regards as to whether historical study can reveal the truth, writing about
books which presented their origins in the best possible circumstances can be a difficult task to reconcile.

The photographers examined, ranging from the famous to the numerous obscure contributors to Departmental files, posed a problem for the original idea behind looking at the use of well known photographers by phototexts publishers. The difference between a classic Dupain photograph and a governmental photograph of the same subject is an arbitrary thing. Dupain's name and the high reputation of his output adds something to the aesthetic value of the actual image. It could turn up on a public gallery wall as a work of 'art'. The anonymous file photograph, if ever displayed, would be of historical value but is unlikely to be considered 'art'.

Thus comes the challenge of writing a thesis which balances these issues as well as possible. The past three years have resulted in many re-writes and outright rejections of arguments, with the additional problem of an annual turnover of supervisors. This has been the result.

The End.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION.
1. e.g in Anne Marie Willis's *Picturing Australia*, Angus and Robertson, 1988, there are only a few phototexts incorporated in Willis's argument, notably Harold Cazneaux's *Sydney Surfing*, 1929 and Oswald Ziegler's *Australian Photography* 1947.


3. Especially *Art in Australia*, begun in 1916 and *The Home*, begun in 1920. Sydney Ure Smith ran these magazines, and others, until 1938. After falling out with the Fairfax group, who owned the magazines, Ure Smith began *Australia National Journal* in 1939, which continued until the late 1940s.

CHAPTER ONE. HISTORY.
1.1 The History of a History.

2. ibid. This is perhaps most evident in the case of George 'Airspy' Hansom whose biography concentrates on his father's achievement (the Hansom Cab) rather than his own aerial photography.


5. Lebovic, 1989, ibid, np.

6. Of course, Lebovic's book is limited by the potential availability of original prints from the negatives. Thus a photographer, like Athol Shmith, who did not preserve his negatives, may not have the same current commercial impact as, Max Dupain, whose files occasionally reveal an interesting old image for the first time.


10. The winner of the Gold Medal in Australian Photography 1957 was Muriel Jackson. She is absent from the text of *Australian Women Photographers 1840-1960*.

n.b A number of magazine and journal articles deal with issues relevant to this thesis. The most important of these is Ann Stephen's 'Mass Produced Photography in Australia During the Inter-War Years' from *Art Network* 9, Autumn 1983. This article details the role of the 'middlemen', the designers' work in making photographs part of the era's aesthetic. Douglas Annand's work with Dupain's photographs for Ziegler's *Soul of a City* is used as one of the examples. Geoff Batchen's 'Creative Actuality, The Photography of Max Dupain' from *Art Monthly Australia* 45, November 1991 poses the question of whether a photograph should be judged in the context of the time it was taken or the time it was first presented to the public. As several notable images as seen today were out-takes from images taken for publication, the debate is crucial. Helen Grace's 'Reviewing Max Dupain', *Art Network* 9, discusses his attitudes as a reviewer for the *Sydney Morning Herald* in the early Eighties. Dupain's critical stance is intransigent enough for Grace's arguments to be relevant to Dupain's written contributions to several 'salon' style books of thirty or so years previously.

1.2 The Classics; *Max Dupain's Australia* and the earlier use of some of the images.
CHAPTER TWO. THE PUBLISHERS.

2.1 Sydney Ure Smith.


3. ibid, p 660.


5. ibid, he continues, "By faked prints, I mean muzzy, indeterminate attempts at tone; tone so faked and altered that in the end no values exist. The result is, then, unreal, and therefore unconvincing."

6. ibid, Pp 660-663.

7. ibid.

8. Some of the ideas behind *The Home Annual* were revived by Ure Smith with annual *Australia Week-End Books* based on his last journal, *Australia National Journal*. Limited in their illustrative content by Wartime austerity measures, the *Australia Week-End Books* were chiefly literary. Only the fifth, from 1946, used photographs.

9. Books from 1928 which did not feature Cazneaux's photography were *Glimpses of Victoria, Inland Australia* and *The Great Barrier Reef*. The latter included several images by Frank Hurley.

2.2 Oswald Leopold Ziegler.


3. For a debate on the issue of attribution when a designer reworks a photographer's imagery, see Ann Stephen, 'Mass-Reproduced Photography in the Inter-War Years', *Art Network*, Sydney, Number 9, Autumn 1983, Pp 40-45.


5. This chapter is largely based on Eric Riddler, ibid. 1990.

CHAPTER THREE. MOVEMENTS.

3.1 The Views Trade.

3.2 Pictorialism.

2. ibid, p 13. This quote influenced Australian Pictorialists, as can be read in the opening paragraph in Fred Radford 'Art and Photography', *The Salon*, Sydney, Volume 1, Number 2, September-October 1912, Pp 106-110.
3. Although Zola took up photography concurrently with the rise of Photo-Impressionism, his style did not resemble that of the movement for which he ostensibly played a major role in creating. See Eric Riddler, *Émile Zola- His Approach to Visual Art Through His Fiction*, B.A. Thesis, University of Western Sydney, Nepean, 1989, Pp 21-28.


5. ibid. p 132.


3.3 Modernism.


3. Dellit quoted ibid, p. 46.

3.4 Documentary.
1. For further study into the impact of photo-journalism in Australia, see Anne Marie Willis, *Picturing Australia*, Angus and Robertson, 1988.


CHAPTER FOUR. THE NATIONAL IMAGE.
4.2 Emil Otto Hoppe's *The Fifth Continent*.


5. It was not possible to show all 48 of the United States, despite the size of *Romantic America*. Hoppe does, however, show as much of 'typical' United States scenery as possible.


4.3 Ziegler's Australia tomes.
4.4 The Ektachrome Centre, Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study.*

4.5 The New Australia, as seen in other books on Australia.

2. The Sara Quads were the then largest surviving multiple birth in Australia. Womens' magazines of the time engaged in a pitched battle for the story rights, won by *The Australian Womens' Weekly.*

3. e.g. One image of a surfer recurs in such governmental literature.

CHAPTER FIVE. METROPOLITAN LIFE.
5.1 The quest for a typical Australian city.
1. 'Sydney Tomorrow' by an official of the Cumberland County Council in Frank Hurley, *Sydney, a Camera Study,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1948.

