Gemeinschaft at Westridge:

The Formation of a Community in early Canberra

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"Community" is a word used very loosely in Australian English. It is often used to mean the general public as distinct from a particular group, such as politicians or academics: "the Canberra community" in this sense denotes the people who live in Canberra. But the word has some more particular meanings that I hope to explore today.

In 1887, as Ebenezer Howard was developing his concept of the Garden City,[1] the German scholar Ferdinand Tönnies published a ground-breaking study of social organization in which he contrasted the "small-scale, 'organic', close-knit Community" (*Gemeinschaft*) with "large-scale, impersonal, civil and commercial Society" (*Gesellschaft*).[2] Both Howard and Tönnies were reacting against the negative effects of 19th century urbanization, that voracious expansion of industrial cities, unplanned, unrestricted, and with very few social amenities, which devoured arable fields, woods and pastures, engulfed villages, and forced villagers and farmers to live in slums and work in factories or emigrate. The Englishman's garden city concept was crucial to the design of Canberra; the German's understanding of traditional community and civil society help to explain the human relationships developed and nurtured in Canberra in its early decades.

For Tönnies, community began with the intimate relationships of the family, between mother and child, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, as they worked together, sharing the goods, possessions and activities of the home. The village and

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[1] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: 1902); reprinted, edited with a Preface by F. J. Osborn and an Introductory Essay by Lewis Mumford (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), 50-57, 138-147; John W. Reps, ed. and published as a web document, http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/howard.htm (accessed 23 January, 2008).
E. Bonham Carter, "Howard, Sir Ebenezer (1850-1928)," *DNB* 1922-1930, 434-437. Stanley Buder details his life and work in *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Walter L. Creese devotes a chapter of *The Search for Environment: The Garden City, Before and After* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966) to exploring ideas shared by Howard and William Morris in their responses to Edward Bellamy's book about a utopian city, *Looking Backward* , and the influence they had on the architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin.

[2] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, edited by Jose Harris, translated by Jose Harris and Margaret Hollis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* by Ferdinand Tönnies was first published in German in Leipzig, 1887.

the town developed from this beginning. The traditional community was "bound together by ties of kinship, fellowship, custom, history, and communal ownership of primary goods", in contrast to civil society "where free-standing individuals interact with each other through self-interest" in relatively impersonal relationships more characteristic of a big city .[3]

The traditional community had developed in Europe over several centuries. There was no possibility of this gradual process occurring in Canberra where the white settlers who replaced the indigenous communities had begun to arrive less than one century before the city was named. Nevertheless, some kind of *Gemeinschaft* had already begun to develop among the white settlers of the district, many of whom had large families who inter-married, producing a complicated network of kindred and affinity confusing even to some of its own members. It continued to form in parts of this very new city, as individual immigrants formed relationships with people who were already living there as well as with other new arrivals.

The first and one of the strongest of these new communities was at "West Ridge", the name Griffin gave to a ridge of land running along the south-west edge of the area designated for the Federal Capital City. It was part of Yarralumla, the 24,000 acre property Frederick Campbell had built up over twenty years to be one of the finest pastoral stations in the country. A grandson of Robert "Merchant" Campbell of Duntroon, Fred had been President of the Queanbeyan Federal Capital League, which had successfully promoted Canberra as the site for the Capital City. (The fact that most of the land on the Canberra site belonged to a few pastoralists rather than many small farmers was one significant factor in its choice.) "West Ridge" was the western boundary of "Sheedy's Paddock", where underlying shale had proved to be suitable for brickmaking.[4] Bricks made on the property had been used to construct some of its buildings, including the fine three-storey extension to Yarralumla Homestead. Those responsible for constructing the new city decided to locate industrial-scale brickworks on the western slope of the ridge.

In the summer of 1913, not long before Lady Denman officially named the federal capital as "Canberra", the Commonwealth Government gave the Campbell

[3] Harris, xvii-xviii.
[4] Ian Carnell, "Canberra's cornerstone," *Canberra Historical Journal* NS 5 (March, 1980): 19-23. Sheedy's paddock ran between the Molonglo River and the Uriarra Road; its western boundary was the ridge; its eastern boundary was roughly along modern Mueller Street.

family five weeks' notice to leave Yarralumla. Fred Campbell knew that eventually he must give up some of his land but he had never expected that he would have to part from his home. The notice came sooner than expected, the money offered in compensation was nowhere near the real value of the property, and he fought hard and unsuccessfully for more adequate recompense. The brickmakers began to arrive that year.

