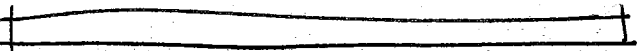


- ① Meehan + Macquarie.
1788 - 1850.
- ② Ports, Gold towns - Railways - Trade
1850 - 1905.
- ③ Sydney 1900 - 1963.
- ④ The suburban train era.

①. 

1st chap - Overall present probs

2nd 1788 - 1850

3rd 1850 - 1905

4th 1905 - 1945 + Melb

5th ~~1945~~ Sydney 1945 - 1963

6th ~~Sydney 1963 - 2000~~ + Melb

7th ~~Melb 1945 - 1963~~ Canberra

8th ~~Melb~~ Adelaide Brisbane Melbourne Perth

⑨ Migration towns
⑩ Port Phillip

1788 - 1850. 1850 - 1914 1920 - 1940.

1945 - 1965

1965 - 2000.

The first urban nuclei

- ① Sydney - shanty town - Parramatta -
Macquarie the town ~~planner~~ planner + builder.
Melbourne - beginnings Adelaide
Hobart Brisbane Newcastle Perth.

②

③

① 1788 - 1850

② 1850 - 1914

④

③ 1920 - 1940

④ 1945 - 1965.

⑤ 1965 - 2000.

1945

⑤

The penal settlements 1788 - 1820

The free

1820 -

⑥

The Trading Ports

1820 -

The Rail ~~Planned~~ Towns. 1850 - 1900

⑦

The Gold Cities

1850 - 1900

⑧

The Irrigation Towns. 1911 -

The National Capital. 1911 -

⑨

The early industrial

1963.

⑩

⑪

⑫

SYDNEY past and future

the story of a city's life, times, setting and structure

FRONTISPIECES
PREFACE (author)
INTRODUCTION ()

8 pp
1 p
3 pp

PART 1. POLITICS AND THE CITY

20 pp
6 half tone
4 line
14,000 words

Why Cities ? Why Local Government ?
Social organisation and city functions
... the Local Government Story in
New South Wales... centralism and
"Greater Sydney"... specialisation
and the "ad-hocs"... the "Master Plan"
concept.

PART 2. WOOL, GOLD, LAND AND LABOUR 1788-1900

24 pp
40 half tone
10 line
7,500 words

The beginnings, 1788-1810... Macquarie's
world, 1810-1821... the young city, 1842
... the gateway to wealth, 1851...
land hunger and the dispossessed, 1860-
80... boom style and urbanity (terraces)
1880-90... the spiderweb of iron (railways)
1857-99... the legendary Nineties.

PART 3. STEEL SINEWS AND THE BIG CITY 1900-40

16 pp
10 half tone
4 line
9,000 words

Protection... Federation... Mechanisa-
tion... War and self sufficiency- the
diversified economy... "every man a home
owner- independence and sub-urbanity...
the creation of city chaos.

PART 4. REFORMERS, ANCIENT AND MODERN

20 pp
12 line
11,000 words

Planning theory evolves.... the early
reformers, altruists and egotists...
why plan? ... civic beauty vs social
welfare vs economic efficiency...
"the new order"-- postwar promises...
regionalism and decentralisation.

PART 5. PLANNING IN PRACTICE 1946-55

32 pp
20 half tone
20 line
15,000 words

The Cumberland County Planning Scheme
... what it was supposed to do... what
it has achieved... the financiers and
the crisis in credit... public, press
and political attitudes.... demands
and resources.... their relation thru
co-operation, conservatism and compromise
... in the light of experience.

PART 6. THE FUTURE OF SYDNEY

8 pp
6 half tone

expand A prospect of cities... a prospect of plans
5,000 words

INDEX AND APPENDICES

8, pp.

TOTALS

140. pages
82 half tone blocks
50 line blocks
65,000 words

10" x 8" approx size.

same paper throughout,
preferably Ballarat Art.

Clarke, 31/3/55.

SYDNEY - past and future

"IT MAY BE DOUBTED WHETHER, AMONG THE ARTS YET TO BE DISCOVERED, OR AT LEAST PERFECTED, AMONG THE ALMOST UNINVESTIGATED SCIENCES TO BE SHAPED INTO FORM, WORKED OUT IN THEORY, AND HARDER STILL, IN PRACTICE BY THE STRONG MEN OF THE FUTURE, SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED THE ART AND SCIENCE OF CITY LIFE..... To mould the congeries of life massed around a given centre, say the miles around Charing Cross, into a systematic organism, so as to give the most good possible to every one of the vast human family there contained, is a matter difficult of achievement, and one admitting a vast improvement over all former precedents."

John Storer "Our Cities" 1870

Section 1. - POLITICS AND THE CITYPart (a) - Social Organisation and Planning

"Going for the Doctor" - This phrase is now a racetrack colloquialism for hard riding; it was ^{perhaps} derived from the Australian bushman's fearless ride, often through flooded creeks or bushfires, to fetch the nearest doctor to a bad case.

Sydney "went for the doctor" in 1945 when she realised that she was in danger of a breakdown. Sydney took her doctor's advice in 1951 when she adopted the Cumberland County Council's remedial plan of land use. This book is a case-history of the disease -- it describes the patient's early life, symptoms and response to treatment.

This first section is unashamedly technical; it will analyse the life and death cycles of a city, and the failure of "bush medicine" applied before 1945.

The medical analogy is justified in as much as the city is a complex organism of men and material. The study of a city is a study of how people behave. People in cities act in groups, as family cells and as associations or individuals pursuing economic, technical, social and/or political ends; the city itself is a strong cell-group in national life.

Each group is the best guardian of its own interests. In as much as group behavior is consistent and predictable, hypotheses and principles can be drawn; the

study of cities becomes a social science.

The city organism continually acts to ensure its own self-preservation. Interference in the social organism, discipline of its parts, becomes necessary whenever the unchecked play of one social force imperils the safety of the whole city. The social organism acts to protect its lines of supply, its trade; it maintains tariffs and police; it regulates water supply, sanitation and structural standards; it appoints land-use planners.

City planning is a social science: science only deals with what it can measure; social science can only measure probabilities on the basis of statistical trends.

"The social world . . . is not devoid of a measure of rationality if approached with the expectations of Macbethian cynicism. It is this measure of rationality which can justify social planning . . . Since this rationality consists in a limited number of potential trends, one of which is bound to materialise, social planning, correctly understood, is the marshalling of human and material forces in rational anticipation of those potential trends." x

These are the basic tenets of land-use planning as applied to the city of Sydney by the Cumberland County Council; The C.C.C. is the "doctor" appointed in 1945 to save Sydney from a disease that had been mounting to crisis point for half a century.

On Theory and Practice - Men must act. The necessity of action, of doing something in order to stay alive, is forced on most men almost every day of their lives. Although men (and women) often act in quite irrational fashion, in ways that are not at all logical and consistent, for the most part we adopt a series of beliefs --- a "philosophy" of largely unconscious assumptions --- which give security and coherence to thought, meaning to action.

Because of the unrelenting necessity for action of some kind or other, men have not the opportunity to enquire into and decide finally the truth of their

x Morgenthau, Hans J. "Scientific Man versus Power Politics" .
University of Chicago Press, 1946. p.151.

theories before they act. Mostly they jib at the mental effort; in any case final decision is not possible. To a certain extent, bearing in mind our own limitations, it is possible for us to learn from experience. Some say it is the best, while others call it the only teacher.

A child learns from its personal experience that to touch a hot stove will bring a burned finger; that child must then change its attitude towards stoves if it is to survive without burns. Similarly, it is possible for the inhabitants of a city to learn from the collective experience of their group; today's theories of city planning are a series of lessons derived from the experience of the Industrial Revolution. In order to survive, a city must adapt its behaviour patterns, it must change its ways, to fit in what it has learnt from analysing its own experience.

We endanger our survival as individuals, as groups, or as nations, in as much as we fail to learn from experience; in as much as we neglect to cultivate the historical sense; in as much as we rely, as a guide for action, on out-moded, impractical, unrealistic or merely inaccurate assumptions.

The Cumberland County Council - Sydney is a city of two million white inhabitants contained within the County of Cumberland in the Australian sovereign State of New South Wales. In this book we are setting out to re-examine the city of Sydney as a city; we will re-assess why and how it was built, and how and why it could develop in the future. We will attempt to trace how, why and to what extent Sydney has grown in automatic response to economic, technological, social and political patterns; in other words we will examine the largely unconscious intellectual assumptions of those who have built our present city. At the date of writing, the Cumberland County Council is of particular interest and importance to Sydney people, who are looking to it for an account of its stewardship of planning responsibilities over the ten years since its inception. In Parts 5 and 6 of this book, we will examine the largely conscious intellectual assumptions on which it has based its actions over the period 1945-1955. To do this we will analyse the events of these last ten years as objectively as is possible at such short range.

Organism or Mechanism? - There already exists a broad theoretical framework around which can be moulded a detailed description of Sydney's life, times, setting and structure. For example, the "organic" analogy has been highly developed in recent years to describe the development of cities in terms of the development of biological organisms. This concept has replaced the old analogy of the city as an economic and social mechanism, which implies that the internal organisation of the city is mechanical. Organisms are living, vital, ever changing; they grow and they can decay; they encompass contradictory tendencies to develop in different directions and they are continually changing in response to the more powerful of these tendencies.

The building of a city entails the making of decisions about the use of land, about the quality of design and workmanship of buildings and their surrounds. Such decisions are made every minute of the day in their thousands by house-builders, industrialists, business men and governments. The statistical sum of all these value judgements (i.e. decisions about what a person wants) is faithfully recorded in the stones, steel, space and land-use pattern of a village, town or city.

"Mind takes form in the city; and in turn, urban forms condition mind". * This means for example, that a power-proud city (see illustration of rebuilt Moscow) will breed monolithic structures on the axes of wide, straight avenues -- thus an authoritarian mind creates an authoritarian form -- and as a consequence monumental structures tend to subjugate further the minds of people moving about them: in this way urban forms condition mind. In contrast to this, a humanist attitude towards community life can result in the creation of lightweight urban forms in proper scale with the size of a man; such forms in turn react to condition the minds of those who live among them.

A city does not, of course, consist merely of buildings, streets, sewers and the like. It is built for people by people, and the term "city" implies large numbers of them.

* Mumford, Lewis; Culture of Cities - 1938. p.5.

A city can best be understood as a living organism, made up of cell-patterns, of family and larger pressure groups, seeking self preservation plus the satisfaction of their desires and aspirations - having a physical structure constantly expanding and developing through growth and decay of its parts - possessing a nervous system of delicately balanced communications in which transport arteries supply economic lifeblood - in which the mysterious life-giving forces of economic, technical, social and political developments are constantly acting, reacting and interacting.

Most cities, Sydney being no exception, are built slowly by generations of people who have been forced by circumstances to live together. Many theories have been held as to how men first came to live in embryo urban settlements. It has long been popular to maintain that "man is a gregarious animal" and that some such instinctive gregariousness first led men to come together in villages. It is sometimes possible to believe that people live in cities because they love one another, but a sounder explanation of the phenomenon is that close mutual dependence can best satisfy the basic human needs of both material and emotional security. T.S. Eliot was too bitter: "You ^{dwell} ~~live~~ together to make money from each other".

