



## **Alternative Australias: Fates and Fortunes**

Thank you, Leon Mann, for your words of welcome. I, by return, greet you, and the Fellows of your Academy, on behalf of the Academy of the Humanities. I also recognise that we are meeting today on Ngunnawal land, and that I shall later in this Lecture be talking about that land of the Ngunnawal. This joint, 'Alternative Australias' Symposium has emerged because of our two Academies' many common interests and a common desire to do something a little out of the ordinary to celebrate the centenary of Australian Federation.

To our theme, then, of Alternative Australias. Today a variety of speakers will look over the last hundred years, often asking 'what if' questions. What if our national directions over the last century had been different? What if so-called progress had taken a different course? What if policies on wages, trade or immigration, for instance, had taken a less protectionist course? After lunch we start to look more to the future, with 'what might' questions. What might our institutions, our environment, population, family life, culture and politics become in future times? In his Cunningham Lecture Hugh Stretton concludes the Symposium by pondering our possible responses to global threats and opportunities. We shall be probing past alternatives and future alternatives, and mainly in economic, political, historical and social domains. By way of preface, then, I wish to touch on a few other alternative perspectives: our sightscapes, soundscapes and bodyscapes, and in a sufficiently general way to meet the interest of our combined Fellowship, which today ranges from dancers to statisticians, and from linguists to educators.

History tends to be written about things that did happen, although our national fates and fortunes were very much shaped by the many more things that did not eventuate: the rejected alternatives, unventured courses of action, or simply fleeting visions. These non-events are worthy of serious contemplation. What if, as seemed likely in 1897, Australia had federated without Western Australia and Queensland? What if, on the other hand, discussions with New Zealand and Fiji back in the 1880s had been more fruitful, and our Commonwealth had from its inception been a more extended, more instantly multicultural one? What if we had unified rather than federated, as Sir George Dibbs advocated, and so avoided the permanent, structural gerrymander of the Senate? And what if Australia had become a republic in 1901, and thereby avoided so many decades of national reticence in relation to the British monarchy?

These smaller, larger, unitary or republican Australias were paths which we did not take, and, in hindsight, probably more to our advantage than

disadvantage. Whatever model had been adopted, however, the new nation was presented with the need for a national capital. As we meet today in the winning alternative, I thought it worth spending a few moments reviewing some of the losers, which, but for sometime chance events or personalities, might have been the winner.

In June 1901 Frederick McCubbin started to plan his grand triptych *The Pioneer*; it was eventually finished in 1904. Originally, his right-hand panel had depicted a lonely pioneer by a dilapidated cross, but he then introduced a civic note to his scene, by 'incorporating a rosy vision of a "fine city" through the thinning bush beyond the pioneer's grave as an augury of Australia's future'.<sup>1</sup> After initially exhibiting *The Pioneer* in April 1904, McCubbin re-worked the vision of a future city 'in the manner of Turner'<sup>2</sup> (see Illustration 1).

Although the Constitution of 1900 specified that the capital be 'in the State of New South Wales, and be distant not less than one hundred miles from Sydney', other alternatives had already been volunteered. Pacivica, designed by Francis Jones in 1899, was one early proposed national capital.<sup>3</sup> Situated in the 'Hawkesbury Rhineland', and so well within the 100-mile exclusion zone around Sydney, Pacivica lay in the national Province of New Arcadia. Jones's imagination conjured up a full complement of national edifices: a National Art Gallery, National Library and Museum, along with an Australian Opera House, a Governor-General's residence modelled on Windsor Castle, Parliament predictably taking after Westminster, and a military citadel based upon the Tower of London. There were to be two universities: Victoria Hall for women, and The Australian University for men. Francis Jones commented: This would be better than making Sydney itself the capital, for *Sydney would grow out towards this site in orchards, vineyards & water-suburbs*'.<sup>4</sup>

The thought that Melbourne might become the permanent capital had already caused some panic in Sydney, leading to the 1897 futurist vision of A. Nugent Robertson, who predicted that by 1912 or 1913 New South Wales would stage an abortive revolt against the projected Commonwealth.<sup>5</sup> Robertson believed that Western Australia and Queensland would not join the Commonwealth, therefore making it certain that Melbourne, as the closest city to the centre of gravity of the four federating states, would be national capital. Sydney, the 'true city of pleasure',<sup>6</sup> would have held that central role if Queensland had joined, but it did not in Robertson's scenario, and by 1912 there is a serious population drift to the 'busier centres in Melbourne and Adelaide'.<sup>7</sup> Soon, even sugar from the New South Wales north coast was being sifted through Melbourne, rather than the nearer ports of New South Wales or Queensland. Education suffered, too, and shortly before an