2. George Farwell and Frank H. Johnson, *This Land of Ours,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1949. The photographers of the houses are not identified.


4. The American revival owed a lot to the work of Bev Hillier, as did Thomas's article "Art Deco in Australia" in *Art and Australia,* Volume 19, Number 4, March 1972, Pp 338-351.


7. *The Australian Artist* was a journal produced by the Victorian Artists' Society between 1947 and 1949, not to be confused with the current (1992) journal *Australian Artist.*

CHAPTER SIX. SYDNEY.
6.1 Sydney in general.
1. When Art in Australia Limited published a similar book on the subject of Melbourne the following year they used such respected figures in Pictorialism as John Kauffmann and J. W. Eaton to portray the City.

2. This was a development from the city scenes following the pictorialist style exhibited at the Sydney based Australian Salons of Photography in 1924 and 1926. Cazneaux had exhibited in both Salons.

3. Another theme in the Sydney number of *Art in Australia* was the construction work around the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Ure Smith would later employ Cazneaux to photograph the Bridge's progress in *The Bridge Book* and *The Second Bridge Book* in the early 1930s.

4. *The Sydney Book* used new photographs but the text was the same as that used in the Sydney Number of *Art in Australia,* by Jean Curlewis, who had died in 1930.

5. Other photographic books contain images compared to cubism, viz Jack Cato's *Melbourne* and Rob Hillier's *Portrait of Melbourne.*


7. Because *Sydney, A Camera Study* served as a de facto *New South Wales, A Camera Study,* the breadth of coverage far exceeded the limits of the city itself. Wollongong, Mount Kosciusko, The Jenolan Caves and Newcastle are all featured. By 1958, when a totally revised edition was produced, the presence of New South Wales in *Australia, A Camera Study* allowed the coverage to be brought back
to within Gosford and Moss Vale, with a clearer reference to these outlying centres as retreats from the city itself.

8. Aerial photography in Sydney was in vogue during the early fifties, the Fairfax newspaper group often used aerial photography in the supplements at the time, sometimes using Hurley's work.

9. If one follows the final chapter of Dymphna Cusack and Florence James' 1951 novel *Come in Spinner*, it can be seen that Martin Place and Wynyard Square were linked in terms of pedestrian movement.

6.2 Strength-Beauty-Simplicity; the Sydney Harbour Bridge.


5. Hoppé had been to Australia to prepare the images for his book *The Fifth Continent* during 1930. At the time of his visit his photography was shown in the David Jones emporium in Sydney and in the pages of *The Home*. One of the photographs shown in *The Home* depicted New York with its Sydney Harbour Bridge lookalike, the Hell Gate Bridge, on the horizon.


6.3 Life on a harbour wave; Sydney at leisure.
1. Harold Cazneaux and Jean Curlewis, *Sydney Harbour* and *Sydney Surfing*, Art in Australia, Sydney, 1928 and 1929 respectively.


4. ibid.
5. ibid.

6.4 Antipodean Bohemianism.

2. Kenneth Slessor, *Portrait of Sydney*, Ure Smith, 1950. The line "King's Cross, indeed, is not Sydney" echoes the argument that New York is not America.

3. caption in ibid.


n.b. Kings Cross is usually spelt without the apostrophe. In cases where I am quoting from a source which refers to King's Cross, I have kept it in that form.

CHAPTER SEVEN. MELBOURNE.

7.1 Melbourne in general.

2. David Saunders, *Melbourne a Portrait*, from the book of that name, Melbourne, 1960. The lines echo the work of Australian poet Max Dunn,

The country grows
Into the image of the people
And the people grow
Into the likeness of the country
Till to the soul's geographer
Each becomes the symbol of the other.³


3. Locals in the context of being a long-term resident of Melbourne. Jack Cato had lived in Melbourne for some time prior to the publication of *Melbourne* in 1949 but most other photographers, such as Frank Hurley and Rob Hillier, photographed Melbourne during brief visits. None of the above, including Strizic, were actually born in Melbourne.

4. The difference between the AWA Tower and the Police Headquarters was that the latter's communications tower was designed for practical rather than decorative effect.

5. Strizic's photographs of the area featured in Lawler's play are not the only images in phototexts of the period which can be linked to the play's popularity, in Ziegler's *Australian Photography 1957* a portrait of a kewpie doll seller by Kenneth Clifford brings the story to mind.

6. op cit 2.

7.2 Accidently Collins Street.

CHAPTER EIGHT. OTHER CITIES.

8.1 Canberra and the politics of being capital.


6. Arboraphobia is a fear that leads suburban Australians to unnecessarily destroy their gardens' trees. Robin Boyd, op cit 4.4 6, 1960, Pp 75-78.

**8.2 Brisbane, the capital of Queensland and the Gold Coast, the capital of Austerica.**


4. When *Architecture in Australia* included an image of "The Walk" in their Gold Coast issue they were not as flattering. A neon sign and seat at the entrance break the pattern. Ordinary cars like a Holden and a Morris park carelessly where the limousine once waited. The shape of "La Ronde" is dominated by an unsympathetic background.


**8.3 Newcastle, and provincial New South Wales.**


2. Margaret Preston, *'From Margaret Preston's Travel Note Book'* , *The Australia Week-End Book* 1, Ure Smith, 1942.

3. The Cultural Centre owed its existence to a Doctor Roland Pope who left his art collection to the city because it was the largest Australian city not to have such a facility. Interestingly, this was a time when several ex-Novocastrians were making their presence felt in the emerging Abstract Expressionist school in Australia, including John Olsen, William Rose and Jon Molvig. Fifteen years after his portrait of Joshua Smith, Cook's Hill native William Dobell, who had returned to the Newcastle region, had maintained his notoriety.

4. In 1858 the colonial laws regarding local government were amended. This heralded the foundation of many new councils and layed the foundation for many centennial publications.
ILLUSTRATIONS

COLOUR PLATES
1. Frank Hurley, cover illustration for Oswald Ziegler's *Blue Mountains*, 1939. This is an example of Hurley's use of montage and Ziegler's use of colour printing to add mood to monochromatic imagery.