Just as evidence supports the theory that the development of a child's mind is a miniature reproduction of the whole history of mental development in the race, so it could easily be that in describing the growth of some single city, one is describing the process of city evolution since primeval times. This hypothesis can be applied fairly convincingly to Sydney, which in the beginning, was a simple consuming centre, and which evolved through the stage of being a regional centre for exchange, transport and culture, to the situation of our time -- we find Sydney today a city of wide and complex productive capacity within and for itself; no longer an institution maintained for the convenience of the primary producers, the great modern city often achieves the description of "a gigantic octopus devouring the countryside".

Understanding the City via Economics - A city is first of all an economic

phenomenon

organism; it exists because individuals and groups of people bargain, trade, make contracts with one another, for the supply of food, diamond rings, houses, motor cars and moving pictures. "The unique features of the great modern city -- its *raison d'être*, its organisation, and its special structure -- can only be understood in terms of the contractualistic value system under which it has emerged". *

Transport and trade are inseparable; the place that is naturally the focal point of transport routes becomes an exchange centre; exchange centres generate more demand for transport, the improvement of which creates more opportunities for exchange . . . in this way an expanding cycle was set in motion in Sydney during the last century. In this way, an economic "urbanizing force" is generated.

The population of the new centre then begins to want a multitude of both essential and luxury goods and services. Concentrations of people create markets for specialists of many kinds .. - specialists by occupations and professions, by businesses, by minor industries - and consequently numbers of new and special kinds of land uses are created. Specialisation creates a further impetus towards concentration plus a further necessity for social cohesion or mutual dependence. The young city acquires a centralising momentum that carries everything before it.

A spirit of competition and mutual exploitation is fostered in big centres where population is concentrated and where sentimental ties or group loyalties are not strong. City folk indulge in great amounts of conspicuous waste in order to gain the recognition and approval of their neighbours. (Thorstein Veblen has analysed this phenomenon in his "Theory of the Leisure Class".) Conspicuous waste can be the expression of an individual, a group, a city or a nation -- the modern American car, the insurance company headquarters, and the Athenian Parthenon are all examples of conspicuous expenditure, made possible by the surplus of wealth that cities can generate.

The Industrial Revolution hit various cities throughout the world that were at all the possible stages of development. Some were already large metro-

* Ratcliff, Richard U. "Urban Land Economics"

politan centres like London, others were still relatively small trading congeries, while others were mere hamlets destined to boom - perhaps because of their proximity to coal fields. The major impact of industrialisation was not felt in Sydney till after the turn of this century, although railway building had ~~been~~ commenced ~~many~~ 50 years before.

When this changeover from trade to manufacturing occurs, the economic urge toward centralisation becomes even greater. Labour is drawn into the new industries from outside the city; industries in the city seek markets in the country; the mechanisation of agriculture reduces the requirement for rural labour, increases rural productivity and lowers food prices. Disemployed rural workers flock to the city, swelling the labour market, swelling the ranks of consumers, creating more opportunities for manufacture and trade.

The economic structure of a city in the throes of early industrial development is contrived in such a way that concentration and more concentration spells efficiency in immediate economic terms. The generally accepted economists' belief is that concentration at this stage is naturally efficient, because of the great advantages to be gained from the inter-dependence of industry, plus close proximity to the labour pool, the power supplies and the consumers' market. Mumford claims however, that it is a "naive myth" x that "the gigantic metropolis is what it is merely because of its tangible economic benefits or the natural superiority of its geographic situation." x Mumford points out that the railway networks of the world have been "deliberately designed to compel passengers and goods to pass through the metropolis before going elsewhere: each great capital sits like a spider in the midst of its transportation web." He adds that the freight rates of railways systems are contrived to "give a subsidy to the big cities at the expense of the rival towns that are perhaps more conveniently located - - even though the costs of handling freight in a big city, by reason of their very congestion are disproportionately high." x

x Mumford, Lewis:: Culture of Cities, p.233.

Just what happened in New South Wales regarding this will be discussed on later pages. The fact remains that urban industrial centres attract vast amounts of capital which are quickly translated into material congestion.

The city, then is first of all an economic ^{phenomenon} ~~organism~~. The people of a city must eat; but city people produce no food. So the city extends its financial and cultural dominion over the countryside. It draws in more and more food, water and population from the outside. The city is a consumer of the materials and of the men which it cannot produce in sufficient quantity within its own boundaries. The metropolis holds sway over an area marked out by the extreme limits of its radiating railways and highways, the extent of its money lending market, its zones for the production of vegetables and milk, its water catchment networks, and the limits of circulation of its newspapers.

During this period of a city's economic evolution (later sections of this book will show that Sydney is at this stage) many people feel that there can be no end to the centralising momentum. But nevertheless the cycle will probably close. The momentum will probably exhaust itself. Even if this does not happen, it has been an opinion of great weight in this country that some form of planning and government subsidy should be used to persuade it to stop. There will come a time when concentration will not spell immediate efficiency; some think that this time has already arrived. New trends in power supply, the completion of the Snowy River Scheme the creation of atom power plants which do not depend on proximity to fuel supplies, new developments in faster, more efficient transport and increases in rural fertility, could turn Sydney's tide in favour of a decentralising momentum. Failing such developments, centralism could wither because of the relative fixity and immovable nature of the city structure, because of some reluctance to invest capital in changing the existing inefficient pattern of land use in the central areas.

It is often prophecised that some such failure will result in the abandonment of the worst congested city centres. However, study of the economic base of city development can lead us to an understanding of how to ease the changeover from a centralising to a decentralising momentum. We in Sydney have no exact knowledge of when our urbanising force will be spent, since

it depends so much on outside factors beyond our control, for example, national policy. It is the job of the Cumberland County Council, in so far as Sydney is concerned, to study the possible future trends, and to guide city development in the path that will save it from strangulation or abandonment .. to maintain its security in a changing economic environment.

In order that the economic functions of production, distribution, exchange and consumption can be carried on, a great demand arises for land with special characteristics that is, urban land. Rural land is mainly valued according to its inherent qualities e.g. the nature of its soil: Urban land, on the other hand, is valued according to its relationships - a block of land adjacent to a railway yard would have a special value for use by heavy manufacturing industry, while a vacant block of land in a heavily built up retail street would have a special value to a chain store.

It used to be thought that land had inalienable properties and was fixed in position and magnitude. Ideas such as this have been discredited by the recognition of ~~such occurrences as~~ the action of wind and water in causing soil erosion and the spread of desert lands, swamp reclamation and so on. Also the area of land that can be used for some particular purpose becomes greater as transportation improves. A city office worker now finds it possible to live at French's Forest, 10 miles from the central city, because he can drive to work every day; he could not have done so 50 years ago. It was once thought that land and capital were two separate and distinct economic concepts, but ... "What we mean by land in practical life is something which .. consists.. of the accumulated result of human effort, and accordingly it is usually regarded as capital, the term land being reserved for the properties of the soil . . Just where we have .. for instance a bare site in the centre of a great city - - we find that its value depends more than ever on capital, that is to say, accumulated effort. Only it is capital . . that has been expended on the surrounding areas. Therefore the distinction between land and capital, which it seems difficult or impossible to draw, would be theoretically useless if drawn." x

x Wicksteed P.H. "The Common Sense of Political Economy" Vol. 1.

Routledge and Sons, 1933. p.365

Every block of urban land stands in an unique spatial and functional relationship with every other block. The exact nature of this relationship in space and between functions tends to determine the use to which each block is put . . which tends to be that use for which the land has maximum market value.

Because blocks of land with the same character, with much the same spatial and functional relationships, are often found next to one another as part of a larger area, the same land uses tend to group themselves together; because of this the urban pattern tends to follow a process of natural zoning. Heavy industries often group themselves together; but especially do retail shops and wholesale distributors tend to group themselves in different parts of the city; living areas with special characters are generally formed naturally.

Although in a perfect market the perfect relationship of perfect supply and perfect demand would result in natural zoning, the processes of the urban land market only hesitatingly tends to produce the most efficient land-use pattern, even in terms of money; the urban land market is one of the most imperfect there is. It has been claimed that:- "The basic objective of city planning is to attain the same land use pattern that would emerge naturally from condition of perfect competition." x

The main faults in the "free" urban land market are: the constant fluctuations in the quantity and quality of demand, which is never stable; the slow response of the supply side, where the bulky, fixed and time consuming nature of real property is a decisive factor preventing dynamic responses.

Demand fluctuates over booms and slumps; it fluctuates with changes in incomes, with changes in fashions, long term social changes, technological changes, the emergence of new industries and trends in industrial location, the role of the family and the increased mobility of labour.

Perfect market reactions are also hindered by the legal complexities of conveyancing; the freezing of titles under leases and estates; foreclosure laws which favour the owner remaining in possession long after his default; and emotional attachments to property long after its retention becomes economically unreasonable. "The urban land market is unique in the number

and power of the limitations of the free interplay of supply and demand." xx
x Ratcliff, Richard U. "Urban Land Economics" p.378 1949

xx Ibid p.301.

As well as the imperfections of the market already outlined, there are others deliberately imposed to prevent breakdowns in city life; - - fire, health and building regulations; subdivision controls and land-use zoning - - all these are being applied in Sydney at the present time.

The history of fire regulations shows that they have been devised after disastrous fires have destroyed large sections of cities. . Sydney was wise enough to learn from the experience of other cities and their Great Fires; similarly health regulations are the aftermath of plagues; subdivision controls the aftermath of wanton orgies in speculation; land-use zoning is a preventative and cure of further traffic congestion and industrial blight - - both of which have reached sufficient peaks of destructiveness in Sydney. Land-use planning aims to prevent our traffic problems getting as big as those of some American and British cities, and to prevent industrial blight spreading here as it has in ^{say,} the English Midlands.

Rent Control, Land Sales Control, limits on construction, and priorities for building materials, are other forms of market restriction commonly imposed during wars, and often retained during post-war years. Apart from the integrated powers of modern land-use planners, governments have long been vested with power of land resumption for the "public good".

The urban land market deals in property rights not in property itself. An owner's rights are "exclusive but not absolute"; i.e. he may exclude all other citizens from his land, but he has no absolute right to do anything that he likes on it. He is restricted from causing harm to his neighbours and he must share the earnings of his land in the form of rates. He may have to give up his property rights if his land is required for some essential public use. He is then entitled to just compensation for resumption.

This summary of the economic processes of city development is a brief

and general outline of how this branch of the subject is understood at the present time. Sydney, like Manchester, Rio de Janeiro New York or London, has its own individual factors in the theoretical equation. It is these that concern us above all else, and it is these individual traits that we will examine in detail in the following Sections, after we have considered those other elements of city life which seem to be common to all big centres.

Via Technology - The Industrial Revolution is devouring its children: The industrialised world today faces the possibility of destruction by its own hand. Nuclear fission could do the job in one dramatic exchange; but the continued constriction of life in cities could be no less effective.

It took the 1939-45 War to make most people realise the depths of perversion to which we had sunk in the use of machine technology. Previous to that, various commentators and satirists had rebelled against uncritical acceptance of the mixed blessings of mechanisation; their common thesis was that the machine was becoming an end in itself; human values were being swamped.

The contemporary city-crisis is a significant part of this wider problem. Cities throughout the world are what they are because of contemporary technics; the danger of technology running away with us is a problem to be faced both at the international and the city level.

