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...where insularity appears in the image of self and of the other, in the context of “life on islands” and the mentality of their inhabitants. That difference, that special quality that distinguishes them from the continent, remains! And it takes a long time before one can become an “islander”, if it happens at all! (Greverus 1999:63)

Chapter Eight: Crossed Paths - Landscapes of Community Interaction

1) Introduction

In the last three chapters I have explored how some thematic landscapes have been structured according to differential mechanisms (such economic, political ideologies and technological factors) which exist at many diverse social and geographic levels. However, these landscapes do not exist in isolation, but constantly interact to form collective landscapes of interaction. In this chapter, I will examine some of the relationships between the various Queenscliff community groups to gain a better understanding of overlap, boundaries and interrelatedness of those landscapes. The relationships between many of the distinct occupational groups in and around the town were investigated in further detail to examine cognitive structural aspects of community life, and how these are expressed in landscape.

The previous chapters have demonstrated the diversity of data sources that inform of each specialist maritime theme. Comparison between disparate data sets has in the past been considered problematic, as it was believed that only similar sources of information could be compared for analysis. However, the cultural landscapes approach recognises and validates this ambiguity between data sets and landscapes, making it possible to draw together all these slightly different data sets to attain a holistic view of collective/communal landscapes and how they are constructed. Even though each theme was approached from different directions using dissimilar data sets, it was possible to examine the landscapes of interaction that exemplify community relationships, and in themselves produce characteristic archaeological signatures. This direction provided yet another thematic approach to regional landscapes examination. Although analytical units (e.g. maritime themes) were still required to achieve a holistic representation of regional activity and utility, often the members of each thematic group were also considered part of other interactive landscapes. People do not belong to one social group only, but are involved in a variety of other activities that cross-cut normal social boundaries.

Many of the previous themes (and others not included in the main text: e.g. tourism) studied indicated that social hierarchy was a strong driving influence in landscape production, and this aspect was examined to determine its effects on cultural landscape differentiation and how this was archaeologically expressed within the township. It was discovered that hierarchical divisions played a pivotal role in the shaping of the settlement, and accounted for much of the geographical patterning evident in the township today.

Various other aspects of relationships were explored to investigate how the township operated. The strong presence of many authoritative maritime services in the area was investigated to assess their effects on landscape construction and the development of subsequent relationships within the township. Many landscape researchers have proposed that where control mechanisms operate (power landscapes), there will also be landscapes of resistance (Westerdahl 2002a). The presence of a highly hierarchical system in Queenscliff associated with tourism and the defence force represented one form of power landscape, but was not the only control mechanism that operated. The military also imposed their own form of authoritative governmental power that directly affected all citizens and visitors in the township. The area was examined with particular regard to landscapes of resistance, and possible relict signatures. Given the demonstrated previous independence of the fishing community, the fishing sub-culture was examined for signs of resistance to imposed control mechanisms and any attendant archaeological indications. Notions of territoriality within the township were also addressed, with particular regard to how individual groups used given areas that were often excluded to opposition classes. Physical expressions of social differentiation within the township were further examined with reference to the placement of individual features within the township.

Given the wide range of social groups that occupied and utilised the study area, a multiplicity of meanings were expected to be associated with various places within the landscapes, as people appreciate and assign value to individual features and areas for different reasons. Examination of these ideals presented the opportunity to further inform of the divergent individual perspectives of and interrelationships between community members, and the multivalency of landscapes that existed in the area at many different scales.

The combination of these disparate values formed a melting pot of meanings which contributed to a shared community identity, whose character was based on both common and different interests.

Given the proximity to, and reliance of the community on the sea, the nature of the community character was further explored with regard to collective maritime identity.

2) Queenscliff as a Maritime Island Community

Despite the fact that many Queenscliff residents were not involved in maritime activities, there was a demonstrated maritime identity that pervaded the community as a whole. Several informants indicated that Queenscliff was seen as a separate maritime community within a farming district. Several informants referred to travel to the adjacent Swan Bay farming district as “going to the mainland” [JM cited by LID; HM]. Another informant commented that: “we’re practically living on an island” [LZ]. Indeed, the Queenscliff township is in fact an island connected by a 250 m wide isthmus to the Bellarine Peninsula. During its early days, the borough was almost completely isolated from other settlements by dense bush land, and the principle form of contact and re-supply was by a narrow bush road from Melbourne and Geelong that was almost impassible in winter (GA 27/11/1855:2). By 1855, the local community agitated for a pier to more readily access the “splendid water communication” available on their doorstep.

Queenscliff depended on supplies by sea via early coastal traders. Most early modes of communications within the community were dependent on maritime transport, where steamers from Melbourne would undertake regular voyages to Queenscliff to deliver building materials not locally available (Cuzens 1912:3). It was not until early road and coach networks and later rail lines were built in the 1853, 1860 and 1878, respectively, that terrestrial transportation began to replace some maritime modes of transport (Perry 1973:41). Furthermore, even when public access roads were constructed into Queenscliff, they were often blocked by sand drifts, high tides (Dod 1934:50-1) or floods from Lake Connemara: “my Great Grandfather came here from Geelong in 1853... it took two days to get here...Lake Connemara often flooded across the [Geelong] Road and the carts had to cross up to their axles in water” [CA].

In the early days, the road blockages often obliged the use of a submerged limestone causeway from Burnt Point across Swan Bay to the township [LID]. The shortcut across Swan Ponds along a 20 ft wide limestone track (Dod, 1931: 55) that was later extensively used as a shortcut across the bay, and for the transportation of rubbish and nightsoil (QS 10/3/1894, 7/4/1894; [CA; CS; GW; WN]), and tangible remains of the causeway have been inspected by the author. Another submerged causeway was also known between Burnt Point and the communities along the Swan

Bay foreshore [GH; GW; LID; SS], and it was often quicker to visit townships in Swan Bay via this feature or by boat than road. The continued use of submerged causeways in the area may only have enhanced the isolation felt by the community (further aspects of submerged causeways and rubbish dumps are contained in Appendix B-4).

The remote nature of the township was also a result of its topographic locality:

The narrow neck separated us from Pt Lonsdale. It was all ti-tree and very little else in there. There was nothing along that peninsula. You couldn't farm it, and you couldn't graze cattle there. It created a separation point between us [Queenscliff] and the outside world. [JP]

The principle mode of transport between many other smaller towns on the Bellarine and Mornington Peninsulas was by small boats. Queenscliff football teams also participated in several cross bay football competitions, where teams would sail cross the Bay to play the Mornington Peninsula sides [GW; HM]. Queenscliff also acted as a hub for religious services for the borough and surrounding districts during the early days of the community [DB], and local youths often undertook recreational activities on offshore islands or on the eastern side of The Bay.

Shipwrecks also shaped Queenscliff's community since its very inception: "The Farming community did not have a Jack Loney (a famous local identity who strongly promoted Victoria's shipwreck heritage) to publicise it. Jack made shipwrecks important to Victoria. The Queenscliff identity was shaped by shipwrecks and the military" [HH]. It is clear that the Queenscliff community identity was drawn from its maritime services and connections.

Queenscliff clearly conforms to Westerdahl's (2003) definition of a maritime enclave, even though it was not a major harbour or port. Examination of surrounding communities on the Bellarine Peninsula (e.g. Drysdale, St Leonards) show that although these areas were also located adjacent to Port Phillip Bay and exported produce via steamers, they drew their identity predominantly from farming activities, which presents a significant observation of the importance of maritime industry to Queenscliff.

The enforced water crossings, along with the reliance on maritime transport for communications and supplies, may have reinforced the community's already strong maritime identity, and built the conception amongst residents that they were living on an island which was surrounded by a sea of agriculture. Similar observations were made by Scott (2004) about the township of Barwon Head, not 10 km to the west, which shares many similarities to Queenscliff. It has a strong fishing

community, coastal tourism and nearby shipwrecks, and it too was accessed across water (the Barwon River) via a ferry. This suggests in addition to profession and maritime culture, topography is also particularly influential shaping community perceptions of themselves.

Greverus (1999:63) recognised this sort of behaviour as a *cultural island*, where the distinct culture of community led to its own imposed self seclusion from the surrounding regions and the formation of its own identity. Greverus' comments on the nature of metaphorical islands have great applicability to Queenscliff:

...where insularity appears in the image of self and of the other, in the context of "life on islands" and the mentality of their inhabitants. That difference, that special quality that distinguishes them from the continent, remains! And it takes a long time before one can become an "islander", if it happens at all! (Grevarus 1999:63)

These observations further reinforce the importance of geographical location in defining landscape and community identity. In particular, bounded space in the form of water and "natural" wilderness was an important factor that solidified community relationships and provided a communal identity that distinguished those who belonged to the island from those outside of it. It is in this constrained geographical setting that the relationships of the various community sub-groups are examined.

3) Contested Space

Chapters Five to Seven have clearly demonstrated the diverse nature of the Queenscliff community, where many social groups operated within the narrow arena of the township and adjacent bay. Community interactions were guided by the effects of each social group's ideologies and landscape uses, and the restrictions that these placed on others. As different groups inevitably competed for space (because there was not much of it!), frictions and alliances arose that dictated the composition of the community and the subsequent social interactions. In particular, two factors were discovered that played major roles in the formulation of the Queenscliff social landscape.

A) Military Landscapes of Occupation and Exclusion

It was clear that in the formative years of the colony, that defence was a vital safety consideration that permeated the lives of all Queenscliff residents. However, as has been seen in Chapter Four, the community eventually became blasé to the threat of war in the twentieth century. The defence

presence eventually became a necessary way of life, but it was also resented by some sectors of the community. The rapid development of the military landscapes of Port Phillip was achieved often to the exclusion of other landscape users. The entire Queenscliff foreshore from the jetty to Pt Lonsdale was declared a defence reserve in 1863 (Scratchley 1863:13), which limited development in this area for at least 50 years. Early adoption of this policy had not affected use of some areas which had not yet been developed (such as Pt Lonsdale – gazetted by 1858), but other regions such as Crows Nest and Mud Islands were annexed after popular use of the area had already begun.

The general populace sorely felt the enforced intrusion of the military in their recreational and working landscapes. The appropriation of the Mud Islands as a defence reserve in 1872 led to the expulsion of guano miners from the islands for at least 20 years (Yugovic 1998:233). Similarly, local residents complained bitterly in 1886 when an eight inch disappearing gun was placed at Crows Nest, as the hill was a popular natural beauty spot (Tate 1982:69, 173; GA 13/8/1886). When further work was undertaken to install searchlights near Crows Nest Camp on a nature reserve in 1908, the borough council complained about the lack of consultation and unsolicited loss of tourist facilities (QS 21/11/1908), and because of the noise associated with their operation at night (QS 21/11/1908, 17/9/1910). Furthermore, during times of conflict the military often annexed whole areas of foreshore, which were enclosed with barbed wire especially along the foreshore of Lonsdale Bight, and was often excluded the local community (Evans, as cited in Tate 1982:144; [GW]).

The closure of this popular beach area also affected tourists, who had used it for swimming and for walking on the seaside promenade tracks. Additionally, other facilities, such as when the Cottage by the Sea convalescent home was taken over by the army to house soldiers during the war [GW], which deprived sick children of their annual seaside holidays (see Appendix D-1). Although regular visitors still came to Pt Lonsdale during WWII [JG], the exclusion from these areas must have had a tangible effect on tourism during this period. The lack of dialogue on this aspect in documentary sources may be attributable the military restriction on public comment during this period.

There were also several areas that were partially segregated dependent on connections to local military. When Swan Island was taken over by the military to build the fort in 1882, the island was still covered with native vegetation (QS 23/12/1882; [LID]), and it was already extensively used for fishing, firewood and bark collection, rabbit hunting and careening boats (Dod 1931:7; Ferrier

1991:1; [CS]), and was also home to several fishermen from the 1860s onwards (Dod 1931:25-7). The military presence gradually led to restricted access to the island. However the local population still enjoyed limited access through either employment opportunities on the island [LID], or illegal foraging (Ferrier 1991:1; [CS]).

Although fishermen were granted access to the Naval Dockyard at Swan Island in bad weather via the tramway (Ferrier 1991:5), their access to the eastern section of the island was still limited. The period of island Naval administration from 1909 to 1960 (Tate 1982:88, 112; [GW; LID]) appears to have been more relaxed, and employees were allowed to fish from the beaches, and also use the dock facilities for yachting [CA; GW; LID]. However, when the base was again taken over by the army in the 1960s, all access to the island was restricted, a fact resented by many locals.

The installation of minefields in the channels is a potent example of exclusionary behaviour, whereby access to even the seascape was directed and outlined. Although principally designed as a defensive measure, it too had effects on local and friendly shipping, with its exclusions to given areas. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the number of strandings experienced especially in the South Channel from the 1880s onwards may have been the result of shipping trying to avoid minefields [DL; PF]. The occurrence of monthly gunnery practice from at least the 1880s - 1908 (QS 29/3/1890, 16/5/1891; 10/12/1892, 3/2/1894, 22/8/1908), along with submarine mining practice in the West Channel near Swan Point (QS 29/3/1890) led to the delineation of many temporary prohibited areas (up to 3.4 miles offshore and 1.45 miles wide) which effectively closed the port and breaches of which were subject to heavy fines during gunnery times, and these restrictions were resented by mariners who livelihoods depended on unlimited maritime access. It is clear that as military influences expanded in the area, restrictions were placed on the development of other community landscapes.