2. A double paged spread in Ziegler's *150 Years in Australia*, 1937. This is the style of Ziegler's sesquicentennial souvenirs which is also featured in his first major Australian tome *150 Years, Australia 1788-1938*.

3. David Moore (photographer) and Gert Sellheim (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's *Australia from the Dawn of Time to the Present Day*, 1964.


5. Max Dupain (photographer) and Douglas Annand (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's first *Soul of a City*, 1940.

6. Max Dupain (photographer) and Stan Ostojakotkowski (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's fourth and final *Soul of a City*, 1962.

7. unknown photographer(s), cover illustration for Ziegler's *Romance in Paradise*, 1938.


9. Mark Strizic (photographer) and Leonard French (designer), cover illustration for *Melbourne, a Portrait*, 1960.


11. detail of plate 9.


13. Max Dupain (photographer) and Gert Sellheim (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's *Newcastle, 150 Years*, 1947.

BLACK AND WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

2. Advertisement for the Sydney number of *Art in Australia* in the preceding issue, March 1927.


11. unknown photographers, illustrations for page devoted to housing in New South Wales from Oswald Ziegler's *This is Australia*, 1957.

12. unknown photographers, illustrations from Sydney section of *Displaying Australia* 1945.

13. unknown photographers, illustrations from Sydney section of *Displaying Australia and New Guinea*, 1945.

14. unknown photographers, illustrations from Melbourne section of *Displaying Australia* 1945.

15. unknown photographers, illustrations from Melbourne section of *Displaying Australia and New Guinea*, 1945.

16. unknown photographer working for the Department of Information, photograph of old couple in Glen Innes from *This Land of Ours*, 1949.

17. unknown photographers, photographs of country towns, from Colorgravure's *The Australian Countryside in Pictures*, c. 1951.


20. unknown photographer, *Displaced persons from Europe landing at Newcastle, New South Wales*, from Jaroslav Novak-Niema's *Australia, the Great South Land*, 1956.

21. Reg Perrier, photographs of Goulburn's housing from Ziegler's *Goulburn, Queen City of the South*, 1946.

22. unknown photographers, contrasting images of Sydney's housing from *This Land of Ours*, 1949.


25. David Potts, the 'Meccano Set' in South-Western Sydney from Ure Smith's *Australian Outrage*, 1966.

27. Harold Cazneaux, *Ferries*, from the Sydney number of *Art in Australia*, 1927. This image was also used in Art in Australia Ltd's *Sydney Harbour*, 1928.


29. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1940.

30. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1940.

31. Max Dupain (et al.), photographs from *Soul of a City*, c.1950.

32. Max Dupain(?), photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1953.

33. Max Dupain(?), photograph from *Soul of a City*, 1953.

34. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1962.

35. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1962.

36. Max Dupain, photograph from *Soul of a City*, 1962.


46. Harold Cazneaux, *Building the Harbour Bridge, Dawes Point*, from the Sydney number of *Art in Australia*, 1927.


51. Figure 49 as used on the cover of the New South Wales department of Main Roads house journal, Main Roads, June 1952.

52. Figure 50 as used on the cover of the 22nd edition of Robinson's Sydney and Suburbs Street Directory, 1962.

53. Frank Hurley, photograph of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, from the revised edition of Sydney, a Camera Study, 1958. This image was originally featured in Sydney, a Camera Study in 1948.


57. Harold Cazneaux, Sand Minstrels, from The Home, March 1929. This image was also featured in Art in Australia Ltd's Sydney Surfing, 1929.

58. E. O. Hoppe, On Bondi Beach, N.S.W., from The Fifth Continent, 1931.


60. Max Dupain, study of waves, from Ure Smith's Sydney Beaches, 1950.


62. Harold Cazneaux, William Street, from the Sydney number of Art in Australia, 1927. This image was also used in Art in Australia Ltd's Sydney Streets, 1928.

63. Theo Purcell, Darlington from the Air, from Art in Australia Ltd's The Sydney Book, 1931.

64. Max Dupain, Rob Hillier, David Moore and John Nisbett, photographs of The Cross and the Top, from Ure Smith's Portrait of Sydney, 1950.


69. Airspy (George Hansom), Melbourne, from Art in Australia Ltd's The Melbourne Book, 1931.

70. E. O. Hoppe, Flinders Street Crossing, Melbourne, Victoria, from The Fifth Continent, 1931.


74. Rob Hillier, photographs of Melbourne, from Ure Smith's *Portrait of Melbourne*, 1951.

75. unknown photographer, *Collins Street*, from a souvenir of Melbourne published c. 1891.


78. Mark Strizic, *Buckley's, also in Bourke Street*, from *Melbourne, a Portrait*, 1960.


82. Rob Hillier, photographs of Collins Street, from Ure Smith's *Portrait of Melbourne*, 1951.

83. Harold Cazneaux, three images of Canberra from *The Home*, May 1927. These images appeared in Art in Australia Ltd's *Canberra*. 1928.


85. unknown photographers, Canberra's early official architecture, from *Displaying Australia and New Guinea*, 1945.

86. Max Dupain, photographs of Canberra, from Gotham's *Canberra, National Capital*, 1949.


89. David Moore(?) photograph of Canberra, from *Canberra A.C.T.*, 1961. This image also appears in *Canberra*, 1966.

90. photographers unknown, *The shops are metropolitan but the trees, wide footpaths and sunny squares have the freshness of the open country. A gracious lady visits a gracious city and The Theatre Centre on a gala occasion has all the glamour of Broadway and the West End*, from *Canberra*, 1966.
91. E. O. Hoppe, *Brisbane from Mount Cootha* [sic], *Queensland* and *Brisbane, Queensland*, from *The Fifth Continent*, 1931.

92. unknown photographer working for the Queensland Department of Agriculture and Stock, Brisbane's governmental buildings, from Art in Australia Ltd's *The Brisbane Book*, 1932.


95. unknown photographers, photographs from *Gold Coast*, 1958.

96. unknown photographers, photographs from *Gold Coast*, 1958.

97. unknown photographer, photograph of Currumbin Bird Sanctuary, from *Gold Coast*, 1958.

98. unknown photographer, photograph of Southport Bowling Club, from *Gold Coast*, 1958.