The community at Westridge grew from some of Fred's former staff and tenants who stayed on and found new employment. One of them was Richard Vest, who came from Wales to Duntroon in 1879 and became manager of Yarralumla when Fred purchased it in 1881. He remained at Yarralumla as caretaker until his death in 1922.[5] Another was Michael Horan, who worked for Campbell as "gardener and ranger looking after rabbit-proof fence" and stayed on to work for the government as a ranger. He arrived in the district in 1910 with his wife and two boys; five more children were born to them in Canberra.[6] Their first Canberra home was near the Yarralumla Woolshed, but they moved frequently around the Yarralumla area: in 1911 they lived near the future sewer works at Weston Creek, then they moved to a place near Coppins Crossing, then to Mount Stromlo. In 1922 they succeeded Richard Vest and lived at Yarralumla Homestead as caretakers before it was renovated to become Government House. [7]

Later in 1913, Catherine and Robert Corkhill, employees of the Campbells at Duntroon, moved from a slab cottage on the future site of the National Library into the fine brick house built in the 1880s for Fred Campbell's dairyman on Dairy Paddock, next to Sheedy's, taking advantage of new tenancy arrangements to lease better grazing land and a better home for their large family. They had perceived the opportunity of a new market for their dairy produce among the builders of the city and the people who came to live and work in it. The granddaughter of pioneer settlers, Catherine was born in Canberra in 1867 and lived in Canberra for the whole of her long life. She was a valued member of a very large family in the district of Canberra and Queanbeyan, and many of her descendants live there still. Robert Corkhill had

[5] Papers of the Vest Family, 1850-1973, NLA MS 2043, Box 6, folder 5.
[6] Information from ACT Records, http://www.genseek.net/act.htm (accessed 15 September, 2005); Gugler, 1999, and *Biographical Register of Canberra and Queanbeyan from the district to the Australian Capital Territory 1820-1930,* ed. Peter Procter (Canberra: The Heraldry & Genealogy Society of Canberra Inc, 2001; Vest Papers, Box 6, list of Yarralumla employees.
[7] Gugler, 1999; oral testimony from Terry Horan.

migrated to Australia from the Isle of Man in 1881 aged eighteen and worked on Duntroon Station for twelve years before he married Catherine.[8]

John Peace Hobday arrived in Westridge in 1913 to become Chief Nurseryman and associate of Thomas Weston, Officer-in-Charge of Afforestation, for the new garden city. The government plant nursery and Weston's trial plantations were established in 1914 in another part of Sheedy's Paddock closer to the river. A cottage was built in 1923 for the nurseryman and his family – it is now a popular café and art gallery. More workers moved in with their families over the next few months and some of them stayed on when the Great War stopped work on Canberra's infrastructure. (The brickworks were closed from 1916 to 1921.) From 1920, returned soldiers were settled on other Yarralumla paddocks to the south and west, now the Woden Valley.[9] Their farms formed a rural hinterland, more closely settled than the old pastoral property had been. When work on the capital city project resumed in 1921, the brickmakers and gardeners were joined by sewer diggers, and in 1927 by the staff and students of the Forestry School and by the Governor-General with his family and staff.

By 1930 these people had formed a community with some characteristics of a British or European village. These characteristics included a fairly broad spectrum of social classes, from the very highest in the land, the Governor-General, who lived in Yarralumla Homestead – rescued from its ignominious rôle as a guest-house for government visitors and refurbished as Government House – to the lowest unmarried, unskilled labourer who lived in a tent or hut in the brickworks or sewer camp.