B) Social Hierarchy Systems and Class Consciousness

Social status within the Queenscliff community has been shown to be a strong determinant to the early structuring of the township, when many of the colony's wealthy and social elite flocked to the area to escape the lower class hoards of the metropolises (see Appendix D-1). Queenscliff housed the entire spectrum of the Victorian social strata, from Governors, Judges and senior Clergy; wealthy pilots, pastoralists, and businessmen; to ethnic minorities and lower class labourers and tourists. Strong social divisions were apparent in Queenscliff, particularly in the early days:

Queenscliff was very split in the early days...Queenscliff was an army training ground for artillery men...they didn't mix, only with themselves. The army also only mixed by rank, officers with officers and so forth through the ranks...the pilots were also snotty in those days. Then there were a lot of wealthy western district businessmen who were here for holidays. Then there were the fishermen, they were the lowest on the rung. [GW]

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the fishing community was regarded as the lowest social class within the community. This group comprised of a diverse multi cultural society with members from at least eight different nations [GW; JM; LF], many of whom were considered of low status or unsavoury ethnic origins. Fishers were sometimes referred to as the "fishing class" (GA 26/4/1867:3), and other accounts satirised them as illiterate drunks (Anon. 1884; Simpkin n.d.:10). An elderly local fisher recalled: "people looked down on the fishermen. They were up themselves at top of the town" [HM]. Other residents remembered a distinct social status system operated in Queenscliff:

Large families lived in Wharf St, on the Fishermen's Flat. They were [considered] the lowest strata in Queenscliff society. The Governor of Victoria had his holidays here, and Western District graziers also came for holidays. You were the lowest form of life in Queenscliff, as a fisherman. Gunners in the fort were the next class, then sergeants and non commissioned officers, trades people and grocers, and then the officers. [JM]

A local historian [JG] maintained that the class system within the Queenscliff community effectively shaped the structure of the town, which was class conscious but not class exclusive. She further maintained that values in the town were not based on money but class, and that "shows of wealth" [by the wealthy middle class] were not appreciated in the township.

Another resident observed: "They [the fishermen] were sometimes very wealthy people. You could make a lot of money fishing, but you were still considered the lowest on the rung" [GW]. It is probable that Queenscliff developed a different type of social structure to that of Melbourne, due to its compact geographical location and size, where everyone had to interact regardless of their class [JG]

The social divisions observed within the township are almost certainly directly related to interactions and disjuncture between different thematic maritime groups, and this aspect will be explored in further detail below.

4) Internal Social Relationships Within the Local Community

A) Social Relations Between the Army and Fishermen

The greatest social divisions evident in the town were between the fishermen and the defence forces. Several informants indicated that there had been acrimony between the two groups since the establishment of the army base. Some residents [JG; JM] indicated that in the early days, army personnel often regarded themselves as socially superior to the other residents of the town. Many of the early ranking officers were transferred directly from India (Perry 1973:40, 43), where the highest ranking officers often wielded enormous power, bordering on regal status in some areas. The local Indian caste system combined with the rigorous British observance of social segregation between the ranks, produced a strict societal hierarchy where fraternisation outside of one's class was discouraged [JG; JM]. When these same officers and their families were transferred to a Victorian posting, the social status intolerances often came with them.

Some of the army wives thought themselves elite. They considered themselves like the Raj in India. They didn't mix with the locals at all. Some [Victorian Era] women often went to India on holidays to fix a husband in the social elite classes in the army there. [JM]

Furthermore, in the early days of the colony's establishment, British officers often commanded the Australian Imperial defence forces. The hierarchical clan structure of the social classes in British society has always been well recognised, where commanding British officers often considered "the colonials" to be of lower social status (see Birmingham 1999: 77, 167, 283, 315-7). Additionally, during the mid to late nineteenth and early twentieth century at the height of the defence paranoia that was gripping the country, colonial defensive capabilities were heavily reliant on local militia regiments to supplement understaffed and under-funded defence forces. Militia training was compulsory for all local men and teenage boys (Macarthur et al. 1858:957; QS 25/9/1909), which would have further exposed the local community to the social prejudices of the British hierarchical system. Given that many early irregular "volunteers" would have been drawn from the fiercely egalitarian farming and fishing communities, the imposition of the accompanying social discriminations may have led to resentment of the army by some of the local populace. When permanent army personnel later replaced the local Volunteers manning the forts in 1883, the local community may have experienced not only an imposition of physical separation from previously accessible landscapes, but also a sense of loss of ownership of their roles as the frontline protectors of the colony that led to further resentment amongst the community. The permanent occupancy by the military may also have challenged their notion of localness (and who constituted a Queenscliff local resident), which had previously been defined by one's residence within the town.

Some residents indicated that the tensions had originated when the military personnel expressed interest in the local female population, as they had a larger disposable income and were generally better educated than the local fishing community [GW; JM], and hence were often more successful when vying for the attentions of the local girls. This was particularly a problem in the early years of the township from 1860-1880, when the small population meant that there were limited women of suitable marriageable age and status in the township [JG].

Additionally, many of the army personnel based at the Queenscliff Fort served overseas during WWI and II, and returned as commissioned officers and war heroes, whereas many of the fishermen were spared war duty as they were considered an essential service:

...the young ladies loved the men at the fortress. The Gunners at the fort were the backbone of the Australian Infantry Forces, and many of them went to Tobruk and El Ale Maine. Lots of young men returned from the war as commissioned officers. The army was well educated. The war... and the fort had a big effect on the town, and the girls too, and the fishermen. The army took all the girls. [JM]

A local newspaper editorial recognised the female indifference towards the fishermen, when it highlighted the heroism they often displayed in the lifeboat service, and drew parallels between them and recently returned war heroes: “[the lifeboat service] is as valuable as diggers work...There are land diggers and sea diggers” (QS 26/4/1919).

The soldiers paraded weekly down through the streets of Queenscliff, often watched by the tourists and the local single women, many of whom they later married (Tate 1982:142, 146). The regular marches through the town were not appreciated by the fishermen, who called it “the stallion parade”, particularly as there were often dances/balls held at the Garrison’s Recreational Hall or other local venues afterwards, to which the fishermen were not invited. These events were regarded as top events in the Queenscliff social calendar, and as the fishermen were rarely lucky enough to adequately clothe themselves, let alone afford suitable ball attire, and many resented the army’s show of extravagance (Gange, cited in Tate, 1982:146, 169).

The town’s young girls were frequently attracted to the soldiers in preference to the civilians (QS 5/11/1887, 21/6/1884; Tate 1982:167; - see Figure 8.1), and many accounts recorded the almost desperate attempts by local girls to attract a soldier:

It is a remarkable fact that...wherever the soldiers are you will be sure to find women. A stroll on the pier on a Saturday and Sunday night is sufficient to impress the veracity of this statement...There you will find a crowd of the fair sex largely predominating...we see our military friends ensconced on the corners, or strolling up and down with two,

three and often four of the little darlings around each, vying with each other for the word or look which may decide their fates...We become impressed with the belief that a soldiers life is not at all an undesirable one. (QS 15/2/1890)

To the women, the army represented a chance at escaping the poverty of fishing life, and possibly changing social landscapes to accessing others (of wealth and status).

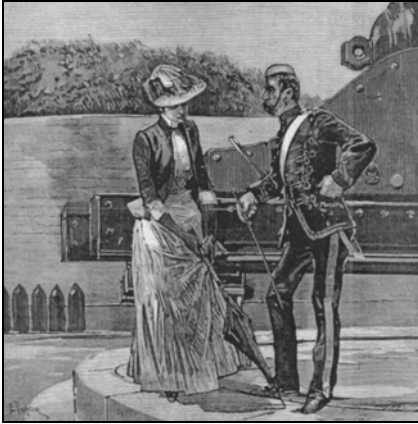


Figure 8. 1: "Love and War - A Sketch at Queenscliff" (Sleaf, IAN, 9/3/1889, SLV Collection).

Furthermore, these romances were often temporary, and when the transient soldiers were transferred away, local women were often left to deal with the consequences, which led to further animosity from their fathers and brothers. As a result, there was much jealousy of the soldiers amongst the local men:

Quite a few residents did not like the army, and there was not much interaction between the townspeople and the forces. The army were often arrogant, especially the officers, and overall they were seen as transients in the town. I'm talking about the later periods here, the late 1800s. The army was often seen as egotistical... the army had Spartan discipline, and I think this might explain why they were resented in some ways by the locals. The army had an easy life. They had a guaranteed income, a secure job and food every day on the plate. They had a rigid social status, and they all lived in the upper part of the town. The poor fishermen were lucky to get a meal on some days, and their work was all weather dependent. But the army was also the bread and butter for the town, as they had to buy all their daily supplies locally, and kept the merchants going. The young bucks were very envious of the army back then. [nw]

Neither was the animosity between the two groups a one sided affair, and class status was particularly evident within the army at the forts. During the 1920s, enlisted men were required to seek permission from the Commanding Officer before they could get married. One young gunner at Fort Queenscliff, (Evans, cited in Tate 1982:144, 159) described the procedure:

Up until 1925 it had been a regulation that the applicant had to bring his fiancée before the CO so that he, the CO, could satisfy himself that she was a suitable person to have on the

strength of the regiment. The Authorities did not want women of doubtful character cluttering up the barracks.

This was a common situation described by many military personnel (Tate 1982:159-61) and former local residents [DS; WN] recounted that their paternal grandparents tried to arrange their father's transferal from Fort Queenscliff to Darwin to prevent him marrying their mother because she was from a fishing family. It is unclear how successful fisherwomen were in courting soldiers as husbands, but the large rate of inter-marriage between fisher families suggests that the permanent army didn't tend to marry fisherfolk, at least in the nineteenth century [JG], a situation that later changed in the 1920s-40s.

Neither was the animosity restricted to adults or males. One informant [nw] recalled that some young girls from opposing camps did not mix at school for that very reason, a habit that continued into maturity.

I once had two old ladies who were from the same school...who knew each other, but wouldn't mix as they were from different fishing and army families. When I asked her why they didn't talk to each other she said: "We didn't mix then, so there's no need to mix now".

Whatever the cause, a great deal of malice was evident in historical and oral accounts between the local populace (especially from the fishers) and the transient defence population. Many incidents highlighted the simmering underlying animosity experienced between the two communities, where harmless, though deliberately irritating pranks were often perpetuated against the defence establishment [PF]:

Before 1900, they had a bugler at the fort to wake the army up early, around 6 am, and it woke a lot of townspeople up too. When people complained about it, the complaints were ignored. The fishermen were always up a lot earlier than this, they often left to go fishing at 4 am as the sun was getting up. One day, a young fella went up outside the fort and blew a trumpet at 5am and got the whole fort out of bed before they realised what had gone on. He did the same the next day, and even though they set a guard to try and catch him at it, they never did. [PF]

Clearly, the fishermen resented the encroachment of the military into their personal space, both on the water and especially throughout the township. Often though, the dislike spilled over into outright violence, and the football ground in particular provided a physical interface to settle old scores. The local football team, "The Cliff" (which was comprised mostly of fishermen), often clashed with the army team ("The Military") (QS 29/6/1907), and the competition was variously referred to as the: "Flats and Tops" ([HM]; Tate 1982:161), "Bottoms and Tops", "Coutas and Leathernecks" ([JB]; QS 1/6/1895), "Squids and The Tops" [JM]. Known locally as the "Saturday

Afternoon Bloodbath”, this football match often did not make it past the first quarter before fighting erupted [JB; JG]. Local newspapers often reported the “disgraceful behaviour” at the matches and play that was “burdened with grudge” (QS 23/9/1893, 28/8/1897). A typical match was summed up by the following article:

The military were keen to turn the tables this time, as they had a rod in pickle all week...it would have been a splendid game if it were not for several acts of foul play on the part of some players...Great rivalry has always existed between these two teams, and when they meet onlookers always expect a good game, but the kind of things which happened on Saturday does not tend to improve the game by any means, and until a player learns to keep his temper he should never play the game...[the players] should remember a football field is a place to play football, and not a fighting ring. (QS 29/6/1907)

The violence was not limited to the male population only, and women were known “to make good use of their hatpins when the players ran onto the field” [GW]. The fervour of local Queenscliff spectators was also commented on in the local newspaper, when it observed that:

...the barrackers, were very partial to our Queenscliff proper (team), and misjudged many acts against the artillery...and overlooked many that were not square on the part of the Clifties...it seemed each one said “ This is our own, our native land. We’ll fight with tongue, we can’t with hand”. (QS 10/5/1884)

It appears that these matches provided a pressure relief valve for venting tension between the two communities without fear of reprisal or prosecution, which allowed both clans to co-exist jointly outside those occasions, an observation that has also been recorded in other modern maritime communities (Wright 1992: 234-5). The animosity expressed towards the army and their football team was an anomaly amongst the regional football matches, which usually bonded the local communities, as they were brought together to watch friendly (but competitive) games. However in the case of the military/fisher events, the football oval, which was normally considered a place of leisure, was transformed into a battlefield of contested space.

However, the hostility between the two groups was not confined only to the football field, and as one soldier commented: “If they ever met [the soldiers and the fishermen] there would be a decent sort of fight” (Leslie, cited in Tate 1982: 161). This led to a differentiated landscape for both fishermen and soldiers, where some areas were out of bounds to the other group, or were contested space or spaces of contest:

The people from the top of the town would only come down this way to buy fish from the fishermen. There was great animosity between the top and bottom of the town, especially between the army and the fishermen. This end of town was off-limits at one time to the army. [GW]

The Esplanade Hotel was known for many years as a fishermen's pub, even in this author's own experience. Army personnel from the pre-WWII years reiterated this sentiment: "The soldiers did not dare go into the Esplanade, it was the fishermen's hotel" (Holdsworth cited in Tate 1982:161). Similarly, the memorial hall which stood on the grounds of the current RSL was used for military dances, and fishermen may have been excluded either officially or otherwise.

The feud continued until the soldiers began marrying the fishermen's daughters, forming family alliances between the two groups around the 1940s (Holdsworth, cited in Tate 1982:161). As [JB] noted: "It wasn't until the army blokes started to marry the fisherman's daughters that the trouble ceased...When the army went into the local footy team, they cleaned up the local league!". Many fishermen and military personnel did interact peaceably during this period (e.g. fishers moorings at and transport to/from Swan Island [HM; JB; LID]; the military vessel *Mars* assisted fishing boats where required - Tate 1982:181), which demonstrates the changing dynamics of community relationships.

B) Social Relations between Pilots and Fishermen/General Community

Relationships between the rest of the permanent population were more cordial, although social divisions were still evident in some cases. There were some suggestions of friction between the Pilots' Service and the poorer members of the town. Many early accounts detailed the popularity and high status enjoyed by early pilots within the community (QS 10/5/1884, 30/7/1910). In later years, pilots were often master mariners or former navy officers of high rank and status, and were comparatively well educated. Some informants with fishing backgrounds indicated that in the early days, the pilots were considered somewhat aloof e service, and that he was admitted even though he was only a public school graduate, and that the perceived elitism was probably based on their regular steady income and high prestige that came with the job [CSp]. Similarly, a former shipwright with the Pilots service (with a familial fishing and army background) indicated that his entry into the service was based on his skill and not class, and also noted the outgoing friendly nature of the pilots [JB]. Pilots generally exhibited good relations with the general community, and it may have been their affluence that attracted negativism from some sectors of the community, as they were able to buy land and build brick houses, and often enjoyed mixed with influential people, and very heavily involved in civic affairs and lodges. Although they often matched the fishers for bravery, they also employed many of them as boatmen, which led to a mutual dependency and respect [JG].