100. Max Dupain, *The Heart of the City, Hunter and Bolton Streets*, from *Newcastle 150 Years*, 1947.

101. Frank Hurley (uncredited) industrial workings from Ziegler's *Newcastle 150 Years*, 1947. This image also appeared in Hurley's *Sydney, a Camera Study*, 1948.


103. unknown photographers, Newcastle's civic and industrial research architecture, from Ziegler's *Symphony on a City*(Newcastle), 1958.

104. unknown photographers, Newcastle's housing and shopping areas, from Ziegler's *Symphony on a City*(Newcastle), 1958.

105. unknown photographer, Sunset over the City of Newcastle, from Ziegler's *Symphony on a City*(Newcastle), 1958.

106. photographers unknown, photographs from Ziegler's *Sublime Vision* (Wollongong), 1963.

107. photographers unknown (lower photograph by Cameron Studios), photographs of Maitland's transport, from *Maitland 1863-1963*.

108. Max Dupain, photographs from Ziegler's *Valley of the Winds* (Coolah), 1949.
1. (left)
Frank Hurley, cover illustration for Oswald Ziegler's *Blue Mountains*, 1939.

2. (below)
A double paged spread in Ziegler's *150 Years in Australia*, 1937.
3. (left)
David Moore (photographer) and Gert Sellheim (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's *Australia from the Dawn of Time to the Present Day*, 1964.

4. (below)
5. (left) Max Dupain (photographer) and Douglas Annand (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's first *Soul of a City*, 1940.

6. (below) Max Dupain (photographer) and Stanislaw Ostoja-Kotkowski (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's fourth and final *Soul of a City*, 1962.
7. (left) unknown photographer(s), cover illustration for Ziegler's *Romance in Paradise*, 1938.

9. (top left)  
Mark Strizic (photographer) and Leonard French (designer), cover illustration for *Melbourne, a Portrait*, 1960.

10. (centre left)  
unknown photographer, working for the Commonwealth News and Information Department, cover illustration for Ziegler's *Canberra A.C.T.*, 1961.

11. (below)  
detail of plate 9.
12. (above)

13. (below)
Max Dupain (photographer) and Gert Sellheim (designer), cover illustration for Ziegler's *Newcastle, 150 Years*, 1947.
Quant and arresting is this photographic child-study by Cazneaux, in which the bars of sunlight seem to touch the little face with the effect of a bold pastellist’s crayon. Camera lovers will thank Mr. Cazneaux for his happy inspiration, and will be tempted forth in search of other novel effects of lighting by which to record the features that delight them most. There are limitations indeed in the art of the photographer, but enterprise and originality go far to break them down.

1 Harold Cazneaux, *The Bamboo Blind*, from the frontispiece of the first issue of Art in Australia Ltd’s *The Home*, February 1920.
2. Advertisement for the Sydney number of *Art in Australia* in the preceding issue, March 1927.

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*Announcement*

**SYDNEY NUMBER OF ART IN AUSTRALIA**

**WILL BE PUBLISHED IN JUNE**

At present no suitable book or booklet exists which adequately represents the charm of Sydney. No tourist or dweller in Sydney is able to keep or send away a book which sets forth with illustrations the City of Sydney, with its streets, beaches, harbour side, its picturesque qualities.

'Art in Australia' intends devoting the June number to an interesting representation of Sydney—with pictures in colour and black and white—as it exists to-day . . . the charm of its earlier streets and buildings—its modern growth . . . the Harbour bridge works, the Underground, the Gardens. All will be shown . . . Already pictures are being carefully selected for the purpose, and Mr. Cazneaux, whose fame as a fine photographer is well known in Australia and abroad, is making a fine series of studies for this issue.

Interesting quotations from well known writers will be printed—and the book will fill a long felt want.

*Order your copy now.*

**Price, 7/6**

*EDITED BY SYDNEY URE SMITH AND LEON GELLERT*

*PUBLISHED BY ART IN AUSTRALIA LTD., 24 BOND ST., SYDNEY*

**WHEAT-ALL-WHEAT**
7. E. O. Hoppé, Wharves, Melbourne, Victoria, from The Fifth Continent, 1931.
Home building

IN COMMON with the other States of Australia and, in fact, with most countries of the world, New South Wales, faced, at the end of the 1939-45 war, an extensive housing shortage which has been aggravated by the national expansion over the past ten years.

Obstacles which have had to be overcome were shortages in manpower and materials and now that these have gradually been surmounted, steady progress has been made.

Housing requirements are met mainly by individuals building homes to their own designs, on their own land, with their own finance or with home loans from banks, assurance companies and co-operative building societies, which have financed thousands of homes on easy repayment terms over periods of about 25 to 30 years.

Under an agreement between the Commonwealth and the various States whereby finance is allotted annually, a Government housing scheme has been undertaken aimed at the provision of homes for families of low and moderate means and the improvement of housing standards generally.

Some 70,000 homes have already been built under this scheme.

Homes built are mainly of weatherboard and brick or brick and weatherboard or other weather-proof or asbestos cement. Many large flat projects have also been erected in the closer settled areas particularly in the cities, providing self-contained units, usually with one or two bedrooms and permanent for families desiring the type of accommodation.

Left: An eleven storey block of this erected by the Housing Commission of N.S.W. at Minna's Point, Sydney.

Below: A typical brick cottage located in Concord, a Sydney suburb. In green: An aerial view of the outer suburban district of Rockdale, a suburb in the west of Sydney.
Following four pages,
12. unknown photographers, illustrations from Sydney section of Displaying Australia 1945.
13. unknown photographers, illustrations from Sydney section of Displaying Australia and New Guinea, 1945. Note that the bottom right image was taken from the entrance to Melbourne's Flinders Street Station.
14. unknown photographers, illustrations from Melbourne section of Displaying Australia 1945.
15. unknown photographers, illustrations from Melbourne section of Displaying Australia and New Guinea, 1945.
The Central Railway Station, Sydney, presents an example of the architecture of a quarter of a century since. Faced by a pretty park, it is a busy spot—indeed, over 1500 trains are despatched from here daily.

Through wooded mountain scenery and skirting waterways along much of its length the Sydney-Newcastle rail trip is enjoyable and interesting.