Like a village, Westridge had a small, compact built-up area – a few blocks of cottages arranged in a grid pattern of streets on one side of a main road (Mountain Way, later re-named Novar Street) – and some more scattered dwellings, including the Corkhills' dairy, the Horans' farmhouse near Yarralumla Woolshed, the Hobdays' cottage at the Government Nursery, the Brickworks Manager's cottage (at the brickworks itself), and Westridge House, the residence of the Forestry School Principal (between the brickworks and the nursery). It also had several barracks or

[8] Obituary of Catherine Corkhill in *Cathedral Chimes*, 19 October, 1952; Ann Gugler, ed., *True tales from Canberra's vanished suburbs of Westlake, Westridge & Acton, written by the children of Westlake Westridge, Acton & others* (Canberra: A. Gugler, 1999), 307; obituaries of Catherine Corkhill in the *Canberra Times* (16 September, 1952) and the *Queanbeyan Age* (also 16 September, 1952).
[9] Marion and Fionna Douglas. Not Without My Corsets! Oral histories of the families who farmed soldier settler blocks in the Woden Valley from 1920 to 1963 (Canberra: privately published, 1996).

camps for forestry students as well as unmarried workers: the forestry students' mess, recreation rooms and ablutions block occupied three unoccupied cottages opposite the Forestry School and their sleeping huts were were built behind them; the single brickworkers' camp was situated just to the south of the brick pits; the sewer camp mess was the last building before the river on the east side of Banks Street, with the sewer-workers' tents pitched on the west side opposite.

But in the 1920s and 1930s Westridge was not a self-contained village, nor yet an official suburb. Although it had a post office, it did not supply all its own goods and services.

It had no school. Children were taken by bus to schools outside – at first to the Crossroads School, Narrabundah, which opened in 1904, was enlarged in 1916 by adding the building and pupils from a school at Bulga Creek, and closed in 1923 when Telopea Park School opened nearby. From 1920-1923 a few Westridge children attended a small school in the Acton Hall, which opened in 1920 and closed when Telopea Park opened in 1923. Most Westridge children then went to Telopea Park, until the Anglican schools, St Gabriel's and Canberra Grammar, opened in 1926 and 1929 respectively. They syphoned off a very few Westridge children (notably the daughters of the Forestry School Principal and the elder daughter of the Governor-General), and the daughters and sons of Captain and Mrs Eddison, soldier settlers of Yamba.[10] The opening of St Christopher's school at Manuka in January, 1928, had a greater impact because good Catholics were encouraged to send their children there, and many did so.

Westridge had no church, but various denominations held church services in the recreation hall, situated near the brickfield on the bend of modern Schomburgh Street. Catholics were able to attend Mass there once a month and at the Acton Hall on other Sundays, until the new school at Manuka became the centre for the new Canberra parish in April, 1928, with Mass every Sunday.[11] Methodists and Presbyterians met in the Westridge Hall or the one at Acton. If they wanted to attend a service in a traditional church building, Anglicans could cross the Molonglo River to the old Canberra parish church of St John the Baptist, but at least once a month

[10] Information about schools is taken from Lyall L. Gillespie, *Early Education and Schools in the Canberra Region* (Canberra: L. Gillespie, 1999), 24-25, 113, and from the Archives of the Grammar Schools. Meryl Hunter recalls her primary school days at Telopea Park in *Over my Shoulder: Growing up with Canberra from the 1930s* (Murrumbateman, NSW: Canberra Stories Group, 1998), 37-42.

[11] Details from *The Angelus* parish magazine January, 1928; April, 1928.

they could worship in Church of England idiom at the Westridge Hall. The hall itself was a community focus, as intended.

On occasions it brought residents together when church allegiances could have kept them apart. "Good Catholics" were discouraged – even forbidden – to attend the services of other church denominations; but as the children of Westridge grew up, all the people of the community wanted to celebrate their marriages. Their solution was to hold a community "kitchen tea" – a tea party where everyone contributed something to equip the couple's kitchen – in the Westridge Hall. These kitchen teas are still happily remembered as a Westridge tradition.[12]

Westridge had no shops. Residents grew their own fruit and vegetables, kept chooks and cows and sometimes bees. Before a co-operative store opened in Kingston in 1916 the nearest shops were in Queanbeyan; after 1923, shops opened in Kingston, Manuka and Civic. Buses operated, none too frequently, to these places. From the later 1920s, delivery vans brought some goods to Westridge. Westridge had no doctor, but the hospital was at Acton, not too far away and usually accessible by the low-level bridge at Lennox Crossing.