Some informants [nw] suggested that any perceived differences between the two groups may have arisen from have arisen from jealousy over the better working conditions enjoyed by the pilots, who had a permanent job, good conditions and were often on penalty rates, and that differing social interests (not status) also explained why pilots and fishers did not normally mix. Many informants reported good relations between the Pilots and Lifeboat Services, which was crewed predominantly by fishermen [HH].

C) Social Relations between Fishermen and Merchants/ Farmers

The extreme poverty of the fishermen, especially during the winter months, often meant that they were reliant on the good-will of the town's merchants, some of whom often extended credit to the fishermen during lean times until the fishing season began again:

The local grocery bloke stood by the fishermen during winter. He would let them put food on the rote, and they would pay up when they got their first fish catch. [JB]

A local businessman, who had a high regard for the fishermen, also recalled extending credit on many occasions, despite some difficulties in realising owed payments:

...well you did, it was hard to get money out of them; they never had any. There were two lots of people here, the army and the fishermen. The army had a canteen and would book up [the things they wanted to buy] and it would come out of their wages. You often couldn't get the money out of the fishermen [during the winter], and you couldn't take it out of their wages. If you had a monthly account for £4 you had a good customer. The fishermen earned their money though. They went out at 3 am in the morning. [CA]

Other townsfolk assisted the fishers wherever possible, including the guesthouses who supplied fishing families with leftover food from their kitchens [CA].

Farmers and fishermen appear to have gotten off to a rocky start in Queenscliff, when in 1866 the flat area near the Railway Station was used for the first local race track meeting. After a "free for all punch-up" developed between fishermen and the Swan Bay and Drysdale farmers, the Queenscliff horse racing industry came to an abrupt end (Dod 1931:30-1). Although intense competition between these two groups was also evident in the football matches in the nineteenth century, they lacked the animosity so frequently present in the games with the military (QS 28/8/1897).

Over time local farmers and fishermen developed a friendly, if not symbiotic relationship. An informal arrangement operated between the two groups, whereby farmers in Swan Bay would often plant extra vegetables in their crops for fishermen [DB]:

Fishermen would “pinch” vegetables, they wouldn’t ask the farmer or go up to the farmhouse to see if it was alright, but would take them straight from the field. The farmers didn’t mind, because in the summer they would go down to the Fishermen’s Wharf, and walk up the jetty, and without being asked, the fisherman would hand him some fish and say here you go Mr...That was the way it was done. It helped the fishermen save face as they didn’t have to ask for a handout of vegetables when times were hard. It was just an unspoken understanding between them. [LID]

The merchants in the town likewise received fish as substitute payments for goods [HF], and similar practices were later identified at Lorne, where fishermen would exchange fish with local farmers to search for mushrooms in their fields (Hunt 1999:72). Although these symbiotic relationships appear to have predominantly favoured the fishermen, they also led to cross cutting ties of interdependence between these communities that could be called on in times of drought, poor fishing or other hardships. These practices also recognised the value of the fishers within the local economy and township, and further demonstrate a “social conscience” and “local sense of community”. As these kinds of relationships only develop over time within stable long term communities, this behaviour further highlight the divisions between notions of who is local, and who is transient (i.e. the military).

D) Social Relations between Lightkeepers and Pilots/ Fishermen

Tensions between pilots and lighthouse keepers were traced back to the initiation of the township, when the earliest lightkeeper, Thomas McClelland (himself a former pilot), was involved with a dispute with the Principle Pilot, George Tobin (Raison 1997:2). Some informants maintained that there was an underlying friction between these two groups at one time, which may have been the result of their former rank in previous professions:

The pilots here were master mariners, whereas the lighthouse service were blokes who served in the Royal Australian Navy, but usually not as officers. This could reflect why there may be a perceived inferiority of the lighthouse service to the pilots. Sometimes you would hear the exchanges over the radio, and blue words were exchanged when the port controllers [who were stationed at the lighthouses] were engaged in arguments with the pilots regarding ships’ admissions and courses into the port. [HH]

It is notable that town relations were again influenced by social hierarchy. However, these differences were not universally observed in the community. A former pilot [CSp] maintained that even though there was occasional friction between the two groups, this was usually the result of an individual pilot who “got carried away with their position”, and was not indicative of any general ill feeling. Others informants associated with the pilots [JP] commented that there was a very amicable relationship between the two groups in the 1940s, but that if there was any tension, then it may have related to delays in vessels coming down from Melbourne, which irritated the Port

Controllers at times. Based on the limited evidence at hand, it does not appear that there were any major problems between these services.

There were strong ties between the fishing community and the Lightkeepers, and this may have been associated with the fisher's joint connections to the Lighthouse Service as employees, both as assistant lightkeepers and in the lifeboat service, where the lightkeeper was in charge [GF; HH; LF; PF]. The lighthouse keepers sometimes also offered work to the fishers undertaking maintenance on houses, or ferrying mail [JG], and often helped feed the fishermen during destitute times [JM]. Fishers were also allowed to retrieve dead fish for bait directly after blasting operations in the Rip [HM], further suggesting that good relationships also existed between the Ports and Harbours personnel and the fishers.

E) Multiculturalism: Chinese and Other Ethnic Groups in the Community

There was a great influx of Chinese immigration during the gold rush years, with over 4000 immigrants from 1853 to 1854 alone. Concerned about ethnic imbalances in the colony, the government imposed a £10 poll tax on each Chinese emigrant and restricted their immigration quota in relation to each ship's tonnage (Day 1992:293). However, Chinese populations were incorporated into the community at Queenscliff and St Leonards by the 1860s (QS 10/4/1886; Kerr 1985:69; Wynd 1988:115), and at Edwards Point and The Springs by the 1880s, where they established fish curing businesses or market gardens respectively (QS 4/7/1896, 27/7/1912; [CS; GW; LID; PF]).

The Chinese appear to have been tolerated better in these communities than in other small townships around the state, and this may be attributable to the multi cultural society introduced by fishing into the community, where fishermen of all ethnic backgrounds worked side by side regardless of their origins.

The Chinese lived on the periphery of Queenscliff and St Leonards townships, which is consistent with their expected marginal social status within communities at those periods and the general hierarchical structure of the town. In Queenscliff, the Chinese community were located on the southern peninsula between Swan Island and Queenscliff called Chinaman's Point at the northernmost extremity of the fishing community on Beach St (Dod 1931:18; [CS; LF]; Anon. 1853 [updated 1864] plan), and at the western end of the settlement at the Springs where they operated a

market garden ([GW]). Market gardens were also located at the northern extremity of Swan Bay, and on Swan Island and Duck Island [PF; WN].

Chinese were often viewed with suspicion by those outside their industries:

There were Chinese market gardeners at the Springs. Nan and Bob said “Don’t go in the Chinaman’s place or they will skin and eat you”...Once mum and Auntie Nola got caught in the Chinaman’s yard stealing fruit, and the only way they got away was to hide in Nan’s well. They were terrified when they got out. The Chinese were close by here; I think it was in where the Beacon Resort is now that he had his house. Everyone tolerated the Chinese back then [pre-1950s], they were part of the community but everyone was either afraid or cautious of them because they were so different. [WN]

However, aspects of Chinese customs did permeate into the Queenscliff culture, particularly the maritime sector. Sculling of small boats with an oar on the transom was common amongst many Queenscliff fishermen, and may have been introduced by Chinese fishermen to their European counterparts in the 1860s (Kerr 1985:69; [CS; GW]).

The liminality of the Chinese communities around the Queenscliff and Swan Bay is significant, as it physically expressed an ideology of segregation that may have been expressed by both groups (European and Chinese). The marginalisation of Chinese groups to the extremities of the townships in the early days demonstrates the inherent social barriers raised to these communities, but also recognizes their essential inclusion in the community, as small populations were reliant on all members (and their specialist skills) despite their ethnic origins. Although accepted into the township outwardly, the Chinese were often marginalised within the community, which was often only evident subtle indicators such in the assignment of a discrete alien section in the local cemetery, and their common absence/omission from official and local documentary records. Furthermore, the continuation of these divisions demonstrates to some extent that both parties were probably content with this separation, and used these areas to maintain their own social space and boundaries, but also for their own territorial sense of place and belonging. Segregation of the Chinese would increase in the period from the 1900-1950s in line with the White Australia Policy (Foster 1986:2), an observation that is supported by accounts of intense suspicion and fear of this ethnic group during that period [WN]. The Chinese fishing community probably left the township when the new fish market was established at North Melbourne in 1900 (Evans 2003:111), probably as a result of improved access to market brought about by the train line, but also to be closer to the large Chinese community located there during this highly intimidating period [JG].

F) Social Divisions Based on Religion

The role of religion in social differentiation in the town was briefly investigated in this study. Although informants indicated that some early fishermen were pious and attended regular services in Queenscliff from Swan Bay and had strong affiliations with the Presbyterian Church [CA; DB], many townsfolk indicated that religion played a negligible role in the majority of fishers' lives [GW; LF]. By comparison, religious observance and worship was a large component of military life, where army personnel were required to attend at least one service a week at a church of their choice. Many Pilots and the majority of soldiers attended St George's Anglican Church (Tate 1982:147, 173; [CSp; PF]). The Presbyterian congregation also included some pilots, the middle class lightkeepers, shopkeepers and publicans.

Furthermore, there also appears to have been tension between the different denominations within the town:

There were bitter division between the Catholic and Protestant Churches in the community at one time. During the 1920s, Catholics would not enter Protestant Churches, and would stand outside during funerals. My mum was bitter against Catholics. There was a definite divide between the Catholics and Protestants. It was pretty strong in the 1920s. [CA]

It is possible that this observation was related to The Troubles in Ireland, and might demonstrate the transportation of landscapes of animosity from overseas. The social differentiation between the various hierarchical groups may also be expressed through places of religious observance, as it appears that most of the elite attended St George's Church, whereas other social status groups attended one of the other four denominations in the town (Wesleyan, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic).

Although religion does appear to have affected local relationships, the extent of its role in shaping the social structure of the town was not clear, and hence was not investigated further during this study. Many informants either indicated that religion was irrelevant, or did not wish to convey their beliefs during interviews. However, others indicated that religion was a critical factor because it was one of the determinants of social cohesion in isolated nineteenth century communities [JG], and hence this avenue presents yet another direction for potential landscape research.

5) External Relationships

A) Social Relations between Residents and Tourists

While it was not possible to consider tourism landscapes within the main body of the thesis, a full analysis is provided in Appendix D. However, tourists provided a consistent and powerful external agent in the operation of the town, and in the construction of its relations between groups. The large annual influx of tourists over summer was an essential component of Queenscliff economy, and provided financial opportunities that were eagerly exploited by many of the town's permanent residents. Fishermen would often make extra money by selling cheap fresh fish directly from the pier to tourists just before their steamer left to return to Melbourne, a practice was reciprocally appreciated by both sides [HM; PF]. Children also sold recreational catches for extra pocket money (Ferrier 1989: 17, 1991:2; [CS]). As early as the 1860's, fisher women were frequently engaged in manufacturing trinkets and souvenirs for tourists from shells and other flotsam and jetsam (Dod 1931:25-6). Other souvenirs were hawked by children, including nautilus shells, and even seagulls which were trapped and sold as pets. The arrival of the excursion steamers often presented very profitable opportunities. Money was also made from the collection of empty beer and soft drink bottles from the Bay Steamers and their passengers (Ferrier 1989:18, 1991:2), a practice which was widespread in many other tourism towns (e.g. Lorne - Hunt 1999:10). Numerous townspeople often rented their houses out to tourists during the summer season ([CA; JG; JP]; QS 1/5/1886). Twentieth century fishermen especially were heavily reliant on this extra income to pay their annual council rates, and they would often move their entire families out of their main houses into smaller cottages or bungalows in the rear of their yards (Ferrier 1991:2; [HM; LID; WN]).

Although the tourists' income was welcome in the town, many residents resented their annual invasion: "They called the tourists "the thrip" [midge: an insect] as they both come in the summer and they are both annoying" [WN]. Later "day trip" tourists often exhibited socially unacceptable behaviour. Alcohol consumption was an important activity for the day tourist, and some were drunk by the time the boats arrived at Queenscliff, and/or overindulged in alcohol throughout the day. Police often had to confiscate alcohol as tourists disembarked, and the Esplanade Hotel (located close to the pier), regularly had record takings. Tourists were often so drunk that they fell into the water, or had to take the train home when they missed the return ferry (Ferrier 1989:17; [CA; CS]).

The proximity of the piers to the Fishermen's Flat and the fishers' popular drinking areas, forced an overlap between the fishing community and the tourists as they passed through on their way to the town. Many fishermen especially resented tourists' attitudes to them:

Everyday the Bay Boats would come in and bring Butchers and Grocers Picnics. There were dancers in pavilions and thousands at the pier. You would see all the people come ashore, and the snobs would have their noses in the air looking down at you as they went past. You would see the same people stagger back later in the day when the boat was due to leave, and we would go down to watch them and have a laugh near the park and the Esplanade [Hotel]. Prim and proper ladies with all the graces who had earlier looked down at us were sometimes so drunk that they were falling over in the gutters. [CS]

These scenes became a popular free source of amusement for many sectors of the community, who would often sit in the waiting sheds to watch inebriated tourists returning to the boats, who often did not appreciate the attention: "...it was the women too, you didn't look at them the wrong way or they would give you a mouth full, and didn't mind using their hat spikes either" [CA].