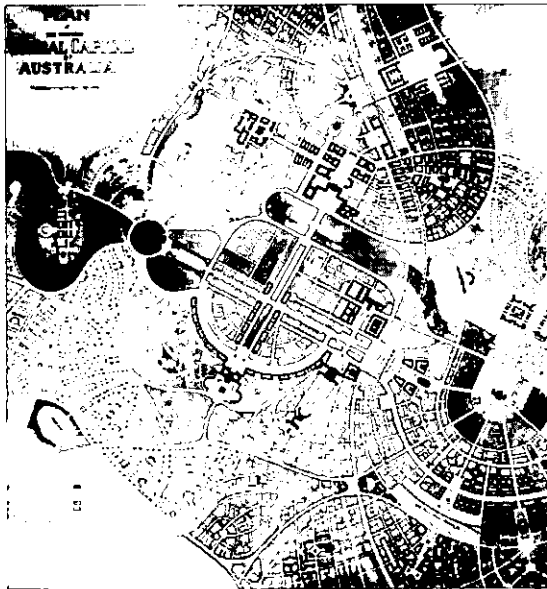
abortive declaration of independence the University of Sydney is deprived of all Government assistance and — yes, even in 1912 — amalgamated with ‘the great Federal University in Melbourne’.<sup>8</sup>

Even when the new capital’s location had been determined, it need not have developed along the antiseptic, North American lines dictated by Walter Burley Griffin’s award-winning design.<sup>9</sup> Had second-prize-winner Gotlieb Eliel Saarinen of Finland won (Illustration 2), visitors to the capital would still have spent much of their time driving in circles and on curves, and negotiating a different collection of artificial water features, yet his envisaged public buildings and spaces accorded with a more northern European formality and grandeur.<sup>10</sup> A third alternative, among the 137 submitted entries, was that of Alfred Agache,<sup>11</sup> who had a ‘Paris-on-the-Molonglo’ in mind. Illustration 3 shows the central part of his Canberra, as imagined from an aeroplane flying at a height of 820 feet.<sup>12</sup> Incidentally, this plan put the aerodrome in Narrabundah, the gas works where our National Museum now stands, and placed several of the key civic buildings on the flood plain now submerged beneath the Lake. Yes, Canberra was, right from the start, a highly controlled experiment; with Walter Burley Griffin it probably got off to a better, or at least a more thoroughly twentieth-century, start than it would have under the more architecturally nostalgic Finnish or French alternatives. The very purpose of Canberra’s planning, however, has occasioned comment. ‘Planned monotony’ is the way Hugh Stretton explained Canberra in his *Ideas for Australian Cities*: ‘Though it may do no great harm to Canberra’s social life, [this planned monotony] will help to deter visitors from wanting to build more cities like it. Do planned cities *have* to bear such an even, overall “government imprint”?’<sup>13</sup>

These unrealised sightsapes of Canberra remind us of how all sorts of unrealised alternatives were hugely influential on our thinking, indicative of our passing fashions, and helped the nation to set its priorities. While, for instance, Harry Seidler’s design for Sydney’s Australia Square did come to pass, his early 1960s vision for high-rise redevelopments of the Rocks and Sydney Cove (Illustration 4) largely did not; nor did his full-scale plans for redevelopment of McMahon’s Point.<sup>14</sup> Holding to Le Corbusier’s ideal of affordable, functional and self-contained urban ‘living spaces’, Seidler rubbed up against two strong values of his time, and perhaps even helped to strengthen them. I am thinking of the early movement to preserve our urban heritage, and of the rampant passion for suburban life of the 1950s and 1960s. Today, of course, his design would not be out of keeping with the ‘Toaster’ development on the other side of Sydney Cove, although his envisaged price-range and expected Rocks clientele were somewhat more modest than those of the blocks now adjacent to the Opera House.