Ornamental gardens surrounding suburban railway stations are a feature of Australian capital cities. The one here shown is at Gordon, a few miles from Sydney.
Railway Station, principal steam terminus of N.S.W., From here are dashed over 1500 daily to the Country and Suburbs.

No wonder Australia "fell" for these boys—all smiles on their introduction to Australia.
Riders on the "Tan" in "The Domain", with Victoria's Shrine of Remembrance in the background.

The crest of Collins Street hill, revealing the tree-lined loveliness of this thoroughfare, one of Melbourne's principal business and shopping streets.

A glimpse of Government House from Melbourne's lovely Botanic Gardens.
What are they talking about . . . is it the beauty of the scene before them . . . or something else?

Along the banks of the Yarra . . . Princes Bridge in the background.

An attraction of the Canteen is the American food provided, which allows the boys to feel really at home.
16. unknown photographer working for the Department of Information, photograph of old couple in Glen Innes from *This Land of Ours*, 1949.

This New England farmer and his wife, living just outside Glen Innes, come in to church each Sunday, thankful for the good life that their sheep and wheat paddocks provide in one of the most fertile regions of northern New South Wales.
Following two pages,
17. unknown photographers, photographs of country towns, from Colorgravure's *The Australian Countryside in Pictures*, c. 1951.

CIVIC CENTRE
Town Hall, Maryborough, Queensland

CITY OF THE WEST
Geraldton, Western Australia

HOME OF SARA QUADS
Bellingen, New South Wales

CHURNING PADDLES
River Durras, New South Wales
20. unknown photographer, *Displaced persons from Europe landing at Newcastle, New South Wales*, from Jaroslav Novak-Niemela’s *Australia, the Great South Land*, 1956.

*Displaced persons from Europe landing at Newcastle, New South Wales.*

Just one among hundreds of ships which after the war brought immigrants to their new country—the country of the future.
21. Reg Perrier, photographs of Goulburn's housing from Ziegler's *Goulburn, Queen City of the South*, 1946.
HOMES—The influence of modern American trends on Australian home design is evidenced in these homes at Beauty Point, attractive Sydney harbour-side suburb. The basic design is common throughout Australia, with some modifications. Extensive use of glass and sundecking is admirably suited to the climate. For many years Australian architecture was influenced by English, Spanish, and other oversea design, finally evolving in a dwelling as typical as the indigenous eucalypts. Although many Australians live in lovely garden and harbour-side suburbs, behind the smart facade thousands live in slums, and many young Australians know only the warping influence of life in crowded areas. It is an extraordinary thing that in a land so wide and free such conditions should prevail.
Following page,
The magnificent view and holiday atmosphere of the sea coast have resulted in much attractive seaside designing. Right: Building between 1929-39 resulted in a sea of tiled roofs which in many areas produced an unrelieved monotony of sameness.

Left: Typical ranch-style, home in a rural setting. Right: Typical modern house in a rural setting.
25. David Potts, the 'Meccano Set' in South-Western Sydney from Ure Smith's *Australian Outrage*, 1966.
27. Harold Cazneaux, *Ferries*, from the Sydney number of *Art in Australia*, 1927. This image was also used in *Art in Australia* Ltd's *Sydney Harbour*, 1928.
28. E. O. Hoppé, Jetties at Circular Quay, Sydney, N.S.W., from The Fifth Continent, 1931.
Following two pages,
29. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1940. The second image from the left is reproduced in *Max Dupain's Australia*, 1986.

30. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1940. The second image from the bottom left is similar to one reproduced in *Max Dupain's Australia*, 1986.
31. Max Dupain (et al.), photographs from *Soul of a City*, c.1950. The image at top left is reproduced in *Max Dupain's Australia*, 1986.
32. Max Dupain(?), photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1953.
While Sydney sleeps, the Harbour Bridge
stands a mighty sentinel guarding this
great white city of the Empire.
34. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1962. The image at bottom left is reproduced in *Max Dupain's Australia*, 1986.

Yarning, gibing, protesting about what's right or wrong with us . . .

Hurrying or sauntering workwards at all sorts of times in the morning . . .
35. Max Dupain, photographs from *Soul of a City*, 1962.

"Much of your pride is new tangled, but histories hide in your bricks."
36. Max Dupain, photograph from *Soul of a City*, 1962.
Following two pages,

The Grand Organ in Sydney Town Hall, which has been proclaimed an instrument of tonal and mechanical excellence as well as being one of the most powerful in the world. The pipes number 8672, ranging in speaking length from three-eighths of an inch to 64 feet.
The Grand Column, a colossal stalagmite many thousands of years old formed from tiny water drips depositing lime in solution dissolved from the rock masses above. This infinitely slow process has, through ages of time, decorated the caverns with fluted columns, pillars, shawls, bejewelled canopies, and glittering cascades.
Following two pages,


Wynyard Square

For a century, Wynyard Square dreamed under the chime of St. Philip's. Then came the Underground, and Wynyard turned into a tumult of travellers.

The serenity of Wynyard Park (above) contrasts with the queues of bus, passengers (left) bound for the beaches.

At night, after the peak-hour traffic has deserted it, Wynyard Park gets a few hours of quietness to smooth its ruffled leaves and trampled grass. Lights flick on and off in the offices where typists and clerks are working back, and on the other side of the park there is a wink every ten seconds from the A.W.A. beacon.

*Following page.*

46. Harold Cazneaux, *Building the Harbour Bridge, Dawes Point*, from the Sydney number of *Art in Australia*, 1927.

Following page,


51. Figure 49 as used on the cover of the New South Wales department of Main Roads house journal, *Main Roads*, June 1952.

52. Figure 50 as used on the cover of the 22nd edition of *Robinson's Sydney and Suburbs Street Directory*, 1962.
53. Frank Hurley, photograph of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, from the revised edition of *Sydney, a Camera Study*, 1958. This image was originally featured in *Sydney, a Camera Study* in 1948.

54. Frank Hurley, photograph of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, from *Sydney, a Camera Study* in 1948.
57. Harold Cazneaux, *Sand Minstrels*, from *The Home*, March 1929. This image was also featured in *Art in Australia* Ltd's *Sydney Surfing*, 1929.