Twentieth century cities are shaped directly by their railways and road transport networks; by their supplies of steam, electricity and maybe atom power; by their heavy metals industries; and by their mass production of consumer goods, the material evidence of material wealth.

In our system, money dictates the rate of technical change; economics and technology are interwoven; no machine is brought into use until the money structure of the city demands it. Machinery lying idle represents unproductive capital; money and machinery are indistinguishable, as are money and land.

When people are cramped together in industrial cities technical problems multiply; technicians are continually having to invent new machines to solve problems created by those last installed. For example, early industrial crowding brought crises in sanitation, so the engineers had to find ways to install sewerage and building reservoirs. In answer to a similar crisis, engineers have now shown us how to build new types of roads. It almost seems that, for the technicians, "nothing is impossible".

Although science and technology can tell us how to do practically anything at all, including how to destroy ourselves en masse, our resources of time, labour and materials are still limited. In order to decide exactly what we will do, we must ask "What do we want?"..."What shall we budget for technology?".

We have to separate ends and means. The motor car, the conveyor belt, the journey to work, the clover leaf crossing, the vast expressway, are only means to ends....Supposedly means to "The good life". Since so much of our time is spent with machines, it would surely be wise to make that part of life more pleasing. It would be rational to minimise waste of time, and of energy, to conserve resources, to concentrate on ends. However, waste is an integral factor in the modern economy; also, if we concentrate on immediate ends, we will not be setting aside resources to meet future needs - - we will not be producing the means of production.

All prudent men set aside some part of their existing resources to meet future needs, and when they do so, they are planning for the future. Land-use planning in cities sets aside areas for future essential needs. The planner relates existing and potential demands to existing and potential resources; he tries to judge the relative importance of conflicting demands.

When we plan for cities we are planning in a climate of continuous technical innovation - - something new in technics is always just around the corner. Men of all periods have been inventive, but the speed and complexity of technological change has never been so great as it is in our time. It is impossible to predict with any degree of accuracy what changes in city life will be forced by new techniques in transport, building methods, production and consumption habits and so on. Who could have predicted the full effects of the motor car on the shape of the city?

Via Politics - There will always be conflicts of self-interest in a city;

unity of opinion cannot exist unless artificially enforced. The city is where personalities clash, ideas contrast and policies conflict; it is also where men co-operate and find compromises to their common problems. Village, town and city are three acts in the drama of co-operative action. It is only by studying this drama that we can understand how policies are decided.

Since the technicians can give us whatever we are prepared to pay for, and the economists can show us how to pay for any thing we want the only question remaining is "what do we want?"

A single person in a big city cannot have much personal feeling for mere acquaintances or for strangers he encounters in the street. Reserve and indifference characterise most person to person contacts in cities, except perhaps in times of common stress --- e.g. the Londo blitz, a Sydney tram breakdown. The most characteristic thing about social and political life in cities is that people act less as individuals than they do in groups - - - they create a multitude of associational groups based on common interests; e.g. trade unions, professional institutes, reform groups, lodges, ex-service clubs, political parties, manufacturers' and employers' chambers, together with thousands of others. One man may belong to several; or he may belong to one or none - - - but he nevertheless will either live among, or mix with people of similar cultural background, status, income and/or character. City life allows people to choose more or less freely what groups they will give their loyalties to; it avoids the social pressure to belong, and the restriction of choice exerted in small towns and villages.

Thus it appears that political life is no longer thought of as a matter of several million individuals each separately tied to a central government. The interaction of groups is now thought to be the central fact of politics. Although a cricket club may be primarily a social group, it may campaign for more cricket pitches, less tax on sporting goods, or for a liquor license; similarly although a political party is primarily a political group, it may hold dances and picnics. The groups all exist for individuals, and the State may be said to exist for the groups... These modern theories have been summarised by Latham "the legislature referees the group struggle, ratifies the victories of the successful coalitions and records the terms of the surrenders, compromises and conquests in the form of statutes."* Allowance must be made here for the fact that government agencies are themselves groups, with their own interests, and not mere registers. The State may be thought of as of merely another group of people, that is, the expressors and administrators of policy. The State does not absorb all the loyalties of individuals: churches, parties, unions, clubs etc., also hold the loyalty and obedience of their members.

Each Trade-Union, each Chamber of Commerce, each professional institute, each cricket club has its own rules, regulations and codes of behaviour. Similarly, government lays down rules, regulations and codes of behaviour for the groups and their members. These are embodied in laws made by Parliaments; in democratic countries, these laws are mostly decided by compromises between conflicting demands.

"Every statute tends to represent compromise because the very process of accommodating conflicts of group interest is one of deliberation and consent... A vote represents the balance of strength. What may be called public policy is actually the equilibrium reached in the group struggle at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions of groups constantly strive to weigh in their favour". * *

* Latham, Earl; "The Group Basis of Politics - Notes for a Theory in the American Political Science Review Vol. 46, No. 2 p.376 (June 1952)

** Ibid, p. 380.

Land-use planning is part of the governmental process; it brings together all the individuals, organised groups, and authorities concerned with particular problems, and tries to resolve unnecessary conflicts ... planning attempts to ensure that the satisfaction of some demands now, does not destroy all hope of satisfying others in the future. The central technique of all democratic government, including land-use planning, is compromise. "The fundamental conception is that if you can only bring disputants into a room and persuade them to talk over their quarrel in a neutral atmosphere the great probability is that they will not fight. Each side will feel so anxious to preserve the sympathy of the on-looking world that they will put their case as reasonably as possible, and then it will be found either that between the contentions so reasonably stated there is really very little difference, or one of them will be found to be putting forward what really is an altogether untenable proposition and will have to give way" x This was said by Viscount Cecil about international compromises, but it applies almost as well to the way in which city conflicts are resolved; the vital difference being that city government possesses power to enforce decisions should individual self-interest make compromise impossible. Government establishes the "norms of permissible behaviour" in group relations and enforces these. Law enforcement by government, the use of power by the State, is no less ethically justified than the use of power by a group over its members; e.g., the internal discipline of a trade union, a business firm, a Church.

This essay cannot hope to do more than sketch the main outlines of political functioning in cities. Some such sketch of the broad framework of political theory is necessary if we are to try to understand the history of conflicts in the city of Sydney, and if we are to estimate the success

x Viscount Cecil quoted in Morgenthau, Hans J. "SM & P.P."

and failure of attempts to resolve them. "Politics is an art not a science, and what is required for its mastery is not the rationality of the engineer but the wisdom and the moral strength of the statesman. The social world, deaf to the appeal of reason pure and simple, yields only to that intricate combination of moral and material pressures which the art of the statesman creates and maintains." x x

On Various Myths - Men have always sought to escape the terrors of reality; in poetry, painting and in literature we find innumerable images of perfection, both of human and of material beauty. Similarly, when sensitive men have turned their eyes to the disorganised, ugly and seemingly formless physical world they have sought to "cut it down to size", to reduce it to comprehensible patterns of beauty and logic. The Renaissance garden planners sought to reshape uncouth nature into a humanised landscape of designed formality or of designed informality (according to whether they were Italians or Englishmen). The achievements of the ancient Athenians and the Florentines as city builders are sufficient examples of what is possible when enthusiastic and gifted men apply themselves to the task of changing untidy reality.

Grand city architecture has always sprung from city urges to spend wealth conspicuously. Contemporary city planning theories have their ancient roots in conspicuous expenditure, but also spring from another source - - the 19th century creeds of the utilitarians, who sought "the greatest happiness for the greatest number": Of the rationalists, who believed that reason could solve all human problems; and of the utopians, who desired the abolition of all social conflict.

Although the march of events has proved the inadequacy of these doctrines, their influence has been great, and it would be wise to outline their central features so that we may avoid them in the future.

Utilitarian doctrine works very well indeed in such matters as the supply of water, sewerage and rainage to a large metropolitan area, where the funds available, the costs of services and the number of people that can be served are all matters of exact mathematical calculation. It could well be claimed that the "public utilities" do really achieve "the greatest happiness for the greatest number".

However, the utilitarians did not recognise that it is impossible, when it comes to social life, to decide exactly what the "greatest happiness" is; they did not recognise that every fit man is the best guardian of his own interests, so that it is impossible for any benevolent authority to decide what is best for him.

The utilitarians did not recognise that politics is the art of using power, and that it is the equal distribution of bargaining power among participants that brings about any existing equilibrium in social conflicts.

It is also important to note that the concept of the greatest happiness for the greatest number could contradict the democratic concept of protection for minority groups.

The beliefs of the rationalists have been that "if all men followed reason, the conflicts which separate them would disappear, or at worst be resolved into compromise; the wants from which they suffer would be satisfied; the fears which destroy their lives would be dispelled; and harmony, welfare and happiness would reign" * The key word here is that first "if". Unfortunately for this belief, men will not constantly follow reason. The make-up of a human being is spiritual and irrationally emotional as well. Man will not always follow reasonable advice, and no amount of enlightening education, no amount of reasonable explanation will make them constantly willing to do so. Policies are not always decided by reasoned debate and unanimous vote. Policy making is a matter of groups, of political parties, of power.

* Morgenthau, Hans. "S.M. & P.R."

Town planners in the past have been surprised, time and time again, to discover that their appeals to reason and logic have gone unheeded. They have then realised that reason and logic is not sufficient equipment with which to handle real conflicts of interest. Social problems are not like mathematical problems.

Ebenezer Howard (18 -19) is universally acknowledge as the father of modern British city planning theory. Although a utopian, Howard was not a rationalist. His famous book "Garden Cities of Tomorrow" (A Peaceful Path to Real Reform) shows that he understood the subtleties of social problems. Positive proof of his realism arose in his new cities - - Welwyn and Letchworth - - which were planned and built under his direction, and which are now run along the lines he laid down.

Although most of our now most valued institutions were first the subject of utopian dreams, it has perhaps been unfortunate that the general spirit of utopianism permeated so much of town planning theory in the first half of the century. The general reaction to the excesses of the Industrial Revolution and to the rotten standards of city building accepted in the 19th century, was an eagerness to advocate a policy of perfecting the physical environment by detailed planning, at the same time doing away with all social conflict. The world was hunting for the certain and universal panacea for all social ills - - and the field of town planning was well searched for remedies in the process.

A contemporary American planner, Carol Aronovici, has written concerning the Utopians: - - "The galaxy of utopians from Plato to Campanella and from Saint Augustine and Thomas Moore to H.G. Wells who have dreamt of the "City of God", were not concerned with the physical community. The physical structure of the utopian city was never defined, but the spiritual purpose was forged out of rebellion against existing misery and injustice. Many of the proposals contained in these utopias are now realities and are contributing towards human well-being."*

Lewis Mumford, another American, sees the matter in a different light: --

* Aronovici, Carol; "Towards humanism in community planning". Article Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Winter, 1951.

"The student of utopias knows the weakness that lies in perfectionism; for that weakness has now been made manifest in the new totalitarian states, where the dreams of a Plato, a Cabet, a Bellamy have at many removes taken shape. What is lacking in such dreams is not a sense of the practical; what is lacking is a realisation of the essential human need for disharmony and conflict" ...x x

100 years (1850-1950)

The rapid industrialisation of the western world in the last (century and a half) has brought many crises to city life. In order to overcome them we must be continually alert to changing conditions which demand new techniques.