The Bay tourists were also popular with the young soldiers, who would often gather at the pier to inspect the incoming women and parade themselves as potential suitors:

It was quite the thing to go down to Queenscliff Pier to meet the boats and see them off, and the gunners used to sit like dicky birds in a row on the wall. (Whitelaw, cited in Tate 1982:155)

B) Social Ties to Pt Lonsdale and Other Districts

Some informants hinted that there was some social stratification between Queenscliff and nearby Pt Lonsdale, where several informants suggested that the latter viewed the former as working class [HH; MW]. This was a distinctive role reversal from the early days when Pt Lonsdale was equated with farming, and Queenscliff was associated with the Battery, but it should also be noted that the appeal of Pt Lonsdale had always been its genteel environment [JG]. These observations are probably linked to the evolution of Pt Lonsdale as a new higher status tourist destination, whose relative isolation enabled an escape from the inundations of the lower class tourists associated with the cheaper Bay Steamer traffic at Queenscliff, and it is notable that no hotel licence was ever issued for this area [JG].

The social connections with other townships such as Ballarat and Geelong were interwoven with Queenscliff society, as the inland residents often spent their summer holidays on the coast. Several local residents indicated the any historical study of Queenscliff would be incomplete without examining these inland towns and the development of their railways, as they were so strongly tied together, which dated back to the gold rush period [JG]. Many

joint sporting events (bowls, yachting) were organized that involved both towns [CA], and strong relationships were formed between the two communities that often involved seemingly unrelated events, including when the Ballarat Yacht Club took up a collection for the lifeboat crew after a particularly daring shipwreck rescue [HH]. Queenscliff was also an integral component of the landscapes of Western District farmers, who often retired by the seaside, and it is significant that a number of Pt Lonsdale land sales were conducted Ballarat [JG].

The football league also often involved competed with teams from across the other side of the bay, a match that was known as “the Battle of the Rip” when contesting the Sorrento team [GW; HM]. These forged relationships with those communities, each of which would often sail across to attend and watch games.

6) Landscapes of Resistance

A) Alternative Local Social Hierarchy Based on Ancestral Ties

A very strong sense of community identity and belonging was evident within Queenscliff, both in historical and contemporary periods. Many early reports in local newspapers were written as Reminiscences (Fanning 1893) or under pseudonyms (e.g. “The Native” 1887; “Old Salt” 1890; “A Queenscliff Boy” 1912) which usually signified the degree of antiquity/localness of the writer through direct knowledge of historical events in the town. The majority of local informants revealed that community identity was strongly associated with ancestral ties to the area, and indicated that if your grandfather was not born in Queenscliff, you were not a “local” [JB; GW; HM; PF]. Numerous interviewees would preface conversations about various town identities with comments about their status as a local (or not), and when asked about their own history in the area, most would first relate back many generations of local familial ancestry. Several times when informants were asked about who to speak to or who I had spoken to in the town, they stated that although the person concerned had been in Queenscliff for some time (in some cases up to 80 years), they were not locals, which often implied that their community identity, and hence their reliability as an historical source for the area was questionable. This phenomenon was possibly partly associated with the constantly changing army residents in the community, which, along with the perpetual tide of tourists frequenting the town, caused a strong sense of territoriality amongst the permanent (and seasonally semi-permanent) local populace, who distinguished themselves from the temporary residents and visitors.

The fishing community was particularly marginalised as outsiders, since their first appearance into the town by the early 1860s. Housing rights associated with the fishing licences led to the establishment of a fringe fishing community built on the low lying extremities of the town in what had previously been considered unusable land (The Fishermen's Flat). However, the segregation from the rest of the town, both geographically and socially, was sorely felt by this sub-community. When they were denied local council voting rights (due to their lack of free-hold land status), the fishermen staged a successful strike in 1869 which led to reinstitution of their ballot rights and representation on the local council (QS 10/8/1907). Fishermen fiercely guarded their allocated residential areas on the Flat, and petitioned parliament in 1907 when their sole occupancy privileges to the Crown land were threatened (QS 2/11/1907). Clearly, the fishing community were initially seen as lower class intruders to the town.

The ambiguous character of the fishing domain also contributed to the social separateness of other fishing communities elsewhere (Minnegal et al. 2003:64). Because the very nature of fishing was dangerous and often mysterious/secretive, it was not fully understood by mainstream society, and was often romanticised. The traditional values of fishers often lay outside the mainstream norms, and in this way they resembled other marginalised and semi-sedentary groups such as Gypsies and desert nomads. This was particularly evident in their tendency to illegally exploit shipwrecks and other fisheries resources whenever the opportunities arose, particularly in the nineteenth century.

However, tourists and the defence personnel were transient populations, and eventually the fishing, business, pilots, and farming communities and other permanent residents developed working and personal relationships which spanned the status quo of normal hierarchical systems. The continual and changing influx of tourists and military personnel, who did not often understand the complex social inter-relationships and accommodations that had developed within the township, were sometimes resented, as the outsider groups sought to assert their cultural values and practices over the local population.

Over time the permanent population of the township developed a shared identity that distinguished them in opposition to the outsiders (primarily the defence forces and tourists). The ability to identify oneself as a true "*Cliffie*" through demonstrated lengthy ancestral lineage, long term residency, and an understanding of and access to associated local historical knowledge of significant places and lore, placed greater societal value on local community identity (and therefore belonging) than on the previously dominant class system. This mechanism increased one's local

status, bonded/reinforced relationships that cross cut normally disparate sectors of the local community and provided an alternative stratum for social differentiation that transgressed/overshadowed the mainstream social hierarchy normally imposed by the town's intruders. It is notable that all these aspects impact on spatial arrangement and landscape of the township, a factor that will be discussed further below.

Significantly, in this system greater value appears to have been placed on cognitive knowledge (e.g. lore, ancestral oral histories and toponymy) than actual physical demonstrations of ancestral presence (e.g. Forts and Hotels), an observation which further seems to have isolated the "outsiders", who inherently relied on large and abundant tangible physical remains to demonstrate their belonging to place.

Surprisingly, even the temporary defence residents saw the tourists as intruders, and were united with the local population in their opposition to them. It is also clear that the army sorely felt their exclusion from being identified as locals. Consequently, the large number of memorials dedicated to naval forces that are located at Shortlands Bluff carpark might be viewed as attempts by this external group (i.e. the military) to establish their own long term enduring ties to the township, through the memorialisation of members of their own "brotherhood". Several researchers have recognised the importance of memorials in anchoring landscape attachment to tangible physical places (Auster 1997; Gough 2000; Gibbs 2005). The installation of the first plaque for the victims of the *HMAS Goorangi* sparked a proliferation of memorials in this area, which now accommodates 10 dedications to the military, The Pilots and Lifeboat Services, and Merchant Navy. The memorials therefore represent a symbolic focus for sites that are hidden underwater, and may serve dual roles as both reinforcements of ancestral cultural identity of various specialist groups within the community, and as territorial markers to strangers that signify the community's ownership of place and their identification as a maritime society. The clustering of memorials in this area further demonstrates the contested nature of this landscape, where each maritime group is vying to prove its own ancestral claims to this region. Further discussion of memorials in the Queenscliff landscape is addressed in Appendix G-1.

Furthermore, ancestral attachment to place was also a factor in the collection of local artefacts, where one (fishing family) diver reiterated that part of the attraction of collecting seabed relics was their possible relationship to/use by past ancestors, a factor that also led to the fishing community to contest removal of significant painted panels from the South Channel Pile Light to Melbourne [PF].

It is apparent that many residents harbour personal attachments to the town's heritage, due to its connections to their ancestral or long term identity or personal history. There is still an active interest in heritage preservation in the town, and local residents are regularly involved in attempts to save threatened heritage sites (e.g. Queenscliff Harbour Development, Crows Nest Development etc), and for the return of removed historic artefacts and relics (e.g. South Channel Light paintings). These memorials and significant heritage sites provide tangible physical expressions of ancestral belonging to which local residents can anchor their communal identity through toponymic knowledge and local oral histories.

B) Two Faces of the Fishing Community

I) External United Front: Egalitarianism and Fishing Community Identity

The fiercely egalitarian nature of small maritime (often fishing) communities, whose resistance to any imposed authority frequently led to uneasy relationships with governing bodies, has been noted by numerous researchers (e.g. Goldsmith Carter 1945:15; Wright 1992; Westerdahl 2003b:19). These communities were often noted as “free rovers of the sea, men who never call any one master” (Treanor 1904: 69), and were classic examples of egalitarian culture where dominance and status were contextual and negotiable, and are based upon personal qualities, age and gender, (Seymour Smith 1986:268). The maritime community of Queenscliff originally appeared (to outsiders) to have been no exception to this rule.

Despite the ancestral union shared with other permanent members of the township, the fishing community placed further credence on one's identity as a fisher, which was used to present a united front in opposition to the others. The Queenscliff fishing community of the mid-to late nineteenth century was an anomaly amongst other contemporary sections of the Victorian community, as it appears that individuals of diverse ethnic and indigenous origins (who would otherwise be isolated and even ostracized amongst the general population) appeared to have been openly accepted as equals within this sub community. This occurrence is perhaps best explained by the gathering of many low ranking members of society into a common sub-class, where a form of (what externally appeared to be) egalitarianism was practiced as a means of rejecting the social hierarchy enforced by the other cultural ranks: “The fishermen were a clan of their own...they didn't care if they were the bottom of the rung, they couldn't care less” [JM].

In the boom years the economic success of the fishing industry also acted as cohesive factor within this community, whose industry was of some significance and operated somewhat independently of the township (in some aspects). Fishers were effectively independent businessmen, who eventually formed a union under which they organized fish distribution. These unions bonded this group in a common cause and further solidified their identity. The existence of the informal fishing etiquette related to snapper catches, and the imposition of fishing quotas further portrayed an egalitarian society where all fishermen were given equal opportunity, and where status was based on personal experience and ability.

Queenscliff fishers further drew on their specialised maritime knowledge and skills of the local area to distinguish themselves as the “native” European mariners of this region, which they further used as an internal social status mechanism. It became apparent in many interviews that the fishing community conceived of itself as the “native” mariners for this area. The establishment of this conceptual ancestral “indigenous” European Queenscliff fishing community, with its own technical skills, lore, superstition; and inherited social ancestral knowledge (all of which were dependent on detailed accrued knowledge of place), reflected the need of certain community members to cement their own distinctive sense of identity and belonging within an alternative egalitarian social system that operated in opposition to the predominant social hierarchy and class system that was imposed on them. This practice may also reflect a trend that was well established in the United Kingdom since early times, where skilled craftsmen and animal handlers (who were often considered to be the poorer and lower class members of society) formed trade guilds where a member’s specialised technical and ancestral knowledge ensured that they were part of an exclusive “in-group” or society (e.g. the Horseman’s Society, blacksmiths, or the Freemasons (see Evans 1966).

Minnegal (et al. 2003:58-61) noted that although a familial background within the Victorian fishing industry was important, fishers without ancestral ties to the industry but who could demonstrate the above knowledge and had served their apprenticeship as “deckies” (deckhands) were accepted into the fishing community. The central component of the fishing community was not tied solely to blood relationships, but to joint lifestyle and culture that was a “brotherhood” or “ethnic clan” of workers who faced the same daily life-threatening situations and would risk their lives for each other. In this aspect, Queenscliff fishermen strongly resembled initiated men, who, by trial and experience had earned their membership as men in their respective communities. This notion of traditional identity derived from shared engagement in a common endeavour and environment led to the distinction of Queenscliff fishermen as a separate society within the local community, that

also presented a powerful political lever that was often exploited to further their own causes (e.g. the Fishermen's Strike), and which again has parallels to the Masonic and other Lodge Orders.

Studies of other modern Victorian coastal fishing communities have observed similar behaviour, where cultural communal identity was inextricably linked to performance, which was based on one's ability to demonstrate practical "hands on" experience, and was not tied to one's social status, wealth or familial origins. Through the exhibition of knowledge of traditional fishing skills, associated folklore and history, local environmental conditions, and the geography of fish species, individuals could claim membership of the fishing community as fishers (Minnegal et al. 2003:54). This was a common trait amongst maritime communities, which usually establish their identity in opposition to the others, who are usually referred to as landlubbers (Westerdahl 2003b:18). Contemporary Victorian fishers still draw on these props of tradition to validate their identity as a cultural community whenever their profession and lifestyle is under threat. This connection to place often bordered on the spiritual in nature (Minnegal et al. 2003:68), an observation that was repeated by at least one fisherman:

Look at the wind, look at the things you can touch and feel, look at the tides and who controls the tides, its controlled by the Lord! [LF]

All the local fishermen denied the existence of individual territorial or informally owned fishing areas (which are known to exist in indigenous maritime cultures elsewhere). A daily race to be the first fisherman back to the pier demonstrated the importance of individual achievement within the fishing subculture:

The fishermen had a race to get the catch home first. The first man to get in put on a white jumper, to signify that he was the first man home. It was a real status symbol amongst the fishermen. [JM]

Equal opportunity defined the community, and breaches of this informal code were frowned upon, especially where any advantage was exploited over the other fishermen (such as the traveling fish hawking business [LID] - see Chapter Six). The fishing community especially were known for their willingness to risk their lives for each other in times of peril and philanthropically support bereaved fisher families [JM]. Even in a frequently destitute community, collections were often substantial (QS 22/10/1892), and sometimes provided the fishermen's widow with a new residence [JM]. This trend is reflected by the old practice within the community of establishing a collection for the families of drowned seamen, and may be a form of communal reciprocity and/or insurance for mariners who daily faced similar fates.

II) Internal: Brotherhood or Factional Community

The projected appearance (to outsiders) of a united fishing front may tell us more about current society than previous landscapes. It is likely that the fishermen's solidarity was exploited by those members who did not conform to general society (and therefore belong) whenever it suited them, but that in reality there was a probable hierarchy within the fishing community itself, and it was not egalitarian as had been portrayed. One aspect of this has already been presented in Chapter Six, where a type of initiation was used to distinguish fishermen from boys who went fishing.

