

**Not a Bush *Flâneur*? The Convergent Topographies of  
Recreational Bushwalking, Floristic Appreciation and Human  
Embodiment in the Southwest of Western Australia**

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*The bushwalker may justly claim that this pas-  
time is one of the very few that develops both  
the mind and the body. It takes him far away  
from the hustle and bustle of the modern city  
and he may tread in places where no man has  
trod before. He learns to appreciate the strange,  
peaceful charm of the bush, and realises that  
man and his civilisation form only a small part of  
a wonderful creation.*

*– The Federation of Australian Bushwalking  
Clubs (FABC) (1939)<sup>1</sup>*



*Bushwalkers of the Fitzgerald River National Park, I (Photo by J. Ryan)*

### The Botanising Stroll: Humans Embracing the Bush

Since the Romantic era in Europe, walking has shifted from an obligatory activity tied to livelihood, through mobility, to a recreational pursuit of life quality, engaging the landscape on foot.<sup>2</sup> In the above quotation from the FABC, one of the earliest confederations of independent bushwalking organisations in Australia, three elements make it germane: the bushwalker, the bush itself and the appreciation of the bush. As a therapeutic get-away from the city, bushwalking is amenable to “the mind and the body” and remedies the effects of urban stressors like “hustle and bustle.” Through walking, the urban dweller assumes the persona of an early European explorer – say John Eyre or Alexander von Humboldt – who charted *terra nullius* “where no man has trod before,” or at least no European human. Most significantly, the recreational bushwalker, who would have typically been a male member of the upper-classes, experiences a transformation of values, realising that the bush looms largely beyond the horizon of city life, and its urban, suburban and rural spheres of organisation and commerce.

Immersed in the landscape, the preoccupations of “civilisation” loom less largely, constituting “only a small part of a wonderful creation.” Invariably, the walker, liberated from urban affinities of taste and dictums of behaviour, some gestated in non-Australian contexts, “learns to appreciate the strange, peaceful charm of the bush.” In an era of post-Federation, nation-building and identity-making, an experience of bushwalking would be an illuminating foray into the character of the Australian landscape, one that is not discomfiting “weird melancholy,” as nineteenth-century poet and literary critic Marcus Clarke<sup>3</sup> observed, but peaceful, though strange, charm. Hence, a walk would not merely be a pastime, but an invocation of nationhood, at once personally rejuvenating, culturally instructive, and environmentally integrative. Though initially encountering alienation and foreignness, the walker’s perceptual faculties become refined, and she or he learns, as Clarke did, to read the lingua of the bush: “He learns the language of the barren and uncouth and can read the hieroglyphs of haggard gum-trees.”<sup>4</sup>

This article analyses the convergence of these three closely related, but often segregated, elements of bipedality, encapsulated in the passage from the FABC: the *habitus* of bushwalking, the bush through which the walker ambulates, and the appreciation of Australian landscape, especially its indigenous flora. Regionalised in the context of the Southwest corner of Western Australia, bushwalking will be considered through a case study of the Bibbulmun Track, the region’s premier contiguous walking route.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the “bush” under consideration will be a metonymy for the in-

digenous flora of the Southwest region, an internationally recognised biodiversity hotspot with an unusual incidence of endemic plant species.<sup>6</sup> Human appreciation of flora through the experience of bushwalking is contextualised in the cultural phenomenon of wildflower tourism, usually most active during the late winter and spring months of August, September and October, or the Aboriginal seasons of *Djilba* and *Kambarang*.<sup>7</sup> Expressing various degrees of human embodiment in the landscape, walking will be characterised as a mode of participation in the environment that collapses the Romantic ocular divide between the human appreciator and the picturesque scene. By forging a field for enhanced physical and multi-sensory awareness of plants, walking a landscape of floristic diversity complements contemporary spectatorship models of wildflower tourism.<sup>8</sup> Thus, there is noteworthy historical convergence between walking (in the bush rather than in the metropole), knowledge of plants (scientific or experiential), and a depth of sensory engagement with phenomena around and within us (corporeality, or embodied sense of place).<sup>9</sup>

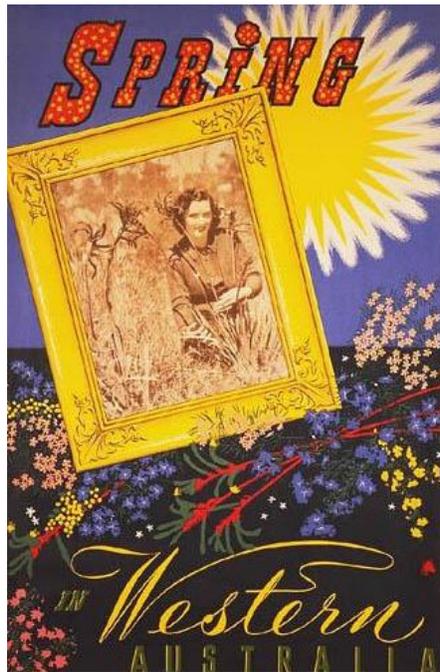
Towards these purposes, Walter Benjamin's trope of the botanising *flâneur*, the detached male connoisseur "of the new human nature of the metropolis," symbolises visual speculation.<sup>10</sup> Although culturally refined, the *flâneur* is socially insensible, assuming a position of disinterestedness and never attaining communion with the "female fauna" of the inner urban demesne.<sup>11</sup> Observing the city habitat, rather than sensuously participating in it, the *flâneur* gazes upon the flora of the metropolis, but fails to experience immediate, proximal bodily sensation through taste, touch and smell. As bipedal movement, embodiment is an aesthetics of contact, not of a botanising *flâneur* remotely sensing on the periphery, but of a multi-sensory participant ensconced in the centre. On this point, the gradations of meaning between bushwalking, human embodiment and wildflower tourism merit careful attention before pointing towards integration amongst them. First of all, "bushwalking" derives from Australian folk usage to indicate a recreational activity known as hiking, tramping, trailing or trekking in other countries. The term "bush" was used by one of the earliest hiking clubs in Sydney, the Waratah Walking Club, formed in the 1920s, which then changed its name to "Bush Walkers" and later to "Sydney Bush Walkers" (SBW) as it is known today.<sup>12</sup> Popularised in the 1890s by Henry Lawson in short stories such as "The Bush Undertaker," "bush" refers to the Australian landscape, its particular assemblage of eucalypts and shrubs, somewhat parallel to the terms "woods" or "outdoors" in North American and European vocabularies.<sup>13</sup> In 1873, the Victorian novelist Anthony Trollope observed the vernacular usage of "bush" and advised careful invocation of the term:

readers who desire to understand anything of Australian life should become acquainted with the technical meaning of the word bush. The bush is gum-tree forest, with which so great a part of Australia is covered, that folk who follow a country life are invariably said to live in the bush. Squatters who look after their own runs always live in the bush, even though their sheep are pastured on the plains.<sup>14</sup>

The bush can be apprehended pictorially through the eyes or viscerally through the immanent senses of taste, touch, smell, kinaesthesia and, to some extent, hearing. As the third element of the triad, human embodiment points to the ways in which “human and extrahuman realities are apprehended through the body.”<sup>15</sup> As a multi-sensory and physically immersive aesthetics of engagement with landscape, embodiment recognises the consanguinity between the bodies of floristic nature and those of culturally habituated bushwalkers. As a methodology of participatory corporeality, walking inscribes human exertion into *terra firma*, while simultaneously being shaped by ecological materiality.