Over this period men of many countries have turned to the study of the city; much work has been done, and a considerable body of data, of analysis, of experiment, now exists. It is on this material that the Cumberland County Council has built. We are fortunate in as much as we can observe and learn from the English and the Americans, who are facing the big-city crisis (in London and New York) in a much more acute form than we yet have faced in Sydney.

The Planner as referee. We have already said that city planning is a social science and that it involves the "marshalling of human and material forces in rational anticipation of potential trends"; we have seen that planning becomes unavoidable when the city organism shows the symptoms of serious disease. We have pointed out that before you plan, you must know what you want to achieve, and so planning involves value judgements - choices between different things; we have tried to show that its practical application must be based on "moral" as well as on material pressures. We have finally seen that its enforcement must depend on the realities of any given political situation.

Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" (from the year 2,000 A.D.) described in part the utopian replanning of Boston, U.S.A., this book first published in 1884, is of interest to us because of its influence on Australians during the last two decades of the 19th century, a period that was of tremendous significance to the development of Sydney. We shall discuss it again in Section 2.

x x Mumford, Lewis, "Culture of Cities", p.485; Secker & Warburg, 1938.

Because city planning is a social science, it is inexact --- like all the other social sciences. City growth is a sociological, economic, technological, and political study. A city planning authority must employ specialists to make itself a "specialised generalist and a generalised specialist". It is the job of the planner to study potential trends in such things as population distribution demands for transport of people and goods, the location of industry and land values and so on; it is the planner's job to relate each trend to the others, to study the ramifications of each suggested policy. "One of the most difficult things to learn in the social sciences is that every action inside of the social organism is attended by a reaction, and this reaction may be spread far through the organism, affecting organs and modifying functions which are, at the first view of the matter, apparently so remote that they could not be affected at all."*

The basic technique of the city planner is land-use zoning. Zoning means that certain areas are set aside for particular purposes... industry, commerce, houses, and highways. Land-use planners have authority to veto development of land for a use contrary to a prepared plan. It is part of the understood and agreed conditions of life in cities that certain groups will be permitted to act as "badge wearers"; such groups are the police and the planners. These groups and many others like them, are authorised by some social understanding formulated into laws, to exercise certain strictly limited powers against all other groups and individuals. Democracy protects itself when it appoints many of these groups to exercise power at different levels and to restrict each other.

The planner is a referee of the often strenuous competition among conflicting land-users; he referees the group struggle for land. Referees and umpires the world over are subjected to much abuse and the land-use referees come in for their share in the same way as the football, cricket, boxing and tennis umpires do.

* William Graham Sumner, quoted by Morganthau.

The status of umpires and referees depends on the power that is delegated to them by some higher and more powerful authority; tennis umpires have the Lawn Tennis Association behind them, while planners are backed by government. The position of the umpire or planner remains stable for as long as his association or government has confidence in him. A Government remains stable for as long as its electors have confidence in it.

The Players of tennis, cricket, football and of the game of living in cities more or less agree to abide by the rules. This happens when the players realise that unless they do so the game itself would cease to exist. However, somebody has to actually write down the rules, and some authority has to sponsor them. A planning authority writes down rules about which most people will be able to more or less agree; in order to deal with any individual who may absolutely refuse to compromise on the referee's administration of the rules, the planning authority is vested with certain powers; exactly what these powers are here in Sydney will be fully examined in Part 6 of this book.

Planners have to try and discover what most people want in their cities; they have to weigh the advantages and disadvantages operating on the city organism in some particular way, in the same way as doctors estimate the wisdom or otherwise of performing an operation for cancer. Planners, also like doctors, can sometimes disagree. The doctor's patient retains the right to refuse advice. The people of a city retain a similar right to refuse their planner's advice.

SECTION 2.

Pluralism envisages the formulative aspects of social life, where groups, institutions, laws are being formed by interactions and negotiations. It neglects, however, the aspect of uniformity, of the enforcement of laws already or thus arrived at, of the relative permanence of groups, institutions and balances thus established. Uniformity and permanence, as well as multiplicity and change, are categories, are ubiquitous. They are not separate things, but merely aspects of one and the same thing. (The group is "a single organising idea permeating simultaneously and permanently a number of personalities".)

Like all doctrines of change, pluralism cannot very well account for stability in any degree. If consistently upheld, it would completely destroy its own argument, since it would then be impossible to talk about distinct groups, states, individuals or interests. There being continuous change, none of these would remain stable for any period of time as to become distinguishable or recognisable at all. Pluralists, therefore assume a degree of uniformity and stability in their own arguments.

We may hold that the State's regulation does or should consist of recording the outcome of the free competition of groups. In such case, however, it is not clear why the state should exist at all. The investigations into group activities compiled since the pluralists seems to indicate that the "legislature referees the group struggle, ratifies the victories of the successful coalitions and records the terms of the surrenders, compromises and conquests in the form of statutes" (Latham, "The Group Approach to Politics") (APSR 46 (1952) 376ff). That thus laws represent the balance of power among the groups at the time of enactment and that the same balance, perhaps modified further by group influences, is then presented by the administration of law and the rulings of the judiciary. However, such a view is inadequate, since the various Government agencies are themselves groups and not mere registers.

Eventually most pluralists finish up by considering the State not merely as government, but rather as society, or at least the "expression" of society, and talk about it in quite monistic terms. So for Laski, the State is the final legal depository of the social will. ((he does not say 'a plurality of individual or group wills'))).

On the whole pluralists tend to neglect the ubiquity of power. In their arguments they only too often identify power and coercion with the state and fail to realise that power is involved in any social relationship and thus in all the groups. Where they do find power they disapprove of it and do not consider it as inevitable --- which clearly indicates their idealistic approach.

This neglect of the power factor and the hope for universal peaceful co-operation shows the rationalism and escapism of many of the pluralists. Power cannot disappear with the disappearance of the coercive state. Since groups co-operate only in so far as they think it is in their interests to do so, and that may not be very far, any further measure of co-operation can be ensured by the exertion of power of the co-ordinating authority. The use of power by this authority is no more, but also no less ethically justified than the power used by the group for its own internal co-ordination.

Within the groups and within the state, there is some measure of solidarity as well as some measure of conflict. The former is produced by security urge and a feeling of fellowship. Even if it is minimal it tends to be strengthened by an upsurge of the security urge. A reversion to a more authoritative system is the usual effect of insecurity. On the whole it can be seen that pluralists are rationalist believers in the efficiency of reason and intelligence in the control of human affairs.

The administrative inadequacy of the monistic state is, according to Laski, illustrated by the fact that a single ultimate authority, handling the vast varied dissimilar unequal and ever changing multiplicity of groups, individuals and their demands will necessarily in the name of law and order apply equal and uniform methods to varied and unequal things and will act on an assumption of similarity which is rarely borne out by the facts. Moreover, as power corrupts, the more it is accumulated, the more it corrupts. Besides the volume of business will over burden the legislator, so that he will not only neglect much of it, but will even "surrender his powers into the hands of forceful interests, which know the way to compell his attention. He will, the unseen as non-existent, and the inarticulate as contented". (Forceful interests are organised groups).

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It is a consciousness of common interests that gives rise to groups which are " limited only by the breadth of interest and the degree of loyalty they can evoke" (Sabine and Sheppard - introduction to Krabbe op.cit. p. XLII.) This common interest is, according to Laski "some interest in which members (of the group) feel an answer to the wants of their experience " and also comprises "needs, which cannot be satisfied by individual activity". (Laski - Grammar of Politics pp 255-6)

Barker however points out an important feature, so often neglected by later pluralists (who argue against State sovereignty mainly on the ground that the interest that may unite people into a state group is too narrow and therefore cannot exhaust the whole of an individual) :--- "an idea may be one sided, but it may enlist the whole personality in its defense as nothing else could". (Discredited State, p. 165)-- of course we might argue with Truman that only " a fanatic or compulsive neurotic", p. 508, can be thus absorbed, and we might consider that those scholars, scientists, artists, political and religious leaders and enthusiasts etc who are so fully absorbed in their special interests for considerable periods of their lives deserve the attribute given to them by Truman; but that changes nothing on the fact that they do exist, in spite of the fact that they do not fit into the logical pattern.

Besides this interest of self expression on the part of individuals forming a group, there is another interest binding them together, as more recent theorists assert, (Hertz, Latham, Truman) namely the interests of security. That on the one hand may be the interest of the individual in his security as allegedly guaranteed by membership in the group, or on the other hand the security of the group as such, so that it can carry on its mission and further the self expression of those who form it, or at least the maintenance of the very existence of the group.

WHY LOCAL GOVERNMENT?

Notes for an answer.

Sir Henry Parkes was both our "Father of Federation" and the staunchest Australian advocate of Local Government during the 19th century. Writing in his newspaper "The Empire" (5/11/56) he claimed that "Centralisation paralyses the political functions of the masses. This is bad for the habits of the people themselves. It is equally bad for their affairs, which can never be so well conducted as under their own eyes, and by their own officers, commanded and paid on the spot. It is bad for the central government and the legislature, creating undue patronage, imposing undue burdens, and causing a waste of expenditure scarcely possible to check. And finally, it is bad for the representative principle, for it tends to the absorption of all individualities in the mass, and to make that mass inert and impotent against too much accumulated power in the legislature. "

The case for Local Government was restated by Professor Bland when he wrote that it is "the system that provides the most effective training school in the manner in which governmental power may be exercised; it familiarises both electors and elected with the methods of public administration; it brings a desirable publicity to the activities of popular representatives and thus tends to raise the moral tone of official conduct; and finally, it promotes a vigorous local opinion about matters of government which may effectively be opposed to the tendencies towards excessive centralisation of government functions. "

The administrative defects of centralised government have been described by Harold Laski, the English theorist; he points out that

"a single ultimate authority, handling the vast, varied, dissimilar, unequal and ever changing multiplicity of groups, individuals, and their demands, will necessarily in the name of law and order apply equal and uniform methods to varied and unequal things, and will act on an assumption of similarity that is rarely borne out by the facts." Moreover, in the words of Lord Acton, "power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The central authority, according to Laski, will treat the unseen as non-existent, and the inarticulate as contented.

Early in the nineteenth century, a Frenchman named De Tocqueville went to America, and was much impressed with the vitality of local government in that ambitious young country. He believed that "among the laws that rule human societies there is one that seems to be more precise and clear than all others...If men are to remain civilised, or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased."

"Local assemblies of citizens", wrote De Tocqueville in his Democracy in America, "constitute the strength of free nations. Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and enjoy it. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without the spirit of municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty."

All these opinions can be debated both in general principle and on minor details. One thing stands out — decentralised government is most difficult to achieve in our complex 20th century; ordinary Sydneysiders

today learn what was said in Canberra last night much quicker than they can find out what happened at their local Council Chamber.

Australians seem to realise that small local groups can be just as tyrannical as large ones. They insist on separation from their neighbours; they have a higher proportion of single detached houses than any other country in the world. Few countries can compare with Australia in its lopsided distribution of city and country population. The concentration of Australians in a few big cities means that local patriotisms are weak.

A Sydney man has described the well-known contemporary dilemma - ".... our problems arise", writes Dr. Lloyd Ross, "from the atomisation of society, so that the individual often feels lost, purposeless, dwarfed by large organisations, frightened by social movements, over which he seems to have so little control. The increasing complexity of modern life, on the one hand, produces increasing apathy among citizens, and on the other hand, produces restless search for compensations and escape; the other side of monopoly in industry is futility in leisure hours; the fears of war and unemployment have led to social irresponsibility and civic laziness that only in a national crisis is overcome in national endeavour..."