*Illustration 1: Portion of Frederick McCubbin's The Pioneer (1904), reproduced by kind permission of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.*



*Illustration 2: Gottlieb Eliel Saarinen's design for Canberra (1912).*



*Illustration 3: Hubert Donat Alfred Agache's prospect view from the air of central Canberra, in his design (1912)*



*Illustration 4: Harry Seidler's model for redevelopment of The Rocks, Sydney (1961-62)*

These architectural, visual images, quite at home within yesterday's Academy of the Humanities theme of 'Visualising Australia's Past', suggest that another take on 'Alternative Australias' might concern the different ways in which we experience our country: through text and through images, but also through sound, touch, taste and smell.<sup>15</sup> These are alternative but parallel Australias, between which we can flick at a moment's notice. They are highly unevenly recorded in our histories and our records of daily life. These sonic, olfactory, gustatory, and physical Australias provide some of our richest personal experiences, yet because they are harder to record and interpret than text or pictures they are often overlooked. When in 1904 Dorothea Mackellar penned her poem 'My Country', it was a visual world that her text recorded: a land of sweeping plains and ranges. Among its six verses there are just two suggestions of sound: 'the hot gold hush of noon', in the third verse; and 'we can bless again / The drumming of an army, The steady soaking rain'.<sup>16</sup> In the fifth verse there is the merest hint at the sense of taste, even if only through its absence with the words 'famine' and 'thirsty paddocks'. Much of white Australian poetry is visual, and only scantily sonic, in contrast with indigenous utterance where sound, sight and physical references merge more as part of life's indivisible tapestry.

The noises of Australia's fauna have drawn comment from the earliest times of the first white settlers. Here in George Gordon McCrae's 'In a Bush Hut', for instance, is found a rich homage to the ground cricket:

And, booming through the turf in vibrant din,  
The great ground-cricket's braying oboe solo,  
With burr and jar, and wandering notes that twin,  
Now, down beneath the door in rich tremolo,  
And — presto! — far the thicket's belt within  
With shrill and strident sound that nigh goes through you,  
A sound 'twere hard to shape in phrase colloquial,  
A sort of *ignis fatuus* ventriloquial.<sup>17</sup>

It is, however, the birds — those joyous angels of God, as the French composer Olivier Messiaen exclaimed — that most amazed the ears of our first white settlers, with their endless variations on simple pitch and rhythmic patterns. Australian city soundscapes are still distinctive because of their rich variety of bird life, as against the sonic dead-heart of many European and North American cities, where only man-made noises can be heard, to the endless accompaniment of that particular monstrosity of contemporary soundscapes, the air conditioner.

Musicians and music-lovers, of course, live in an ear-led world, where the events of history, public or private, are often intricately bound up with music. While many remember where they were or what they were eating or wearing on a day of historical significance, others remember the music associated with those important events: that first dance with a loved one, the doleful music of a last goodbye, or the exhilarating piece which culminated a ceremonial event. Here is one small part of Australia's sonic history, now forgotten, but playing its proud role one hundred years ago in the musical accompaniment to Australia's celebration of Federation. It is Maud Fitz-Stubbs' *Governor-General's Waltz*, which was dedicated to our first Governor-General, His Excellency Lord Hopetoun (of Hopetoun Blunder fame), and played at official gatherings of 1901 by the Highland Light Infantry and H.M.S. 'Royal Arthur' Bands (Illustration 5).<sup>18</sup> Fitz-Stubbs was one of Australia's first professional female pianists, who crossed the divide between amateur and professional in 1891. She had scored a big success in 1895 with her *Heather Waltz*, of which more than ten thousand copies were sold, making her over five hundred pounds — then a worker's wage for five years.<sup>19</sup> So, Gentlemen, please take your partners.<sup>20</sup>

The waltz was *the* nineteenth-century social dance. Blessed at the Vienna Congress of 1815, it was only swept away from choreographic pride of place in the late 1920s by the combined cacophonies of radio, gramophone and sounded film, with their ubiquitous foxtrots, tangos, and, a little later, rumbas. The waltz was the dance with which a European Australia, or at least its more genteel members, celebrated Federation. Fitz-Stubbs' waltz was a grand pastiche of any number of look-alike waltzes of the 1890s: rhythmically snappy, ostentatiously dramatic, and harmonically mesmeric. Another turn-of-that-century waltz was the *Federation Waltz* by Fitz-Stubbs' less accomplished contemporary, Laura Landseer.<sup>21</sup> Landseer seems to have been overly captivated by chromatic scales, as you shall now hear.<sup>22</sup>