From a short walk along a bush track to sight certain local species, to an extended drive along a wildflower tourist loop to view vistas of everlastings, wildflower tourism entails multiple meanings, depths and practices relating botanical biodiversity to human experience. Early wildflower appreciation and tourism occurred throughout Australia, but it has achieved an especially high profile in Western Australia, where a unique diversity of flowering plants is found. With a firm position in the history and popular image of the state, wildflower tourism has influenced the region’s perception as either a picturesque landscape, in visual terms, or an environment that sustains human needs, in embodied language. Recounting visits to Albany and the Goldfields in the late nineteenth century, former opera singer May Vivienne published in 1901 one of the first touristic travelogues of the state, after she travelled by train and horse, witnessing spring wildflowers.<sup>16</sup> Describing Serpentine Falls, south of Perth, as the “garden of the colony,” Vivienne’s account depicts wildflowers as elements in a picturesque painting, evidencing a predominant aesthetic of spectatorship: “Sweet flowers and ferns form an idyllic picture.”<sup>17</sup> Her framework for experiencing the flowering plants of the Southwest is comparable to some contemporary wildflower tourism models which emphasise the visual experience of expansive carpets of multi-coloured everlastings from the comfort of motorised vehicles: “As the train sped past the idea struck me that these flowers – lovely immortelles, white, pink, and yellow, growing in countless millions – could be turned to good account.”<sup>18</sup> By “good account” Vivienne suggests the conversion of the idle, though idyllic, wildflowers into perfumes, “crosses, wreaths, anchors, screens, fans, and other decorations.”<sup>19</sup> The

early twentieth century marked the emergence of wildflower tours by train, leaving metropolitan Perth for outlying rural areas like Gingin and Wongan Hills. Contemporaneous to May Vivienne's era, snippets from early Western Australian newspapers frequently advertise group excursions by rail during the spring months. An issue of *The West Australian* from 27 September 1919 promotes a popular Sunday train trip to Gingin, organised by the Midland Railway: "On Sunday last the train was well patronised, and passengers spent a delightful day amongst the orange groves and wild flowers."<sup>20</sup>



**Figures 1:** Western Australian wildflower tourism advertisement, circa 1950s. Note the emblematic use of the kangaroo paw to depict the idyll of the state. (Image courtesy of the National Library of Australia).

Mid twentieth-century colour posters promoting the state's wildflower season illustrate exuberant, youthful visitors on foot, joyously immersed in the idyllic flowering landscape (for example, Figure 1). Contemporary web images include four-wheel drive vehicles in the background with tourists ambling on a short stroll or kneeling down into the flowers. Whether as short jaunts from a train or as extended bushwalks into places of floristic interest, walking augments an experience of plants that would otherwise be constructed as picturesque spectatorship from the detached position afforded by a car, train seat, or carriage. According to a study by the Western

Australian Tourism Commission, wildflower tourists come in two forms: “Wildflower enthusiasts” over age 65, who are mainly interested in seeing different kinds of wildflowers and are apt to visit wildflower shows and take guided tours; and “nature lovers” primarily baby boomers aged 45–65, who are interested in other natural attractions and are more inclined towards self-directed, adventurous activities like bushwalking.<sup>21</sup> Wildflower enthusiasts are less inclined to take foot excursions, whereas nature lovers engage in walking as a mode of intimate connection with the landscape through the physicality of recreational activities. In addition to walks and driving circuits, wildflower tourism includes a range of affiliated activities and desiderata like shows, displays, exhibitions, crafts, festivals and events related to the appreciation of plant life through the bringing of the flower into a domesticated, gentrifying space.<sup>22</sup> As an example, since 1994, the shire of Dalwallinu in the Wheatbelt region has hosted an annual spring Wattle Week to celebrate Australia’s floral emblem.<sup>23</sup> Celebrations of *Acacia* species such as Wattle Days, however, are not unique to Western Australia but can be traced back to colonial settlement when, in 1838, participants in a Hobart regatta were encouraged to adorn themselves with wattle sprigs. Moreover, in 1891, a wattle flower banner was first displayed publicly in Adelaide in conjunction with Foundation Day. The idea of appreciating flowering plants through spring walks appeared in the form of late nineteenth-century Wattle Day outings, proposed annually for 1 September at popular bushwalking locations, such as Werribee Gorge near Melbourne.<sup>24</sup>

As a third category of wildflower appreciator, the “botanising stroller” could be defined as a local amateur, hobby botanist, trained expert or bush *flâneur*, who explores areas of plant diversity within his or her region but whose activities fall outside the auspices of tourism due to their local focus. The term “botanising” denotes a specific form of recreational walking, a speculative fusion of mobile philosophy and hobby botany in which the visual attention on a plant, such as a *Hakea*, or broader community of plants, like the *kwongan*, becomes a space for more fully experiencing nature and self. Motivated by a curiosity about the bush, botanising can also be scientific, conservationist, educational or even allied to technological development. For instance, annual summer excursions to survey the native vegetation of the Bogong High Plains was initiated in the 1940s by members of the Botany School at the University of Melbourne. These exploratory botanising were triggered by concerns over the costly impacts that soil erosion presented to the Kiewa hydro-electric scheme.<sup>25</sup> Whether or not a stroller becomes a *flâneur* depends on his or her sensory engagement and participation in the landscape through touching, tasting, chewing, spitting out and listening. Hence, either pleasurable or perfunctory, walking is integral to the

appreciation of plants, and some of the most well-preserved indigenous flora in the Southwest, and elsewhere in Australia, is traversed by recreational walking tracks. In Australia, the history of bipedality since European colonisation is closely interwoven with flora, including contemporary wild-flower tourism, colonial and postcolonial plant collecting and botanical surveying, and Aboriginal bush tucker and fibre or medicine craft.<sup>26</sup> But, importantly, not all bipedality is created equal, and some forms of walking are more conducive to a depth of engagement, or the embodied experience of flora, than others. As Kay and Moxham contend, “recreational walking is so diverse and dynamic that it merits careful classification of its many different forms.”<sup>27</sup>

During the English Romantic era, the perception of walking shifted. No longer pastoral drudgery and increasingly an aristocratic recreational pursuit, walking gained a new set of aesthetic connotations. Edensor observes the emergence of “a set of interlinked reflexive conventions, aesthetic imperatives and practical endeavours which produced a distinctive relationship between the walking body and nature.”<sup>28</sup> Included within the changing human relationship to nature was the recovery of historical values related to walking and the attainment of a sense of continuity in bodily movement that had been interrupted by mediated forms of locomotion. The body-in-becoming of the walker, moving through a picturesque setting, contrasted to the body-in-being of the pastoralist, whose activities were fixed spatially to an agricultural matrix of labour.<sup>29</sup> Hence, the botanising stroll enabled an educated gentry to cultivate meaning with respect to flora without engaging in the visceral demands of farming, woodcutting, medicinal herb gathering or preparing wild-crafted foods. In this new sense of bipedality, walking was an act akin to reading, whilst nature and landscape were as decipherable as poems or taxonomic grids.