Following page,

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*SAND MINSTRELS*

A group of sand minstrels, seen at Bondi, N.S.W. Their intriguing figures attract the beach-dwelling summer months. They gather in little clusters of colour by the sea and hum with sweet music or the lusty songs with whistle and ukulele. They have their humble admirers and some physicians who, in pursuit of the higher things in music, readily give them the hand.
ON BONDI BEACH.

N. S. W.
Following page,
59. Frank Hurley, photographs of yachts, from *Sydney, a Camera Study*, 1948.
All kinds of aquatic sport flourish in Sydney, and in summer the Harbour is alive with sailing craft. In the “Mosquito” fleet above, youngsters from ten years up serve their apprenticeship. Below: Rounding the buoy on the homeward run.

Claude Plowman’s Morna, designed in Scotland and built in Australia, is scratch yacht for her class on Sydney Harbour. Since the war Morna has to her credit first across the line in two ocean races, Sydney-Hobart; won Duke of Gloucester cup on both occasions it has been competed for, and numerous other awards. Length, 65 feet overall; beam, 15 feet 6 inches; draught, 9 feet.
60. Max Dupain, study of waves, from Ure Smith's *Sydney Beaches*, 1950.
Balance of a cat-and-split-second timing is necessary to keep your feet on the slippery, skidding surfboards which these three Bondi exponents are urging "downhill" before a young, unwilling, sea.

Surfboards, built of plywood sheets, although sometimes sixteen feet long, are no great burden from clubhouse to the water. They're designed to carry one, but a skilful operator can take a passenger—if she holds tight and doesn't argue.
62. Harold Cazneaux, *William Street*, from the Sydney number of *Art in Australia*, 1927. This image was also used in *Art in Australia* Ltd's *Sydney Streets*, 1928.
63. Theo Purcell, *Darlinghurst from the air*, from Art in Australia Ltd's *The Sydney Book*, 1931.

Following page.

64. Max Dupain, Rob Hillier, David Moore and John Nisbett, photographs of *The Cross and the Top*, from Ure Smith's *Portrait of Sydney*, 1950.

*Darlinghurst from the air*. The tramline may be seen ascending William Street in the foreground and curving round into Bayswater Road on the way to the Eastern Suburbs. Hampton Court is towards the left centre of the picture, with the Hotel Mansions opposite. Photograph by T. Purcell.
The Cross and the Top

In the language of Sydney, "the Cross" and "the Top" mean King's Cross and the top of William Street hill. The Cross, to be strict, is the crossing of six streets at the Top, but the area denoted in the term means all that brightly painted, jumbled, tumbled, dangerous and exciting territory between the city proper and the eastern suburbs proper (and some of them are very proper indeed)—and it may extend from Elizabeth Bay on one side to Oxford Street on the other.

The Top of William Street (right) is choked at sunset with urgent and assisted traffic going home. Behind William Street, Woodlooomooor runs into the Domain. The terraces of tiny, ancient houses (far left) are within an inch of the Sunday afternoon orators (middle), for whom the Domain is a traditional safety-valve.
The threesome in the lower photograph are Michael Allen Shaw (a visiting English artist), Dick Watkins (an Australian painter) and Daniel Thomas (a critic and curator at the Art Gallery of New South Wales). A similar photograph, in which they are identified, appeared in Mervyn Horton's *Present Day Art in Australia*. 1969.

*The Law Courts.* Photograph by J. Kauffmann.

Following page.

CORINTHIAN, COLLINS STREET, MELBOURNE

GOTHIC, COLLINS STREET
74. Rob Hillier, photographs of Melbourne, from Ure Smith's *Portrait of Melbourne*, 1951.

The atmosphere of an English inn enriches the old Mitre Tavern, in Bank Place. It has long been a haunt of judges, barristers and their like. Little shops, selling everything from cups of tea and kitchen scissors to hamburgers and Paris-style bars, abound in the central section of Little Collins Street.

You can stand outside the news-stands and while away five minutes (or an hour, if you have it to spare) by reading today's news or studying the astrology columns for tomorrow's. The price of oranges and lemons, bananas and apples may go up and up, but the barrowmen don't care. Nor, it seems, do the customers as they pass their money over.
75. unknown photographer, *Collins Street*, from a souvenir of Melbourne published c. 1891.

78. Mark Strizic, Buckley's, also in Bourke Street, from Melbourne, a Portrait, 1960.

Following page.
79. Mark Strizic, Flinders Street Station, from Melbourne, a Portrait, 1960.

Following page.
82. Rob Hillier, photographs of Collins Street, from Ure Smith's *Portrait of Melbourne*, 1951.

Collins Street's top end reflects the seasons with mirror-like fidelity. To visitors, it is Melbourne's Champs Elysees; to Melbourne, the Champs Elysees is the Collins Street of Paris. Its planes and elms, its little shops, its broad sidewalks give it a charm and character owing nothing to its established place as 'the most valuable street, as real estate, in Australia.'
83. Harold Cazneaux, three images of Canberra from The Home, May 1927. These images appeared in Art in Australia Ltd’s Canberra, 1928.

**ROOF, PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA.**
The flat roof of Parliament House, where legislators may cool off at their own leisure.

(Centre) Entrance front to the Houses of Parliament.

This is not a modern stage setting—merely a rear view of Parliament House.
85. unknown photographers, Canberra's early official architecture, from Displaying Australia and New Guinea, 1945.

Australian Forestry School (Commonwealth Forestry Bureau). The training of professional foresters from all the States of the Commonwealth is carried out by this institution which is recognized by the Universities of Australia as being of degree standard.

Left: Building of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.
Right: Economic Entomology and Plant Industry Laboratories of the C.S. and I.R.

First Section of the Commonwealth National Library—planned and developed along the lines of the Library of Congress, U.S.A. Under the capable direction of Mr. Kenneth Bians, the Chief Librarian, it performs the joint functions of library for the Federal Parliament, the Departments of the Commonwealth Government and the citizens of the National Capital.
86. Max Dupain, photographs of Canberra, from Gotham's *Canberra, National Capital*, 1949, including Kingsford Smith's *Southern Cross* over Parliament House, which appears in Max Dupain's *Australia*, 1986.
The Australian American War Memorial at the foot of Mt. Pleasant, one of the three co-ordinates of the National Capital Triangle. Presently by Her Majesty, the Queen, during the Royal Visit of 1963, it rises 150 feet to the top of the serrated peak. It was erected with contributions from the Australian public and the Commonwealth Government in memory of the contribution by the United States to the defense of Australia in World War II. It is built of steel and sheathed with sand-blasted aluminum.