Few examples of this disparity between fishermen were identified during the study. Observations have already been presented in Chapter Six in regards to the line-up rule when snapper fishing [PF] and the Shear Blade Fight. Other accounts revealed more discrete displays of disagreements between fishermen:

Cray fish were kept in coffs [large wooden underwater storage crates] in the harbour to sell. You didn't pull up anyone else's coff or craypots. You didn't want to upset the local fishermen, and if you were caught or suspected of doing this, in the middle of the night, someone would row out to your coff with a bucket full of boiling water from the copper, and dump it on top of your crays, and the temperature difference was enough to kill all the crays in the coff. [LID]

Another informant elaborated that the solidarity of the fishermen sometimes masked underlying tensions:

The fishermen were not a brotherhood you know. They sometimes cut each others nets, or thought that someone had if they found them damaged. Although they talk of a brotherhood, and it was definitely there if someone was in the water and had to be got out and they would give their lives to save lives, but on the other hand if they had any differences, they were often petty and sometimes likely to be long lasting and passed on from father to son... Their relationships were not as loving as you might think, they were not always bosom buddies. People sometimes had jealousies of their fellow fishermen. [nw]

Fishermen were also sometimes guarded about revealing their fishing secrets to other fishermen:

One bloke told me his uncle had showed him how to fish a certain [snapper] reef, there were ways of getting your line closer to the reef to fish it, but told him never to tell anyone how he did it. [JP]

Similar behaviour has already been shown in Chapter Six in regards to crayfish locations [GW].

One fisher even alluded that the couta boat race home centred as much around gaining economic advantage, as egalitarian prestige, as it bypassed the restrictions of the fishermen's cooperative and

the taxman, and allowed the winner who had taken more than his quota to sell the excess catch before the other fishermen arrived back [HM].

Furthermore, Chinese fishers may not have been as fully assimilated into the fishing community as first seemed:

There were families of Chinese on the Flats near Swan Island. There was once a seine net fisherman, who had a Chinaman with him. He told the Chinaman to pull in the net, but when he pulled the net, he ripped it on the bottom. The fisherman yelled out “How’s it going you heathen bastard” and the Chinaman replied “Plenty bloody rope but no net”. [CS]

These comments hint that the Chinese were still considered racially distinct from the rest of the community, and bring into question the reality of true multiculturalism and/or egalitarianism in the fishing community. It is therefore likely that ethnic, social and hierarchical tensions did arise within the fishing community, but that they were not publicly displayed by the fishers who presented themselves as a united front that is embodied by the current fishing community. Through the demonstration of solidarity, the fishing community retained an identity and culture that was closed to those outside of it. These observations suggested that there was a dual aspect of fishing community landscapes, where they were at once united (to those outside their community), but also (at times) internally fragmentary, sub-divided and/or individualistic in nature. Membership to the fishing community was based on two tiers of knowledge existed that established community and individual landscapes. The first level was based on general understandings of the type of knowledge related to fishing that indicated one’s membership of the fishing community, with a second layer of specific knowledge which was used competitively within the community to establish individual identity and status. The latter is difficult to see archaeologically; the former is recoverable at least in part.

7) Archaeological, Physical and Cognitive Indicators of Communal and Territorial Landscapes

A) Differential Territorial Landscapes

Queenscliff presented an unusual situation amongst the normal Victorian society. In Melbourne and other major centres throughout the state, the social classes were spread out into distinctive areas, and predominantly did not mix except where necessary, whereas in Queenscliff, all classes of society were squeezed into a small geographic area (under 2 miles square), and everyone was forced

to mix regardless of their social status. Furthermore, unlike many other country towns, Queenscliff's population consisted of the full range of the social strata, from the Colony's Governor and social elite through to fringe dwellers [JG; MW]). However, despite the constricted geographical space, the social divisions within the community led to distinct territorial areas within the town:

The top part of the town was the rich part of town. They had their own wells. This house was once a pilot's house, and has its own well (under the floor of the kitchen). Fishermen had to live down on the flat, and they got their water from the rooves or had to buy it. If you lived on the fishermen's flat, that was the poorer end of town, as it was leasehold. The upper section of town was freehold land. [PF]

The interaction of several key industries within the Queenscliff environment inevitably led to a social hierarchy within the town. Those in more prestigious industries (such as the Pilots Service and Defence forces) inevitably attained the socially highest status, whilst the fishermen were considered bottom of the social ladder, with a smattering of other services scattered in between.

The demographic distribution of the social classes of Queenscliff is clearly evident in the towns spatial arrangement, where social hierarchy (which was based predominantly around occupation) within the township is underscored by altitude. The town's elite tended to be topographically located at higher elevations, with social status decreasing correspondingly with location further down the slope (Figure 8.2). A large accumulation of military and high social status members of society are clustered around the elevated physical sections of the town, especially around Shortlands Bluff. The entrance to the town is guarded both at land and sea by a sequence of military establishments (Queenscliff and Crows Nest Forts), the former of which stands on the highest cliff face of the town. Various Governmental service accommodation and cottages of the Pilots Service, Customs and Health Officers (along Gellibrand, King and Hesse Streets known as Pilots Row) are located lower on the slopes nearby. Further down the hill is a Presbyterian Church district, adjacent to the merchants and tourism facilities of the central township of Hesse Street. Situated at the bottom of the hill (on former swampland) is the Fishermen's Flat. Houses in this area are substantially smaller than the large and often grandiose residences situated further up the hill, demonstrating a distinct physical division between the social hierarchies between areas. Many of these divisions have been used for formal classification of heritage areas in the Queenscliff Conservation Study (Allom Lovell 1984). Several minority groups were further socially separated on Chinaman's Point ([LID]; Anon. 1853 [updated 1864] plan; Gee 1971:5), and there was once a fringe community of "down and outs, Chinese and foreign fishermen" and Indigenous peoples located on Goat and Swan Islands [JM; MW]. The location of other small Chinese settlements on

the periphery of Queenscliff at the Springs and Edwards Point further points to social marginalisation of these ethnic communities. Socially marginal community members who were considered too rough or uncouth for the community were sometimes stationed at Duck and Mud Islands (Dod 1934:29; [nw]).

Social differentiation was also repeated when lower class tourists started visiting the township (see Appendix D-1). Visitors of lower status usually could only afford cheaper rentals, which were located at the bottom end of the town, which again reinforced the status quo of the social hierarchy.

This physical hierarchical representation is also recognisable in the spatial placement of the various churches around the township, where the Anglican St George's Church (the favoured church of the elite) was located on the highest peak in the township (at Swan Hill) overlooking Swan and Port Phillip Bays, which was also the vicinity of the early hut built by Governor LaTrobe in the 1840s). Not only is it higher than all other churches subsequently built in the area (usually Catholic Churches claim this honour), but its position is also the most visible for maritime and terrestrial traffic in most directions, a feature that Parker (1999) has recognized as symbolically significant for guiding parishioners in both earthly and spiritual travels. The display of Pilots' nautical running light signal at the church's entrance reinforces this observation, as a mark of the church's comparable role of guiding souls through troubled waters.

Territoriality was also noted within the Pilots Service which still maintains its own private pier, even though its launches are moored at the Fishermen's Harbour approximately 500 m away. When a pilot is due to board a vessel, the pilot boat crew board the launch at the harbour, but still collect the pilot from the pier, despite the close proximity of the pilots' base/residence to the harbour. Although a practical explanation lay in use of the pier to load stores for the Pilots' cruising vessels and to hang backup tender boats for immediate deployment [JP], another informant [nw] suggested that this demonstrated the inherent elitist attitudes of, and social divisions between the pilots and the general maritime community. The social disparities between the maritime industries were further demonstrated by the incidence of two major boat building yards (fishers and pilots) in the same town at separate locations.

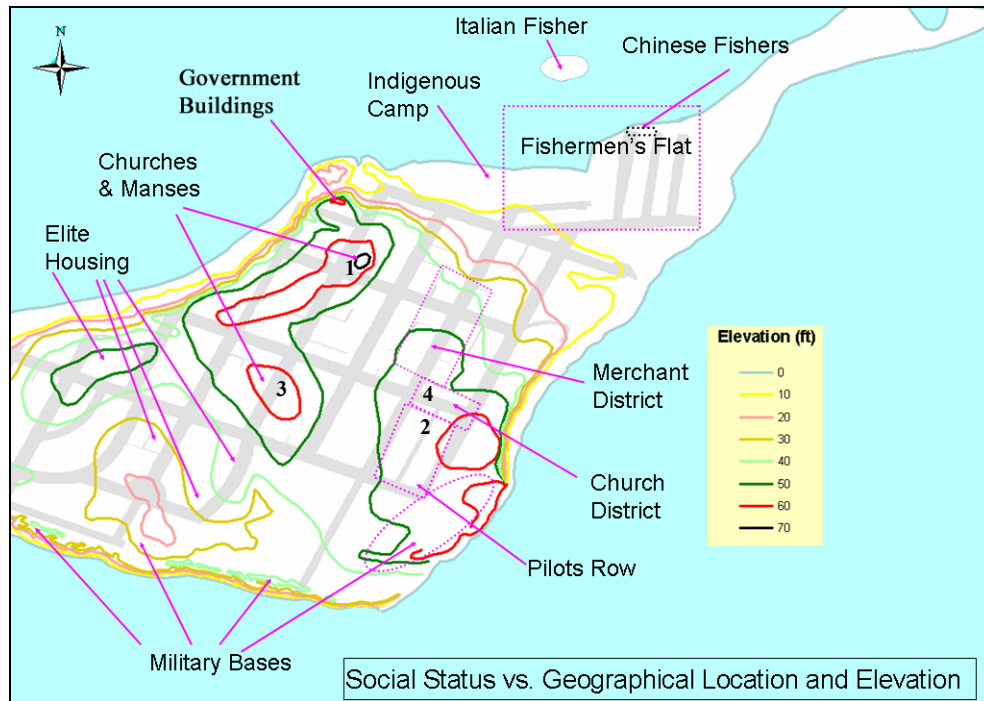


Figure 8. 2: Social status demonstrated by elevation In Queenscliff. Note: background outline is of the 1884 historic coastline of Queenscliff. Installation of Churches/reserves as numbered: 1. Church Of England Reserve 1854; 2. Presbyterian Church 1861; 3. Roman Catholic Church 1867; Wesleyan Church 1868 and Methodist Church 1888.

Observation of the distribution patterns of these sub-communities revealed distinct territorial occupation areas that locals sub-groups recognised should not be crossed. When one informant moved into a house in the Flats area in the recent past, an acquaintance with a army familial lineage questioned “Do you really want to live down there?” [nw], which implied that the area still had a stigma as an undesirable address. However, as one informant [nw] observed:

The fishermen on the Flat lived down there with a long lease as part of their fishing licences. It was a cheap lease and they lived close to work. We couldn’t have lived down there even if we had wanted to. That area was closed off to us.

This observation is significant, as it demonstrates a mutually exclusive boundary between the two extremities of the township in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, where both sides are excluded from the residential territory of the other, and is consistent with the data extracted for oral history interviews.

Although these disparities between the housing areas of different groups originally reflected the social differentiation within the township, over time these restrictions had obviously eased, but

the original physical partitioning of the various classes inspired by hierarchy continued to influence social relations (at least with children) in this time [1920s onwards]:

My father was a seaman with the pilots...I had a lot of time for the pilots. They were very worldly people and always treated us very well...We didn't see any difference between us [and the fishing children]. We all sat together in school, we played together. We didn't play with each other after school, but that was only because where we lived was in different directions. My brother had a lot of good friends from fishing families down on the flat. It may have been a generational thing, because by the time I came along we didn't see any of it. [JP]

Social hierarchy continues to play a role in the shaping of Queenscliff society, and is evident in the migration of socially elite areas to new locations. The elevated region of Fraser St (the road along the southern foreshore of Queenscliff fronting Lonsdale Bight) is now considered the elite area, due to its outstanding views of the Bay, but also for its relative isolation from the rest of the community [HH].

As has been previously demonstrated, definitive differences were also evident between housing types at the extremities of the town. The fishers lived in small timber cottages which were often unplumbed, whereas the more affluent citizens at the upper end of town resided in opulent stone and brick multiple roomed houses, often with their own water supply. Further architectural analysis of the housing and other buildings designs in Queenscliff are succinctly demonstrated in Allom Lovell (1984), and does not need further elaboration here.

The social and economic divisions within the town also often led to the separation of recreation areas. Many of the poorer members of the community could not afford (and were effectively denied) access to many of the social venues of the town, leading to the creation of duplicate recreational areas. This was markedly evident in the design/types of inns and public houses, where the modest (less luxuriously designed) hotels at the bottom end of the town (The Esplanade and Victoria Hotels) were used by the fishermen, whereas the higher social classes utilized the more opulent (and geographically higher) hotels (e.g. Vue Grand and Ozone). Similarly, in the early days the tourists and other higher status members would use the bath complexes on both sides of Shortlands Bluff, whereas poorer class children bathed in the shallow waters of the Swan Ponds area or on the beaches outside the enclosures. In later years, some town members also bathed on the former beach behind the Beach St houses, or in the enclosure formed between the tramway and foot access approaches to the Fishermen's Pier [LID]. The expense of the Hot Water Baths from the 1930s onwards effectively curtailed their use by all local fisher families, except the occasional football player [JM]. This further contributed to the differentiation of hierarchical areas within the