For at least the first half of the last century the musical soundscape of Australia was captured most comprehensively in sheet music, to be sung around the domestic piano. Only from the late 1950s was this form of music making supplanted by electronic recordings to be played on the stereogram.<sup>23</sup> The sheet music of the first half to two-thirds of the last century tells of the utterly derivative *musical* nature of Australian popular song: derivative up to the 1920s of British models, and thereafter more of American or international models. *The words* of these songs, however, express the daily joys and sorrows of Australian life more poignantly than in any social or economic commentary. A flick through the music covers at a recent National Library exhibition provides a varied summary of Australian life over the last one-and-a-half centuries.<sup>24</sup> These Australian



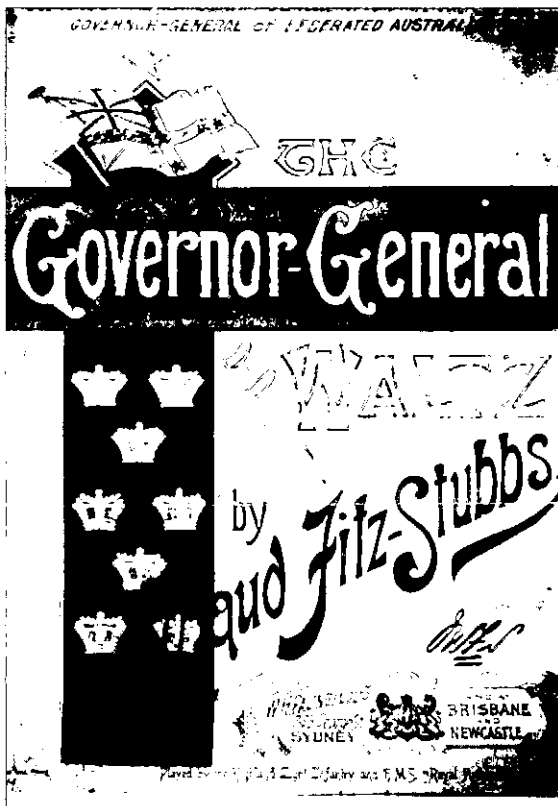


Illustration 5: The cover of Maud Fitz-Stubbs' Governor-General's Waltz (1900), reproduced by kind permission of The National Library, Canberra.

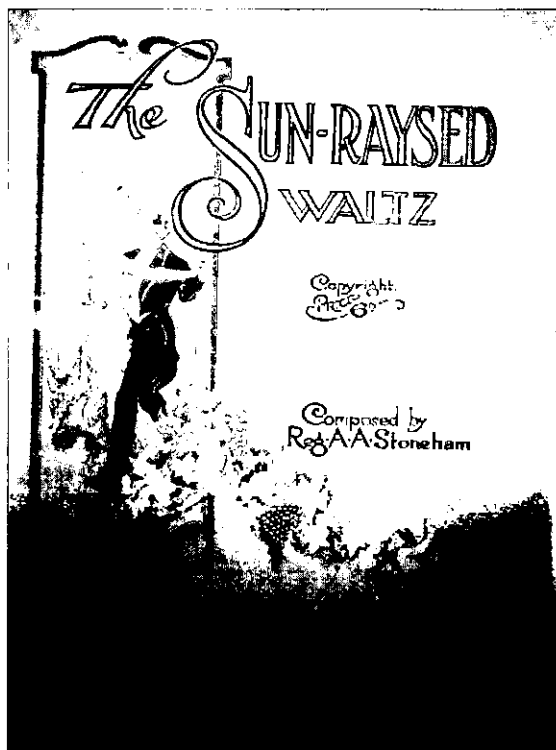


Illustration 6: The cover of Reg. A. A. Stoneham's The Sun-Raysed Waltz (1920), reproduced by kind permission of The National Library, Canberra.

Illustration 7: The cover of Charles Ridgway's and Roger Cameron's Daddy's in the Dardanelles (1916), reproduced by kind permission of The National Library, Canberra.