Wide footpaths give an atmosphere of space and ease to Canberra's shopping centres.

89. David Moore (?) photograph of Canberra, from Canberra A.C.T., 1961. This image also appears in Canberra, 1966.

Winter sweeps many snow storms across Canberra but the snow usually melts quickly. This fall remained for several days bringing a new beauty to the capital.
90. photographers unknown. The shops are metropolitan but the trees, wide footpaths and sunny squares have the freshness of the open country. A gracious lady visits a gracious city and The Theatre Centre on a gala occasion has all the glamour of Broadway and the West End, from Canberra, 1966.
91. E. O. Hoppé, Brisbane from Mount Coottha [sic]. Queensland and Brisbane, Queensland, from The Fifth Continent, 1931.
92. unknown photographer working for the Queensland Department of Agriculture and Stock. Brisbane's governmental buildings, from Art in Australia Ltd's *The Brisbane Book*, 1932.
Following two pages,

Brisbane City Hall—a monument to progress.
95. unknown photographers, photographs from *Gold Coast*, 1958.
unknown photographers, photographs from Gold Coast, 1958.

and caravan parks provide holiday accommodation and entertainment of a type comparable with the world's best. It is an artifice of man which, threading its way in a thin multi-coloured mosaic, between the blue sea and the grey-green farm-lands, imparts a throbbing, vigorous atmosphere of urgency that in no way grates upon the sobriety of nature all around it.

The ocean beaches of this Gold Coast strip are not the only attraction for the visitors who in their hiving thousands flock from less favoured parts of the Commonwealth, boating and other river sports have been popular on the Nerang River since the pioneering days of settlement and its many pourings between Northcliffe and Southport form several small islands which are fast being developed by tourist enterprises into holiday playgrounds and attractive residential areas. Paradise Island, south of Surfers Paradise sports oval, is being converted into a "Little Venice of the South Coast," complete with canal waterways, southward beyond the Florida Gardens residential project is Broadbeach where Lennon famous hotel towers in monolithic grandeur. This hotel is more splendid than any other in Australia. It has been designed on the lines of famous hotels in America.
97. unknown photographer, photograph of Currumbin Bird Sanctuary, from *Gold Coast*, 1958.
98. unknown photographer, photograph of Southport Bowling Club, from *Gold Coast*, 1958.
100. Max Dupain, *The Heart of the City, Hunter and Bolton Streets*, from *Newcastle 150 Years*, 1947.

**Following two pages,**

101. Frank Hurley (uncredited) industrial workings from Ziegler's *Newcastle 150 Years*, 1947. This image also appeared in Hurley's *Sydney, a Camera Study*, 1948.

102. Frank Hurley, Section of the business and shopping centre, Newcastle, from *Sydney, a Camera Study*, 1948.
Section of the business and shopping centre, Newcastle. Situated on Port Hunter, 62 miles by water from Sydney, Newcastle ranks third amongst shipping ports of the Commonwealth and New Zealand. It is the second largest city in New South Wales.
103. unknown photographers, Newcastle's civic and industrial research architecture, from Ziegler's *Symphony on a City* (Newcastle), 1958.
104. unknown photographers, Newcastle's housing and shopping areas, from Ziegler's *Symphony on a City* (Newcastle), 1958.

Typical of the fine homes at New Lambton Heights.

Hunter Street, looking east, with City Council properties in the foreground.
Our Symphony on a City has now unfolded — in five impressive movements. From the first few notes of the quiet Prelude of the early days, the scintillating melody of life in the City is followed by the brisk Scherzo of commerce and the steady activity of shipping. Then the fourth movement, the peaceful and beautiful Intermezzo of the golden, ocean-lined beaches, the azure lakes and the greens and browns of mountain and bushland. The Hunter Valley is a glorious setting for a Pastorale and the whole great work reaches its finale in Moto Perpetuo — the never-ending movement of the wheels of a vast industry.

Some day a Coda may be written, when Australia has become a mighty and puissant nation and the importance of Newcastle is measured, not in terms of comparison with the cities of Australia, but in relationship to the Ruhrs, the Pittsburgs and the Liverpools of the western world.
i66. photographers unknown, photographs from Ziegler's Sublime Vision (Wollongong), 1963.
107. Photographers unknown (lower photograph by Cameron Studios), photographs of Maitland's transport, from *Maitland 1863-1963*, illustrating Ziegler's use of images supplied by regional companies to promote the business opportunities of investing in the region which commissioned the book.

The tram line began at Victoria Street, East Maitland, and continued into Lawes Street, along George, Day, and Melbourne Streets to Newcastle Road. It continued along this road into High Street, through this main thoroughfare of West Maitland, and over a viaduct erected alongside the Long Bridge to the Benevolent Home in Regent Street, where it terminated. A section of tram line went down Church Street to West Maitland Station.

The tram service continued to operate until December 31, 1926, when the newly-formed East and West Maitland Motor Bus Company, which covered the same route as the trams had done, began operations. Soon after the end of World War II, the Hunter Valley Coach Company, initially a subsidiary of Rover Motors, of Cessnock, was established. At first, this company simply provided services from Maitland to Gresford and Clarence Town. Then it bought out Patfield's Telarah service, and later the East and West Maitland Bus Company. Now, the Hunter Valley Coach Company operates between East and West Maitland, to Telarah and Rutherford to Paterson and, Gresford, to Morpeth, Hinton and Clarence Town. Another bus company operates between Maitland and Branxton, and Rover Motor buses travel between Cessnock and Maitland.

The Hunter Valley Coach Company's orange and cream buses are a familiar sight in the streets of Maitland. Buses replaced the steam trams in 1926.
108. Max Dupain, photographs from Ziegler's *Valley of the Winds* (Coolah), 1949.
CHRONOLOGY

1926 Cecil Bostock's Cameragraphs of the Year published, based on the second international Salon to be held in Sydney.

1927 Art in Australia devotes an issue to Sydney culture, which concludes with a selection of Harold Cazneaux's photographs.