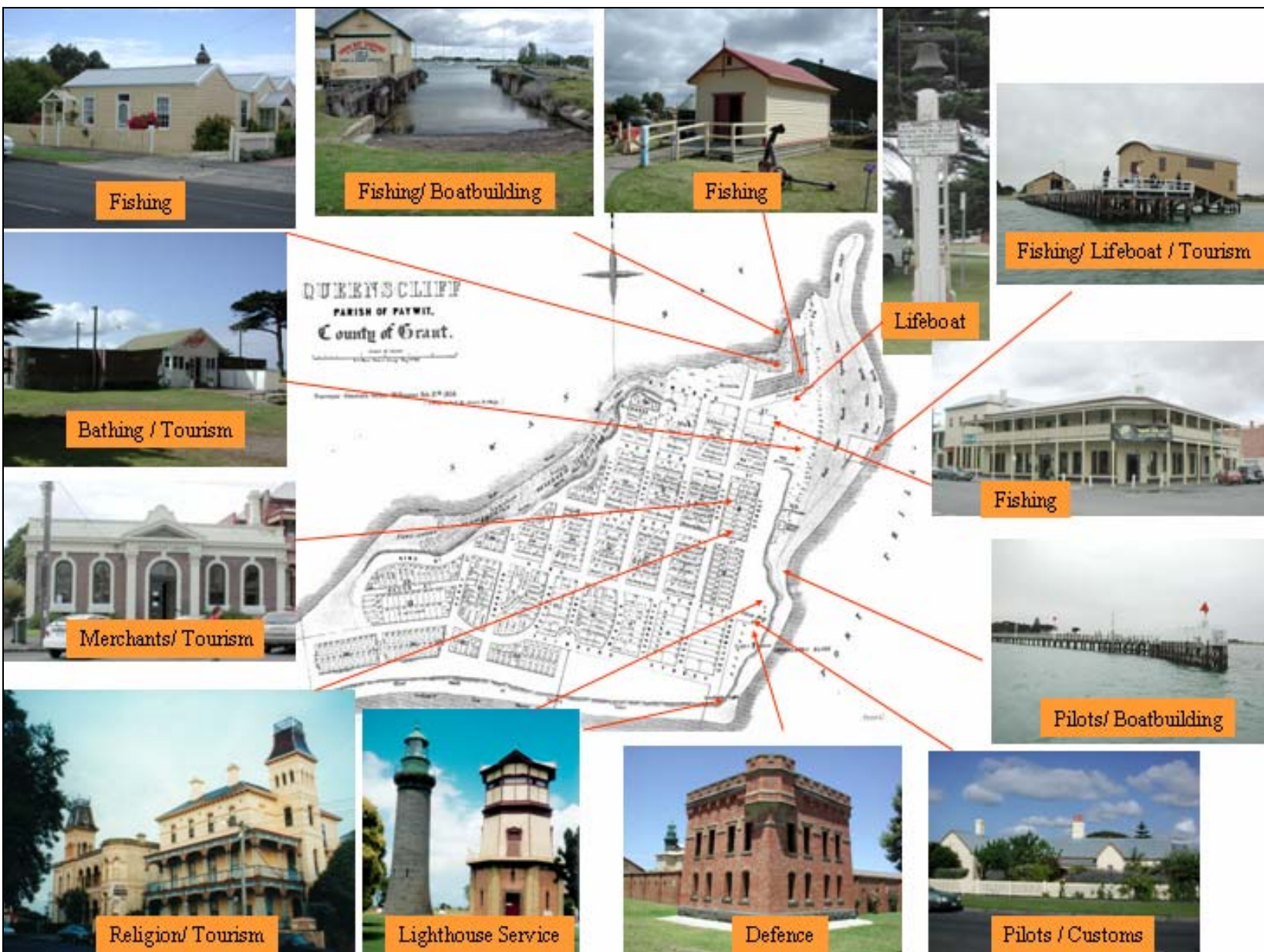


Figure 8. 3: The spatial distribution of thematic maritime industries at Queenscliff.

town, where the northern lower regions of the township were assigned lower social status.

Historical evidence suggested that the fishermen sorely felt the disparity in resources allocated to their areas. In 1893 (QS 27/5/1893), the fishing community petitioned the borough council for resources to be allocated to the construction of a sporting ground on swamp lands near the Fishermen's Flat, which they undertook to maintain via working bees after it was constructed. The letter ended with the following statement:

Here is an opportunity for great improvement if they will only let [the borough foreman] and his assistants spend a week at it. Why should all the improvements to the town be at the south [top] end of Queenscliff? Opposite Beach Street could easily be made into one of the beauty spots of the town.

It is also notable that due to their specialised exploitation of the environment and use of smaller vessels, fishers often used radically different routes to those utilised the majority of mariners, and included smaller channels both at the Heads and on the extensive sandbanks just inside the Bay. The use of these areas often led to the development of dedicated route markers and locality indicators, as demonstrated by the lead marks for the snapper patches. The vast disparities between travel networks utilised by fishermen and other seafarers was potently indicated through the dissimilar types of sailing instructions available for various specialized maritime groups (e.g. Burdwood 1855; Yule 1868; Emerson et al. 1897, Anon. n.d.), and through informal navigational information gleaned from oral history interviews. Analysis of artefacts identified in the many different channels within the Bay suggests generalized observations can be made concerning the origins of vessels using each route (e.g. whether local, intrastate, interstate or international - see Appendix D-4 Transport Zones). The route navigation systems used by each thematic group were reinforced with (often restricted) knowledge of distinctive toponymy (see Appendix G-2) and folklore (e.g. four fingers rule used by Pilots [CSp]; snapper patch locations), that further identified one's thematic affiliation and cultural identity. Furthermore, different groups often used their own unique anchorages, which initial indications suggest have also produced archaeological signatures distinctive to each sub-culture [DL; PF].

The expansion of some industries actually retarded the growth of others, the most pertinent example being the effects of defence reserves on development of tourism/ housing at Shortlands Bluff and Pt Lonsdale, and fishing and/or guano mining at the Mud Islands and Swan Island. This was especially evident in Queenscliff, where the only direction for the fishing community to expand was over swampland and onto offshore islands.

B) Social Space Division

Empty space was extensively used in the Queenscliff community as a tool of social differentiation and boundaries marking. This is most noticeable in the demarcation of the Fishermen's Flat from the rest of the town, where strips of parkland segregate the two areas. The empty space of both water and bushland was also used to distinguish living areas other lower status societal members such as the Chinese and Indigenous peoples who lived on the outskirts of Queenscliff, the neighbouring islands and Edwards Pt. Furthermore, the cleared areas around the fort are significant as they further differentiate the territorial boundaries of the military.

C) Power Landscapes: Empty Space as an Authoritative Cultural Commodity

Authoritative landscapes are imposed landscapes which structure or control the movement and use of those regions. The defence landscape demonstrated the most formidable authoritative landscape, but the Pilots, Navigation, Customs, Quarantine, Immigration and Postal Service landscapes also demonstrated landscapes of authority within the study area. The military's power is reflected not only in the physical presence of various defence installations, but also in the retardation of development of foreshore areas designated as coastal defence Fortification Reserves (e.g. Pt Lonsdale, Pt Nepean, Lonsdale Bight and Swan Island) whether they were eventually constructed or not.

Similar observations of significant spatial emptiness were made for every Quarantine area around the bay. Original quarantine facilities at Melbourne were physically isolated from the general populace, either in remote locations from the settlement or at anchorages. Furthermore, the removal of Quarantine services to Pt Nepean, where a large region was reserved to provide a physical and cognitive buffer between potential fever victims and the general populace, demonstrates the significance of the space required. The location of the station on the then sparsely populated Nepean Peninsula, is significant for its physical isolation by both land and sea, and reinforced the notion of the fever victim as temporary social outcast. In these cases the lack of development (or the space) between the facilities is as significant a component of the authoritative landscape, as the actual physical remains of those services.

The deliberate lack of high rise development on the eastern side of Shortlands Bluff is particularly significant to the navigational landscape of Port Phillip Bay, as it draws the navigator's attention to

the beacons on that point. The abundance of substantial historic high rise developments on the eastern side of the Bluff, would appear to support the observation that the empty space along the southern foreshore of Lonsdale Bight was a significant component of the navigational landscape of Port Phillip Bay. This observation has strong analogies observation of the importance of the vacant areas in the cultural landscape of Stonehenge (Bender's 1992:8) and other coastal monumental structures (see Jasinski 1999:16-7; Parker 1999:324, 332; Fowler and Cummings 2003), where the lack of development and open areas were used to highlight central landscape features.

Although the defence facilities of Port Phillip Bay have been strategically placed, they also have a symbolic aspect for all mariners entering the Heads. The prominent position of the exposed early guns and defences on the headlands overlooking the bay suggests that they were meant to be viewed from below, to give the imposing impression of landscape domination while maintaining a mystery of what lay behind them. They are designed to at once both instil confidence in the safety of the port for allies, and to remind potential foes that they enter the port under the Government's leave. This was also true of the entrance to Queenscliff and Pt Nepean, where terrestrial travellers were confronted with monumental symbolic reminders of the strength of the colony as the main road led directly past the forts. These imposing fortification works have strong analogies to Bender's (1992:6, 9) observations of henge monuments as power reinstatements, where the physicality of outer walls and moat visually reinforced the authoritative status quo, while denying access to the secretive world within. This observation could equally be applied to the Fishermen's Shed, but as a subversion of the normal power structures, as access to it was also restricted for the uninitiated and non-fishermen. Furthermore fishing knowledge was to some extent restricted to initiated fishermen, which was used as a power mechanism to control the younger generation. This form of control represents a more localised form of authoritative landscape.

The construction of the fort wall and ditch also physically symbolised social exclusionary barriers between the armed forces and civilian worlds, as they represented not only obstacles to potential foes, but also marked military territorial status areas which effectively segregated the townsfolk who formerly had previous access to those areas. The defence forces expansion at Shortland's Bluff saw the removal of early pilots dwellings (Philp 1856a, 1856b [plans]), the original lighthouse (Raison and Beavis 1998:10), the post and telegraph offices (Dod 1931:94-5), and the early football field (Anon. 1853 [updated 1864] plan) as Fort Queenscliff expanded (see Figure App D-1.37). This led to increased isolation of the army from the local townsfolk, especially when the permanent

military personnel were gradually phased in from 1882 until 1892 to replace former volunteer militia, a fact that was to effect future town relationships (O'Neill 1988:49; Perry 1973:43-9).

The installation of later submarine minefields and low profile fortifications introduced a psychological aspect to the warfare, which encouraged compliance to an ever present but often unseen authority, a pseudo "big brother" effect. This was supplemented with ranging warships and light armoured vessels, which further demonstrated the changing and dynamic aspect of those authorities to maintain control wherever it was needed. As previously discussed, stranding sites in the South Channel might be attributed to paranoid vessel captains venturing further to the channel's northern edge to avoid mines [PF]. This further demonstrates the military's authoritative landscape, where knowledge (of potentially dangerous defences and those who controlled them) was used as a power base to shape the use of the landscape.

The authoritarian military landscape still dominates the Queenscliff environment. Many areas are still subject to military restrictions (e.g. Fort Queenscliff), and previously accessible sections of Swan Island are now excluded to all but military and intelligence personnel. The military territoriality over Swan Island is also evident on the water, where a maritime exclusion zone is marked by buoys and signs (Figures 8.4 and 8.5). Even these zones are contentious, as locals have indicated the military is gradually increasing the size of the area, which is precluding access to previously popular fishing and diving locations (e.g. *J3 Submarine*).

Furthermore, many aspects of the exclusionary defence landscape were cognitive in nature. The military machine restricted access to knowledge not only to its physical sites and workplace methodologies, but also to its intelligence data and cultural rituals. These strategies were clearly used to define a cultural identity distinct from the general public, where one's ability to demonstrate belonging to the military brotherhood was based on differential access to restricted information. The rationing of this knowledge was used to further differentiate social status even within the defence forces itself, whereby specific secretive knowledge was increasingly limited to those of higher rank.



Figure 8. 4: Swan Island maritime exclusion zone marker buoy.



Figure 8. 5: Territoriality over naval waters at Swan Island.

D) Landscapes of Resistance: Physical Expressions

Westerdahl (2002a) has asserted that wherever power structures exist, there will also be landscapes of resistance. Many of these landscapes were evident within the study area, as has been shown in this and previous chapters. Resistance landscapes were clearly visible in the permanent residents' attempt to establishment of an alternative society to subvert the hierarchical structures imposed on them. Furthermore, the proven reliance of many of the Queenscliff community on shipwrecks as an economic resource demonstrates a blatant disregard for authority, which has also characterized many other smaller maritime communities worldwide (Westerdahl 2003:19). In particular, some members of the fishing community actively resisted attempts to assert authority over their migratory lifestyle. This was demonstrated by their involvement in wreck plundering, smuggling, tax avoidance and over-fishing; their continuing conflict with the soldiers; along with their scant regard and continual intrusions into the restricted areas associated with military and quarantine service. The potential physical signatures of these activities have already been discussed in Chapter Seven.

The fishermen, Chinese and Indigenous groups were often relegated to the boundaries of the society by those in authority. However, once they were legally ensconced into these areas, they adopted and fiercely defended them as their own territorial delineations, which were further used to highlight their difference and independence from those at the upper end of town. Many fishermen also demonstrated a territorial sense of ownership of the former Fishermen's Pier, Fishermen's Flat and the Swan Ponds area, but in particular of The Cut, which may stem from their direct involvement in its construction. This was particularly evident during recent redevelopment proposals for the Queenscliff Harbour, when outrage was expressed by many residents (particularly

past and former fishermen) that the resulting increased harbour fees would force many of the *couta* boats out of the harbour. Most of those interviewed expressly stated that it was the fishermen who had created The Cut that led to the harbour installation, and they were concerned that they might be excluded from the facility that existed in their area. The creation of The Cut by the fishers, not only indicates the economic success of the fishing industry at that time, but the action of the creation of The Cut further demonstrated the fishers' abilities (both physically and symbolically) to manipulate the natural environment in the same way as the government agencies, thereby empowering their own identity as a maritime clan. Furthermore, The Cut is a potential tangible demonstration of a resistance landscape, where an alternative harbour was created to circumvent the need to utilise the facilities of (and hence acquiesce to) the dominant local authority (in this case the defence force harbour at Swan Island).

Although the marginalisation of the local Chinese population to the periphery of the local society (see Figure 8.6) was probably a policy of segregation, it may also represent a resistance landscape, where the Chinese intentionally used the intervening space to provide a buffer that defined and maintained their cultural territorial space whilst resisting assimilation into the dominant culture. Evidence of Chinese occupation of the area has been found underwater in this area and along the eastern side of Swan Ponds, and includes Chinese rice and bean jars, tableware ceramics and earthenware water storage jars (Figures 8.7 and 8.8). There is also the possibility that other mechanisms influenced the design of Chinese residential locations, including cultural notions of their own territory and identification, and ideological practices such as *fengshui* (Teather and Chow 2000:312-7). It has not been within the scope of this study to explore the Chinese community in further detail, but it is probable that they had their own internal social and spiritual logic, as well as their own internal socioeconomic and hierarchical traditions which also affected the spatial patterning of their settlements within the township.

Resistance landscapes were not confined to local residents, as has been shown where military personnel were also engaged in looting activities, and less obvious sly drinking. It is clear that wherever authoritarian structures were imposed, various levels of resistance also arose on many different levels.