Lacking these amenities, Westridge remained more like a large station property than a village. Open paddocks and the Molonglo River separated it from other parts of Canberra, but the distances were still manageable, even on foot. Many people rode bicycles, some rode or drove horses, only a few had motor-cars. Westridge was never an independent or self-sufficient entity, but part of the larger city under construction.

Within Westridge the residents befriended and helped one another, worked and enjoyed leisure time together, and a good number of the second generation married one another, thus building a close network of social and kindred relationships. For twenty-five years after the initial arrival of brickmakers the population remained close to two hundred people, so that it was easy for everyone to know one another.[13]

The residents of Westridge corresponded to some of the social groups in an English village.

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[12] Oral testimony from Mrs Moya Campbell of Westridge.

[13] Yarralumla was first counted as a separate area in the Census of 1933, when the population was 127 males + 89 females = 216 people. By the 1947 Census it had risen to 183 males + 137 females = 320 people.

Unlike an Old World village but typical of the widely scattered country towns of Australia, Canberra itself was very isolated and it is still not easy to commute there from anywhere other than the nearest towns of Queanbeyan and Yass, and at a pinch from Michelago and Cooma. In Westridge commuters would not have far to go – only to other parts of Canberra – but in practice most people worked locally because Westridge had several industries that offered employment to its residents. The Brickworks, the sewer diggings, farms, the Forestry School, and the Government Nursery employed most of the men; women and girls might work as domestic servants at Westridge House or Government House, or as caterers for the camps. One woman, Florence Turbit, was postmistress; she worked in her own home.

Women generally used their home-making skills in their paid employment, although the national capital project occasioned some new endeavours. The single men living in the camps needed to be fed, and the person most important for their daily comfort and well-being was the one who provided the meals, the Mess Caterer. Catering for the camps was one activity in which a woman could take charge as effectively as a man. Mrs Alice May Townsend, for example, whose husband Alfred was a brickmaker, was the Mess Caterer for Brickworks Camp. At least one of the local girls, Jean Boyd, helped her to prepare lunches for the hundred or so men at the mess, which was situated at the corner of Banks and Bentham Streets.[14]

For many years Canberra was a city of hostels, and catering continued to be an occupation in which women could excel. Dora Constance Horan was born in Canberra in 1911; when she was twenty she joined the staff of Government House as second cook, and worked there until her marriage to Joseph Henry Riddle in 1935.[15] He was another English immigrant who first worked at the brickyards, then at the Forestry School. The couple had two children. In 1941, soon after the second was born, Dora became the Mess Caterer for the Forestry School, where her catering was remembered as "magnificent".

> She was renowned for her ability to feed forty or so young foresters-in-training with hearty appetites. Fieldwork was an important part of training and preparing hefty cut lunches before the students piled into the old Bedford truck for an early start was another of Mrs Riddle's tasks. She was always

[14] Gugler, 1999, 255.
[15] C.D. Coulthard-Clark, *Gables, Ghosts and Governors General: The Historic House at Yarralumla* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), 157-158.

> Mrs Riddle to the forestry boys, never Dora, but we somehow called her husband Joe.[16]

She remained at the Forestry School until her retirement, thirty-one years later.[17]

Among the social élite of Canberra (a very small group), Charles and Ruth Lane Poole lived and worked at the Forestry School, situated at Westridge between the Brickworks and the Nursery. They were therefore separated geographically from most other academics and public servants of their "grade", who usually lived at Blandfordia or the Hotel Canberra and worked elsewhere. Ruth Lane Poole's career as an interior designer took a nose-dive with the Depression: interior designing suddenly became an unnecessary expense and not much was being built anyway. Nevertheless, Ruth seems to have enjoyed her new life in Canberra as hostess at the Forestry School and wife of its Principal.