# DADDY'S IN THE DARDANELLES

*Stirring Patriotic Story Ballad*


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WRITTEN BY  
**Chas. Ridgway**

COMPOSED BY  
**Roger Cameron**

**CHORUS.**

Daddy's in the Dardanelles,  
Far away over the sea;  
Daddy's in the Dardanelles  
Fighting for you and for me.  
I'm writing a letter to Daddy,  
Over the water blue,  
Ye fight all the way, and when I'm a man,  
I'll be a soldier too.



EMUSIC STORE


6<sup>D</sup>

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Illustration 8: The cover of The Last Of His Tribe (1953), Henry Kendal/Christian Hellemann. (C) EMI Music Publishing Australia Pty Limited. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

## THE LAST OF HIS TRIBE

Words by HENRY KENDALL  
Music by CHRISTIAN HELLEMANN



EMI MUSIC PUBLISHING & CO. LIMITED  
100, GOSWELL ROAD, NEWCASTLE 2

soundscapes were about going to the beach,<sup>25</sup> or having fun at Luna Park.<sup>26</sup> Illustration 6 shows the cover of the *Sun-Raysed Waltz*, published in 1920 'by the Australian Dried Fruits Association of Mildura, Victoria, in the interest of Sun-Raysed Fruits', and a steal at only sixpence.<sup>27</sup> Then there was the *Changi Souvenir Song Album* first published in 1947, and showing, as does the current ABC series, the importance of music equally to morale abroad and to patriotic bolstering at home — as is seen in *Daddy's in the Dardanelles* — a 'stirring patriotic story ballad' from 1916 (Illustration 7).<sup>28</sup>

Often the war songs were direct imports from Britain or, after 1941, from America, but with purposeful local adaptation of the words. *Say a Prayer for the Boys Over There* from the 1943 Universal picture *Hers to Hold* by Americans Jimmy McHugh and Herb Magidson, had added Australian words: where the original had 'Lift your eyes as you silently rise / When they play The Star Spangled Banner; / As the song of freedom fills the air, / Say a pray'r for the boys over there', Jack O'Hagan added the Australian 'To the call they are giving their all / for our land, This land of Australia; / As they go with courage brave and rare, / Say a pray'r for the boys over there.'<sup>29</sup> The flag and freedom mattered to the Americans, while for Australians it was land and courage which featured.<sup>30</sup>

The sheet music also told of those proud yet intimate moments of Australian manhood, such as celebrated in *Holdin' You in My Holden* of 1956, where the fact that the song was 'presented by General Motors-Holden' seemed to matter more than the fact that the music was written by Don Bennett and the lyrics by Norma Hall.<sup>31</sup> There was that distinctive Australian coo-ee, and also the evocation of Australian birds, two themes which Valerie Jameson combined in her Magpie ballads.<sup>32</sup> Amid the common themes of nature, self-indulgence and the easy life were occasional glimpses of conscience, as with *The Last of his Tribe* (1953), to words by nineteenth-century poet Henry Kendall (Illustration 8).<sup>33</sup> Percy Grainger, with his *Colonial Song* (1911), summed up the desire of so many of the composers and lyricists of these early national decades, 'to express feelings aroused by thoughts of the scenery and people of my native land (Australia), and also to voice a certain kind of emotion that seems to me not untypical of native-born Colonials in general'.<sup>34</sup>

Sport was inevitably a popular and persistent theme in these domestic soundscapes. W. Geddes Taylor's *Football Polka* dated from the 1870s,<sup>35</sup> while from 1930 came *Our Don Bradman*, a 'snappy fox-trot song, written in appreciation of his match-winning and record-breaking efforts'.<sup>36</sup> Al Lewis's *Our Football Girl* of 1932, subtitled *All Australian Girl*, also used variant words, but now sequentially to meet the needs of the differing football codes of Sydney and Melbourne:

Australian Rules (Victorian League)  
She's got a wing man among the Tigers,  
She loves a big ruck man in Carlton too,  
She corresponds with North Melbourne's back men,  
And to Hawthorn she's true blue.  
She loves to go to the Magpie matches,  
A Fitzroy full-back has her in a whirl.  
She's got a sweetheart in every club's team,  
She's just an All Australian Girl.