Several other potential resistance landscapes occurred on the periphery of the civilised township, and were shared by many diverse social groups. In particular, the Mud Islands, Duck Island and Edwards Point appear to have been used as escapes from the controlled authoritative landscapes of

the township. These sites were often visited by the town's youths to let off steam and undertake illegal activities and later as a place to grow drugs [GrW; LID]. In particular, the Mud Islands were frequented by fishermen to consume pilfered barrels of alcohol found floating in the bay [LF]. This area was used later in the twentieth century by youths, football clubs and younger tourists who took beer kegs to the island and engaged in underage drinking and other unsavoury behaviour [GR; JA; LID; LM] as they were beyond the restrictions of law and family. Bare knuckle prize boxing matches (which were banned in Melbourne) were organised at the island in the 1860s and other violent disputes were also settled here (GA 26/7/1867:3; Dod 1931:35, 89, 90). The islands were once inhabited by fishermen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of whom were known in Queenscliff for raucous behaviour. During interviews it was suggested that the isolation of the island was probably an appropriate place for some of those individuals and that sort of behaviour. The island was also popular for tourist picnics from the 1870s onwards (Beavis and Raison 1982:9; [CA; LF]), and by the late 1960s it was suggested that nude bathing and drunken orgies were being undertaken at the islands [GR]. Knowles (1997) recognised the importance of these types of places as male bonding areas, where men could let their hair down and indulge in what was normally considered antisocial behaviour, without the risk of hurting or offending other community members. It also appears that these were traditional areas for these practices, as demonstrated by the continuity of "barrel days" from the periods of shipwreck looting through to modern times.

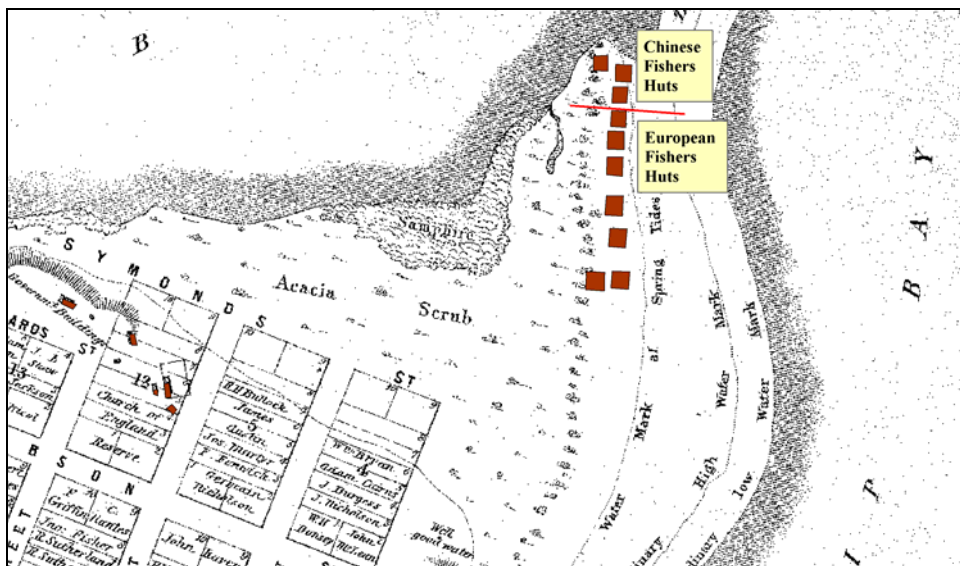


Figure 8. 6: Location of fisher' huts in 1864, showing the division between Chinese and European Fishers, and the rest of the township. (Note: Fishers huts in Anon 1853 plan are superimposed over Philp's 1856a plan).



Figure 8. 7: Chinese ceramics discovered in Swan Ponds (MM Collection).



Figure 8. 8: Chinese artefacts from Swan Ponds and Spit (QMM Collection).

E) The Wreck Bell: Relict Evidence of Lifeboat Service Relationships

At the beginning of this study, examination of the location of the wreck bell suggested that the site was ill-considered. It was situated in the town's northern extremity, far away from the centre and also what would seem the most obvious experienced seamen in the community (i.e. the Pilots, Customs and Health Boat crews). The location of the bell is pivotal in the understanding of the dynamics of the lifeboat crew in the township. It has been demonstrated in Chapter Seven that the fishers almost fully accounted for the crew of the lifeboat in later years. The prevailing weather associated with shipwrecks was predominantly from the south west or south east, which meant that if the bell was placed at the top end of town, then it would probably not be heard by those who needed to respond to it. The location of the bell therefore reflected the location of the lifeboat crew:

The wind would determine if you could hear the wreck bell. A phone was used by the lightkeeper to ring the coxswain, and he would get the crew together. The coxswain would go down to the lifeboat. The bell was located in this area as all the essential people lived there, the fishermen, and they were the ones who manned the boat. In the early days the health and customs boat crews formed the nucleus of the lifeboat crew, and the fishermen were later included. Later on the fishermen formed the foundation blocks of the lifeboat crew. [PF]

Examination of the structure of the township, and in particular, several extant features make more sense in light of ethnographic and oral history data. In times of shipwreck, the wreck bell (located on the town common near the Fishermen's Flat) would be rung to assemble the lifeboat crew, who were predominantly fishermen (Figure 8.9). Therefore, the bell was ideally located for the lifeboat crew.

The alarm bell was rung, and everyone would meet at the (lifeboat) shed...everyone could hear the bell in the fisherman's flat. [JB]

When viewed from the reverse perspective, these observations have significant meaning for the potential observance of social structuring of residential areas based on evidence from archaeological sites and extant structures in other areas where the historical record is lacking. The previous location of the original bell (now demolished) close to the High (black) lighthouse further informs of the involvement in the lighthouse service, (as the Lighthouse Keeper was always superintendent of the lifeboat of the lifeboat), but also hints at the location of the original lifeboat crews; the Health, Pilots and Customs Crews who lived in this area and on the beach below. When the Customs boat crews were removed in 1867, (and later the Health boat), the boat was predominantly crewed by fishermen. The bell was moved to the lower end of town, closer to those who formed the crew. Hence examination of the location of other wreck bells elsewhere may elucidate the thematic maritime identity of other former lifeboat crews and/or fishermen's areas, along with potential social areas in the landscape, and this observation has already been verified at Port Fairy.



Figure 8. 9: Historical locations of alarm bells around lifeboat crews around Queenscliff.

F) Geomorphological/Environmental Evidence of Community Coastal Landscapes

Communal activities were also evident in other more subtle archaeological aspects, where the joint effects of individual group actions were evident in environmental landscape evolution. The blasting of the Rip and the Boat Channel, along with the South Channel Dredged Cut, individually represent significant archaeological evidence of maritime landscape exploitation which is often referred to as “natural landscape” changes. The combined modification of the marine and estuarine environments

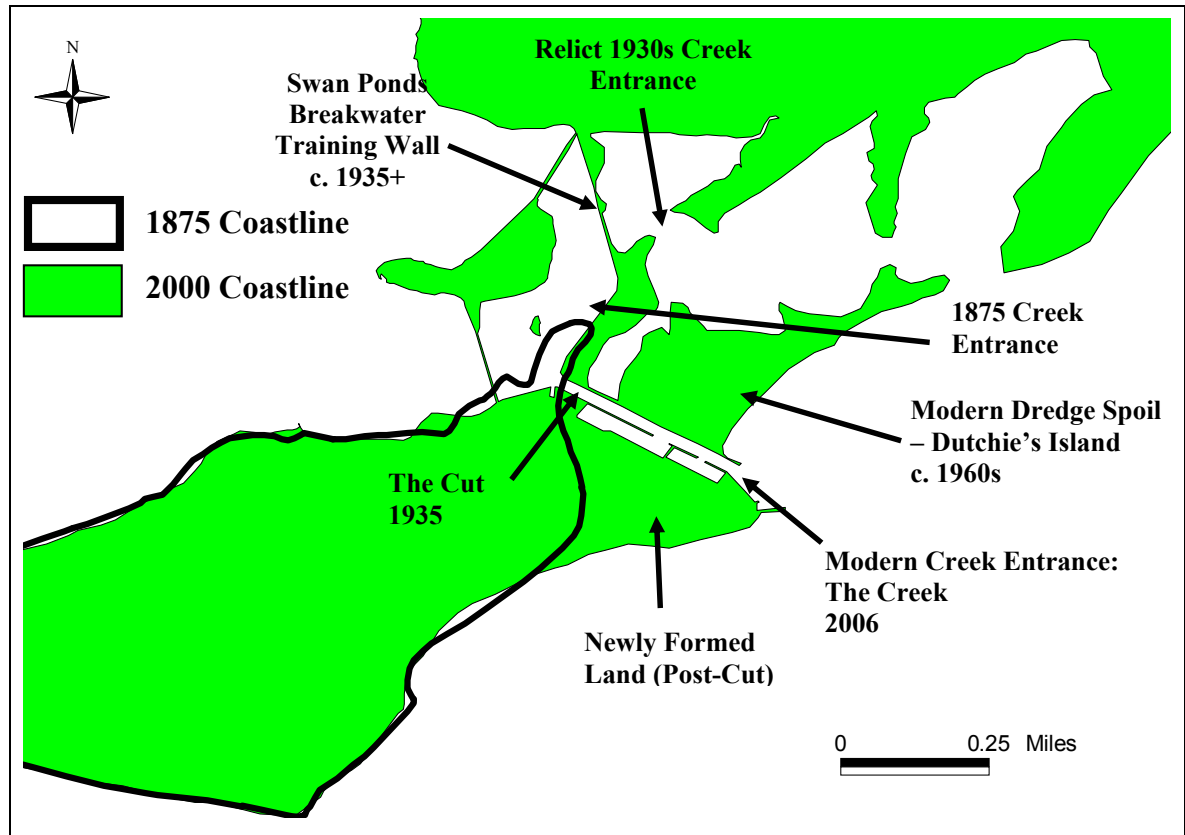


Figure 8. 10: Comparison of 1875 and 2000 coastlines derived from geo-referenced historic plan and modern aerial image.

by many different maritime thematic groups in this region produced general coastline changes which also represent tangible archaeological signatures of cultural activity. The local coastal dynamics of Port Phillip and Swan Bays were influenced by many artificial alterations and constructions (e.g. piers, bath, defence, bridge, breakwater and harbour construction; channel deepening and dredging; erosion control devices); extractive industries (sand and shell grit extraction; firewood and bark cutting; guano mining; farming); and the introduction of domestic animal species (rabbits and goats). The environmental effects of these activities (which are discussed in further depth in Appendix G-3) were potentially revealed through comparative analysis of spatial and temporal historic coastline change using cartographic sources (Figures 8.10 and 8.11), where it could be seen that as coastal shorelines altered (often as a result of the construction of maritime infrastructure, this in itself caused the extension and/or replacement of these same features with new maritime facilities. The environmental changes in themselves demonstrate powerful alternative tangible evidence (and sometime the only substantiation) of the presence of individual and/or combined maritime industries, particularly where the original structures that caused the change were subsequently removed. Therefore, the communal development and use of Queenscliff

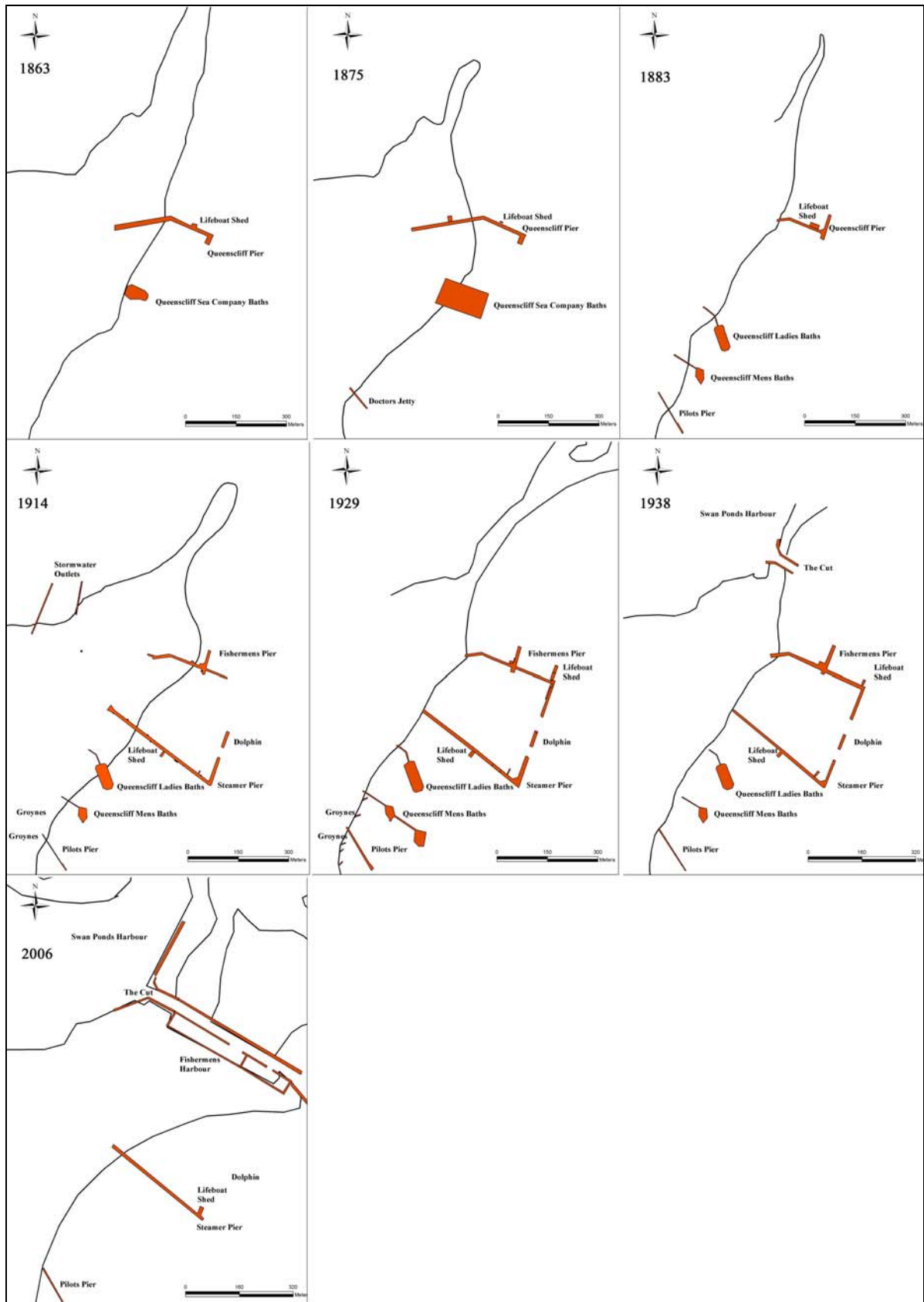


Figure 8. 11: Changes in the Queenscliff shoreline 1863-2006.