*Bushwalkers of the Fitzgerald River National Park, II (Photo by J. Ryan)*

## Techniques of Walking: The *Habitus* of Bipedal Movement

*Isn't it really quite extraordinary to see that, since man took his first steps, no one has asked himself why he walks, how he walks, if he has ever walked, if he could walk better, what he achieves in walking ... questions that are tied to all the philosophical, psychological, and political systems which preoccupy the world?*  
 – Honoré de Balzac, *Theory of Walking*<sup>30</sup>

The past decade has witnessed a resurgence of interest in histories of walking in Australia,<sup>31</sup> New Zealand,<sup>32</sup> North America and Europe,<sup>33</sup> as well as the cultural significance of walking.<sup>34</sup> The history of walking is increasingly looked upon as intrinsic to other cultural formations, the walking body a nexus of biological and cultural influences. Giblett observes the unified natural and cultural dimensions of bipedal ambulation: “Walking in the sense of moving the body through space propelled by the body is natural but the way in which we walk is learnt and so cultural.”<sup>35</sup> In a speed oriented society, bipedality is furthermore theorised as an antidote to the ill effects and disembodied rapidity of vehicular travel, cutting across space and time and making the ambulatory body seem anachronistic. As Solnit suggests, “in this context, walking is a subversive detour, the scenic route through a half-abandoned landscape of ideas and experiences.”<sup>36</sup>

In his 1935 essay “Techniques of the Body,” the early twentieth-century French sociologist, Marcel Mauss, defined walking as a *habitus* after observing the influence of American walking styles, transmitted through the cinema, on the Parisian gait.<sup>37</sup> As a consequence, Mauss theorised the actions of the body as a congregation of acquired social, psychological and biological influences. Further evidenced by a socially-esteemed, loose-hipped style of walking amongst Maori women called *onioni*, a specific technique, style or habit of walking is learnt as a cultural *habitus*. Techniques of walking – gait, speed, accent, cadence, tendency to pause along the way or continue to the end, talk with others or reflect alone, compete or cooperate with self or companions, or smell, taste, touch and listen to flora and fauna – are therefore culturally conditioned: learnt, re-learnt or unlearnt. Mauss defines a technique as “an action which is *effective* and *traditional* ... It has to be *effective* and *traditional*.”<sup>38</sup> There is no technique and no transmission in the absence of tradition.”<sup>38</sup> The human body is the “first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of in-

struments, man's first and most natural technical object."<sup>39</sup> By characterising it as a technique, Mauss implies that walking is intrinsically technical, requiring the development of effective practices through tradition, or the cultural transmission of walking styles or affinities. Not inherited as a pure anatomical action, bipedality is a cultural *habitus*, acquired like a particular way of speaking. The body is a technical – rather than technicised – site of intricate cultural and biological processes, not a rote mechanical assembly of parts as in a Vesalian *écorché* rendering.<sup>40</sup>

The varieties of synonyms for walking suggest the sophistication of techniques or styles of bipedality. Mauss counters what he saw as a prevalent tendency in sociology to classify walking (as well as swimming, standing and squatting) under the rubric of “miscellaneous” or mundane activities with little technical differentiation and with no bearing on social preferences or cultural systems. The techniques of walking are instead highly varied: “The *habitus* of the body being upright while walking, breathing, rhythm of the walk, swinging the fists, the elbows, progression with the trunk in advance of the body or by advancing either side of the body alternately.”<sup>41</sup> Rather than a simple perfunctory mode of movement, walking is remarkably diverse in style and setting. Shambling or shuffling is the slow, perhaps tedious, dragging of the feet, whereas sauntering and strolling are carefree and enjoyable. Historian Joseph Amato notes the variety of descriptors employed to discern between different forms of walking: “Passing people are said to slink, slither, stalk, shuffle, slog, trudge, hike, stroll, strut, swagger, promenade, gallivant, jaunt, mosey, wander, peregrinate, amble, or saunter.”<sup>42</sup> Promenading is aristocratic strutting, focused on being seen rather than on participation in the environment. In contrast, nineteenth-century American philosopher and ardent walker, Henry David Thoreau, sauntered as a distinct form of artful walking with historical congruence and sensory impact; his walking body invoked the history of walking:

I have met with but one or two persons in the course of my life who understood the art of Walking, that is, of taking walks – who had a genius, so to speak, for SAUNTERING, which word is beautifully derived “from idle people who roved about the country, in the Middle Ages, and asked charity, under pretense of going *à la Sainte Terre*.”<sup>43</sup>

Additionally, walking is defined according to its natural or cultural contexts. Wading is walking through water. Prowling is stealthy searching, ambulating is restless seeking and promenading is ostentatious display. Ambling can be free of fixed goals or destinations, whereas perambulating intimates walking a perimeter or boundary to assert ownership. Furthermore, in light

of Thoreau's style of walking, "gestural walking" describes an open-sensory, curiosity-based practice of focused ambling in botanically rich areas, in contradistinction to closed-sensory style of fast-track walking through natural reserves in search of visual satiation through prospects, panoramas or vertiginous plummets. For Thoreau, walking created continuous bodily engagement with the landscape that gave form to his posthumously published works on the plant life of the Concord environs: "Walking determined the form of his books, which were structured by the succession of what he observed rather than logical argumentation."<sup>44</sup>

Walking in relation to landscapes is also stylistically and energetically varied. Walking may be solitary or collective. Edensor again comments that "these technical notions, which propose that particular forms of walking can be learnt and developed, stem from and engender appropriate ways of interacting with the countryside."<sup>45</sup> Kay and Moxham classify recreational walking into two types.<sup>46</sup> Aggregated together for their "easy, casual, relaxing and sociable" qualities, the first kind of walking comprises walking (sauntering, strolling, ambling, plodding, promenading, wandering and roaming) and rambling (tramping and striding). The second form of walking is specialised, strenuous and demanding and includes hiking (trekking, marching and trail-walking) and back-packing (hill-walking, yomping, fell-walking and peak-bagging).

In addition to recreational forms of bipedality, a walkabout is a foot journey taken by Aboriginal people between periods of wage employment, or traditionally as a journey of spiritual alignment with the land and material exchange with other cultural groups.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, "hiking" refers to an extended walk usually in a natural or wilderness area, "backpacking" is hiking but with camping gear strapped to one's back, and "trekking" is hiking or backpacking but with connotations of arduous mountain yakka. Day-hiking is a long walk in a rural or natural setting – valley, mountain, forest, bush or river – without overnight camping. In terms of long-distance walking, a section hiker walks segments of a track, such as the Bibbulmun, discontinuously over many seasons, whereas a thru-hiker walks the full length of a route continuously in one period from beginning to end. And lastly, walks in search of a particular landscape feature or form of life take on their own character. For example, a plant walk is intensively focused on identifying or appreciating botanical species in their natural settings, whilst birding involves walking in search of avian species.