. . . Rugby Union (NSW)  
She's got a scrum-half at Western Suburbs,  
She goes to talkies with a Drummoyne back.  
She threw a tackle up at the 'uni',  
And she loves the Manly pack.  
Up at North Sydney she likes the five-eighth,  
All Eastern Suburbs has her in a whirl.  
She's got a sweetheart in every club's team,  
She's just an All Australian Girl.<sup>37</sup>

This prevalence of football and footballers, even in domestic music-making, underlines the importance of that other Australian world, the physical world of fast-moving bodies, in which Australians have truly excelled in the last century. In fact, it is perhaps *only* in sport that Australia has really excelled during the twentieth century, culminating in its greatest triumph, the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Unfortunately, Australian sport has posed itself as a directly alternative world — and a winning one — to the world of the intellect and artistic achievement. Back in 1880 James F. Hogan defined three Australian characteristics:

1. An inordinate love of field sports.
2. A very decided disinclination to recognize the authority of parents and superiors.
3. A grievous dislike of mental effort.<sup>38</sup>

The cricketer or the rower gains admiration, Hogan continued, 'whilst men of brains are to be treated with cold neglect'. Australia has preserved that brawny image intact for one and a quarter centuries, although in the 1960s to 1980s our relative haul of Olympic medals temporarily went down, at about the time that our relative haul of brains appeared, temporarily, to go up. This sport-versus-intellect debate only hardens in its variant, sport

versus culture. A report of the Australia Council from June 2000 on *Australians and the Arts: What do the Arts Mean to Australians?* is particularly illuminating, not just for what it says about the arts but also for what it says about Australian gender identities.<sup>39</sup> Based on sixteen months of research by the advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi, the report depicts a society in which seventeen percent of citizens are sworn 'Arts lovers', and seventy-five percent believe the Arts *do* help them, in some way, to define their 'cultural identity'. The report finds, however, that the group most intensively engaged by the Arts is 'inner city, high-income educated women', but also — as a negative consequence — that a massive fifty-one percent of the sample claimed not to like 'mixing with those who go to Arts events', because these people were 'elitist', 'pretentious' and of a different class. This is a worrying reversal of the pattern in sport, where men are clearly more engaged and the word 'elite' is a source of pride. Witness the objectives of the 'Elite Sport Division' of the Australian Institute of Sport, the first of which is 'to enhance the sporting performance of Australia's elite athletes and teams'.<sup>40</sup> The overriding message of the Australia Council's report is that Australian society has, in large measure, pigeonholed the Arts as not being "for us". The tight association of various art forms with the social sets of the eastern suburbs is clearly something which arts organisations need to break down, if they are to rival sport in their public accessibility and community reach. Arts productions, it seems, may perhaps be 'elite', but must never be 'elitist'.

Australia has been blessed with many choices over the last century. A bounteous land has often opted for facile solutions — protectionism rather than free trade, ease of life as against a higher standard of living, imported art or technology in preference to home-grown. A recent article in *Campus Review* on why Singaporean students often look on Australia as an educational destination of third or fourth preference is revealing:

Singaporeans see us as sporty, easy-going, blessed with an excellent quality of life — but also unrefined, insensitive and complacent. Our image, marred by the Hanson phenomenon, treatment of Aboriginal people, corporate collapses and the weak dollar, is of a racist country stuck in the 'old economy'.<sup>41</sup>

An alternative now for Australia is a national rededication to the aim of becoming that more 'clever, educated people', which Donald Horne so eloquently outlined in *The Lucky Country*,<sup>42</sup> but not clever just because we are more credentialed than some other nations in business, or more trained in biotechnology or communication technologies. No, we need to be clever

because we dare to train all of our senses — brains, eyes, ears, along with our bodies and emotions, in harmony, not in opposition. And clever because we individually inhabit as many alternative Australias as our senses, abilities and talents will allow. In short, we might opt in the twenty-first century for a truly *sensible* Australia.