The Governor-General was a special case: he was not the "laird" of Yarralumla, as Fred Campbell had been. The first incumbents of Yarralumla Homestead in its new incarnation as Government House were Lord and Lady Stonehaven and their two youngest daughters, who moved in just before the official opening of Parliament by the Duke and Duchess of York, their first guests in the refurbished building. Lady Stonehaven liked her new residence at once and grew even fonder of it and of Canberra over the next three years.[18] As Governor-General, Lord Stonehaven travelled constantly and extensively throughout Australia and also visited Papua and New Guinea, frequently accompanied by his wife. The vice-regal family also spent months at a time each year in Melbourne and Sydney, where they had other official residences. But they treated Yarralumla as their country seat, as Ruth Lane Poole had recognised and designed it. There they could relax and enjoy country pursuits – tennis and golf, picnics and fishing, and above all, horse riding. Yarralumla provided a more settled home for their two little girls, who remained there with their ponies and fox-terrier puppies while the parents travelled.

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[16] Gugler, 1999, 323.

[17] "Curtain falls on a culinary career," *Canberra Courier*, 28 September, 1972, 14.

[18] Information is from Lady Stonehaven's diary, held in the National Library of Australia, MS 6585, Bib ID 1082167. The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* has entries for both Lord Stonehaven, and Lady Stonehaven's father, who was a Governor of South Australia: Chris Cunneen, "Stonehaven, John Lawrence Baird (1874 - 1941)", *ADB*, 12, 101-102; Richard Refshauge, "Kintore, ninth Earl of (1852 - 1930)", *ADB*, 5, 34-35.

Governors-General came and went; the Principal and staff of the Forestry School remained for the long term.

The people of Westridge built a close network of kinship as members of the old farming families already living in the district married newcomers. One of the first was Richard Vest's daughter Elsie, who in 1915 married John Hobday, chief government nurseryman.

In 1914 Edith Southwell, a member of one of the oldest white-settler families in the district, married Thomas Sharp from Sutton and moved into one of the old cottages of Yarralumla Station, close to the old homestead. Jean Boyd's friend Ethyl was the first of their eight children. The Sharps' house was rather superior to the tin-and-hessian constructs of their neighbours in the brickworkers' married quarters: it was a traditional Australian farm cottage of two buildings, with a slab hut kitchen in the rear separated by a narrow alley (in case of fire) from the corrugated-iron bedrooms in front. Edith Sharp seems to have been a typical farmers' wife of the period: she made the family's soap and bread, kept poultry and bees and supplied fresh vegetables for the family from her garden. Thomas was a forestry worker and nurseryman, planting thousands of trees in the new Garden City.

Sydney Oldfield was one of the numerous descendants of Joseph Matthew Oldfield who had come to NSW from England in 1834 and worked for James Wright on Cuppacumbalong Station. Sid found employment in the brickworks at Westridge, where he became the manager. He and his wife Margaret and their growing family lived next to the brickfield. Their cottage had to be moved several times as the pit grew larger – the best shale for brick-making always seemed to be underneath it. The second generation at Westridge continued to weave this network of kinship.

Ties of kinship reinforced the community formed by sharing common tasks at work, or school, or among neighbours. Social bonding was also promoted by leisure occupations: sports, including tennis, football, hockey and cricket, swimming, fishing and yabbying in the Molonglo River, picnics, social events in the Westridge Hall, including "kitchen teas" for brides-to-be, the annual Christmas party (starring Mick Horan as Santa), and numerous dances. "Neville Lee used cut up candles to wax the floor boards. Archie Brown and Mrs Tom Sharp played the violins, Edith Sharp and Jacky Ware the piano."

Some women were community builders by means of simple and generous hospitality. Ruby Lee, Neville's mother, was one of them. She was born in Queanbeyan, her husband John was from Bungendore. They were married in 1909 at Burra, and had moved to Westridge with their daughter and four sons by 1929.[19]

> Dear Mrs Lee, we all loved her like a second Mum. On Saturday nights after the dances or pictures we always went across to her house. She would have the verandah lights on waiting for anyone and everyone. Cakes, toast and butter, hundreds and thousands sprinkled on bread and raspberry cordial drinks were ready for us. Sometimes she would gather up the kids, the food, the old cane pram and up to the pine trees for a picnic. On the way home pine-cones were collected, put in the pram and taken home for the fire.[20]

In these ways the people of the new suburb, both first-generation immigrants and members of older-established families, shared celebrations and developed their own traditions.