Harbour and the Rip can also be traced through the various environmental changes and other relict erosion control devices which have been installed in the area (see Figures 8.12- 8.14). These alterations in themselves represent potent archaeological signatures of past landscapes and historic landscape modification.



Figure 8. 12: View from Shortland's Bluff looking north, showing extent of foreshore progradation from relict seawall.



Figure 8. 13: Swan Ponds breakwater Causeway.



Figure 8. 14: Beachline progradation at Queenscliff Front Beach. Note the seawall on the right.

These observations also have relevance for the predictive modeling and relocation of archaeological sites, as this study concluded that some former underwater/intertidal sites are now located under prograded land (Figure 8.15) and some other past terrestrial sites (such as the Chinese Fisher Hut sites) were now underwater. This forecast was substantiated in 2005, when several sites that this author had been predicted would be found substantially intact were uncovered during redevelopment of the area, including the Fishermen's Pier which was found in a remarkable state of preservation (Figure 8.16). Artificially induced shoreline encroachment/erosion has also been

observed in several other areas statewide by the author (Duncan 2003a, 2003b, 2004a), and therefore clearly form a significant characterisation of community landscapes and are important for their subsequent identification. A summary table of archaeological signatures of communal landscapes is presented in Appendix G-4.

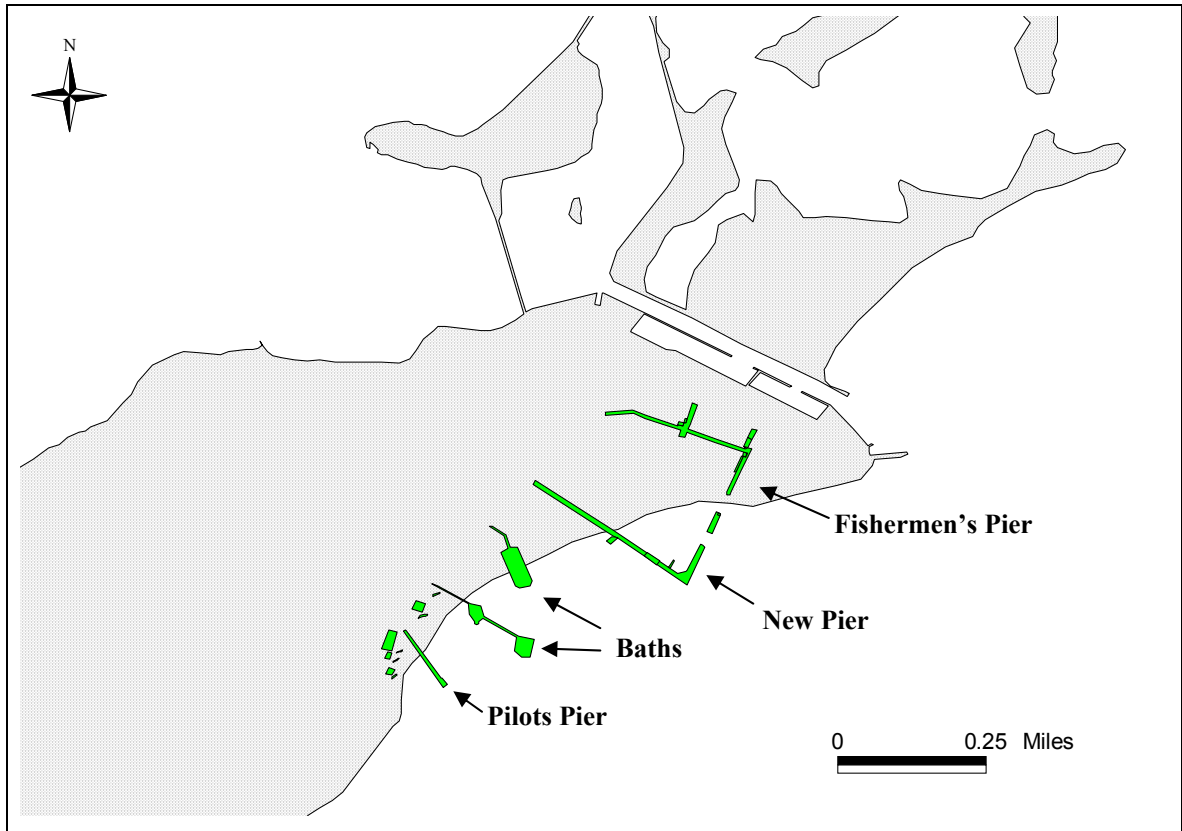


Figure 8. 15: The current location of 1929 maritime infrastructure sites shown against the modern. shoreline. Note the potential for archaeological sites buried under shoreline progradation



Figure 8. 16: Queenscliff Fishermen's Pier excavation 2005.

8) Mixed Feelings: Overlapping and/or Multivalent Landscapes

A) Terrestrial Landscape Areas

Even though social landscapes were delineated primarily by habitation linked to social status, it did not retard use of the others' areas by different maritime sub-groups. As has been demonstrated, fishermen did use defence areas (e.g. the Football Field), and the military and pilots often entered came to the Flat to buy fish or visit fisher women. Although different members of the community could cross the designated boundaries of the opposing individual communities, they were probably akin to the mariner ashore in a port, a stranger in a different world [DR]. Significantly, these observations demonstrate that these regions were the subject of multiple perceptions by many different parties. The examination of the diverse perceptive differences associated with individual landscape features presents an opportunity to investigate the multivalency of landscape construction. A number of key landscape places played active roles in many of the maritime themes addressed, but often held vastly different meanings to each individual group.

Fort Queenscliff was a central feature in the township. To the defence forces, the Fort represented home, a safe haven in a foreign land, bounded both physically and cognitively by its walls, moat, routines and rituals. The Fort was also a physical manifestation of their belief system in the absolute right of the government to rule. To the fishermen and some other members of the community, the Fort represented an intrusion into their territory, whose personnel restricted their movements, violated their women (and hence were a threat to their virility), and invaded their realm. Together with the Customs Depot, it was also a constant reminder of their domination by distant authorities (in Britain and later Melbourne) and of hierarchical societal restrictions imposed from afar. To the merchants however, the military represented a valuable income source and the Forts also symbolised economic opportunities. For the tourists, the Forts represented the physical manifestation of the safety of the colony and the power of the ruling authorities, their governance of all surrounds, and ability to control and manipulate the environment (e.g. Popes Eye and South Channel Forts). They also represented a mysterious curiosity, a dichotomy of war and peace set in a restful and at once boisterous environment (Figure 8.17).

Similar observations were made of the differing values of the Fishermen's Flat. The Flat represented home to fishermen, a place of rest and recreation (sometimes), and a haven of safety from the boisterous seas, but also the reimposition of authoritarian structures that regulated their lives (fisheries, police, customs, bills), domination by women (for some) and the resumption of

family responsibilities and poverty. For the military, the Flat was a dangerous place, a potential battleground that was to be avoided at one's peril, but also provided potential romantic opportunities and as such represented a strange mixture of possible pleasure and pain.

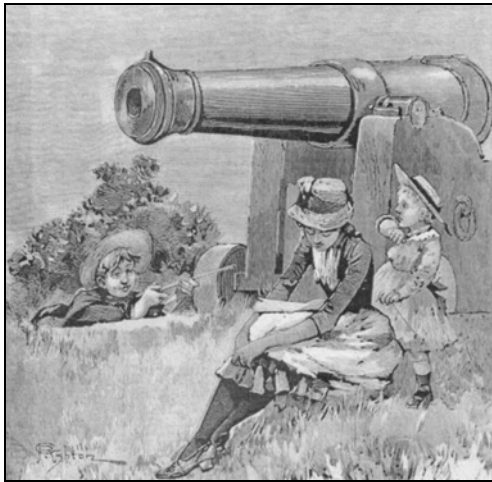


Figure 8. 17: “Peace and War – A Sketch of Queenscliff” (Sleep, IAN 14/1/1888, SLV Collection).

The gradual mixing of the military and fishers landscapes through intermarriage of the two clans is significant, as it demonstrates the unexpected temporal dynamism of these landscapes and their overlap with others. A number of factors might explain this situation, which include the gradual easing of the rigid social hierarchy over time, attempts to ease communal animosity (on both sides), along with familial intermixing of the different classes. Given that the main positive interactions were predominantly between fishers and naval or sea based army personnel, it is possible that a respect based on the joint use of the sea acted as a bonding agent between these groups, a notion that did not apply to terrestrially based soldiers. Clearly both groups came from the opposite ends of societal hierarchy, and as such would normally not have mixed in a more spacious town setting, due to disparities in their education, social status and usual social circles. It is clear that the topographic setting of the township forced relationships that might not usually have taken place elsewhere, and that the loss of landscape through exclusion and encroachment from the military further exacerbated the situation. In this case the women could be seen as the facilitators of landscape change. The fact that female members of the fishing community did eventually marry military personnel (and disregarded the informal prohibition on fraternizing with the army), perhaps further strengthens the previous observation of the matriarchal nature of Queenscliff society and suggest that women played a greater role in shaping the structure of the township than was initially realised.

Several landscape features also had multiple meanings to different parties in the township. The Fishermen's Pier represented a liminal transit point for fishermen, as it separated their two worlds from the domestic stability and restrictions of their terrestrial domain, with the uncertainty and freedom of the sea. The pier was therefore a central hub of the fishing community, which juxtaposed and channeled activities between two very different physical worlds. Similarly, tourists viewed the piers as gateways between their two realms of responsibility and recklessness, but their respective arrivals and departures heralded the opposite meanings to those experienced by the fishermen.

For tourists, Queenscliff represented a seamless new world, full of oddities and challenges. It appears that many tourists were not aware of, or bounded by, the restrictions imposed on the rest of the town, and mingled freely wherever they chose. The often outrageous (drunken) behaviour of the tourists demonstrates that Queenscliff was for them also a temporary disengagement from the authoritative and hierarchical working environments, a liminal world where social responsibility and inhibition was shed on boarding the ferry, and reinstated on arrival from the return journey. Perhaps this is one reason why tourists were resented amongst some members of the local community, as they did not respect (and/or possibly recognise) the accepted physical class boundaries and behaviour that had been established in the town, but innocently pervaded into territorial areas without thought of consequence.

The Railway station was a key central component in the lifestyles of all the themes examined. It facilitated not only an expansion of the tourism market, but greatly assisted the development of the fishing industry. Despite the feelings of exclusivity expressed by many in the township in regards to the military, it should also be remembered that this piece of infrastructure (which was installed primarily to service the Military) played a key role in keeping what may otherwise have been a marginal coastal town going. Similarly, the Swan Island Tramway also facilitated a cross cutting relationship that aided fishers to access their stormy weather boat moorings. As such these sites demonstrate yet another unexpected inclusive practice associated with the defence forces.

As noted earlier, the Mud Islands were perceived as a place for letting go for many social groups, particularly the fishermen, football clubs and some tourists, as they were beyond the restrictions of law and family. These islands were important components of community landscapes as they galvanised relationships between many younger males through their role as a place of traditional male recreational customs and practices. However these and several other islands in the Bay were

problematic for authorities (such as customs and police), as they represented a lawless challenge which were predominantly inaccessible to them.

B) Marine Landscape Areas

The cognitive meaning of marine landscapes for many social groups often contrasted starkly to each other. For fishermen, the sea represented freedom, an escape from or to reality, and was an egalitarian world, where they were their own master, and their lives were depended on the extent of their own skills and experience. It also symbolised the pillar of opportunity, where armed with ancestral knowledge and skills, economic gains could be made from its many harvests (including fish and wrecks). The sea was also a place to be respected, where acquiescent behaviour based on prior knowledge of its natural cycles and moods offered a harmonious relationship. Fishermen worked with the sea on the whole, they did not try to change or fight it, even though at times some may have over exploited its resources. Generally, most fishermen were at home on the sea.

In contrast, the entire defence history of the Bay reflects the objective of the military to protect their flanks. The military saw the sea as an open gateway that could admit a foe, and therefore tried to bridge the gap. The network of defence structures around the bay epitomise a strategy to manipulate the environment to advantage, and correct natural holes in the physical defence landscape. This is particularly evident by the construction of artificial islands, blockships, and the channelling of shipping routes through the use of minefields. The defence network fought and sought to define the environment rather than work with it.

These two diametrically opposed viewpoints perhaps represent the biggest differences between the two maritime groups. Fishermen were dictated to by the sea, and changed their routine to suit it, whereas the military sought to control it. Fishermen drew on the sea's strengths and acquiesced to it where necessary, followed its natural rhythms and moods, whereas the military saw a weakness to be remedied. For fishermen the sea was a highway to prosperity and freedom, whereas for the military it was potentially the road to perdition.

To these two groups, and all the other working mariners in Queenscliff, the sea also represented a workplace. Conversely, from the tourists' perspective, the sea played a dual role as an escape route to the frontier of authority, and as a pleasure ground to cut loose from the mundane existence of everyday life.

C) Perceptions of The Rip

I) Local Community Perceptions

As there are many maritime cultural landscapes in any region, so too will they be founded on the cognitive perceptions of those who frequent an area. The Rip represented an obvious conglomeration of maritime perceptions for the study region, dependent on the perspective of the traveller. As the Heads region is a confluence of shipping from highly variable origins, it is also palimpsest of multiple overlapping landscapes, with both dynamic and intermingled perceptions of it that are experienced by many different user groups from multiple viewpoints.

It is ironic that the same healthy sea air which drew so many tourists has also accounted for so much ill health and disasters amongst those of the various maritime industries. The landscapes of shipping disasters have provided a very pertinent view of the dichotomies presented by an external event on a community. Shipwrecks have been shown to both galvanise the community into dualistic roles of saviours and salvors, but to also polarise the township through the advent of looting and the attempted prevention of it by authorities. