

ASPECTS OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF

RECREATION IN TASMANIA

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RECREATION IN TASMANIA

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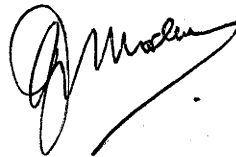


"The urge to comprehend must precede
the urge to reform."

(Aldo Leopold, Round River,
1953, p.156)

DECLARATION

This thesis embodies original research conducted by the author in the Department of Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, between March, 1960, and June, 1963.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J.G. Mosley', with a long, sweeping underline.

J.G. MOSLEY

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Needless to say, although all the people acknowledged, and many others, have contributed considerably towards the production of this thesis, I alone accept complete responsibility for its many shortcomings.

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INTRODUCTION

The importance of outdoor holiday-making in Australia so far seems to have escaped the notice of geographers in spite of the fact that the quality of the country's recreational resources is a common matter of Australian pride. The author does not know of a single article in an academic journal, or of a University thesis, which deals with the geographical aspects of recreation in Australia. However, this omission is not peculiar to this part of the world; it seems in fact that the importance of the subject is receiving due acknowledgment only in the United States of America. This neglect, and the prospect of a continuing growth in the demand for recreation, should give particular interest to a pioneer study in this field.

Most of the American enquiries have been devoted to the study of the economic character and impact of recreational activity, so much so that the topic has come to be regarded as part of the field of economic geography.^{1/} Such studies have naturally tended to indicate possibilities for the development of the tourist industry. This thesis and the author's general interests

^{1/}Chapter Notes are contained in Volume 2. Notes which amplify a point in the main text are indicated by means of an asterisk. All other notes are source references.

do not belong to this tradition. The idea of the study evolved during regional survey work in New Zealand. Having in earlier work on the Peak District National Park (England) studied the national park as a separate entity, a need was now felt to see this type of recreation area in the perspective of recreational activity and needs generally. Tasmania seemed to be an ideal study area for this purpose, for in addition to having a well established national park system, it is of a manageable size, and has a wide range of recreational activity, including a traditional tourist traffic from the Australian mainland.

The aim of the thesis is to provide an analytical account of the main forms of outdoor recreation, and to interpret their character and patterns of distribution by study of the relevant conditioning factors. It is hoped that this will contribute to an understanding of the requirements of the various groups and in this way be of value to those concerned with recreational planning. The activities examined are those forms of holiday-making widely referred to in the American literature and elsewhere as "outdoor recreation".^{2*} Essentially these are leisure time activities varying in duration from half-day trips to tours of two weeks or more which generally have rural areas as their main locale, and in which the satisfaction derived is to some extent or other related to

the quality of the rural environment. The term can only be really satisfactorily defined by listing the component activities which in this thesis are: motor touring, residence at summer cottages, camping, fresh water angling, hunting, skiing, youth hostelling, bush walking, and interest in natural history and historic places.^{3*} This study is concerned equally with all these activities and does not, as do many of the studies which aim at evaluating the revenue creating effects of recreational activity, emphasise those which require the most expensive plant and have the highest participant expenditure.

The aspects studied are the character and distribution of the main recreational activities; the physical and cultural conditions attracting recreation, including the opinions of users about the features which facilitate or inhibit satisfactory recreation; and the influence of the various voluntary and professional agencies concerned with the development and control of recreational facilities and land.

The importance of information about the present pattern of recreational land use as a basis for informed planning judgment has been stressed in a number of recent studies.^{4*} An analysis relying on a description of such aspects as the type of recreation sought, the number of participants involved, the use of facilities,

the distribution of effort, and user satisfaction, seems to be of more fundamental importance to an understanding of primary benefits and user-requirements than a measure in terms of expenditure and costs. Although perfectly relevant to a study of the regional economic impact of recreational activity, the latter measure tells little about the human values of recreation.

Although there has been a tendency in recent years to try and justify national parks in economic terms, as by the use of cost-benefit techniques, there does in fact seem to be a danger associated with this sort of measure. Monetary evaluation almost inevitably leads to comparison of the recreational use with economically more profitable uses. The use of a profitability criterion is obviously inconsistent with the idea of equity in access to certain kinds of recreational resource. Thus many resources such as areas of natural beauty and the inland fishery are, in the public welfare, held by the State as common property. By this means certain recreational activities are subsidised by the public purse, and future generations are ensured opportunities similar to those of to-day. A rationale for extra-market decisions in the allocation of certain recreational resources has been provided by Hines.⁵ Without protection of this kind, profitability criteria would probably apply, and the conditions required for the fulfilment

of the types of recreation requiring low cost facilities would stand little chance of survival. As Hines points out⁶ "familiarity with the reasonable efficiency of our economy encourages us to attribute social values to all profitable enterprise...[so that]...the broad interests of society and those of the less articulate individuals are frequently sacrificed in favour of the more aggressive private enterpriser". Thus, public ownership of recreational resources compensates for the unequal access to resources which prevails in the market and is an acknowledgment of the inability of the pricing system to provide an acceptable measure of their work.

Geographical studies of recreation which deal with non-economic aspects are rare.^{7*} Most of the investigations in this category to date have dealt with a particular form of recreational activity, or with a region characterised by one or more main forms.⁸ Thus, this study should also be of interest for the fact that it deals with a wide range of activities.

The main task is to describe the recreational phenomena in a way that will lead to meaningful conclusions about the factors affecting the character and distribution of the various activities; provide a basis for resource identification and lead to a better understanding of the recreational use of different kinds of land, including national parks.

The thesis is divided into four major parts. Part One examines the evolution of the out-of-state tourist traffic; Part Two provides a comprehensive analysis of the main forms of holiday activity at the present day; Part Three examines the main aspects of recreational land use; and Part Four discusses alternative approaches to recreational land use planning.

The existence of a sizeable flow of summer tourist^{9*} visitors to Tasmania from an early date, besides being interesting for its own sake, has been an important factor in the development of resources and facilities for holiday-making generally and in shaping public and Government attitudes to recreation. Without a knowledge of this background the contemporary situation cannot be properly understood. For this reason Chapter 1 is devoted to tracing in some detail the evolution of the traffic, particular attention being paid to the facilities and institutional forms provided. An attempt is also made to indicate the main factors which have affected the size of the flow.

Part Two endeavours to give a balanced account of the main forms of outdoor recreation. The general treatment of each activity is to try to determine its size, character and distribution, and then examine the way in which it is affected by such factors as the distribution and management of resources. In Chapter 2

the activities of those essentially interested in touring are examined. A considerable amount of statistical information concerning those engaged in organised touring is available, and data were obtained from coach and car-hire companies, and supplemented by means of a questionnaire survey. Independent travel is less well documented and a somewhat more indirect approach to this activity was necessary. An attempt is made to trace the distribution pattern by the comparison of seasonal differences in rail and road traffic flow, and accommodation occupancy. The study of occupancy is based on a daily count of bed nights for the year August, 1961, to July, 1962, especially carried out for this thesis.

Activity based on the use of summer cottages is a characteristic form of Tasmanian recreation. This phenomena is studied in Chapter 3 by means of valuation data, supplemented by the results of field work in the cottage resorts and a questionnaire survey. With this information the pattern of cottage distribution and differences in the character of the main settlements are established, and an understanding gained of the conditioning factors. One of the objects of the questionnaire survey was to obtain cottagers' opinions about the mental and physical satisfaction associated with this type of recreation.

Freshwater angling, and to a lesser extent

hunting, are also important forms of open-air recreation in Tasmania. Details of licence sales provide the basic data for the investigation of these activities. Considerable attention is also paid in Chapter 4 to the way in which these sports and their basic resources are controlled and developed, and for this, the records of the fishery authority and the reports of fishery societies proved valuable.

Skiing, youth hostelling, bush walking, natural history and interest in historic places are all analysed in Chapter 5. Valuable information was supplied by societies, or organising bodies representative of each of these activities, and opinion surveys were made where possible. Here again the main object was to establish the strength and distribution patterns of each activity and show the main factors affecting these aspects. Particular attention is paid to identifying the conditions and facilities considered necessary for the satisfaction of each group and sub-group.

In Part Three the study is switched to the view point of the recreational use of the land. The arrangement of the Part recognises two basic types of recreational land; areas reserved exclusively or predominantly for recreation, such as scenic reserves, and other areas in which recreation generally has no special status. Chapter 6, which examines scenic reserves

and fauna sanctuaries, is mainly based on a study of the records of the parent and subsidiary governing authorities. The object is to show how and why these areas were set aside, and to enquire into their functions showing what factors have determined their contribution to the recreational life of the State. Chapter 7 studies recreational land use in other areas, in some of which recreational values are secondary, but in others, notably parts of the coastline, holiday-making is a dominant. Information has been obtained from a number of agencies notably the Town and Country Planning Branch, the Forestry Commission, the Public Works Department, and the Hydro-Electric Commission. The main aim is to show what progress has been made in the co-ordination of recreation with other uses, and what special measures have been taken to plan the use of natural resources such as those of the coastline for a number of different kinds of outdoor recreation. In both these chapters attention is paid to the problems and opportunities for improvement.

Part Four suggests possible solutions to some problems in recreational land use, and examines the relevance of a number of planning approaches in the light of Tasmanian requirements.

* * *

The remainder of this introduction contains a brief outline of the salient features of the study area. Although the smallest of the Australian States, Tasmania has an area of 26,200 square miles almost equal to that of the Republic of Ireland. It is a compact heart-shaped island, the greatest dimensions from north to south and east to west being about 190 miles. The distance across the shallow Bass Strait between the ferry terminals at Melbourne and Devonport is 230 miles.

The State is high-lying and although Mt. Ossa, the highest point, is only 5,305 feet about two-thirds of the country is over 1,000 feet above sea level. The terrain is mainly either undulating, or hilly, and in parts, particularly the West, the South and the North-East, is rugged - for these latter areas at least the tourist motto "isle of mountains" is aptly chosen. The major upland features are the north to south oriented ranges of the West Coast and the extensive horst block of the Central Plateau. A resistant dolerite rock outcrops over much of the eastern and central parts of the State, capping many of the mountains and giving a distinctive table-top type of land form. The effects of the Pleistocene glaciation is evident in the higher areas especially in the western part of the Central Plateau where hundreds of small lakes remain as the legacy of an ice cap.

The main lowland is the Midlands Graben situated between the Central Plateau and the detached horst of Ben Lomond. The north and central Midlands and the sandy plains of the north-east coast district contain the only extensive areas of flat land. Post-Pleistocene rises of sea-level have drowned many low-lying areas giving an indented coastline in some parts, particularly in south-eastern Tasmania.

Situated largely between 40° and 44° S. Tasmania has a temperate maritime climate with a generally smaller seasonal and daily range of temperature and a higher rainfall than the States immediately to the north. Over half the State, mainly the West and North-East, has over 40 inches of precipitation annually.

As a result mainly of the nature of the terrain and the high rainfall much of the State is unproductive wasteland and over half the total area of Tasmania is still held by the Crown. The temperate rain forest (see Plate 20) and button grass (see Plate 4) which cover the wetter areas of the west contrast with the heaths and open sclerophyll woodlands of the drier east. (See Plates 17 and 22). The intermediate areas of moderate rainfall have a eucalypt forest of great commercial value. The most fertile agricultural areas are found on the decomposed basalt soils, particularly along the lowland of the North-West, and in pockets in the North-East. (See Plates 1 and 2).

Although since 1953-54 the value of primary production has been exceeded by that of manufacturing industry, pome fruit, pastoral, dairy, forest, and mining products are still of major importance in the economy. The mining of copper and lead-zinc is particularly important on the West Coast. (See Plate 3). The expansion of secondary industry has been achieved mainly on the basis of cheap hydro-electric power. There are important, metallurgical, pulp and paper, textile, and food processing industries.

At the 1961 census Tasmania had a population of 350,000. Of these almost half were in the greater urban areas of Hobart (116,000) and Launceston (57,000). In spite of the importance of secondary industry the rural component of the population is still higher than that of the other Australian States; in 1961 39% of the population were in rural areas and townships with less than 5,000 people. Much of the State is still unsettled. The main populated area has the approximate shape of an hour-glass, with main concentrations around Hobart in the south and around Launceston and along the north-west coast in northern Tasmania. Lesser tongues of settlement penetrate from this main zone into the dominant wasteland, while on the West and East Coasts the populated areas are mere pockets. For further gackground information the reader can profitably consult the Regional Planning Atlas

prepared by the Tasmanian Directorate of Industrial
Development.¹⁰

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1

THE EVOLUTION OF TOURISM IN TASMANIA

One of the major factors in the present day recreational scene in Tasmania is the large body of summer holiday makers from the mainland. This chapter is mainly concerned with tracing the development of the out-of-state visitor traffic and examining its interaction with tourist facilities and institutions. Unfortunately one is handicapped in the study of this aspect by the lack of data concerning the number of holiday visitors and the best that can be done is to use the figures for total passenger arrivals as an approximate indication of trends.¹ (See Figure 1). While particular attention is paid to the development of the visitor traffic, a general account is given of such aspects as the distribution of tourist activity and the provision of facilities. Discussion of the historical background to such activities as angling, hunting, and the use of summer cottages is reserved for Part Two. The first part of Chapter 1 includes an introductory account of the reactions of early settlers and visitors to the Tasmanian environment.

The periods into which the chapter is divided are those of the main phases of tourist organisation. However, this is not their only significance. Most of the divisions coincide more or less with major transport developments

affecting the tourist traffic, as for instance the improvement of the Bass Strait passenger service in 1852 and 1889, the increased use of the motor car for excursions around 1914, and the introduction of a regular daily air service to Tasmania in 1935.

1. THE FIRST HALF CENTURY AS A PENAL COLONY, 1803-1852

The colony of Van Diemens Land was created as a convenient depository for British convicts and, although this function was subject to an ever-growing challenge, the island's administration for this purpose was by far the most important factor affecting all aspects of its character and development during the first fifty years.

The colony was first settled at the Derwent in the south in 1803, and at the Tamar in the north in 1804, by parties sent to establish self-supporting convict settlements. At first the island was governed as two separate provinces of New South Wales, delimited by the line of 42 degrees S. Although this arrangement lasted only until 1812, a division of interests between north and south developed and still persists; being based mainly on the existence of separate trading outlets and the growth of two regional capitals. Constitutional independence from New South Wales was granted in 1825. The penal colony's dual aims - self-sufficiency and convict rehabilitation - were promoted by the granting of large land blocks and assigned convict labour to selected capitalist settlers, which resulted in the establishment of a powerful landed gentry. By 1830 slightly over two million

acres had been granted to these settlers, and divided up into large estates.

The convicts, numbering 24,200 in 1847, were mainly engaged either in clearing and working the land of the grantees or in public works and road gangs. Thus the settled parts of the island were provided with a good road system and many well-built public buildings. Serious offenders amongst the convicts were housed in penal stations at Sarah Island in Macquarie Harbour (1821-1834), or at Maria Island (1825-1832 and 1842-1850), and after 1830 at Port Arthur.

Many of the free inhabitants regarded their stay in the island as transient and, although they tried wherever possible to transplant the social institutions of the homeland, a Tasmanian consciousness developed, particularly amongst the merchants and landed gentry. One of the practical expressions of this was the demand for the abolition of transportation and the granting of representative government. In fact, transportation ended in 1852, and a large degree of self-government was effected in 1856, when the name of Van Diemens Land was changed to Tasmania.

(a) Reactions to the new environment

The amount of land alienated by 1850 was over a quarter of the total area, but settlement was mainly confined to a narrow zone consisting of the lowlands around Hobart and Launceston, and the Midlands. Surrounding this were the waste-lands of the Tiers, known only to a few through their

use as leasehold grazing country. The greater part of the country, including the western third, was as yet imperfectly explored, so that although the colonist of the penal era knew an environment which contained the typical Tasmanian landscape features of estuary, plain and lightly wooded tier, other elements, including the heavy bush and rugged mountain country had yet to be experienced.

During the first fifty years of European settlement recreational activities and attitudes towards the aesthetic qualities of the landscape were mainly in the nature of British cultural transplantations. A conscious effort was made to picture the island as a "Britain of the South". In the parts of the island then occupied it was not difficult for the colonist to reconcile this vision with features of the new land. The most obvious resemblance was in the temperate climate, but, in addition, the size of the country was on a familiar British scale, very different from the vast empty distances of the mainland. The opinion was reinforced by the attempts to reproduce the life and landscape of the homeland. The man-made elements of the scene, such as the large mansions of the Midlands set in landscaped parks in which imported deer browsed the enclosed lands, and the mature appearance of Hobart with its stone buildings, served to remind the colonist of home.

The colonists' reaction to the scenery of the island was naturally influenced by the scenic imagery then current

in Europe. To someone writing in 1820 the country through the whole island presented

the same diversified appearance of gentle hills, extensive plains and smiling valleys, affording, for the most part, but little of what some would call sublime, or highly picturesque; but in no place deficient in those objects which merit the character of the richly beautiful.²

Later writers declared the scenery equal to or better than the most attractive parts of Britain and Europe.

D'Entrecasteaux Channel, for instance was "a scene far more worthy of the tourists' admiration than all the Killarneys, Loch Lomonds and Windermers to boot".³ The few expeditions made into western Tasmania brought back accounts, in the best romantic tradition, of the beauty of the rugged and wild scenery. Very few writers failed to note that one of the most attractive aspects of the scenery was its great variety.

Those who were able, naturally tried to introduce the familiar and traditional pastimes of hunting and shooting. Faced with a difficult terrain and an unfamiliar fauna it was not easy to recreate the English conditions of the chase. Attempts during this period to acclimatise such sporting animals as the fox and the pheasant (and also the salmon) failed. A measure of sophistication was provided when some of the Midlands gentry imported hounds and organised hunting clubs. But the steep rocky hills and the poorer running quality of the kangaroo compared with the fox made it "slavish work".⁴ Thus, many felt that "Tasmania offered

little amusement to the lover of field sports, in comparison with the mother country".⁵ The colony did of course have a great wealth of native animal life capable of providing sport as well as meat and skins. The lower classes, who in the homeland had been denied the pleasures of lawfully hunting wild animals, valued highly the opportunities for sport offered by the Tasmanian bush. Even assigned convicts were in the habit of going off into the bush on Sundays after the kangaroo and opossum which were both very plentiful. Native game birds included quail, black swan, and wild duck. The inland streams contained cucumber mullet and black fish, and bream was plentiful in the tidal estuaries.

Partly through the recreational contact there developed an awareness of the pleasures of the "bush life" which had no counterpart in the homeland and which, with other novel features of colonial life, helped to make stronger the emotional attachment to the new land.

The attitude of the colonist to the natural resources of the island was largely exploitative, and few steps were taken to protect animals threatened with depletion. As a result, the seal population of the Bass Strait islands was exterminated by unregulated killing, and the black whales were driven from the Tasmanian coast. On land the emu was hunted to extinction and the forester kangaroo was almost exterminated. Interest in the distinctive aspects of the Tasmanian scene and the colony's natural resources gradually

developed, however, as economic and social life became less dependent upon the Imperial government. Among the forces stimulating such interest was the creation of a botanical garden and a museum in Hobart. The success of the Tasmanian Royal Society formed in 1842 reflected not only a growing scientific curiosity but a new kind of pride in the colony.

(b) The first tourists

The main factors inhibiting the growth of a tourist traffic from other parts were the great distance from Europe, the poorly developed communications, the preoccupation of the mainlanders with the business of settling in, and the use of the island as a penal colony. But, despite the reputation that the colony had abroad as a dangerous place, the haunt of blacks and bushrangers, a few early tourists were attracted to the island, mainly because of its Englishness and its temperate climate.

The first tourists to visit Tasmania in any number were Anglo-Indians^{6*} who, during the twenties, began to spend their leave on the island, while not a few took up land grants under the favourable terms offered by the Colonial Office. Because of the constant circulation of British army regiments Van Diemens Land was well known in India. The motives for visits to the colony were similar to those that also attracted Anglo-Indians to the Cape of Good Hope, that is the need for climatic relief and a change of scene; but most came with the idea of combining a holiday with a look at the prospects

for settlement. Betts, writing in 1835,⁷ pointed out that the climate was cooler in summer than either the Cape of Good Hope or the Sydney district and that in Tasmania one could expect to find much pleasure in travelling about the country; the scenery along the 'main road' being most romantic. However, there was no regular coach service between Launceston and Hobart until 1832. There was actually little chance of the tourist traffic from India becoming very important because it was usually necessary for visitors to tranship at Sydney. Attempts to arouse official interest in the promotion of settlement of Anglo-Indians in the colony were not successful during this period.⁸

There is little evidence of any substantial flow of mainland visitors before the fifties, although towards the end of the period the number of mainlanders and world travellers visiting the colony began to increase. Hobart, with its relatively venerable appearance and well developed social institutions, was the immediate goal of most early tourists. The ascent of nearby Mt. Wellington was a favourite excursion, and the convict settlement at Port Arthur and other convict stations on the Tasman Peninsula, where the superintendents were "always anxious to show every attention to the tourist",⁹ were on the programme of many of the visitors.

2. BEGINNINGS OF A MAINLAND TOURIST TRAFFIC, 1852-1893

The second half of the nineteenth century in Tasmania

was a period of national expansion, during which the heavily forested lands were occupied and considerable mineral resources discovered and exploited. However, apart from the temporary boom in the economy resulting from the sale of foodstuffs and materials to Victoria during the gold rush, the greater part of this period was one of economic stagnation. In the mainland colonies, where the growth of population and wealth was spectacular, Tasmania was mainly known as an economic backwater and referred to as "Sleepy Hollow".

Despite the loss of labour and the shortage of capital, the rich chocolate loam soil of the North-West and North-East were occupied during the fifties and sixties, and the small farmers of these areas became a new element in the social and political life in Tasmania. The trough of the depression was reached in 1870, and after this date the important discoveries of tin and gold in the northern and western parts of Tasmania caused an improvement in the financial situation and a renewal of local optimism.

It was some years before the new districts were given communication facilities comparable with those possessed by the Midlands. The coach services, and until the end of the period the railways, served only the old settled areas. However, this was remedied during the eighties when the economy became stimulated by mineral production and more capital became available: the period 1885-1892 was one of

considerable railway building. Thus, by the end of the century the main outlines of to-day's settlement and communication pattern had been established.

(a) The growth of the mainland tourist traffic

Among the consequences of the Victorian gold discoveries was the great expansion of population in the part of the mainland that was destined to become Tasmania's chief source of tourists. Another significant consequence was the great increase in maritime activity in Bass Strait and permanent improvements to the inter-colony passenger service. The flow of tourists from Victoria developed quickly; enriched diggers are said to have gone in their hundreds to Tasmania straight from the gold fields.¹⁰ By the early sixties the passenger traffic had begun to settle down to a more regular flow and the total number of arrivals forms a more reliable guide to the number of tourists visiting Tasmania. The number of arrivals was 3,400 in 1860 and rose to 6,300 in 1869. Hobart had a twice-monthly service with Sydney and a thrice-monthly service with Melbourne (twice a month in winter), while there was a passenger vessel every fifth day between Melbourne and Launceston.¹¹ In the eighties services were also provided between Launceston and Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart and Bluff (New Zealand), and between Melbourne and the ports of the North-West Coast.

The end of this period was dominated by the entry of two large and fiercely competitive steamship companies into the Tasmanian shipping service, which resulted in the introduction of larger vessels and the cutting of fares. Between 1879 and 1887 the annual number of arrivals increased at a steady rate but then, for four years, there was a sharp temporary increase with 29,500 people arriving during the peak in 1890. (See Figure 1). In 1893 after the shipping companies had reached agreement and fares had been increased there were only 18,000 arrivals. The ingress of miners to the West Coast was probably responsible for the increase in 1888, 1891 and 1892, but the Tasmanian Statistician remarked¹² that "during the two years 1889-90 it is affirmed that a very large number of excursion travellers . . . have wonderfully increased". This was confirmed by the proportionate increase in the number of female arrivals during 1889 and 1890.

(b) Tasmania's attraction for tourists

During this period the summer flow of tourists gradually increased. The appeal of the island seems to have been based on the combined attractions of a cooler climate, a great variety of scenery, and the comparative tranquillity of Tasmanian life. Anglo-Indians continued to be attracted by these same features and by the opportunity to take up land and live cheaply in a British colonial

community. Since it was during this period that an appreciable seasonal tourist traffic first developed, the specific features which appealed to visitors are worth examining in more detail.

(i) Climatic appeal. Visitors to Tasmania were probably most commonly attracted to it by knowledge of its healthy, temperate climate which offered a haven from the summer heat of the mainland and the hope of recovery for the invalid. Early testimony to a belief in the restorative powers of the Tasmanian climate was given by the appointment in 1858 by the Lieutenant Governor of a Board of Commissioners to consider the benefits of creating in Tasmania a "Military Medical Sanatorium" for troops serving in India. Tasmania was stated in their report to be easier of access than the hill sanatoria of the Himalayas and to have a salubrity of climate "equal if not superior to that of the healthiest part of Europe; and for the restoration to health of those who suffer from diseases incidental to exposure to a tropical climate, better than that of any other in the world."^{14*} A medical member of the Board also submitted that "the scenery and general English aspect of its Towns, buildings, and cultivation, all have great influence upon persons seeking health, after residence in a warm climate".

Anglo-Indians continued to visit Tasmania for spells of leave, and Tasmania propogandists used the catch-phrase - "Sanatorium of India". However, the opening of

the Suez Canal in 1869 adversely affected this traffic. Later, the Australian Squadron of the Royal Navy developed an interest in the recuperative properties of the Tasmanian climate and began to use the Derwent as a summer station.

Much of the favour which the Tasmanian climate found with the people of the mainland colonies was based on suspicion about the deleterious effects of their own local climate^{15*} whereas Tasmania had a climate "entirely suited to British constitutions". It seemed to many at this time that Tasmania would be resorted to more and more for health and that it must eventually become the sanatorium of Australia.¹⁶ Although said to be specially favourable for persons enfeebled by warmer climates no more specific value than this was claimed. The colony had no warm or mineral springs of any renown and no invalid institutions of the hydro-therapy or sanatorium type were developed.^{17*}

(ii) Appeal of Tasmanian scenery and tranquillity. It was common to associate the climatic advantages of Tasmania with the appeal of its life and landscape. The English character of the island continued to be the dominant theme in the appreciation by visitors:

The constitution of society is the same, and all the outward and visible signs of English country life - the mansion and deer park, the substantial homestead, emblossomed in greenery - all that dwells most freshly in the recollections. . . are to be met with here.¹⁸

Visitors detected Englishness in the "square built houses", the tall English trees, the longer twilight, the rosy-faced English children, and even the English-looking coaches that served the main road.

To the visitors from the northern colonies the long settled appearance of the most frequently visited parts made Tasmania "a miniature England, which you cannot contemplate without pleasure". Here, "instead of mere isolated wooden huts, standing in the inappropriated forest, we have a constant succession of towns and villages bearing the singular medley of names which colonists delight in".¹⁹ Hobart was respected for its antiquity, "it will almost provoke a smile to talk of antiquity in a new country, and yet Hobart Town looks venerable to Victorian eyes. Everything in our own colony is so new, bright, fresh and glaring".²⁰

The quietness associated with Tasmania's comparative economic stagnation, contrasting with the "stir and tumult" of life over the Strait, was also attractive to some visitors. If Launceston was a "Sleepy Hollow" was that not "just what people want?".²¹ Others found the economic and social conditions of Tasmania dull and depressing, "this 'want of go', a certain somnolence and languour, hangs over Tasmania like an enervating miasma and stimulates an unreal decrepitude".²² The convict element in the population was commonly held

responsible for this apparent characteristic, and Tasmania suffered from a reputation which lived on for many years and may have dissuaded many persons from visiting the colony.^{23*}

(iii) Tasmania as "the pleasure ground of the colonies."

During the long period of depression through which Tasmania passed between the end of the Victorian gold rush and the recovery resulting from mining, the growing tourist trade seemed to be one of the few things offering a hope of prosperity. It was thought that Tasmania might become "the pleasure ground of the colonies", the "Scotland of Australia", and that Hobart Town might become the "Watering place par excellence of Australia" to which wealthy mainlanders might be persuaded to resort instead of Europe.²⁴ These prophecies were confounded for the time being by the limited number of potential visitors; at this time it was only the well-to-do who could afford to take a two week holiday across the Strait in Tasmania.

(c) Distribution of tourist activity

By 1869 there was already a regular flow of tourists from Victoria to Tasmania, despite the deterrent of the Bass Strait crossing.^{25*} A typical round tour for the Melbourne visitor was to travel by sea to Hobart, by coach through the Midlands to Launceston, and back home by sea.^{26*} Visitors generally spent most of their time in

Hobart and Launceston and made excursions to nearby places of interest. At Hobart there were fourteen regular "outs", the two most popular being to Mt. Wellington and New Norfolk. Only those with more time to spare went further afield to visit such places as the penal settlement at Port Arthur and the small sea-bathing resorts on the D'Entrecasteaux Channel. From Launceston the most popular excursion was a three-day trip to the "Westward Caves" near Chudleigh.

The average visitor, after spending four or five days in Hobart, took the coach for Launceston. Although the journey could be made in thirteen to fourteen hours many preferred to make a more leisurely trip during daylight hours, stopping overnight at one or two of the Midland villages.

The visitor of 1869 thus concentrated his attention on the towns and older settled areas that had good roads and transport services, and few penetrated into the more remote parts of Tasmania, such as the East Coast and the "lakes" district of the Central Plateau, or the pioneering areas of the North-West and North-East.^{27*} The Tasmania known to the tourist of 1869 was the area settled during the penal era, and the image of Tasmania as a colony of old-world towns, villages, and mansions and orderly pastoral lands was thus perpetuated.

The main change in the following decade was the

advent of railway communication. Although the early lines were built to serve the older settled areas and did not directly extend the range of tourist travel, they allowed the tourist to visit more places during a single visit. Launceston could be reached from Hobart by train in six hours, and now that the inducement to stop in the Midland villages had disappeared they became neglected by the tourist. The newer areas began to receive visits from a few tourists, but the poor state of the roads limited the scale of this activity. As yet, no major round trips were practicable in Tasmania unless the tourist was prepared to walk or travel on horseback. Typical of the tours based on Hobart or Launceston which were favoured at this time were a round trip from Hobart via Bothwell, Hamilton, and Russell Falls, and the combined steamer and coach trip from Hobart to the Channel country and the Huon.

By 1890-1891 the improvements in communications had induced many tourists to include the North-West and North-East in their itineraries.^{28*} Improved steamer services now enabled more tourists to visit the Tasman Peninsula and the West Coast, where the silver mines were booming. The lakes district became more popular with both excursionists and fishermen, and a boarding house termed a "sanatorium" was opened at Interlaken. But it was still not possible to make any major round tours within the island, travel along the full length of the east coast was still

not practicable, and there remained a missing link on the route between Scottsdale and St. Helens.

Hobart and Launceston continued to be the two most important tourist centres. Hobart was the more popular, visitors from Victoria being able to buy joint sea-rail tickets to travel through to Hobart via Launceston. Although a visit to Hobart in the season was socially fashionable,²⁹ the success of the newly-built coffee palaces at Hobart and Launceston which offered moderately priced accommodation seem to indicate an increase in the number of the not so well-to-do tourists. In the North-West the seaside resorts of Penguin, Ulverstone, and East and West Devonport were popular for long summer holidays, especially with Tasmanian families, and were also favourite places for retirement, particularly with Anglo-Indians.^{30*} The railways widened the scope of travel and at holiday times special excursions were made from Launceston to such places as the Denison Gorge and Chudleigh Caves, and to New Norfolk from Hobart. River excursions on the Derwent, Tamar, Mersey, and Leven were also popular at holiday times.

(d) Tourist organisation and development

During this period the Tasmanian Government remained aloof from the growing tourist traffic and took no steps to encourage or promote it; nor was there any joint action on the part of those persons serving the industry, such as the hotel and boarding house proprietors.

In fact, the most important promotional influences were guide books and travel accounts; a new edition of Thomas' guide book was produced each year from 1869 until 1884 when the steamship companies began to produce their own. One event of tourist significance was the successful acclimatisation of the brown trout in the sixties by the Salmon Commissioners.

There were a few isolated instances of community action to improve tourist facilities, one of the earliest examples being the building of tracks on Mt. Wellington by the Wellington Falls Committee.³¹ In the north, the Launceston City and Suburbs Improvement Association, which was formed initially to improve the access to the Cataract Gorge - a popular tourist attraction - also planted the grounds with ornamental trees and provided other facilities. There was as yet no sign of any regional concern about the uneven distribution of the tourist traffic. Tasmanians tended to scoff at Hobart for being "kept alive by visitors who flock to it for the summer months from the other colonies".³²

(e) Summary

The main general tendency over this forty-year period was for the number of tourists to increase despite the absence of any interest in tourist promotion by any major organisation. This fact can only be explained by the climatic, scenic, and cultural attractions of the island,

and by the reputation which it gradually acquired as a pleasure resort. The other tendency was for tourist activity to spread over a greater area. Speedy rail communication enabled tourists to visit a greater number of places during their stay, but the successful extension of tourism to the new districts was dependent upon the existence of good transport facilities and roads.

3. INCREASING TOURIST ACTIVITY, AND INITIAL TOURIST ORGANISATION BY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, 1893-1914

Until 1893 the Tasmanian tourist traffic grew without any special organisation to foster or serve it. The formation of the "Tasmanian Improvement and Tourist Association" in this year introduced a new institutional factor which was of great importance in the subsequent history of tourist activity. Although during this period from 1893 to 1914 the work was undertaken by voluntary tourist associations, and was experimental in nature, many of the present day attitudes towards tourism and the methods of promoting and catering for it were formed at this time. The period generally was one of economic progress. The improvement in the economy which began in the eighties continued under the stimulus of the growing West Coast mineral production, and the Tasmanian population now increased at a rate equal to that of the average for Australia.

The process of occupying the heavy bush country

of the North-West and North-East was largely completed, and attention was focussed mainly on the development of the isolated mining settlements of the West Coast. The mining capital and population for this new province had largely come from the mainland, and because it was isolated from the rest of Tasmania by difficult mountain country its commercial links were chiefly with Victoria. Thus, Tasmanians were very interested in integrating the area into the commercial life of the colony by providing over-land communications. Schemes for railways from Hobart and Launceston proved economically impracticable and since the only link made - the Emu Bay Company's line from Zeehan to Burnie on the North-West Coast - was distant from the main centres of Tasmania, the West Coast remained in many ways a "lost province". However, the new mining communities had an important impact on Tasmanian politics. Trade unionism, which had made little headway elsewhere in Tasmania, was a real force amongst the miners and the area became the birth-place of the Labor party which first held State office in 1909 and a second time in 1914-16, a critical period in tourist reorganisation.

(a) Growth of the tourist traffic

After 1894, in which year there were 17,000 arrivals, the passenger traffic increased steadily and had doubled by 1908. There was then a more rapid increase in the rate of growth, the number increasing to 42,000

in 1912. Contemporary estimates of the proportion of tourists amongst the arrivals indicated that there were about 23,000 tourists in 1913-14.³³ Despite the almost continuously growing traffic many Tasmanians believed that its full development was inhibited by the inadequacies of the shipping service, a matter considered by a select committee in 1912.³⁴ Tasmanian witnesses claimed that the vessels were too small; that the service on some routes was too infrequent; and that fares were too high. They regretted that the steamship service had now passed out of Tasmanian control, and the two main companies which were serving Tasmania in combination were criticised for making no attempt to develop the island's trade or cater for its special needs.^{35*} It was argued that, as a result of the inferior service, Tasmania lost tourists to the other States which had a better coastal shipping service, and that with a better service the tourist traffic to Tasmania could be doubled. The steamship representatives denied these claims and one stated that the policy of his company was not to cater for trade until it showed itself to be remunerative.³⁶

The committee recommended that, since all other States would soon have dual lines of communication, Tasmania's should be of the first line of excellence approximating as closely as possible to a railway, and that the greatest need was for a frequent up-to-date service between Melbourne and Launceston with the lowest possible fares. They felt that

action was required "beyond that likely to be taken for purely commercial reasons" and therefore favoured the starting of a Government service.³⁷ There was, however, considerable hesitancy caused by the prospect of the heavy burden of taxation which might develop as a result of competition with the existing companies, and no State service was started until after the First World War. Tasmania's economic and geographic circumstances made it difficult to provide a satisfactory service. The large number of small ports did not favour the use of large vessels and the provision of a first rate passenger service; improvements were more often made in response to freight rather than passenger requirements.

(b) Tourist organisation - work of the voluntary associations

(i) The Tasmanian Tourist Association. The formation of the Hobart-based Tasmanian Improvement and Tourist Association in 1893, largely through the personal efforts of the Premier, H.H. Dobson, marked the beginning of a twenty-one year period during which this and similar organisations played an important part in tourist development. The objects of the Association were:

to protect the beauty spots of the colony from alienation and vandalism; to make them more accessible by better roads and general means of communication; to secure the co-operation of hotel keepers and boarding house proprietors for ensuring the comfort of visitors; to advertise the colony and attract settlers and tourists;

and generally advance the interests of the colony in any way possible by the dissemination of reliable information.³⁸

The Association attached great significance to the task of improving the island's tourist attractions and facilities, and worked to improve the access to well-known places of natural beauty; to open up new areas; to secure the establishment of tourist accommodation, particularly in those locations in which private enterprise could not be persuaded to venture; and to protect natural beauty. It was thought that such a policy would help Tasmania retain its attraction in the face of increasing competition from the other colonies and cause tourists to pay return visits.

The Association constructed tracks to several places of natural beauty within a fifty-mile radius of Hobart, including the Hartz Mountains and the Russell Falls-Mount Field area and, in 1909, was given control of Government-owned accommodation houses at the Hartz Mountains, Interlaken, and Lake St. Clair. It attached such importance to the availability of an adequate amount of good standard accommodation that in 1913 it urged the Government to construct a series of hotels in southern Tasmania. Although a number of simple chalets were built at the lakes, as part of an attempt to encourage the tourist industry, the general policy of the Government was to treat the provision of accommodation as the preserve of private enterprise.

The most obvious contribution made by the Association was in the improvement of facilities for tourist travel, offering a free information and booking service through its bureaux, producing guide books and other tourist literature after 1900, and organising coach excursions to places of interest around Hobart. In this work it co-operated with the firm of Thomas Cook and Sons Ltd., which had established a full agency in Hobart in 1893, and with the Tasmanian Government Railways Department. An important innovation was the introduction by Thomas Cook of a comprehensive series of Tasmanian tours, ranging from half-day to three and four-day trips, for which tourists could pay an all-in charge at Cook's mainland offices before leaving for Tasmania.

The Association had only limited resources and was therefore critical of the way in which a number of organisations, including several tourist associations, the Railways Department, the Hobart Marine Board and the Chambers of Commerce, all had their separate advertising campaigns. In 1913 it suggested a "Co-operative Advertising Scheme" to be supported by contributions from each of these bodies and a capital levy on each municipality.³⁹ The proposal was not accepted. Many of these agencies feared that the proposed authority would be under the control of the Tasmanian Tourist Association and that it would be used to advertise Hobart and the South, where Association members had financial

interests in tourist businesses. Some felt that such a scheme should be a Government concern subject to Parliamentary control.⁴⁰

The Association also undertook the work of attracting settlers to Tasmania. Its propaganda stressed the amenity appeal of the State and continued the traditional promotion as a place for Anglo-Indian settlement.⁴¹

The failure of the Co-operative Advertising Scheme indicated that a Hobart-based private organisation, with its obvious regional interests, had little hope of assuming national functions in the sectional atmosphere which prevailed in Tasmania at this time.^{42*} The considerations which resulted in its replacement by a State organisation are now discussed because several of them remain as important to-day as they were then.

(ii) The break-up of the Tasmanian Tourist Association, and reasons for Government intervention. It is significant that the chief advocate of State control was the Railways Department.^{43*} As the motor-car became a more effective competitor with the railway for short-range travel the feeling developed that the Association was not giving the Railways a fair share of the business, and that the tourist business was "drifting into the hands of the principal carrying firms".⁴⁴ Realising that an increased traffic could benefit the Railways, which were becoming increasingly unprofitable, the Department decided to make an independent

effort to promote the traffic.^{45*} In 1913 it took a major step towards ultimate State control by establishing a tourist bureau in Melbourne as the first of several offices projected for State capitals. In the same year it produced a comprehensive and largely impartial guide book, the first dealing with the whole State, to be published in ten years.⁴⁶ At the same time it continued to urge that a central tourist and advertising bureau be established as a Government Department.^{47*}

While the Railways Department was urging State control, the Association was publicly criticised on the grounds of favouritism towards companies in which members of its Committee were shareholders; the cornering of tourists in the South by the spread of disparaging information about the North;^{48*} and, finally, of administrative inefficiency.^{49*} These claims were denied by the Association, which declared that its motives were entirely altruistic and that achievements had been made by patriotism and self-sacrifice that could not have been made by a Government Department.

The hesitation of the Government in assuming full control of tourist organisation and spending more on tourist development can be explained only in part by the obvious limitations imposed by the scant financial resources of a small State. There was, also, it seems, an instinctive hostility on the part of some sections of the community,

particularly the landed gentry, towards any move which would result in the turning of southern Tasmania into a "tawdry tea garden for filthy business' sake". The Liberal party, which governed during most of this period, was opposed to State control as a matter of political principle, and believed that the best form of Government participation was financial assistance to the voluntary societies.

Amongst the business section of the community however, there was a growing awareness of the pecuniary value of tourism. The tourist traffic was already thought of as "one of the industries of the State" worth £400,000 a year to Tasmania, and the climate and natural beauties of the island as "part of the capital with which we have to trade".⁵⁰

The Labor parliamentary group, which had no great zeal for the idea of a State tourist authority (many of its members believing that the needs of the back-country settler should have priority over all tourist work), was even more opposed to the method of subsidising the Tasmanian Tourist Association, which it considered was "subsidising a private line of motor cars which were running in direct competition with the non-paying railways". The arguments of the Railways Department concerning the way in which a national tourist authority could ensure an increased tourist traffic and a fair share of tourists for the railways, so protecting an important public asset, eventually proved

persuasive to the Labor party. The State finally accepted responsibility in July 1914,^{51*} when the newly elected Labor Government took over the affairs of the Tasmanian Tourist Association.

(iii) Other tourist associations. Amongst the many other tourist associations formed in Tasmania during this time the Northern Tasmanian Tourist Association founded in 1899 was most similar to the Tasmanian Tourist Association. Its aims were to capture as large a share of the tourist traffic as possible by developing and publicising the attractions of Northern Tasmania and by providing visitor services. It supplied tourist information, organised tourist excursions, made itself responsible for tracks on Ben Lomond and Mt. Barrow, and managed caves in the Chudleigh district and the Government accommodation houses at Lake Leake and Miena.^{52*} On the West Coast a number of organisations combined to form the Western Tasmanian Tourist Association.⁵³

Apart from these the remaining associations were centered on small settlements and their surrounding districts. It is interesting to note that most bodies of this kind were formed in the progressive townships of the North-West.^{54*} The members of these organisations came to appreciate well the way in which the facilities they provided, such as parks, promenades and tracks, would serve both the local and the tourist population. The propaganda and work of

these associations in many parts of Tasmania was undoubtedly an important factor in the growth of a public tourist consciousness.

(c) The distribution of tourist activity

Mainland tourists continued to visit Tasmania for much the same reasons as their predecessors had done. The temperate climate remained one of the main attractions^{55*} and the health advantages of the island were still considered important. Most mainland tourists came from Victoria and New South Wales and stayed for an average of about two weeks. By the end of the period the season was considered to last for seven months of the year, whereas in the past there had been few tourists "before December and after the end of April". The cause of this change seems to have been the tendency for tourists to delay their trip in order to travel on the more comfortable and spacious overseas vessels which now plied between Tasmania and the mainland during the apple export season.

The pattern of tourist activity was affected by a number of circumstances and forces. The most important was perhaps the limitation imposed by the relatively slow mode of transport then available and the absence of any major circular routes in the road system. It was only towards the end of the period that the motor car became popular for tourist excursions, permitting them to extend over greater distances. The bicycle, which permitted flexible itineraries

and travel off the main routes to such areas as the East Coast, became popular during the nineties. The limiting effects of the transport factor on the growth of inter-regional touring were reinforced by the work of two tourist associations which endeavoured, by means of their bureaux and literature,^{56*} to make the tourist spend as much time as possible in the one area. An indication of the main areas visited by tourists towards the end of the pre-motor age is given in Figure 2.

Although travel was made easier by the provision of all-in tours and booking services, the main form of tourist activity continued to consist of short range movement from a number of centres. The increased amount of tourist activity coupled with the still slow modes of travel seem to have been responsible for many small tourist accommodation houses being opened close to points of popular resort, generally beyond a half day's travelling distance of the main tourist centres, such as the Derwent Valley, the Tasman Peninsula and the Mole Creek area.

Improved tourist services increased the intensity of tourist travel and towards the end of the period a quicker form of transport caused the "tourist districts" to expand slightly in area.

In spite of improvements in the quantity and standard of country tourist accommodation most tourists used either Hobart or Launceston as a base for their tours.^{57*}

For visits to the Huon, Derwent Valley, Port Arthur and Lake St. Clair, Hobart was considered the best starting point, while the North-West Coast, the North-East, a portion of the lakes district and the West Coast could most readily be reached from Launceston.^{58*} In the South the Derwent Valley, the Tasman Peninsula, and the Huon-Channel districts continued to be the most popular tourist areas.^{59*} Other areas, such as the East Coast and that south of Dover, were still too distant to benefit much from the growing amount of activity.^{60*} The lakes district was mainly of interest to fishermen. In the North-East a joint rail-coach ticket now made a round tour of the district possible but this area remained of secondary importance.⁶¹

During this period the North-West and North-East achieved a measure of independence as tourist areas. The North-West was particularly self-contained from the point of view of communications and attractions.^{62*} Most of its tourist centres were also popular as family residential resorts - Burnie for instance, was described as "Scarborough reincarnated".

Although the building of the Emu Bay Railway in 1900 gave the West Coast a reliable link with the rest of Tasmania it was still very difficult to fit a visit to the region into a Tasmanian tour without forfeiting a visit to some other major region. Nevertheless, the fame of the area was such that it received an increasing flow of tourists

who visited the mines, the mining towns, and such natural beauties as the Gordon River.

(d) Summary

The most important developments during this period were the growth of a public awareness of the importance of tourism, and the formation of the first Tasmanian tourist organisations. This was a transitional phase during which the implications of the growing tourist traffic were gradually appreciated, and ideas were formulated about the best ways of fostering and serving the traffic. The voluntary tourist organisations seem to have been well suited to these circumstances, and to those of limited tourist mobility, and their attempt to persuade tourists to spend all their time in particular districts was an additional influence retarding the development of round touring activity. Hobart continued to be the chief tourist centre, but others, particularly Launceston and the North-West, now gained a growing share of the traffic.

The voluntary associations pioneered most of the functions of later organisations and out of their work there emerged attitudes towards tourism and methods of tourist organisation with ramifications for subsequent tourist history as well as the contemporary situation. The first was the realisation of the value of tourism to the Tasmanian community. At the national and at some parts of the local level this was seen mainly as a pecuniary benefit -

tourism began to be regarded as an industry. But at the local level there was also an awareness of the way in which tourist facilities could serve a civic purpose. Secondly, it was realised that the task of providing for the tourist consisted of many related parts, including the improvement of resources and facilities, the promotion of the traffic, and the provision of tourist services. The view was held that the attractiveness of the island should be continuously protected and improved in order to maintain a growing tourist traffic against competition from other areas. Accepted ways of doing this were by preserving natural beauty and historic places and developing existing resorts, and periodically opening up new ones. Finally, the Government's action in providing free booking and information services and accommodation houses at the lakes recognised the possibility of indirect benefit to the State by enterprises which were not in themselves profitable. Generally, however, the attitude towards tourist accommodation was to leave its provision to private enterprise.

4. DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE RAILWAYS DEPARTMENT, 1914-1934

After 1914, the State, through the newly established Government Tourist Bureau, became the most important factor affecting tourist development. Although its effort was limited in scale by financial difficulties, the important idea of providing facilities in the hope of indirect benefit

was retained, and the scope was extended to include intensive mainland promotion. As a Government organisation it was necessary to avoid regional bias and as a branch of the Railways Department it was found convenient to adopt a policy of encouraging the tourist to see as much of Tasmania as possible. In spite of this increased promotional activity, the rate of tourist traffic growth slowed down, a fact attributed by Tasmanians to a deterioration in the shipping service but which seems in fact to have had a number of causes. This was by and large a period of economic difficulty for Tasmania. The island's recovery from the stagnant economic conditions of the sixties and seventies had been made with the aid of loans and mining development, but these were ephemeral sources of prosperity. The war and the post-war boom delayed the application of corrective measures and the problem was not tackled until the twenties. By this time mineral production had fallen away and the interest payments on the growing public debt resulted in an annual budgetary deficit.

Faced with the threat of insolvency, Government policy was dominated by attempts to improve the State's financial situation. Most of these attempted to achieve economies by reduced Government spending, but the adoption of a policy of attracting manufacturing industry through the development of cheap hydro-electric power represented a search for a more permanent source of economic strength.

The creation of additional employment opportunity did not in this period prevent the State from losing population by migration, and the Tasmanian population grew more slowly than that of any of the other States.⁶³

(a) The growth of the tourist traffic

The rate of growth of the passenger traffic during this twenty year period was less than that in both the preceding and the succeeding periods. The total number of arrivals decreased from 40,400 in 1914 to 38,700 in 1934.^{64*} The failure of the traffic to expand during a period of considerable population expansion on the mainland and increased facilities for tourism had a number of causes. The main explanation favoured by Tasmanians was that the traffic was adversely affected by the deterioration of shipping services and that the tourist traffic had fallen away by at least 30%. It was also claimed that as a result of the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Act the post-war revival of a special traffic based solely on the existence of luxury travel facilities on overseas ships had been prevented.^{65*} Federal authorities which examined this question found that,^{66*} although the effects of the Act had been exaggerated,^{67*} it did have a retarding influence on the traffic. Whatever the actual causal relations were between traffic and the passenger service, there is no doubt that the service deteriorated in many ways. Services were discontinued on many routes and reduced

on others, but the service to the North-West Coast was improved and Tasmania's passenger life-line, the Melbourne-Launceston service, was not affected.

This period was, generally speaking, a disturbed one beginning with a four-year war and ending in a major economic depression. The shipping service was also frequently interrupted by industrial disputes between 1914 and 1925, which usually occurred at the height of the tourist season. These, and the fear of being marooned in Tasmania, as visitors were on several occasions, probably affected the attitude of potential tourists towards Tasmania. One of the most important factors of all was the growth of private car ownership, which caused many of Tasmania's potential tourists to invest their resources in car purchase and maintenance and spend their holidays touring their own or neighbouring States.^{68*} The facilities for transporting cars to Tasmania were very limited until the end of this period and it was not until 1933 that there was a substantial increase in the number of private cars and motor cycles shipped across the Tasman.

(b) Development and aims of the Government Tourist Bureau

Control of tourist organisation passed into the hands of the State in July, 1914, when the Tasmanian Government Railways Department took over the business of

the Tasmanian Tourist Association and the Government Tourist Bureau (G.T.B.) was created. The work of the Hobart office was expanded and bureaux were established on the mainland.^{69*} In 1917, after northern complaints about the preferential treatment of Hobart had intensified, the G.T.B. took over the business of the financially troubled Northern Tasmanian Tourist Association. By this time much of the early opposition^{70*} to the idea of a State tourist authority had died away and the Government, believing that public expenditure on tourist promotion was bringing in a good return, progressively increased the annual tourist vote until 1923.

The period 1923-1927 was one of retrenchment for the G.T.B. Spending was reduced as part of an attempt to achieve economies in the Railways Department and the work was made to serve more directly the interests of the railways.^{71*} During this phase there was greater dependence on voluntary and honorary bodies, notably the Tourist Advisory Board.^{72*}

A change of Government in 1928 resulted in the G.T.B. being restored to the status of a separate branch and a more vigorous policy was adopted. Railways Department control of the G.T.B. was criticised from time to time. The North and the North-West complained that the interests of the Bureau were being subordinated to those of the Railways Department, and supported the creation of an independent Tourist Department, but the decisive factor in the eventual

taking of this step in 1934 was the interests and policy of a new Labor Premier, A.G. Ogilvie, who had long been interested in the possibilities of more intensive tourist organisation and development.

The G.T.B. was created to undertake such national functions as mainland advertising and the operation of mainland bureaux, and a return was looked for in the form of the revenue received by the State as a whole and in increased earnings by the State-owned railways.^{73*} The specific objectives were to increase the number of tourists visiting Tasmania, to lengthen the tourist season, and to persuade tourists to use the railways more often and more extensively. It was thought that these aims could best be achieved by effective tourist promotion, by improved booking and travel facilities, and by the improvement of other tourist facilities and attractions.

(c) Tourist promotion and provision of travel and booking facilities

The publicising of Tasmania's attractions on the mainland was regarded by the G.T.B. as "the mainspring of the business",^{74*} especially since Tasmania's chief competitors - the mainland States and New Zealand - were spending increased amounts on publicity. There were two main difficulties to be overcome. The many-sided appeal of Tasmania made the task of fixing a single idea or theme into posters and other advertisements while appealing to

all kinds of tourists very difficult.^{75*} The other problem was to advertise the attractions of the different parts of the island without appearing to favour any one region. For this reason and in the interests of economy the G.T.B. urged the tourist associations to produce their own promotional literature which it distributed,^{76*} and guide books produced by the G.T.B. were made to deal with the whole State equally. The G.T.B. tried to publicise further the State's advantages for angling and bush walking by financially helping the Hobart Walking Club and the Northern Fisheries Association to publish their annual magazines.

The G.T.B. believed its advertising to be the lifeblood of the tourist traffic and claimed that "reducing publicity is false economy for with lessened publicity go lessened receipts" and that the tourist season had been lengthened as a result of systematic advertising.⁷⁷ The validity of the proof^{78*} offered for these claims is not convincing. (See Figure 3)

Although a branch of the Railways Department, the G.T.B. announced at an early date that its policy was to put each mode of transport fairly before enquirers⁷⁹ and it came to pride itself on its lack of bias. Its policy showed immediate success in the form of increased railway and reduced motor bookings.^{80*} There seems to be little doubt, however, that even during the time when it had a relatively large measure of independence the G.T.B. tactfully

favoured the Railways Department.^{81*} Whenever this policy, real or imagined, appeared to cut across the interests of the regions of private enterprise, it attracted criticism. The most serious complaint came from Launceston, where it was claimed that because of the Bureau's policy in attracting tourists onto the railway Launceston, the main arrival point, was being treated as a mere steamer and rail terminus.⁸²

Another tourist service provided by the G.T.B. was the co-ordination of the motor car excursions. Private motor car companies in Hobart and Launceston carried tourists on a contract basis for a commission of 10% whilst the G.T.B. provided the booking service. Although there was resentment of this system by the larger companies, who complained that the opportunity for initiative had been removed, the others were satisfied with the greater certainty of business offered by the arrangement.

The G.T.B. also tried to improve the mainlander's holiday in Tasmania by means of conducted tours which also helped to establish a reputation and a regular traffic for the areas visited. Many new areas or areas difficult of access, such as the West Coast and the River Gordon, and the overland track from Cradle Valley to Cynthia Bay were visited by these organised parties.

The coupon-system of all-inclusive tours gradually became more popular during this period and by 1934 the

G.T.B. estimated that 5% of all tourists visiting Tasmania were on these "Colour Line Tours" as they were termed. This system enabled the tourist to break his rail journey, a special arrangement which helped each part of the State, and particularly the North-West, to receive a fair share of the traffic.

Other important facilities provided by the G.T.B. were the tourist offices in Tasmania and on the mainland which gave a single and reliable source of information which could be readily consulted both for planning and arrangement of a holiday. For much of the work carried out by these offices there was no direct return; Tasmanians were booked into mainland resorts without commission and itineraries were drawn up without charge.

(d) Development of tourist facilities and attractions

A definite objective of the G.T.B. was to improve existing resources and facilities and to develop new ones. Its interests in this field were necessarily manifold since it had to be concerned with the provision of better access and accommodation, with scenery preservation, and with the development of winter sports. Most attention was paid to the possibilities of developing the remote highland areas all of which lacked proper access and accommodation. However, the financial resources of both the G.T.B. and the State in general were slender^{83*} and this was essentially a period of campaigning for development rather than actual progress.

(i) Tourist development and scenery preservation. The forces responsible for the scenery preservation legislation of 1915, are dealt with in detail in Chapter 6. However, it is appropriate to mention here that one of the most telling arguments for the creation of machinery for the establishment and management of scenic reserves was its importance for the protection and development of tourist resources. The Director of the G.T.B., who became a member of the new Scenery Preservation Board, was one of its most active workers and, although he believed in the principle of making the parks available to a greater variety of users, he was also well aware of the need to strike a balance between tourist development and preservation.

(ii) Provision of access to undeveloped areas of potential tourist attraction. When the G.T.B. came into being much of Tasmania's finest high mountain country, including the highlands of the Cradle Mt. and Lake St. Clair areas, and the National Park at Mt. Field, were inaccessible by road and had only primitive accommodation. The Government was prepared to provide accommodation in remote areas if some indirect benefit in the form of increased railway revenue and general expenditure in the State could be expected, and continued to operate the accommodation houses for fishermen at Lake Leake, the Great Lake, and Interlaken. During the depression period the tenants of the houses found it increasingly difficult to derive an adequate

living from them. So badly felt was the competition from nearby privately-owned fishing cottages that the taking out of occupation licenses for cottages was restricted and existing licence holders were forbidden to take in boarders. The houses were also affected by the deterioration of fishing at all three lakes served by accommodation houses.^{85*}

The G.T.B. advocated the building of accommodation houses in the highland areas, and particularly in the areas proclaimed as scenic reserves, as part of a general programme of opening them up. These plans were closely dependent upon improved access and, since there was no great progress in this sphere, had to be postponed. The only new Government accommodation provided during the period was an accommodation house erected in 1927 at the north end of the Great Lake.

There was little the Government could do to improve accommodation standards or provide new units in settled areas. Perhaps its main contribution was the service provided both to the accommodation proprietor and the tourist by issuing alphabetically arranged lists of accommodation giving details of facilities and prices, providing a well organised booking service, and by doing all in its power to lengthen the tourist season.

(iii) The development of winter sports. If made available by means of access and accommodation, the winter ice and

snow of the highlands seemed to offer an opportunity for sports activities which would assist the overall development of the highlands, add further to Tasmania's tourist attractions, and help stimulate off-season traffic.^{86*}

The G.T.B.'s first interest was in the ice-skating possibilities of the highland lakes, but by the early twenties skiing was becoming more popular on the mainland and attention turned to the idea of developing ski resorts in Tasmania. The main source of inspiration was the all-the-year-round State-owned hotels at Mt. Buffalo and Mt. Kosciusko. In 1922, after a visit to these places for information, the Director of the G.T.B. endeavoured to launch the sport in Tasmania by taking ski-running parties to Lake Fenton in the Mt. Field area. However, the retrenchment of the G.T.B. and a series of bad winters hindered progress. Although by 1929 there were an appreciable number of local skiers and the huts at Lake Fenton were booked out all winter, development of the sport was restricted by difficulties of access. The key to the development of the Mt. Field snowfield was a motor road, which was not built during this period despite the stress placed on the importance of winter sports to Tasmania by a succession of road deputations. The G.T.B. claimed that conditions in the Mt. Field highlands were similar to those of the mainland resorts and that because of relative accessibility a resort at Lake Fenton could become a serious competitor with Mt. Buffalo for

Melbourne skiers. It was thought that accommodation houses established in winter sports areas would have an all the-year-round traffic with a peak in winter.

Although the G.T.B. retained an interest in the commercial development of the snow fields and continued to try and induce the Government to embark upon a policy of resort development the small achievement in improved access and accommodation were mainly due to the work of the skiing clubs. (See Chapter 5).

(iv) The exploitation of the limestone caves. The three finest of Tasmania's tourist caves were discovered between 1908 and 1916.^{87*} Altogether, in Tasmania in 1914, admission was being charged for entry to five caves, three of which were privately owned, one conducted by a tourist association, and the other by a local authority. On the recommendation of the Superintendent of the New South Wales Government Caves at Jenolan,⁸⁸ both the King Solomon's Cave and the Maracoopa Cave in the Mole Creek district were purchased by the Government and placed under the control of the G.T.B. assisted by a Caves Advisory Board. In 1920 both King Solomon's Cave and Baldocks Cave, which had been taken over by the G.T.B. from the Northern Tasmanian Tourist Association, were provided with acetylene lighting, and opened to the public. Shortage of funds delayed the more complete exploitation of the caves during this period; some such as Maracoopa, which had been partly developed,

were sealed to the public, and others such as Hastings Cave remained inaccessible.^{89*} Those caves which remained open were all run at a loss. King Solomon's Cave was eventually chosen for further development and was electrically lit and re-opened in 1929. Even though this was the most fully developed of the caves the average annual number of inspections made between 1930-31 and 1934-35 was only 1,700.⁹⁰

(v) Improvement of tourist resources through the work of the tourist associations. Amongst the Government's tools for the maintenance and improvement of the island's attractiveness for tourists were the tourist associations. After the work of the city tourist associations had been handed over to the G.T.B. the Government continued to encourage the lesser associations. The belief was widely held that local interest and effort were imperative for successful tourist development, so the Government granted annual subsidies on a pound for pound basis to a great many associations and attempted to co-ordinate their efforts through the G.T.B.^{91*} The Bureau tried to keep old organisations alive, and start new ones, by appealing to the civic pride of the townspeople, claiming that tourists could only be attracted by local effort.⁹²

(c) Summary

This was above all else a period of experiment in the organisation of tourism by the State, but out of

it there emerged accepted ideas about the objectives, functions, and principles of Government participation.

The main objective of the G.T.B. was recognised as the contribution of wealth to the State by doing all that seemed necessary to increase the influx of tourists. The functions which it was held were most likely to achieve this end were those which had already been indicated by the voluntary associations - improvement of resources and facilities, tourist promotion, and the provision of services. The main principles that have endured from this period were: that a State tourist authority should have no regional bias and that tourists should be encouraged to see as much of Tasmania as possible; and that the State's attractions should if possible be continuously expanded.

The achievements of the G.T.B. are difficult to evaluate; there are not enough data to know whether the decentralisation policy was a success, and whether it was responsible for increasing the flow of tourists. These effects and those of other factors, such as changes in the shipping service, can never be accurately determined, but the circumstantial evidence suggests that some positive results were registered. The creation of the Government Tourist Bureau freed the traffic from the regional restraints of the tourist associations, but under the influence of the motor car a greater distribution of tourist activity was in any case a natural tendency. The question of whether

the railway connection of the Government Tourist Bureau prevented the full development of motor touring also cannot be satisfactorily answered.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM, 1934-1961

In 1934 control of the Government Tourist Bureau was removed from the Railways Department^{93*} and the Bureau became an independent Department under the direct control of a Cabinet Minister.^{94*} This Department and the State in general continued to be the most important agencies affecting the development of tourism.

State participation in tourist development was most pronounced between 1935 and 1940 when a tourist-minded Premier and Government pursued a policy of "intensive development of the tourist business", setting an example which, with the growing tourist traffic, also stimulated increased activity on the part of private enterprise and voluntary bodies. This phase was terminated by the war.

In the first few years following the end of the war there was a great increase in tourist numbers. The Government did not continue the programme that had been left off in 1939, preferring a slow steady rate of development which was matched during the fifties by a stationary tourist traffic. However, the introduction of an improved car ferry in 1959 removed part of the disability the State had previously suffered through the limited facilities for the transport of cars across Bass Strait. This, and

the great increase in the number of private-car tourists which followed, caused a resurgence of interest in tourist development, an expansion of accommodation facilities, and an unsuccessful attempt by private enterprise to gain an executive role in State tourist organisation.

Tasmanian attitudes toward tourist development are best understood in relation to the changed economic and social conditions of the period. Between 1934 and 1959 a succession of Labor Governments committed the State more and more to a policy of attracting secondary industry by the development of cheap hydro-electric power, until by the mid-fifties manufacturing was more important in terms of value of net production and size of the labour force than primary industry. With the increasing diversification of the employment base there were no further unemployment problems and the traditional heavy losses of labour by migration were not repeated. In these relatively prosperous post-war years there appeared to be no special urgency about the promotion of the tourist traffic.

(a) Growth of the tourist traffic

During this twenty-five year period there was a considerable absolute increase in the number of persons travelling to Tasmania, the number of arrivals growing from 38,700 in 1934 to 162,700 in 1959, an average annual growth rate of 3.6%.

Between 1934 and 1939 the traffic increased at

an average annual rate of 8.8%. The reasons for this may be sought in the greater prosperity which now prevailed as Australia recovered from the depression, in the improvements to the shipping service which followed the partial suspension of the coastal clauses of the Navigation Act, in the greater expenditure on tourist development by the Tasmanian Government, and in the additional travel facility provided by the inception of a regular air service with the mainland in 1935.

There was a rapid expansion in the number of arrivals following the end of the war. Between 1945 and 1947 the growth was such that despite the virtual cessation of tourist activity during the war the period 1939 to 1947 nevertheless showed an average annual increase of 7.1%. Between 1947 and 1951 this rate of growth was maintained. It seems likely that this boom was the result of the limited wartime opportunities for travel which had made people delay trips of all kinds until after the war. The additional traffic was made possible by the development of air transport. By the end of the war the airways^{95*} were carrying more passengers than the steamship companies and by 1948-49 they carried 79% of all persons travelling to and from Tasmania.^{96*}

Between 1951 and 1958 the passenger traffic was virtually static, an average annual increase of 0.5% being recorded. (See Figure 4). The failure of the traffic to

grow is difficult to explain. The Government Tourist Department (G.T.D.) claimed that the sea passenger service and the shortage of accommodation were setting a limit on tourist numbers,⁹⁷ but the shipping service was no longer the major method of tourist travel and the improvement of the accommodation situation had no apparent beneficial effect upon the flow. Perhaps the most important reason was a further growth in the popularity of the annual holiday habit of motor touring and Tasmania's obvious disability in competition for this market with such new mainland tourist areas as the Queensland "Gold Coast".^{98*} Some evidence of the importance of these factors was given by the immediate increase in private car traffic following the introduction in 1959 of the passenger and vehicular ferry the Princess of Tasmania. This new vessel has not enough private car and passenger space to meet the demand, particularly during the main part of the tourist season, suggesting that the growth of the traffic is still being retarded by the inadequacy of facilities for the transport of private cars to the State.^{99*} It is worth noting that the economic effects of this are less than they are often stated to be, since the lack of capacity and consequent booking difficulties also causes many Tasmanians to holiday in their own State rather than on the mainland. By 1959 the airways could take all the air traffic which offered. For the tourist who was prepared to travel without his car

the traditional transport obstacles had been eliminated.

(b) Functions and policy of the Government Tourist Department

The tourist legislation of 1934 conferred upon the Director of the Government Tourist Bureau authority to "carry on the Tourist Bureau as a general tourist business on behalf of the State", with power to "provide and maintain facilities and conveniences for tourists", and "generally, do and carry out any matter or thing which . . . may promote, further, or facilitate tourist traffic to and in this State or may be of service to tourists".^{100*} Some aspects of tourist development could be carried out through other State agencies; the construction of tourist roads by the Public Works Department being perhaps the most important. Although the Director was thus empowered to adopt wide functions and it has been claimed that the work of the Department represented an "integrated approach to tourist development"¹⁰¹ its main concern, particularly in the post-war years, has only been with the operation of a general tourist business. Developmental work has been limited to cave management and the administration of the Tourist Accommodation Loans Act.

One of the main objectives of the Government's tourist policy between 1934 and 1939 was to create employment, but the sole objective since 1939 has been the encouragement of the mainland tourist traffic as a source

of wealth for Tasmania. The view has been that the tourist industry is a "gilt-edged public investment"¹⁰² requiring no great outlay for a considerable return to the State as a whole.

The value of tourist activity and development has continued to be appraised mainly in monetary terms. The fact that the earnings from tourists represent 'new' money was said to make them particularly valuable. In the years between 1934 and 1939 the tourist traffic was reckoned to be worth one million pounds,¹⁰³ and in 1946-47 to be worth two million pounds.¹⁰⁴

The first estimate to be based on a sample survey of visitor spending was that of A.J. Hagger who, using data collected by the Government Tourist Department, estimated that visitor spending for 1953-54 was £4,300,000 and for 1956-57 - £5,700,000.^{105*} In 1958 the Tasmanian Treasury Department carried out a survey of the economic value of the tourist industry in Tasmania calculating that in an average year tourists brought about £2,700,000^{106*} into the State, showing that on this reckoning this could not be classed as one of Tasmania's more important industries. The Treasury Department concluded that because of the problems arising from the seasonal nature of the trade the prospects of tourist expansion seemed to be poor.¹⁰⁷

(c) Tourist promotion and provision of travel and booking facilities

The policy of promoting the influx of tourists to Tasmania was actively pursued between 1935 and 1939,¹⁰⁸ discontinued during the war and, because of a shortage of accommodation capacity, not fully resumed until the early fifties. In 1959 the Department employed a commercial firm to carry out its advertising and this firm distributes its material according to the origin of tourists visiting Tasmania in the past.^{109*}

Although the G.T.B. was now independent, its Minister was also responsible for the Railway Department and complaints that it was forcing tourists to use the railways continued. Of greater effect on the facilities for tourist transport were the zoning regulations instituted in 1938 to give protection to the railways and local carriers. Pre-paid holidays involving either an itinerary specified by the tourist or a standard itinerary chosen from a number of Colour Line Tours became increasingly popular during the latter part of the thirties. After the war the G.T.D. also arranged long tours of the State in contracted sedan cars. Nine day tours of the State beginning and ending at Launceston and Hobart were started in 1945-46 and 1948-49 respectively. Organised touring of the State was given an additional fillip at this time with the entry into the business of a coach tour service by the Ansett-Pioneer

company. Faced with the problem of obtaining block bookings for accommodation for its coach passengers, this firm found it necessary to purchase hotels at Hobart, Launceston, Burnie, and Eaglehawk Neck.

Through its booking facilities and the contract system the G.T.D. was able to control effectively the standard of service given by the fleet of chauffeur-driven tourist cars. Drive-yourself cars became increasingly important after the war years. The only way in which the G.T.D. could attempt to control the variety of service offered and tariffs charged was to list these in an alphabetically arranged brochure, thus allowing the tourist to compare relative costs.

(d) Development of tourist facilities and attractions

(i) Provision of access to undeveloped areas of potential tourist attraction. The greatest progress made in any sphere of tourist facility development in Tasmania was in tourist road construction during the period of the Ogilvie Ministry (1934-1939), when, with the opportunity presented by the need to provide work for the unemployed, many of the roads that had been hopefully suggested during the previous twenty years were built. Important tourist roads were built to the summits of Mt. Wellington, Mt. Barrow, and Mt. Rumney; to Hastings and Maracoopa caves; to points either within or at the entrance to scenic reserves

at Lake Fenton, Cynthia Bay, and Cradle Valley; and from Waratah to the Pieman River at Corinna. In 1934 a 50 mile walking track was built from Cradle Valley to Lake St. Clair which the Tourist Department hoped would eventually rival New Zealand's famous Milford Track. Later, pack tracks were built on Ben Lomond and along the greater part of the Cradle Valley to Lake St. Clair walking route. Several other roads which were constructed mainly for non-tourist reasons, such as the Queenstown-Strahan road, also proved valuable for tourist use. Other roads throughout the State were improved so that Tasmania's attractiveness for touring holidays was considerably enhanced. The immediate object of the road construction programme was to relieve unemployment. Sectional claims were exerted to attract expenditure of relief money in public works, and the overall result was a wide distribution of public works expenditure through the State.^{111*}

It was the intention of the Ogilvie Government to "develop to the limit of the finances available every tourist resort in Tasmania"¹¹² and work was under way on several projects when war prevented further progress. It seemed that a reaction to further development had already developed in 1939 when the Legislative Council refused to pass an item needed for the construction of the Hartz Mt. Road. Plans for the continuation of the tourist road building programme were reiterated during the war,^{113*}

and in the years following, but construction has been at a much slower rate and the only important major tourist road constructed solely for recreational purposes has been the Ben Lomond road built to snowfields near Legges Tor. However, the Government State Highway sealing programme and several of the roads built by the Hydro Electric and Forestry Commissions, including the Hartz Mountains road, and a road from Poatina to Steppes giving access to the eastern shores of the Great Lake have proved of great value to tourists.

(ii) Accommodation. Between 1935 and 1939 there was also a renewed interest in tourist accommodation, the Government being anxious that the results of their promotion campaign and other tourist development work should not be nullified by any deficiency in this sphere. The District Licensing Courts were able to bring about a small overall improvement in the standards of licensed accommodation, but most businesses were not prosperous enough to effect any fundamental improvements in standards. This was shown by the opposition to the use of high qualifying standards for guest house registration which had been made compulsory in 1938. The Government suspected that insistence on high standards might result in a considerable loss of accommodation so that before the war registration was not refused and improvements were not ordered.^{114*} Although several new hotels and guest houses were built during this period of

growing tourist traffic, including the 60-bed Wrest Point luxury hotel at Hobart, the increase in new accommodation did not seem to be keeping pace with demand and the G.T.B. found it impossible to place all tourists in accommodation during the height of the season.

No great progress was made with the improvement of accommodation in the highland areas. The Government-owned chalets continued to lose ground and by 1939 all four houses were being run at a loss. Many of the areas which offered scenically attractive locations for the establishment of new accommodation were not utilised because of their situation in scenery reserves. (For discussion of this see Chapter 6). The accommodation facilities of the Central Highland area were increased, however, when three new chalets at Tarraleah, Waddamanna, and Bronte were made available for use by tourists after they were no longer needed entirely for their initial purpose as staff messes for the Hydro-Electric Commission.

Camping became increasingly popular with touring Tasmanians and mainlanders during the second half of the thirties but few special facilities were developed - most tourists camped on municipal or foreshore land for which no charge was made.

The shortage of tourist accommodation became even more critical after the war. During the war the accommodation capacity had shrunk as accommodation units

were converted for other purposes; at the same time the demand by both tourists and non-tourists was much higher, particularly in the North-West where there had been an expansion of population and industry. To try to induce the building of new units and the improvement of existing ones the Government in 1945 passed the Accommodation Loans Act. This proved of little utility during the period of post-war labour and building materials shortages and there was a further loss of capacity as the housing scarcity caused more units to be converted into flats. During the height of the season many tourists had to be accommodated in private homes or in accommodation of a standard other than that requested, especially in Hobart and Launceston. Although shortage of accommodation was thought to be restricting the tourist traffic, this continued to expand rapidly. The deficiency finally became less serious after 1952-53.¹¹⁵ By this time the traffic was no longer increasing at the same high rate and there had been an increase in the number of beds available. However, difficulty was still experienced in accommodating tourists during the height of the season, and there was a shortage of high class accommodation.

The State Licensing Court, set up in 1953, and the Guest House Registration Board now took steps to improve accommodation standards. The Licensing Court enforced a minimum standard in licensed hotels but attempted to strike

a balance between the requirements of tourists, local residents and persons travelling on business, and recognised that it was "not desirable to bring all hotels up to too high a standard".¹¹⁶ Nevertheless it constantly stressed that the foundation upon which the tourist industry could be built was the quality and quantity of the hotel accommodation. In areas such as the West Coast the result of this policy was a considerable improvement in hotel standards.^{117*} The Guest House Registration Board made registration conditional on a certain minimum standard. Another way in which standards were raised was by the publication by the G.T.D. of details of the facilities provided by each unit which stimulated competition between proprietors.

The Government accommodation houses proved no more viable than they had been in pre-war years in spite of improvements, and since they were not even paying off the interest on the capital expenditure they were disposed of to private interests. (See Plate 5). The principle of not permitting Government or local authority accommodation to be established in areas where private enterprise was considered likely to invest capital was upheld in the refusal of the Devonport Municipal Council's request to erect a motel at Mersey Bluff, the Scenery Preservation Board's plans for a new hotel at Port Arthur, and the idea of a Government Accommodation House at Derwent Bridge.

Instead of building and operating accommodation

the Government preferred to influence the State's accommodation by means of tourist accommodation loans. From 1958 onwards large sums were made available, and by September, 1960, loans had made possible the construction of ten new hotels, six motels and one new guest house, and the improvement of a further eight units. The Act has been used as a method of raising the standard of accommodation, loans being granted mainly for the building of better class units. (See Plates 6 and 7). Thus the building of the currently popular motels has been favoured by the Board and very little finance has been made available for guest house construction. The object of the policy has been to create a good range of high quality accommodation in the hope that through competition this will bring about a complementary improvement of the lower grades. The result has been an appreciable raising of standards. In addition, the overall increase in capacity was such that by 1962 the age-old problem of accommodating the peak season traffic no longer existed except in the North-West.¹¹⁸

Generally the Government has not tried to directly influence the regional distribution of accommodation. The only example of initiative which it has shown has been in indicating that loan money would be made available on the West Coast, where a new outlet road is expected to attract an increased tourist demand for accommodation.

(iii) Winter sports and cave development. As a result

largely of progress in the sport on the mainland and improvements in access to Tasmanian snowfields, skiing became increasingly popular in Tasmania and by 1938-39 there were six ski clubs in the State. Although the officers of the G.T.B. retained their hopes of building a winter tourist traffic on the basis of winter sports development, very few mainlanders were attracted to Tasmania's still largely undeveloped snow resorts, and the Government proved largely unresponsive to requests for aid. A detailed account of the various factors limiting snowfield development is given in Chapter 5.

During the Ogilvie Ministry two caves of outstanding quality, the Newdegate Cave near Hastings and the Maracoopa near Mole Creek, were made accessible, equipped with electric light, and staffed by guides. The development of a bathing pool on the site of warm springs near the Hastings Cave provided a dual tourist attraction in this area. Although exploration by caving clubs resulted in the discovery of more high quality caves there has been no major development in this sphere in the post-war period.

(iv) Voluntary organisations and tourist development. The tourist associations became a much less important factor in tourist development after the war. The decline in their number^{119*} and influence after the Government subsidies had ceased suggests that they had in fact largely been tools of the Government's tourist policy. There was, however,

an increase in the number of organisations representative of commercial interests and these have undertaken many promotion projects.^{120*} These bodies were critical of the Government's lack of activity in the field of tourist development and promotion and of the absence of both a definite plan and a policy which would assist the industry and local authorities to scheme their own share of tourist development.¹²¹ As a remedy they suggested a greater executive and advisory role in the State tourist development for the voluntary bodies. In order to have an overall body representative of these many organisations^{122*} the Tasmanian Tourist Promotions Council was formed.^{123*} An attempt to give representation to this element in tourist administration was made with the passage in 1960 of the bill setting up a Tourist Development Authority.^{124*} It was intended that this should co-ordinate the work of all tourist instrumentalities, both Government and private, and undertake most aspects of tourist development and promotion; the role of the G.T.D. being limited to "bookings and organisation of tourists". The bill provided for the financing of the authority by a fund raised by the Tourist Promotions Council and matched pound for pound by the Government. The Government insisted that the financial backing of private enterprise be assured before the Authority be set up and when the response proved inadequate the idea was abandoned.^{125*} The Government then appointed

a Tourist Advisory Board consisting entirely of Government representatives of Departments whose activities have a bearing on tourism "to co-ordinate all Government activities relating to the tourist industry and develop works on a long term basis". The limited achievements of this Board to date give credence to the belief that it was not regarded seriously by the Government and intended as a sop to the Tourist Promotions Council.

(e) Summary

The main features of this period were the phase of dynamic tourist promotion and facility development between 1935 and 1939, the failure of the traffic to expand during the fifties, although air transport made possible a far greater traffic than in pre-war years, and the great increase in mainland motor tourists visiting Tasmania following the introduction of the Princess of Tasmania. This latter event was also attended by a revived interest in accommodation investment.

With the exception of the pre-war tourist road building the Government's contribution to tourist development was not spectacular. Instead it exerted a steady control influencing such matters as the standard of accommodation by means of the State Licensing Court and Guest House Registration Board and the making of accommodation loans.

6. CONCLUSION

Having examined over a hundred years of evolving

tourist activity it is useful now to try to characterise briefly the persistent themes in its history, even though because of the limitations of the basic data causal connections between trends and patterns can only be established inferentially.

Tasmania's holiday appeal to visitors - the distinctive climate, landscape, and historical associations, of a "tight little island" - have remained much the same throughout the entire period, and the only noticeable change is a shift of emphasis, as round-touring became more popular, from the advantages of climate and Englishness of scene to those of great scenic variety in small space.

The magnitude of the traffic has been limited mainly by transport difficulties associated with the State's physical separation from mainland, and the novelty attraction of insularity has not cancelled this out. Evidence of this was provided by the rise in the number of tourists with the lowering of fares and improvement of service during a period of steamship competition and more recently with the introduction of a roll-on, roll-off car ferry. The greater capacity and convenience of air transport would have largely removed the barrier but for the fact that the use of the family car in holiday-making has become more general in Australia. The impeding effects on the traffic of limited facilities for the transport of private cars were particularly noticeable in the fifties,

and are still important. The car space available on interstate ferries may not in fact catch up with demand for many years. On the other hand, the lowering of the price of conducted tour holidays and private car rental may provide a way out of this apparent impasse.

Until the Tasmanian Tourist Association was formed in 1893, the traffic was unorganised and promoted only by guide book writers and shipping companies. The type of regional organisation the voluntary organisations provided suited the limited transport of the time. When the Government took charge of tourist administration the immediate objective was to protect the railways from competition from road transport, although the example set by the other States also probably made this change seem desirable. Although accused of favouritism towards the railways the G.T.B. had a responsibility to "spread" the traffic. However, the greater utility of the motor car in tourist travel combined with public concern about the supposed railway bias, and the interests of a new Premier, were responsible for the creation, in 1934, of an independent tourist Department.

It is not possible to determine to what extent the size and seasonality of the traffic were due to promotional activities. Instead it is interesting to note the extent to which the mainland tourist has benefitted from the free booking, information, and developmental

service provided. The broad interpretation of the means by which the traffic can be promoted has resulted in special attention to such matters as the development of inland fisheries and scenery preservation, so that Tasmanian residents have also benefitted directly from this work.

Except when some dual purpose could be served the Government has been cautious about embarking upon major tourist road building and establishing State-owned accommodation. This hesitancy seems to have been mainly the result of the State's fiscal circumstances, although political principle has also affected the attitude towards accommodation.

The Government Tourist Department and bureaux have operated on a non-profit making basis with the object of earning revenue for the State as a whole by encouraging out-of-State visitors. In the few instances where there has been conflict between local residents and mainland tourists, the interest of the visitor has been placed first. Examples are the restriction of natural bait fishing and withdrawal of licences for fishing cottages at the Great Lake. The fact that services similar to those enjoyed by the mainland visitor in Tasmania are reciprocated in the other States and enjoyed by visitors from Tasmania seems never to have received due acknowledgement. Nor is it adequately appreciated that from the point of view of impact on the Tasmanian economy that a Tasmanian resident

who can be persuaded to spend his holiday in his own State may equal in importance the mainland tourist visitor.

PART TWO

CHARACTER AND DISTRIBUTION OF OUTDOOR

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES AT THE PRESENT DAY

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

The object of Part Two is to describe and interpret the relative importance, character, and distribution of the main forms of outdoor holiday making. Each activity is treated in a similar way. After a brief historical review, the present day popularity and distribution of the activity are examined, following which are evaluated the main conditioning factors; these factors include the nature and distribution of the basic resource, and the role of Government, commercial enterprise, and recreational organisations in resource development and administration. An attempt is also made to indicate the character of each form of recreation in terms of the type of experience sought and the personal and social benefits received. In this context attention is paid to the distinctiveness of the associated experiences, the strength of the group organisation, and attitudes towards the management and protection of the resource and the promotion of the sport. Information about experiences and attitudes has been obtained mainly from club literature and sample questionnaire surveys.^{1*}

CHAPTER 2THE PATTERN OF TOURIST ACTIVITY

In each of the two years 1959-60 and 1960-61 about 90,000 tourists^{1*} visited Tasmania,^{2*} most of whom made a round tour of the State. The chief objects of this chapter are to establish the main facts of tourist activity in both the spatial and seasonal aspects and to try and explain the popularity of routes and halting places. The task of establishing the pattern of tourist movement is approached mainly through a study of organised tour activity, and elaborated by reference to attendance at places of interest and the use of accommodation. Interest is centered on round touring. Resort-based touring, in which the holidaymaker makes use of one or more headquarters for his travels, is less important. Resort tourism of the kind common overseas and best known in Australia by the example of the Queensland "Gold Coast" is little developed in Tasmania. Whereas mainlanders are mainly interested in seeing as much as possible of the State in an annual holiday, Tasmanians prefer the summer cottage type of holiday which is discussed in Chapter 3. Most of the statistical approaches used in this chapter, such as the analysis of accommodation occupancy, are not sensitive to differences in the nature and interest of the main tourist sub-groups, but this is

partially remedied by using the results of questionnaire surveys.

A 1957 survey estimated that only about one-quarter of tourists arriving by air remain in one place during their stay. The proportion of tourists arriving by sea who spend most of their time touring is probably at least as high since many bring with them their own cars.^{4*} Because of their greater familiarity with the State, Tasmanians are more disposed towards either spending their holiday in one place or touring in a limited part of the State, even so there are many who engage in a round tour, adding considerably to the total number of 'rolling tourists' as the group as a whole is termed in this thesis.

The majority of rolling tourists make their own travel plans with the help of tourist literature and the guidance of agents and friends, and use either their own private cars or the normal public transport services. Thus, the first step in an attempt to establish the pattern of movement is to try to identify the tourist element in the every-day traffic on the roads and in buses and trains.

1. THE PATTERN OF MOVEMENT

(a) General facilities for travel, and recreational traffic on highways and public transport services

The most important arteries of travel are the roads in the 1,154 mile State Highway system, which serve all of the major settled areas. When the Rosebery-Guildford road is completed in 1964 all the major settled regions will

have more or less direct links with each other. The major lineaments in the State Highway system are shown in Figure 5. Some idea of the general quality of Tasmanian roads is given by the fact that only a little over half of the State Highway mileage was sealed in June, 1960; long sections on the East Coast, Central Plateau and West Coast still have a gravel surface, although the roads are being systematically sealed and reconstructed. The dust clouds, corrugations, and loose surfaces undoubtedly act as a deterrent to travel in these areas.

Almost the entire State Highway system is served by omnibus services, run either by the Transport Commission, which operates on a total of 612 route miles, or by the 16 private bus companies: the greatest frequency of services is provided on the Midlands and Bass Highways and on a number of roads focussing on Hobart and Launceston.^{5*}

Economic circumstances did not favour the development of either a comprehensive or a profitable railway system in Tasmania, and to-day it consists essentially of a main line between Hobart, Launceston and the North-West Coast with a number of minor branch lines. A regular (5 to 7 days a week) passenger service is operated on 507 route miles of the railways, the most frequent schedule being operated between Hobart, Launceston, Devonport and Burnie, where the luxury train the "Tasman Limited" provides a facility which is especially useful for passengers

travelling on the Princess of Tasmania.

With the exception of the few short Tourist Roads,^{6*} Tasmania's road system was established primarily to serve non-tourist needs. Nevertheless, almost all parts of the system are to some extent used for tourist circulation. Since tourist traffic is seasonal, we can attempt to establish the main pattern of movement by comparing the total amount of summer and winter traffic on roads and passenger services. Of course, most kinds of recreation are intensely active in summer and the best that can be hoped for is a measure of the recreational traffic. The assumption is made that the winter traffic can be accepted as a measure of the normal non-recreational traffic and that a comparatively high proportion of summer traffic is an indication of the importance of holiday travel. The main objection to this is the fact that non-recreational travel is also affected by climate and is probably greater in the warmer part of the year, but the fact that there is also a certain amount of holiday activity in the winter months may, perhaps, help to cancel this out.^{7*}

Estimated by this method the effect of the recreational element on the total summer traffic is small. Comparison of the number of vehicles on the roads on a mid-week day in summer with a similar day in winter showed that the difference was only 0.7% of the total summer traffic.^{8*} Regional analysis of the flow showed that the

roads most affected by summer recreational traffic were the Tasman, Arthur, Huon, Channel, Lake, Lyell, and Waratah Highways, which, significantly comprise the greater part of the roads most commonly used for round tours of the State. The two most important general traffic arteries, the Bass and Midlands Highways, were less affected.

The recreational traffic on Transport Commission buses was estimated by comparing the summer to winter passenger ratio.^{9*} It was found that the total number of passengers carried on all routes during the six months from November to April was only 0.3% greater than for the winter six months. The greatest amount of recreational traffic was recorded on the Hobart to Queenstown (summer traffic 6% greater than winter) and Launceston to Queenstown (summer 5% greater) services. On the Hobart to Launceston Midlands route the traffic for the summer months was only 1% greater than for the winter months.

The estimated recreational component amongst passenger journeys on the Tasmanian Government Railways in 1959-60 was 6%.^{10*} The Emu Bay Railway, a privately owned utility providing the only direct passenger link between the West Coast and the North-West Coast, had a 44% recreational component which was equal to 10,000 passenger journeys.¹¹ Cars and coaches were carried on the line and for these the recreational component was 55% equal to 1,100 vehicles. It has been seen that the material for

the study of the recreational component in the overall traffic flow is very general and that the results of analysis can, at the best, be no more than suggestive. A more definite approach is, however, provided by analysis of the well-documented conducted touring.

(b) Conducted touring

A shortage of space for the shipping of tourists' cars and the deterrent of high freight charges have long contributed to the popularity of conducted touring in Tasmania. Besides being an important feature of the tourist scene, there is indirect evidence, such as the accommodation booking itineraries requested by independent travellers, to suggest that the routes favoured for conducted trips and by persons with private cars are much the same. Conducted touring activity is of a very seasonal nature - over 80% of all conducted tour passengers travel during the six months November through April. That this is probably representative of tourist activity of all kinds is shown by the fact that 86% of all special itineraries handled by the G.T.D. are arranged during this period. Two types of conducted tour, short excursions based on a single centre and extended tours, are dealt with in the next section.

(i) Shorter excursions. Half and full day excursions by coach, car, boat, train, and aeroplane are characteristic features of tourist activity in Tasmania. They are

popular not only with the resort-based tourist but also with the rolling tourist who commonly bases at least a part of his stay in one of the main centres whence the surrounding countryside can be explored.

The coach and the sedan car are the most important forms of excursion transport at the present time. The number of road excursionists for each of the trip centres is set out in Table 1. Hobart is the main centre for this

Table 1
Passengers Carried on Half Day and Full Day Road
Excursions During 1959-60^a

Centre	Number of passengers on half day tours	Number of passengers on full day tours	Not classified	Total
Hobart	18,910	14,650	1,090	34,650
Launceston	8,610	2,060	230	10,900
Devonport	230	240	-	470
Burnie	100	320	-	420
Total	27,850	17,270	1,320	46,440

^aSource: Government Tourist Department, Pioneer Bus Company, and Australian National Tours (Hobart).

type of activity, the number of people carried on short trips from this city in 1959-60 being three times greater than that from Launceston, the only other major excursion

centre. The most popular half-day trips from Hobart are to the summit of Mt. Wellington (5,200 passengers in 1959-60), the chocolate factory at Claremont (4,050 passengers), and the tour of the city sights.^{12*} Trips to the town of Richmond, interesting for its historic buildings and bridge, and lesser view points, such as Mts. Nelson and Rummey, attract comparatively little interest amongst excursionists.

Hobart is fortunate in possessing a number of attractive day trips in three different directions, all with a radius of eighty miles. (See Figure 6). Amongst these, that to Port Arthur outrivals even the summit of Mt. Wellington in the number of tourists it attracts. The tour of the Huon Valley and D'Entrecasteaux Channel district, the only one which offers a circular tour from the city, is also popular (3,840 passengers). The third attraction to the north is Russell Falls and Lake Dobson (2,790 passengers).

The smaller amount of excursion activity based on Launceston is probably an accurate indication of the relative attraction of that city as compared with Hobart. The greatest number of half-day excursionists from Launceston is carried on the West Tamar tour, (5,570 passengers), which offers a launch cruise from Beaconsfield and an alternative route for part of the return journey. Apart from the excursion to Entally House (1,250 passengers), all other half and full-day tours attracted fewer than

500 tourists. One of the most notable features is the poor patronage of tours into the Midlands country south of the city, which was once popular with excursionists. Low lying pastoral areas such as those around Lilydale and Evandale, other than the general interest of rural scenery, apparently have little appeal for the tourist of to-day. Even the longer trips to points of distinctive interest such as Mole Creek caves, the Great Lake, and the hydro-electric power schemes of central Tasmania attract few people. This evidence suggests that the character of the Launceston hinterland may be partly responsible for the city being more preferred as an excursion centre compared with Hobart.

Devonport and Burnie are also centres for road excursions but the number of possible trips from these two towns is limited by their coastal location. The most popular trips are from Devonport to the Forth Falls and to Cradle Valley, and from Burnie along the coast to Boat Harbour and Stanley.

The railway is to-day of only minor importance for organised tours. Excursions are operated mainly from Hobart and Launceston on Sundays during the summer months, but the average annual number of passengers carried on seven different routes for the three years 1958-59 to 1960-61 was only 3,950.¹³ By far the most popular trip is from Hobart to National Park; 2,320 excursionists,

mainly family groups, were carried on this trip. The most popular venues from Launceston were Devonport and Ulverstone which attracted 930 trippers. Several train excursions had been run at a heavy overall loss for a number of years and in 1960 and 1961 even the excursions to National Park were unprofitable. Because of this several excursions have been discontinued and others greatly curtailed. As in the case of the shorter coach and car excursions it seems that only a few well known attractions can draw an appreciable patronage.

Tasmania's many stretches of sheltered water - including bays, estuaries, and navigable rivers - provide great scope for boat excursions. The most extensive area of sheltered excursion water borders the drowned coastline of south-eastern Tasmania. Here, as in many other parts of Tasmania, there has been a marked decline in the popularity of boat trips as a result of competition from coaches and cars. To-day in Hobart there remains only one major water-excursion firm, which operates short harbour, beach and fishing trips, a half day trip to New Norfolk, and a day cruise to the D'Entrecasteaux Channel.^{14*} Only one small vessel is used for scheduled cruises on the east coast, although there are extensive sheltered waters and many attractive venues, particularly south of the Freycinet Peninsula. This service operates between Orford and Maria Island during the summer months.

Along the north coast, where boat excursions were once popular on all major rivers, only the Tamar still offers this kind of travel, but on a reduced scale. No excursions have operated from Launceston since 1937 and the only two cruise vessels on the river are engaged on a short run between Beauty Point and Georgetown. The larger vessel carried 5,100 passengers in 1959-60 but business has been declining for several years.^{15*}

Several of the west coast rivers have long navigable reaches passing through attractive bushland and offer obvious physical possibilities for pleasure cruise development. However, the only regular excursion is from Strahan to the Gordon River which has been the venue of summer cruises for over half a century; in 1960-61, 2,100 passengers were carried on this full day trip. The inaccessibility of this large and attractive river to anything but water transport, combined with the improved accessibility of the West Coast as a whole, have caused this cruise to be the exception to the general decline in popularity of water excursions, and it is estimated that there are now about seven times as many passengers as in the pre-war years. There have been attempts from time to time - the last in 1951 - to start regular boat excursions from Hobart to Port Davey. The whole route of this voyage is scenically interesting, and even spectacular in the case of the Port Davey area, and failure has mainly been due to

the storminess of the approach and the difficulty of maintaining a regular itinerary.

Another form of touring which is still relatively unimportant in terms of the number of passengers but which has a big potential is aerial touring. Tours are operated from Hobart, Launceston, and Devonport airports. These flights give the tourist a chance to see something of relatively inaccessible areas such as the South-West and the highlands of Lake St. Clair-Cradle Mt. National Park. One of the two larger companies, which operates from Hobart airport, made 150 tourist flights and carried about 430 tourists in 1959-60 and 1960-61.¹⁶ This company, and to a lesser extent, the Launceston based firm, have developed an important traffic in the flying of tourists and bush walkers to the South-West. Landings are made on several ocean beaches and on the beach at Lake Pedder. (See Plate 18).

(ii) Longer conducted excursions. Probably the most useful indications of the main lines of tourist circulation are given by the routes and patronage of the extended conducted tours. Travel on these is mainly by chauffeur-driven sedan cars and by the Tasmanian-based coaches of the Pioneer Company. Since the introduction of the car ferry in 1959 an increasing number of mainland firms have sent coach parties to Tasmania. Coaches now leave on a regular timetable from Melbourne, Sydney, Newcastle, Adelaide and Brisbane, and in 1961-62 eighty tours were made by coaches

of this kind, carrying in all a total of 2,350 persons.

The sedan car tours organised by the G.T.D. give the choice of either a nine day itinerary starting and finishing in Launceston, or a longer and more expensive one starting and finishing at Hobart, while the two standard Pioneer coach tours both start from Launceston and are of either ten or thirteen days duration.

About half of the time on the trips of both kinds is spent on a progressive circuit of the State while the other half is based on Hobart and Launceston, whence short trips are made into the surrounding areas. A number of widely scattered country centres are used as overnight halting places. The Pioneer itineraries are arranged to permit the use of the company's hotels at Hobart, Launceston, Burnie and Eaglehawk Neck.

The tours involve journeys of 840 to 1,000 miles and an average daily mileage of 78 to 94 miles,^{17*} and both cover much the same ground. The routes are circular and are almost exclusively based on the State Highway system. The shorter itineraries include the North-West Coast, the East Coast and the Central Plateau, whilst the West Coast is added to the longer trips. When the West Coast northern outlet road is completed in 1964, a round tour, missing out the Midlands and the Central Plateau, and a shorter tour concentrating on the west and central parts of the State, will be possible. A few minor diversions

from the main circular route are made to such places as Table Cape, the West Tamar and Mole Creek caves.

Of the two methods of travel the coach tours are the more popular; 5,040 passengers were carried on Pioneer tours in 1959-60 compared with the 909 sedan car patrons for the same year.¹⁸ The greater popularity of the coach tours has been ascribed to the greater facility with which the customer can make a booking and to the low tariffs offered.^{19*} The Pioneer Company is also able to achieve relative economies as compared with local car tour firms as a result of its Australia-wide connections and the complementary nature of the Tasmanian and Northern seasons. During the Central Australian and Queensland slack seasons coaches are moved south for use in the Tasmanian summer season, a system which some rent-a-car firms also use. The decline over the last few years in the patronage of the sedan car tours is probably due to increasing competition from the coach companies.

Since 1959 educational tours by parties of school children from the mainland have become very popular. Most of these visits are made during the autumn and the spring when the traffic is light. During 1960-61 the mainland bureaux of the G.T.D. arranged 27 tours of this kind involving 942 persons. In the winter of 1962 there were 19 visiting school parties from South Australia alone. The itineraries of the longer excursions are similar to those

of conducted excursions already described, except that greater emphasis is usually paid to industrial undertakings such as the Bell Bay aluminium works, the paper mills at Burnie and New Norfolk, and the hydro-electric power works.

(c) Independent round touring

The main features of the pattern of tourist movement have so far been determined mainly by reference to seasonal fluctuations in the traffic on road and rail and to the routes of conducted tours. Correlative evidence suggests that the movements of those who use their own and public transport are approximately similar to those of the conducted excursions.

An aspect of tourist activity which hints strongly at such a correlation in the case of the longer round trips is the touring advice offered in the form of model tours by the travel agent to his customers.^{20*} The G.T.D. has for many years facilitated the choice of itineraries by offering a series of "Colour Line Tours" which it is thought cover all the likely needs of different types of holiday-maker. The routes have been designed and modified following the gradual accumulation of experience of tourist travel habits. These tours last from 10 to 14 days and provide an itinerary involving an average of 60 miles travelling a day.

Half the aggregate number of nights on all colour line excursions are spent in Hobart and a fifth in

Launceston. Other important stopping places are Burnie, Devonport, Swansea and Queenstown. The longer itineraries include a two or three day conducted tour of either the East or West Coast. Of the two routes the West Coast is the less popular,^{21*} probably because it does not offer a through round tour (at present the Lyell Highway has to be traversed twice). In the shorter itineraries the more rapid public service facilities of the Midlands route are used. Except for the inclusion of this area the routes of the colour line tours correspond closely with those of the conducted tours. Another approach to the study of independent travel is through the use of hire and drive cars. The comparatively large number of these available in Tasmania is largely a result of requirements of the tourist traffic. In 1960-61, 296 hire and drive cars were licensed by the Transport Commissioner, compared with 146 in 1950-59 and 66 in 1939-40. Most of these cars were licensed by firms operating from Launceston, Hobart and Burnie, with a few from other northern centres. Launceston's dominance seems to be explained by its nearness to the mainland and its favour as tour starting and finishing point for persons arriving and departing by air. Special tour guidance is offered by the G.T.D. and the rental firms to tourists hiring cars, including several model itineraries at all-inclusive prices. These itineraries are also based on the State Highway system and half of the time is allocated to Hobart and Launceston.²²

It is perhaps significant that the average daily mileage of tourists renting cars for long periods is similar to those of the suggested model itineraries and conducted tours. The average distance for rentals of over seven days was 845 miles and the average mileage per day was 86 miles. For hire periods of over ten days the average distance travelled was 1,069 miles and 81 miles daily.²³ The travels of rental car tourists are no doubt affected by the fact that some firms charge at a higher rate for miles in excess of 700 per week, causing many drivers to try to keep within this limit.

A questionnaire distributed to patrons of a Launceston caravan and camping park showed that respondents who gave details of their travel itinerary had at that stage travelled an average of 115 miles per day,^{23a*} and had spent an average of 10 days in the State. The group actually intended to spend an average of 14 days in the State and make an average total tour of 1,500 miles - equal to 107 miles per day.

(d) Attendance at places of tourist interest

Some idea of the scale and distribution of tourist activity is given by the records of the number of persons visiting such places of tourist interest as limestone caves and historic buildings, although the value of this evidence is lessened by the fact that it is available for only a few of the features in which tourists take an interest.

Many of the recorded visits are by home-based day trippers. The most popular attraction for conducted tour visitors was Port Arthur, where, in 1959-60, 14,000 out of the total 25,000 persons taking part in the guided tour were on coach and car tours.^{24*} The chocolate factory at Claremont near Hobart received 20,000 visitors in 1958 and 25,000 in 1962.²⁵ Entally National House (see Plate 30), a preserved historic building, although very much more accessible from a major tour centre than Port Arthur (see Plate 29), received fewer visitors (21,300 in 1959-60). Richmond Gaol, a lesser known relic of the penal phase, attracted an annual average of 6,300 visitors between 1958-59 and 1960-61.²⁶

The three limestone caves under the control of the Tourist Department together attracted 16,000 visitors in 1958-59. Most popular was the Hastings Cave situated near Southport, eighty miles south of Hobart. The only privately operated cave in Tasmania - Gunns Plain Cave near Ulverstone - had an annual average of 5,800 visitors in 1959-60 and 1960-61. Details of attendance records at Mt. Field and Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Parks are given in Chapter 6.

Tourist attendance at these attractions is largely concentrated into the summer period November to April. (See Figure 8). Seventy-five per cent of the persons joining the guided tours at Port Arthur are recorded during this period, and 31% arrived during the peak month of January.

Patronage of the limestone caves is even more seasonal - 82% visit during the period November to April.

(e) Summary

Shorter excursion activity has already been summarised in the earlier section. By using the details of the main conducted tours and the model itineraries it is also possible to define the main and secondary lines of tourist circulation and the main halting places on round trips. This has been done in Figure 7 by allocating points to each tour type according to the scale of the patronage in a recent year. The main highlights of the pattern are: the dominance of Hobart and Launceston as excursion centres; the popularity of a roughly circular route based on the State Highway system; and the avoidance of the Midlands. In the next section an attempt is made to suggest some of the reasons for the overall pattern. One important influence, the availability of accommodation, is dealt with in more detail later.

2. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PATTERN OF TOURIST MOVEMENT

The tourist traffic has never been large enough to affect the State communication and transport system to any significant extent. Holiday makers use travel facilities which have been developed to cater for other needs, and since most tourists travel by car or coach the main factor affecting the overall pattern of activity is the road system. To a large extent the main roads are coincident with the

closely settled areas; the major exceptions to this rule are inter-regional routes such as the Lake and Lyell Highways, and the West Coast northern outlet road still in course of construction, which pass through sparsely inhabited and relatively unproductive country. Consideration of the tourist advantage was an important factor in the decision to build these roads and provide public transport services along them. The most favoured round tour route consists in plan of an east to west aligned figure of eight which passes through most of the major regions of the State; the greater eastern circle includes Hobart and Launceston, the East Coast, and the Central Plateau, and the lesser includes the Central Plateau and the West Coast. It appears from this that one of the most important factors is the average tourist's desire to see as much as possible of the State's major regions. The island is small enough for the whole of this route to be travelled in the usual two week holiday. Lack of road connection between the West Coast and the North-West at present causes many tourists to backtrack along the Lyell Highway and limits the flow on the western route.

Seen in this way the neglect of the Midlands Highway, one of the most important roads for non-tourist traffic, is particularly interesting. Its omission from tours seems to indicate the comparative slightness of appeal of pastoral scenery and historic settlements; the inclusion of the Midlands in a round tour would mean that the majority of visitors would have to omit either the East or West Coast of the Central Plateau.

The diversions from the main circular routes are also interesting, since they point to places which are of special interest to the tourist. In some cases, such as the West Tamar and the coastal district between Wynyard and Stanley, the attraction relates to the scenery of the whole route, whilst in others, including the limestone caves, waterfalls, mountain lookouts and the old penal station at Port Arthur, the main attraction is a particular feature. The location of these places then represents a further factor influencing the pattern of round tour activity to which separate reference is made in a later part of the chapter.

The location of the country tour halting places shows the influence, not only of the intrinsic appeal of the chosen settlements, but of a need to have the overnight stops conveniently spaced. Spacing is determined to some extent by the location of Hobart and Launceston which, because of their attractiveness and transport facilities, are major excursion centres and tour termini. Two lesser halting places situated off the main circular route owe their choice to the special attraction of particular natural or historic features. These are Strahan which is a base for the Gordon River trip, and Eaglehawk Neck situated close to Port Arthur and interesting coastal excursion features.

The pattern of tourist movement as a whole is

little affected by the railway system. The only railway in which consideration of the tourist potential was an important factor was the extension of the Derwent Valley Line to National Park. The value of the system for tourist travel has been limited by the absence of any facilities for circular travel. The few experimental conducted train tours organised by the Railways Department in the past also involved the use of road transport. The Emu Bay railway is exceptional, it links a gap in the road system and therefore plays an unusually important part in tourist circulation.^{27*}

3. TOURIST USE OF ACCOMMODATION

Having outlined the main facts of movement it is now possible to try to add to our knowledge of the location of tourist activity by reference to the use of accommodation. Tasmanian accommodation not only serves a number of different types of user but much of it is of the licensed hotel type whose existence and use is closely related to the sale of liquor.^{28*} The factors affecting its location are therefore complex and no reliance can be placed upon a simple equation of tourist activity with the distribution of this facility. If complete details of the occupancy of the available guest capacity were available, and if the tourist element among these could be identified, the task would be relatively simple, but as it is only incomplete information and indirect methods

are available. Despite these difficulties it is still thought that some useful contribution can be made to a knowledge of the pattern of activity by means of a crude seasonal index indicating the use characteristics of accommodation of different types and in different locations.

(a) General characteristics and distribution of accommodation

The main characteristics of Tasmanian accommodation are the preponderance of licensed accommodation and the small average size of most of the licensed and unlicensed premises, although the establishment of relatively large unlicensed motels during the last few years is modifying this situation. (For details of Tasmanian accommodation facilities see Appendix 2). During the last three years seventeen unlicensed and five licensed motels, providing accommodation for almost a thousand persons, have been built. Most have been erected on new sites but recently there has been a tendency to build motels on the sites of former hotels of the traditional kind.

The actual capacity of the main accommodation types in 1960-61 was as follows. The 279 licensed hotels and motels offered 6,000 beds, which represented 74% of the accommodation of all types. The 69 private hotels and guest houses offered 1,250 beds, and 11 unlicensed motels had 410 beds; thus the unlicensed accommodation of these two types contained 21% of the total capacity. The holiday cottages and apartments^{29*} are not a major

form of accommodation in Tasmania and there were only 15 enterprises of this kind in 1960-61. Other facilities are the camping grounds and caravan parks which are often combined. These range in type from the customary camping area on either municipal or Crown land, to the "improved" municipal or private caravan park cum camping park having power and other facilities. During the last three years, in particular, there has been a great increase in the number of caravan parks, and there are now twenty small modern undertakings of this kind.

As shown in Figure 9 half of the total guest beds are located in Hobart and Launceston, and by far the greatest concentration is in Hobart which has 30% of the total Tasmanian hotel, guest house and motel accommodation, 28% of licensed accommodation and 33% of guest house accommodation.

In turning to examine the distribution of hotel accommodation capacity in more detail it is important to remember that accommodation in hotels that are mainly dependent upon liquor sales generally has a less important tourist function than in hotels where the house trade is most important. For this reason a classification of licensed hotels into the following categories according to the relative importance of bar and accommodation sales is used in the subsequent analysis:

Type 1 - hotels in which the sale of accommodation exceeds the sale of liquor.

Type 2 - hotels in which the sale of accommodation is approximately equal to that of liquor.

Type 3 - hotels in which the sale of liquor exceeds the sale of accommodation.^{30*}

Licensed accommodation in the cities generally has a more specialised function than the country equivalent. This is shown by the relatively greater proportion of hotel accommodation of types 1 and 3 in the cities, and the greater proportion of type 2 in the country districts. The city hotels also have a greater average bed capacity.

Generally the relative importance of the different hotel types in each region seems to give a reliable indication of the scale of tourist activity. (See Appendix 2 and Figure 10). Type 1 hotels and motels on the East Coast and North-West Coast suggest the presence of a tourist trade. In regions such as the inland parts of the North-East and the North and South Midlands the hotels are predominantly of type 3, from which can be inferred that there is little tourist demand in these areas.

Whereas most licensed hotels are closely dependent upon the local population for the greatest part of their liquor sales, guest houses and unlicensed motels are tied in no such way and hence they are generally more useful indicators of the distribution of tourist demand. (See Figure 11). In addition to the concentrations in the two cities (Hobart has 33% and Launceston 32% of the State's guest house accommodation) this type of unit is mainly

located on the East Coast, the North-West Coast, the Launceston and Tamar districts, and the Central Highlands.

The motels which have all been established during the past few years form a valuable indication of the current opinion on the part of private investors about the potential of certain locations for the sale of accommodation. Hobart has 42% of the total motel capacity (1962). The first motels to be built in Hobart were mainly located in suburban areas, but the recent building of an eight-storey motel in a central part of the city could mark the beginning of a new trend. Most of the country motels are situated on either the East Coast or North-West Coast.^{31*} The majority of holiday cottages have coastal locations, most being situated either on the East or North-West or Channel Coasts. (See Figure 12). In addition there is more primitive unattended hut accommodation in the Mt. Field and Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park.

While recognised camping areas without facilities are scattered throughout the State, most of the improved caravan parks are located in Hobart and Launceston and on the East and North-West Coasts.

(b) Tourist use of accommodation

Since tourism is a seasonal activity one of the possible methods of identifying the relative importance of tourist use is by analysis of the seasonal variations in occupancy.^{32*} Although the method has limitations, it

provides a general measure of the tourist function of accommodation units and permits further definition of the pattern of tourist activity. Detailed occupancy data are available^{33*} for less than a third of all accommodation units and, while an approximation of the tourist function of each of the surveyed units can be made, that of unsurveyed accommodation can, of course, only be inferred.

The seasonal nature of the occupancy varies with the type of accommodation as shown in Figure 13. For licensed accommodation the occupancy rate is highest between October and April.^{34*} The peak summer season month is January, during which there are two and a half times as many guests as in July - the minimum month. There is also a secondary peak in October. The seasonal curve for guest house occupancy is similar to that for licensed hotels except that there is no secondary peak in October.

Nightly occupancy data are available for the year ending 31st July, 1961, for 81 out of 374 hotels, guest houses, motels and holiday cottages, and for 22 hostels, huts and caravan parks, and for these units it is possible to express the tourist function in terms of an index of seasonality.^{35*} The results of analysis of the occupancy figures in this way are shown in Figures 14 and 15. Comparison of the indices of tourist function with those of total occupancy shows that the majority of the units recording a high total occupancy have a high tourist

function.^{36*} (See Figures 16 and 17).

City accommodation tends to have a more regular day-to-day patronage than country units, which may be full one day and empty the next. On the whole, the most satisfactory inferences about tourist function which can be drawn from a study of occupancy characteristics are ones applying to particular types of accommodation,^{37*} and these are discussed in the next section. (See Table 2).

(i) Tourist function of licensed accommodation. On the basis of the group index of seasonality, type 1 hotels have the greatest tourist function, a fact which is further evidenced by the relatively high annual occupancy, and the pronounced January peak, which suggests a large tourist element among the guests. Of the type 1 hotels the city group has the highest tourist function and it is perhaps significant that two out of the three hotels in the survey recording the highest occupancy rates have city locations. The country hotels have a higher annual occupancy as a group but the smaller seasonal range suggests that this may be caused by the greater number of all-the-year-round non-tourist guests.

In comparison with type 1 hotels the patronage for types 2 and 3 is spread over the whole year more evenly. This is particularly the case for type 3 hotels which have a barely perceptible summer maximum. The average "peak" month for these is March for which the occupancy is only

Table 2

Occupancy Rates and Tourist Function as Indicated
by Index of Seasonality^a

Accommodation group	% occupancy of maximum bed capacity				Index of season-ality*
	Annual	January	Summer**	Winter	
<u>Licensed Hotels</u>					
Hobart type 1	42	69	55	29	94
Launceston 1	50	60	60	42	79
Hbt. & Ltn. 1	44	70	57	31	92
Country 1	48	73	57	33	90
Total 1	45	73	57	33	90
Launceston 2	40	57	50	31	84
Country 2	32	39	35	28	65
Total 2	33	42	36	29	68
Hobart 3	50	60	60	42	71
Launceston 3	30	34	34	26	66
Hbt. & Ltn. 3	36	41	41	31	68
Country 3	33	35	32	34	54
Total 3	34	37	35	33	60
<u>Guest Houses</u>					
Hobart	51	73	59	42	85
Launceston	44	70	58	32	97
Hbt. & Ltn.	50	72	59	40	87
Country	22	44	29	13	112
Total	40	62	49	29	91
<u>Motels</u>					
Hobart	35	59	46	26	76
Country	45	74	57	30	90
Total	38	65	49	27	81
<u>Holiday Cottages</u>	19	63	25	20	111

^aSource: Nightly bed-night occupancy records for year ending 31st July, 1961, kept by proprietors of 81 accommodation units for the purpose of this thesis. (For further details, including number of units sampled in each category, see Appendix 3.)

*The expression of occupancy in this way understates the real position since it is quite normal for the effective capacity of a unit to be reduced by the use of a room containing two or more beds by a single person. At a St. Helen's hotel, for instance, on the nights during the year when all rooms were occupied only 86% of the total bed capacity was in use. Most effective use is made of the total bed capacity during the peak months. Thus, in January this hotel was full when 92% of the total beds were occupied.

**November to April inclusive (winter refers here to the period May to October).

half as great again as the minimum month of August. The city type 2 and 3 hotels have a higher occupancy and are more affected by tourist traffic, a fact suggested by the greater seasonal range. Many of the small type 3 country hotels commonly go for long periods without accommodating a single guest; one hotel covered by the survey had no guests on over a third of the nights of the year in 1960-61.

(ii) Tourist function of unlicensed accommodation. Guest houses have functions comparable with those of type 1 hotels and occupancy rates intermediate to those of type 1 and type 2 hotels. One of the interesting features of this type of accommodation is the great contrast in terms of occupancy characteristics between the city and country units. City guest houses have a bigger occupancy but the smaller range suggests that the non-tourist element is greater. The higher annual occupancy and the smaller range of Hobart guest houses compared with those of Launceston suggests that the non-tourist patronage is more important in the capital. Although Launceston has not much more than half the population of Hobart; it has a greater number of guest house beds. There are many small units which do very little winter trade. Thus these low figures may represent a situation of over supply. Country guest houses have a more limited season than those of the city during which the occupancy rates are higher than for hotels type 2 and 3. However, the difficulties experienced by the country guest houses are clearly indicated by the

fact that the annual occupancy rates are even lower than those of the type 3 country hotels.

The unlicensed motels have a tourist function and an annual occupancy rate lower than type 1 hotels and guest houses. The country motels of this kind have a higher annual occupancy and a higher season range than those of the city.

The holiday cottages and tourist apartments have a much briefer season than the types of accommodation already discussed, and this coincides with the general period of peak activity in December and January, and with other school holidays; the annual occupancy is of course comparatively low. They are mainly used for long residential holidays rather than for brief overnight stops by persons making a round tour.

The occupancy characteristics for the use of caravan park, camping grounds and youth hostels are very similar to those for holiday cottages. Foreshore camping has perhaps the most limited season of all being very intense between the second week in December and the end of January, and almost non-existent from April to November.

4. SYNTHESIS OF TOURIST MOVEMENT AND USE OF ACCOMMODATION

Examination of the character and use of accommodation confirms the pattern of tourist activity indicated by analysis of tourist movement and, in addition, provides evidence of the location of resort-based tourism. It also shows that certain factors affecting the viability of

accommodation units, such as an off-season non-tourist patronage, have an important influence on the distribution of tourist activity. Now that the movement and accommodation of tourists have been separately examined the results can be summarised.

It appears that the majority of rolling tourists spend ten to fourteen days in the State during which they spend three or four days in Hobart, two or three in Launceston and the remainder of the time travelling an average 75 to 110 miles a day on a round-tour. This takes them through most of the major regions and allows diversions to places of special tourist interest off the main tour route. While at Hobart and Launceston, this group joins with the resort-based tourist in a series of short excursions to neighbouring places of interest.

Tourists travelling independently take many different routes. The evidence of the model itineraries of the G.T.B. suggests that most independent tourists travel the main circular tour route. Analysis of tourist use of accommodation also shows that the main tourist areas are those through which the main round tour artery passes. Caravan parks, holiday cottages, country motels, guest houses and type 1 city hotels are all good indications of tourist activity. All the evidence examined shows the popularity of the East Coast, the North-West Coast and the Central Highlands, and the absence of activity in the

Midlands and the inland North-East.

The main indications of resort-based tourism are the half-day excursion activity centred on Hobart, Launceston, and the North-West Coast towns. Evidence of resort tourism is seen in holiday cottages and country guest houses which are mainly located on the East and North-West Coasts.

The small scale of tourist activity in Tasmania seems to have precluded the widespread development of special accommodation facilities and there are no major roads which have been developed primarily for tourist purposes. However, the influence of the tourist traffic is clearly seen in the type-structure of accommodation, in occupancy characteristics, and in the importance of the summer tourist traffic on the more remote roads. The well developed facilities for conducted touring, which have evolved as a response to the State's insularity, are the most distinctive feature of the Tasmanian tourist facility complex.

5. MOTIVATION AND RECREATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Facts concerning the motivation and recreational experiences of mainland tourists were obtained by questionnaire surveys.^{38*} Amongst other things tourists were asked to give their reasons for choosing Tasmania for their holiday.^{39*} The replies provided evidence of the general nature of Tasmania's appeal. Most people appear

to visit the State because it is a traditional summer holiday venue and spend their time seeing as much of the island as possible. (See Appendix 4). At least half of those questioned indicated their intention of returning for another visit. Tasmania also received its share of a growing body of Australian holiday makers who visit a different State each year; one fifth of those who singled out some particular reason for their visit had visited Tasmania as part of a systematic programme of inter-state travel. One third of the reasons given concerned such attractions as the scenery and historic features. It is interesting to note that climate, the traditional draw of the nineteenth century, was still high on the list. The answers also revealed the importance of publicity and word of mouth information passed on by previous visitors; these two reasons accounted for a fifth of the replies. Visits to friends and relatives, and former associations with the State, are of course, also important reasons. The somewhat general recreational interests of the sample groups are further reflected in the small number of respondents who quoted a specific activity, such as fishing or hunting, as the reason for their visit.

The attraction of Tasmania for the rolling tourist is both general and selective. He is interested in the varied character of the Tasmanian landscape as well as in particular cities and towns, and features of scenic, historic, and industrial interest. Tour operators emphasise

the variety of Tasmanian scenery in their advertisements with such phrases as - "within Tasmania the scenery of a dozen countries comes to view". However, man-made facilities, such as good roads and overnight accommodation and easy access to places of interest by car, rank high in the tourists' requirements. This was seen in the replies to a question asking for details of attractions and facilities with which the tourist was dissatisfied.^{40*} Most criticism was of the basic facilities, particularly the low standard of accommodation, the poor nature and condition of the roads, and such lesser matters as the difficulty of obtaining casual meals in country areas. Similarly, the most popular sections of coach tours are those for which higher standard overnight accommodation is available.

Large conducted tours are sufficiently important in Tasmania to warrant a separate mention of the character and interest of those who choose this type of holiday. As far as can be judged from the replies of the coach tour sample this mode of travel has its own group of enthusiasts who are attracted to it by its particular advantages in addition to those who join a tour only because they are unable to bring the family car to Tasmania.^{41*} Asked their reasons for joining an organised tour half the respondents either stressed the convenience of travel in which there is no worry about bookings, driving on bad roads and finding the way to places of interest, or believed that by this

means they would be the most certain of seeing the greatest number of interesting places in the shortest possible time.^{42*} Individual interests vary greatly, and while probably the majority are not interested in the improvement of the mind, there was evidence in the questionnaire replies that some members regarded the trip as a means of improving their general knowledge. One of the main attractions is the opportunity to share the travel experience with others of similar interests; particularly for those who would otherwise have to spend their holiday alone. The only other important reason is inability to gain a car berth on the Princess of Tasmania and it is perhaps significant that half the tour members were touring by this method for the first time. The major complaints were with the low standard of accommodation of the West Coast hotels.

The task of surveying the opinion of the tourist who travels independently is more difficult. However, some information about a section of this group was obtained from a questionnaire completed by persons staying at a large caravan and camping park at Launceston.⁴³ Asked for reasons for choosing a caravan or camping holiday, it is significant that half the respondents stressed the economic aspect, the majority referring to the high cost of alternative types of accommodation. The remainder explained their choice in terms of more positive aspects such as the flexibility and independence of this mode of travel,

its carefree and informal nature, and its particular convenience for parties containing a number of children. Most of the respondents were making a round tour of the State and the main complaints were with the low quality of all but a few caravan and camping parks, unsealed roads, the limited number of roadside cafes, and the lack of sign posts at critical points. For the majority of this group, camping seemed to be a means to the main end of seeing the State; 63% of the mainland respondents who give details of their travel itineraries intended to spend more than three-quarters of their days mainly driving.⁴⁴

Resort-accommodation units in which patrons usually spend the whole of their holiday are few in Tasmania. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to sample the motivation and interests of persons staying at a holiday cottage concern on the East Coast.⁴⁵ Three-quarters of the respondents to a questionnaire were Tasmanians, and the average length of stay by these was 9 days. Some of the mainland visitors use the accommodation during the course of a round tour, and the average length of stay for all respondents was 7 days. As with caravan park users an appreciable proportion of the visitors mentioned cheapness as the reason for their choice of this type of accommodation. The majority, however, stressed the advantages of the locality, especially its quietness, and natural advantages. Many complained about the high price of modern accommodation

and suggested that more holiday cottages were needed for family groups who could not afford motel prices.

CHAPTER 3THE USE AND LOCATION OF SUMMER COTTAGES

The existence in Tasmania of some 3,800 summer cottages - more generally known locally as "shacks" or "weekenders"^{1*} - is concrete evidence of the importance of the recreational activities associated with this type of accommodation. Ownership of a cottage offers many advantages compared with the use of commercial accommodation. It permits the selection of cottage location, site, design and equipment to suit personal tastes, and provides accommodation always available without the inconvenience of advance booking. In addition, some purchase a cottage either as a profitable investment, or with a view to use as a place of retirement.

The number and grouping of the cottages is such that, with their associated roads, gardens and other facilities, they are the most important form of land-use along many parts of the Tasmanian coastline and make a distinctive contribution to the landscape wherever they occur. A later chapter deals with the problems associated with summer cottage recreation and in particular with the competition for the use of recreational land and resources between the cottagers and other users. The main object of the present section is to establish and explain the facts

concerning the distribution of summer cottage activity. The chapter first indicates the contemporary pattern of summer cottage location. It then examines the main factors which have influenced the general pattern and concludes with a discussion of the use of the cottages and the benefits derived from them.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Much of the long history of summer cottages in Tasmania is inadequately documented. The events of the years before the First World War, for instance, have to be inferred from a few sporadic references in tourist guide books. It is clear, however, that the main characteristic of this period was that the number of cottages were limited and in the possession of a few rich persons.

Even before the end of the penal era, wealthy residents of Launceston had established "villa residences" at Georgetown and Low Head and these were undoubtedly the first cottage resorts² in Tasmania.³ During the same period Hobartians built cottages at New Norfolk⁴ and at places along the shores of the Derwent and the D'Entrecasteaux Channel south of Hobart, such as Browns River (Kingston), Three Hut Point (Gordon), and Peppermint Point (Woodbridge).⁵ By the seventies some Hobart families were taking up temporary summer residence at Bellerive only a few miles away from the city on the opposite bank of the Derwent.⁶

Many of the early cottages were most easily reached

by water transport. Those at Georgetown and Low Head and more remote parts of the Tamar shore could be reached either by the regular steamship service, or by means of cottage owner's private yachts. Water transport still played an important part in cottage access during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when there appears to have been an increase in cottage ownership. Opossum Bay near the northern end of the South Arm Peninsula, which was dependent upon a steam boat service, belongs to this phase of development. One development which was perhaps symptomatic of the limited range of travel during the latter part of the nineteenth century was the building of weekend huts on the wooded slopes of Mt. Wellington overlooking Hobart.^{7*}

The period between the First and Second World Wars was one of resort expansion as cottage ownership became possible for a greater range of people, and the majority of the present day resorts were founded during this period. The motor car now made it possible to own cottages much further afield. In 1936 the Secretary for Lands reported:

Wherever there is a beach settlement within reach of the State road system there is a demand for sites on which to build cottages. Crown lands which a few years ago could not be considered of any value, are now easily accessible by reliable motor cars, and Crown allotments near beaches are much in demand.⁸

Although speculation in coastal land caused resorts to be developed at intervals along much of the northern and eastern coasts, building activity was greatest in the areas

within thirty miles of Hobart and Launceston. There was considerable expansion, for instance, on the West Tamar (between 1929-30 and 1939-40 there was a 230% growth in the number of cottages in this area), the greatest gains being at Beauty Point and Swan Point.^{9*}

Cottage building ceased during the Second World War but, although it was retarded somewhat for a few years by the effects of post-war building shortages, the level reached in the fifties soon exceeded that of any previous period. The main reason for this seems to have been the greater funds and time available for leisure activities, and the increased mobility resulting from greater per capita car ownership. Cottage ownership was by now by no means the prerogative of the rich.

With the exception of a few settlements in which the cottages were converted into permanent residential use, such as Blythe Heads and Blackmans Bay, all the older resorts increased in size and many new ones were founded. Resort development in the area east of the Derwent, which had previously been held up by difficult access, was stimulated by the building of a bridge across the Derwent at Hobart: now there was spectacular growth at such settlements as Dodges Ferry and Roches Beach. One of the main features of development during the fifties and early sixties was the large scale of subdivisions; several large seaside subdivisions (three involving over a thousand blocks each),

were being developed in 1963.

2. THE LOCATION AND CHARACTER OF SUMMER COTTAGES AND RESORTS

(a) The overall pattern

The most notable features of the overall pattern are the importance of agglomerations of cottages - 94% of all cottages are situated in resorts containing more than 9 units - and the dominance of the small resort - 55% of all resorts have between 9 and 30 units. (See Figure 18). Only 8 resorts had over 100 cottages; of these Dodges Ferry - Lewisham - Carlton Beach, a cottage "connurbation" of 444 cottages, is particularly large, the next largest being Bridport with 183.^{10*}

The most obvious feature of the pattern of cottage distribution is the concentration along the parts of the coastline close to Hobart and Launceston. These two areas contain 60% of all resort cottages and all the settlements with over 100 cottages. In the Hobart district the main concentrations are along the shores of Frederick Henry Bay and the lower Derwent estuary. In the North the main resorts are along the Tamar estuary and along the coast between the Tamar Heads and the mouth of the River Brid. Other important clusters occur on the North-West Coast between Wynyard and Stanley, on the west shore of Port Sorell, in the St. Helens district, around Spring Bay, on the Tasman Peninsula, and around the mouth of the River Huon. On the remaining

stretches of coastline the resorts are widely separated. The South-Western coast between South-East Cape and Macquarie Harbour contains no cottages whatsoever. Summer cottages are also found on the shores of several of the lakes and hydro-electric power dams, the main concentration being along the western shores of the Great Lake.

(b) Resort characteristics

In addition to situation, site and form, each resort differs in such respects as the type of cottage it contains, the social character of the cottagers and recreational activities which they enjoy. In spite of this variety the cottages and cottagers in each settlement generally have sufficient features and interests in common to justify classification in terms of resorts.

Many of the differences in the character of the resorts are reflected in their average value as shown in Figure 19.^{11*} The valuation takes into account the potential value of a property for permanent occupation as well as the advantage of facilities such as water and electricity.

The main contrast in values is between the high value resorts of the Hobart and Launceston districts, such as Low Head, Greens Beach, Bridport, Orford, Seven Mile Beach and Cremorne, and the low value Crown lease resorts such as Arthur River, Ansons Bay, Hythe, and the Great Lake. As will be shown later, some of these major differences result from the low investment and improvement in the case

of cottages built on land held on short-term lease.

The Crown lease settlement is the most distinctive type since it can be readily recognised in the field by the simple and often primitive character of its cottages. (See Plate 8). These resorts, which usually have poor access^{12*} and few facilities, offer holidays at a cost very much less than the freehold resorts.

In the larger freehold resorts there is generally a social zonation related to access to the beach, the more expensive blocks fronting on the sea-shore being occupied by wealthy owners. There are a few socially homogeneous resorts containing predominantly upper income group communities. The best known of these is the old resort of Low Head, which is the preserve of the "better" families of Launceston. Many of the cottages in this resort have been in the same family for many generations. Social exclusion and a high standard of development is maintained by means of the high price of land and cottages available for sale, the known characteristics of the community which deter outsiders from contemplating cottage ownership in the resort, by control over sales, and by protective covenant.^{13*} The South has similar, though lesser examples of this type of resort, including Snobs Corner at Clifton Beach, where the owner long applied a policy of social exclusion. Ownership of a cottage in Orford and, to a lesser extent, Coningham and Cremorne also carries a measure of social prestige.^{14*}

It seems appropriate to refer briefly in this section to another feature of the coastal scene, namely foreshore camping.^{15*} In many ways this type of recreational activity compares with that of the Crown lease resorts - facilities are primitive and costs are low. (See Plate 9). There are foreshore camping grounds at a number of points along the north and north-west coast. Although that at Bridport is the largest, it is in many ways typical. Here there are about 90 camp sites which are let for the whole season, many of which have been used by the same families for generations. The sites are usually used for the annual holiday and a number of week-ends each year. The parallel with cottage activity is made more obvious by the fact that many campers have erected flimsy huts on their camp sites which are required to be dismantled at the end of each season. In 1960-61 half the tenants of these sites came from settlements within 20 miles of Bridport and most of the remainder from Launceston.

The form of the resorts, and particularly the degree of linearity, is of interest, since it determines amongst other things the visual impact of the settlement on the coastline. (See Appendix 5). Most cottage resorts have a long axis parallel to the physical feature which has attracted settlement. The ratio of depth to breadth is conditioned by many factors but generally development in depth varies proportionately with the size of the resort.

Unless there are physical or land tenure obstacles, lateral development tends to continue until the less attractive part of the shore is reached. Thus, long straggling settlements have developed at the Great Lake and Ansons Bay, although at the latter development in depth is prevented by the private ownership of the land. (See Figure 29).

At pocket beaches such as Boat Harbour, and Coningham, and sites near the mouths of lagoon inlets, such as Pipers Heads and Cremorne, compact settlements have resulted. However, it is interesting to note the confidence with which developers are now advertising subdivisions along rocky coastlines in areas of high demand.^{16*}

Many of the resorts have a low dwelling density and cover a large area as a result of either early land speculation, or the purchase of blocks to ensure greater privacy. Bridport provides an example of the effects of early speculation on cheap land. Here there are still 380 vacant blocks within a settlement which has 183 cottages. At Low Head the owner's policy of development has resulted in a sprawling settlement form; many vacant areas cannot be re-subdivided because of lack of road access to them. (See Plate 10).

The insistence on stage development in settlements largely developed during the fifties has resulted in rectangular grid patterns at such settlements as Seven Mile Beach, and Hawley. (See Figure 20). Since back blocks are

considerably cheaper than waterfront lots they find a steady sale at accessible resorts having good quality beaches.

Crown lease resorts were not formally planned until recently and cottagers were permitted to select their own sites within a roughly defined area. In places, such as Lettes Bay and Hythe, where development is largely restricted to the foreshore reserve, a close packed street of cottages has resulted. (See Plate 11).

3. MAIN INFLUENCES ON LOCATION AND CHARACTER

So many circumstances and factors have influenced the present day pattern of cottage distribution that precise evaluation of their relative importance is not possible. Even so, an outline of the main influences is valuable for an understanding both of the present distribution pattern and the likely trends.

No two persons acquire a cottage or choose a site and location for exactly the same reason; in fact, the only assumption that can be made is that most cottagers will establish themselves at the nearest place that appears to suit their requirements. The final choice is often decisively affected by the availability of land or a cottage at a convenient price and time.^{17*}

Some indication of the relative importance of the considerations which affect the choice of cottage location is available from the answers to a sample survey.^{18*} Half the respondents mentioned the natural attractions such as the beach and safe bathing conditions. However, the single

advantage most frequently referred to was the ease with which the cottage could be reached from home. The quality of the fishing, the favourable climate, shelter from wind, scenic beauty, seclusion and the pleasing non-urban character were other aspects of resorts which the respondents considered important.^{19*}

The results naturally include no reference to many of the factors that have affected the location of cottages, notably the distribution of demand, the availability of suitable sites, limitations resulting from the status of the land and planning control, changes in the function of resorts, and developments resulting from the attitudes of cottagers during various phases of resort growth. In the next section the influence of these is examined in more detail.

(a) The distribution of demand

Two facts explain the importance of the demand factor. Firstly, analysis of the origin of owners in each resort (See Figure 21) makes it clear that most cottagers choose the nearest available place that will satisfy their needs. Secondly, the environmental conditions that cottagers find attractive are widely distributed. It is thus self-evident that the distribution of the population in the State has an important influence upon the location of the cottages. Most cottages have been established close to the major urban centres and the two resort areas close to Hobart and

Launceston contain half the total number of units in the island. This is not surprising since 57% of all cottage owners live in Hobart and Launceston.

Most of the resorts are inhabited by persons from a particular town or district; those within forty miles of Launceston and Hobart for instance are mainly the summer dormitories of these two cities. Only a few centrally located resorts such as Bicheno and Coles Bay on the east coast and those of the inland lakes are not dominated by cottagers from a particular centre or area.

It is noticeable that there are few resorts in the remote areas such as the central east coast and the west coast. Although the west coast is climatically unattractive and suffers from exposure to the prevailing westerlies, the development of the existing small resorts, mainly at readily accessible points, suggests that much of the neglect has been due to distance from major population centres and lack of communications.

Other factors than simple distribution of population in relation to the attractive parts of the coastline are involved, as is suggested by the considerable regional variations in per capita cottage ownership. On the whole, access seems the most important factor. In the coastal Ringarooma Municipality, for instance, the ownership rate is one cottage for every 34 persons, whereas in the inland Municipality of Oatlands the rate is one for every 450 persons.

However, the high Ringarooma figure and those of other municipalities containing large areas of coastal Crown land, is explained in large part by access to Crown lease sites where cottage ownership is relatively inexpensive. The varying per capita ownership of cottages in the towns of the North-West also suggests the importance of close opportunity to resort areas. The outermost towns of the group - Wynyard and Devonport - have a per capita ownership of one for every 130 persons and one for every 142 persons respectively, compared with one for every 160 persons and one for every 229 persons for the towns of Burnie and Ulverstone. The latter settlements are situated in the inner more urbanised part of the region where most of the cottage sites have been used for other purposes. In this instance, the importance of the relative accessibility is suggested by the fact that Wynyard and Devonport residents travel on the average 14 and 18 miles respectively to their cottages while inhabitants of Burnie and Ulverstone travel 46 and 78 miles. The fact that access is not always critical is implied by the comparative case of Hobart and Launceston. The indented south-eastern coastline enables Hobart residents on the average to travel a shorter distance to their cottages than their Launceston counterparts, yet Hobart has the lower per capita cottage ownership figure. The higher general level of cottagers in Launceston also suggests that the total size of the population of any urban area is not necessarily

a significant factor.

Although the main features of the location pattern are clearly related to the distribution of demand the details have been determined by other factors, chief amongst which is the attraction of certain environmental conditions.

(b) Physical features attracting resort development

The Tasmanian coast is physiographically diverse, the post-glacial rise of sea-level having drowned many normal river valleys causing deep indentations. Recent fluctuations in sea-level have also created many beaches, and tied a number of islands to the mainland. The larger of the bays such as those of south-east Tasmania, and Port Davey are still open to the sea, but others, including Macquarie Harbour, Georges Bay, and Ansons Bay, are closed by sand bars. Because of the indentations and the general alignment of the coastline in relation to the dominant south-west winds and swell, sheltered conditions are found in many parts, and only the western coast is generally exposed. An important feature of the Tasmanian shoreline is the difference in tidal conditions between the north and other coasts. Whereas on the south, east, and west coasts the maximum tidal range is 3 to 4 feet and there is only a single daily peak, in the north the range is 6 to 9 feet and the peak occurs twice daily.

While some cottagers, especially the elderly, are content to use their cottages mainly for the purpose of

relaxation and simply require restful surroundings,^{20*} the great majority are interested in opportunities for open-air activities such as swimming, boating, and fishing. Analysis of the sites occupied by the majority of resorts shows that the most common requirement is simply proximity to safe bathing conditions and a sandy beach. All the large cottage resorts have broad, gently sloping sandy beaches. The most favoured sites are those which occur either in the lee of bluffs, or near river mouths, offering shelter from wind, and good boat anchorage and boating conditions. Many of the resorts of the northern coast such as Boat Harbour, and Bridport are sheltered from westerlies by rocky bluffs. In addition to this type of resort possessing a combination of attractions, the chief of which is the beach, there are a number of resorts which have developed as a result of the appeal of a particular recreational resource. The most distinctive example of this type is the lake fishing resort where cottage development has been attracted by exceptionally good trout fishing. There are also a number of coastal lagoon and river estuary resorts, of which Ansons Bay and several Tamar resorts are examples where fishing and boating is sufficiently appealing to attract settlement in spite of the absence of a sandy beach. Some of the smaller resorts, especially those situated on Crown land, are valued for hunting as well as fishing. An unusual settlement in Tasmania is the group of private ski huts situated on the summit of

Legges Tor, Ben Lomond at 5,150 feet above sea level. The site of several of the Tamar resorts such as Clarence Point reflect the importance of good boating conditions.

The general environmental conditions attracting resort development occur at regular intervals around much of the Tasmanian coastline. However, there are some long stretches of coast that are unattractive by virtue of exposure or rockiness. Attractive location is in itself not enough, since the land may not be available for lease, or purchase. As will be shown in the next section, there are several factors affecting such availability.

(c) Land status and planning control

The facts of land ownership have not only affected the size and character of existing resorts but have been responsible for many of the blanks in the cottage distribution pattern.

Much of the eastern, northern, and southern coasts is freehold land where summer cottage development has depended upon the owner's willingness to sell. Landowners' attitudes have varied from keen interest in personally planning the subdivision, to indifference and outright refusal to sell. Owners often first recognise the potential of their land after receiving enquiries from would-be purchasers, including estate agents. Either the owner may subdivide the land himself, in which case he usually sells through an estate agent, or he may sell the land directly to an agent. Several

Tasmanian agents have specialised in purchasing potential subdivision land which they release on the market systematically. The current high overheads associated with subdivisions have caused agents recently to limit their interest mainly to the larger developments.

Many land owners have been deterred from making land available either because of desire to keep the property intact, or for fear of the danger to stock and property which might follow resort development in the neighbourhood. The locking away of land in this way has precluded development along several stretches of coastline, including land on the eastern shore of the Tamar, the northern coast of Norfolk Bay between Dunalley and Connolleys Marsh, the coastline of Marion Bay and North Bay, and the coast around Cape Portland in north-eastern Tasmania. In some instances owners of attractive subdivision land will not sell because they wish to protect the privacy of their own holiday retreat; cases of this attitude were found at South Ansons Bay and Roches Beach. In the same way the continued growth of a resort is often prevented by the unwillingness of the owners to release the land needed for expansion. The growth of Spring Beach was affected in this way, and a similar attitude was responsible for a long interruption in the growth of Clifton Beach.

A large part of the Tasmanian coast, and particularly the west and north-east sections, is still Crown land. The

disposal and use of this land has been affected by regulations and policies which have had important effects on the location, number and character of the cottages erected on land either purchased or leased from the Crown. Pipers Heads and Coningham are resorts which developed as a result of pre-war sales, whilst Stieglitz near St. Helens is a post-war example of this kind. These resorts differ little in character from those developed as a result of the sale of freehold land.^{21*} Generally freehold cottage development on former Crown land has lagged behind growth elsewhere. Sales of Crown land have been infrequent and the policy has been not to sell isolated cottage blocks at all.^{22*}

The Lands Department also makes cottage sites available on annual permissive occupancy leases.^{23*} The distribution of these sites is affected by the attitude of local authorities. Several have requested that no leases be granted and others that they be issued for only a restricted number of places. The main areas affected by this restriction are a long stretch of the north-west coast in Circular Head Municipality, the coast between Port Sorell Heads and Badger Head, the coast of Anderson Bay in Scottsdale Municipality, the east coast of the Forestier Peninsula, parts of Bruny Island and of the long coastline of Esperance Municipality. All applications for leases in isolated areas are dependent upon local authority approval. Cottage

development on Crown land at the Great Lake has been restricted for many years by a number of considerations. Between 1928 and 1951 the number of licences issued was limited because of competition with the Government-owned accommodation houses. Then between 1951 and 1960 applications for sites were subject to approval of plans and specifications by the Tourist Department. After 1960 no licences were issued because of the Hydro-Electric Commission's future plans to raise the level of the lake.

The insecurity of tenure associated with the short term of the lease precludes investment on any scale on cottages built on Crown lease sites and deters many people from modifying their place for use as a retirement home.^{24*} Although average values in these resorts remain much lower than those in freehold settlements the actual values depend to a large extent upon the building standards imposed by the municipal councils through their building inspectors.^{25*} Sisters Beach in Circular Head Municipality is an example of a resort where a relatively high standard has resulted from a more stringent council policy.

Another location factor which has become increasingly important, both directly and indirectly in post-war years, has been planning control. Control over subdivisional development is exercised by both local authorities and the Town and Country Planning Commissioner.

Plans for individual cottages have to comply with

standards set by the local authority with regard to the size of the cottage and the inclusion of certain facilities such as a bathroom. Plans for the whole subdivision have to be satisfactory from the point of view of roading and the size and accessibility of the blocks. The minimum standards drawn up by the municipal councils vary considerably.^{26*} The minimum floor area of the cottage is usually made considerably higher for those resorts which are being settled by permanent residents. The raising of the minimum size from 4 to 6½ squares in Clarence Municipality, for instance, is thought to have resulted in a diversion of interest to the resorts in the neighbouring Municipality of Sorell,^{27*} and the size was later reduced to 4 squares in all Clarence resorts except Seven Mile Beach.^{28*}

Local authorities are also able to exercise long term control over the development of resorts by zoning in a planning scheme prepared under the Town and Country Planning Act, but so far few have completed their schemes.

The control exercised by the local authority is sometimes influenced by political considerations, the attitude to resort development varying with the composition of the Council. Where control is in the hands of the landed group there is usually little interest and sometimes obstruction. Again, where the commercial interests of a country town fear loss of their trading advantage to a growing resort there may be an attempt to prevent development by insisting on a

high standard.