Such community building takes time. A comparison of the ACT Electoral Rolls indicates that many who appeared on the Roll of 1928 were still living in Westridge in 1949, and some of their names had already been recorded in the 1913 Census of the Territory. By 1949 members of the second generation were living in their own homes, and more families had come in, so that the number of households had more than doubled. The continuity of residence demonstrated by these rolls is confirmed by personal reminiscences. Some descendants of the original Westridge residents are living there still.

This is remarkable, because such continuity was not planned. Westridge itself, like its neighbours, Acton and Westlake, was not intended to be a permanent suburb; but it grew into one, and its community was perhaps the stronger because its growth was more natural than that of the planned and rapidly inhabited suburbs of Ainslie and Blandfordia. Westridge was different from them because it had at least a decade longer to grow, because it had continuity with the old country district that had become the Capital Territory, and because its new community was a natural development of the receiving community.

But how long did it last? Westridge did not remain frozen in some time-warp. The suburb of Yarralumla today is different from old Westridge, even though some of

[19] Electoral roll of 1929; Procter, 2001, 179.
[20] Oral testimony by Mora Campbell; Gugler, 1999, 275-276.

the old cottages are still standing and descendants of the original residents still live there. The area of suburban Yarralumla is much greater than Westridge; its boundaries are different from those of Fred Campbell's Yarralumla Station. It now extends eastwards to Commonwealth Avenue and that eastern part contains a large number of High Commissions and Embassy buildings. Its population is now ten times greater than it used to be in those early days, and from its predominantly working-class origins it has been "gentrified". The sewer diggers moved on as soon as that part of the sewer was completed; other construction workers moved into new accommodation erected on Stirling Ridge – "West Lake" – that continued as a residential area through both periods of major construction of the city, from 1922 until 1965; the brickworks closed and brickmaking operations moved to Mitchell in 1976.

Does *Gemeinschaft* – traditional community – still exist? Was the German scholar too romantic and nostalgic about old-world villages? What is wrong with *Gesellschaft*? – civil and commercial society where free-standing individuals interact with each other through self-interest in relatively impersonal relationships? Is it not a means of self-protection for people living too close to one another in populous cities? "Back off! Don't encroach on my personal space!"

But Yarralumla is not such a place. Its dwellings are spread out; it is valued for its green open spaces, its trees and gardens, parks and playing-fields, and above all for the Lake, which filled and was inaugurated in 1964. The Corkhills' dairy paddocks are now playing fields; the remaining open space of Sheedy's Paddock is now Weston Park, a popular lakeside recreation and picnic area, next to the old plant nursery. The old community hall has gone, but the suburb now has many centres for community formation: it has the Golf Club, the Commonwealth Club, the Yacht Club and several other boatsheds; it has its own primary school (opened in 1957), a Roman Catholic church, a Uniting church and a Mosque; it has its own shopping centre with a good variety of shops including a Halal butcher, a bakery, pharmacy, post-office/flower shop, an IGA supermarket and several restaurants and cafés. People from the wider Canberra community come to Yarralumla to enjoy these social amenities.

The population peaked in 1966 at 4,545 people; it levelled out about ten years later and since then has remained fairly constant at about three thousand.[21] Most residents still live in family groups in detached or semi-detached houses with their own gardens, as many Australian urban planners from John Sulman and Hugh Stretton to Patrick Troy have perceived as most conducive to comfortable and sustainable living.[22]

Yarralumla is now a commuter suburb. In its early years everyone lived on or very close to their workplace, except the children who were taken by bus to schools outside. Now hardly anyone does, except the Governor-General. But many other people come in to Yarralumla to enjoy its social amenities – parks and playing-fields, gold links, cafés, clubs, boatsheds, places of worship, and (for a Garden City, of course) the plant nursery – all of them meeting-places, and centres of new communities.

[21] Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics, including "2011 Census QuickStats: Yarralumla", http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/805358919?opendocument&navpos=220 (Accessed 5 September, 2013).

[22] John Sulman, *The Federal Capital* (Sydney: J. Sands, 1909); *Town planning: a sketch in outline* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1919); Hugh Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1975); Patrick Troy (ed.), *A History of European Housing in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); The Perils of Urban Consolidation (Sydney: Federation Press, 1996).