The difference between active speed and passive speed illuminates further theoretical varieties of bush walking. As a technique of "active rest," walking is movement of the body which induces calmness and restfulness, invigorating physical and mental energies. In contrast, the "passive

speed”<sup>48</sup> of cars, trains, planes, television, video games and the cinema induces anxiety and exhaustion without actual physical exertion. In publications such as *Speed and Politics*, Paul Virilio has proposed “dromology” to describe “the study and analysis of the impact of increasing speed of transport and communications on the development of land-use.”<sup>49</sup> For Virilio, the increasing anxiety about being passive is related to the rise of the contemporary city, whose streets are circuits for the rapid transmission of information between “dromomaniacs.” In hypermodern terms, passive speed is linked to material transport networks – cars, planes, trains – as well as virtual information networks where speed is thought to indicate productivity, development and progress.

Based in a bodily interpretation of speed and passivity, Mauss goes on to describe active rest as “not simply a matter of aesthetics, but also of bodily games.”<sup>50</sup> Hence active rest is not idle gazing or immobile transfixation on a scene, but rather a capacity of the body to rejuvenate through particular forms of restful activity, which are actively integrated to the environment. As active rest, walking engages the inherent tendency of the body towards homeostatic balance when granted restorative conditions of fresh air and water, purposeful movement and multi-sensory stimulation. As expressed by the FABC quote from 1939, walking, as either active rest or active speed, can be a nature cure that alleviates the effects of urban trauma. Walking as active speed, however, replicates the conditions of highways, railways, flightways, and other linear avenues of movement which prioritise efficiency and rapidity. Instead, walking as gesturally active rest opens the human body to the curative properties of immersion in the landscape through non-linear outreach of the body and the senses to flora: touching, listening, tasting, bending towards, sitting with, closely observing, tossing away.



*Bushwalkers of the Fitzgerald River National Park, III (Photo by J. Ryan)*

### **Distance and Contact: Early Southwest Australian Walkers and Botanisers**

The Nyoongah people of the Southwest have had an intricate history of en-

agement with indigenous flora, derived through the bodily experience of eating roots, tasting flower nectars, drinking plant infusions, touching fibres and walking through floristically rich landscapes.<sup>51</sup> For the Nyoongah, the Southwest environment is not a touristic scene promoting visual speculation of value, in the sense of Vivienne's picturesque aesthetic. The landscape is a life-sustaining habitat for humans and non-humans; the environment becomes body through the ingestion, mastication and digestion of wild foods and, as a living landscape, it is a body. The value of the landscape is intrinsic to the experience of it, rather than determined deductively as a consequence of direct engagement. Alternately depicting the Southwest landscape as picturesque and barren in his journal, European-born explorer George Grey between 1837 and 1840 "traversed extensive regions unknown to the European traveller, and probably never before trodden by the foot of civilized man."<sup>52</sup> His Nyoongah guide, Kaiber, impressed Grey with knowledge of the edibility of native plants, especially the potentially poisonous *Zamia cycad*: "Kaiber here brought in some of the nuts of the *Zamia* tree; they were dry, and, therefore, in a fit state to eat."<sup>53</sup> For Grey, the picturesque mode of perceiving the landscape, as positively valued for future colonial agricultural exploits, alternated with an attitude towards the landscape as sterile and barren, hence negatively valued and to be avoided. Referring back to the belief in *terra nullius* as "places where no man has trod before," the Southwest landscape through which Grey and his party traversed was a visually apprehended virgin territory, an uninhabited zone of free enterprise. Kaiber's aesthetic towards the native flora, as edible nutriment rather than scrub, had practical implications as foraging wild foods rescued the party from near starvation during scarcity.

Expeditions into the bush by early botanists and plant collectors like James Drummond and Georgiana Molloy galvanised the formation of Western Australian identity by invoking the genteel tradition of the walking plant collector in colonial Western Australia. Traversing the landscape furnished Drummond the observational perspicacity required to identify new species, as well as distinguish changes in the vegetation and soil character: "After passing 5 or 6 miles of open forest the luxuriance of the vegetation very ill agreeing with the barren appearance of the Soil we arrived at the river we were in search of running in an extensive valley."<sup>54</sup> As with Grey, Drummond's evaluation of the land strongly emphasised the contrasts between picturesque and barren visual affordances. Similarly, Georgiana Molloy contributed to global nineteenth-century understandings of indigenous Southwest taxonomies through specimen gathering that necessarily occurred on foot.<sup>55</sup> As Harper observes of Molloy, "it was through her collecting walks at the isolated settlements of Augusta and Vasse in West-

ern Australia that Georgiana Molloy overcame her initial sense of alienation from the landscape to embrace being in the bush as ‘one of the most delightful states of existence.’<sup>56</sup> Unlike Drummond, Molloy’s domestic obligations required proximity to her family home in Augusta. Rather than major expeditions or longitudinal traverses in the mode of colonising exploration, her botanising was locally focused, designed circularly to begin and end at home, and relied on Aboriginal knowledge of plants. For both Drummond and Molloy, the sensory appreciation and scientific understanding of native Southwest plants originated in the practice of walking.

Walking a landscape has the potential to engender closeness of contact, multi-sensory bodily embrace with an environment, and an embodied sense of place through a participatory, rather than a visually speculative aesthetic. Through the practice of walking, the aesthetic of place necessarily becomes an experience rather than an appearance.<sup>57</sup> For early Southwest colonists, some of whom were accustomed to the green pastures and forested lands of the northern hemisphere, sense of place engaged the aesthetic ideas of detachment, disinterestedness and pictoriality. For twentieth-century composer and obsessive long-distance walker Percy Grainger, however, the theme of embracing indigenous wildflowers through the sensuous medium of walking exemplifies a postcolonial aesthetics of Southwest flora that invokes the body as a perceptual medium:

The W.A. wildflowers are ravishing; such fresh intense colors, & queer jolly forms. The old gum trees too are so altogether ownish: (characteristic) surely there has never been a flat land more uniquely itself & only itself! My heart yearns for the embraces of the glorious lovely scenery that I know will be unfolded to me on this tour.<sup>58</sup>

Grainger expresses appreciation for the Southwest landscape and its plant life that transgresses distanced visual apprehension through bodily metaphor. As mentioned previously, for Marcus Clarke, the gum trees appear “haggard” and the forests “funereal, secret, stern,” as well as stifling, desolate, sullen and black.<sup>59</sup> In Grainger’s view, the gum trees symbolise the uniqueness of the landscape; they are peculiarly intriguing rather than peculiarly funereal. Just as the land is “uniquely itself & only itself,” Grainger’s sensuality disrupts the detached picturesque mode of framing flora through visual architecture. His “heart yearns for the embraces” of intense colours and jolly forms. The “lovely scenery” is more than a painting to stand away from and admire for its pleasing formal qualities. Instead, the scenery embraces him; the wildflowers ravish; the “seen” offers sensuous bodily encounter rather than disinterested perception. His aesthetic of plants is multi-sensory. For example, rather than burning gum leaves, Grainger tasted

them, absorbed them into his body, claiming eloquently that their flavour “told to the palate what the birdcalls preach to the ear, they deftly sum up all the influences of the land.”<sup>60</sup> Grainger’s aesthetic of flora embodies a call by environmental historian and Bibbulmun Track walker William Lines for sensuous engagement with the landscape as pivotal to an ethic of care: “Only when Australians learn to look sensuously at the continent will they learn to care for it. And not only to look at it, but to touch it, smell it, taste it, drink it, walk it.”<sup>61</sup> For both Grainger and Lines, bipedal movement engenders sensuous experience of plants.

The appreciation of the Australian bush was a guiding principle of some of the early walking societies, consisting typically of professional male lawyers, educators and other members of the upper classes. The bushwalking club movement began in post-Federation years: “Only in the 1920s would it be possible to identify a bushwalking movement, a body of clubs committed to walking and united in protecting their interests.”<sup>62</sup> One of the nation’s first bushwalking clubs, the Warragamba Walking Club (WWC) formed in Sydney in 1895 under the direction of William Mogford Hamlet. Inspired by Romantic ideals of male camaraderie and philosophical reverie through walking, the WWC sponsored bipedal excursions around urban Sydney and in the Blue Mountains.<sup>63</sup> Other early Australian walking clubs crossed into mountaineering, such as the Bright Alpine Club formed in 1888 to explore the alpine regions of Victoria. The all-male Melbourne Amateur Walking and Touring Club (MAWTC) and the Wallaby Club were initiated in Melbourne in 1894. The Melbourne Women’s Walking Club was started in 1922 in response to the exclusion of women from the MAWTC and other walking clubs.<sup>64</sup> Valuing daywalking, ideas and conversation, the Wallaby Club is still exclusively male and distinguishes itself as a conviviality club based on walking, rather than an association of bushwalkers interested in nature.<sup>65</sup> Since the 1920s, the MAWTC has published the journal *Melbourne Walker*.<sup>66</sup>

Considered the founding father of Australian national parks, Miles Dunphy was an early member of the Sydney Bushwalking Club (SBC), founded in 1933.<sup>67</sup> The SBC currently maintains an active membership of about five hundred walkers. One of the imperatives of early bushwalking clubs would have been the preservation of areas with excellent recreational values: varied picturesque outlooks, cool tree canopies for summer excursions, interesting wildflower regions, and other noteworthy landscape features. Adelaide also had early bushwalking clubs, although the history of its more prominent clubs, such as Adelaide Bushwalkers, is less well documented.<sup>68</sup> In Queensland, conservationist Romeo Lahey led an early movement to establish Lamington National Park in 1915, including in the

design of the protected area a series of bushwalking tracks.<sup>69</sup> Clubs forming around Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in the 1900s sparked the development of Western Australian bushwalking organisations during the first half of the twentieth century. Founded in 1937, the Western Walking Club (WWC) is the oldest bushwalking organisation in WA. In 1938, its first year of activity, the club conducted sixteen walks, including excursions to Kings Park and John Forrest National Park. Presently, the WWC coordinates over one hundred bushwalks per year in Perth and the broader Southwest region.<sup>70</sup> Now the largest bushwalking organisation in Western Australia, the Perth Bushwalkers' Club (PBC) was founded in 1969 by Geoff Schafer, who would later go on to propose the establishment of the Bibbulmun Track. The club, currently with three hundred members, organises regular excursions around Perth and in outlying areas of bushwalking interest, such as Dwellingup and the Stirling Ranges. Organised in 1924, The Western Australian Naturalists' Club promotes the conservation and appreciation of the bush and currently maintains a bushwalking group within the auspices of the club.<sup>71</sup>

Comparable to the national Federation of Australian Bushwalking Clubs of the 1930s, the Federation of Western Australian Bushwalkers is the central state-based bushwalking organisation, established in the 1990s to coalesce the interests of independent regional clubs, such as the two more active organisations, the PBC and the WWC. Smaller, more localised walking groups include the Bunbury Bushwalking Club and Albany Bushwalkers, both of which tend to focus on bushwalking areas of interest around Bunbury and Albany, respectively. The constitution of the PBC lists three objectives, which might be shared by state and local clubs alike: to organise bushwalks, to encourage the development of bushwalking skills, and "to promote an awareness of and an empathy for the Western Australian bushwalking environment and to promote its conservation."<sup>72</sup> The PBC in particular is concerned with issues of botanical conservation, particularly the spread of *Phytophthora dieback*, a root disease that has affected extensive portions of the region's most floristically diverse reserves and its more popular walking areas.<sup>73</sup> *Phytophthora dieback* presents a major threat to the future of native Southwest plants. Spread by foot and motorised travel, the disease is especially prevalent in popular bushwalking areas, such as the Stirling Range National Park.



*Bushwalkers of the Fitzgerald River National Park, IV (Photo by J. Ryan)*

### **Walking Southwest Landscapes: The History of the Bibbulmun Track**

The Bibbulmun Track provides a pertinent case study of the natural and cultural values influencing the creation of a recreational Southwest bushwalking route connecting urban Perth to outlying areas of the state. The northern terminus of the Bibbulmun is in Kalamunda, about twenty-five kilometres east of Perth, and its southern end lies in Albany, 963 kilometres south along the Southern Ocean. Translating to “land of many breasts,” the word “Bibbulmun” was proposed by forester Len Talbot from Kirkup to honour the Nyoongah, the original inhabitants of the land which the Track traverses.<sup>74</sup> Swan River Derbal Yerrigan elder Richard Wilkes considers the Bibbulmun Track part of the original network of Aboriginal Dreaming trails: “I do believe the Dreaming trail went right down through those giants ... down into the Bibbulmun territory, which pass, which the Bibbulmun trail passes through the land there. So [the forest and the track are] very much part of our Dreaming.”<sup>75</sup> The Waugal, the Rainbow Serpent who created the Bibbulmun people and who guards the waterways of the land, has been used since 1987 as a Track marker to honour the Nyoongah. About seven thousand Waugal signs guide walkers along the way.<sup>76</sup>

In 1972, Geoff Schafer, who founded the Perth Bushwalking Club, proffered his idea of a continuous long-distance foot track linking Perth and Albany in the Southwest to H D Evans, the Minister for Forests at the time.<sup>77</sup> Schafer had recently trekked the Alpine Walking Track, a path of about 650 kilometres through the high country of the Australian Alps of Victoria, New South Wales and ACT. In his recent history of the Bibbulmun Track, Baker observes the magnitude of Schafer’s idea: “This was a huge undertaking and quite apart from the sheer volume of work involved, the [Forests] Department had a very small budget for recreational work and no-one with any knowledge of the construction of long-distance trails.”<sup>78</sup> In 1974, Peter Hewitt and Wayne Schmidt in the Forests Department were key proponents of the Track’s initial design from Lancelin to Albany, but, due to financial restraints, an abbreviated route from Kalamunda to North-

cliffe was approved. The first phase of the Bibbulmun Track was officially opened in October 1979 as part of Western Australia's 150th anniversary. In 1987, a significant overhaul of the Track occurred with the formation of the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM). To accommodate the bauxite mining industry, the Track was routed east to connect Kalamunda and Dwellingup, and the southern section was extended to Walpole with the establishment of Shannon National Park.<sup>79</sup>

By the early 1990s, mining and forestry operations were imperilling the integrity and "wilderness" feel of the Bibbulmun. Around this time, the second phase in the history of the Track commenced under the guidance of Jesse Brampton. After hiking the Appalachian Trail in the eastern United States, Brampton returned to Western Australia, astonished by the unappealing conditions of the Bibbulmun. The route mostly followed gravel roads with insufficient marking, and no bush shelters, toilets or water supplies. In October 1993, CALM agreed to commence a major reconditioning of the Track, including an extension to Albany. The "Building a Better Bibbulmun Track Project" selected the Appalachian Trail (AT) as the new model for the overhaul. Conceived by forester Benton MacKaye in 1921, the AT is a 3500 kilometre hiking trail in the Appalachian Mountain chain from northern Georgia to central Maine. In an article published in October 1921 in the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, MacKaye describes an attitude of returning to nature as an ameliorative to the "din of war and general upheaval." The expanding eastern American urban centres and the economically suffering masses, especially those hopelessly confined to sanatoriums, required therapeutic immersion in mountain sanctuary: "They need acres not medicine. Thousands of acres of this mountain land should be devoted to them with whole communities planned and equipped for their cure."<sup>80</sup> As a regional planning *pièce de résistance*, the Appalachian Trail was designed in juxtaposition to the major American cities of New York and Washington, DC, as a mountain track refuge from increasing urban malaise and the growing anxiety of war. Echoing the FABC, Brampton's intimate account of his end-to-end trek of the Appalachian Trail in 1987 is prefaced by a story of personal suffering and existential anxiety, so his "nature cure" took the form of a long-distance walk overseas.<sup>81</sup>

During the 1990s, consultancy relationships were established with the Appalachian Trail Conference in the United States.<sup>82</sup> Like the AT, the Bibbulmun traverses areas of scenic beauty and follows the contours of the land whilst minimising abrupt ascents and descents over hills. In order to enhance access to cultural attractions and resupply points, the revised route intersects Dwellingup, Collie, Balingup, Pemberton, Northcliffe, Walpole and Denmark, as well as the villages of Donnelly River and Peaceful

Bay. The siting of the Track near rural towns affords long-distance walkers the opportunity to purchase provisions and overnight accommodation. Moreover, shorter trips or day hikes are made possible by preparing for segments between towns. As part of rural tourism planning, Track activities generate economic revenue in small regional towns. In bringing the influence of the Appalachian Trail to the Southwest, the revised Track offers comfortable and maintained shelters with adequate water supplies and a bush toilet to reduce the impact of walkers on habitats. The final version of the Bibbulmun involved a complete realignment of the route, as well as new shelters, water tanks and toilets to an estimated cost of over a million dollars.

Importantly for this discussion, the realignment entailed a number of collaborations between state agencies and private organisations. CALM worked in cooperation with the Water Authority and Westrail to site the new track on old railway beds. Accepted in February 1994, the revised plan preserved only about twenty percent of the original Bibbulmun Track. Modelling the Appalachian Trail, the revision called for the construction of forty-eight campsites, each with an open-faced wood shelter, toilet and rainwater tanks. In mid-1994, a novel initiative between CALM and the Ministry of Justice responded to a shortfall of funding and materials. Bob Dixon, Manager of Prison Industries, and Denzell McCotter, Director for Prison Operations, encouraged the involvement of prisoners in the construction of the track and the prefabrication of shelters. On this innovative collaboration, Attorney General Peter Foss commented that “Building a Better Bibbulmun was an excellent example of the type of projects that could be undertaken using the combined resources of the then Department of Conservation and Land Management and the Ministry of Justice.”<sup>83</sup> On 13 September 1998, the completed Track was opened in Albany at a ceremony with the Minister for Environment, Cheryl Edwards. Cooperation between governmental agencies continues to this day as a reliable solution to maintaining and upgrading the Track and its facilities in a climate of funding cuts to recreation and land conservation.



*Bushwalkers of the Fitzgerald River National Park, V (Photo by J. Ryan)*

### Walking the Flowering Landscape: Approaching Metavisual Appreciation of Plants?

The history of the Bibbulmun Track has been characterised by partnerships, most prominently and productively between state government agencies. Collaborations have resulted in the rapid expansion of the second phase of the Bibbulmun, as well as greater integration between regional and recreational communities of the Southwest. The potential for institutional cooperation between track management organisations, bushwalking clubs, wildflower tourism initiatives, and concerned individuals would promote deeper physical engagement with flora and wildflowers, counterpoising picturesque detachment from landscapes. Since the Bibbulmun traverses areas of botanical importance, the possibility exists for synergy between private ecotourism and wildflower tourism organisations, the Department of Environment and Conservation, the Wildflower Society, the WA Tourism Commission, the Bibbulmun Track Foundation, the Federation of Western Australian Bushwalkers and other agencies. Cooperation between recreational departments governing Southwest walking tracks and those promoting seasonal wildflower tourism would broaden opportunities for both “wildflower enthusiasts” and “nature lovers,” as well as local groups interested in short organised botanising strolls or other embodied excursions. More nuanced, multi-sensory appreciation of indigenous plant species is a possible outcome of a collaborative ethos.

Walking encourages appreciation of wildflowers through all the senses, not only sight. This point is perhaps best summarised by nineteenth-century American naturalist John Burroughs, a pivotal figure in the history of the North American conservation movement, who speaks of the bodily engagement with landscape that bipedality affords. In Burroughs’ view, the walker’s

pores are all open, his circulation is active, his digestion good... He knows the ground is alive; he feels the pulses of the wind and reads the mute language of things. His sympathies are all aroused; his senses are continually reporting messages to his mind. Wind, frost, rain, heat, cold are something to him. He is *not merely a spectator of the panorama* of nature, but a participator in it. He experiences the country he passes through, tastes it, feels it, absorbs it.<sup>84</sup>

Hence, the plenum between walking and the cultural perceptions of flora is imbued with potential for greater emotional and physical connection to the Southwest environment, arousing sympathies and participatory involvement with plants through taste, touch, smell, and sound. Counterbalancing

the sighted emphasis of wildflower driving routes marketed by tourism commissions, walking tracks are pivotal avenues for the corporeal experience of flora. Bush tracks like the Bibbulmun concurrently ensure the longevity of human corporeality and multi-sensual involvement as part of a perceptual ethos towards flora and the broader landscape. As an openness to pausing along the way, extending the body out to reach plants and embrace sensory diversity, rather than speeding along as on a superhighway, gestural walking is a *habitus* most amenable to appreciating wildflowers, as well as plants out of flower. Walking “articulates a relationship between pedestrian and place, a relationship which is a complex imbrication of the material organization and shape of the landscape, its symbolic meaning, and the ongoing sensual perception and experience of moving through space.”<sup>85</sup> In other words, walking creates embodied sense of place, rich with the sensual particularities of local flora.

Not exclusively dictated by the view from the car, wildflower tourism incorporating foot travel, or based on a combination of walking and driving, augments the visual appreciation of floristic diversity. This seemingly simple point was repeatedly emphasised by local botanists and plant enthusiasts in the Southwest region in interviews I conducted during the spring 2009 wildflower season. Self-trained botanist and coordinator of the Ravensthorpe wildflower show Merle Bennett indicates the necessity felt by wildflower tourists, particularly in the southern half of the region, to set off on foot: “On the whole, people need to stop and get out of their vehicles, to walk rather than to just expect to see the walls of everlastings that occur up north.”<sup>86</sup> In Bennett’s view, whereas the carpets of everlastings in northern areas, near Mullewa and Morewa, are readily appreciated from a vehicle, due to the expansiveness of their display, wildflowers in the southern part of the state, particularly near the Fitzgerald River National Park, require closer engagement on foot. The appreciator needs to bend down to inspect the plant, smell it, listen to it, taste the droplets of nectar on its small leaves, get his or her hands dirty and then return to the plant at a different time of the year. In a similar vein, orchid enthusiast and wildflower tourist Lyn Alcock comments in an interview on the differences in depth and quality between walking and simply gazing at plants from a distance: “You’ve got your people who are wanting to go on your wildflower tours purely to sit in the bus and to see what’s out there. They don’t want to get out, they don’t want to find out much about it.”<sup>87</sup>

The perspectives of Bennett and Alcock are important to consider as wildflower tourism infrastructure, and ecotourism in general, increase in the Southwest region.<sup>88</sup> Over two-thousand plant species – nearly one-quarter of the Southwest’s botanical tally – grow along the Bibbulmun Track.<sup>89</sup> As

a transect of the diverse karri and jarrah forest vegetation of the region, the Track offers bipeds an opportunity for metavisual sensory engagement. Known as “The Showgrounds,” an open heath and grassland near Albany along the Bibbulmun stands out prominently from the generally forested character of other sections. Hence, bipedality and wildflower tourism converge. Brampton and Maher point to the depth of association afforded by walking: “The walker witnesses firsthand the unfolding vegetation patterns which result from millions of years of evolution and natural processes and from fewer, but nonetheless influential years of human activity.”<sup>90</sup> The interstices between movement on foot and botanical appreciation are recognised by pre-eminent regional botanists as well. For example, Neville Marchant in *Wildflowers of the Northern Bibbulmun Track* supports bipedal travel in relation to the experience of floristic diversity:

There is no doubt that the best way to appreciate the varied plant wealth of Australia’s South West is by walking. The incredible diversity of *plant form, flower types, colours, leaf shapes and textures* of the flora is internationally renowned, but these elements need to be examined close up to appreciate their character and intricacies.<sup>91</sup>

To add to the appreciation of ocular features, such as colours and shapes, and tactile textures, there are also olfactory aspects, varying between pungency and sweetness, as well as auditory varieties – the sounds of wind, rain and animals interacting with the stiff leaves of sclerophylls. A slight sip of *Banksia* nectar would complete a total multi-sensuous experience of flora. On the sensual diversity of walking, cultural theorist Edensor is once again perspicacious here: “The different distribution of sensory stimuli – the smells, the sounds, the sights, the feelings and the tastes of the countryside – are also part of the ever changing panoply of experience which walking produces.”<sup>92</sup> Through palpable, tactile, olfactory, audible and visual experience, walking disrupts the hierarchies intrinsic to the faculty of sight, central to the metaphor of the botanising *flâneur*.

Kevin Collins is certainly not a bush *flâneur*, speculatively reserved about his interactions with the indigenous plants he propagates. As we walk around his *Banksia* Farm near Mount Barker in Western Australia, Collins, a self-trained world expert on the *Proteaceae* family of plants and the *Banksia* genus specifically, calls on all the senses in his presentation on their history, ecology and conservation challenges. We touch bristled cones, taste the slightly sweet sap, and take in the fragrant aroma of the crushed leaves of other hardy related species, all the while viewing the astonishingly variegated colours of the world’s only complete horticultural collection of *Banksia*. The flowers of *Banksia* are notably long-lasting and ro-

bust, and are thus part of a lucrative international cut-flower industry. Yet, Collins is embodied in his approach to the plants, giving a more rounded appraisal of their survival strategies through my touristic sensory experience of their diverse qualities. In the cultivated garden space of Banksia Farm, we are “far away from the hustle and bustle of the modern city” but certainly not “in places where no man has trod before.” And although we are not in the wilderness of the bush, we still “appreciate the strange, peaceful charm” of indigenous West Australian plants. Collins exemplifies gestural walking as a *habitus* of bipedality with specific sensory implications – foot movement around *Banksia* specimens, with interludes of reaching towards, photographing, sketching, reading about, touching and smelling, contemplating, sitting down alongside and viewing the plants from a panoramic distance.

I end here with an open-ended paradox. In the Southwest, bushwalking both imperils – through the spread of plant diseases – and ensures – through a deeper degree of cultural appreciation – embodied and unmediated human experience of flora. Considering this, I reflect back to Mauss’s assertion that a technique is “an action which is effective and traditional... It has to be effective and traditional.” Gesturally open to the sensory experience of plants, walking is a technique and a *habitus* most pliable to reducing detachment between human appreciators and flora. Yet, walking that is not trained in an ethos of care for the landscape, as part of the cultural transmission of style and concern between generations, can lead to devastating consequences for the non-human, or quarantine status for areas of botanical diversity, the case for some parts of the Fitzgerald River Biosphere Reserve. On the Bibbulmun Track, the bushwalker encounters a sight as familiar as the Waugal markers – the boot scrubbing stations positioned at the entrance to most segments of the route. In contrast to Drummond, Molloy and Grainger, bushwalkers of the twenty-first century are part of an environmentally sensitive cultural topography that connects the body of the human appreciator to the future of the botanic body.



*Bushwalkers of the Fitzgerald River National Park, VI (Photo by J. Ryan)*

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NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Quoted in Jim Baker, *The Bibbulmun Track: Its History, Its Beauty, Its Walkers*, (Perth: Bibbulmun Track Foundation, 2010) 29.
- <sup>2</sup> See, for example, Joseph Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking*, (New York: New York University Press, 2004).
- <sup>3</sup> Marcus Clarke, "Preface to Adam Lindsey Gordon's *Sea Spray and Smoke Drift*" in *The Penguin Book of 19th Century Australian Literature*, ed Michael Ackland (Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1993).
- <sup>4</sup> Clarke, "Preface" 46.
- <sup>5</sup> Baker, *Bibbulmun* (see fn 1) provides the main historical information on the Bibbulmun Track throughout the article.
- <sup>6</sup> Conservation International, "Southwest Australia," 2007, date of access: 30 May 2010, <<http://www.biodiversityhotspots.org/xp/hotspots/australia/Pages/default.aspx>>; Margaret G Corrick and Bruce A Fuhrer, *Wildflowers of Southern Western Australia*, (Noble Park, Vic: Five Mile Press, 2002); Stephen D Hopper, *Kangaroo Paws and Catspaws: A Natural History and Field Guide*, (Como, WA: Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1993); Stephen D Hopper, "What Lessons Are Coming Out of Western Australia", 2008, date of access: 1 October 2008, <<http://media.geopix.net/seedsofhope/080717shopperkew.htm>>.
- <sup>7</sup> For more about the traditional Nyoongah seasons, see Kings Park & Botanical Garden, "Aboriginal Life", ed Kings Park & Botanical Garden (West Perth: nd); George Fletcher Moore, *Diary of Ten Years Eventful Life of an Early Settler in Western Australia*, (1884; Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 1978).
- <sup>8</sup> Tourism Australia, "Western Australia's Wildflowers", 2010, date of access: 12 July 2010, <[http://www.australia.com/articles/wa\\_wildflowers.aspx](http://www.australia.com/articles/wa_wildflowers.aspx)>.
- <sup>9</sup> Rose and Robin define embodied sense of place as "embodied spatiality." See Deborah Rose and Libby Robin, "The Ecological Humanities in Action: An Invitation", *Australian Humanities Review* 31–32 (2004), date of access: 11 July 2010, <<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-April-2004/rose.html>>.
- <sup>10</sup> Nigel Clark, "Botanizing on the Asphalt? The Complex Life of Cosmopolitan Bodies" in *Bodies of Nature*, eds Phil Macnaghten and John Urry (London: Sage,

- 2001) 18–19.
- <sup>11</sup> Clark, "Botanizing" 18.
- <sup>12</sup> The Confederation of Bushwalking Clubs NSW, "What Is Bushwalking?", 2001, date of access: 30 June 2010, <[www.bushwalking.org.au/FAQ/FAQ\\_General.htm](http://www.bushwalking.org.au/FAQ/FAQ_General.htm)>.
- <sup>13</sup> George Seddon, *Landprints: Reflections on Place and Landscape*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); George Seddon, *The Old Country: Australian Landscapes, Plants and People*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- <sup>14</sup> Quoted in Rod Giblett, *Living with the Earth: From Mastery to Mutuality*, (Cambridge: Salt, 2004) 111.
- <sup>15</sup> Christopher Sellers, "Thoreau's Body: Towards an Embodied Environmental History", *Environmental History* 4 (1999) 487.
- <sup>16</sup> May Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia: Being a Description of the Various Cities and Towns, Goldfields, and Agricultural Districts of That State*, (London: William Heinemann, 1901).
- <sup>17</sup> Vivienne, *Travels* 98.
- <sup>18</sup> Vivienne, *Travels* 28.
- <sup>19</sup> Vivienne, *Travels* 28.
- <sup>20</sup> News and Notes, *The West Australian*, 27 September 1919, 6.
- <sup>21</sup> Western Australian Tourism Commission, *Research into the Wildflower Tourism Industry: An Exploration of Consumer and Industry Perceptions*, (Perth: Western Australian Tourism Commission, 2003).
- <sup>22</sup> See John Ryan, "Towards a Corporeal Aesthetics of Plants: Ethnographies of Embodied Appreciation Along the Wildflower Trail", *Continuum* 24.4 (2010) 543–57.
- <sup>23</sup> For a history of Wattle Days in Australia, see Libby Robin, "Nationalising Nature: Wattle Days in Australia", 2002, date of access: 14 July 2010, <[www.apinetwork.com/jas/pdf/libby\\_robin.pdf](http://www.apinetwork.com/jas/pdf/libby_robin.pdf)>.
- <sup>24</sup> World Wide Wattle, "Wattle Day (1 September)", 2009, date of access: 18 August 2010, <[www.worldwidewattle.com/infogallery/symbolic/wattleday.php](http://www.worldwidewattle.com/infogallery/symbolic/wattleday.php)>
- <sup>25</sup> Linden Gillbank, "The University of Melbourne Herbarium, from McCoy to MELU: A Broken Paper-Trail", *University of Melbourne Collections* 1 (2007) 26.
- <sup>26</sup> Phillip Clarke, *Aboriginal Plant Collectors: Botanists and Australian Aboriginal People in the Nineteenth Century*, (Dural, NSW: Rosenberg, 2008).
- <sup>27</sup> George Kay and Norma Moxham, "Paths for Whom? Countryside Access for Recreational Walking", *Leisure Studies* 15.3 (1996) 174.
- <sup>28</sup> Tim Edensor, "Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape" in *Bodies of Nature*, eds Phil Macnaghten and

- John Urry (London: Sage, 2001) 83.
- <sup>29</sup> Edensor, "Walking" 83–4.
- <sup>30</sup> Quoted in Amato, *On Foot* 1.
- <sup>31</sup> Melissa Harper, *The Ways of the Bushwalker: On Foot in Australia*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007).
- <sup>32</sup> Kirstie Ross, *Going Bush: New Zealanders and Nature in the Twentieth Century*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008).
- <sup>33</sup> Amato, *On Foot*; Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, (London: Verso, 2001).
- <sup>34</sup> Edensor, "Walking".
- <sup>35</sup> Rod Giblett, *The Body of Nature and Culture*, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 14.
- <sup>36</sup> Solnit, *Wanderlust* 12.
- <sup>37</sup> Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body (1935)" in *Techniques, Technology and Civilisation*, ed Nathan Schlanger (New York: Durkheim, 2006).
- <sup>38</sup> Mauss, "Techniques" 82.
- <sup>39</sup> Mauss, "Techniques" 83.
- <sup>40</sup> See, for example, J B de C M Saunders and Charles O'Malley, *The Anatomical Drawings of Andreas Vesalius*, (New York: Bonanza, 1982).
- <sup>41</sup> Mauss, "Techniques" 89.
- <sup>42</sup> Amato, *On Foot*.
- <sup>43</sup> Henry David Thoreau, *Walking*, (LaVergne, TN: Filiquarian, 2007) 3.
- <sup>44</sup> Amato, *On Foot* 143.
- <sup>45</sup> Edensor, "Walking" 98.
- <sup>46</sup> Kay and Moxham, "Paths" 174–5.
- <sup>47</sup> For example, see Krim Benterrak, Stephen Muecke and Paddy Roe, *Reading the Country: Introduction to Nomadology*, (Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1996).
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- <sup>53</sup> Grey, *Journals* 2.61.
- <sup>54</sup> James Drummond, "Journal of Mr James Drummond on an Expedition on the Main under the Direction of M.J. Currie Esq" in *Western Australian Exploration, Volume One December 1826–December 1835: The Letters, Reports & Journals of Exploration and Discovery in Western Australia*, ed Joanne Shoobert (Carlisle, WA: Hesperian, 2004) 80.
- <sup>55</sup> William Lines, *An All Consuming Passion: Origins, Modernity, and the Australian Life of Georgiana Molloy*, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994).
- <sup>56</sup> Harper, *The Ways* 10.
- <sup>57</sup> Arnold Berleant, *Aesthetics and Environment: Variations on a Theme*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005).
- <sup>58</sup> Quoted in Harper, *The Ways* 106.
- <sup>59</sup> Clarke, "Preface" 45–6.
- <sup>60</sup> Harper, *The Ways* 106.
- <sup>61</sup> William Lines, *A Long Walk in the Australian Bush*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1998) 180.
- <sup>62</sup> Harper, *The Ways* 142.
- <sup>63</sup> Harper, *The Ways*.
- <sup>64</sup> Melbourne Women's Walking Club, "About the Club," nd, date of access: 19 August 2010, <<http://home.vicnet.net.au/~mwwc/aboutus.htm>>.
- <sup>65</sup> See Alfred Hart, *History of the Wallaby Club*, (Melbourne: Anderson, Gowan, 1944).
- <sup>66</sup> Melbourne Walking and Touring Club, *The Melbourne Walker*, (Melbourne: Melbourne Walking Club, 1984).
- <sup>67</sup> Miles Dunphy, *Miles Dunphy: Selected Writings*, ed Patrick Thompson (Sydney: Ballagirin, 1986); Rod Giblett, *Living with the Earth: Mastery to Mutuality*, (Cambridge: Salt, 2004).
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