The need for land-use planning and co-ordination was first recognised by the N.S.W. State Government in 1945. The original idea was that this should be the job of the Government's own (Local Government) Department. After much debate, and on the suggestion of the Local Government Association, a new authority, the Cumberland County Council, was set up to do the work. The then Minister for Local Government, the present Premier, the Hon. J.J. Cahill, M.L.A., told the Council's inaugural meetings:—

"It is important that the scheme which the County Council will prepare should be both understood and supported by the whole or at least a great majority of the people affected; and a proper understanding of the Council's proposals will be facilitated, as the ^e preparation of the Scheme advances, by short explanatory articles in the press, lectures at meetings of interested organisations, demonstrations, and other suitable forms of publicity.

Particular care should be taken to show that the scheme is a considered measure for the welfare of the community as a whole and not a collection of arbitrary prohibitions and restrictions. The people must be made to feel that it is, as it is intended to be, their own scheme, and that the County Council is merely the instrument placed in their hands for giving shape to the scheme.

I stress this, because it is the whole basis of the Government's legislation that town and country planning shall be as democratic as it is possible to make it, and that the people shall join in the planning to the greatest possible extent, under skilled guidance. The people will not tolerate, and we will not have, planning imposed from above, without regard to the people's own hopes and desires."

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Anderson —

"The Local Government Story in New South Wales"

The story of Local Government in New South Wales is an unhappy record of attempts to solve questions of power-distribution among the various levels of government. On many points, it is a record of yet unresolved ^{difficulties} conflicts which tend to continue haphazardly over decades. Nevertheless, significant trends do exist; some of these are peculiar to Sydney and derive largely from characteristic Australian attitudes; others derive from the city-government ^{problems} ~~crisis~~ shared by metropolitan centres the world over.

[Notwithstanding this similarity of contemporary city problems right through the industrialised world, ways of dealing with them vary so widely that comparisons are of little value if made on merely formal lines. X Only through an understanding of the social and economic character of a period or a place is it possible to see how and why certain pressures originated, how these pressures have formed the administration structure, and how this structure has reacted to influence physical environment and to create new conflicts.]

The central feature of local government in New South Wales ^{in the first} seems ~~always~~ to have been the absence of any popular enthusiasm for it; local institutions, from the very first measure of Governor Gipps in 1842, have tended to be imposed from above to suit the convenience of central governments. A recent official textbook explained the reasoning behind the 1858 Municipalities Act in these terms:--- "it was realised that, unless some municipal system was introduced, the State Government would be overburdened with troublesome local details"...This statement betrays implications of

X A commendable attempt has been made to compare the problems and governmental techniques of 20 cities in "Great Cities of the World - their Government, Politics and Planning", edited by W.A. Robson (George Allan and Unwin Ltd, London, 1954); those wishing to understand how closely Sydney has shared the political problems of other great cities should read Part 1 of Robson's book. For example, this author shows that the need for co-ordinated control and the demand for annexation of adjacent areas to the central city administration are not peculiar to Sydney.

Suggest
omission of
this part

administrative and political expediency - implications that are backed by much evidence.

Many factors have combined to make Australia barren ground for any flowering of local initiative on the American pattern. Australians have always been heavily dependent on central authority, ^{disregard} while at the same time holding it in careless contempt.

Sydney began in 1788 as a penal settlement dependent upon England for supplies, food and money. The early Governors were autocrats - some benevolent, some vicious - and they ruled the Colony for its first 41 years by pure techniques of the quarter deck and barrack square. An advisory ¹⁸²³ Legislative Council (elected on a restricted franchise) was set up in 1829;

a city Corporation was established in 1842, but no general system of local government was ^{not introduced} devised until 1858, three years after self-government was granted to New South Wales. ^{No successful} This early attempt at a "general system" was such a flop that ^{imagine} our present Local Government structure can only trace proper continuous development since the Municipalities Act of 1867 - which means that while Sydney is 167 years old, its Local Government system is only eighty-eight. We are still suffering the consequences of this unfortunate seventy-nine year delay.

Australian free settlers of the upper classes were emotionally dependent on England, the "Home" or "Mother" Country; this contributed to the ^{lack of ability} impotence they displayed in local political ^{affairs} intercourse. Such people controlled the early State Legislatures; they did not actually encourage municipal rating on property and were willing to avoid heavy taxation and see administrative costs borne out of the Land Fund. * The unfriendly landscape did not arouse local sentiment among those who could afford to retire "Home".

* Land Fund - money obtained by the sale of Crown land to settlers.

Error
L.B. not elected
but appointed
1823.

Note
Keep Sydney
separate from
the general
story

An important
cause of the tardy
introduction of local
government was
lack of experience
of local
institutions
in England
owing to the
Industrial
Revolution
on the part
of the
ordinary
people

Magistrates were employed to carry out administrative as well as judicial functions in the struggling Colony; the absence of a trained civil service and the unruly character of the general population compelled Governors to seek men of some "repute" as magistrates. Such men were often found among ex-commanders and mates of convict and other ships, so that rough and ready "justice" was the rule. In this way the precedents of appointment of administrators were established instead of the American techniques of election.

The British Government came under pressure from the grazier and merchant groups to grant responsible sovereign government to the Colony; before allowing this, the Home Government concerned itself with the need for local bodies that would buttress and/or check the authority of Parliaments. The eighteen thirties saw much discussion of possible local bodies, especially as the need for good roads became a major problem. In 1797 an order had been made requiring every settler or his deputy to work for three days each week on the roads but road-making was generally regarded as a governmental function, convict labour being used. The British authorities, however, demanded that road-costs be borne locally and so Road Trusts were set up in various areas from time to time; these Trusts were locally based and financed. They were the first examples of local co-operation practiced under statute in New South Wales.

Governor Gipps commented in 1839 on a feature of popular thought which prevails to the present day ... "In New South Wales...the idea persists that the government is in possession of large funds" and it was then the case, and remained so, that each district vied with the others in making demands for government works. (A schedule of work - priorities was then, as it is now,

Note the
Buller's
Macarthur
Constitution

Note - Market
Bomene - 1839
Road Trusts
1840s

politically unpalatable) Gipps, attempting to apply principles which have been admirable in older English communities, urged:- "but let the people of each County, Parish or township spend their own money, and they will spend no more of it than is necessary, and they will spend it too, far more satisfactorily than it is possible for the government to spend it for them." Such appeals were lost on the inhabitants of a but sparsely settled outpost of Empire who simply were not able to develop their country rapidly without foreign investment in large quantities. The spread of a scant population over great areas has always meant that local government in this State would be unable to raise development capital among its own ratepayers. N.S.W. Local Government has always been, and still is, denied sufficient funds by central authorities.

actually the scheme was unsuited to conditions in sparsely settled colony

The first attempt at ^{a general system} local government was the proclamation by Gipps in 1843 of District Councils. This was an extremely authoritarian proposal which failed because of the deliberate attitude of non-cooperation evoked from N.S.W. people. Powers were granted over roads, public buildings and schools; rating and toll-collecting were provided for, but the colonists were incensed at the continued attempts of the Home authorities to collect from them the expenses of running the police and gaols. The District Councils were to pay half of these expenses and the electors showed no desire to make the system work, Parramattans alone being an exception. The British Government dropped the "taxation without control" idea in 1849, when it set up a Privy Council Committee to investigate the financial structure of a future system.

Have a look at
Wood's
"Constitutional
Development of
Australia"
pp 105f.

[The British Government believed that self-government might be imperilled unless based on a sound system of Local Government functioning smoothly. It is only rational that the framework of a proposed sovereign state should be built from the bottom up - and this was the idea behind various attempts of the British Government to introduce workable schemes of local responsibility. Unfortunately, it was not to be.]

Then
has
could be
omitted

Responsible representative government was granted New South Wales in 1855, and the task of fashioning administrative machinery was begun. The gold rush and the consequent rush of immigrants had complicated many long neglected civic problems which were dumped on the new Government's doorstep so that it was soon unable to deal with them all. The new Government's embarrassment in allocating its favours among districts led it in the direction described by the Sydney Morning Herald of 5/3/1857 - "the Legislature should devote itself to community interests and had over everything that affects the special interests of particular localities to municipal institutions". The Herald attacked the practice of "buying votes by the outlay of public funds", a practice sometimes claimed to be as old as government itself.

In 1858 the new sovereign State legislated perhaps carelessly for a system of Municipalities which were to be set up one by one as citizens petitioned for their incorporation. After ten years only 35 Municipalities covering an area of less than 800 square miles had been incorporated in the whole State. Petitions protesting against a proposed incorporation sometimes carried more signatures than those demanding it!

The 1858 Act provided for municipal election by the new "Australian" or secret ballot. The powers delegated to local institutions were much more comprehensive than they are today - for example, municipalities were empowered to make their own by-laws; this privilege was vested in the Minister for Local Government after 1906

Check this
statement
↓

Have you
confused by laws
with Ordinances

The first Municipality in the County of Cumberland to be incorporated was Randwick, followed by Glebe, Redfern, Waverley and Waterloo - all in 1859; the following year saw the birth of Balmain, East St. Leonard's, Paddington and Woollahra, while the only others formed in the County under this Act were Hunter's Hill, Marrickville, Parramatta, Camperdown, Newtown, Darlington and North Willoughby. These incorporated areas total 16 out of a total of some forty or fifty which the County of Cumberland has embraced at various times.

The unfortunately slap-dash character of this early legislation was exposed in the period 1861-64 after litigation which caused its virtual abandonment.

Larcombe, in his valuable thesis on "Local Government in New South Wales, 1857-1919", wrote concerning this period: "The establishment of municipalities had never been a party question. The security of a member's seat in Parliament depended, even more than it does today, upon the benefits which he could get the Government to bestow on his electorate. Naturally he tried to provide these things for which his electors clamoured, and local government was not one of them. The Government endeavoured to assist the individual member, whose sympathies were for that political party, to satisfy the wishes of his electorate, for his support was required in controversial matters - The more the Government wanted to maintain its power, the more it was forced to acquiesce to members' demands for works and services. The more the central authority was prepared to assist particular localities, the further the desire for local government receded into the background. Whatever Ministry was in power, it had little repercussion to fear from shelving the question of municipal reform. The amending Bills which were introduced from time to time appeared to be little more than a gesture to a few hopeful souls who agitated for better local governing institutions. Paradoxically the lack of parliamentary interest in municipal measures caused both the delay of

reform and the speedy passing of the Bill (of 1867) once Parliament decided to get rid of it." ¹

Sir Henry Parkes brought in the Bill of 1867 after many previous attempts at reform had lapsed. This second Municipalities Act aimed to avoid the union of urban and rural areas which had been invalidated by the Privy Council after a case involving the Shoalhaven Municipality. The reason for the decision had apparently been that "two classes of bodies having different and antagonistic interests" could not be put under the one municipal authority. ²

The Act of 1867 introduced plural voting in order that big property owners might pay their rates more willingly. Parkes argued that L.G. powers "extended over property and nothing else"; this was not entirely the case, and has certainly become less so. Plural voting was contested by egalitarians on principle, and it was dropped in 1906. Local powers were extended under this Act to public baths, noxious weeds, free infant schools and free libraries - the latter amounting almost to an obsession with Parkes. Notwithstanding the extension of powers, the 1858 financial basis was not much improved. The General Rate was restricted to one shilling in the pound levied on the Assessed Annual Value. The top limit of borrowing was the total of rate revenue over the previous five years. Government endowment was provided for, but was never sufficient. Councils got into debt and special grants had to be made from time to time. The reluctance of central governments to trust local bodies with proper funds has perhaps been the chief cause of Local Government failings right from the start.

A Committee of the Privy Council in 1849 recognised that local rates alone could never pay for the developmental works required in Australian localities. Municipal funds, the Committee stated, would have to be spent on projects "unfruitful of any considerable or immediate advantage to the

¹
^x "The History and Development of Local Government in New South Wales, 1857-1919." Frederick A. Larcombe, B.Ec. Presented as a thesis for the degree of Master of Economics 1944. Typescript copy available at the Fisher Library, Sydney University. pp 51-52.

²
^x The rating of rural land on urban values has caused much disruption and instability around Sydney, and is one of the problems that land-use zoning has recently solved. Claims made in this regard are discussed in Section 6 of this book.

rate-payer. If, for example, a road or a drain should be formed through a district imperfectly settled, by the produce of rates levied on the present settlers, that outlay would confer on the ungranted lands, in proportion to their extent, a benefit equal to that which the settled lands would derive from it. Eventually, indeed, those ungranted lands would be sold at a price enhanced by this application of local rates, and the general territorial revenue of the colony would to the same extent be enhanced but the ratepayers of the district would receive no peculiar benefit excepting that of the more rapid increase of settlement in their immediate vicinity. Persons living in a new country, to whom the command of capital is of such urgent importance, can never be expected to find in such remote, uncertain, and inappreciable benefits as these, a motive strong enough to induce them to impose on themselves rates to which the wild lands will contribute nothing."^{¶ 1}

This motive could be reduced.

Money collected from sales of Crown land in the Colony and in the new State - the Land Fund - was spent in various ways at different times. The Land Fund was never invested in a consistently logical manner aimed at continuous local development. The 1849 Privy Council Committee recommended that this revenue be placed in the hands of local bodies for local public works. The Committee envisaged an expanding cycle of land sales, public improvements, more and better land sale receipts, followed by bigger and better public works - all without any necessity for local government borrowing. Unfortunately the recommendation was ignored both by the Home authorities before 1855, and by the N.S.W. Parliament after that time. "The alienation of the Crown lands after responsible government proceeded with irresponsible abandon, and without any adequate application of the receipts so derived to the type of improvements emphasised by the Committee" writes Professor Bland. ^{¶ 2}.

[¶] - Ibid - p.28.

^{¶ 1}. Quoted in "A review of the development of Local Government in N.S.W." by F.A. Bland, then Professor of Public Administration at Sydney University; a paper delivered at the Local Government Summer School, 1945 (My italics - G.C.)

^{¶ 2}. Ibid p.28.

The system of voluntary or "Permissive" incorporation was another cause of enthusiasm-lack for Local Government. The State Government had toyed with the idea of compulsory incorporation in 1876, but it was not until 1906 that the principle was properly consolidated in the Local Government Act to cover both urban and rural areas.

Unincorporated areas had developmental work done for them by the central government - they gained public works and yet did not have to pay rates for them. The "permissive" system was a ridiculous anomaly; it is not surprising that after almost half a century of local government, less than 1% of the area of the State had been incorporated.

The fundamental weaknesses of our Local Government structure have always been "built in" to N.S.W. legislation - only bitter experience teaches us the inherent faults of each succeeding Act. The weaknesses which first became obvious in the period 1867-1906 are in many cases still with us - some of them are yet in the slow and painful process of being solved.

For instances, the lack of necessary funds meant that Councils could not make use of many powers given them under the 1867 Act; their incapacity has been used subsequently to justify the taking away of certain powers from them. Being forced to neglect those functions of which they were theoretically capable, local bodies failed to arouse strong interest among their citizens, who naturally kept their attention on the State Parliament as the real seat of power and who have in recent years directed diligent attention to Canberra as the Federal Parliament has come to overshadow the State.

It seems true to say that Local Government ~~often-failed-to~~ ^{has not always} attracted the most capable men; ~~te-its-Councils~~ these generally go in to the more satisfying State and Federal political fields. The financial weakness of Local Government begets a vicious circular process - the only way to break

the circle is to give local institutions more responsibility and more power - in this way it is possible to build up in this country a strong tradition of decentralised government such as is a feature of British political life.

The powers, responsibilities and endowment of Local Government in this country are small indeed when compared to those existing in England and America. The Australian political structure was founded on centralised power by a series of early historical accidents; opposition to this centralising tendency has too often in recent decades resulted in petty parochialism and this in turn has hampered reform.

An important step on the road to local government reform was taken in 1883, when the Municipal Association was formed to press the views of local bodies. The Municipal Association became the Local Government Association in 1906, and is now a most important institution in New South Wales political life.

The Local Government Act of 1906 followed the Municipalities Act of 1897; the latter was merely a consolidation of several amendments passed since 1867, including those giving Councils powers to operate gas-works, to control public baths below the high water mark, and to levy rates for lighting. The 1906 Act provided the basis of our present system. It did away with the older types of local areas and gave us only Municipalities as urban units and Shires as rural units. It widened the franchise to include occupiers of rateable property, abolished plural voting, and introduced standards of qualification for officials.

"The fundamental idea of this scheme of local government" said Sir Joseph Carruthers, the Premier, "is that of growth - to provide for the perfectly natural and free growth of the local governing body in powers, functions and responsibilities pari-passu with the needs caused by the growth and development of the district and the state." *

To this end, the Act arranged local powers in a schedule, the first ones obligatory, and the later ones available when required in any particular district.

* Hansard, Session 1905, Vol. 19, p. 1685; quoted by Larcombe p.155

Rating under this Act was changed from a levy on the A.A.V. to a levy on the Unimproved Capital Value - the present basis. Borrowing was allowed up to a maximum of ten per cent of the total of all U.C.V.; and the limit of endowment was raised to 3/4 of the annual rate revenue.

Endowment was fixed on a needs basis for schools and to municipalities if required

The Act of 1906 brought sweeping changes in local organisation but the functions of Municipalities were not much altered. Local Government at that time possessed many powers which were slowly being taken from it, and the rise of "ad-hoc" or special purpose bodies is described on following pages. About this time, the Greater Sydney movement sprang from a recognition that Sydney was growing up fast and that co-ordination of all city administrative, technical, economic and political functions was becoming more and more necessary. Unfortunately, no State Government since 1906 has had the courage to face squarely the problems of city organisation in this heavily mechanised twentieth century.

The end of the nineteenth century in Sydney coincided with the end of a city-building era. Trading gave way to manufacturing as the main motivation of city growth, and the mechanical problems of city government were intensified. Electric light and power replaced gas, and the growth of a heavy metals industry gave a modern balance to the Australian economy. These matters form Sections 2 and 3 of this book but they must be borne in mind when studying the administration structure for organisational techniques must change with changing times.

The period 1906-1919 saw numerous attempts to amend details of the 1906 legislation; these were mainly the efforts of the Local Government and Shires Associations and of the Ministers Griffity and FitzGerald; the amendments gradually took the form of important principles which were incorporated into the comprehensive Local Government Act of 1919, our present Statute.

The 1919 Bill relaxed some property qualifications for the franchise, made rating limits and borrowing terms more flexible, especially as it did away with the necessity for a referendum before major loans were floated; referenda tended to reject expensive but necessary projects.

More important were the new provisions: - these included the setting up of a Main Roads Board, provisions for County Districts and County Councils, and extended powers to subsidise bands, children's playgrounds, regulate hoardings, prevent floods, seize adulterated food, destroy noxious weeds and animals, take over parks and grounds controlled by trustees, and to erect shops, dwellings and other buildings for leasing.

The setting up of a Main Roads Board was removed from this Bill on the grounds that it cut across the principle of Local Government; but the necessity for co-ordinated control of traffic arteries was so great that the Board was established soon after.

Labour members at this time demanded a Parliamentary franchise in Municipal elections, but it was not until 1927 that all adult residents were enrolled as electors.

Local Government Since 1919

The basic structure of local government in N.S.W. to day is very similar to what it was in 1919. The L.G. Act of 1919 introduced the county council which has rendered the system more progressive and probably saved some major functions for local government which may have been reserved by special authorities beyond the pale of local control. Since 1919 the main changes have occurred in the franchise which has become practically adult and voting has become compulsory. Although there was no desire for proportional representation the Government has thought fit to introduce the system into local elections. There has been a trend toward larger and fewer units. Some towns have usually small ones, have surrendered their municipal status and become absorbed into the neighbouring shires or become the centres of such new shires as Darling & Berrigerra. On the other hand there have been several important amalgamations & for example Greater Newcastle, Wollongong and Shoalhaven there as well as a re-division of units within the County of Cumberland. There has not always been complete satisfaction with the amalgamations which have been created in government imagination than in the eyes of the masses or people.

Finance, as it was at first ^{still} local governments' most pressing problem. The financial structure has been greatly affected by ~~the second World War~~ ^{the depression} and the world-wide inflation of costs which followed it. It has become necessary to abolish rating and loan limits to enable sufficient revenue to be obtained to undertake ^{just} the ordinary routine functions. Uniform taxation has rendered the States dependent upon the benevolence of the Commonwealth and they cannot afford to be generous to local government. According to Sir Arthur Stevens the "taxation cake" is as large as it can be so there is little prospect of additional revenue from this source. Aggravating the financial and actual situation is the exemption from rating of Government and public properties of other organisations. On the other hand local authorities are forced to make large contributions to such bodies as the Fire Commissioners and the Department of Main Roads. Perhaps the most unsatisfactory feature is that while all residents enjoy the services provided by the local councils a small section, the property owners ^{pay} ~~pay~~ the bills. the whole cost.

Little change has been made in the width of local functions although the list is long and varied and scope exists for municipal enterprise in housing, aerodromes, closer settlement, ^{markets} and social services such as orchestras and bands. The major of the functions are not revenue producing and demands for additional services are being made, while at the same time no suggestions are being made for additional sources of revenue. In common with local government ~~the~~ overseas there is a trend towards centralisation ~~in~~ in N. S.W. aided and abetted by public apathy. Local authorities have not the power to avail themselves of the talent in the community for little provision exists for the cooption of experts whose cooperation could give added prestige to local government as well as improve the standard of the municipal services.

The inner City.

Local Government of the inner City of Sydney has been successively carried on by an elected Corporation, appointed Commissioners, an elected Municipal Council, and is now in the hands of "The Council of the City of Sydney". The City was governed under separate legislation for the greater part of its formal existence - it has only recently come under the general L.G. system (L.G. (Areas) Act, 1948).

The townspeople of Sydney petitioned their Governor in 1835 for authority to light, drain, pave and repair streets, and to provide a water supply. It was not until 1842 that a Bill incorporating Sydney was approved by the Home Government. C.H. Bertie has described the town of that time in these words:- "The streets...are more or less defective in their formation and generally in a state of dilapidation requiring drainage and repair. With two or three exceptions the streets are without either surface or subterranean drainage, and the consequence is that in dry weather, the pedestrian in perambulating this otherwise fair and salubrious city is here and there disgusted with streams of noxious puddle, which from want of sewers to carry it off, comes oozing forth upon the streets from the private gutters of the houses." #1.

The early Corporation was seriously handicapped by inexperience and lack of funds. It was reformed in 1850 and abolished in 1853 when it was replaced by three Commissioners. The Commissioners were in turn removed; the Corporation was reconstituted in 1857. Voting by secret ballot was introduced at this time. #2

#1 "Early History of the Sydney Municipal Council" by C. H. Bertie, Sydney, Websdale Shoessmith, 1911, p 2.

#2. See "City Government by Commission" by F.A. Bland R.A.H.S. Journal Vol XIV, pt. 3, 1928, for an excellent study of the period 1854-57.

The Commissioners organised the building of Sydney's first main sewers, five of which discharged into the Harbour at various points. The Commissioners also pushed on with the never-ending task of supplying the city with sufficient water. Supplies from the Centennial Park ponds, the Lachlan Swamps, were inadequate, and new water was sought from what is now the Lakes Golf Course.

The reformed Corporation ran for 22 years before various amendments were consolidated into the Sydney Corporation Act of 1879. During these years the aldermen redeemed the principle of local government by working well towards remedying the worst quagmires and rubbish tips which were euphemistically named "Streets". Unfortunately the Corporation acquired liabilities totalling £800,000 in little more than a decade. Alleviation of the serious financial problem was begged of the State Government, but no relief was given. The expenses of city management were simply much greater than city revenue. The Government was sobered by a fear that the Corporation might resign and throw the administrative problems onto it; but although this at least prompted much talk, nothing was done.

A Bill of 1878 contained clauses empowering the Corporation to control certain functions outside the city boundaries; these were called the "extra civic" functions. They were the first recognition that the government of a city was dependent upon co-ordinated control of its region. The City boundaries had already been extended in 1870, to include the catchment area of the Botany Water Scheme, the Sydney Common, and Blackwattle Swamp (now Wentworth Park).

Now however, the City Corporation discovered that it could not find land for use as cattle sale-yards, sewerage outlets to the sea and, night soil dumps; it wanted power to acquire and control suburban land for these purposes and it also wanted to control public vehicles and to construct a Nepean Water Scheme. Suburban reaction to these proposals was indignant, and the fall of the Government stopped them going through.

It was in this period that the State Government foreshadowed the setting up of Boards of Works - "ad-hoc" bodies - which would co-ordinate water and sewerage schemes in all areas. Conflicts between multitudinous authorities were now starting up in earnest; the power of the City Corporation to construct sewers "discharging into the sea or any convenient inlet" clashed with the Health and Sewage Board's scheme to eradicate harbour pollution; argument continued as to who was going to control and tax those vehicles which had no respect for Municipal boundary lines; and the Botany Water Reserve was partly controlled by two Councils and the Corporation. The problem of co-ordinated garbage disposal schemes was then, as now, not solved.

The City Commissioners of 1854-57 erred on the side of financial extravagance because they did not have to face elections. Elected bodies have commonly been unwilling to tax and borrow to the legal limits out of fear of unpopularity with their ratepayers. During the period 1867-1876, the population of the city had increased by more than 30% yet the increase in rateable A.A.V. was only 7% £.

During the same period the increase in suburban A.A.V's was 64%, and the State Government agreed to expunge the City debt. This was included in the Corporation Act of 1879, which also increased the general rate from 1/- to 2/-, allowed rating on some Government buildings, and allowed special rating for street lighting. This Act introduced plural voting to city elections, provided for control of all public ways, parks and markets.

Under this Act the Corporation ran smoothly until the nineties, when the great depression wrecked city finances. The "Sydney Morning Herald" had never been a friend of the elected City Corporation; on the 2nd November, 1898, it summarised post-depression discontent in these words:- "The government of Sydney has been but a muddle of neglect and incapacity from the first". A break in public endurance was forecast.

£ Figures by Larcombe, p 248.

"The result may not be the reform of the City Council but its obliteration to make way for the Council of Greater Sydney, a body called to larger and higher responsibilities and starting life with the sympathy and confidence of the public of the metropolitan area....when the time comes to set aside the Sydney City Council to make way for the larger and higher institutions of the future, no implement will be placed in the way of its removal by any sense of gratitude for the value of its work in the past, and that it will disappear without leaving a single regret behind." #

Public apathy was, however, greatly underestimated by this editor, for although the Greater Sydney movement raged for many years, nothing was ever done. Instead the management of Sydney's problems was handed to a series of "ad-hoc" bodies, the development of which has been the significant trend for fifty years past.

The boundaries of the City were extended in 1908 to include the Municipality of Camperdown, which in turn had absorbed the old area of Cook. Apart from 43 acres of the Centennial Parks annexed in 1905, it was not until 1948 that the city area was again expanded to include the Municipalities of Alexandria, Darlington, Eskinville, Glebe, Newtown, Paddington, Redfern and Waterloo.

In 1908, the basis of city rating was changed from the Assessed Annual Value to the Unimproved Capital Value, as it now stands. In 1912, the Labour Party won both the Federal and State elections, and began its long struggle to control the City; it campaigned for the Parliamentary franchise, but it was not until 1941 that the first city elections on an adult franchise was held.

It is often said that "the promised Greater Sydney degenerated into a scheme to amalgamate the contiguous Labour suburbs with the city in order to secure Labour's grip on the (City) Council". #2

Quoted by Larcombe p 262.

#2 Larcombe p 285.

However, the issue is confused by the fact that all big cities are faced with technical and administrative problems which support and reinforce the desire to annex adjacent areas. #2. "As a general proposition, the principle that political and governmental institutions should expand in order to keep pace with the enlarged scale of human activity, is incontestable. Among smaller units of local government, the principle often prevails. When, however, attempts are made by great cities to expand their territories, their efforts meet with such fierce resistance that this method has proved of small use as a means of providing metropolitan areas with appropriate organs of local government." # Robson also states: - "Local parochialism, the refusal of wealthier areas to share their rating resources with the poorer local authorities, and the indifference of elected councillors towards projects which may result in loss of votes, are among the reasons which make amalgamation of local government areas with the central city almost impossible to achieve."

We will return and deal with the Greater Sydney Movement in more detail; the entry of party politics into local governing bodies occurred in the first and second decades of this century, and the franchise and expansion were the two main planks of Labour organisational policy.

Corruption in the City Corporation of 1927 led to its abolition, and for the second time a Commission was set up in its place; the Corporation was restored in 1930.

The next major constitutional changes in inner city government came in 1934. Under the City Corporation Act amendments of Mr. E. Spooner: preferential voting was introduced, building regulations were brought up to date, and the franchise and loan provisions were altered.

2 cf. Robson, W.A. "Great Cities of the World", London, 1954 pp 58-63

Ibid p.60

Perhaps of most significance were the clauses empowering the inner City to pre-plan and re-plan, by the "re-arrangement of existing public ways and parcels of land, the planning of new public ways and sub-divisions, and the improvement and embellishment of the city." Power was given to resume land and to control advertising hoardings.

*
BRIEF RESUME OF CHANGES SINCE 1944. Change in name from Corporation to Council?
Changes in powers? Changes in areas?

L.G. (Areas) Act 1948 - Council of the City of Sydney - separate statute repealed - placed under L.G. Act 1919 though some traditional practices were retained.

1953 - wards abolished - proportional representation election of Lord Mayor returned to citizens after a century.

Council reduced to 21 aldermen (incl. Lord Mayor)

The Council of the City of Sydney is now over a century old, and yet the original Corporation had wider powers than are enjoyed by the Council of today. Important services have been put under the control of institutions outside the proper framework of local government. Inner City opportunities to assume leadership in metropolitan affairs have been severely limited. The Brisbane City Council, the Greater Newcastle Council, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and the London County Council are all examples of co-ordinated local government; Sydney has failed to ^{equal} ~~excel~~ these cities in its standard of local government.

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CENTRALISM AND GREATER SYDNEY.

The Greater Sydney movement is now over half a century old; it begun with, and has upheld by a belief that there are some administrative jobs which cannot be left to a lot of separate, small municipalities. "Greater Sydney" has been defeated time and again by the fierce opposition of local Councils; they have feared their own abolition and their protagonists have argued that the scheme is essentially undemocratic.

The proposals have varied between "central" and "federal" principles; some have wanted to abolish all municipalities and shires in and around the metropolitan area in order to supercede them with a central authority; others have wanted a "two-tier" system modelled on the London County Council, whereby the existing pattern of local areas is maintained and a federal elective method is used. However, the creation of numerous "ad-hoc" or special purpose bodies has appeared to nullify the main arguments of the old "Greater Sydney" advocates; after half a century of frustration, they now attempt merely to amalgamate adjacent areas to the existing inner City Council.

The Hon. J.J. Cahill, the then Minister for Local Government, introducing an amalgamation Bill to the N.S.W. Parliament in 1947, quoted: "the problem of local patriotism is precisely this:- its deficiency renders good government impossible, and its excesses make bad government irreparable. When local independence turns sour it becomes difficult to distinguish from narrow minded jealousy." x

These are the sentiments that have led State Governments to the creation of a series of "ad-hoc" authorities, thus taking essential services out of the hands of "narrow minded" local government. While these authorities have, in the main, been highly efficient, the old problem of co-ordination remains, and

x Second Reading speech Local Government (Areas) Bill, 15/10/47; Parliamentary Debates (2nd Series) Vol CLXXXV p.403 onwards; Quoting from "English Local Government" by Finer; p.8.

the democrats are ~~even~~ more dissatisfied with the non-elective charters of special purpose bodies. The existence of strong "ad-hoc" over the past twenty years has been a contributing factor to the failure of "Greater Sydney" proposals; it now seems unlikely that co-ordination in this city will be achieved on one fell swoop by the establishment of one major compendious authority.

the 4th came about 1898
The visit to Australia of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb shortly after the inception of the London County Council in 1888, stimulated many Sydney people into thinking that this example might be followed here.

Among the first "Greater Sydney" advocates was Sir Joseph Carruthers, who in 1892 declared the need for "portion of the County of Cumberland being incorporated into a County Council given large powers of self government over the metropolitan area." * In 1898, Alderman George Christie of Strathfield, also influenced by London's example, published "The Unification of the Municipal Control of Sydney and its Suburbs". He advocated the return of all true Local Government functions to the Greater Sydney Council. At this time, we see the interests of Greater Sydney advocated by city men and suburban aldermen both; it was long, however, before the latter realised that their positions were threatened and began their strenuous opposition.

Suburbs called conference first - by called by the Corporation in a drafted its own plan
The Mayor of the City, Sir Matthew Harris, called a Conference to discuss this important matter; and the Suburbs likewise called a Conference in opposition.

The City scheme was completely centralist; all existing boundaries and all special purpose authority were to be vested in the "Sydney Metropolitan Council."

* Sydney Morning Herald 9/12/1892.

Such a centralist proposal was defeated on the grounds that:- the identity of local areas was to be destroyed; it was unfair that wealthy areas should have to share with poor or inefficient ones; and that such a scheme as Harris's was mere aggrandisement and power politics on the part of the City Council:--- in short, while the Federal idea was tolerable, a wholesale unificationist policy was out of the question.