Overall control over subdivision is maintained by the Town and Country Planning Commissioner, who has power to accept or refuse any subdivision. Successive post-war Town and Country Planning Commissioners have attempted to achieve orderly and economic development, and to prevent sporadic development, by refusing applications for small isolated subdivisions on the grounds of their remoteness from services. Commissioners have mainly attempted to achieve their objective by acting in an advisory role. The effect of planning control on the overall pattern of cottage distribution is difficult to gauge. Although there have been attempts to dissuade municipalities from permitting cottage development in remote areas, there have been few cases of outright refusal. Further aspects of the planning of cottage resorts are dealt with in Chapter 7.

The only important remaining influences on cottage location are those of resort growth and functional change.

(d) Changes in resort character and function

An idea of certain other factors which affect the growth of resorts can best be presented by means of an outline of cottagers' attitudes during the phases through which most resorts pass. Many of the present day resorts were founded by persons looking for seclusion - "a quiet place that would not be built out quickly".²⁹ Not uncommonly the "pioneer" would be someone who was dissatisfied with

the changing character of the resort he had previously occupied and had decided to make a fresh start in a new area.^{30*} Tented-camps have been the precursors of many cottage settlements and cottagers were discovered at several resorts who had camped for many years on the foreshore before deciding to build a holiday dwelling.

During the early years of its development the settlement is likely to remain primitive in character. Access is usually poor and cottagers spend little on the dwelling and facilities. Attitudes towards improved facilities such as roads, electricity, and reticulated water supply, and improved standards of cottage, are likely to vary from opposition, and apathy, to enthusiastic support for improvements. Attraction of further cottagers usually depends upon the improvement of the facilities. Amongst those who wish to retain the secluded character of the resort and who appreciate the snow-ball effect of the introduction of a few small improvements, there is usually some resistance to schemes for improved facilities,^{31*} and this hard core of objectors sometimes manages to postpone development.

However, the majority of resort dwellers are either apathetic to the consequences of these changes or else are mainly interested in facilities which they value personally, often not realising that the cost may be the eventual loss of their seclusion. The initiative, therefore,

usually rests with those who, for a variety of reasons, support improved facilities. These include those who wish to have the advantage of conveniences either for holidays or eventual retirement; persons interested in having neighbours of their own class,^{32*} those who also wish to improve the value of their investment, and those already permanently established. As people age they naturally tend to require greater comforts. Whereas in their younger years the absence of certain facilities was valued for the contrast with city life these same amenities become minimum necessities. The telephone perhaps illustrates the difference - the young holiday-maker wishes to escape its demands while the retired person finds it essential in the case of sickness. The improver element is usually an active one and is generally able to voice its views through the progress associations, although sometimes the anti-progress element is able to gain control of the association and make a dead letter of it by failing to meet or act. Added to the interest of individual cottagers there is the influence of public opinion and Government policy. The Government's concern arises from an interest in preserving scenic amenity, for general and tourist promotion reasons, and a desire to avoid future difficulties arising from the conversion of sub-standard cottages to permanent dwellings. In 1961, in order to try to foster an improved standard of sea-side house, the Tourist Minister introduced a scheme whereby plans for standard

cottages were made available at a nominal rate.^{33*}

In the case of most resorts occupying attractive sites and accessible locations and where land is freely available, eventual improvement of facilities and growth in size is inevitable. These developments are accompanied by a change in the appearance of the resort as better standard cottages are built and streets improved. (See Plate 12). The price of blocks and annual rates all increase so that cottage ownership now costs more. Thus there is almost unavoidably a change in the character of the cottage holiday. To some people this represents a deterioration of the recreational atmosphere - the place has become more akin to a town than a holiday resort. The questionnaire survey revealed something of the widespread dissatisfaction which these changes caused.^{34*} The majority of respondents regretted the increase in the size and expressed a preference for a smaller resort. The loss of quietness and privacy, sense of freedom and uncrowded beaches, and the unspoilt character of the resort were all lamented. Many were prepared to move if the area lost its existing character,^{35*} so swelling the demand for cottages, (often) in new areas.

The effect of the loss of discontented cottagers upon resort growth is however more than compensated for by the attraction of persons who prefer a resort with both the "conveniences of the town and the pleasure of the beach".

Another important aspect of recent development is

the growth of a permanent element (See Figure 22) which results ultimately in the complete replacement of the original holiday function of the settlement. Retired residents^{36*} who have sold their larger city home in favour of a cottage which has been converted for permanent living are found in some resorts. Individual views about the qualities which make a resort desirable for retirement vary considerably but the advantages valued by the majority of persons are seclusion and proximity to the facilities of either a city or large rural centre. Many are attracted by the mild winter climate and the picturesque surroundings of the coast, and the cheapness of living appeals to some of those who retire to the less expensive resorts. However, the lack of such facilities as medical assistance, the absence of engaging activities with which to pass away the time (soil suitable for a good garden is considered to be a valuable asset), and distance from friends and neighbours are all drawbacks of permanent life in resorts, particularly those that are remote. The quiet life of the winter months is alone enough to deter many people from retiring to a cottage resort.

Among the Tasmanian resorts containing retired people some of the larger settlements such as Bridport, Orford, and Cremorne are made attractive by the presence of other types of permanent residents. Many of the smaller resorts contain an occasional retired couple, usually of

an independent nature appreciating seclusion.

Resorts containing permanent residents other than the retired are of two types. There are those such as St. Helens, Strahan, Beauty Point, and Bridport which were small rural settlements before becoming popular as resorts, and others located close to either major urban centres or industrial plants which began their history as cottage resorts but later gained a permanent element. The invasion and ultimate domination of cottage resorts by a suburban population is essentially an aspect of metropolitan expansion.^{37*} Cottages and land in resorts undergoing this type of change are rated on the basis of their potential for permanent residential purposes, and would-be cottagers are unable to compete with suburbanites for the purchase of land and houses. A few of the cottagers may continue to retain their dwellings in spite of the high cost but with each successive sale the numbers are reduced.

The process of invasion is well seen in the case of the resorts to the east of the Derwent, which are within 15 miles of Hobart and which over the last decade have developed as dormitories of the city. It is noticeable (see Table 3) that the rate of increase in the relative importance of permanently occupied dwellings varies proportionately with distance from the city.^{38*}

Most Tasmanian resorts still function mainly as summer cottage resorts. In almost half of all settlements

Table 3

Changes in Proportion of Summer Cottages and Permanently Occupied Dwellings in Cottage Resorts: Sorell and Clarence Municipalities, 1951-1960^a

Resort	Road miles from Hobart	No. of cottages		% increase in cottages 1951-1960	No. of perm. occupied dwellings		% increase in perm. occupied dwellings 1951-1960	Change 1951-1960 in % of perm. occupied dwellings to all dwellings
		1951	1960		1951	1960		
Ralphs Bay Canal	11	47	110	134	14	78	457	18
Roches Beach	14	28	83	196	1	26	2,500	28
Cremorne	16	63	108	71	2	19	850	12
Penna	17	12	19	58	1	5	400	13
Lewisham	23	23	34	48	13	19	46	0
Dodges Ferry-Carlton Beach	25	112	410	236	12	23	96	4

^aSource: Valuation Branch field books

for which data is available, cottages make up over 95% of all dwellings. In a further quarter they account for between 76 and 95%, and in a tenth of the settlements from 51 to 75%. (See Figure 22). Resorts in which cottages make up under 50% of all dwellings include Snug and Blythe Heads which have been affected by the development of industry in the area, creating a demand for houses and a hostile environment for holiday making. Also included are Blackman's Bay and Medway which have largely been converted to a suburban function, and others such as Turners Beach and Port Sorell in which the process of succession has reached an advanced stage. Kingston Beach, a few miles south of Hobart, is an example of a former resort in which the summer cottage function has been completely eliminated.

4. COTTAGE ACTIVITY AND BENEFITS

(a) Activity

The average³⁹ summer cottage in Tasmania can accommodate seven persons, is used regularly by four persons and occasionally by a further five, which means that the total guest capacity of all summer cottages is equal to about one-tenth of the Tasmanian population.^{40*} The average cottage is in use by the whole family on 44 days of the year and by a part of the family on 26 days in the year; friends and relatives visit on the average on 13 days in the year. Renting out of cottages, particularly during the school holiday period, is a common practice which helps to

pay for upkeep.^{41*} The amount of use seems to vary both with accessibility and with the value of the cottage. The average occupancy rate is higher for cottages situated at a medium distance from the parent centre than from those that are relatively close,^{42*} and the high average value resorts have a greater amount of use than those of low value.^{43*}

The peak period of cottage activity is during the summer school holidays from Christmas until early February and particularly during the week after Christmas. During the school holiday period many families transfer for several weeks to the cottage. If the cottage is close to the owner's place of work he may commute daily until the whole family move back home. In addition to this, most cottages are generally in use by someone during most week-ends from November until April.

(b) Benefits

For a better understanding of the dynamic character of this type of recreation and likely trends, some mention of the benefits derived from summer cottages is necessary. Most cottagers believe that the main benefit is in the general physical and mental well being which results from the change of environment or activity.^{44*} Thus the majority of owners stress the benefits in terms of relaxation, rejuvenation of health and spirits, increased work output and a greater capacity to withstand the demands of the week-day life.

Many persons regard the cottage as a "refuge" and "retreat" from their normal life. To these people many aspects of city life, including the traffic noise and din, the cramped life, the worries of work, the demands of society and all the other strains and pressures exerted by the pace and character of modern living, are seen as bad and injurious. At the cottage they can gain relief from nervous tensions and "a peace of mind not possible in city life".^{45*} Cottage ownership however is almost as common amongst rural people as amongst city dwellers and it is wrong to stress too much the benefit of relief from the city environment. It is also worth noting that seaside cottages are owned by residents of popular seaside towns such as Wynyard, Devonport, and St. Helens. Change from the routine life rather than escape from any particular type of environment is the main benefit.

Summer cottage life means a change not only in the outdoor scene but also a change of sleeping and living quarters, food and dress. Life moves at a more leisurely tempo and "time matters less". As a result of the temporary freedom from the restrictions and control experienced in normal life all members of the family experience a feeling of freedom and independence. Cottage life, besides being more "simple", "natural", and "free" is also more spacious, and even during week-end visits a holiday atmosphere prevails. Many cottagers have contrived to heighten the contrast with the home environment by means of cottage design and

furnishings. On the other hand others, if they can afford it, do their utmost to make their cottage a duplicate of the home, even to the extent of equipping it with a television set.

Many cottagers regard this form of recreation as being of great value in improving family relationships. At the summer cottage the whole family enjoy and share in many attractions whereas in the city diverse activities tend to split it up.

Undoubtedly one of the most important reasons for the popularity of the summer cottage is its value in the upbringing of children. Many owners keep their cottage only as long as they are useful for this purpose. At the cottage the child is able to take part in healthy activities away from what many parents feel are "degrading influences so prevalent in crowded places". Apart from the special attractions of the beach and water sport the resort area offers great amounts of space for play.

There is little organised social life in the resorts but naturally there is a considerable amount of informal contact. Tasmanian resorts are generally democratic in their influence and character in the sense that the cottage owners are usually socially heterogeneous. Thus in settlements dominated by Hobart and Launceston neighbours are usually drawn from different suburbs and walks of life so that there is a broadening of social experience. This is not so in

the case of many of the smaller resorts in which all the cottagers come from a single area.

CHAPTER 4ANGLING, AND THE SHOOTING OF ANIMALS AND
BIRDS FOR RECREATION

1. FRESH WATER ANGLING

Fresh water angling is one of the most popular of Tasmanian outdoor recreations - in 1960-61 one in every seventeen persons was the holder of a licence to take acclimatised fish.^{1*} This section firstly describes the establishment of the fishery and traces the growth of angling over ninety years; secondly, it establishes the character and distribution of present day angling; and finally, it examines the main reasons for the exceptional popularity of the sport and for regional differences in the proportion of anglers in the population.

(a) Establishment of the trout fishery, and growth of angling activity, 1870-1960

To the early colonist the native fish^{2*} of the Tasmanian lakes and rivers appeared to have neither sporting nor commercial value, and by the forties the idea of acclimatising English species was being entertained. Interest centred mainly on the Atlantic salmon (*Salmo Salar*), for which the Derwent, with its headwaters high in the cold uplands, and its ample flow, seemed an ideal habitat. After several attempts to transport the fish by private persons had been unsuccessful, a body of Honorary Commissioners was appointed, who, with the help of Government finance, succeeded

in 1864 in transferring and hatching both salmon and trout ova.^{3*} It is clear from an 1860 report^{4*} to the Government on the scheme that the main object was the establishment of an industry and there was little mention at this time of any sporting advantages. The fish were intended to be of value "as articles of food, as a means of extending our commerce, increasing our population, and affording employment to our labouring classes".⁵ However, for some reason which has not been fully explained, the salmon, on which the hopes of an industry were mainly based, failed to acclimatise, while the trout, which had only been thought of as secondary importance, thrived.^{6*} The prohibition of the sale of salmon and trout in 1889 was a virtual declaration of their status as sporting fish. The acclimatisation of several types of coarse fish, including the perch (introduced in 1862) and a number of varieties of carp, proved a relatively easy task but their introduction created little public interest. The main concern was with the salmon and trout; within two decades such was the enthusiasm for distributing the new fish, that the hardy brown trout had been introduced into almost all the major river systems and lakes in the country, prejudicing later chances of introducing a more varied fish life.

Licensed fishing for grown trout was first permitted in the season of 1870-71 but for the rest of the century the sport had few followers. In 1880-81 there were 382^{7*}

holders of whole-season licences. Numbers increased until 1888 but then fell away during the next decade, probably as a result of disappointment over the failure of the salmon experiment. An angling society was formed in Hobart in the early eighties but this had no consequences to compare with those which resulted from the formation of the Northern Tasmanian Fisheries Association in 1898. Within seven years of this date the number of licensed anglers in the North and North-West had increased fourfold. (See Figure 23). Many of the new licence holders were probably persons who had formerly fished illegally,^{8*} but the formation of country branches no doubt resulted in the recruitment to the pastime of many persons who would otherwise have remained unaware of its possibilities. In 1911 an association was formed in the South. During the decade 1911 to 1921, although the number of anglers fluctuated considerably, there was no great increase in interest; in fact, in the forty years 1880-81 to 1921-22 the increase in the number of full season licences was less than threefold.

The slow growth of interest was not due to any deficiency in the trout fishery, the exceptional quality of which was soon well known throughout Australia. The most spectacular development was at the Great Lake. Brown trout were introduced into this lake in 1870, but the high quality fishing which developed does not seem to have received much notice until the mid-eighties. Some idea of the large average

size of the fish in this lake is given by the records kept by the resident constable. Between 1899-1900 and 1904-05 the average annual catch of each fisherman was 10 fish with an average weight of just over 9 lbs.^{9*}

The widespread publicity given to the initial acclimatisation experiment had resulted in visits from mainland anglers at an early date, the Derwent and Bothwell on the Clyde were favourite haunts of the first visiting fishermen,¹⁰ but with the development of the Great Lake fishery attention was switched to the lakes. Brown trout were introduced into most of the other main lakes in 1892 and rainbow trout were introduced into Lake Leake in 1904 and into the Great Lake in 1910. It was to cater for anglers that the Government established three accommodation houses at the most popular lakes. From this time onwards the guest book at the Mienna house records the existence of a regular clientele of mainland and English anglers; according to a propagandist pamphlet issued in the thirties by the Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau a four months visit to Tasmania cost no more than a months fishing on a Scottish beat.¹¹ By 1922-23 the size of the brown trout had considerably diminished, the average weight of 485 brown trout caught in the lake in this year was only 4.8 lbs, but 260 rainbow trout averaged 7.3 lbs.¹² Angling in the Great Lake is regarded^{13*} as having been at its peak between 1922 and 1935. During these years the rainbow, usually a

more catchable fish than the brown, became dominant. The fame of the highland fishing was increased further by the accidental creation in 1922 of an exceptional hatch of snowflake caddis on a section of the Shannon River, attracting large numbers of trout. The hatch seems to have been caused by an increase in the volume of water in the river as a result of hydro-electric power works. This phenomenon, which lasted for a few weeks each year, led to this part of the Shannon becoming the Mecca of dry fly fishermen until further modification of the water flow in 1947 reduced the size and regularity of the rise. After 1935 the brown trout became dominant again, and the fishery fell into disrepute as bags diminished.^{14*}

During the twenties interest in angling began to quicken (see Figure 23), and between 1921-22 and 1932-33 the number of full season licence holders increased by two and a half times to 3,400. The increase was probably due in part to the greater ease with which the lakes could be reached as new roads were built and the use of the motor car became more general, but there is also evidence that angling was becoming much more popular amongst the lower income groups. One of the indications of this was the growing number of natural bait fishermen or "grubbers" frequenting the Great Lake. These aroused the resentment of the longer established anglers, most of whom were dry fly enthusiasts. Their fears about the depletion of fish stocks were mixed

with class animosity and a belief in the superior and more sporting character of their favoured technique. The conflict caused the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Commissioners, most of whom were fly-fishermen, to introduce in 1930 a dual licensing system for rivers and lakes with a more expensive licence for lake fishing, and in 1933 to institute regulations restricting the use of natural bait at several of the lakes. Although the Labor Party promised to restore natural bait fishing it later realised that this would conflict with its objective of developing the trout fishery as a tourist resource, and no action was taken when it came to power in 1934.

The Ogilvie Government at this time made a more vigorous attempt to attract mainland and English tourists¹⁶ and renewed the annual grant to the fishing authority which had been discontinued in 1893.

During the thirties the two anglers' associations and the first scientist appointed to report on the fishery criticised both the structure and the policy of the fishery authority. To understand this, brief reference must be made to the nature and work of the authority. Control of the fishery from 1896 to 1959 was vested in a body which had a variety of titles but from 1926 was called the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Commission.^{17*} Criticism by the anglers' associations was mainly directed at the unrepresentative form of the Commission and its failure to follow the

lead of New Zealand and appoint professional staff and conduct research. In response to this pressure the Commissioners arranged for a brief scientific investigation of the food supply of the trout. The result was a report based on ecological methods which questioned the soundness of the Commissioner's traditional activities of producing large quantities of hatchery fish and annually stocking the waters.¹⁸ From this time onwards, in spite of the reconstitution of the body to give more direct representation to the associations and the carrying out of a limited amount of research into fish breeding habits, the Commissioners never regained the full confidence of the angling community. Much of the blame for the supposed deterioration of the fishery was laid on the Commissioners. When complaints continued in post-war years arrangements were made for the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (C.S.I.R.O.) to investigate the matter. The result was verification of overseas conclusions that most wild trout populations are self-maintaining and that hatching releases make no worthwhile contributions to the stocks. Artificial propagation was virtually abandoned in 1953.

The great increase in the popularity of angling which began around 1922 continued during the thirties and slowed down only during the war. Then, between 1945-46 and 1950-51, the total number of adult male whole-season licence holders more than doubled. Growth slowed again in the early

fifties, but between 1950-51 and 1959-60 the number of licensed men anglers doubled. The most striking feature of the development during this period was the great growth of interest in lake fishing, the proportion of 'all-waters' licence holders increasing from less than a third of the total number in 1949-50 to over a half in 1959-60. There was also a considerable increase in the proportion of boy and female licence holders; the proportion increasing from 19% in 1949-50 to 27% in 1960-61. These changes are summarised in Appendix 6.

This great surge of interest seems to have had a number of causes, chief amongst which were probably increased leisure and increased mobility, which brought attractive angling waters within easier reach. Now that car ownership was more widespread, anglers from all parts of the State could make regular visits to the Central Plateau where the Hydro-Electric Commission was adding more impoundments, and creating new and improved access. Thus the post-war increase in the number of anglers was largely absorbed by a greater spread of angling activity, although small increases in the number of 'river-only' licences suggests that there was also an increase in the intensity of angling in local waters. Not all of the effects of the hydro-electric schemes were advantageous to anglers; they also adversely affected water levels, and by linking some parts of the complex of rivers and lakes, and barring

others, complicated the problem of fishery management. These developments, and the great increases in the number of anglers, made a voluntary Commission seem less suited for the administration of the fishery. Finally, in 1957, a New Zealand expert was requested to report on the most suitable organisation and methods for fishery management and development.¹⁹ The outcome of his report and the deliberation of a select committee appointed to examine his recommendations was the replacement of the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Commission by a four-member Inland Fisheries Commission chaired by a full-time expert Commissioner. The sweeping changes of policy of the new authority during its life to date are dealt with in some detail later.

Looking back at the growth of interest in angling there were two main points at which it quickened; the first was during the early twenties, and the second was at the end of the Second World War. Neither of them can be directly related to changes in either the fishery or organisation. Rather, they seem to have been the result of general factors affecting the whole population.

There is little evidence with which to assess the overall influence of the fishery authority on angling activity. Whilst it seems that its dominant activities - hatchery operation and annual restocking, probably had no beneficial effect after the acclimatisation phase, anglers

generally believed these to be necessary actions.^{20*} The authority failed, however, to give leadership and to institute research into fishery matters. The far-ranging criticism of its conservative attitude and its failure to act, give some idea of the positive role it could have adopted.

The angling associations were probably responsible to a far greater extent for the present popularity of angling. However, the only direct effect which can be traced is the growth of interest in northern Tasmania which followed the formation of the first association. Later they provided the publicity and leadership which the fishery authority failed to give.

(b) The popularity and present-day distribution of angling

Having traced the growth of angling the next step is to examine the importance of interest in the sport amongst the different sections of the community and discover what variations there are in its distribution. Then, although there are but scant data for the purpose, an examination will be made of the amount and distribution of angling activity. The section begins with a description of the Tasmanian fishery.

(i) Angling resources and their distribution. There seems little doubt that the great popularity of freshwater angling in Tasmania is mainly the result of the widespread opportunities for fishing of good quality and great variety and

to the low cost of the sport. The island's temperature regime and hence the long growing season and the quality of food supply have resulted in an abundant population and a large average size of fish. In most waters the trout population is self-maintaining. Limits are set by the capacity of the spawning grounds, the food supply, and the pressure of predators, including anglers. Most Tasmanian waters have ample food supplies but some lack adequate spawning grounds. Fluctuations in the level of the water caused by natural summer conditions and hydro-electric power schemes adversely affect the food supply and spawning grounds of many streams,^{21*} but there is little serious water pollution in the State.

No concise inventory of the resources of the various waters is available, and, even if it were, it would be of limited value because of the cyclical changes which affect trout populations and the atypical condition of the fish in many newly-formed waters. Nevertheless, a general description of the character of the fishery forms a useful background for the understanding of the pattern of angler distribution.

Tasmania has a great diversity of river fishing, the main contrasts being between the swift flowing streams of many parts including the North-West, and the slow flowing character of most of the streams in the Macquarie - South Esk river systems. The best known rivers are those of the

North-West, and those flowing north to the Tamar and south to the Derwent. The South Esk, the Macquarie, and several tributaries of these two rivers, including the Lake, Brumby's Creek and the Break O'Day are particularly well known for the fly fishing they offer.²² The rivers of the West Coast are relatively far removed from centres of population and have not gained a reputation equal to that of the more easterly streams; only the estuary sections are fished at present. The rivers which flow out to the north-east and east coasts are generally small and have considerable variation in seasonal flow. Most of them contain some trout but they are better known for their bream fishing. The most renowned waters are the lakes. These offer a considerable variety of fishing in waters which vary in altitude and therefore in weather conditions. Natural waters include the deep Lake St. Clair, the myriad Western Lakes, and the larger lakes of the eastern part of the Central Plateau, including the Great Lake, Arthur's Lake and Lake Sorell. There are also the many new lakes and canals created by the H.E.C. In addition to these, there are several other artificial lakes which are important for angling, including Lake Leake and Tooms Lake in the eastern uplands, and mining dams in the North-East and around Waratah in the North-West. Several coastal lagoons including Blackman's and Waterhouse Lagoons in the North-East and Calverts Lagoon in the South have been stocked. Although brown trout

are usually dominant, many of the lakes offer the added attraction of rainbow trout.

For almost three decades there has been widespread belief that the fishery as a whole has deteriorated. The reason most frequently advanced for this is the increased intensity of angling, poaching, and natural bait fishing. However an investigation by the C.S.I.R.O. has shown no evidence of deterioration and therefore no need for concern about the pressure of angling at its present level of intensity. There are still many remote upland lakes which are rarely fished, and the resource expands with the creation of each new hydro-electric power dam. It will be many years before the problem of over-fishing has to be faced.

From this brief review, it is clear that while the opportunities for river angling are widespread and the central position of the main lakes makes them readily accessible to a large part of the population, some areas are better provided for than others. The deficiency of freshwater angling on the West and East Coasts, in the Tamar valley, in the Esperance Municipality, and around Hobart, is responsible for a low general level of interest in angling in these areas; all except the West Coast however have excellent sea fishing. The areas in which the sport has a strong following all have good angling at short distances from the main settlements.

(ii) General popularity and interest amongst different sections of the community. A good indication of the relatively great amount of interest in angling amongst Tasmanians is given by a comparison with New Zealand, a country well known for its inland fishery. In 1960-61 the number of adult male anglers with whole-season licences^{23*} amounted to 7.3% of the total male population compared with 3.1% in New Zealand.²⁴ The main feature of the Tasmanian figure is that it represents a high level of interest in inland fishing in a country which has abundant, high quality, and very accessible sea fishing. The concentration of interest on a single species of fish is also unusual.

Angling is most popular amongst adult males. In 1960-61 the licence holders in this category represented 64% of all licence holders. The proportion of boys and female licence holders has however been gradually increasing for many years and has increased spectacularly during the last three seasons. In 1960-61 there were 7,080 anglers in the joint boy/female group, equal to 2.0% of the total population. The majority of these are apparently boys; in 1942-43, the last year in which the two components were separately distinguished, 78% of the total were boys under 17 years of age. Generally anglers in the female/boy group are less mobile than men anglers and expend less on fishing tackle so that they reach a maximum in areas where stream fishing is available close to settlements, and are

proportionately fewer in poorly served areas, places such as Hobart, Launceston, and the East and West Coasts.

Another group of licence holders is formed by visiting mainland and overseas anglers. In view of the traditional regard for the trout fishery as a major attraction for out-of-state visitors it is somewhat surprising to discover that the total number of licences purchased by non-residents in 1960-61 amounted to only 1.5% of all licences taken out.^{25*} Over-emphasis of the importance of visitor-angling has resulted largely from the expedient use of the tourist argument by the voluntary organisations and central authority in their effort to persuade the Government to support the development of the fishery. However, when one considers the large body of anglers on the mainland and the quality of a fishery, in which the sportsman can be reasonably hopeful of catching a fish of about 5 to 6 lbs, the small number of tourist anglers is difficult to explain. Hobbs has suggested²⁶ that the failure to attract more visitors of this kind was probably caused by the failure of the two "freakish" angling attractions (the Great Lake fishery and the Shannon Rise in their early years) on which the overseas reputation of Tasmanian angling was established, and to the persistence of views even among Tasmanians that the fishery as a whole had deteriorated.

(iii) Distribution. Although each of the territories

administered by the three angling associations contains an approximately equal number of anglers there are considerable regional differences in the per capita number of full season licence holders, ranging from 7.4% in the North-West to 3.3% in the South. Figure 25 indicates the 1960-61 distribution of the percentage of whole season licence holders in the total population in each municipality.^{27*} Angling is seen to be most popular in the municipalities of Ross (where over 20% of the total population are licence holders), Campbelltown, Oatlands, Bothwell, Kentish, and Deloraine all of which have ready access to the lakes as well as containing local angling waters of repute. Other important areas are: the Derwent valley municipalities of Hamilton, New Norfolk, and Brighton; the municipalities containing the main North-West towns; Scottsdale and Fingal in the North-East, and Longford in the North Midlands. The relative popularity of the sport in Launceston, where 6.4% of the population are licence holders, is in marked contrast to the 2.7% of Hobart. Areas in which interest is small include several of the Channel municipalities, the East Coast, the Tasman Peninsula, the Tamar Valley, and the West Coast.

The dual licensing system, which was replaced after the 1959-60 season, by an all-waters licence provides useful information about recent distribution of interest in lake and river fishing, and the movement of anglers and

the pattern of distribution is reconstructed in Figure 24. Increased mobility has to some extent reduced the effects of the uneven distribution of resources. This is shown by the considerable increase in the number of lake anglers between 1949-50 and 1959-60, particularly in such areas as the North-East and the West Coast. Generally there appears to be a simple relationship between the amount of interest in lake fishing and distance from the lakes. The North-West coast municipalities are a good example of this, there being a progressive westward diminution in the proportion of lake fishermen. There is also a general falling off in the overall level of interest in angling in the same direction, which suggests that easy access to lake fishing has the effect of creating additional support for the pastime. Other exceptionally great increases in the proportion of interest in lake fishing between these two dates can be related to specific developments, such as the first stocking of local lakes in the Scottsdale and Oatland areas and to vigorous club activity at Bothwell and Ross.

(iv) Angling effort and reward. Unfortunately very little information is available about such aspects of angling activity as the amount of time spent by anglers at different types of water, the amount of time spent fishing, and the seasonal character of activity. A creel census conducted by the C.S.I.R.O. between 1949-50 and 1956-57 evoked a response from only about two per cent of licensed anglers,

making it doubtful if the returns could be regarded as representative. However, these results^{28*} and those of a well supported creel census carried out amongst members of the Bothwell branch of the Southern Tasmanian Licensed Anglers Association are suggestive of the main characteristics of the activity.

In Tasmania the trout is found in almost all types of water including the extensive river estuaries, both the lower and upper parts of the rivers, and the upland lakes. The season begins early in the spring with fishing in tidal waters where the trout gather ready to run upstream in the warmer weather. This is followed by the opening of the river and finally the lake seasons. The season in some lakes is delayed by a month to protect late spawning rainbow, and lasts a month longer. Altogether, by using different waters, the angler can fish for ten months of the year. Cold stormy weather often interferes with fishing in the higher lakes at the beginning and end of the season, and the lowland rivers are commonly adversely affected by high water temperatures and low levels during the summer months. Most river angling is concentrated at points accessible by road, particularly along stretches where the banks are free of vegetation.

Most anglers divide their time between their home stream and the lakes. The Secretary of the Bothwell branch said that most members of his club fish on the average two

evenings a week, and about six hours at the weekend, visiting either some lake or lagoon on every alternate Sunday. Of the total fish caught by 38 Bothwell anglers in 1960-61, 43% were caught in the local river (the Clyde) and 31% in the highland lakes and canals. The average number of fish caught per day was 2.9. The average weight of the fish caught was 1.0 lbs. in the Clyde and 1.7 lbs. in other waters. Success in fishing depends upon many factors, one of the most important of which is the influence of the weather on the readiness of the fish to rise.^{29*} Nicholls records³⁰ that a personal canvas of 53 regular anglers in the Deloraine district in 1950-51 revealed an average catch for the year of 259 fish. This level of reward is probably close to optimum, and well above that received by city-dwelling anglers who fish less regularly. According to tables given by Nicholls, the average number of fish caught per day on the North-West Coast was 2.6 compared with 2.2 on the Derwent.

(c) Organisation, management, and development

In the previous section it has been shown that the main features of angling activity are its great popularity, the balanced overall regional angler distribution, the particularly strong following which the sport has in the Midlands and the North-West, and the small number of visiting anglers. In the following section the influence of the organisation factor on the popularity and distribution

of angling is examined. It has been shown that after the work of acclimatisation had been accomplished the fishery authority had little positive influence. The establishment of the Inland Fisheries Commission (I.F.C.) in 1960 represented a change of the kind sought for many years by the angling associations, and was welcomed as "a great landmark in the history of angling in Tasmania".³¹ In its short history of three years the new Commission has adopted a bold policy which has won the confidence of the associations and increased the amount of interest in angling. The Commission has declared that it "has no intention of retreating in the face of ever-increasing angling pressure and resorting to progressive tightening up of restrictions", and has accepted as its main object the making of more fishing available.^{32*}

Methods for improvement or better use of resources, which the Commission is either using or proposes to use, include the manipulation of fish stocks, improvements to food supply and spawning grounds, the creation of new waters close to concentrations of population and in areas deficient in good angling waters, the improvement of access to waters, close liaison with the H.E.C. to try to obtain the maximum angling benefit from power schemes and minimise adverse effects, and the framing of regulations to ensure the best use of resources.

The most spectacular feature of the Commission's

work to date has been the experimental transfer of mature brown trout from the Great Lake to other lakes and down-country rivers throughout the State. Between 1960 and 1962, 24,000 of the fish were transferred with the dual object of improving the rainbow fishery of the Great Lake by reducing competition,³³ and providing angling in waters close to centres of population where there was a higher expectation of recapture. The fish have proved much more catchable than in the Great Lake and about an eighth of the large number released during 1961 were taken by anglers. Improvements are being planned to the Great Lake spawning beds and information is being collected to see whether there would be any advantage in introducing a species of smelt, which would convert plankton into a more suitable form of fish food. Although the stocking of waters containing self-maintaining trout populations has been abandoned, it is intended to place wild fingerlings in waters lacking spawning grounds. The Commission's present management is based mainly on the findings of the C.S.I.R.O. but it is seeking ways of broadening the factual basis of its policies.

By making grants for road improvement to local authorities and angling clubs, the Commission has helped to improve the access to several lakes including Tooms Lake, Lake Leake, Lake Sorell, Shannon's Lagoon and Todds Corner (Great Lake). The Commission also plans to provide boat launching ramps at certain highland lakes. Various proposals

have been made for the stocking of new waters and the creation of new lakes by the flooding of marshes in areas close to centres of population, but development awaits prior scientific investigation; chief priority is to be given to those waters requiring the least physical modification. A recently passed bill (1963) transfers jurisdiction of a number of tidal estuaries to the Commission, and there is a possibility that some of these, such as Pittwater near Sorell, can be converted into freshwater fisheries.

The new Commission, in contrast to its predecessor, has established an effective standing liaison with the H.E.C. Advance consultation makes it possible for the fishery interest to be protected and better use to be made of new schemes. Although angling revenue is not sufficient to finance major supplementary works, it is hoped that situations can be recognised in which benefit can be gained from a small outlay.

The Commission has shown a keen awareness of the importance of public relations and has maintained close liaison with the branches of the angling association. It has in fact become the accepted leader not only in resource management but also in matters concerning the sport. An example of its adoption of this latter role is seen in its efforts to uphold the dignity of angling by opposing commercial trout angling competitions. One aspect of the Commission's policy which may have important future

consequences for angler-resource relationships is its attempt to foster the attitude that the chief reward in angling is derived from exercise of skill.³⁴ Material encouragement is given by the bias towards the more skilled techniques in the regulations controlling fishing in the lakes. The policy is "where a stock can be exploited sufficiently by the employment of skilled methods alone ... to reserve it for artificial fly fishing if we think that will suffice, or for artificial lures more generally". Natural bait fishing is allowed "where employment of more skilled techniques is inadequate to produce efficient cropping". The Commission admits that possibly it has inherited some regulations based "more on prejudices or angling idealism than on any sound grounds, biological or otherwise".³⁵ Since on the whole fly fishing tends to produce a smaller catch than other methods, the greater interest in this technique may make it possible for the lake stocks to support ultimately a greater number of anglers. The Commission has also encouraged the establishment of stocked ponds with the special purpose of enabling juveniles to learn the art of fly fishing. Perhaps the main characteristic of the I.F.C. is its awareness of the needs of anglers, and its realisation that to serve them its work must extend beyond the fundamental province of fishery management to include development of new resources, the improvement of access and good public relations.

The recreational function of the angling associations is referred to in the next part of the chapter, but some mention must be made here to their influence. With their various branches these organisations constitute a valuable repository of up-to-date information about the condition of trout fishing in all waters. They do valuable work in making recommendations for improvements, and undertake projects such as voluntary road building. They also make known to the general public the opportunities for angling. There seems little doubt that a share of the responsibility for the popularity of the sport is due to these bodies.

(d) Angling activity, ethos, and benefits

To understand better the likely trends in angling some reference must be made to the various types of activity, the characteristic spirit or ethos of the angling fraternity, and the benefits derived from the sport.

Anglers distinguish between three main types of activity each based on the use of a particular lure and technique, namely natural bait fishing, spinning, and fly fishing. Some waters can best be fished by one or two methods whilst others offer a choice of all three. To some extent the development of these groups is a response to the nature of the resource, but whereas the majority of anglers use only one or two methods wherever they fish, others own a variety of tackle and will vary their techniques to suit the condition; the relative ease with which it

has been possible to reach the lakes in recent years and the work of the I.F.C. has encouraged a greater versatility. Natural bait and the dry fly fishermen are the two most distinctive groups. Natural bait fishing, much of which is done at night, is a method most productive of results in many waters, including many of the rivers of the North-West. Being an inexpensive form of fishing, it is the method favoured most among boys and females. Because of the restrictions imposed by riverside trees and the fact that trout feed on the surface for only a limited proportion of the time, dry fly fishing can be practised on only a few waters.

As with other sports, the time actually spent angling is of course by no means a full measure of the total amount of time devoted to it. The enjoyment of the sport in prospect and retrospect, the preparation of equipment, attendance at club meetings, work on projects designed to improve the fishery such as cormorant shoots, journeying to the fishing destination, are all aspects of the wide range of activities associated with angling. To some, special aspects of angling such as fly tying and casting have become the main interests and special clubs have been formed to cater for these interests.

Many of the aspects of angling activity are communal in character. This is particularly the case with longer fishing excursions where the fishing party offers

the advantages of convenience, economy and company, and fishing trips are commonly the excuse for a family holiday.

Evidence of a belief in the dignity of the sport is seen not only in the opposition to commercially sponsored trout fishing competitions but also to fish-farming projects.^{36*} There is also a growing belief that the objects of angling should be the enjoyment of skill and surroundings rather than the achievement of the bag limit. Most anglers respect an unwritten code of conduct and the associations exhort their members to enforce the official regulations.

Both fly and natural bait fishermen have their own distinctive attitudes. An indication of this is seen in the antipathy which exists between the two groups, often developing into outright hostility where both fish the same water. The fly fisherman commonly believes in the superiority of his own method on the grounds that it involves a "higher degree of skill" and is more "sporting" and tends to lump all natural bait fishermen together as "pot hunters".^{37*} To-day with fly fishing drawing its enthusiasts from many sections of the community, many of the class associations of this attitude have disappeared.

The experiences and benefits received in angling have the same multiple character as those derived from other sports. The most distinctive experience in angling is the emotional thrill of catching a fish, but the fishing excursion enables the angler to relax in quiet pleasant

surroundings and affords the opportunity to enjoy the pleasures of open air life. The relative importance of the aesthetic and physical exercise experience varies with the angler and the type of trip. In the case, for instance, of a long trip on foot to the Western Lakes on the Central Plateau these values are very important, and some of the benefits received are probably similar to those gained from bush walking. However, very few anglers visit these remote lakes, and even some of those who do, tend to recommend the construction of roads into the area.³⁸ It is common for the writings of Tasmanian anglers to stress the compensation value of the sport. The description of the sport as "a perfect antidote to modern stress and strain" in an angling magazine,³⁹ is typical of this view.

2. SALT WATER ANGLING

Although this is one of the most popular of all forms of outdoor recreation discussion of it is handicapped by the fact that it is not regulated by licence and is much less organised than fresh water fishing. Trumpeter, trevally, cod, whitefish, flathead, crayfish, blackhead salmon, bream, and blue fin tuna are the principal salt water species sought. Recreational fishing is widely distributed around the coast, especially since many people fishing use their summer cottages as a base for trips.

During the last three years big game fishing has developed spectacularly. The Tuna Club of Tasmania founded

in 1960 had 200 members in 1962. The waters of the rugged east coast of the Tasman peninsula appear to be the best in Australia for large blue fin tuna and most of the Commonwealth records for this species have been made by fish caught in this area. This fish is migratory and the main season is from April to June. Black marlin, mako shark, and albacore are also caught occasionally. At present most of the fishing is restricted to this and neighbouring areas, but big game fishermen have hopes that the sport can also be developed along the northern coast. In 1962 six fully equipped charter boats and eight weighing stations were available for the sport, all in the ports of south-eastern Tasmania.

3. SHOOTING OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS FOR RECREATION

Discussion of the shooting of animals and birds for recreation in Tasmania is made difficult by the great variety of game and the absence of a high degree of organisation among the groups interested in this form of sport. Thus, although there is a large body of shooters in the State, their activities are poorly documented. The two most important types of game, both indigenous, are Bennetts wallaby and the wild duck. Other native game species have become so reduced that considerable restrictions have been placed on the length of the season and the bag limit. Attempts to acclimatise other game such as the fallow deer and the pheasant have been only partially

successful and they are established only in certain parts of the State.^{40*}

(a) Resources and activity

The wallaby, which is referred to almost universally in Tasmania as the "kangaroo", is found throughout the island, and the regulations permit it to be taken all through the year. As well as being valuable commercially, it is the most important game animal in the State. There are several sporting methods of capture.^{41*} In the Midlands it has been the quarry of mounted hunt clubs for well over a hundred years, but in 1960 the only remaining organisation of this kind was the Midland Hunt Club based on Avoca. The commonest method of taking the animal for sport is either by shooting or running down with dogs. Shooting at night from a car with the aid of a spotlight is also common. The wallaby is so abundant that no hunting licence is required and there has been an open season since 1958. In contrast, the Forester kangaroo, a much larger animal, is now found only in the far North-East and in parts of the eastern uplands, and is wholly protected.

The fallow deer is largely restricted to the central Midlands, parts of the eastern uplands, and the Tasman peninsula, and the main hunting centres are around Campbelltown and Bothwell. Tasmania probably offers the best stag shooting in Australia. Although the deer population is thought to be increasing, numbers are still

low and the season is a limited one of six days in January. Only stags with branched antlers can be taken and there is a bag limit of one per day. About a thousand licences to take deer were issued in 1961. In 1959 when 606 licences were issued, 34% were sold in Campbelltown and Bothwell and 31% in Hobart. Johnston suggests⁴² a likely kill of one stag for every seven shooters, and many who have hunted for years have never seen a stag.⁴³

The wild duck, the chief game bird, is a migratory species, and Tasmania in common with other parts of southern Australia is visited by birds from the north during the summer. The number of birds present in the State in any one season depends upon the relative weather conditions in Tasmania and the mainland. A period of bad drought, drying up swamps and meadows, spoils the feeding grounds and causes the ducks to seek better conditions elsewhere. Ducks are shot on most of the coastal and inland lagoons and lakes, the most popular areas being the East Coast lagoons, Lakes Crescent and Sorell on the Central Plateau, and the lagoons of the Macquarie floodplain. The season is arranged for the autumn, generally lasts about three months, and the bag limit is at present fifteen birds a day. In 1960 4,600 wild duck licences were sold.^{44*}

Two other types of water species, the Black swan and the Cape Barren goose, have been very much reduced in importance as game birds by past shooting. The Black swan

is found chiefly on the East Coast lagoons, and particularly at Moulting Lagoon - one of the two main breeding grounds in the State. There have been only three open seasons in the last eleven years. Although the last open season in 1961 was only two days long and there was a bag limit of four birds, interest was such that 1,400 licences were taken out.

The Furneaux group of islands is one of the only two breeding grounds of the Cape Barren goose, the other being in South Australia. There are now only about 1,000 of these birds left, the numbers having been depleted by past shooting and land reclamation. Because of the variety of the species and the apparent threat to its existence there has been no open season for several years.

The pheasant has been established for a time in various localities but has been maintained only with the help of periodic releases. At present the only area where this species is abundant enough to allow an open shooting season for male birds is King Island. The population is maintained largely by natural breeding but a local acclimatisation society releases artificially reared stock from time to time. There is a two week season in June and bag limits of three birds a day and 15 a season. In 1960 two hundred and fifty licences were sold, many to Victorians who charter special planes to attend the shoot. Attempts are also being made by the Animals and Birds Protection

Board to acclimatise the pheasant on Flinders and Bruny Islands, and the Tasmanian Field Game Shooters Association assisted by the Board, is attempting to establish the bird in various parts of mainland Tasmania. The Association speaks optimistically of an open season on the mainland within four years, and the building up of "what may well be a £1 million tourist industry". Pheasants thrive best in country providing good cover close to improved pasture land and it seems that with careful management many parts of Tasmania are capable of supporting a pheasant population.

The native brown quail is widely dispersed throughout the State but prefers wooded country which makes shooting difficult. The Animals and Birds Protection Board has established a quail breeding station and plans to try and build up the quail population for sport by making annual releases of 700 to 1,000 birds.

(b) Organisation and development

The small scale development of clubs interested in the shooting of game compared with the support for angling clubs may be the result of the absence of any spectacular game species in abundance. There are a number of gun clubs in the State whose members are interested in field as well as trap shooting, but the main organisation is the Tasmanian Field Game Shooters Association with 180 members in 1962. This Association has only a single branch at Georgetown, but there are also other small local

sportsmens' organisations, some of which are interested in resource development measures such as improvement of duck habitat. Interest in acclimatisation work has never been as strong in Tasmania as in the mainland States and New Zealand, and the only organisations primarily interested in this type of activity at present, are on King and Flinders Islands.

The hunting of game is regulated by the Animal and Birds Protection Board, which also controls such matters as commercial skin hunting, mutton birding,^{46*} and entry into leased Crown land.^{47*} The sportsman-hunter group gained representation on the authority in 1955, and it has been the Board's policy to both conserve and manage the game species in the interest of sportsmen.^{48*} It is, for instance, playing an active part in the acclimatisation of game species, and is interested in the preservation of duck habitats.

(c) Conclusion

The most important point which can be concluded from this brief examination of game resources and the associated recreational activities is that, although most game species are self-maintaining, they are, with the exception of the wallaby, relatively vulnerable to sporting pressure. This has caused severe restrictions to be placed on the hunting of many species. This factor and the great diversity of game species seems to have deterred the formation of

active societies similar to those which exist among anglers.

CHAPTER 5OTHER ACTIVITIES: SKIING, YOUTH HOSTELLING, BUSH WALKING,
FIELD NATURALIST AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

1. SKIING

In comparison with New South Wales and Victoria, skiing activity and snowfield development in Tasmania is characterised by its smallness of scale - in 1962 there were only about 600 Tasmanian skiers^{1*} and the number of persons visiting the State for winter sport was negligible. The main objects of this section are to establish and interpret the distribution of skiing, and to explain the limited development of this form of recreation.

(a) History

Skiing is generally considered to have been introduced into Tasmania as a group activity for the first time in 1922 - sixty years after its inception in Australia among miners at Kiandra in the Snowy Mountains. The part played by the Director of the Government Tourist Bureau in launching the sport has been briefly referred to in Chapter 1. The first ski club - the Ski Club of Tasmania - was formed in 1926, and the first club hut was built in the Mt. Mawson area in the same year. The first and, to date, the only ski club to be formed in northern Tasmania - the Northern Tasmanian Alpine Club (N.T.A.C.) - was constituted in 1929. Several more clubs were formed in Hobart during the thirties.

The N.T.A.C. selected Ben Lomond for its activities and the southern clubs, although experimenting with the use of Mt. Wellington, skied mainly in the Mt. Field area. Club huts were built at Ben Lomond, and later at Lake Dobson and Mt. Rufus. In the early years of skiing the snowfields were difficult of access but the situation was considerably improved in the South by the building of a road to Lake Fenton in 1938, and its post-war continuation to a point close to the Mt. Mawson snowfield.^{2*} In the North the N.T.A.C. made a steep jeep track to within 3 miles of the snowfields on Ben Lomond and endeavoured to persuade the Government to build a motor road. Although a parliamentary committee recommended^{3*} the project in 1950, it was not commenced until 1959. It is at present being built by the N.T.A.C. with funds provided by the Government and is not expected to reach the snowfield until 1963 or 1964.

Before 1950 the facilities for skiing were not greatly inferior to those of the mainland. With the exception of the Government resorts at Kosciusko and Mt. Buller, most snowfields in Australia were little-developed club resorts. Ski touring was popular everywhere and tow facilities were elementary. During the fifties, and particularly after 1955, there was a great growth in skiing activity and snowfield development, in which Tasmania did not share. While there was a sharp increase in the number

of skiers in New South Wales and Victoria,^{4*} membership of Tasmanian clubs increased only slightly. Tasmanian snowfields, which are more suitable for touring than for downhill running, also suffered in reputation as a result of a switch of interest to the latter variant of the sport.

The only improvements of consequence carried out during this period in Tasmania were the partial completion of the access road to Ben Lomond, the operation for a few years of a rope tow at Mt. Mawson, and the recent building of a jeep access track and improvement of ski runs at Mt. Mawson.

(b) Popularity and distribution

Not only is there a relatively small absolute number of skiers in Tasmania, but the general level of interest in the sport is less than on the mainland; one in every 600 Tasmanians is a skier compared with an estimated one in every 350 Victorians.⁵ Interest in skiing seems to be higher in the urban areas where ski clubs have their headquarters. The six Hobart-based clubs have altogether about 200 members and the N.T.A.C. with headquarters in Launceston, has 180 members. There is little information available about the intensity of activity on the Tasmanian snowfields and the only available indicator is the number of beds available at each centre. This information is given in Table 4 together with other pertinent details about accommodation and access.

Table 4

Facilities at Main Tasmanian Skiing Centres

<u>Skiing Centre</u>	<u>Access</u> (a) Distance from Hobart or Launceston, or other major town (b) Distance from road-end to snowfield	<u>Accommodation</u>	
		Type and number of units	Number of beds at snowfield
Mt. Mawson (Mt. Field National Park)	(a) Hobart - 60 miles (b) $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (600 vertical feet)	7 club lodges 7 public huts for hire	150
Ben Lomond (Ben Lomond National Park)	(a) Launceston - 39 miles (b) $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles (900 vertical feet). Road being extended to snowfield	2 club lodges 5 huts owned by club members	80
Mt. Rufus (Partly in Lake St. Clair National Park)	(a) Hobart and Launceston - 105 miles (b) 4 miles (200 vertical feet)	2 club lodges (Public accommodation in huts at road-end)	20
Cradle Mountain (Cradle Mt. National Park)	(a) Devonport - 50 miles (b) $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles (1,150 vertical feet)	1 club lodge (Public accommodation in huts and chalet at road-end)	No information

From this it is seen that Mt. Mawson and Ben Lomond are the most popular snowfields, and it is worth noting that they are the only two ever used for the annual State championships. Mt. Rufus is too remote to attract much attention but the ski clubs generally organise visits to

the mountain at the end of each season to take advantage of its long-lasting spring snow. Mt. Wellington, which has no overnight accommodation, is used occasionally after heavy snowfalls, and Cradle Mountain is visited from time to time by skiers from the North-West. Most of the skiing is done at the weekends; at Ben Lomond for instance 80% of the bednights were recorded at the weekends. Occupancy of ski-field accommodation does not reach a high average level. The average nightly occupancy of total bed capacity at Ben Lomond during July-September, 1960, for instance was 13%, and for the weekends only-28%.⁶ At Mt. Mawson the easier access permits use of the snowfield by day skiers but these rarely equal the number staying overnight. The figures for bed capacity also provide a measure of the scale of the activity compared with the mainland and it is significant that New South Wales had 14 times as many beds at snowfield accommodation as Tasmania. Another way in which Tasmanian snowfield development contrasts with that on the mainland is in the complete absence of uphill transportation, snowfield ski hire facilities and professional instruction services - all regarded as essential at mainland resorts.

(c) Factors affecting the popularity and distribution of skiing and snowfield development

(i) Snowfield conditions. The most important factor affecting the popularity and distribution of skiing is the

amount and variability of the snow cover, and the snowfield terrain, and for this reason the main facts are mentioned in some detail. In all respects Tasmania is less well endowed than Victoria and New South Wales. Unfortunately the only information available is for Mt. Wellington^{7*} and Bronte in the Central Highlands. Analysis of these data show that the main snow season is June to September and the peak months are July and August.^{8*} The best type of snow for skiing - a dry powder snow - most commonly occurs during the early part of the season, but a granular type, which varies between wet and hard according to temperature, predominates during the greater part of the period. One of the main characteristics of snow cover in Tasmania is its variability from year to year. Although between 1928 and 1952 snow remained on Mt. Wellington for an annual average of 77 days, the yearly total ranged from 22 to 122 days. Comparison of the results with an annual evaluation of 9 seasons at Mt. Mawson by the Hobart Walking Club suggests that the satisfactory seasons were those when snow remained on Mt. Wellington for over 60 days. Between 1928 and 1952, 15 out of 25 years were in this category. Records of snow conditions at Ben Lomond, which is affected by different weather conditions to mountains further west, show that there were 8 seasons when skiing was possible for four months or more, 16 when three months skiing was available, and 6 seasons when there was two months skiing or less. The most likely reason for the unreliability

of Tasmanian snow conditions, when compared with those of the mainland, is the relatively low altitude of the island's mountains. Whereas in Tasmania skiing takes place between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level, most of the snowfields in New South Wales are located between 5,000 and 7,000 feet and in Victoria between 4,500 and 6,000 feet.

Tasmania also suffers the disadvantage of having very few long boulder-free slopes. Many of the higher dolerite capped mountains either have cliffed summits, and are completely unsuitable for skiing, or are covered by boulder screens and require heavier than normal snow falls for satisfactory skiing cover. Although Ben Lomond and Mt. Rufus are exceptions to this rule they do not, nevertheless, offer long and steep ski runs comparable with those of the mainland resorts. In average snow conditions Tasmania has no runs over 800 vertical feet, whilst all the chief mainland resorts have snow slopes exceeding 1,000 feet. Details of the physical characteristics of the main snowfields are given in Table 5. At Mt. Mawson the main deficiency is the limited length and fall of the main run and the boulder field surface and skiing is usually on drifts between the larger boulders. Although the area is situated in the heavy precipitation belt, the westerlies often give warm, thawing rain. There is an extensive boulder-strewn plateau over 4,000 feet, but conditions are

Table 5

Physical Characteristics of Main Snowfields^a

Snowfield	Altitude of main ski runs (in ft. above sea level)	Terrain	Ski run details
Mt. Mawson	4,000 - 4,200	Boulder strewn plateau, open.	200 feet vertical, average gradient 12°, aspect east. Extensive ski touring country.
Ben Lomond	4,600 - 5,200	Slopes around Legges Tor, rocky and low scrub, open.	Variety of runs around Legges Tor. Best run - 560 ft. vertical, average gradient 20°, aspect east. Ski touring on 10 square miles of undulating plateau (N. end).
Mt. Rufus	about 4,000 - 4,700	Slopes around peak, grassy or low scrub, open.	Several runs on north-east and south sides, 600-700 ft. vertical. Upper slopes - 30° gradient.
Cradle Mountain	about 3,600 - 4,000	Slopes of deep gullies west of plateau, open.	No details available.

^aSource: Information supplied by Hobart Walking Club, the Ski Club of Tasmania, and the N.T.A.C.

only occasionally suitable for extensive touring.

Ben Lomond, which is the only Tasmanian resort to have been chosen as the venue of the Australian National Ski Championships, is situated out of the main rainfall

belt and has a greater proportion of powder snow and more fine skiing days. Being at a relatively high altitude, the ski slopes tend to maintain their length better than other fields. (See Plate 13).

Summarising this discussion, it is evident that Tasmanian snowfield conditions are inferior to those of the mainland resorts. The choice of Mt. Mawson and Ben Lomond as the main skiing areas seems justified by their superior snow conditions, and only the isolated Mt. Rufus seems to lack the use its snow deserves. Skiing interests have claimed that snowfield development has also been inhibited by the situation of the snowfields in National Parks and by Government apathy. The importance of these factors are discussed next.

(ii) Land status and snowfield development. The great recent development at mainland snowfields seems to have been stimulated by the granting of business concessions and security of tenure to both clubs and commercial undertakings. In Tasmania the attitude of the National Park authority towards commercial development has been cautious. Long-term leases for accommodation houses have been available for many years, but potential applicants have been deterred by conditions considered to be too restrictive. The authority has refused to grant exclusive use of parts of snowfields in return for guaranteed facility development, feeling that this would be contrary to National Park objectives.¹⁰

(This question is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.).

Though the Tasmanian Government has been reluctant to permit commercial development it has itself hesitated to provide chalet accommodation and tows. There are recent signs that it is willing to play a more active part. At Mt. Mawson it has built a jeep track to the main snow area, is currently improving the runs by the removal of boulders and the erection of experimental snow fences, and has subsidised the purchase of a J-bar type tow which the Southern Tasmanian Ski Association has erected for the 1963 season.

At Ben Lomond most of the initiative for development has been provided by the N.T.A.C. This club has drawn up a development plan for the snowfield which provides for a club-conducted tow and chalet and for more elaborate accommodation to be operated by private enterprise. In its report¹¹ on the plan it stresses the importance of security of tenure and proposes an authority with a majority of ski members to control the whole National Park. The club is also making recordings to test the advisability of installing snow making machinery to take advantage of the low May and June temperatures.

So far in Tasmania there has been no attempt to co-ordinate the development of the several snowfields. The Scenery Preservation Board, which is the logical administrative body to undertake this work, has shown some

interest in collecting information about snow conditions and methods of development but has been handicapped by lack of funds.

(iii) The demand factor. One of the advantages of the snowfields is the ease with which they can be visited from the main Tasmanian cities. Residents of both Hobart and Launceston can reach the snow in about two and a half hours (see Figure 26), whereas Melbourne and Sydney skiers have to motor for seven or eight hours to reach the nearest developed snowfields. That the general level of interest is lower than on the mainland in spite of this fact has challenged explanation. Although the physical deficiency and difficulties of tenure are commonly cited, it is widely believed that the underlying reason is the limit set on the total demand by the small Tasmanian population. Skiing to-day is far more dependent upon man-made facilities than is either angling or bush walking, and hence it requires considerable capital investment. It is believed that a greater total number of skiers would support the necessary snowfield development, which in its turn would increase the popularity of the sport. It has already been noted in Chapter 4 that the great popularity of angling is a response to the favourable physical circumstances affecting the basic resource. If there were one-quarter as many skiers as anglers there would be ample support for the provision of snowfield facilities. The situation is in

reality a vicious circle. Although the lack of development has been caused by a combination of factors it seems that the greatest weakness is the physical deficiency of the snowfields.

Snowfield development would be facilitated if the State could attract a proportion of the thousands who spend a week or more holidaying at the snow in the mainland, but the inferior skiing conditions at Tasmania's undeveloped ski centres have little appeal for these people. The attraction of any significant number of weekend skiers from the mainland also seems out of the question for obvious reasons. Further improvements in access to the Tasmanian snowfields are likely to reduce the number of local skiers who wish to stay overnight on the mountain, making it more difficult to establish viable ski accommodation of the standard that mainland ski visitors would require.

Tasmania's problems are not insoluble, but it seems that the only way in which the sport could be rapidly popularised would be by relatively large-scale Government subsidy. In time the physical deficiency may be lessened by the use of artificial snow-making machinery which can be used to give a guaranteed snow cover, to extend the season, and to lengthen the runs.

(d) Benefits and activity

The main benefits in skiing are derived from a number of combined experiences, including the physical

exercise, the thrill of speed, the enjoyment of the surroundings, and the social contacts. The greater interest taken in downhill skiing and perfection of technique in recent years have resulted in an increase in the emotional experience associated with speed and the mastery of a skill.^{13*} The transfer of interest to downhill skiing has been apparent even in Tasmania, and has persisted in spite of the lack of ski tows. However, ski touring is still probably more important than it is on the mainland. Having inferior downhill courses, no uphill transportation facilities, and no professional ski instructors, overall standards in Tasmania are comparatively low.

On the mainland the development of expensive commercial accommodation and elaborate evening entertainment has altered the range and character of the social experience of a skiing outing, and social status goals have now become important amongst a section of the group. The same cannot be said for Tasmania where ski accommodation is still rudimentary and cheap, and the skier must walk back up the slope for his downhill run, and, in most cases must still hump his pack from the road-end to the overnight accommodation.

2. YOUTH HOSTELLING

As with summer cottage activity, this is another form of recreation which is based on the use of a particular type of accommodation facility. Although many

of the most popular activities of youth hostellers, such as bush walking and touring, could justifiably have been dealt with in other sections, the distinctive character of the organisation and hostelling warrant separate consideration.

(a) History

In Tasmania the Youth Hostel movement was introduced and has been sustained throughout its life by the National Fitness Council (N.F.C.). In this way it contrasts with kindred movements in some other countries which have developed as a result of local initiative and proved largely self-supporting. Between 1941 and 1951 the development of hostels was undertaken by a Camps and Hostels Sub-Committee of the N.F.C.¹⁴ The first hostel was established at Collinsvale in 1943, and arrangements were made for a chain of hostels along the east coast. Finance was provided by the N.F.C. but buildings and land were in several cases obtained on favourable terms from persons sympathetic to the movement. By 1951 there were seven hostels run on lines similar to those operating in other States. In this year a fully constituted Youth Hostels Association (Y.H.A.), which took over control of the hostels, and the first regional groups were formed.

The N.F.C. continued to be the main support of the hostel system. It paid for the maintenance of the hostels, purchased additional units for the system, and

provided a full-time staff. Use of the hostels and local group activity increased during the fifties, so that by 1959 over 5,000 bednights were recorded at the twenty-two hostels, and there were 433 resident members of the Tasmanian Association and five regional groups. By the end of 1963 the number of hostels had been reduced to 15.

(b) Hostels and hostelling

The object of the original committee was to arrange a chain of hostels at walking distance along the east coast. Later the idea developed of an extension along the north-west coast linking up with the huts on the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair overland track, and with other hostels in the Derwent valley and Hobart; providing facilities for a 700 mile tour of the State. This objective was kept in mind and to a large extent has been achieved. The result is a system in which most hostels are located in coastal districts and either on or close to State Highways. (See Figure 12).

Although the broad pattern of hostel distribution is the result of planning, siting of the individual units is the product of chance. Hostels are added to the chain either as a result of offer of the use of buildings by private persons and State and local authorities, or as the result of attempts by officials to find hostels in needed places. Recent efforts to obtain hostels in Hobart and on the West Coast, however, have not so far been successful.

Lack of funds to pay for and equip hostels is the main limiting factor. New hostels also have to be found to replace ones that are lost; destruction by fire, changes in ownership, insufficient use in relation to the high running costs, are some of the main reasons why hostels have to be given up. The result is that the number of available hostels changes frequently.

Being of adventitious origin the hostel buildings and sites vary considerably.^{15*} All, however, provide simple accommodation usually of the dormitory type. Very few have resident wardens and members look after themselves. (See Plate 14).

In 1961, although the combined capacity of the hostels was 255 beds, only 4,733 bednights, giving a percentage occupancy of 5.8%, were recorded. The reason for this is the very seasonal nature of the main annual surge of hostel activity. Most of the bednights are recorded during a six weeks period around and after Christmas.^{16*} The detailed figures for the Bellerive hostel - the most popular unit in the chain - illustrate this point. Whilst the percentage occupancy for the year was 22% the January figure was 63%, and the figure for May to October only 8%.

There are two main groups of hostel users. The great majority are mainlanders holiday making in the State;^{17*} the remainder are local groups, usually on weekend trips. The majority of mainland visitors are young people of limited

means who by hitch-hiking and using the hostels are able to make a relatively inexpensive tour of the State.^{18*} The economy achieved enables these hostellers to have a relatively long holiday in the State and travel extensively. Half of this group are hostelling for the first time. This is not as surprising as it first seems when it is realised that the Tasmanian hostel system is the most comprehensive in the Commonwealth, and the only one in which the hostels are sufficiently close to permit leisurely touring over a period of two to three weeks.

Tasmanian users of the hostels are of several kinds, including members of the Association travelling independently, organised hostel groups, conducted school parties; and affiliated organisations such as bush walking and motor scooter clubs. The regional groups are organised in much the same way as the other out-door clubs, and their activities include social and competitive sporting events, as well as weekend trips to hostels which are used as a base for a variety of open-air activities.

For a number of years the Association and the N.F.C. have tried to develop the educational function of the hostels by encouraging their use by school journey parties. They have expressed the hope that school hostelling will become an accepted part of the school curriculum. In 1959 eleven school parties were arranged, with Association supervision for each trip. The Association

also arranged long bush walking and camping trips for boys during the long vacation. Because the use of hostels by children is affected by their limited means, attempts are being made to obtain hostels within a 30-40 mile radius of the cities.

In conclusion, brief reference is made to the benefits of this form of recreation. The hostels undoubtedly facilitate travel amongst the youthful, but their usefulness is appreciably hampered by the centralised booking system. Although the hostels are not generally used as walking huts, as was originally hoped, they serve a useful purpose in catering for the needs of touring hitch-hikers from the mainland and weekend visits by Tasmanian parties. The educational potential of the system is considerable but this is as yet largely unrealised. Perhaps the greatest benefit is derived from the social experience; hostellers of different geographical and social origin are brought together in a communal atmosphere which by its very nature encourages co-operative attitudes.

3. BUSH WALKING

Bush walking, a form of recreation popular with both Tasmanians and visitors, is a term which embraces a wide range of different activities, varying according to the duration and locale of the trip and the type of organisation involved. This section deals mainly with the well-documented activities of the walking clubs, but

the basic interests of this group are representative of independent walkers.

(a) History

Organised bush walking was late in developing in Tasmania, one Melbourne club being already in its thirty-fifth year when the Hobart Walking Club (H.W.C.) was formed in 1929.^{19*} This late start^{20*} was partly due to the fact that the Tasmanian Field Naturalist Club had for many years catered for the requirements of walkers. The circumstances in which the H.W.C. was formed are interesting. The foundation meeting was convened by the Director of the Government Tourist Bureau who, having noticed the number of walkers on the Sunday excursion trains at Melbourne, believed that by stimulating bush walking in Tasmania he could secure traffic for the railways and at the same time provide another means of publicising Tasmania's attractions.²¹

Most of the early walking took place within about 20 miles of Hobart, and weekend beach camps in the tradition of the field naturalists were common. For long summer trips the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair overland track became increasingly popular.

Bush walking shared in the almost general post-war increase in recreational activity and the club had 146 members in 1946-47 compared with 62 in 1939-40. Another sign of the increased popularity of walking was the formation

of the Launceston Walking Club (L.W.C.) in 1946. There was also a change in the areas visited by walkers. The South-West now became a regular venue for long summer trips; new aerial photographs and maps, food drops from the air and air charter flights, all helped to make this remote district more accessible. During the fifties the clubs became increasingly active in drawing public and Government attention towards matters of interest to walkers, such as the need for track maintenance and reservation of scenic areas. A third walking club was formed to serve the North-West Coast in 1960. Most of the clubs developed an interest in rock climbing, but only one small club - the Van Diemens Land Alpine Club - came to specialise in this activity. Cave exploration also became more popular in post-war years. The Tasmanian Caverneering Club, a southern organisation at first, was formed in 1946, and a branch was later formed in the North.

(b) Present day popularity and distribution

In 1961-62 the combined Tasmanian walking clubs had 470 members. Although they therefore have more members than the ski clubs and the general level of interest in walking is greater than on the mainland, the pastime cannot be said to have a mass following. No definite figures are available concerning the number of visiting mainland walkers, but many independent walkers visit the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National and Frenchmans Cap National

Parks, and a growing number of organised parties visit the South-West each year.^{22*}

The main club walking activities take the form of Sunday and weekend walks. Trips are also arranged of three or four days at public holidays, and ten to fourteen days at Christmas. Club huts are used for skiing outings and occasionally for summer excursions, but walking parties generally camp. Bush walking is an all-the-year-round activity and in 1959-60 and 1960-61 the H.W.C. had an average of 85 walks a year approximately two-thirds of which were day walks. The average yearly attendance was 1,064 and the average attendance at each walk was 12.²³ The destinations of club trips arranged by Tasmanian clubs in 1961-62 are shown in Figure 26. The most striking feature of the pattern of distribution is the relatively great number of visits to places within 20 miles of the capital; 70% of all day walks arranged from Hobart are in this zone.

In contrast with the Hobart Club the L.W.C. in 1960-61 had no walks within twenty miles of Launceston. This club also had fewer day than two-day walks. The most popular day trip venues from Launceston are the northern coast beaches, the country at the base of the Western Tiers, and the nearer hills of the North-East. Two-day trips ranged over a wide area, from the more distant hills of the North-East and the more accessible

parts of the Central Plateau, to coast and mountain walks on the East Coast. The long weekends are used for trips into the more remote parts of central, southern, and north-western Tasmania.

(c) Factors affecting the popularity and distribution of bush walking

Bush walking has less need of man developed facilities and resources than many other forms of recreation. The only requirements are rough tracks and simple accommodation, and even the latter are not essential. The main factors affecting the pattern of activity therefore are the accessibility and distribution of attractive country. The bush walker chiefly seeks out rugged and mountain scenery. Evidence of this is seen in the comparative distribution of day trip venues from Launceston and Hobart. The cultivated lowlands around Launceston have little interest for walkers and the nearest features considered attractive are coastal and mountain areas. At Hobart, however, most of the day trips visit the rugged Mt. Wellington area. The H.W.C. does arrange some outings to the Lower Midlands but these invariably have a bush-clad hilltop as their objective.

The considerable number of mainland walkers who visit Tasmania each year are evidence of the high walking quality of Tasmania's mountain country. Interest is such that in recent years Trans Australian Airlines have

experimentally organised special long weekend bush walking excursions from Melbourne to Tasmania. The attraction of the highlands of the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair area has been added to by the creation of a well-defined 50 mile overland track with shelter huts located at intervals of 10 to 15 miles. (See Plate 21). These facilities make possible a long trip through exciting natural scenery, away from civilisation but with a well defined route and overnight accommodation, which is unparalleled in Australia. The South-West is attractive by virtue of the great variety of coastal, mountain, and plain country scenery it contains, but its special appeal is the great size of the wilderness which permits many days walking away from civilisation; a value which is widely known amongst mainland walking enthusiasts. (See Plates 4 and 23). In fact the area has become something akin to an Australian Everest, which it is every bushwalker's ambition to visit at least once.

(d) Promotion and resource protection

The scope of walking club activities extends well beyond the arrangement of walking trips. Some idea of the breadth of interest is given by the objectives of the H.W.C. which are: "To encourage walking, skiing and similar outdoor activities, and to promote interest in the preservation of flora, fauna, and natural scenery". The walking clubs have always been very conscious of their promotional objectives and have actively tried to stimulate

interest in walking amongst the general public. This has been done through a variety of methods including club magazines;^{24*} public lectures illustrating walking country and activities; and the provision of leaders for walks by parties of school children and visiting mainland tourists, and for training camps.^{25*} The object of this work is not simply to encourage walking but also to "create an awareness of the value of Tasmania's natural beauty". The H.W.C. provides a map and information service for visiting mainland walkers and plans in detail the itineraries of visiting parties. The clubs also make a general contribution to walking by making and maintaining tracks, maintaining in readiness a search and rescue organisation, and assisting the Scenery Preservation Board with many projects. They zealously guard the interests of the walking fraternity and draw the attention of the Government to matters of concern. Similarly the objects of the Tasmanian Caverneering Club include the preservation of caves. Examples of this work are the lengthy attempt to persuade the Government to undertake major improvement of tracks in the South-West and the vigilant watch over the state of the tracks on Mt. Wellington. As a result of long campaigning the Government in 1962 accepted recommendations²⁶ of the H.W.C. and began a four year programme of track clearing. One of the most influential aspects of the clubs' work has been in the field of scenery preservation. The ways in

which they have contributed to this end are too many to enumerate in detail. The Hobart club has for many years had representatives on two of the subsidiary National Park Boards, and was responsible for the proposal of the FrenchmansCap and Lake Pedder National Parks. They have strongly opposed any efforts to alienate national park land, an example being their active opposition to the alteration of the western boundary of Mt. Field National Park for timber exploitation. The interest in the protection of the very environmental qualities on which most present day walking activity is based is understandable, but it is evident too that an important part of the motivation for these actions is the belief that their work is in the interest of the community at large. The situation is not simple since it is clear that many consider their obligations as a citizen in a different light. Evidence of this is seen in the answers to a questionnaire distributed to members of the H.W.C. Asked their opinion about the future of the South-West^{27*} the following views were expressed:-

1. That the area should be retained in its present state as an adventure area for bush walkers
... .. 38%
2. As in 1, but believed that it was not realistic to hope for the retention of the whole area, and therefore favoured protection of parts of the area by the creation of national parks ... 16%
3. That any commercial values present should be exploited but that certain areas should be set aside as national parks 33%

4. The exploitation of any commercial values present anywhere in the area 13%

Considering that the group sampled is representative of those who at present have almost sole use of the area, the high proportion who are not opposed to a basic change in the character of the area is striking evidence of an ambivalent resource attitude.

The results of another questionnaire which sought to obtain users' attitudes towards possible changes in an existing national park showed a greater unanimity of opinion. Persons spending three days or longer in the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park, a largely roadless area, were asked whether they favoured the idea of a motor road along the 50 mile overland track from Lake St. Clair to Cradle Valley.^{28*} Out of 77 respondents 81% were generally opposed to the building of roads in National Parks. Most of the respondents considered that a road in the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park would spoil the existing natural beauty and solitude of the area destroying its value as a walker's domain. An appreciable number of respondents thought that a motor road would introduce the "wrong type" to the Park with concomitant dangers of litter, bush fires, and shooting of wild life. Those who supported the road did so on the grounds that it would enable the frail and infirm to enjoy the area and provide tourist revenue needed by the State.

(e) Benefits

Bush walking offers a number of combined recreational experiences, basically including physical exercise, aesthetic enjoyment, the thrill of exploration, and companionship. Extensive wilderness areas such as the South-West, where certain objectives can only be reached by a trip of many days, provide the maximum challenge to bushcraft skills while offering the thrill of discovery and the opportunity to be in direct contact with an exciting natural environment. In addition to the obvious gain in physical well being, this form of recreation offers a high degree of contrast with everyday life, which many walkers claim offers mental refreshment and complete relaxation. Some believe they gain a greater understanding of primitive man and the difficulties of the pioneer by "reliving" their experience in primitive areas. Some go so far as to say that by contact with the natural environment they "gain a greater understanding of man's true relationship to his environment". Experiences such as these, whilst difficult to define, are of primary importance to some participants. Some evidence of the distinctiveness of the walking experience is provided by the bush walkers' resentment of any unguarded reference to him as a "tourist".

Bush walking also requires the exercise of qualities of resourcefulness and self-reliance and calls for an ability to either lead or co-operate with other members of

the party. Many believe that these qualities are sustained in everyday life. Participation in the varied social programmes of the clubs, and in promotional and conservation activities also give opportunity for the exercise of similar qualities.

4. FIELD NATURALIST AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

No discussion of outdoor recreation would be complete without some reference to these groups, which are both essentially concerned with the casual study and preservation of particular aspects of the landscape. Although this section deals mainly with the activities of organised bodies it is again assumed here that the interests and basic activities of these are representative.

(a) Field naturalist activities

(i) Field studies. Although there were earlier short-lived bodies with similar interests, the first enduring organisation in the State was the Tasmanian Field Naturalists' Club (T.F.N.C.) formed in 1904.^{29*} The basic objects - "the encouragement of the study of Nature, and the collection, preservation and systematic classification of specimens" were promoted by monthly meetings, Saturday excursions, and an annual camp-out. The first camp, held at Schouten Island at Easter, 1906, was typical in its location and organisation of the many camps that have followed to this day. With few exceptions the camps have been held in coastal locations, the most favoured areas being south-

eastern Tasmania and the East Coast.^{30*} The campers, sometimes numbering over a hundred, were usually transported by chartered steamer. In the early years the camps were popular amongst walkers and others having no primary interest in nature study, and for whom this was an unrivalled opportunity for an outing, and camp locations and sites were chosen with the needs of this group in mind. Organised field naturalist activities were slow to be established in other parts of the State but a branch was established in Devonport in 1937, and independent clubs were formed at Launceston in 1949, and Burnie in 1952. All of these clubs were still active in 1962. In 1960 the Hobart club had 144 members and had a programme which has remained essentially the same as that provided almost sixty years ago. The 1963 camp-out was held near Cape Bernier in south-east Tasmania and was open to non-club members. The Launceston Club had 73 members in 1962.

(ii) Conservation activities. The majority of field naturalists have the general interests of the nature lover. It is not surprising therefore that the field naturalists have been important advocates of flora and fauna protection and scenery preservation. The part played by the T.F.N.C. in this sphere is described in Chapter 6, but it is appropriate to mention here some of the campaigns in which the Club has been involved. They include the early movements for the creation of National Parks in the

Freycinet Peninsula, Mt. Field, and Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair areas, and an unsuccessful attempt to preserve the fossil cliffs at Darlington, on Maria Island, against quarrying. In 1948 the Club was largely responsible for the declaration of an area of 56,000 acres around Tooms Lake as a sanctuary for the Forester Kangaroo.

Many of the important changes in fauna legislation and administration have been brought about by the field naturalists. It was largely their active campaigning that brought about the passage of the Animals and Birds Protection Act in 1919 and 1928, and the reconstitution of the Animals and Birds Protection Board in 1954 to give representation to associations interested in zoology, with the appointment of a scientifically qualified chairman. They argued that the main duties of the Board should be the preservation of native fauna and the fostering of public appreciation of the value of wild life. As shown in Chapter 6 the Board still interprets its functions more widely than this.

Between 1954 and 1961 the Federation of Field Naturalists' Clubs of Tasmania provided a State organisation for the protection of the interests of naturalists and walkers. It kept a watchful eye over the National Parks, encouraged conservation generally, and facilitated liaison between the clubs.^{31*} During its brief history it advocated the creation of an Ironstone Mt. National Park

and the appointment of a State Ranger to keep bush tracks open, and has opposed a scheme to exploit the elephant seals of Macquarie Island.

Another conservation body representative of the nature lover group is the Flora and Fauna Conservation Committee, which consists of representatives of bush walking, naturalist and caverneering clubs as well as the Y.H.A. This Committee actively engages in such conservation activities as the creation of a public awareness of the destructiveness of bush fires. At present it is advocating the creation of a large National Park in the South-West.

(b) Societies with an interest in the preservation of historic places

Although the Royal Society of Tasmania formed an historical section in 1889, the first organisation with a dominant interest in the protection of historical monuments and records was the Tasmanian Society, founded in 1935.^{32*} This society actually had a wide variety of objectives, which in addition to the preservation of historic places and records included the commemoration of historic events, and the creation of a Tasmanian sentiment. Its only important achievement before being dissolved in 1938-1939 was the planting and dedication of pioneer avenues. The society was revived in 1958. Although the Government have described it as their advisory body on historic buildings preservation, and the Society

has opposed the formation of a Tasmanian branch of the National Trust of Australia as duplicating its own functions, it is not an important force in this field and enjoys little public support.

In view of the considerable interest and pride in Tasmania's wealth of early buildings of architectural merit, it is at first sight surprising that it was not until 1960 that a National Trust body was formed in the State.^{33*} However the work of the Scenery Preservation Board in connection with the preservation of historic buildings largely explains the lateness of this development. The objectives of the Tasmanian branch are similar to those of the kindred organisations in Victoria and New South Wales. The work of the new body has two main aspects: the preservation of historic places and historical education. It aims to preserve places and things of national, historical, architectural, and aesthetic importance. To this end it intends to classify buildings according to their preservation priority. With the help of money and property bequests and donations it hopes to be able to complement the work of the Scenery Preservation Board. Membership at the end of 1962 was 626 and the Trust was organised on a State-wide basis with committees for each of three main regions.³⁴ The achievements of this body are described in Chapter 7.

An organisation which is more intellectual in character than the two already discussed is the Tasmanian

Historical Research Association. It periodically holds meetings and publishes a journal and also arranges excursions to points of interest such as historic privately owned houses of the Midlands. The Northern Branch of the Royal Society of Tasmania,^{35*} a body of kindred spirit, also arranges programmes of excursions to places of historic or scientific interest. The former convict station at Port Arthur has for long been one of the most important tourist draws in the State and tourist propaganda has for many years featured Tasmania's history and its historic places as one of its main attractions in the belief that this is an asset not possessed by the other States.

Whilst the majority of tourists visiting Tasmania are content to visit the main attractions open to the public such as Port Arthur and Entally National House, and have the superficial interests of the sightseer, a small but growing number of persons with an interest in history and architecture are visiting the State for the sake of its historic buildings.

PART THREE

RECREATIONAL LAND USE IN TASMANIA

CHAPTER 6SCENIC RESERVES AND FAUNA SANCTUARIES

By both Australian and overseas standards the scale of Tasmania's park system is unusually high; in June, 1961, the scenic reserves comprised 587,000 acres. In relation to both population and the size of the State the reserved area is greater than that in any other part of the Commonwealth^{1*} and only New South Wales and Queensland have bigger total areas. These impressive facts prompt queries about the origin, status, and function of these special recreation areas; such queries would include:-

What demands, forces, and circumstances led to the establishment of the reserves?

To what extent are they fulfilling their assigned purposes?

What factors, if any, are inhibiting the proper functioning of the reserves?

The chapter begins by briefly outlining the history of the reserve system. Following this the two main functions - preservation of recreational values for posterity and use for present enjoyment - are described, particular attention being paid to the legal status of the reserves, the history of attempts at alienation, management policy, and visitor-use. Factors affecting the functioning of the reserves are then assessed and

reference is made to some of the main problems which must be faced in the future control of this form of land use. Finally, having described the main characteristics of the reserves, it is possible to conclude by comparing them with other Australian systems. A separate section is devoted to fauna sanctuaries.^{2*}

1. THE EVOLUTION OF THE SCENIC RESERVE SYSTEM

(a) Scenery preservation before 1915

The first land to be reserved for the protection of scenery was set aside under a series of Crown lands acts, the first being created under the authority of the Waste Lands Act of 1863.^{3*} The initiative for setting aside reserves of this kind mainly came from district surveyors of the Lands Department, but the Royal Society of Tasmania made occasional recommendations and in 1891, for instance, suggested⁴ the preservation of the Ida Bay caves. A list published in 1899 included twelve reserves.^{5*} They comprised six "scenery reserves", including several coastal features at Eaglehawk Neck and a 1,000 acre strip along the western coastline of South Bruny; three "cave reserves" in the Mole Creek district; the St. Columba and Tyenna "falls reserves" and a "fernery reserve". One important reserve not listed was a 300 acre area at Russell Falls proclaimed in 1885.⁶ However, these arrangements did not satisfy some naturalists. In 1904 the curator of the Tasmanian Museum considered that Tasmania was the

only State in Australia that had not taken steps for the preservation of its native fauna and flora.⁷ Under the existing legislation the only effect of reservation was to withdraw temporarily the land from sale or lease; change of use was "subject to the whims and caprices of Ministers".⁸ Further the Act made no special provisions for the management of the reserves. One of the earliest national park proposals was made in 1893, when a committee appointed by the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science to make recommendations for the protection of native fauna suggested that the Freycinet Peninsula should become "the Tasmanian National Park".⁹ However, the Tasmanian Royal Society, whose help was sought, showed little interest and the matter was deferred.¹⁰ Fauna protectionists continued to be the most vocal advocates of a more effective reserve system and the movement was considerably strengthened by the formation of the Tasmanian Field Naturalists' Club in 1904. Although Freycinet Peninsula and Schouten Island were reserved under the Crown Lands Act in 1904¹¹ the Tasmanian Field Naturalists Club and the Tasmanian Royal Society continued to press for more effective reservation of the area, and for the appointment of trustees and a full-time ranger.

After 1904 increased support for reservations of this kind began to come from people who were interested in the preservation of outstanding scenery and in the

creation of playgrounds similar to those "National Parks" which already existed near Sydney (Royal, founded 1878) and Adelaide (Bel-Air, 1891). The Tasmanian Tourist Association, which already managed a number of the Crown Lands Act reserves, was representative of this interest group, but a few civic-minded citizens with a particular concern for the preservation of natural scenery were the chief advocates. Between 1906 and 1915 a number of further areas of value for scenic rather than fauna protection were set aside as Crown reserves, including the Ben Lomond Plateau, and the King and Gordon Rivers (strips 5 chains wide and 16 miles long, on both banks of both rivers). Perhaps the most encouraging development was the establishment in 1906, after considerable public agitation, of "Mountain Park" on Mt. Wellington as a public playground under the control of the City of Hobart.

The Scenery Preservation Act of 1915 was largely the outcome of agitation for a National Park in the Russell Falls-Mt. Field area. The key figure in the campaign was William Crooke who first suggested a larger and more effective reserve in the area in 1911. In 1913 he led a deputation to the Public Works Department to complain about its timber cutting activities on the existing reserve.¹² Plans to extend the Derwent valley railway to Tyenna caused fear that the area would suffer and at the same time suggested an opportunity to create a reserve that would

be suitable for public recreation and increase the railway revenue. At Crooke's suggestion the reserve was increased to 5,000 acres, and a "National Park Association" was formed to watch over the interest of the area and press for a National Park Act.¹³ Although the Government seems to have accepted the National Park idea in 1913 it still had doubts about the functions of the area and the most suitable form of administration. In 1915, the size of the Russell Falls reserve was increased to 27,000 acres for the purpose of the proposed National Park, but appointment of a controlling body was delayed until more general scenery preservation legislation could be passed.

The ideas about park values and functions, current amongst park advocates during this seminal period, and upon which the scenery preservation legislation was based, are worth examining briefly. A difficulty to the clear understanding of the real motives of some park enthusiasts is their wariness of public opinion and tendency in consequence to use arguments of expedience. It is difficult to know, for instance, how genuine was the support amongst naturalists for the idea of parks as a measure likely to stimulate the tourist traffic. James Beattie in his plea¹⁴ for the extension of the Gordon River reserve used the tourist argument, but added that "necessity knows no law", and "after all, a public awakening may be better aroused by a proposition in this form rather than a more scientific

view point". Suggestion of methods for making the parks self-supporting, such as pine plantations, perhaps also resulted from uncertainty about the way in which the public and the Government would react to park proposals. The aesthetic and scientific advantages of reserves were also commonly mentioned by naturalists but they placed most stress upon the need for major reserves to preserve a part of Tasmania's rapidly diminishing flora and fauna for posterity. They visualised a future in which the reserves would contain the only remaining examples of native fauna and flora and would become "relic samples of primaeval Tasmania". In order to make them complete "living museums" it was suggested that the fauna and flora of the parks should be augmented with other native types not already present. Many of the arguments appealed to Tasmanian pride and sentiment and were presented with moral overtones; hunters and timber interests, for instance, were commonly described as "spoilers and utilitarians".

The idea of turning the Russell Falls reserve into an outdoor playground had many supporters. The Mercury spoke of the area as "a public resort of quite first class value ... and more especially for the citizens of Hobart and the increasing number of tourists". The Labor Government which was finally responsible for the passage of the Scenery Preservation Bill seems to have been

particularly impressed with the merits of the scheme for the protection of the vital resources of the tourist industry. Having recently established the Government Tourist Bureau it was a natural step to legislate next for scenery preservation.

Although the National Park Association held public meetings and was supported by a number of municipal authorities, the movement does not seem to have been a popular one. The active agents seem to have been a few nature lovers and field naturalists, and other public spirited men. It was inevitable that arguments should contain some reference to parks already in existence elsewhere, but other than these brief references, the demands and ideas about the value and function of the parks seem to have been spontaneous.

(b) The establishment of scenic reserves 1916-1962

The Scenery Preservation Act of 1915 provided for the appointment of a seven-member Scenery Preservation Board^{17*} (S.P.B.), with authority to recommend the reservation of either Crown or private lands, and, with the aid of a Parliamentary vote, to manage the reserves and carry out all works authorised by Parliament. Provision was also made for control of reserves to be vested in local authorities or specially constituted boards.

(i) Reserves proclaimed 1916-1945. During this twenty-nine year period, most of the reserves were created during

two short phases - 1916 to 1922, and 1938 to 1941. During the greater part of the twenties and thirties the S.P.B. was inactive and progress was halted after 1941 by the war. Judged by the number and total area of reserves created the first active period of reserve proclamation between 1916 and 1922 was the most important in the history of scenery preservation. At the first meeting the Surveyor-General announced the arrangements he had made for his surveyors to take special note of "waterfalls, forest clad outcrops, attractive and commanding viewpoints, or other places of historical or scientific interest and natural beauty suitable for reservation". At the next meeting of the Board members recommended¹⁸ to the Government a list of thirty-eight reserves. By 1921 fifteen of these had been proclaimed (see Appendix 7) under the new Act, including: the National Park reserve around Russell Falls, increased to 38,500 acres in 1919; several of the main convict buildings at Port Arthur; interesting coastal features near Port Arthur and Eaglehawk Neck; Freycinet Peninsula; St. Colomba Falls; Gunn's Plains Cave; and the Bowen Monument. The location of these reserves and others referred to later in this chapter are depicted in Figure 27. The remaining recommended areas that were not reserved were mainly Crown land and could be afforded a measure of protection by the Crown Lands Department. Other areas which had not been included in the original

list of the S.P.B., but which were proclaimed by 1921, were the high-cliffed coastline of South Bruny; the newly discovered Hastings Cave; a monument to the wrecked convict ship George III; the Forth Falls; and Marriott's Falls. By 1921 many diverse areas and features had been reserved. The National Park for instance, contained many features representative of western and central Tasmania - the glacially modified terrain and high-moor typical of the plateaux, and on the slopes a characteristic zonation of the vegetation from sub-alpine scrub down to the heavy mixed forest. The Freycinet Reserve, on the other hand, included spectacular red granite hills, with open forest typical of eastern Tasmania and small areas of coastal heath. (See Plate 17).

Public interest in scenery preservation was mainly confined to the professional class, and members of the tourist and improvement association. For instance, the Mt. Lyell Tourist Association which organised a petition protesting against the cutting of timber on a popular picnic resort pointed out that they had "only called on the educationists, storekeepers and others who would appreciate the position" and had ignored "the man in the street" who was "indifferent to abstract considerations".¹⁹ What became a common sequence of events was for a tourist association to ask the G.T.B. for assistance with an improvement to some local beauty spot, and, if the Director

considered that the area had scenic merit, it was passed on for consideration by the S.P.B. An example was the proclamation of Marriott's Falls after the Tyenna Progress League had suggested the cutting of a track to the spot.²⁰

In 1922 the most important of Tasmania's scenic reserves was proclaimed in the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair area. To-day the National Park which has been developed in this area contains over half the acreage in the State's scenic reserve system. The campaign for this reserve area permits a second look at the forces and ideas responsible for the system.

Several early visitors from the 1890's onwards had suggested the suitability of the Cradle Mt. area for a National Park, and both this area and that around Lake St. Clair were included in the original list of reserves recommended by the S.P.B. Although not immediately proclaimed, 35,000 acres were withdrawn from selection in 1916 as a "proposed reserve". In 1920 and 1921 several of Launceston's most prominent citizens suggested the creation of a scenic reserve, but the initiative was taken by an Austrian - Gustav Weindorfer - who from 1912 had been endeavouring to attract tourists to his mountain chalet at Cradle Valley. In 1921 Weindorfer with the Director of the G.T.B. and the Secretary of the National Park formed a deputation to the Minister of Lands and Works to request the creation of a reserve. In an effort

to gain public support, the Tasmanian Field Nationalist Club and the Royal Society held meetings in Hobart and Launceston respectively, and the Director of the G.T.B. made a lecture tour of North-West towns.

Most of the arguments employed were similar to those used in the campaign for the Russell Falls reserve, namely the need for an extensive sanctuary because of the "wholesale destruction of native fauna";²¹ need for protection of forests against destruction by fire;²² and the benefits of the increased tourist traffic which it was thought would result from the opening up of the highlands;²³ the Director of the G.T.B. spoke of the area becoming the "Switzerland of Australia". Support for the idea was particularly strong in the North-West and the North, and a Launceston newspaper referred to the reserve as a "National Park for Northern Tasmania". Specific features which it was thought deserved protection in the area were the stands of native conifers, particularly the King Billy and Celery Top pines.²⁴

The most novel aspect of the campaign was the proposal²⁵ that the area should not be managed in the same way as the National Park, which was an "absolute sanctuary", but should become a "National Reserve" in which game could be taken moderately, timber marketed, and minerals mined, from all of which revenue could be derived. One of the main advocates also suggested that

red deer and chamois be introduced for tourists and hunters, the streams be stocked with fish, and the area planted with conifers.^{26*} It seems that this attitude was developed in anticipation of strong opposition to any proposal to proclaim an extensive area under the Act as it then stood. There was evidently cause to fear opposition. In an initial leading article on the scheme the Examiner declared itself opposed to the locking up of any area that might have a commercial value,²⁷ and the Surveyor-General made his support conditional on mining, pastoral, and timber interests being protected.²⁸

The proposal finally found favour with the Government in 1922 and, after the legislation had been expressly amended to allow future exemption of any reserved land from any of the provisions of the Act, a 158,000 acre reserve was created. The proclamation had little immediate effect since it was not until 1927 that a Board was appointed for the northern section, and 1935 before any money was spent on the area.

The new reserve consisted of a narrow rectangle bounded at the southern and northern ends by Lake St. Clair and Cradle Mt. In between was a high watershed area with spectacular dolerite peaks, many among the highest in Tasmania. (See Plate 15). The lower areas were heavily timbered mainly with virgin temperate rain forest. There were also stands of endemic conifer (see Plate 16), and

wildlife was generally plentiful.

Between 1922 and 1938 only two reserves were created; one consisting of several small areas of evergreen beach (Nothofagus cunninghamii) near Weldborough in North-East Tasmania; the other - Mt. Strzelecki - being an impressive group of grey granite mountains at the south end of Flinders Island. Another development in 1930 was the further extension of the National Park boundary to facilitate policing against hunters. Under the Ogilvie Government (1934-1939) interest in all matters connected with the tourist industry was revived, but it was not until 1938 that the S.P.B. again became an energetic body. Between 1938 and 1941 a score of reserves were recommended and proclaimed.

The reservation of strips of land on the banks of the Gordon and Pieman Rivers was aided by the Premier's personal interest in these areas. Both were navigable waterways used for tourist boat trips, with high bush covered slopes, (see Plate 20), and contained stands of the rare Huon pine - a slow-growing endemic conifer of great value for ship-building. An innovation was the decision to reserve attractive areas of roadside bushland, so protecting an important scenic resource of the motoring tourist. Several long strips were proclaimed; one along the West Coast section of the Lyell Highway (18,000 acres), another on the Queenstown-Zeehan road (15,000 acres),

and a third on the Bass Highway between Smithton and Marrawah (11,500 acres). Three major mountain reserves were created. The first, the Hartz Mountains reserve, was established in 1939 after work had commenced on a road to the area. This was a high plateau area with a number of small lakes and high-moor vegetation. An additional reserve was created along the line of the proposed road. Mt. Barrow, a high isolated dolerite peak in the North-East, was proclaimed in 1940 after the completion of a tourist road to the summit. The reservation in 1941 of Frenchmans Cap, a well-known quartzitic mountain on the West Coast, was due to entreaties by a sole bush walker.²⁹ (See Plate 19).

A number of popular tourist attractions were also proclaimed. They included caves in the Mole Creek area purchased by the Government some twenty years previously; additional properties associated with the convict period on the Tasman Peninsula; Notley Fern Gorge in the West Tamar district; and Ferndene near Penguin. Notley Fern Gorge and Mt. Barrow were both suggested by the Northern Tasmanian Tourist Association.

One of the most important developments of this period was the extension of the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair reserve. The alteration of the boundaries to conform with natural features was suggested by the Cradle Mt. Board in 1934, but the opposition of the Mines and Forestry Departments blocked the move for a number of years. In 1936 the boundaries of the fauna sanctuary under the

control of the Animals and Birds Protection Board, which had been coincident with those of the scenic reserve, were extended and marked on the ground where necessary. In 1940 these boundaries were adopted for the reserve, doubling the size, and bringing the total area to a third of a million acres. (See Figure 28). The reserves created between 1942 and 1945 were of a minor nature. They included monuments to the navigators Tasman and D'Entrecasteaux; and a small gorge at Corra Linn reserved in connection with plans to develop a fish hatchery.

(ii) Reserves proclaimed 1945-1962. After 1945 the work of the S.P.B. became much more diversified. The management of historic reserves became of major importance, there was an increased demand for visitor facilities, and in 1955 the Board became responsible for administration of the Defacement of Property Act. In spite of this, many important reserves were created during this period. In 1946 the Board introduced a system of reserve classification.³⁰ On the suggestion of the Director of the G.T.D. it was agreed to call all major reserves "National Parks", whilst all other reserves were classified according to the nature of the feature preserved; one category being "historic buildings, monuments and settlements".^{31*} It was decided that henceforth six of the major scenic reserves would be referred to as National Parks. These were: National Park, which now became known as Mt. Field National Park; the

Freycinet Peninsula; Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair; Hartz Mountains, Mt. Barrow, and Frenchman Cap. Since this time only two new National Parks have been created. The first of these was the Ben Lomond Plateau proclaimed in 1947. This 40,000 acre reserve comprised a ten by four miles dolerite capped plateau with forest land on the skirting slopes. The most recent reserve in the National Park class to be created was the Lake Pedder area. At the suggestion of the Hobart Walking Club, an area of 59,000 acres of Crown land, comprising the shallow lake, extensive areas of button grass plains, and the rugged Frankland Range, was proclaimed in 1955. (See Plate 18).

A great variety of other reserves has been established since 1945. Coastal land proclaimed included foreshore areas near Eaglehawk Neck and Port Arthur which were reserved to prevent summer cottage development spoiling the scenery. The extensive foreshore of Port Davey was also reserved to protect its vegetation against burning by cray fishermen.^{32*} Other reserves created included areas of bushland at Roger River, a well known picnic spot in the far North-West; an area of attractive bushland in the St. Mary's pass; a small area of river bank at New Norfolk; and the Liffey Falls on the Western Tiers. The circumstances in which some of these were proclaimed illustrate the absence of strict standards and the unsystematic approach to the creation of reserves. The

"Derwent Cliffs" area at New Norfolk was proclaimed to enable a long term lease to be granted for a motel,³³ while St. Mary's Pass became a reserve as a result of a chance offer of land.

The most outstanding development was probably in the preservation of historic places. Although authorised by the 1915 Act to acquire places of historic significance little had been done other than the acquisition of part of Port Arthur and the reservation of a number of memorials. The first moves for increased activity in this field were taken in 1945 when the Government announced plans for the acquisition of the remainder of Port Arthur and the spending of considerable sums on restoration and improvements to the grounds. Major buildings were acquired in 1945, and remaining properties systematically reserved over the next fifteen years. Of more far-reaching importance was the decision to acquire other historic properties as reserves under the Scenery Preservation Act. In deciding upon a programme the S.P.B. consulted with other interested bodies including the Tasmanian Society and the Royal Society of Tasmania. The latter suggested that a subsidiary body to advise on the preservation of historic places be appointed, but the idea was not acted upon.^{34*}

One of the objectives of the Board was to obtain an historic property embodying the best features of colonial architecture as a National House. After Entally House

near Hadsphen had been acquired for the purpose in 1947 (see Plate 30), it was decided to obtain a similar building in the South. This idea was abandoned in 1955 after a fruitless search for a suitable building. One of the objects of Entally House was to provide an example of the maintenance and restoration of an historic property which it was hoped would be emulated by private owners of similar buildings.³⁵ The other historic buildings reserved include: the old convict gaol at Richmond; a pioneer cottage and cabins at the Steppes; the Shot Tower near Taroom; and a former toll house at New Norfolk. Historic sites at York Town, Recherche Bay and Bowen's Park have also been added to the system. Although the list indicates that some progress has been made, early ambitious schemes have not been realised.

(iii) Reserves suggested but not proclaimed. Since the S.P.B. has acted as a kind of clearing house for reserve suggestions it is not surprising that the list of areas proposed but not accepted (see Appendix 8) is as long as that of the existing reserves. The most common reasons for the failure of proposals to materialise have been the belief that appropriate protection of scenic values could be provided by alternative means; the lack of scenic or historic merit in the places suggested; shortage of funds for the acquisition of otherwise deserving schemes; and the existence of commercial values in the area suggested.

Recently, demands for the development of the existing reserves seem to have prompted a reaction against the creation of further large scale reserves.

Many of the decisions not to reserve proposed areas of Crown land were taken because of the protection that could be offered by the Crown Lands Department. If there was any doubt about whether a reservation under the Scenery Preservation Act was appropriate the area could be reserved under the Crown Lands Act, in some cases to await later consideration. Areas reserved in this way, include Sisters Beach near Wynyard, and the Pt. Puer approach area at Port Arthur. Subsequent applications for leases in such areas were referred to the Board for decision, so that it was able to exercise a general degree of control over such areas. Scenic values in other Crown land were also protected by the instruction³⁶ to surveyors that no surveys for alienation were to be made of any land that was likely ever to be required for scenery reserve.

Most of the areas which have been considered of insufficient merit for reservation have been suggested by individuals, tourist associations and local authorities zealously interested in gaining an advantage for their district. Typical of this kind of reject was a popular foreshore area at Green Beach, and an old bridge at Chigwell considered not to be sufficiently national in character for acceptance. The S.P.B. has usually suggested that

features of this kind can be more appropriately dealt with by municipal authorities.

Since 1956 only two minor reserves have been established, and consideration of several major reserves has been deferred. As will be shown later, low fund allocation and an administration which is not equal to dealing with S.P.B.'s many tasks is largely responsible for this. Since the Board can neither offer proper protection against bush fire, nor meet the demands for facilities in existing areas, there has been a reluctance to add further reserves to the system. The decisions to defer action on the proposed Arthur Range and Ironstone Mt. National Parks seem to have been dictated by these considerations. The Surveyor-General considers³⁷ that since the Arthur Range is remote and well in advance of settlement there is little need for reservation, which would in any case create difficulties of control. This is a different attitude to that which permitted the reservation of isolated areas at Frenchmans Cap (1941) and Lake Pedder (1955). The reaction of the S.P.B. to the 1962 proposal by the Deputy-President of the Legislative Council of a large National Park in the South-West offers further evidence of the view which is at present blocking extension of the system.^{37a} It was argued in this case that the proposal was premature, that the reserve system was already vast, and that all available funds were required for

existing reserves. Reference was also made to the expense of building roads and the difficulties of policing the area. Lack of funds and an inadequate administration has also prevented the addition of more historic reserves to the system. Even where buildings can be purchased cheaply the cost of restoration and recurring maintenance is a deterrent.

Early evidence that the S.P.B. was powerless to protect threatened natural features where strong economic interests were involved was given by the failure³⁸ of the Board to prevent the Portland Cement Company from destroying fossil cliffs at Maria Island, and the Mt. Lyell Company from carting timber through the King River Reserve.

In spite of the safeguards given to economic interests after 1922 by amendments to the Scenery Preservation Act, a variety of interests continued to oppose new reserves and extensions of existing areas. Thus the Mines and Forestry Departments opposed plans to extend the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair reserve on the grounds that prospecting would be hindered and valuable forest lands locked away. Two proposals to reserve a part of the western Central Plateau, first by extending the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park,³⁹ and secondly by creating an Ironstone Mt. National Park, were not proceeded with partly because of the likely opposition from trapping interests, the hydro-electric power potential of the area, and the difficulties of control. Land was set aside as

a "proposed reserve" but recent attempts to have the area proclaimed have been countered with the argument that better scenic features and samples of natural vegetation are contained in existing reserves. The most influential obstacles to reservation have been timber values and the view of the Forestry Commission (F.C.) that forest land should be preserved only if the scenic values are outstanding. The F.C. has argued that it is itself capable of protecting the scenic appeal of other forest areas. The Hydro-Electric Commission, (H.E.C.) on the other hand, has not objected to the reservation of land likely to be affected by its schemes. The Lake Pedder National Park was proclaimed in the full knowledge that it is likely to be flooded by the H.E.C. project.

Among the scenery preservation suggestions blocked by the F.C. was the Zeehan-Corinna road reserve⁴¹ which contained high quality timber, and the 1954 proposal for the setting aside of an area of forest around the Arthur River.⁴² The attitude of the F.C. was also decisive in the defeat of attempts to extend the Gordon River reserve. Since this case is recent, and illustrates some of the implications of the S.P.B.'s loose control of remote reserves and the policy of the F.C. it will be referred to in some detail. In 1956 the S.P.B. reacted abruptly to pressure for the release of part of this reserve for the cutting of Huon pine by suggesting⁴³ that instead the

reserve should be extended to provide a uniform width of 40 chains on either side of the river, thus removing any possible confusion about the boundaries.⁴⁴ The S.P.B. believed it was desirable to preserve the high steep heavily timbered slopes visible from the river. The F.C. countered by suggesting a reduction of the reserve to 10 chains, arguing that this was quite adequate to protect the scenery for the majority of visitors who were launch tourists.⁴⁵ The Commission claimed that a 40 chain reserve would effectively cut off timber areas from their river outlet making logging operations uneconomic, and that the steep slopes were not threatened in any case since they contained no merchantable timber. In 1959 further requests were made for the alienation of reserve land and the S.P.B. again expressed its determination to enlarge the area. At this the F.C. decisively threatened to withdraw its fire patrol in the area if the reserve was extended. Since the F.C. promised to protect the scenery if the disputed area was left in their hands the S.P.B. decided to abandon its plans.⁴⁶ A complicating factor which seems to have contributed to this settlement was the plan of the H.E.C. to build a large dam and power station in the area. The consistency of the F.C.'s attitude is also seen in their opposition⁴⁷ to a proposal to extend the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park by 2,400 acres in the upper Mersey valley. The Commission believes that most of the 2,400

acres is of no great scenic value and that any scenic values in the area can and will be preserved as a matter of departmental policy.⁴⁸

A number of inholdings have complicated control in two major scenic reserves for many years. The main source of irritation has been the enclave near the northern entrance to the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park. A large part of this was purchased in 1945, but because of the high cost of resumption, the Government declined to accept the controlling body's recommendation⁴⁹ to acquire a nearby area of private land on which the cutting of King Billy pine still causes considerable public resentment. Other inholdings on the west coast of Freycinet Peninsula have been used as a base for boat-party raids on wild life for many years but the Government has failed to acquire the areas. A resolution was made in 1959 to purchase inholdings near the entrance to the Freycinet National Park to prevent the building of summer cottages, but the Board failed to act quickly enough,⁵⁰ and were forestalled by the subdivision of the land for this very purpose. (See Plate 17).

(c) Conclusion

It should now be possible to answer questions about the origin of the reserve system. In Tasmania the national park movement, if it can so be termed, was not a popular one. It originated mainly out of concern amongst

naturalists and nature lovers about the depletion of the forests and native fauna, and took the form of spontaneous demands for permanent effective reserves for the preservation of sample fauna and flora. It was strengthened, however, by the support of tourist promoters and civic-minded individuals who realised the value of such reserves for public enjoyment. The provision at an early date of comparatively far-reaching legislation seems to have been due to the coincidence of an active park movement and a tourist-minded Government.

Most of the subsequent reserve suggestions came either from user-organisations such as field naturalist and bush walking clubs, or from individuals or organisations interested in the improvement of local tourist attractions. These bodies have also acted as the watch dogs of the integrity of the reserve system. With the exception of a few active phases the S.P.B. was not important in initiating park proposals.

On the whole, areas were selected for their park-like character or special interest and not because of any rational method of relating natural resources to demand. Soil and water conservation was not an important objective in the creating of any of the reserves. The existence to-day of a relatively large acreage of reserved land is due mainly to the existence of large areas of Crown land regarded as being unfit for any other immediately foreseeable

use and to the control of scenery preservation by the Lands Department.

The first major reserve - the National Park - was more or less permanently locked away from other uses, but the 1921 amendment of Scenery Preservation Act safeguarded other resources that might subsequently be discovered in scenic reserves. The fact that reservation was not potentially permanent was probably largely responsible for the lack of opposition to the reservation of large areas. However, in some instances reserves were successfully obstructed. The opposition is important for it points to conflicts which may intensify in the future. The chief obstacle to reserve extension has been the policy of the Forestry Commission. It has disputed reserve proposals not only in terms of timber values but also on the basis of its own evaluation of the scenery. In addition it claims that it is itself capable of protecting scenic values. The situation resembles in many ways, albeit on a much smaller scale, the way in which the United States Forest Service has resisted the efforts of the National Parks Service to create additional national parks from the national forest. In Tasmania the control of large areas of potential reserve land by the F.C. may prevent further reservation in these areas. The possibility of timber resources in existing scenic reserves attracting alienation attempts is discussed later.

One of the most noticeable features of the history of the reserve system is the piecemeal way in which areas have been acquired without any overall plan, written policy, or established criteria, and often with only superficial consideration of their reserve potential. If the areas selected are representative of the main biotypes, and are capable in their character and distribution of meeting recreational needs, it is only the accidental result of a somewhat indefinite awareness of gaps which were filled if and when the opportunity occurred. Although standards of selection were variable the rejection of many areas as being of insufficient merit has contributed to the status of chosen areas.

2. FUNCTIONS

More important than the forces and circumstances which have been responsible for the shaping of the reserve system are the functions of these areas, and in particular their role in meeting contemporary recreational needs. The plan of this section is to examine separately the way in which the reserves are being managed for the two main purposes for which they were set aside - preservation for posterity and facility for present use. The enquiry into the preservation function involves reference to management aims and practices, and the security of the reserves against alienation. Similarly, study of current visitor-use functions requires examination of use concepts, and

the provision of facilities and services. Attention is also given to the existence of any signs of conflict between preservation and visitor-use. Finally, the relative importance of factors affecting the functions of the reserves are assessed.

(a) Preservation functions

(i) Aims. At no stage in the history of the reserve system has there been any attempt to elaborate its purpose and aims, so that one has to rely upon the objectives indicated by the actual record of management along with occasional statements of intention.

In spite of the considerable discussion of the advantages of reserves which preceded the scenery preservation legislation, the Act contained little^{51*} reference to the purpose of the areas whose permanent reservation it authorised.^{52*} Statements made at the official opening of the National Park in 1917⁵³ indicated some basically different ideas about the purpose of the reserve. Whereas the Minister of Works stressed that scenery preservation work was for the "benefit and pleasure of the people and the encouragement of tourists", William Crooke, the leader of the National Park Association, stated that the objects were: firstly, to preserve an area of primaeval Tasmania; secondly, to preserve native fauna and flora; thirdly, for the recreation of the people; and, lastly, for tourists. The priority of the preservation

aim was reaffirmed by the National Park Board in 1921⁵⁴ which declared that "the primary object of the park is to preserve for all time a sanctuary for natural flora and fauna". A G.T.B. handbook on the area expressed the same view -

This country. . .will in course of time become overcrowded, and it will be found that much of the land's natural beauty has been filched from the people by the necessities of civilisation. Then, and then only, our National Park, reserved for ever from selection, will be assessed at its true value.⁵⁵

Since these early pronouncements there have been few references to purpose which have not made some mention of the importance of current use. Even so it is clear that the accepted idea of providing for public enjoyment both for present and future generations is "by keeping the reserves in as natural a condition as possible".⁵⁶

(ii) Security of reserve status. In this section the record of reserve history is viewed from the point of view of the avowed intention of maintaining the land in its natural condition. Two factors have worked against success in this field; firstly, the excision of reserved land for other uses, secondly, legislation and policies which have permitted the use of reserve land for a variety of purposes tending to alter its natural state.

Revocation of scenic reserve land. Although the Scenery Preservation Act provided that "every reserve shall be inalienable", except where "no longer suitable for scenic

purposes",^{57*} a further clause largely nullified the effect of this by sanctioning the alteration of boundaries "where, in the opinion of the Governor, it is desirable".^{57a} Thus there was no effective legal obstacle to the revocation of reserve land for other uses. The actual instances of revocation are worth examining for the indication they give of the present status of the reserves and their security against future demands for alienation.^{58*}

The first reserve land to be revoked because thought to be no longer useful as a scenic reserve was the 8,500 acre Schouten Island which was excised from the Freycinet reserve in 1941.⁵⁹ Grazing leases had continued to be issued for the island after its proclamation and the area seems to have served no particular purpose as a reserve. A number of roadside reserves created during the 1938-1941 period were also revoked. The first of these was the 3,000 acre Hartz Mountains roadside reserve which was revoked following the abandonment of the road project. In 1947 and 1948 the Queenstown-Zeehan road reserve was revoked after being largely destroyed by fires and illegal wood cutting, and following demands by Queenstown residents for the release of the area for firewood.^{60*} In the instance of the 1,200 acre roadside reserve at Christmas Hills along the Bass Highway the Land Settlement Department cleared the area of its timber and presented the S.P.B. with a fait accompli. The area was

revoked "under protest".⁶¹ The fate of all these reserves demonstrates the inability of the S.P.B. to provide effective protection for the land under its control.

The first case of land to be revoked to permit commercial values to be exploited was a 3,200 acre area of the Pelion mineral field, which in 1939 was excised from the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair reserve to allow prospecting and mining of wolfram and tin. The Mines Department's request that the area be made available was opposed by the Cradle Mt. Board who considered that it was more important for its scenic and forest values,^{62*} and that the area should only be revoked if a Mines Department survey revealed proven deposits.⁶³ An agreement was finally reached whereby, in the event of mining operations ceasing within 5 years, the area was to be reproclaimed. Although no minerals were won from the area this agreement was not honoured.⁶⁴ Three small areas were also revoked in the Freycinet reserve for the quarrying of red granite in 1941 and 1942, and again in 1962.^{64a*} Another area of 155 acres was excised for mining purposes from the Ben Lomond reserve in 1953.

Only one area of reserve land has been alienated for hydro-electric power purposes; this was 630 acres around the H.E.C.'s dam and pumping station at the Lake St. Clair reserve in 1940. However, a number of important reserves will be affected by future hydro-electric power

schemes, including the Pieman and Gordon River reserves, and the Lake Pedder National Park.

The greatest test to date of the security of reserve land against economic pressure came with the request of the Australian Newsprint Mills Pty. Ltd. (A.N.M.), for the transfer to their concession of forest land in the western part of Mt. Field National Park. The move was emphatically opposed not only by the S.P.B. but also by a large number of organisations both in Tasmania and the mainland. The alteration of the boundaries of the Park was one of several objects of Bills presented in 1949 and 1950. Three joint parliamentary committees appointed to enquire into the matter took evidence from a great many organisations and authorities.^{65*} A complicating feature was doubt about the location of the western boundary of the Park,^{66*} the reserve proclamation being faulty and both Bills had the additional object of validating the reservation of the National Park. Because of these difficulties the first committee failed to reach any agreement.⁶⁷ After the boundary had been located and the size of the area requested for excision established, the third committee recommended⁶⁸ that 3,680 acres of national park land be transferred to the A.N.M., and that as a measure of compensation for "losing a valuable area of virgin forest" the Board's annual grant should be increased to aid the development of the Mt. Field National

Park. The Bill was passed in 1950, 3,750 acres of land adjoining the southern boundary being added to the National Park in exchange for the lost 3,680 acres. (See Figure 29).

The two reports of the joint committees deal mainly with the problem of the definition of the boundaries and make little reference to the conflict of values although they received a great amount of evidence on this point. Instead, recourse must be made to the opposed arguments of the scenic reserve authorities and the F.C., both of whom fully debated the principles involved.

The park authorities argued⁶⁹ that the forest had been deliberately included in the Park as a national asset and that it was their duty to preserve it for future generations. They pointed out that not only was the forest of incomparable richness but it also included the finest surviving stand of Eucalyptus regnans, the world's tallest hardwood. In view of this the F.C. were asked by Cabinet to find an area of comparable value. However, the S.P.B. considered that none of the three different areas offered in exchange was a satisfactory substitute.

The Forestry Commission's part in the controversy resulted in a more definite formulation of its attitude towards the scenic values of forest land. Although declaring itself in sympathy with the object of reserving some original forest for scenic and scientific purposes, and of permanently reserving areas of outstanding scenic

value, it argued that in view of its timber value, 4,000 acres^{70*} of prime forest was considerably in excess of a reasonable reservation. The F.C. further believed that "the locking up of such a resource would be reasonable only if the area concerned were of a high degree of scenic beauty capable of reasonable development for the use of the people",⁷¹ and pointed out that the land sought by A.N.M. was inaccessible to visitors and had no great scenic value.⁷² It suggested that an area adjoining the southern boundary, which contained good stands of Eucalyptus regnans, would serve the main purpose of preservation more effectively as it was more accessible for fire control and visitor-use. The implication of the Tasmanian Parliament's decision to pass the Bill, in spite of strong public protests and the opposition of the park authorities, is, that no reserve land is secure in Tasmania where a strong case can be made out for economic exploitation. If the F.C.'s principle were to be adopted the only exceptions to this would be small areas of outstanding scenic value. However, it must be remembered that the indebtedness of the State to the pioneering work of the A.N.M. in the production of newsprint from hardwood timbers is a special circumstance in this case, which reduces its value as a precedent.

The second major alienation of reserve land for timber exploitation took a different form. In this

instance, involving the revocation of part of the Hartz Mountains National Park in return for the building of a tourist road, there was compliance by both the public and the park authorities. The lack of opposition is partly explained by reference to the long-maintained local interest in the provision of road access to the area. A pre-war scheme was blocked by the Legislative Council, but another chance came with the exploitation of the Arve Forests by the F.C. In 1952 the Commission offered⁷³ to build a spur road to tourist standards right to the plateau rim if the S.P.B. would allow 700 acres of the reserve land to be revoked for timber cutting.^{74*} Later the Commissioner stated⁷⁵ that little would be lost since the boundary of the Park had been arbitrarily selected, and promised to preserve a strip of trees along the new road as had already been done along the first part of the road. The 700 acres of reserve land was finally revoked in 1958, and the road constructed to the Park boundary.

In this case the S.P.B. and park users played a passive role and there seems to have been no examination of the principles involved. Although the F.C. claimed that, but for the availability of funds derived from exploitation of Park timber, the road could not have been built to other than secondary logging road standard, it would have been reasonable for a Government genuinely interested in making the Park accessible to have upgraded

the road to tourist standards without any sacrifice of park land. The F.C. again invoked the principle that park timber should be exploited where no outstanding scenic values were evident.

Alien forms of land use in scenic reserves. The preservation of reserved land in its natural state has also been inhibited by a number of conflicting forms of land use within the actual reserves. Partly this has resulted from faults in the legislation and the inadequacy of the administrative and management arrangements, but it is also due in some instances to the failure of the controlling body to understand the implications of alien practices.

The Scenery Preservation Act had only been in existence for six years when its effectiveness as a means of preserving natural conditions was weakened by an amendment⁷⁶ which made it possible for any reserved land to be exempted from specified provisions of the Act. Although this created a constant threat to the reserves it has been rarely used, probably because the Act also made specific provision for the use of scenic reserves for timber cutting and mining.

Timber leases were granted in the National Park throughout most of the inter-war period⁷⁷ in order to raise funds for park improvements, but no lease seems to have been granted after 1938. The policy was to restrict leases to parts of the Park "far removed from any scenic spot".

In 1938 the Act was amended⁷⁸ to allow the sale of timber or firewood which "could in the opinion of the Board be removed without detriment to the reserve". In the West Coast reserves the Board was forced to permit supervised firewood getting because of the threat of greater damage by illegal operations. Between 1947 and 1955 timber leases were also given in the Ben Lomond National Park, the royalties going to the S.P.B. In 1955 Parliament realised the dangers implicit in this arrangement, which made it possible for a revenue-starved park authority to destroy the very values it was required to protect, and the Act was amended⁷⁹ to provide for royalties to go to consolidated revenue. A timber lease is still operative in a remote part of the Ben Lomond National Park.

In 1938 the Mines Department obtained an amendment of the Act providing that for mining purposes reserve land could be revoked or exempted from any of the specified provisions of the Act. Control of this section was given to the S.P.B. who were not allowed to consent to its use unless the advantages for mining outweighed the disadvantages to scenery preservation. Generally, where reserve land has been required for mining, it has been revoked rather than exempted.

The use of scenic reserves for water impoundment projects has so far been on a small scale and has not caused any major changes in the natural condition of the

land. The present effects of this type of alien use are small compared with future threats to the major reserves. Two water bodies have had their levels raised, with consequent destruction of some shore fringe vegetation. In the case of the Hobart City Council's use of Lake Fenton for domestic supply, the National Park Board proudly claimed⁸⁰ that it had been the first to suggest the idea. After the first stage of the scheme had been completed in 1939 bathing and camping on the shores of the lake were prohibited. The Hobart City Council also obstructed park tracks, without the consent of the Board.⁸¹ Similarly the H.E.C. raised Lake St. Clair by 5 feet after an assurance that the level would not be increased.⁸² However, for amenity reasons, and at considerable additional cost, the H.E.C. refrained from making the maximum use of this lake.⁸³ Subsequently the H.E.C. removed some of the trees killed by the increase in level, a measure which they have declined to take elsewhere.

Generally the effects of visitor-use on the character of the reserves has not been significant. Except at Mt. Field National Park and some of the lesser reserves, developments have mainly been on the fringe. Most of those who penetrate deeply into the reserves, do so on a few well-known routes. There is, however, ample evidence in the management policies followed that the controlling authorities are aware of the possible disturbing effects

of concentrated visitor-use, a matter which is discussed later.

Lack of an adequate ranger staff has considerably reduced the value of reserves as a sanctuary for wild life. Only three of the reserves have full-time rangers and even in these the staff is not numerous enough to provide full protection. In outlying unsupervised reserves, such as Mt. Strzelecki, game is shot quite openly. However, the factor which has most seriously interfered with attempts to manage the reserves along natural lines has been the inability to prevent destruction by fire. In many vulnerable areas no fire patrols are made and the Board is dependent upon other Departments, mainly the F.C., for fire fighting. Many forested reserves are difficult of access and fires have often had to be left to burn themselves out. Although many of these fires are started by unauthorised burning-off, few summonses are made. The park authorities themselves burn-off areas of button grass in "safe" periods in order to protect timbered areas and chalets from fire. Applications for grazing leases have generally been refused but some have been given for fringe areas of Mt. Barrow and Ben Lomond.⁸⁴ No grazing leases are currently held for a part of any scenic reserve. With control in many different hands it is not surprising that there have been many lapses from the overriding policy of preserving natural conditions. Exotic trees have been planted around picnic areas,⁸⁵

and plants brought in from other reserves.⁸⁶ At Mt. Field National Park lyre birds from Victoria have been introduced. On the other hand the scientific collection of plants and animals has always been strictly controlled.

(iii) Achievement. In trying to assess the contribution of the reserves in this field the most important point to be born in mind is that to date they have not been subjected to strong demands for the development of alien uses. For this reason alone the reserves have mainly remained in their natural state, just as have even larger areas outside the S.P.B.'s control. It seems, that if there is to be any major testing of the status of these areas, it has yet to come. Although the reserves were not selected according to any overall plan, because of their number and scale they probably contain a representative selection of the main biotypes,^{86*} and have a general sanctuary value for wild-life. The most important contribution is probably in the preservation of the flora of the high rainfall areas of the highlands and the West Coast much of which is distinctively Tasmanian and which includes several endemic species. The achievement in the preservation of historic buildings is examined in a general discussion of this subject in Chapter 7.

The reserve system has little legal protection against conversion to other uses, and even the support of strong public opinion has proved ineffective. Reserve

land is almost as readily revoked as created. The Act offers so little protection against powerful competing uses that designation of land as a scenic reserve can only be regarded as a temporary or short-term expression of purpose. Parts of scenic reserves have been revoked for timber cutting, mining, and hydro-electric power developments. Unless the legislation is strengthened many reserves are likely to be irreparably affected by excisions and complete revocation for other uses. Thus commercial values appear to be the ultimate determinants of resource use in these areas.

The chief threat is probably from hydro-electric schemes and the exploitation of timber. Large areas of three major reserves will be drowned if the plans of the H.E.C. are carried out. The F.C.'s view expressed in test cases is that all forest, except small areas of exceptional scientific or scenic interest accessible for use by the public, should be exploited for its timber values. Already, areas which the S.P.B. consider to be of primary scenic value have been relinquished to the F.C. because the park authority has inadequate means of affording protection against fire. The implication is that merchantable forest in scenic reserves is not secure, and further demands for the exploitation of better stands can be expected. However, most of the forest land in the reserves consists of the less valuable temperate rain forest or over-mature eucalypts.

The park achievement has been limited by the failure to insist upon management along natural lines; timber cutting, grazing, and prospecting have all occurred in scenic reserves. Fires, illegal hunting and a variety of alien management practices have also prevented the retention of natural conditions. This has been caused mainly by the shortcomings of the Act and ineffectiveness of the authority's control, but there has also been no basic definition of objectives and principles and hence the several park bodies have developed a variety of interpretations.

(a) Visitor-use functions

(i) Aims. Although the Scenery Preservation Act of 1915 made little specific provision for the development of the reserves for visitors, it was clearly the intention to open them up and provide facilities both for tourists and Tasmanians. The Mercury caught the spirit of the public playground idea in its commentary⁸⁷ on the official opening of the National Park -

We want. . .Australia wants. . .these things opened for reverent use and inspection, for the joy of men and women and children, for study and musing and healthy holiday. We also need them preserved and cared for.

Although the only way in which the S.P.B. seemed empowered to develop the reserves was under its general authority to "manage" and carry out works, the National Park Board was authorised,⁸⁸ among other things, to make regulations

for "the accommodation of visitors or the development of the Park as a public resort" and for "the use of the Park for the recreation of the inhabitants of the State". Generally, the subsidiary boards which controlled several of the major reserves tended to be more development-minded than the parent body. However, lack of funds has prevented development by even the most enthusiastic boards. From 1916-1934 the average annual expenditure on all reserves was only £110 a year. The modest aim of this period was "to preserve scenic resorts from being sold, so that when the population increases, they have the benefit of areas which are well worthwhile developing into attractions for travellers".⁸⁹ Although more funds have been made available since 1945 development is still greatly limited by this factor.

A major difficulty arises from the failure of the Act to give the S.P.B. a clear and direct mandate to exploit its own reserves. The prevailing attitude of the Board has been to doubt whether its function is to do other than "ensure reasonable access to areas under its control and provide a restricted type of unattended accommodation for park users leaving further development to private enterprise". However, park investment possibilities have not been found attractive by private enterprise.

(ii) Provision of facilities. Progress in this field is

best related by reference to the actual facilities and services which have been provided.

Access. To-day, six out of eight National Parks can be reached by road. During the late twenties the National Park and Cradle Mt. Boards campaigned actively for the building of roads, and even considered such ideas as charging a toll and raising funds by the sale of timber. Five roads giving access to major reserves were constructed or started during the period of the Ogilvie Government (1934-1939), including roads to the Cradle Mt. Reserve and Lake Dobson in National Park. In post-war years the S.P.B. has shown no great interest in the provision of roads to the remaining reserves, and the two major roads built - to the Hartz Mountains and Ben Lomond - have resulted from the initiative of other agencies.

The most important achievement of the Park authorities in the sphere of access has been in providing internal tracks. In addition to the network of walking tracks developed near the Park entrances, a 50 mile long overland trail from Cradle Valley to Lake St. Clair was cut in 1934 and gradually improved, until by 1939 it had been upgraded to pack-horse standards for most of the way.

The road to Lake Dobson was campaigned for by the National Park Board even though it penetrated deeply into the Park. In contrast the proposal by the Cradle Mt. Board of a motor road along the route of the overland track

in the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park was not welcomed in all quarters, and provides in fact the only major instance of a conflict between the aims of provision for visitor enjoyment and of preservation. Announcing the decision to have a preliminary survey made the Minister of Works stated⁹¹ that "a road would open up a wonderful scenic trip closed at present to the majority of visitors to the State". Although it was agreed that the road was warranted,⁹² building was delayed by the extensive construction programme already under way. The Cradle Mt. Board later included the road on its list of post-war works, but it was opposed by the National Park Board which was responsible for the southern half of the Park.⁹³

The Cradle Mt. Board argued that its duty was "to make accessible to the greatest extent the scenic beauties of the reserve",⁹⁴ and that the area could be of the most benefit to the State if made available to a greater number, including the frail and those with little time and money. Opponents of the scheme were criticised for "maintaining a wall of inaccessibility" in order to reserve the area for the few.⁹⁵

The National Park Board favoured the idea of making the Park more accessible but considered that this could best be achieved by means of more tracks and huts, the building of first class accommodation at each end of the reserve, and a riding track served by chalets in

between.⁹⁶ It opposed the motor road plan on the grounds that this would destroy the scenery and wildlife which it was the Board's first duty to protect; and pointed out that the area could not be enjoyed as well by car travel as by riding or walking. Other opponents of the scheme believed that the road would spoil the area for the bushwalker.⁹⁷

Although the Cradle Mt. Board continued to press for the road the Government took little further interest. With the abolition of the Board the scheme lost its chief advocate. The new Board controlling both sections of the Park has continued to oppose⁹⁸ the idea of a through road, but the idea of a future extension of the Mersey Valley forestry road through the south-eastern part of the Park has been favourably considered.⁹⁹

Accommodation. The main features of present-day reserve accommodation are simplicity, cheapness, and non-commercial character. The visitor is offered a range which includes free shelter huts, (see Plate 21), inexpensive chalets and cabins, and caravan parks. In addition there are private and club huts. Caravan facilities have mainly been provided since the inception of a vehicular Bass Strait ferry in 1959, whilst the other forms are traditional. Only two better-class accommodation houses have been built in spite of a history, as old as the reserve system itself, of efforts to provide this type of facility. The failure to attract this type of unit can be attributed to the

combined deterrent of the marginal prospects of success in such remote locations, and the limitations imposed by conditions designed to protect the interest of other park users.

Before 1938 long term leases were rarely granted¹⁰⁰ but in that year the first attempt was made to liberalise the terms by granting leases of up to 21 years. In 1945 this was increased to a maximum of 99 years. However, the right to insist on other conditions, such as inspection and supervision, and the fixing of a minimum expenditure on the building, was retained and the Board continued to act cautiously. As a result many private firms negotiating for leases have got no further than preliminary enquiries whilst others have given up their leases after a few years. The unwillingness of the Board to grant unqualified monopolies seems to have been the main deterrent. At Cynthia Bay a succession of lessees (1939-1953), including the financially strong Ansett Company, have failed to provide accommodation. The only relatively high standard accommodation to be provided in a National Park - a chalet at Coles Bay - was permitted in despair, even though the proprietor had failed to spend as much as was required by the terms of his lease.¹⁰¹

In spite of the obvious difficulties the Government have remained adamant that development of high standard accommodation must be by private enterprise. This attitude

was clearly demonstrated by the Government's refusal to allow the S.P.B. to build a new hotel at Port Arthur. In this case it was argued¹⁰² by the Board that, since the hotel was not likely to be a paying concern, the State might regard the loss as a subsidy to the tourist industry. Eventually a private developer was found. At Cynthia Bay, after private attempts had failed, the Government finally sanctioned the provision of simple hut accommodation. At Mt. Field National Park where the controlling authority had requested the building of a chalet for many years,¹⁰³ the scheme was eventually modified to the provision of a large hut.

The attitude of the S.P.B. towards non-commercial accommodation has been to accept club huts but refuse lease applications for privately owned summer cottages and mountain huts. The only exception has been at Ben Lomond where, because of difficult access to the snow field and the shortage of accommodation, members of the Northern Alpine Club have been temporarily allowed to build private huts. (See Plate 13). All Park designs are vetted and leases can be cancelled at will. At Mt. Field new huts are erected on a special village site. In 1952 an attempt¹⁰⁴ by the S.P.B. to limit the development of non-public huts and make the owners pay more was prevented by the subsidiary boards and Cabinet who considered that the services of the clubs to the Park warranted some privilege. Similar

motives prompted the S.P.B. to investigate the possibility of charges for admission to parks and for the use of the overland huts in the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park. The enquiry revealed¹⁰⁵ considerable differences of opinion on this point but the practical difficulties of collecting fees seems to have been the decisive reason for rejecting the idea.

Winter sports facilities. The fact that the State's major skiing centres are in national parks has resulted in demands for facilities, and created additional problems of control. Although the boards have been sympathetic towards the development of winter sports facilities, they have not been in a position to assist in any major way. At the same time private enterprise has been deterred by Park regulations and the business risk of providing accommodation and other facilities. Both the Mt. Field Board and the S.P.B.¹⁰⁶ opposed a commercial application for exclusive use of a part of the Mt. Mawson snowfield. The resistance offered by the Northern Alpine Club to the creation of the Ben Lomond National Park in 1947 has been the only instance of opposition to a park proposal by a recreational interest. Since this time the club has continued to request¹⁰⁷ that the skiing area be placed under its control.

Facilities for cultural benefit. Interest in exploiting the educational values of the reserves began early with

combined school excursions to the National Park arranged by William Crooke between 1917 and 1919. However, the Park authorities have generally shown little interest in positively fostering this type of usage. An exception was the action in 1939 of the Cradle Mt. Board who provided a trailside museum at Cradle Valley and nature trails at Notley Gorge. The museum was not equipped and opened until 1962. The post-war acquisition by the S.P.B. of historic properties brought about a closer awareness of the cultural possibilities of reserves, and in 1960 the Superintendent proposed a plan for an information and interpretative service.^{108*} The S.P.B. however considered that the project was before its time and that physical development must take priority, and therefore shelved it as a long term matter. The lack of a trained ranger staff is an obstacle to the implementation of such a proposal.

Planning of recreational development. Progress in the provision of recreational facilities has been inhibited by, among other things, the lack of planning for both the individual reserves and the system as a whole. In the sole attempt at national reserve planning - the drawing up of a table of post-war works - the plan was based on the suggestions of the subsidiary boards. Although they have little executive authority, these latter bodies are responsible for both annual recommendations for works and

long-term plans for their own parks. So far, however, the only plans in existence are for the Mt. Field National Park and the Port Arthur reserve.

Although some general principles are detectable in the reserve acquisition policy of the S.P.B. only one suggestion has been made to place this aspect of the Board's work on a more systematic basis. In 1959, in a report dealing with both planning and park development,¹⁰⁹ the Superintendent pointed out that hitherto progress had been achieved by "piecemeal effort" and that the Board had only "scratched the surface" in the provision of facilities and services. The report stressed the need for a survey of the whole State with a view to recommending reservation of additional areas, particularly foreshore land, before increasing land values made such steps uneconomic, and recommended the appointment of a planning officer and a planning committee and the drawing up of a master plan for the recreational development of the parks. While the report spoke of the public as "a source of both moral and financial support which has not been exploited" it contained no reference to the desirability of a study of the use of existing reserves. The S.P.B. deferred the major recommendations of the report but decided¹¹⁰ to institute yearly management and five year development plans.¹¹¹ This system provides for the national plan to be based on the combined development

plans for each unit, rather than upon a study of the overall needs of the State. Two features which inhibit planning are the absence of any clear definition of park goals and the lack of guidance about the principles to be adopted by the subsidiary boards in management.

(iii) Present-day visitor-use. The great variety of the reserves in character and size is matched by an equal diversity in character of recreational opportunity. The combined reserves cater for a wide range of interests which range from day visits by home-based Tasmanians and rolling tourists, to persons making extended walking tours of two weeks or more.

The two most popular National Parks are Mt. Field and Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair, which in 1959-60 were estimated^{112*} to have had 35,000 and 20,000 visitors respectively.^{113*} Most of these were day visitors including both Tasmanians and mainlanders. Accommodation at the entrances to the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair and Freycinet National Parks, and the huts at Lake Dobson attract visits by rolling tourists who usually do not stay for more than a few days.^{114*} The provision of caravan parks at two of the National Park entrances is considerably increasing this traffic. Chalets at Coles Bay and Cradle Valley and the huts at Lake Dobson also attract an appreciable number of visitors who stay for a week or more in the Park. The Frenchmans Cap and Lake Pedder

National Parks, and the interior of the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park, are chiefly the domain of the bush walker and naturalist, although Lake Pedder can be visited during the summer by aerial day trippers. The number of walkers using these areas is not high, for instance the estimated number of walkers who annually walk the Cynthia Bay to Cradle Valley overland track is only about 500.¹¹⁵

The lesser units in the system also have a variety of users. Reserves such as Port Arthur, Entally House, the limestone caves, and the waterfalls, are among the most popular tourist attractions in the State. Others such as the Helleyer, Ferndene, and Notley Gorges are popular picnic spots, whilst the road reserves contribute to the scenic amenity of motor touring.

(iv) Achievement. Examination in Part Two of the needs of different activity groups makes it possible now to appraise the contribution of the reserve system to the recreational life of the State. Because of the scale of the system and the diversity of country and features preserved it is inevitable that the management of the reserves should be an important factor in Tasmanian recreation. It has been shown in this chapter that, viewed as a whole, the reserve system caters for most types of holiday-making. Nevertheless, there has been recent criticism of the inadequacy of the accommodation and access,

and the view has been expressed that existing facilities cater almost exclusively for the needs of the bush walker. The existence of a substantial day tripper traffic and the use of reserves by skiers, caravan travellers, rolling tourists, and persons interested in historic buildings shows that this is really only true for the interior of the major reserves which have internal road access and only simple accommodation - conditions which suit the bushwalker-naturalist groups. However, the national parks contain some of the most spectacular mountain scenery in Tasmania and these remain a potential resource of the rolling tourist. It seems likely, therefore, that the lack of internal roads and high standard accommodation in these areas has in fact inhibited the optimum development of this type of recreation in the State. But for park regulations, resort hotels might have been possible at such places as Cradle Valley and Lake St. Clair. Further, skiing interests claim that the inclusion of the State's major snowfields in the national parks has retarded their development. On the other hand, it is worthwhile to point out that the reserves serve a valuable purpose in preserving examples of biotypes; that the national parks also play a valuable part in catering for the needs of the bushwalker, naturalist and nature lover group; that this use is compatible with the object of preservation of country in its natural condition, whereas the uses associated with

motor roads are not; and that the indications are that the introduction of motor roads into the national parks would seriously interfere with their present uses. The absence of a comprehensive interpretative service indicates that full use is not being made of the cultural potential of the parks. The whole question of the value of the reserve system in meeting the recreational needs of the State is examined in detail in Chapter 8.

(c) Factors affecting functions of reserves

Among the features of the reserve service that have been emphasised three deserve further explanation. These are: the weak and often ineffective control of the park authorities over the areas in their charge; the limited development of recreational facilities; and the lack of planning. Even though, relatively, Tasmania has for many years spent more than any other Australian State on its parks and reserves,^{117*} most of the deficiencies in park development have been attributed to shortage of funds. The paramount influence of this factor makes it difficult to isolate and weigh the significance of others. It seems that certain features of the administration and aspects of policy have combined with the fundamental fiscal difficulties to cause the present weakness of management and limited facility development.

(i) Influence of management concepts. One of the first questions which comes to mind is the extent to which the

development of recreational facilities has been limited by management concepts, particularly by the priority given to the retention of natural conditions, and to those types of recreation which conflict least with this aim. In fact little attention has been given to formulating any definite policy on this matter. The suggestion of the building of a motor road through the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park was the only occasion on which the question of this conflict was debated at length but in the absence of funds for this project the rejection of the idea by the controlling authorities cannot be regarded as a victory for the preservation principle. The real test of this ideal will occur if money is made available for the large scale provision of facilities.

Very little concern has been expressed on amenity grounds about the development of man-made features in reserves, but there has been considerable doubt about the wisdom of granting park leases to commercial undertakings. This first seems to have been openly expressed in 1929,¹¹⁸ when the idea of a privately owned hotel was opposed in favour of State enterprise. The same attitude was manifest in the recent rejection of an application for a ski concession at Mt. Mawson.¹¹⁹ The objections seem to be based on the view that commercial utilisation is not consistent with the concept of a public utility. More specifically they have involved the arguments that it is

not proper for private persons to profit from an asset provided at public expense; that the granting of private concessions infringes the public right of unfettered access to all parts of the reserve; and that commercial accommodation tends to be expensive whereas the emphasis should be on low cost facilities. It is true that a private business in park areas might ultimately enjoy an economic advantage as a gift from the public and, therefore, conditions to protect the public interest seem legitimate. However, in the present circumstances in which chance of profit is extremely marginal any private person who invested in reserve facilities could more truthfully be regarded as a public benefactor. On the whole the park authorities have considered that the most important matter is to provide facilities and have endeavoured to attract private investment, and it is only the priority given to safeguards for the public which has had the effect of hindering development.

(ii) Administrative. Many of the difficulties of framing and executing policies and adequately managing the parks and reserves can be traced to the nature of the administrative system. This has remained basically unchanged since 1915 and now seems inadequate to deal with an ever growing amount of business. The central authority controlling the reserves - the S.P.B. - is an honorary body whose members consist mainly of heads of Government

departments.^{120*} This has the advantage of cheapness and provides for the maximum degree of consultation between the main land developing agencies of the State, as well as a means by which the other values can be appraised in land recommended for reservation. However, it also has important drawbacks. The interest of statutory appointees is not guaranteed and in practice members have had a limited amount of time to give to park matters. Most of their time has been taken up with routine decisions, and basic matters such as planning have been neglected. The predominantly public service membership has also limited the Board's independence of outlook. The inadequacy of the S.P.B. is accentuated by the lack of a strong professional staff. The effectiveness of the S.P.B. as a central policy-making authority is further weakened by its association with the Lands Department and the vesting of certain measures of control in subsidiary boards.

The question of the exact powers of the Lands Department with regard to scenery preservation has been a matter of contention in the last few years. The Act appears to make scenery preservation an administrative appendage of the Lands Department and for many years the Surveyor General, who is statutory Chairman of the S.P.B., has acted as the Board's chief executive officer and controlled loan funds intended for scenery preservation. The advantages of this association, particularly with regard

to reservation of land, have already been mentioned. The disadvantages have become more obvious in the last fifteen years with the acquisition of historic properties, the assumption of responsibility for the control of roadside hoardings, and the provision of a wider range of recreational facilities. The Lands Department is generally speaking not a land developing agency, and its control of scenery preservation has become increasingly anomalous. Its influence seems to have been to delay progress with several aspects of the Board's work, notably the provision of recreational facilities and the implementation of the Defacement of Property Act. Proof of increasing difficulties resulting from Lands Department control occurred between 1958 and 1961 with the development of an administrative crisis which almost resulted in a parliamentary enquiry. Friction resulted from the frustration of plans for recreational facilities produced by both the subsidiary boards and the Superintendent of reserves. The Board finally decided that major administrative reform was necessary and recommended¹²¹ that scenery preservation be removed from the control of the Lands Department; that their own executive staff be strengthened; and that the Act be amended to make specific provision for the erection of buildings and other improvements in the reserves. None of these suggestions were implemented, and it can be assumed that the Government

declined to act because the advantages of association with the Lands Department were considered to be too important to discard, and because of an unwillingness to shoulder the cost of the suggested changes. The position is aggravated by the fact that the Lands Department is gradually shrinking in size and importance and there is a reaction against further reducing its authority.

A final influence on the functions of the reserves is the authority given to the subsidiary boards. The first of these to be appointed - the National Park Board - consisted mainly of persons who had been prominent in the campaign for the Park, and this tradition has been maintained;^{122*} representatives of user-organisations make up the majority of members. For several years the National Park Board campaigned for a separate National Park Act and a status completely independent of the S.P.B., a demand which the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair Board has also made in recent years.¹²³ The S.P.B. has resented the delegation of its authority and has tried from time to time to limit the secondary bodies to an advisory role and there was even an unsuccessful attempt to abolish them in 1950.^{124*} The inability of the S.P.B. and the small professional staff to deal with the increasing administration has favoured their retention.

The Government has supported their retention, ostensibly because of the enthusiasm and local knowledge

of members, but the cheapness of the system must have been reckoned to be a major advantage. Generally their influence has been to hinder the development of strong central control and to prevent overall planning of the system.^{125*} The subsidiary boards are, in effect, the planning agents for their own areas so that any national programme has to be based on a number of local plans. On the whole the minor bodies have been more enthusiastic about the development of recreational facilities than the parent board, and several disagreements have resulted.^{126*}

(iii) Conclusion. We have seen that a number of factors have combined to prevent the maximisation of the reserve's potential both for the preservation of resources for posterity and for current recreational use. Chief among them is the low fund allocation priority bestowed on this aspect of State endeavour. Most of the other difficulties stem from this deficiency. Should the reserve system be afforded a higher priority it seems that considerable basic administrative reform will be needed. The requirements for greater use of the many values of the reserves, appear to be: direction from Parliament as to the purpose and aims of the system and the development of major policy; thorough survey of the effectiveness of the existing system in preserving a range of sample biotypes and providing for current recreational needs; and adequate planning. The administrative prerequisites appear to be efficient

central control not subordinate to any other interest; and stronger professional and field staff.

3. COMPARISON WITH OTHER PARK AND RESERVE SYSTEMS

Having drawn certain conclusions about the origin and function of Tasmania's reserves it is useful to briefly compare them with the reserve systems of the other Australian States.^{127*} Although it was of spontaneous growth the Tasmanian system clearly belongs to that group, best known by the example of the United States, in which reserves have been created mainly from the public domain, and consist chiefly of areas preserved in their natural condition for use by present and future generations. Although Tasmania's park and reserve system is based on legislation which is over forty years old and its purpose is not definitely defined as in the case of Queensland, Victoria, and New Zealand, which have modern Acts, there is ample evidence that one of the primary aims is the retention of areas in their natural condition. On the other hand, the history of the system reveals a traditional demand that the reserves be developed for current use. The emphasis given to management along natural lines seems to be mid-way between that of New South Wales, where the playground concept is much more in evidence, and Queensland, where stricter attention has been given to the retention of natural conditions. However, it will not be possible to tell definitely whether Tasmania intends to

regard preservation of natural conditions as the prior aim until the availability of funds makes development for concentrated visitor-use a practical alternative.

In respect, however, of the scale and variety of its reserves Tasmania is the envy of the other States. Reservation of a comparatively large area has been facilitated by interest in protecting the vital assets of the tourist industry, and made possible by the existence within the State of large areas of Crown-owned wasteland. As with most other systems growth has been haphazard and without reference to any overall plan or survey of needs. In contrast to the other States the number and variety of the reserves ensures that most distinctive biotypes are represented. Tasmania has also made greater progress than any other Australian State in the preservation of historic buildings and sites. However, in common with other Australian park systems, the legislation offers only limited security against conversion to other uses. The history of alienation attempts in Tasmania shows that reserve land is not secure against alienation for mining, timber exploitation, and hydro-electric power purposes. The preservation function has also been aided by the low density of recreational use consequent upon a shortage of funds for development. For this reason and until some greater legal security is afforded, it seems justifiable to regard the status of the reserves as temporary.

The full development of the recreational values of reserves in all Australian States has been prevented by a low priority in the allocation of funds. The result in Tasmania is that accommodation is simple and internal road access is limited. As the development of improved motor roads and accommodation continues in the rest of the State, the deficiency of the reserves becomes more apparent.

Tasmanian park administration has many features in common with the mainland States, notably control by a central honorary body, assisted by subsidiary authorities, (Victoria and New Zealand), and association with the Lands Department (New South Wales and Western Australia). None of the States has provision for a National Parks Service similar to that of the United States and Canada. Nor does it appear that any State has yet developed an information and interpretative service, although the Victorian Act appears to authorise an educational programme. As a result of its responsibility for the control of roadside hoardings the S.P.B. has broader functions than the other Australian park authorities which generally are solely concerned with work within the reserves.^{128*} In many ways Tasmania's legislation suffers in comparison with the National Park Acts passed in recent years in Australia. However, the State has the supreme advantage of having large areas of reserved land in their natural

condition. Tasmania at least has the choice of either extending and improving the system, or allowing it to be absorbed for other uses. Other less fortunate States would find it very difficult to set aside a comparable reserve provision at this stage.

4. FAUNA SANCTUARIES

In addition to scenic and historic reserves Tasmania has also set aside a system of animal and bird sanctuaries, commonly known as "fauna sanctuaries". Several of the largest of these are coincident with national parks, but there are 52 additional units with a combined area of over 117,500 acres.^{129*} The campaign for fauna sanctuaries preceded that for scenic reserves and then, particularly between 1907 and 1915, became linked with it. The Scenery Preservation Act 1915 did not entirely meet the needs of fauna protection, and in 1919 the Animals and Birds Protection Act was passed, providing for open and closed seasons, schedules of protected animals and birds, and fauna sanctuaries. This Act was considerably reinforced in 1928 when the basis of the present day system was laid. Following this many sanctuaries which had previously been established under the Crown Lands Act were redeclared under the new legislation.

(a) Character of existing sanctuaries

Sanctuaries have been set aside for a number of different reasons, some protect particular animals or

birds, others maintain the population of a number of species by providing refuges and preventing the destruction of natural habitat. As with the scenic reserves they have been acquired piecemeal and not according to any overall plan. Many of the sanctuaries are lakes and lagoons which have been established mainly for the conservation of water fowl and particularly the wild duck. (See Figure 30).

Moulting Lagoon, a 1,230 acre reserve on the East Coast, is a major breeding refuge for the Black Swan. An even greater number of areas, including many islands in the Furneaux Group and headlands on the South Arm Peninsula, have been set aside as sanctuaries for the mutton bird. The only area which has the main object of assisting the preservation of a particular animal species is the Tooms Lake sanctuary of 56,000 acres, established primarily for the protection of the Forester Kangaroo. Among the more important sanctuaries in the Tasmanian system is Macquarie Island. This sub-antarctic protectorate of Tasmania was declared a sanctuary in 1933 after Sir Douglas Mawson and others had long campaigned¹³⁰ for the preservation of its fauna. Four of the National Parks - Freycinet, Mt. Field, Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair and Ben Lomond - have also been proclaimed as fauna sanctuaries and these play a part in helping to conserve a wide range of animals and birds.

A number of sanctuaries in the system have been

offered by private and municipal authorities, either in order to obtain a fuller measure of control over the public, or for personal or sentimental reasons. Examples are Kingston Golf Links and Glenorchy Reservoir, both presented to obtain an additional safeguard for the owners against trespass by shooters.

(b) Security against alienation

The legislation of 1928 as amended, provides for the declaration of reserves and sanctuaries and their control by the Animal and Birds Protection Board, or "Fauna Board" as it is known, a corporate body representative of a wide number of interests including professional and sportsmen hunters. Revocation of a Crown land sanctuary requires a resolution by both Houses of Parliament.^{131*} All fauna covered by the Act^{132*} are protected in sanctuaries although exceptions may be made by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

There have been very few attempts to obtain revocation of sanctuaries. The most important instance has been the recent request by the Oatlands Municipal Council that the Tooms Lake Sanctuary be abolished, because game from the area was overrunning adjacent pastoral properties in pest proportions. To date, although the establishment of the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair sanctuary was opposed by trappers, there has been little pressure from either commercial or sportsmen hunters either for

the revocation of sanctuaries or for the exemption of certain species in these areas. One exception was an unsuccessful application in 1958 for a lease for the taking of Macquarie Island seals. Strong public opposition was aroused by this scheme.

Although the sanctuaries are protected by means of full-time inspectors and the powers which every member of the police force has under the Act, their efficiency is impaired by difficulties of providing adequate supervision. A secure sanctuary for the Cape Barren goose was, for instance, sought without success. An illustration of the fact that the legal status alone is not sufficient for their protection is provided by the attempt to protect the Cat Island gannetry, one of only five known nesting places of the Australian gannet; an act described by Serventy¹³³ as "unique in Australian fauna control measures". Wardens were stationed on this island both before and after the War, but the absence of a warden during the immediate post-war period seems to have resulted in the reduction of the gannet population below the threshold for successful breeding.¹³⁴ The gannet colony is now virtually extinct and the warden service has been discontinued.

(c) Management policy

The object of fauna protection in Tasmania is acknowledged to be the conservation of wild life for all its values - commercial, recreational, and scientific.

The avoidance of a heavily biased policy is ensured by the representation on the Fauna Board of most of the groups interested in wild life. However, the amateur naturalist and animal and bird lover groups do not have representation on the Board. Although the Board has lacked full-time scientific officers in recent years, the chairmanship of a University zoologist has resulted in its policy being determined along ecological lines. Control of sanctuaries is of course only one of the functions of the authority. The Board has no authority to directly exploit the cultural, sporting, and economic values of wild life, but it intends to manage certain sanctuaries as tourist attractions and produce informative literature with the idea of increasing public interest in conservation.

(d) Achievement

The lack of comprehensive studies of the main animal and bird populations makes it difficult to assess the achievement of the fauna sanctuary system. However, it is possible to comment on the actual function of the sanctuaries in relation to broad requirements. Wild fowl sanctuaries have a refuge value but they mainly consist of water areas, and make no great contribution to the preservation of swamp habitat. The protection of duck habitat is largely left to chance and the good will of marsh owners. Many of the numerous mutton bird sanctuaries and a large number of reserves offered for sentimental

or personal reasons serve little purpose. However, the Board intends to review the list of sanctuaries and weed out many that lack biological significance, but it recognises that some areas of small ecological importance might be worth retaining for their publicity and educational value. The sanctuaries have also played a useful part in research into bird populations, such as that of the Australian gannet. The chief deficiencies of the system appear to be that the choice of sanctuaries has not been related to any factual survey of resources and requirements, and that the controlling body is not truly representative of all the main groups interested in wild life. There also seems to be a need for closer integration of the work of the Board with that of the S.P.B.

CHAPTER 7CONFLICTS AND PROBLEMS IN RECREATIONAL LAND USE

This chapter deals with the use and management of land for recreation in areas other than those specially set aside for the purpose. Practical considerations dictate a selective topical approach. A number of different areas have been chosen in which recreation is an important present or potential form of land use. In some areas, such as the coastline, recreation is in many places dominant and many of the conflicts are between different recreation user-groups. In the case of the forested lands, hydro-electric power projects, and highways, the recreational values are considerable but generally secondary in character. Particular attention is paid in this discussion to special provisions for recreation, the existence of conflicts, and to factors which are restricting the attainment of recreational benefits and are likely to influence the possibility of greater integration of uses in the future.

1. PROBLEMS OF COASTAL RECREATION

The coastline is without doubt one of Tasmania's most important recreational resources. At some time or another almost all members of the population enjoy its pleasures. Although bathing, fishing and boating are the

activities most commonly associated with this zone, much of the enjoyment is of a passive nature - related to the distinctive appeal of the natural scenery of the sea and coast. It was shown in Chapter 3 that while some cottage owners enjoy the social pleasures of the large resort others shun these conditions and seek the quietness of smaller settlements and remote areas. Similarly, others take delight in unspoiled stretches of coastline which also have scientific and educational values. The magnitude of beach cottage activity has already been described, but what has not been stressed is the impact of the cottage resorts on the most accessible and desirable parts of the coast. Although quantitatively the day visitor is the most important coast user, in the allocation of space and facilities he usually takes second place to the cottager. Hence most of the conflicts in coastal recreation arise from the restricting effects of cottage development on other forms of recreation. This first section examines these conflicts in some detail and looks at the present means of providing for the various forms of recreation.

(a) Present conflicts

(i) Non-recreational land use and restrictions on public access. Non-recreational forms of land use, such as industrial and residential development, are increasingly reducing the area of coastline available for recreation. The spread of permanent settlement is of particular importance

around Hobart and Launceston and the North-West Coast, and it seems doubtful whether Roches Beach, Seven Mile Beach, Port Sorell, Hawley, and Turners Beach can survive as cottage resorts for very long. Perhaps the most important implication of the establishment of new industry near the shore is the creation of a demand for housing which often results in the conversion of summer cottages to permanent use or the establishment of new residential areas on the coast. Water pollution is also concomitant with some industries, such as the titanium works at Blythe Heads.

Since much coastal land is still in the possession of the Crown the public has access to the greater part of the Tasmanian coastline. In land grants since about 1900 the Lands Department have usually reserved strips adjacent to beaches. However, right of access may still be denied in areas of early land grants where private rights extend to the high water mark. Most of the early land grants are in the more densely populated areas such as south-eastern Tasmania where the recreational demand is high. A "foreshore reserve" or "esplanade" does not emerge in these older areas unless the act of subdividing takes place. However, the reserve remains in the subdividing owner's title until he either donates it or it is purchased by the municipal council. Because of either the penury, or the general indifference of the councils

many such areas have remained in private hands. In some cases, such as Dodges Ferry-Carlton Beach, the private ownership of foreshore land in areas which have become important cottage resorts has prevented the provision by the local authority of facilities for day visitors. There is also the possibility that foreshore reserves at popular beaches could be converted to private use, although the owner is not permitted to sell the land for building purposes.

(ii) Problems of summer cottage development. Although numerically the cottager element is not the most important of coastal recreation groups its impact on the coastline is clearly dominant. The spread of beach settlement creates improved access for all visitors, limits the space available for campers and day trippers, and makes it increasingly difficult to preserve natural scenery and places of solitary retreat. It has already been shown that the growth and improvement of resorts is detrimental to the interests of those who prefer a quieter, less urbanised atmosphere.

Conflicts at resorts. Since cottage resorts have generally been established at the most desirable bathing beaches it is natural that, with the construction of relatively good roads, they should also become the most popular haunts of day trippers. The fact that a daily total of over 1,000 cars has been recorded at several beach resorts in

the Hobart district during summer weekends gives some idea of the intensity of day visitor activity. The result is competition for space between the two groups and mutual resentment. An indication of the importance of this kind of clash of interest was given by cottagers' questionnaire replies.¹ The combined replies for all resorts placed day trippers third in the list of drawbacks of the locality. Asked to instance unsatisfactory aspects of the use of the beach and foreshore, the majority of cottagers either objected to the presence and habits of day trippers, or were concerned about the lack of facilities such as changing sheds, toilets, water, and space for parking. Naturally these criticisms were most evident at resorts close to the major cities and, in those of this kind which were sampled, day trippers were considered to be the chief drawback. A proprietary attitude was evident in select resorts such as Cremorne and Coningham where the very presence of day trippers was objected to while at the lower value settlements such as Dodges Ferry and Sisters Creek Beach more emphasis was placed on the need to remove the cause of existing difficulties by providing facilities. At some beaches the occupation of the foreshore by tents for much of the summer, taking up space valuable for picnicking, car parking and other purposes, is resented by both day visitors and cottagers.^{2*} (See Plate 9). However, where foreshore camping does take

place, the facilities provided, such as changing sheds, water and toilets, are also able to serve the needs of the day visitor.

The foreshore camper and the short-term visitor are best catered for on the north-west and mid-north coasts, but facilities for these groups are noticeably lacking in south-eastern Tasmania. Deficiencies are generally the result either of mistakes in early planning or the inaction of the responsible local authority. At many resorts work is left to the cottager-dominated progress associations, who, if they wish, may decline to provide facilities that would attract more day visitors. Deliberate obstruction is also not uncommon; examples are the opposition of Cremorne residents to a tourist hotel in 1961, and the 1960 petition of Low Head residents against a caravan park. At Coningham a group of cottagers have contrived to deter public use of its beaches by deliberately allowing a right of way giving access to one of the resort's beaches to become overgrown.

At remote beaches day visitors are naturally much rarer. However, public use of the foreshore at many attractive beaches is hindered by the presence of Crown lease cottages. In many instances access to the shore is barred by unlawful fencing.

General conflict. Aesthetic criticism of summer cottage development seems to be of two main kinds. One group

of critics condemn such features as poorly designed and closely packed buildings and generally untidy settlements. This view is not confined to the improver element among the cottagers. The current campaign of the Minister for Tourist for improved cottage standards and the occasional suggestions in the press that cottagers should paint their dwellings in bright colours are motivated by this type of view. Others object to the encroachment of man-made features on the natural beauty and solitude of the coastline and suggest the setting aside of protective zones to prevent the creation of a ribbon of settlement along the entire coastline. In Tasmania this point of view lacks organisations through which it can find expression and there has been only isolated criticism of this kind.^{3*} Condemnation of the cutting of trees and scrub by cottage owners, with consequent erosion, is more common. Critics often fail to realise that compact resort development reduces the demand for frontage sites and that in remote areas weather-beaten and unserviced cottages are a less obtrusive element in the landscape than their improved equivalents.

(b) Control of development, planning and facility provision - the present situation

Most of the powers by which the recreational use of the coastline can be guided are contained in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1944. This provided

inter alia for the control of subdivisions and the zoning of future land use in planning schemes.

(i) Control of subdivisions. Planning is largely the function of the local authorities subject to the over-riding powers of the Town and Country Planning Commissioner whose duty is to advise, co-ordinate, and adjudicate. Control of subdivisions is obtained through the passage by the municipal councils of special resolutions under the Towns Act.⁴ Although planning is permissive, forty-one out of forty-seven authorities - 20 controlling coastal areas - had, by 1962, adopted the full powers of the Planning Act. This gives them interim powers under the Act to control overall land use. Although control over subdivisions actually became possible in 1934 few local authorities took advantage of this^{5*} and effective planning is largely a post-war development. The main object of the legislation is that development should be orderly and efficient and the regulations are designed to prevent scattered or open settlement which would be relatively costly to service. A subdivision in a rural area must have a minimum size of 5 acres, and lots can only be sold after roads have been constructed. The effects of these controls in preventing the further scatter of dwellings along the coast, and in encouraging the creation of larger subdivisions are evident in the trends of the last few years. Where the Commissioner has considered proposals

in isolated areas to be premature he has made councils aware of their future service responsibilities and occasionally recommended refusal, but never enjoined it.^{6*} The control of subdivisional development has been largely of a corrective nature. Apart from seeing that statutory rules are complied with, the wishes of subdividers have generally been respected. The Commissioners have endeavoured to achieve compact development wherever possible, and in the case of large subdivisions development by stages has been insisted upon. The compact resorts of Hawley and Seven Mile Beach (see Figure 20) are examples of such control. Instances of local authorities taking the initiative in plan control are rare, although occasionally they have insisted on an increase in the suggested lot size. Few master plans exist for beach settlements, although the new resorts of Shearwater and Primrose Sands are outstanding exceptions. At Crown lease resorts control of cottage siting is in the hands of the Crown Lands Department but until recently lessees were allowed to choose their own sites within certain loosely defined areas. More thought has been given to lay-out in recently developed settlements of this kind.

The Act also provides for the reservation of foreshores, open spaces for recreation, and right of ways to beaches. Generally a foreshore reserve with a minimum width of 100 feet has been required, but this can be

varied, and along some cliffed areas the strip reserved is sufficient only for a pathway. Commissioners have endeavoured to obtain the reservation of at least 5% of subdivisions as open space, favouring the setting aside of frontage blocks which are of particular value for parking and picnicking. Subdividers' attitudes to the provision of reserves vary greatly. Some believe that such reserves attract buyers and willingly dedicate them to the municipal council. At Primrose Sands for instance, the developer advertises the advantage of the resort's modern planning and claims⁷ that the liberal park area will prevent the area from becoming "just another town". Others resent the surrender of their choicest lots and do their utmost to retain these areas for sale. The attitude of the local authority is often affected by the expense in which it is involved in acquiring the reserves and there have been many cases in which the Act has been circumvented. The poor reserve provision and the consequent conflicts of interest at Cremorne are a product of this. (See Figure 20). Land provisionally selected for public use has also been lost at Roches Beach and at Low Head; in the latter case because the local council declined to pay the legal expense for the transfer of the title.

(ii) Zoning. So far little progress has been made with coastal land use zoning in Tasmania. A form of zoning is possible on Crown lands where all development is under

the control of the Crown Lands Department. Policy concerning sale of holiday lots has mainly been determined by economic considerations. Permissive occupancies are issued in consultation with local authorities, many of whom, as mentioned earlier, have asked that no further leases be issued within their boundaries, or that they be restricted to a limited number of sites. An illustration of the way in which these powers can be used for functional zoning is seen in Cygnet Municipality, where Ryans Bay has been reserved for day visitors and shack leases are made available at nearby Eggs and Bacon Bay.

The protection of natural scenery and wildlife in scenic and faunal reserves has already been described and it was noted that some reserves have been established specifically to forestall subdivision development. The only two extensive coastal scenic reserves - Freycinet National Park and Port Davey scenic reserve - are remote from the main centres of population and are not representative of all the major types of Tasmanian coastal scenery.

The 1944 Act provides for the preparation of planning schemes by which land can be zoned for a number of uses. Where land has been zoned as "rural" development can be refused until the land "is ripe for subdivision".^{8*} So far the schemes which have been or are being prepared are for small areas - generally the main towns. Although

joint schemes are possible and a measure of co-ordination can be achieved by the Commissioner, planning of this kind is handicapped in any case by the absence of a national policy on coast utilisation and an adequate formula for zoning.^{9*}

(iii) Provision of facilities. Provision of facilities and services such as foreshore camping grounds, car parks, toilets and beach cleaning is mainly in the hands of local authorities. There is a widespread feeling among municipal councils that it is inequitable that they should be expected to bear the cost of facilities which are mainly used by non-ratepayers and for most of which it would be difficult to make a charge. The Government has showed no sympathy for requests for loans and subsidies. The only fields in which progress has been achieved in recent years by both local authorities and private enterprise is in the construction of fee-earning caravan parks. Another modern trend in integrated resort development is illustrated by the plans for Primrose Sands which include facilities such as a golf course, caravan parks, motel sites, and other recreational facilities.

(c) Conclusion

The absence of any marked public concern about the problems of coastal recreation, compared for instance with Victoria and New South Wales,^{10*} may be due to the lesser proportional impact of holiday subdivision on the

coastal landscapes in Tasmania and the possession of more extensive powers for control and planning. Nevertheless there are many sources of dissatisfaction which may become more acute as the demand for recreation increases. The amount of coastline available for recreation is being reduced by industrial and residential growth; public access to the foreshore is legally barred in many densely populated areas; resorts lose their appeal for some types of cottager with growth and improvement; day trippers and foreshore campers are poorly provided for in many areas; and as coastal development spreads, the opportunities for enjoyment of wilderness conditions and natural scenery are reduced.

If it is accepted that coastal land use should be planned to provide for all groups on both a national and regional basis, the first need would be for determination of requirements and classification of coastlines followed by the announcement of national policy. Existing recreational interests indicate that the creation and protection of a number of recreational conditions and facilities is necessary. For instance different cottager elements require resorts of varying size and standard. Not all future cottage owners will wish to live in the large resorts at present being created, and there seems to be a definite demand for the protection of existing small and secluded resorts against further growth and the

establishment of new settlements with a limited maximum size. In the same way the retired element could be planned for as a group. There is also need for the retention of some stretches of coastline in their natural state. In both these matters due regard should be given to regional balance in distribution as well as the most fitting use. The existing and proposed planning legislation^{11*} and the Scenery Preservation Act seem to provide a means of achieving these objectives if used positively in relation to an overall plan indicating, for instance, sites for future settlement and new access. Higher density settlements and greater development in depth could be used to limit the proliferation of beach resorts. The needs of day trippers and campers can partly be met by establishing new facilities away from resorts, but if local authorities are to undertake this work effectively and that of acquiring and managing foreshore reserves it seems they will need both financial assistance and guidance.^{12*} The existence of long stretches of coastline which have yet not been affected by subdivisions, or where cottages are held only on tenancies at will, makes the prospect for comprehensive planning much better than in neighbouring Victoria. (See Plates 22 and 23).

2. RECREATIONAL USE OF THE FOREST

With forest covering half its total area, Tasmania is the most wooded State in the Commonwealth. The

importance of the forest naturally invites a study of the present provisions and future prospects for the recreational use of this type of land.

(a) Present use

Although it has attracted no distinctive forms of recreation to compare with those of the coast and mountains, the forest forms an attractive part of the environment of most holiday pursuits. The motorist enjoys the roadside fringe of woodland and the distant forest vista; trees along the sea-shore and lakeside add greatly to the pleasure of the cottager and angler; picnickers seek the shade of trees; and walkers take delight in the contrast of the forest with the windswept uplands. The only game animal of any importance associated with the Tasmanian forest is the deer which has a restricted distribution.

Since the greater part of Tasmania's forests are held by the Crown the key to the exploitation of recreational values is the legislation relating to these areas and the policy of the Forestry Commission (F.C.). Although the Forestry Act (1920-1955) is implicitly multi-purpose, placing no limitations on the use to which forests may be put or the ends for which they may be managed, it makes no explicit reference to this concept or any acknowledgment of recreation as a forest value. The F.C. officially recognises the multi-use concept,¹³ but it has

so far taken little action to protect or exploit recreational values. The working plans which the F.C. is required to provide for State Forests are a means by which an integrated use policy can be applied, but plans approved to date have essentially utilitarian objectives of sustained yield control along with protection against fire. The contemporary approach towards recreational values is illustrated by a recently approved working plan for a large forest area in the South which is to be the basis of a southern wood pulp industry. The main provision is a discount of the gross yield of the forest to be made available to Australian Paper Manufacturers Ltd., to allow for timber that will not be taken on areas reserved for scenic purposes. However, the Commission has not indicated where the reserves are to be.^{14*}

So far about two-sevenths of all Crown forests have been dedicated as State Forests.^{15*} Although the composition of the State Forests Dedications Committee ensures the protection of mining and agricultural interests this body contains no nominated representative of the Scenery Preservation Board or the Tourist Department.

The F.C.'s liberal attitude towards public access is perhaps a reflection of the small scale of forest recreation. Although it has powers to prevent access for fire prevention reasons these have only once been invoked. The Commission actually invites bush walkers to make use

of its roads and tracks, and believes that public use of the forests is an important form of conservation education.

Major roads constructed by the Commission (231 miles in 1961) are designed to cater for tourists as well as forestry purposes.^{16*} A few tracks have been made for anglers and picnickers in exotic forests, but the F.C. has no set policy of providing for the needs of these groups.

The Chief Commissioner has stated¹⁷ that it is important to preserve outstanding groups of trees and says that over limited areas recreational uses should have priority. It has been conceded¹⁸ for instance that where strips of myrtle have a "scenic or recreational use" it may be desirable not to try and convert them to eucalypt forest. Five chain amenity strips have voluntarily been left on either side of the Hartz Mountain road in the Arve Forest, and along the Hastings Cave road. In general though control by the F.C. offers little guarantee that scenic values will be protected.

Although by custom the public are allowed free access to private forests in Tasmania, the pulp and paper milling companies have adopted a different policy in their large forest holdings. Australian Newsprint Mills Ltd., which in addition to privately owned forests has a 330,000 acre Crown concession in the Florentine and

Styx Valleys, although not generally averse to controlled use of its forests believes that "granting of unrestricted access to all and sundry would seriously jeopardise its interests".^{19*} The Company's policy is dictated mainly by fear of fire damage to its forests. It achieves control by limiting access to permit-holders and controlling entry by means of locked gates. During the summer fire danger period unaccompanied access is permitted only to organised walking club parties who the Company believe are a safe risk. Even during the winter unaccompanied parties are screened before being granted access. Forest roads are not built to cater for tourist traffic and vehicle access is not permitted during working hours at any season of the year. The approximate number of weekend visitors to these forests steadily declined from 170 persons in 1958-59 to 90 in 1960-61.^{20*}

(b) Factors likely to condition the future recreational use of the forests

The absence of any special concern for recreation in the forests can perhaps also be attributed to the slight nature of present usage, but since the demand is likely to increase it is interesting to note what circumstances are likely to affect this development. The long term policy of the F.C. is to maintain the present level of production in perpetuity relying chiefly on the native eucalypt forests.^{21*} The main items in the Commission's

programme are the completion of survey and classification, the reduction of waste in production, reforestation, and the protection of virgin and regrowth forests against fire.

The effects of this policy can only be properly understood in relation to the character of the main forest zones which are shown in Figure 31.^{22*} The best commercial forests are in the high rainfall eucalypt forests. (Zone B in Figure 31). It is this area that will mainly be affected by measures to ensure sustained-yield timber production, and in which conflicts between the interests of timber production and recreation are likely to arise. It seems likely that most of this area eventually will be made accessible by logging or fire roads. Difficulties associated with fire protection are likely to be the chief source of conflict and it is significant that the F.C. have already stated their belief²³ that it may be necessary to require some areas for single use. Fire protection, heavy road transport, and regeneration treatment^{24*} are mentioned as circumstances which may require restrictions of recreational use.

In zone A the rain forest species have a lower commercial value and the more humid conditions make the fire danger less. There is a possibility, however, that technological innovation may make these tree types increasingly useable in the pulp and paper industry. This type of woodland is generally so dense that movement

away from roads is only possible on bush tracks. (See Plate 20). The open sclerophyll forests of the Midlands and East Coast have the least commercial value and here potential conflict between timber production and recreation is at a minimum. These are the most important kangaroo shooting areas. Much is still Crown land but private owners rarely object to public access.

Many countries have made a much more determined effort to exploit the recreational values of their forest lands, and since they indicate some of the possible policies for Tasmania, brief reference is made to the most outstanding examples. The best known case of integrated management is probably that of the United States federal forests. Although the overriding objective remains the perpetual supply of timber the legislation requires that other uses be co-ordinated wherever possible. In parts of these forests recreation is accepted as the dominant use,^{25*} while elsewhere it is introduced as a co-dominant or subordinate use. Roads and non-free earning facilities are provided for public use and supervised concessions are permitted for the development of accommodation and other more elaborate facilities. Naturally such a policy is dependent upon a complex system of land classification and priority allocation. New Zealand has also set aside land as Forest Parks in which the interests of recreation are temporarily paramount,

but in which silvicultural operations protect the long term timber values. In certain other New Zealand forests which seem to have a recreational potential camping and picnic facilities have been provided. Recreation and landscape preservation is also an accepted secondary objective in the National Forest Parks of Great Britain.

(c) Conclusion

Tasmania already seems to possess the necessary planning machinery for the greater exploitation of recreational values and may see fit to adopt some of these overseas devices, but there seems to be need for acknowledgment of recreational values in forest legislation. The existence of many areas of forest in scenic reserves suggests that any overall programme would best be co-ordinated with scenery preservation plans. Compared with the use of land controlled by the Forestry Commission the forests of the major pulp and paper companies are not fully available for recreational use. Roads have not been planned to cater for tourist use, and access is forbidden during summer to all but a select few. It seems that where further concessions are to be granted the national interest would best be served by conditions safeguarding the right of public access for recreation and providing for dual-purpose roads.

3. RECREATION AND THE HIGHWAY

It seems worthwhile to discover what special

steps have been taken in this tourist-conscious State to ensure the optimum recreational use of the road system. In doing this the highway can be considered from the points of view of the opening up of new country to the tourist; the creation of tourist facilities such as lay-bys; and aesthetic aspects, such as landscape design, and preserving the scenic qualities of the roadside environment.

(a) Extension of the road network

Most roads in the past have been constructed primarily for non-tourist purposes and only a few branch roads have so far been developed essentially for tourists. Since 1945 most of the new access which has opened up interesting country for tourists has resulted from hydro-electric power and forestry operations. Since the Government's resources will mainly be absorbed by improvement of existing roads during the next decade or so,^{26*} it seems likely that this trend will continue. However, projected hydro-electric power schemes in the South-West and the interior of the North-West should considerably extend the range of tourist travel. It is worthwhile noting that organisations and individuals throughout Tasmania have over many years persistently requested^{27*} the opening up by "tourist roads" of local areas which they feel are of particular merit. The belief is implicit in these suggestions that any extension of the road system which will enable the tourist to see new country is

necessarily good. This is undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with in any planning which aims at establishing roadless recreation areas such as those suggested in the South-West and the highlands of the Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park. If the Government ever decided to undertake the building of major roads in these latter areas it seems that it will not lack appreciable public support.

(b) Roadside facilities

The awakening to the possibilities of systematically providing a variety of roadside facilities is a recent development and seems to be related to the introduction of the Bass Strait vehicular ferry. In 1961 the Director of Public Works announced²⁸ plans to instal 134 roadside lay-bys within three years. They include gravelled pull-off bays at scenic vantage points and picnic spots equipped with fireplaces wherever possible.

(c) Highway aesthetics

A number of methods can be used to make road travel a pleasanter experience for the tourist. They include construction with the object of choosing the route which offers the most interesting views; careful integration of the road into the landscape to minimise the disrupting effect upon the countryside;^{29*} limitation of eyesores such as hoardings; and various forms of beautification such as tree planting.

The annual reports of the Tasmanian Public Works Department indicate no special concern for landscape principles in highway design, and as yet the services of the landscape architect have not been called for in Tasmanian road building. For fiscal reasons new roads are built mainly for speed and maximum economy, and improvements generally consist of sealing and the reduction of horizontal and vertical curves. Although some landscaping of the roadside reserve is usually undertaken, an appreciable amount of scarring is caused by cuttings. Such improvements make the road a more obvious feature in the landscape and reduce the intimacy of the traveller's contact with the country through which he passes. The wider roads and the higher speeds made possible reduce peripheral vision and foreground detail. However, questionnaire replies indicate that the tourist is either generally unaware of or indifferent to such considerations, and is mainly concerned about surface and speed.^{30*}

On the other hand Tasmanians have for many years shown interest in preserving and planting roadside trees and a number of organisations have concerned themselves especially with these matters. However, the most important example of concern for the preservation of roadside amenity is the restriction of commercial hoardings. Tasmania's Defacement of Property Act provides exceptionally far-reaching

powers for the control of roadside advertising. It is also an unusual fact that the administration of the Act is in the hands of a central body - the Scenery Preservation Board. Although the first legislation of this kind was passed in 1898 until 1957 it was administered by local authorities and affected only Crown land. The revised 1957 Act which was treated as a non-party issue, provided the S.P.B. with authority to prohibit disfiguring advertisements on any land or building outside towns and cities with a population of over 5,000, and became operative in November, 1960. Its object has been described by the Board as to "prevent the commercialisation of Tasmanian scenery".^{31*} The Board's policy has been to prohibit all merchandising signs. Many existing hoardings have been removed and new ones refused.^{32*} The task of enforcing the Act was made easier by the fact that the open-air advertising firms, which elsewhere in Australia are rapidly expanding their activities, had not begun to intensively exploit Tasmanian roads when the legislation came into being. Even so, 419 signs of the kind prescribed by the Act were discovered in a survey of the main state highways. The absence of hoardings along Tasmanian roads occasions little comment from tourists, but complaints about the lack of signs indicating beauty spots and accommodation are common. However, provision has been made by the Board for a standard informational direction

sign to meet the needs of businesses situated off main highways. The offers of oil companies to provide local tourist and progress associations with directional signs containing an element of advertising gratis is one of the problems with which the Board has to deal.

(d) Conclusion

It can be seen that recreational importance of the highway is such that it should be planned to exploit this value to the optimum. In particular there seems to be a case for the closer scrutiny of the possibilities of landscape design in highway construction. There is also need to co-ordinate the provision of roadside tourist facilities with those available in other areas such as scenic reserves and coastal resorts. The effects of the creation of new access upon existing recreational values are such that all new roads could well be considered in relation to a comprehensive plan for recreational development.

4. HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER SCHEMES AND RECREATION

Hydro-electric power schemes change the recreational character of whole areas not only by introducing new elements such as dams, buildings, and roads into the landscape but by providing access to districts which previously could only be reached on foot. The new works attract visitors in great numbers but other forms of recreation are replaced and former values lost. The

changes brought about by this agency in Tasmania are already considerable, but future development promises to be of even greater magnitude. It therefore seems pertinent to see, firstly, what attempts are made to ensure that the maximum recreational benefits are obtained from such schemes; and, secondly, the extent to which values which are likely to be harmfully affected by hydro-electric works are evaluated in proposed new developments.

(a) The landscape of hydro-electric power production

Although Tasmania has exploited less than a third of its potential hydro-electric power the system has even by this time an installed turbine capacity of one million h.p. and produces one-eighth of Australia's electrical energy. The projects already developed have caused great changes in the landscape of the central Tasmania. Within this area the Hydro-Electric Commission (H.E.C.) has created a total of 23 square miles of entirely new water with 83 miles of shoreline as well as enlarging several natural lakes such as the Great Lake and Lake Echo. It has also constructed 119 miles of new roads which are open to the public, the most notable example being the 36 mile long Poatina Highway which links the North Midlands with the Lake Highway and provides improved access to the eastern shore of the Great Lake. Small earth dams have been used to divert the left bank tributaries of the Rivert Derwent and larger concrete structures built

in the Derwent Valley itself. The most impressive of these is the 1,110 feet long and 199 feet high Clark Dam which impounds the 13 square mile Lake King William. (See Plate 24). The most recent large project involves the dropping of water from the Great Lake (3,380 ft. above M.S.L.) down the slopes of the Western Tiers to an underground power station at Poatina, utilising the exceptional fall of 2,750 feet. The present works are mainly confined to the Central Plateau and the upper Derwent valley but in this area, man-made lakes, recognisable by means of the wide shoreline created by seasonal rise and fall of level, power stations, pipe lines, tunnels, construction workers' settlements, and power stations dominate much of the landscape.

(b) Recreational benefits of hydro-electric schemes and their maximisation

The H.E.C. has the duty of generating, transmitting and selling electrical energy but it is not required to take account of amenity in its works,³⁴ or charged with developing the maximum recreational benefit from its schemes. Although the Commission recognises the tourist potential of its schemes it believes that others should develop them. On the other hand officers of the Government Tourist Department believe that the H.E.C. should make a greater contribution in this field in the manner of the Snowy Mountains Authority. Comparison with

this latter body is perhaps inevitable but critics of the H.E.C. usually overlook the fact that the Commonwealth instrumentality provides conducted tours and information centres mainly in the interests of public relations, a need which apparently does not exist to the same extent in Tasmania.

Although day trips are arranged to the hydro-electric schemes by the Government Tourist Department and private firms the majority of inspections are by casual visitors travelling independently. Several facilities have been made available by the H.E.C. Galleries at 9 power stations are open to the public without formality, and the Commission's chalets are also a useful facility for the tourist. Used during the construction period as staff messes, the chalets were later retained for plant operators and visiting engineers, and for maximum economy³⁵ opened either wholly or partly to the public. There is accommodation of this kind at Waddamanna, Tarraleah, Bronte Parke, and Poatina, all in locations which have proved unattractive to private enterprise. To improve their off-season occupancies the Commission since 1960 has encouraged trips by school parties, which it organises and conducts over the schemes; offering reduced rates to Tasmanian groups.

Generally the high cost deters the Commission from undertaking large scale clearance of trees before

dams are filled and trees killed by drowning mar the shores of many of the lakes, and will do so for many years to come. Instances of special concern for scenic amenity are rare; only at Lake St. Clair and Lake Echo has the amount of clearing exceeded the needs of power generation. At Cataract Gorge, a popular tourist attraction near Launceston, the H.E.C. have made some amends for the adverse effects of water diversion by building weirs to raise the water level.

(c) Limiting harmful effects

The loss of amenity resulting from disharmony of scale caused by the placing of pipe and transmission lines on plateau surfaces, and the disturbance of areas previously valued for their solitude and natural beauty, have so far caused little adverse comment. There has however been considerable criticism of the likely effects of future schemes on scenic reserves in western Tasmania and it therefore seems appropriate to enquire into the protection available for values threatened by such projects. Each scheme requires separate Parliamentary authority, but the national priority of power production and the resources of the Commission to investigate and defend new proposals is such that Parliament have in only one case^{36*} seriously considered rejection because of loss of other values. The fact that little thought is given to the protection of existing recreational values in projected power schemes is due partly to the way in

which projects are presented for approval. Parliament is required to consider a single project which the H.E.C. recommends as the best means of meeting a particular demand for power. In this context the proposal is judged mainly from the standpoints of economy and engineering efficiency, and where other values are at stake, these are appraised by direct comparison with the value of the site for power production. It is also noteworthy that unless a scenic reserve is involved, there is no public authority with the obligation of arguing the merits of protecting existing values. In Great Britain for instance the National Parks Commission is required to give advice on developments prejudicial to natural beauty.³⁷ In its defence of future schemes the H.E.C. takes the view that any hydro-electric power scheme represents recreational improvement per se since a greater number of people will gain enjoyment from the affected area.^{38*} Further there is no legislation or body to ensure that amenity is considered in the siting of plant and transmission lines, in the felling of trees which will become an eyesore on the dam shore, and in the general cleaning up following construction.

One of the major incidental benefits of hydro-electric works is the extension of fishing waters. These and the harmful effects of water diversion and blocking of access to the spawning grounds have already been

discussed in Chapter 4. The Inland Fisheries Commission is not able to finance large scale works such as large fish ladders. However, close consultation with the H.E.C. has ensured that where possible water levels, both in rivers, dams, and artificial spawning grounds, are regulated in the interests of the fishery. The H.E.C. acts as contractor on behalf of the Inland Fisheries Commission in the construction of minor fishery works.

(d) The future

Since the completion of the first State power project at Waddamanna in 1916 Tasmania's economy has become increasingly dependent upon hydro-electric power. The availability of a plentiful supply of cheap electrical energy has been the key factor in attracting many large industries, and the State now seems committed to a policy of fostering maximum industrial expansion on the basis of further exploitation of its power resources. Tasmania's total hydro-electric power potential is $3\frac{1}{4}$ million horse power - about a third of the estimated total potential generating capacity of all Australian States^{39*} - and it seems likely that before other sources of power become competitive several major schemes will be completed. The actual rate of development could be significantly affected by such a major event as the starting of a Tasmanian iron and steel industry. The possibility of the inter-connection of the Tasmanian and Victorian generating systems

is also being investigated. With the present approved programme of works the H.E.C. will be able to meet all commitments for power until 1968. To cater for demand beyond this the Commission has recommended development of the Mersey-Forth-Wilnot catchment (500,000 h.p.), the largest power development so far suggested by the Commission. Two other schemes are being investigated: the Pieman-Murchison (500,000 h.p.), and the Gordon-King-Franklin (1 million h.p.). All of these schemes will become features of tourist interest, and will create or improve access to areas of natural beauty. The Mersey-Forth scheme, for instance, involves the construction of 6 power stations and 7 dams, and the building of a network of roads giving vastly improved motor access to the western part of the Central Plateau. Valuable accommodation will be provided if the system of building dual purpose chalets is continued. The tentative plans for the Gordon scheme envisage the creation of a number of large lakes, one of which it is estimated will have a surface area of 100 square miles - almost twice the present area of the Great Lake. It would also result in building of motor roads into the South-West.

(e) Conclusion

The conclusion is inescapable that while construction of hydro-electric power works has many secondary recreational benefits no serious thought is given in the planning and

design of such schemes to the maximisation of recreation values and the limiting of adverse effects. At present projects are chosen on a least-cost criterion and only one scheme is submitted for Parliamentary approval at a time. This provides inadequate scope for the proper appraisal of recreational and other values. It could be widened if more than one site was to be considered, and a criterion of national interest, embracing consideration of intangible values, was adopted. The higher cost of using a more expensive source of power could be regarded as a charge on the community for the preservation of amenity. Parliament is not well informed on the aesthetic and solitude values of areas affected by proposals and appears to need the advice of an independent authority. A greater recreational benefit could be obtained from hydro-electric works if they were planned and utilised as multiple-use features in the manner of the Tennessee Valley Authority scheme. More attention could also be given to aesthetic treatment of works, siting of minor plant and routing of roads, and the provision of visitor services and facilities.

5. THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS

During the last fifteen years or so there have been many signs of increased concern about the preservation of historic buildings, the work of the Scenery Preservation Board and the creation of the National Trust being the

most obvious examples. Partly this is due to the recognition of the value of historic monuments as tourist attractions. This section examines the nature of the resources, preservation efforts to date, overseas methods, and ways and means of achieving more effective protection in the future.

(a) Tasmania's historic buildings

Tasmania's relics of the colonial period are noteworthy for both their historical and architectural interest. As the second oldest settlement in Australia much of the value of the State's early buildings is related to their comparatively great age and historical associations, but Tasmania's colonial buildings are of particular interest as a result of a prolongation of the use of Regency styles which modern taste finds especially agreeable. Because of a time lag in the adoption of new ideas the styles popular in England during the first years of the colony continued in use in domestic architecture until the late 1840's.^{40*}

The main factors influencing the nature of early buildings, apart from insularity and remoteness, were the small size and utilitarian objectives of the settlements, and the availability of cheap labour. Nothing was developed in Tasmania on the scale of the Georgian terraces of Dublin and Edinburgh New Town, but the cheap labour and the plentiful supply of building materials,

combined with the existence of well-to-do merchants and landed gentry, resulted in the building of many moderate-sized houses of brick and stone in town and country.

An indication of what remains from the penal era is provided by the census statistics on building materials. Much early building was in brick and weather-board but stone buildings are the best indicator. The use of stone in Hobart is said⁴¹ to have virtually ceased after 1851. The rate of loss of the surviving stone dwellings has become proportionately more rapid as the century has progressed. Between 1921 and 1947 there was only a slight decrease in the number of stone built dwellings but the two censuses after 1947 indicated an accelerating decline. A regional break-down for the 1954-1961 period is given in Table 6. There was little or no building in stone during these years.

Over half the surviving stone dwellings are found in the older parts of the Hobart metropolitan area. In addition to the many historic private houses, there are many equally interesting stone public buildings, and churches, as well as many structures of all kinds in brick. Good groups of early buildings occur in some parts of the old town of which the best known are at Battery Point and in Salamanca Place. (See Plate 25). While Hobart and the Midlands developed only slowly during the second half of the nineteenth century, Launceston

Table 6

Changes in the Number of Occupied Private Dwellings
With Stone Outer Walls 1954-1961^a

	Number of dwellings with outer stone walls		Percentage decrease	Total all dwellings		Percentage increase
	1954	1961		1954	1961	
Hobart Metropolitan Area	816	680	17	24,014	30,174	26
Other urban	90	80	11	27,514	33,174	23
Rural	649	573	12	26,119	26,147	-
Total	1,555	1,335	14	79,147	90,198	14

^aSource: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Canberra, Census of Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1954, Vol. VI, Tasmania, Part III, pp. 12-14, and Census 30th June, 1961, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 6-7.

gained a certain amount of prosperity from its connection with mining and land development in northern Tasmania, and most of its older buildings were replaced or modernised. In the Midlands and the lower Derwent valley much remains from the period of early settlement. Villages in which old stone buildings form an important part of the overall village fabric include Ross, Oatlands, Bothwell, Campbelltown, Glamorgan, and Hamilton. This area is also noted for its country houses of the colonial period (see Plates 26 and 28) but the breaking up of large estates deprived

many of economic support causing them to fall into a bad state of repair. A variety of other relics remain in the older settled areas including fine early bridges such as those at Richmond and Ross, gaols and barracks, old wind and water mills, coaching inns along the Midlands highway, barns and stables, and lesser pieces of craft work. (See Plate 27).

(b) Preservation efforts to date

Local pride in the stone and brick buildings of Hobart developed at a very early date but as shown in Chapter 5 it was not until the 1930's that Tasmanians became conscious of the architectural merit of their late Georgian buildings. Although steps were taken to protect Port Arthur in 1916, no official action was taken to preserve other buildings until after the 1939-1945 war.

The most important work since then has been done by the S.P.B. which has acquired a number of historic buildings such as Entally House, the Shot Tower at Taroona and the pioneer Steppes Homestead. Entally, a country house in the North Midlands, was acquired in order to try and interest private owners in the preservation of their historic properties. (See Plate 30). The contribution of the Board in this field is limited by the fact that it can only spend money on its own possessions. The purchase of additional buildings has

been limited by the unwillingness of the Government to make further funds available. The National Trust has only been in existence for three years but already it has acquired for restoration and opening to the public Franklin House and Clarendon House,^{42*} both in the North Midlands. The Government is financially assisting this body and its work seems likely to expand. In addition the Minister for Tourist has urged that private owners do their utmost to preserve historic buildings and suggested that they should help to provide for their upkeep by opening them to the public.^{43*} So far only one private house has been placed on display in this way, (Secheron House, Hobart). The majority of historic buildings are preserved because they serve some useful purpose or are in sympathetic hands. Lists of buildings of historic interest have been prepared by the Royal Society (Tasmania) and the S.P.B. but these have had a restricted circulation. The establishment of a State Archives has also facilitated the identification of historic land marks. Under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 local councils have powers to preserve places of "historical interest or natural beauty" by listing these in their planning scheme, but no advantage has yet been taken of the provision.^{43a*}

The overall results of the direct efforts that have been made to preserve historic buildings have been

relatively slight, and it could be that the most important results of these attempts will prove to be the arousing of public sympathy for this kind of work. Under the present system buildings are purchased as a result of the chance circumstances of their becoming available. Thus the buildings acquired are not architecturally the best examples of their kind.

(c) Problems and methods in use elsewhere

Before briefly examining some of the solutions attempted elsewhere it is profitable to examine some of the main factors which are likely to influence the success of any comprehensive scheme for the preservation of Tasmania's historic monuments.

In the older parts of Hobart the main obstacle to the preservation of historic buildings is increasing land values particularly in the central business district. Buildings on the fringe of this area are likely in the near future to be converted to other uses. In the country, loss by gradual decay is more likely, and the possibilities for preservation are obviously greater. Even where an old building remains functionally acceptable there is still the danger that valuable facades will be spoiled by unsympathetic restoration.

Tasmania's small population in relation to the great number of buildings worthy of preservation is another factor of importance. While containing probably

the most important heritage of historic buildings in Australia, Tasmania seems fiscally to be the State least capable of protecting them. It seems therefore that voluntary societies such as the National Trust, and development as tourist attractions have an important part to play. However, it should be noted that voluntary societies through extreme antiquarian bias and sentimentalism are capable of alienating public sympathy for the objectives of preservation generally. Members of societies of this kind often idealise the past to such an extent that they have no balanced interest in modern planning and architecture. The possibilities of preserving historic buildings by opening them to the public are also limited by the small size of the population. The general neglect of the historic Midlands villages in most round tour itineraries raises doubts as to the extent to which visiting tourists can be relied upon for support. However, the prospects for preservation by use as tourist accommodation or by the opening for inspection are better in Hobart and district.

A number of countries, including Great Britain and New Zealand,⁴⁴ have achieved a more comprehensive system for the preservation of historic buildings than Tasmania. Nearer at hand the Cumberland County Council faced with the task of preserving buildings of a similar kind, also uses a more systematic approach. The systems

used in these three areas provide for investigation, research, the allocation of preservation priorities by an expert committee, the publication of lists, and powers to acquire objects of outstanding importance and to make grants in aid of preservation (except County of Cumberland). In Great Britain buildings of "special architectural or historic interest" are listed by an Advisory Committee of the Minister for Housing and Local Government. Lists are published in county development plans and the planning authorities have powers to make preservation orders to prevent demolition or alterations, and to pay compensation. In all three areas there is a considerable degree of co-operation between official and voluntary bodies. In contrast Tasmania is seen to lack provision for detailed research, public listing, and grants to aid private owners. Above all there is no independent statutory authority charged with the special task of preserving the nations historic monuments. Such a body has several times been advocated⁴⁶ but the idea of a committee to advise the S.P.B. has more frequently been suggested.⁴⁷ The S.P.B. has recommended the amendment of its Act to permit loans or grants to assist private owners, but the idea has been rejected by Cabinet mainly on the grounds of cost.⁴⁸

(d) Conclusion

Any system which aims at retention of an appreciable number of buildings of national and local

importance by actual acquisition will depend of course upon increased public support. It seems that certain measures could be taken which would foster public interest, provide an inexpensive means of interim preservation for many buildings, and a more rational basis for the purchase of selected properties than the present haphazard methods. Tasmania appears to need an expert authority or committee on the lines of the National Historic Places Trust of New Zealand which could undertake and co-ordinate research, establish criteria for preservation, classify buildings and publish lists arranged according to priority, and make recommendations to the Government about buildings which should be purchased or protected by means of grants in aid of maintenance. The most important contribution would be the establishment of an authoritative scale of values upon which policy decisions could be based. There are many functions which a body of this kind could assume. If powers were made available, possibly through the Town and Country Planning legislation, requiring notification of contemplated alterations or demolition of important buildings on historic places the authority could, for instance, examine all the possible means of preventing loss and give advice on restoration. The authority could also determine a representative selection of buildings to be opened to the public. A carefully selected body should also be capable of making suggestions

about the integration of historic buildings into the changing modern environment. There is need for more detailed research into early buildings, their architects and their social, economic and political background. The authority could among other things collect information about and photographs of buildings of interest which are demolished. Publication of the results of such investigation and recording would increase public enjoyment of historic buildings and at the same time assist in their preservation. It seems important that the voluntary societies be ensured an important part in any comprehensive scheme, but their work both in investigation and ownership of properties would benefit from the guiding influence of a national authority. Although ample powers exist for the acquisition of buildings either by the S.P.B. or the Government assisted National Trust, legislation is still needed to make possible grants for specific repairs to private buildings, and loans to enable persons interested in occupying and maintaining historic buildings to purchase them.

PART FOURCHAPTER 8APPROACHES TO RECREATIONAL LAND USE
PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

This chapter, which examines some alternative planning and management approaches, has been included in the hope that it may contribute towards an understanding of some of the recreational requirements in Tasmania. It begins with a review of the traditional methods and the remedies proposed in countries in which there is a growing consciousness of a crisis in recreational land use. The Tasmanian situation is then contrasted with these more crowded western countries and an examination is made of principles and methods which seem to offer the prospect of increased recreational amenity in the future. Finally, some specific Tasmanian needs are discussed.

1. TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

In most western countries, including Tasmania, outdoor recreational needs are catered for by a number of different agencies, including local government and voluntary societies, as well as commercial enterprise and the State. Such agencies usually have one or other of two main primary ends in view; either they cater

for the relatively intangible social needs of man; or they expect a profit from recreational activity which may be direct, as in the case of commercial agencies, or indirect, as in many of the promotional activities of governments. The provision of facilities for forms of recreation that involve relatively high participant expenditure, such as tourism, is generally the province of private enterprise; the scale of the provision being determined by the interplay of forces inherent in the marketing system. The other main contribution to recreational needs has been in the establishment of parks and reserves. This, in contrast, is an extra-market matter, the general belief being that it is in both the short- and long-term social interests of the community that such areas be made generally available. For many years, in countries such as the United States, Canada, and New Zealand, the problem of recreational land use has been seen mainly in terms of setting aside enough land of this kind. The idea that recreation should be an exclusive function of special areas and the fact that such land is generally residual to commercial needs, seem fully consistent with general features of our society such as the sharp distinction which still remains between work and play, and the tendency to treat leisure needs lightly. User-oriented parklands situated close to large urban areas contrast with remote

parks which are more likely to have been selected on account of site qualities. In all, except in England and Wales, the fundamental aim of national park management is to protect as far as possible the natural quality of the environment. The national park movement is best understood in relation to the ideology of the so-called nature lover group. Their attitude, which can be typified as a reaction against modern industrial civilisation, at its extreme idealises the natural life and damns the urban-industrial environment for its ugliness and mediocrity, and is pessimistic about present trends. Believing that the spirit of man is being impoverished by modern conditions this philosophy teaches that nevertheless man can find physical and spiritual renewal through periodic contact with nature. This is regarded as the highest form of recreation. Hope of retaining a tolerable life in the future is equated with the adequate protection of natural areas. The advocacy of this course by an articulate minority group has been persuasive enough for the national park concept to become an accepted community facility, and the main feature of recreational policy of many governments. As increasing mobility and leisure time have permitted more people to make use of these natural areas public support for this approach to recreation planning has increased, and the dualistic view of the natural

paradise and the city ugly has been perpetuated.

With a great increase in the number of people seeking recreation outside the cities there has been concern about the effects of over-crowding both on the natural assets of the parks and on the quality of the recreational experience. There is now concern not only with obtaining more parkland, but also with measures which will protect existing areas. Attempts to protect national parks against overcrowding take the form of defensive zoning. The most usual measure is the prescription of limited areas for public recreation. In these, loss of natural values is accepted as inevitable. The Western Australian proposal referred to later in the chapter is an example of this type of approach. Additional solutions involve the determination of the carrying capacity for each part of the park and the limitation of access accordingly. The apparent crisis has also led to attempts to find more rational methods of determining the amount of park lands and open spaces required for future needs; these vary from simple rule of thumb methods to more sophisticated techniques. The most common method involves estimation of requirements by projecting the current ratio between the population served and existing recreation areas in relation to predicted future population. It also is a common practice to assess the present position

in terms of 'adequacy' or 'deficiency' by comparison of the existing provision with standards adopted elsewhere. Inventories of parklike lands are also made as a preliminary to selecting additional land. Often such planning is supported by attempts to evaluate both tangible and intangible benefits. The difficulty of expressing these values monetarily has meant that reliance has had to be placed mainly on an appraisal of social values. In a materialistic society, commercial land values, which can readily be appraised in monetary terms, are the main forces whittling down the size of existing reserves and providing the chief obstacles to the setting aside of further land for recreational purposes. Public support for national park schemes is often limited by the popular identification of these facilities with special interest groups, and by the restrictions on present use imposed as part of an attempt to protect the quality of the experience and preserve resources for future generations.

2. NEW REMEDIES

The seemingly impossible task of meeting the increasing demands for recreation by traditional means has caused attention to be turned to a number of new solutions. One of these - the planning for recreation as an integral of multiple-purpose land use - has been suggested as a direct method of increasing

recreational facility. Similarly, proposals concerning the control of landscape according to amenity principles in which the distinctiveness of certain landscape types is recognised and emphasised, have implications for recreational land use. The panacea of environmental reconstruction has also been offered on the assumption that the demand for recreation is a symptom of widespread environmental dissatisfaction. These approaches are discussed in the following section.

(a) Multiple-purpose land use

Areas and projects devoted to such utilitarian purposes as timber production, grazing, and hydro-electric power generation have long been used for activities such as fishing, hunting and sight-seeing. Although the land use programme of the United States Forest Service, and the scheme of the Tennessee Valley Authority have long been available as exemplars of the possibilities of planned integration of recreation with other functions, it is only recently that concern about overcrowding at the existing recreation places has led to suggestions for a more far-reaching application of this method.^{1*} In England and Wales the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act recognised this principle in providing for the perpetuation of a network of customary footpaths, and for public access to "open country". In fact the English national parks, which

are large scale landscape reserves in which agriculture, mining and other traditional forms of land utilisation continue as before, have been hailed as a major advance in the achievement of increased recreational values in a multi-use system.² ✓

While the whole idea of introducing recreational land use into utilitarian areas is attractive in theory, it appears that for successful practice it requires considerable prior investigation and experiment, and would best work in relation to a broad regional or national land use plan. For instance, the degree of complementarity of different forms of land use must be known; where there is incompatibility a choice must still be made between alternatives, and in the case of only partial compatibility decisions have to be made about the priority of uses. Multiple-use does not, as is often thought, mean that all land must be devoted to a number of uses, and single use areas have their place in such a system. Means are also needed for compensating private owners for the losses which might be entailed in opening their lands to the public.

(b) Amenity planning

The problems of recreational land use have also been considered in relation to changes in the perceptual quality of the landscape. Probably the fullest discussion of this has taken place in England. An

indication of how long this matter has been debated is given by the fact that the Council for the Preservation of Rural England has been active since the 1920's. The legislation of the post-war period - notably the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 and the National Parks Act of 1949 - represented a major victory for those who urged the more positive recognition of amenity in planning. The latter Act provided for the protection of amenity in national parks and "areas of special landscape interest". The land now designated in the former category is now equal to 10% of the total area of England and Wales. It is noteworthy that in these amenity areas the provision of recreational facility is a subordinate goal to that of long term amenity protection.

In the mid-fifties interest in this aspect was broadened to embrace the whole visual landscape. The greatest public impact was made by two dramatically conceived studies - Outrage and Counterattack³ - which attacked and suggested remedies for the spread of suburbia. It was claimed that this standardised blight, termed "subtopia", was blurring the distinctions between the main elements of the environment - defined as the wild, country, arcadia, town, and metropolis. A call was made for a redefinition of the visual characteristics in a way appropriate to the genius loci of each, both by independent action and by positive planning of future

development. The garden city idea was criticised as creating useless open space and being responsible in part for the extent of "urban sprawl", and the remedy of more tightly planned towns and cities was suggested. The assumption was made that urban recreational needs will continue to be met in the country. It was believed that the measures proposed would benefit the holiday-maker by ensuring environmental contrast; but little or no attention was given to the problem of how great numbers of people can best be received in non-urban areas. However, Sylvia Crowe, whose diagnosis⁴ of the major problems as a visual one places her study in much the same category as Outrage, suggests ecological remedies and gives more attention to the problems of recreational land use. She recommends a survey of the visual and ecological qualities of landscape types, from which could be determined a saturation point of human use beyond which deterioration would set in.

Two main types of recreational area are envisaged: areas in which an attempt is made to preserve the natural scenery to the limits of possibility by creating difficulties of access; and "holiday landscapes" in which the dominance of the holiday-maker is recognised but an attempt is made by positive design to fit the main features to the landscape as skilfully as possible. In national parks the setting aside of a separate holiday

area is suggested as a means of saving the preserved landscapes. This latter idea is similar to current American solutions for the problem of overcrowding in such areas. If it is in fact true that the size of the demand for extra-urban recreation is partly a function of the amount of recreational space in the urban areas, proposals to increase the population density of the towns would obviously increase the recreational pressure on the countryside. Both these authors subscribe to the traditional characterisation of the main recreational needs of the city dweller as being relief from the home environment, and their proposals endorse the 'renewal through contact with wild nature' ideal and the national park concept. Bias towards those who enjoy natural scenery is evident, since the implication is that this group alone should be provided for at the optimum level. Both these studies are highly subjective since they use aesthetic theory rather than empirical data concerning human needs as the starting point for their proposals.

(c) Recreation through transformation of environment

The findings of the growing science of ecology allied to economic theories about the irreplaceability of certain resources have together provided the inspiration for the increasingly popular diagnosis of man's problems as due to a disturbance of his equilibrium with nature. This standpoint is typified in the approach

of the environmental conservationists.^{5*} The optimum aim of land use, according to this school of thought, is the achievement of the most fitting relationship with environment - the idea of "anthropogenic climax". Others, such as Aldo Leopold, have suggested the need for a land ethic based upon an ecological conscience.⁶

The most plausible study of the general problems of recreational land use in these terms is contained in the writings of Artur Glikson.^{7*} He characterises the present demand for recreation as "a reaction against the psychophysical complexity of life introduced by centralisation and industrialisation" and the present system of providing for recreation in special areas as palliative. Such places, he claims, cannot provide satisfactory recreation because of the inevitable overcrowding, and because, among other things, they imply contentedness with the existence of an inferior everyday environment. The remedy offered is nothing short of complete environmental reconstruction according to ecological principles with combined economic rehabilitation and social re-education. This kind of recreation, Glikson claims, would be a way to the "eternally desirable values" of a balanced relationship between human capabilities and natural forces. The assumption is also made that there is an "intrinsic conformity of aesthetic and functional qualities of an environment".⁸

Some of Glikson's proposals are intended as intermediate measures. It is believed for instance that the provision of more recreational opportunity in the home, neighbourhood and city will reduce the demand for extra-urban recreation. He also suggests that the present recreational movement be made the instigator of the environmental reconstruction process, by creating a realisation of the need for "re-creation of environment". This, it is believed, can be done by making the whole landscape accessible and hospitable to the holiday-maker by means of multi-use programming, developing in the public a greater "receptivity to environmental qualities". Many of these ideas seem to be diametrically opposed to those of the school of thought represented by the Outrage study.

Glikson's theories, while revolutionary, must be judged in the light of his practical experience in the large scale redesign of environment in Israel. The view that our present civilisation and recreation are undesirable, is little more than a value judgment since it is not supported by detailed evidence concerning the nature of the supposed dissatisfaction. The recreation movement is also capable of more optimistic interpretation as a part of the variety of behaviour made possible by our present industrial society. Such an assertion as "the more artificial the urban environment,

the larger the demand for compensation in indigenous landscape"¹⁰ requires the support of comparative studies of leisure behaviour in high density cities, garden cities, rural areas, and redesigned lands. The question must also be asked as to whether there may not be some more inherent reason for man's desire to explore the earth's surface, and to make contact with a variety of environments including areas of wild nature. Even if Glikson's fundamental diagnosis of the reason for the size of the recreation movement is true, and if, as a result of corrective measures the function of recreation changes, many of the basic forms, such as tourism, are likely to remain. Although improved urban living conditions might result in some reduction of the general level of demand for extra-urban recreation, because of the growing population there is not likely to be any lessening in the absolute requirements. Glikson also does not acknowledge adequately the conforming effects on recreational behaviour of such features of our western society as general motor car ownership. There seems to be a contradiction in Glikson's criticism of the unsatisfactory nature of specially "designed" recreation areas and his panacea which in fact involves grand scale design of environment. In view of the variety of recreational experience sought and obtained at the present day one cannot help but be sceptical about the claim that

a more satisfactory form of recreation can be obtained through pursuit of the goal of "recreation of environment".

There are many obstacles to the adoption of the idea of environmental reconstruction. Man's anthropocentric outlook, exemplified by his faith in the capacity of technology to solve all resource problems, is strongly entrenched and he does not seem prepared to willingly surrender a position of biotic dominance for the contrary ideal of an organic society. Features of our political system, such as safeguards for the protection of the liberty of individuals, provide difficulties in the way of fostering a concept of creative leisure, and would probably hinder the acquisition of the central powers needed for large scale national planning. The persuasiveness of the present universal theme of economic growth also bars the way towards greater emphasis of social goals. However, the possibility remains that one of the results of a more positive attitude towards leisure and an increasing prosperity may be a greater interest in the aesthetic qualities of environment and a further examination of their relationship to the idea of ecological harmony with nature.

3. THE TASMANIAN SITUATION

Tasmania has little of the overcrowding of recreation places which has caused planners in other western countries to speak of a crisis. The reason

is of course to be found in the ample space and resources for outdoor recreation in Tasmania in relation to the relatively small population they have to serve. The pattern of population distribution also ensures that most Tasmanians are near either the seashore, or forest and wasteland. It is interesting in this connection to note that in neighbouring Victoria there is a far greater awareness of a recreation land use problem than in Tasmania.^{11*} While the demand for recreation is likely to be affected by general tendencies such as the increase in the amount of leisure time, Tasmania's future is more likely to be determined by its proximity to the large metropolitan populations of the mainland, particularly of Victoria. When the remaining transport barriers are removed the provision for recreation will have to be viewed in the light of the requirements of a much larger population.

Recreational needs in Tasmania are met by the traditional methods outlined in the early part of this chapter. Commercial agencies play an important role in providing accommodation and touring facilities, but the importance of tourists from the mainland has caused the Government to assume a considerable measure of responsibility for the promotion of the industry. State participation is mainly motivated by a desire to benefit the local economy, but the scope of its action

has extended to include such indirect measures as municipal clean-up campaigns and control of roadside hoardings. The Government Tourist Department provides incidentally a valuable community service by making free booking facilities and advice available to all kinds of holiday maker. The potential of private action in commandeering recreational resources is seen in the importance of summer cottage development on the Tasmanian coast. The way in which small articulate recreational groups can wield an influence on resource allocation disproportionate to their size is also well illustrated in Tasmania by the example of the bush walker-naturalist group.

National parks and reserves have been set aside both for present use and as an act of trusteeship for future generations. As a result of large scale provision, in relation to the small number of potential users, the lack of funds for development, and the absence of major demands for conversion to other uses, Tasmania to-day has a system which is of considerable value for walkers and naturalists and for the protection of indigenous biotypes. Use by other groups mainly occurs at peripheral points. There are also large areas of natural wilderness outside the parks and reserves. There is thus, little concern about the threat of over-use. However, the weakness of the existing administration,

coupled with the fact that these areas are not secure against alienation, causes concern about their future.

With the exception of a few special attractions, such as limestone showcaves and historic buildings open to the public, the most intensive recreational land use occurs along favourable stretches of coastline, and here some minor conflicts exist. Many parts of Tasmania's forests, grazing lands, and hydro-electric schemes are used for recreation but few arrangements have been made either for the maximisation of this collateral benefit, or for the limitation of the adverse effects on recreation of such developments as water impoundment, and timber exploitation.

The possibility of a relationship between the amount of open space in the urban environment and the demand for extra-urban recreation makes it of interest to note that the minimum standard adopted by the planning authority for the Southern Metropolitan Area (Hobart and neighbouring municipalities) permits the amount of per capita open space at present available to be reduced by 28% by the end of the fifteen year first stage development period.^{12*} There is also a tendency for areas set aside for passive recreation to be converted to use for active sports on the assumption that the demand for the passive form is decreasing. Such measures combined with planned higher density redevelopment may help

perpetuate the week-end exodus from the city. The size of Tasmania is such that with only slight increases in mobility and better road access almost the whole State will be within the range of the week-end tripper.

The comparatively important part played by Government agencies in recreational development is one of the most important features of the Tasmanian situation. Yet several aspects of the present organisation seem to limit their achievement. It has been shown that there are a number of special agencies, such as the Scenery Preservation Board, the Government Tourist Department, and the Animals and Birds Protection Board. Although the function of the public agencies is bound by statutory limitations there is some evidence of a trend towards a widening of their scope. The Scenery Preservation Board for instance has in post-war years become responsible for roadside hoardings and historic buildings, and there have been frequent requests from voluntary associations that its work be extended to include the protection of scenery generally in the State. Similarly the Inland Fisheries Commission has become directly concerned with the improvement of access for anglers, and the Government Tourist Department through its close association with the Accommodation Loans Committee is in a position to influence the standard and location of new accommodation.

In spite of these tendencies the work of these bodies is limited by the absence of any overall co-ordinating body and the limited amount of inter-departmental liaison.^{13*} As a result the whole set-up is particularistic and fragmentary. The Tourist Advisory Board could serve as a co-ordinating agency, despite its lack of a professional staff, but it does not seem to have been taken seriously by the Government.

4. AN APPROACH FOR TASMANIA

(a) Planning principles

Since Tasmania's recreational resources seem adequate to cater for the foreseeable demand for several decades to come, the question arises of whether any major innovation in planning and management is necessary. The future of the flow of tourists from the mainland to Tasmania is not predictable, but any answer must of course also involve some assumption about what constitutes "desirable" recreation. A number of kinds of assumption of forms of bias can be noted in the different approaches to recreation planning. Good recreation is variously thought of in terms of: spiritual and physical refreshment through contact with wild nature; the creative use of leisure; and activities which are monetarily profitable to private enterprise, a district, or a nation. Large recreation groups competing with minorities for resources naturally often favour the

criterion of 'number of users', just as the Tasmanian Hydro-Electric Commission claims that its schemes are recreationally beneficial since they cater for more intensive forms of recreation. One of the main features indicated by this thesis is the great variety of recreational experiences and activities. Thus, another possible basis for recreational policy is the assumption that a high level of recreation can be equated with the existence of a wide range of experiences. Translated into planning terms this involves comprehensive provision for all the varied experiences that are sought. The idea echoes that of Anderson:

man is diverse in his physiological and nervous constitution. We must postulate that in view of this diversity the human race will be most completely itself and will prosper emotionally, intellectually, and physically under conditions which encourage the utilisation of the enormous range of difference.¹⁴

Any answer to the question of whether, in addition to providing for variety, national policy should also aim at increasing the educational content of recreation, does become a matter of bias. A policy dominated by the creative ideal could well be restrictive, cramping the development of demand for new types of experience. However, there seems little objection on these grounds to limited experiment with schemes such as national park interpretative services, in which the user is provided with an ample choice of conditions, and careful

study is made of response. In fact, any policy aimed at creating a maximum range of contact with different environmental conditions also assumes an educational character.

If the aim of presenting maximum opportunities for variety in recreation is accepted we are led to the question of what is a proper foundation for such a policy. Only one basis seems sound in this respect, and this is that planning should aim at providing a service acceptable to present day groups and should be founded on careful definition of their needs. At the same time it should be flexible enough to allow for changes in the relative size of the groups, and the development of new activities. This approach incorporates the idea of allocating resources according to predicted needs on the ground that the main forms exhibit a considerable degree of continuity.

To ensure that the variety of conditions required by the different user-groups is maintained, seems to necessitate comprehensive planning by the State. Such a policy would need to protect the interests of minorities against economically more powerful groups. As Hines puts it "freedom of consumer choice must at least stop short of the point where greater injury to others overbalances the benefit to the original consumer or producer".¹⁵ Although, what the public is able to afford

does offer a standard measure of demand it is obviously a dependent variable of inequalities in the distribution of wealth and does not provide a means of evaluating the human benefits received. There is thus a latent inconsistency between a policy aimed primarily at benefiting the local economy and basing its actions on the criterion of profitability, and the ideal of providing equally for all human needs. In Tasmania, the policy of promoting the tourist industry gives preference to the higher spending forms, a fact illustrated by the refusal to grant loans for the construction of cheaper types of accommodation. Such a policy generally results in the maintenance of the high cost of recreation, counteracting to some extent the tendency towards an increase in leisure time.

A uniform set of criteria for all public expenditure and planning action could be provided if the objectives of monetary benefit were surrendered in favour of the primary motive of serving human needs. Adoption of such an objective would not of course exclude the idea of service by means of commercial agencies, where this was not opposed to the public interest. In Tasmania the State assumed a leading role in tourist development during a period of economic difficulty, and at the time its work seemed a natural method of bolstering a weak economy. Now that the

country is entering a prosperous phase based on industrial development the economic motivation and the treatment of the tourist as an item of commerce seems less necessary. Relinquishment of the present policy would not be inconsistent with the tendency in many parts of the world, as the concept of leisure as an end in itself develops, to pay increasing attention to the intangible values of recreation, and compare the needs of outdoor recreation with those of public health and education. Although so far few adverse effects have arisen from the present approach the policy does not seem to offer a sound basis for solving the problems which seem bound to arise from increased competition for resources. While the protection of minorities and values such as those associated with the conservation of resources for future use requires financial assistance from the State, there seems no reason why user-groups should not help share the cost by means of payment for special services; for instance a charge for admission to national parks would be equitable. What must be guarded against is the temptation to regard profitability as a measure of the value of such facilities. The opportunity for the State to play a greater role in recreation planning is particularly favoured in Tasmania by the existence of an extensive public domain.

Finally, there is a question of how much land

should be set aside for the different types of recreation. Rather than trying to provide for recreation chiefly by means of special purpose areas it seems that the object of creating the optimum recreational opportunity, could best be achieved through the adoption of multi-purpose land use in which recreation is introduced wherever compatible with the primary objective. This should apply to both public and private land. For instance there is a need for a unified concept of forest lands and hydro-electricity works serving a number of purposes. There is also ample justification for the preservation of natural areas, special scenic features, and historic monuments. Besides being of value for specific activities these areas contribute to the overall pattern of environmental variety, and help retain irreplaceable resources. Glikson's statement that such areas provide an unsatisfactory recreation experience¹⁶ because of their designed nature was not confirmed by study of park-user opinion in Tasmania.

Thus, the principles which could form the basis of a national policy for Tasmania can be reiterated as follows:-

1. A policy should aim at providing for the variety of recreational needs evident in the present situation.
2. Provision of facilities and conditions to

serve these needs should be based on a study of the needs of existing user-groups, but should be flexible enough to allow for adjustment with changes in demand.

3. Co-ordinated planning by the State is necessary for the achievement of these objects, and participation should be on the basis of serving primary human needs rather than secondary profit benefits.
4. Maximum recreational opportunity can be provided by multi-purpose land use programmes combined with the reservation of special purpose lands such as areas of natural beauty, and places of historic or ecological importance.

(b) Methods

Any system of co-ordinated recreation planning must obviously be as completely informed as possible about the requirements of users and the capability of resources. The finding of satisfactory methods of assessing needs and resources and of classifying land in a manner which will enable these needs to be met is the crux of providing an adequate research base for recreational planning.

Clearly there is need for a greater body of knowledge about existing activities and user-satisfaction, and for continuing surveys of changing demands. Many

critical factors such as the adaptability and tolerance of different groups to crowding have to be determined and most of these can be revealed by user-satisfaction and resource use studies. In the case of many of the activities studied in this thesis, such as coach sight-seeing, social enjoyment was noted as being of prime importance. Although the requirements of the main Tasmanian user groups and their pattern of distribution have been outlined in Part Two, the findings of this thesis suggest lines of further enquiry into dynamic activities and demands rather than definite results. Certainly there seems to be room for more studies of user opinions about the conditions which made for satisfactory experiences. In this study particular attention was paid to recreational societies, many of which contained the majority of members of their activity group. Although the special opportunity to study recreational satisfaction and tastes through these groups is no alternative to studies of users in the field the important role that these organisations play in the expression of needs, the moulding of attitudes, and the control and development of resources should be recognised as well worthy of study for their own sake.

Knowledge gained from research into user requirements can be complemented by the study of the patterns of recreational land and facility use in which

particular attention is paid to limiting factors. In the present study the value of the facility-use approach was limited by the smallness of the sample. Comprehensive occupancy statistics, which could readily be collected by the Licensing Court would be useful for both individual proprietors and the industry generally. Together these various lines of investigation would provide criteria for the improved definition of recreational resources in unused areas and generally. A number of studies have suggested that assessment can be achieved by means of land capability classification similar to the method used in forestry resource appraisal. Such a survey should lead to national and regional master plans indicating which land is to be used for what purpose and at what level of intensity, and to management programmes which ensure that the hierarchy of use priorities is maintained.

A North American national planning body has tentatively suggested a rational method for co-ordinated recreational land-use planning.¹⁷ It involves investigation and projection of user requirements combined with studies of the recreational potential of all parts of a region based on criteria of observed use. For accurate measurement of resources a random point method of sampling is suggested. Landscape interpretation and

design studies are used to relate demand and supply and suggest types of management which will preserve the quality of the recreational experience. These studies along with others of recreational costs and benefits are used to propose a plan for region or planning area. The need for periodic re-evaluation is acknowledged and presumably this would take care of unpredicted changes of demand such as those caused by fluctuations in the popularity of different activities and interests. Proper appraisal of the usefulness of this method must await the results of its trial application.

It must be noted that this latter study does not attempt to relate the problem of recreational resource planning to that of overall problems of resource allocation, although the integration of recreation with other uses is recommended. Studies of this kind suggest a means of estimating recreational requirements and determining the potential of various types of land, but there is a dearth of enquiries which have attempted to show how priorities in the allocation of land for various uses - both recreational and non-recreational and often competitive - are to be determined in the final plan. After a comprehensive review of the factors involved in the recreational evaluation of land Dana doubts whether a valid method of directly comparing values of recreation with other uses, and the values

of different types of recreation will ever be found. Decisions as to what single or multiple land use should be favoured in a particular situation must, he states, "be made more on the basis of judgment than of mathematics".¹⁸ However, the judgment must be as well informed as possible and it is by providing objective information about recreational needs and resource potentials that research into recreational land use can play a useful part. Although analysis of patterns of recreational activity by means of facility use studies and opinion surveys is within the scope of geographical enquiry, such pertinent matters as the social composition of the user-groups and the relationship of the main forms of recreational activity require the attention of other disciplines.

Since most land must obviously serve other functions than recreation, ideally the only sensible approach is that of overall national planning providing comprehensively for all human needs. Such an approach requires a national plan, and a planning agency to co-ordinate all resource development making its recommendations to Parliament. At a lower level there also seems to be need for a national outdoor recreation authority to facilitate investigation and make recommendations to the national planning authority. At present comprehensive statistics on outdoor recreation are not available and

it was necessary for the writer to gather material for this present study by a number of laborious methods. A third administrative tier is required in the form of specialised departments and bodies responsible for the development and control of particular recreational activities resources.

(c) Some Tasmanian requirements

In Tasmania, of course, the third tier referred to already exists, and consists of such bodies as the Scenery Preservation Board and the Inland Fisheries Commission. However, there seems to be some room for improvement at this level in several directions. There is need for an additional body concerned with historic places, and the scope of some bodies could to advantage be extended. The Scenery Preservation Board, for instance, could perhaps be given wider powers for the protection of scenic amenity. The views of the voluntary societies are of vital importance and these could continue to make the views of their group known by representation on the different corporate bodies.

At the second level a central recreation agency similar to the United States Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Committee established in 1958 is needed. Given a fulltime staff and a broader brief the Tourist Advisory Board could possibly serve this purpose. This agency would ensure greater co-ordination of the work of the

special agencies, and would conduct general research into recreational needs and resources. Together with authorities such as the H.E.C. and the F.C. this body would be closely related to any national planning agency that might be established. The constructing departments including H.E.C. and the F.C. could well have recreational consultants maintaining direct contact with the central recreational authority.

The whole system should ensure that any change that will affect the landscape and is of recreational significance goes through the planning machinery, and is considered in relation to a national plan. This is not to say that local authorities should lose their planning functions, but the system must be coherent enough to permit regional and national ends to be realised.

Ideally, the achievement of co-ordinated recreational planning seems to require the following sequence of action. Firstly, there is need for pilot studies to clarify the needs of the different recreation groups, and determine such matters as the carrying capacity of different types of land and the compatibility of different uses. With criteria produced from these investigations an inventory of resources in terms of recreational capability can be made. Following this, national policy can be decided upon and detailed zoning carried out to make the most appropriate use of all land.

Notwithstanding the favourable ratio of supply and demand in Tasmania it is believed that it is in the interest of the community at large to plan for the maximum quality and variety of recreational opportunity. It is proposed therefore that recreation should be accepted as a function of all land wherever compatible with the prior objective. The prospect of co-ordinated user-planning in Tasmania seems remote, but knowledge of facility deficiencies is already sufficient to permit separate improvements to be effected according to some of the principles described. To this end some of the needs of the different activity groups are examined.

The main facility needs of the rolling tourist are roads and accommodation. The road is for the tourist a means of exploring and enjoying the variety of environments offered by the island; therefore it seems obvious that it should be designed with a view to the travellers interest in observing the landscape. Carefully located side-roads and tracks are needed at intervals to invite the tourist to explore more fully the neighbouring countryside. However, the question of what type of roads to build and where, should be carefully related to an overall plan of recreational land use and not influenced mainly by local pleadings. At present there is support both locally and nationally for any new route that appears to be of possible interest to the motoring tourist,

and the idea that the tourist attraction of the State must be continuously expanded by opening up new areas, is firmly entrenched. With development in relation to an overall plan, areas that are best left roadless could be determined, so ensuring a balance in the provision of resources for different groups. A central recreation agency could vet all new road proposals, including those of the H.E.C. and the F.C. In this way not only could the best route be obtained for tourist purposes, but areas set aside for wilderness activities could be protected sometimes by preventing the building of roads or by choice of alternative routes.

The roadside fringe occupies a particularly important part of the traveller's view and it should be designed to merge into the adjacent environment rather than to dominate it by its own special character. Roadside lay-bys, viewpoints, picnic facilities, and camping spots are needed, and these require careful siting. The varying needs of tourists require that not all of these should be of a formal character.

Although there is no longer an overall deficiency of accommodation during the tourist season, most of the expansion has been in the form of high standard hotels and motels, and there is still a shortage of lower quality accommodation. It seems that the Government should acknowledge the existence of a variety of

needs and provide loans to developers of all types of facilities. There is for instance a good case for materially encouraging the development of more holiday cottage concerns. Apart from their intrinsic value to particular types of holiday makers these have a higher annual occupancy than privately owned summer cottages, and this could be a way of reducing the extent of building on the coast.

Even without comprehensive planning for all aspects of recreational land use throughout Tasmania, much could be achieved by dealing with the coast as a separate planning unit. Further studies of the different types of demand and an inventory of coastal resources^{19*} are necessary before a plan could be drawn up. Control over recreational use of the coastline could probably be achieved through strengthening and greater use of town and country planning powers.

Study of the needs of the summer cottage group indicated that many cottagers preferred the experience associated with the small resort. Others objected to the trend towards a higher standard of dwelling, which was reducing the contrast between the holiday and home environment. Further specifically oriented research is needed into the attitude of cottagers to different kinds of beach settlement and to the advantages and disadvantages of the ownership of units located in the back

areas of large resorts. There seems to be a case for measures to facilitate the survival of the smaller resort and the less expensive types of cottage. In a comprehensive planning system sites could be earmarked for future settlements of various kinds. Other areas could be set aside for foreshore camping. New camping sites offering a variety of settings could be established. Day visitors to beach resorts also require better facilities; access is needed to new beaches some of which could be reserved primarily for this purpose. In post-war years the process of coastal development has been extremely swift, and local government machinery and resources do not seem to be capable of meeting the present demands. Many long stretches of coastline are without camping and caravan park facilities and it seems that local authorities need financial assistance to enable them to provide these facilities, and to exercise general control over foreshore areas. A variety of coastal areas might well be reserved from subdivisional development for those who prefer to enjoy the beauties of the coast in solitude. An illustration of the variety of still undeveloped coastal scenery in Tasmania is given in Plates 22 and 23. Decisions about the location of all these areas and facilities could be made on a national and regional basis.

The Inland Fisheries Commission is an example

of an active recreation authority, sensitive to the needs of anglers and alert to opportunities for making the best possible use of resources, including new waters. However, this body lacks the fiscal capacity to provide for large scale modifications to hydro-electric power schemes, and the Hydro-Electric Commission does not have the statutory authority to undertake such works. Tasmania offers a wide variety of fishing and it is in the interests of the sport that this be maintained. One of the most distinctive of angling experiences is that enjoyed by those who walk to the remote lakes of the western Central Plateau. A further study of the values attached to this experience could be the basis of a reservation of a section of the plateau as a roadless area.

Skiing in Tasmania is a slowly growing sport with but a small following and many obstacles both physical and man-made are hindering its further development. The fact that all the main snowfields are in National Parks seems to suggest that there is a strong case, either for Government provision of facilities such as moderately comfortable accommodation, or for liberal concessions to be made to private enterprise, with protection for other national park values by means of appropriate conditions. Bush walking needs are well catered for in the State but the possibility of establishing a number of new long distance walking tracks, some along coastal areas, could

be examined. Even if it is not possible to introduce recreation as an integral part of all forestry programmes, a greater public use of the forests could probably be obtained if certain areas were designated as National Forest Parks. In these recreation could be accepted as a dominant or co-dominant value and appropriate facilities could be provided.

The chief needs for a more effective system of preserving historic buildings seem to be authoritative identification of significant buildings, and a means of doing everything possible to preserve them by finding useful functions. For those cases where no such solution is possible, powers for assistance to the owner or for purchase are necessary. It seems that a special authority is needed which, in addition to being responsible for these matters, would also publish lists of important buildings and results of investigations, maintain liaison with voluntary societies, and co-ordinate the opening of representative buildings to the public.

A national park and reserve system is warranted by its scientific and educational usefulness, its value to a number of recreational groups, and because of the contribution it can make to the ideal of environmental diversity in the conditions for recreation, especially by helping to maintain a variety of vegetation cover. Although not available to hunters such areas play a

valuable part in the maintenance of game populations.

Ideally a park system should be designed as part of a broader process of recreation planning. Nevertheless, the character of this resource is sufficiently distinctive to warrant its consideration for the time being as a separate entity. Even though intangible aspects, such as the question of what should be preserved for future generations create difficulties, a more rational planning basis seems necessary if the park system is to continue to play an effective part in Tasmanian recreation. Using the approach which has already been suggested for general recreational land classification there is need for further study of the needs and experiences of the different groups who use natural reserves.^{20*} These results combined with judgments about which types of area should be preserved for posterity could provide criteria for the establishment of different kinds of reserves. These could be used as the basis of a State-wide survey of both existing and potential park lands to determine which areas should be best set aside for these purposes. Not all existing parks should necessarily be retained, although as a result of the protection they have had over many years, they would have an important claim for inclusion. Clearly, site characteristics would be the major determinant of such selection and unique features of fauna, flora or terrain

would have a high priority for reservation. Some consideration should be given to regional balance and the facts of proximity to user populations in the reservation of representative natural areas, especially where there is a choice between alternative areas, so limiting the maldistribution which would arise solely from the protection of the unique. It has been shown that there are a number of different, and in some cases incompatible, values and interests in national parks. If land was selected and designated according to its specified primary and secondary purpose, and subsequently protected and managed accordingly, far fewer conflicts would be likely to arise. The main values upon which the criteria for selection might be based are as follows:-

1. Preservation of irreplaceable conditions for posterity.
2. Scientific and educational purposes.
3. Extensive forms of recreation.
4. Intensive forms of recreation.

Where the conservation aim is important, value judgments naturally play an important part in decisions about the amount and type of land to be reserved. However, most of the future needs can be served by land set aside for present activities. Present day requirements are summarised in Appendix 9.

Areas in which man is excluded as a dominant

provide a laboratory for the study of natural processes and a means of measuring man-induced changes in the plant and animal life of settled areas. It is particularly important that areas being reserved for these purposes should not be interfered with in any way, and it seems that they should be given a higher degree of legal security than they have at present. In Western Australia for instance certain reserves cannot be alienated for other purposes except by Act of Parliament. A firmer attitude is needed towards revocation of land for trifling mining operations. Hines suggests²¹ that the burden of proof of the social desirability of modification of such areas should be upon those suggesting the change. More research is needed into the extent to which different types of nature reserve can be used for extensive recreation without damage to the biological values.

Considerable environmental variety can be ensured for wilderness devotees by the use of areas primarily preserved as nature reserves. However, none of these are likely to be large enough for long distance trekking. South-West Tasmania is already probably the most highly appreciated wilderness area of this kind in the whole of Australia and it would have a high claim for consideration as a wilderness park and nature reserve in any Commonwealth National Park system. The Flora and Fauna Conservation Committee recently proposed

that a large area bounded by Low Rocky Point-Mt. Anne and New River Lagoon be reserved as a National Park. The proposal recommended a tri-partite division of the Park, the greater area being reserved for bush walking, some tourist development being planned at Port Davey, and two strict nature reserves set aside in remote areas. Such developments would of course mean the loss of some of the existing wilderness quality. The nature reserve proposal is clearly premature, the areas having been selected solely on the grounds of remoteness and in ignorance of their biological value. The idea that access should be available only to scientists is novel in Tasmania and seems to have been unthinkingly copied from overseas without reference to the circumstances of these particular areas.

The Cradle Mt.-Lake St. Clair National Park provides almost ideal conditions for those who require a large area in a near wilderness condition but with tracks and simple huts. This area also has a Commonwealth reputation and the case for preservation in its present form is strong. Mt. Field National Park is an illustration of the type of area which is conveniently situated for day and week-end visits by bushwalkers and naturalists. Many of the peripheral areas of Tasmanian national parks such as Cradle Valley, Cynthia Bay, and Coles Bay have been developed for intensive recreation.

The possibility of siting major facilities close to or outside the park boundary offers a means of protecting the basic asset, but the problem remains of how much land should be set aside for intensive public recreation.

To date the most detailed Australian discussion of the principles of use classification in a national park system is contained in a recent report on national parks in Western Australia.²² The report is primarily concerned with recommending suitable reserves for biological purposes, and tries to anticipate the management problems arising from the apparent incompatibility of the preservation of natural conditions and intensive human use. The preoccupation with the security of the biological values has permeated the study to such an extent that the attitude towards public recreation is essentially defensive and negative. The general principle adopted is that the primary assets should be protected by concentrating public usage. Tourist development is regarded as a "necessary evil", but realising that the public will demand access to some spectacular areas, it proposes that their needs be served by additional land termed "Public Recreation Reserves".^{24*} As a general principle these are not to exceed one tenth of the whole area of a National Park (a National Park consisting of a National Nature Reserve and a Public Recreation Reserve). In these areas it is prepared to

accept some biotic deterioration for the greater end of protecting the natural reserves.^{23*} In its anxiety to provide protection for the natural conditions the Sub-Committee has failed to distinguish between the nature and effects of different recreational needs. Public recreation requirements are conceived of as "the enjoyment of comfortable facilities in a bush setting", and it is thought that the desire for contact with nature can be satisfied either by the semi-natural setting of the Public Recreation Reserves, or by the viewing of National Nature Reserves from the adjacent recreational areas and roadways.^{24*} There is no acknowledgment of the needs of those who prefer extensive forms of park recreation, which omission may be due either to the relatively small importance of existing activities of this kind in Western Australia, or the result of a desire to avoid introducing a further complicating criterion of human need.^{25*} The very fact that the conditions for the satisfaction of this type of recreation - low density usage - are also necessary for the protection of natural areas suggests that such uses are usually compatible. However, different biological values will no doubt require varying degrees of control, and considerable research is needed into the actual extent and manner in which human use can be integrated into different types of nature reserve. The shortcomings

of the Western Australia report further demonstrate the importance of empirical studies both of human needs and of the compatibility of different activities and aims in park use, and the dangers of imposing a management system which is not based on an informed attempt to achieve optimum utilisation of all park values. Both for Tasmania and elsewhere further studies are needed of these matters. The broad outline of Tasmanian needs given in Appendix 9 could form the basis of further research.

Finally, it has been shown that public enjoyment and the protection of natural values in Tasmanian National Parks have both been restricted by the inadequacies of the administrative system. Centralised control, and a strong professional field staff capable of undertaking scientific and recreational investigations and providing a biological management and visitor services, are needed to overcome the defects of the present system.

ERRATA

The following corrections should be noted:

- Introduction, page ix, line 11. For "Branch" read "Commission".
- Chapter 3. It should be noted that "summer cottages" are universally termed "shacks" in Tasmania, and are used to some extent in winter.
- Chapter 3, page 116. Three of the sixteen cottages at Clifton Beach are permanent residences.
- Chapter 3, page 122. The lower level of cottage ownership at Hobart compared with Launceston may be partly due to the variety of readily accessible beaches at the former.
- Chapter 4, pages 169 and 170. The pademelon is at least as important a game species as the larger Bennetts wallaby. No data is available on the pademelon as hunting it is not controlled by licence.
- Chapter 4, page 171. The deer season is some ten weeks in duration, not six days, and extends from mid-January to late March.
- Chapter 4, page 171. Of the three species of wild duck found in Tasmania only the gray teal is entirely migratory. Although most of the black duck are visitors from New South Wales, some breed in Tasmania. The chestnut teal breeds almost exclusively in Tasmania.
- Chapter 4, page 172. The pheasant has been successfully introduced only in Bass Strait islands.
- Chapter 4, page 172, line 12. For "variety" read "scarcity".

Unfortunately the account of the Animals and Birds Protection Board is not wholly accurate and the following corrections should be noted:

- Chapter 4, page 174. The sportsman-hunter group has always had representation on the Animals and Birds Protection Board, and in 1955 it gained a second representative. The Board has protection as well as management for sportsman functions.
- Chapter 5, page 205. The Board was reconstituted in 1952, not 1954, and had always included a zoologist (the Director of the Tasmanian Museum) among its members; a second zoologist was appointed in 1952. The chairman of the Board from 1951-1959 was a person not a scientist; since then a zoologist has occupied the position.

ASPECTS OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF RECREATION

IN TASMANIA

PRECIS

This thesis provides a factual account of the development and present pattern of outdoor recreational activity in Tasmania. In attempting to determine and interpret the contemporary situation reliance is placed mainly on enquiries into the distribution and use of facilities and questionnaire surveys aimed at collecting information about behaviour and the factors conditioning the activity of the main recreational groups.

One of the most interesting features of the Tasmanian recreational scene since the middle of the last century has been a traffic of tourist visitors from the mainland. Increases in the number of arrivals over a period of a hundred years coincide generally with improvements in the communications between Tasmania and the mainland, and the main factor inhibiting present growth is seen to be limited capacity for the transport of visitors' cars. Government participation in tourist promotion, prompted partly by economic difficulties, has led to the provision of facilities and services at a higher level than could probably have been achieved by voluntary and commercial effort alone, and local residents have benefited recreationally. Government action has also ensured a more equitable distribution of recreational development. The importance of the work of voluntary associations in the development and care of facilities at various stages in the history of the State is also described.

Tasmania's great diversity of recreational resources has made possible a variety of activities. Although the interest in several activities such as angling reflects the quality of natural resources the comparative popularity of the several forms is not dependent on the resource base. The distinctiveness of the experience sought by each activity group is examined and equated tentatively with particular environmental conditions. It is noted that the main end of many societies is either facility development or resource protection and their importance as pressure groups is emphasised. These organisations could well be regarded as a separate form of recreational activity.

The evolution of Tasmania's scenic reserves is examined in detail showing the diverse forces which have

contributed to the development of the system and the variety of areas proclaimed. The setting aside of a large acreage is seen to have been facilitated by the existence of an extensive domain of Crown land with no foreseeable competing values. Where alternative uses have become apparent the status of the reserves has proved to be temporary. Support for the establishment of reserves has come from people interested in the development of the tourist traffic, the protection of unique or representative fauna or flora, and the provision of open air playgrounds. Lack of funds for national park development has limited the development of any conflict between the aims of preservation and intensive visitor use.

Examination of the status of recreation in non-statutory recreation areas such as forests and hydro-electric power projects, shows that little progress has been made in the integration of recreation and other forms of land use. Study of recreational problems suggests the value of large scale planning on a multiple-purpose basis. Generally the present situation seems to reflect the relatively low pressure of recreational demand.

In the final section some alternative courses of planning action are discussed. While the future rate of increase of recreational demand in Tasmania is problematical there seems to be good reason for adopting an approach which will provide for all requirements at an optimum level. The need for further definition of requirements by methods similar to those employed in this thesis, followed by recreational land capability surveys, as preliminaries to the drawing up of a master plan for recreation, are recommended, and the administrative prerequisites for this change briefly mentioned. Future prosperity associated with the growth of secondary industry may make possible the elaboration of planning agencies and methods. A central recreation authority to co-ordinate the work of the specialised agencies and undertake research is suggested. Even without overall planning there are several aspects of recreational planning which could be separately improved. It is suggested that the purpose of different parts of the scenic reserve system should be explicitly defined and that appropriate management programmes be drawn up.