1928 Art in Australia Limited produces Melbourne, a special number of Art in Australia. The company also publishes a series of booklets based on photographs featured in Art in Australia and The Home, including Canberra, Australia, Sydney Streets and Sydney Harbour, which all featured Cazneaux's photography. The Home also spawns a pictorial annual, which was produced until the Second World War. In Adelaide Oswald Leopold Ziegler, a young journalist whose father specialised in advertising brochures for South Australian resorts, begins the production of illustrated books for Adelaide's The Mail newspaper.

1929 Sydney Surfing, an Art in Australia Limited/Cazneaux collaboration, from The Home.

1930 The Bridge Book, the first of several Art in Australia Limited/Cazneaux collaborations based on the Sydney Harbour Bridge.

1931 The Second Bridge Book, which featured Cazneaux and other photographers, including Emil Otto Hoppé, whose book The Fifth Continent also appears this year. Art in Australia Limited's The Syney Book and The Melbourne Book published.

1932 The Brisbane Book and Sydney Bridge Celebrations are published.

1934 Harold Cazneaux and Cecil Bostock work on The Book of the ANZAC Memorial. Oswald Ziegler embarks on a series of books for Victoria's centennial celebrations.

1935 Max Dupain's work appears in Art in Australia Limited publications for the first time.

1936 Finishing his coverage of the Victorian centenary, Ziegler teams with Estonian-born and German-trained designer Gert Sellheim. Sellheim was to be Ziegler's main designer until his death in the early 1970s.

1937 Ziegler arrives in Sydney. After working on Manly Council's jubilee programme he embarks on an ambitious project based on Australia's sesqui-centenary.

1938 Ziegler produces the folio-size book, 150 Years, Australia 1788-1938. Among photographers featured are Frank Hurley and Athol Shmith. Ziegler's Romance in Paradise is the first of his totally pictorial books.

1939 Blue Mountains establishes Ziegler as a promoter for regional New South Welsh Centres.

1940 Ziegler publishes the first Soul of a City, which is the first book of Max Dupain's photographs. The design was by Douglas Annand.

1941-1944 The height of the Second World War limits the amount of photographic material available.
1945 The Australian Story Trust produces *Displaying Australia* and *Displaying Australia and New Guinea*, the former for Australians, the latter for visiting servicemen.

1946 Ziegler's *Goulburn, Queen City of the South* and *This is Australia*.

1947 Frank Hurley's *Garden of Tasmania*. Ziegler produces *This is My Home* and *Newcastle 150 Years* for the Novocastran sesquicentenary. The latter's principal photographer was Dupain but Frank Hurley's work is featured (uncredited).

1948 Hurley's *Sydney, A Camera Study* launches the *Camera Study* series. Ziegler's first attempt to produce an annual Australian Photography, *Australian Photography 1947*, which was based on a salon held during Newcastle's sesquicentenary in 1947. Another Ziegler book this year is *Perth*, again featuring Max Dupain as principal photographer with at least one (uncredited) Hurley image. Sydney Ure Smith publishes *Max Dupain*. Olive Cotton shares, with Max Dupain, the credit as principal photographer in Helen Blaxland's *Flower Pieces*.

1949 Dupain's work appears in Gotham's *Canberra, National Capital*, Ziegler's *Valley of the Winds* and Angus and Robertson's *This Land of Ours*. Sydney Ure Smith begins his Miniature series shortly before his death. His son, Sam Ure Smith, continues the Ure Smith company. Ziegler also produces *Albury*.

1950 Using a series of Rob Hillier's photographs supplemented by Dupain, David Moore, Hal Missingham and others, Ure Smith produces *Portrait of Sydney*. *Australian Treescapes* and *Sydney Beaches* appear as Ure Smith Miniatures. The second *Soul of a City* appears at this time. Hurley's *Queensland, A Camera Study* published. Following the folding of the journal *Contemporary Photography* (founded in 1946), editor Laurence Le Guay compiles *A Portfolio of Australian Photography* from the best images featured in the journal.

1951 Ziegler's *Commonwealth of Australia Jubilee* celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of Federation.

1952 Hurley's *Sydney From The Sky, a Camera Study*.

1953 Third version of *Soul of a City*.

1955 Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study*. Ziegler's *Parramatta Pageant*.

1956 *Victoria, a Camera Study* is the last *Camera Study* to be published. From this time until his death in 1962 Hurley works on his *Natural Colour* series. Australian Publicity Council publishes *Land of the Southern Cross*.home. Czech-born Jaroslav Novak-Niemela produces *Australia, the Great South Land*.

1957 Ziegler's second version of *This is Australia. Lismore* is the last of Ziegler's smaller provincial promotions, from now until 1963 his provincial output is in a quarto/hard cover format. Ziegler also embarks on second (and final) attempt to produce a photographic annual, *Australian Photography 1957*.

1958 *Sydney, a Camera Study* revised. Ziegler's *Brisbane, City in the Sun* and *Symphony on a City*.

1959 Centenaries of Queensland and the establishment of local governments in New South Wales result in a busy period for Ziegler. Edward Steichen's *Family of Man* exhibition tours Australia.

1960 Mark Štržíček and David Saunders's *Melbourne, a Portrait*.
1961 *Australia, a Camera Study* revised.

1962 Fourth and final *Soul of a City*.

1963 Ziegler's *Sublime Vision* and *Maitland 1863-1963* become the last of Ziegler's provincially based books to be published.

1964 Ziegler's ambitiously titled *Australia, from the Dawn of Time to the Present Day* published.

1965 Ziegler, Kenneth Slessor and Robert Walker produce *Life at The Cross*. Gavin Souter and Quinton Davis's *Sydney*.

1966 Posthumous tribute edition of Hurley's *Australia, a Camera Study*. Ziegler and Slessors' *Canberra*. Donald Gazzard produces *Australia Outrage*, using David Pott's photography (and others) to illustrate Australia's decaying urban aesthetics.
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LIBRARIES AND ART GALLERIES

The University of New South Wales College of Fine Arts; Clement Semmler Library.

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