Check again in the sub
A compromise Conference of both city and suburban representatives was held in 1900; this meeting resulted in a proposition for a ^{unitary} ~~Federal~~ system with all financial power vested in a "Municipal Council of the City of Sydney." The Suburbs, meanwhile prepared a strictly federalist scheme and these two opposing groups left no room for compromise; in the resulting deadlock, both were stopped.

In 1902, the State Government was aroused by an outbreak of plague in Sydney, caused by inefficient public health control. The Premier appointed a Select Committee to investigate Greater Sydney proposals.

City, suburban and lay interests were represented, and characteristically each prepared their own scheme, ^{but} Nothing was done about ~~any one~~.

The case for Greater Sydney was nevertheless put succinctly by J.D. Fitzgerald in 1906:-- "The municipal government of Greater Sydney is hampered by every disadvantage which divided control can bring. It is over-governed in small things. It has 41 Councils, nearly 500 aldermen and 41 staffs to do the work which 77 aldermen and one staff do in the model city of Glasgow. It has built 41 costly Town Halls; it has 41 separate debts amounting to £2,428,000; it has 41 different health problems, met and solved in different ways -- in some boroughs effectively, in other negligently. Instead, therefore, of one central, efficient, powerful municipal government, capable of owning and controlling every

common service necessary to the whole area, capable of organising public health - - of meeting epidemic disease - - and pursuing health measures over every inch of the area, we have a tangle of powerless municipal bodies, nominee boards, Government Departments and private companies, with no cohesion, no harmony of plan, no concerted administration, but warring and clashing with each other, often jealous and fretful in their dealings, and, by want of an organising centre, piling up wasteful expense." x

In 1909, a Royal Commission "for the Improvement of Sydney and its Suburbs", under Greater Sydney advocate Thomas Hughes, drew up a detailed Report on such matter as beautification of the city and suburbs, housing reform, slum clearance, traffic and town planning. It was urged that some overall authority should carry out these plans. A "Greater Sydney League" was formed; Labour took State office in 1910, and that Party began its series of attempts to achieve Parliamentary sanction of a Greater Sydney Bill.

A Royal Commission of 1913 advocated Inner and Outer Zones, the former to be amalgamated immediately, the latter to be absorbed gradually. The gradual transference of ad-hoc powers to the Council was also urged. Objections by the Employers Federation to certain resumption powers, objections to the extended franchise provisions and the usual suburban objections prevented these recommendations being carried by Parliament.

J.D. Fitzgerald became Minister for Public Health and Local Government in 1916; he was responsible for the clauses in the Local Government Act of 1919, relating to the creation of County Councils, which provided the machinery for co-operation on specific matters.

Sir Thomas Bavin won the 1927 elections for the Nationalist Party; he had a mandate to abolish the corrupt Sydney Corporation, and promised that

x "Greater Sydney and Greater Newcastle", John D. Fitzgerald 1906, pp 23,24.

establishment would not take place until it could form part of a Greater Sydney scheme. Nothing, however, was done, even though proposals of this time were for a federal scheme.

W.J. McKell was Minister for Local Government in the Labour Cabinet of 1930; he introduced a Bill for a federal authority, including some minor amalgamations; the local bodies were to administer their existing powers, but the federal Greater Sydney Council was to take over:-

- (a) the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board
- (b) the Metropolitan Transport Trust
- (c) the Board of Fire Commissioners
- (d) the Electricity Department of the Sydney Corporation
(now the Sydney County Council)
- (e) the St. George County Council
- (f) the Main Roads Board
- (g) the Sydney Harbour Trust (now the Maritime Services Board).

As well, the Council was to control parks, cemeteries, creeks, rivers and garbage. The Bill provided for a town-planning Scheme; the area to be included was the County of Cumberland plus the Camden Municipality. This Bill did not pass the Legislative Council and the matter was shelved for ten years.

In 1941, the Labour Party again sat in the Treasury Benches, with W.J. McKell as Premier, and The Hon. J.J. Cahill as Minister for Local Government. The Government announced its intention to introduce a Bill similar to the 1931 measure. The Sydney Morning Herald agreed that an attempt to extend the city boundary was justified, for the definition of Sydney had not changed much since Governor Phillip's time. The war situation became so serious that the Government's intention was postponed, to be revived in 1944. This time the proposals were merely for amalgamation of areas; the old Unification schemes, both centralist and federal, had been beaten.

A Royal Commission under Clancy, Haviland and Storey was set up in June 1945 to review the boundaries of Local Government areas within the County of Cumberland. Mr. Haviland (the present Under Secretary to the Department of Local Government) returned his Commission with an Eight-City Scheme -- a proposal to reform the County into eight areas. Mr. Justice Clancy proposed an 18-City Scheme, while Mr. Storey (then Mayor of Drummoyne) drew up a Scheme of 35 areas.

The Government first adopted the Eight-City plan; in July, 1947, it gave way to a storm of criticism and proposed 14 areas; when the matter eventually came before Parliament in October, it was a 16-City Scheme. The Legislative Assembly passed the Bill, but the N.S.W. Upper House referred it to a Select Committee. The outcome was the Local Government (Areas) Act of 1948, which reduced the number of Local Government areas in the County of Cumberland from 66 to 40.

About the same time as the Royal Commission was appointed in 1945, the McKell Government introduced the Town and County Planning Act which proposed to give the Minister for Local Government power to prepare a Planning Scheme for the County, and power to direct Local Planning by Local Councils.

This Bill also went to the N.S.W. Upper House; strenuous opposition to it was led by the Local Government Association, which finally suggested the setting up of a federal Cumberland County Council as an "ad-hoc" Planning Authority. The Government agreed to this. x 1.

In August, 1954, the Hon. J.B. Renshaw, Minister for Local Government, stated that the Government intended "at the appropriate time" x 2. to include Woollahra, Waverley, Randwick, Botany, Marrickville and Leichhardt in what he called "the Greater Sydney area." Mr. C.E. Bunton, President of the Local Government Association, commented at that time:- "We see in this another attempt to usurp the functions of local government." x 3. Mr. R.S. Luke, speaking as Metropolitan Vice-President of the Local Government Association, stated:-

x 1. Cf "The Foundation of the Cumberland County Council" p. _____

x 2. "Sydney Morning Herald" August 34d, 1954.

x 3. Ibid August, 7th, 1954.

"If this proposal goes through, Greater Sydney will become nothing less than a minor Parliament merely echoing the State Legislature --- the swollen Greater Sydney Council will inevitably have the effect of intensifying party politics in Local Government," x 1. These comments plainly indicate the present ~~uncon-~~
~~promising attitude~~ of men in Local Government.

And here this contentious matter rests for the time being. Hope for the future may lie in the federalist ideal -- a two-tier system -- described by Robson in these words:--

"By far the best way of meeting (all) objections is by means of a two tier system of local government. There are substantial advantages in establishing a major authority for the planning, co-ordination and administration of all large-scale functions, while leaving all the purely local services to a lower tier of minor authorities. The arguments for a two-tier system in a great metropolitan area are overwhelming, for only by such a method is it possible for the suburban and outlying districts to retain their institutional identity while becoming part of the metropolitan area for larger governmental purposes. Only by this means, moreover, can we hope to find a solution to the problem of providing a democratic system of local government while also giving the citizen a smaller and more easily comprehensible unit of community life in whose government he can participate." x 2.

x 1. "Sydney Morning Herald" August 26th, 1954.

x 2. "Great Cities of the World - their Government, Politics and Planning",
edited by W.A. Robson, George Allan and Unwin, London, 1954. page 63.

124 Gora St.,
Hurstville.

22nd March 1955

Dear Mr. Blake,

I have read your manuscript and have made a few suggestions. I hope I have not mutilated the first couple of pages but have made a couple of suggestions to avoid apparent ~~dis~~ disjointedness. Otherwise the story appears satisfactory to me. It is difficult to get an overall picture of local government from the thesis. It is a pity the smaller booklet was not available to you.

There are one or two small errors in facts which I have corrected and suggestions re checking. I do not think that any of your references to weaknesses in the local government structure can be challenged. It has to be borne in mind that your story of local government is merely part of a larger work and should be seen in the proper context.

If there is any further discussion required you could ring me at school (UA 3965)

Best wishes for the success of
the venture.

Yours with kind regards
Fred Harcombe.

1/

TITLE

first and most important thing, but not necessarily the first in the writing { as subjects of volume take shape salient and most telling trends emerge to supply the title } the one main heading. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~, in the light of ~~present~~ aims and needs of the book as we see them at present, title should comprise : necessity for planning, and I would add a greater degree of centralised planning, for city of sydney in the future.

2/

RULING PRINCIPLE

over and above the specific aim of book as plea for centralised planning we must have a guiding theoretical line - not only to lift the book out of the straight propagandist factual record class, but to add to its general appeal. I suggest this is provided by the contention that planning is permissible only when what is planned is the city, the material habitat, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ not human personnel (This should be implicit throughout the book, but could be explicitly stated - in the beginning - in order to allay the fears of people conditioned to reject planning, and to forestall their criticism.)

3/

CONTENTS

I suggest that in order to facilitated the writing not only the eight sections or chapters, but each paragraph be itemised under a separate heading covering the subject with which it deals - not, of course for publication in the volume But for own guidance &. This prevents repetition, ensures continuity, makes sure nothing is omitted, brings cognate subjects together, and does not I believe ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ impair the freedom or style or informality of the book. I have used this private index myself in writing my own volume, Power Over Things, and I think it would be even more helpful in this book. This detailed index, with numbered para, enables us to refer to any part of the book quickly....

.....

4/

PREFACE

by Cr Luke I suggest he should supply after he has read the volume. he might be enlightened, and modify what he ordinarily thinks is ~~his~~ the role and value of the C.C.C. plan.

5/

INTRODUCTION

(I ~~don't~~ fear that readers are somewhat deterred by summaries, synopses, prefixing a book. I suggest getting an early interest immediately in the Introduction, - in the story of early Sydney, there is nothing more exciting, to all readers than (our) history. This involves getting a brief indication in the Preface of the C.C.C. aims and ideals in the matter. The book proper should, I think graduall lead up to the necessity for and value of the plan) I suggest this intro should cover:

- a. City developments in the ancient ~~xxx~~ and modern worlds generally
- b. Sydney's differentiation as military convict garrison in particular

- Intro cont. c. Pre-1820 period , briefly.
 d. after 1820 period should introduce present problems, and
 e. our resolution of the problem, our answer in rest of volume.

6. FORMATIVE from 1821 on as you have it , plus increasing complexity and so need for centralised control (federation) etc.

7. 20th CENTURY from 1900 on growing determination by overseas technological factors - traffic

8. THE WAR. 1940-45 period I think you over estimate (stress on Reconstruction could be included in above)

EMERGENCE OF
PLANNING AS
NECESSITY.

to 1951 as you have it but should consider and disavow any connection with ideology of planning people - dissociate from state, political policing of living humans, bring in modern planned material resources , technocratic planning

9 C.C.C. PLANS link C.C.C. aims with cultural in the widest sense part of the Sydney city complex..... your prospect and retrospect section o.k.

After first rough reading and at random I would say your plan for the volume has left out architectural problems, (which surprises me in you), effect of ~~increased~~ increased volume of traffic on all modern cities, the technological factors generally .

Haven't read your Partridge , Toqueville, Lloyd Ross , Bland things yet, but will.