## Notes

1. Ron Radford, *Our Country: Australian Federation Landscapes 1900–1914* (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 2001), p. 31.
2. *Herald* (Melbourne), 13 July 1905, p. 4.
3. See *1901: Australian Life at Federation: An Illustrated Chronicle*, ed. Aedeon Cremin (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2001), p. 150.
4. Quoted in Cremin, ed., p. 150.
5. A. Nugent Robertson, *Federation and Afterwards: A Fragment of History 1898–1912* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1897), ‘which briefly sets forth some of the causes of the late abortive revolt of the State of New South Wales against the Commonwealth of Australia’.
6. Robertson, p. 10.
7. Robertson, p. 33.
8. Robertson, p. 44.
9. See, for instance, John Overall, *Canberra: Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow* (Canberra: Federal Capital Press, 1995), pp. 15–16.
10. See John W. Reys, *Canberra 1912: Plans and Planners of the Australian Capital Competition* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), pp. 132–5.
11. See Reys, pp. 110–13.
12. Alan Fitzgerald, *Canberra in Two Centuries* (Canberra: Clareville Press, 1987), p. 104.
13. Hugh Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities*, third edition (Sydney: Transit Australia Publishing, 1989), p. 117.
14. ‘Harry Seidler, “Aménagement de la Pointe Mac Mahon”’, and Harry Seidler with Frank d’Arcy, “Remodélation de Sydney Cove ‘The Rocks’”, *Aujourd’hui: art et architecture*, no. 40 (January 1963), pp. 68–70, 72–4.
15. I think, in particular, of observations made by several senior Humanities Fellows at yesterday’s sessions that romanticized views of history forget to mention what participants in war often most powerfully remember: the smell of fear; the smell of death.
16. Reproduced in *My Country: Australian Poetry & Short Stories*, Leonie Kramer ed. (Sydney: Lansdowne Press, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 472–3.
17. Reproduced in Kramer ed., vol. 1., pp. 470–1.
18. (Sydney: W.H. Paling & Co., [1900]).
19. Jennifer Hill, “Crossing a Divide? Maud Fitz-Stubbs as Amateur then Professional Musician in Late Nineteenth-Century Sydney”, *Context*, no. 19 (Spring 2000), pp. 35–42.

20. Malcolm Gillies here played the first three pages of the *Governor-General's Waltz*.
21. (Adelaide: Cawthorne & Co., [1900]). The sheet music of Landseer's waltz cost only two shillings, while Fitz-Stubbs' commanded four.
22. Malcolm Gillies here played the first two pages of the *Federation Waltz*.
23. The tendency since the 1950s in popular music has been increasingly global, with a growing preference for 'generic' rather than national or local themes. Paul Kelly (the musical one) comments that in just about every record he has made, sex and death are mentioned. 'They are the only two things that any intelligent person should be concerned with', he concluded in a recent interview (Iain Shedden, 'Love and Loss, *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 11–12 August 2001, pp. 27-30 (p. 29)); Kelly does, however, attribute his observation to W. B. Yeats.
24. Robyn Holmes and Ruth Lee Martin, *The Collector's Book of Sheet Music Covers* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2001).
25. Holmes and Martin, p. 109, *When the Summer Comes Along* (c. 1920).
26. Holmes and Martin, p. 115, *Luna Park Rag* (1909).
27. Holmes and Martin, p. 69.
28. Holmes and Martin, p. 33.
29. (New York: Southern Music Publishing, 1943), through Australasian agent Allan & Co. (Melbourne).
30. Malcolm Gillies here presented the second half of the chorus of *Say a Prayer for the Boys Over There*, with authorised Australian adaptation.
31. Holmes and Martin, p. 127.
32. Holmes and Martin, p. 101.
33. Holmes and Martin, p. 79.
34. Quoted in Malcolm Gillies, "A Musical Hyde Park Corner": Grainger's Use of Texture', *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000), pp. 17–24 (p. 23).
35. Holmes and Martin, p. 101.
36. Holmes and Martin, p. 94.
37. Holmes and Martin, p. 102. *Our Football Girl* also contained a verse for followers of Rugby League.
38. James F. Hogan, 'The Coming Australian', *Hogan Vic. Review*, 1880, quoted in Don Fabun, *Australia 2000! A Look at Alternative Futures* (Sydney: Cassel Australia, 1974), p. 25.
39. [www.ozco.gov.au/resources/publications/research/australians](http://www.ozco.gov.au/resources/publications/research/australians)
40. [www.ais.org.au/overview.htm](http://www.ais.org.au/overview.htm)
41. Maureen de la Harpe, "International Markets: Survey points to National Branding", *Campus Review*, 10–16 October 2001, p. 2.
42. (Adelaide: Penguin Books, 1964).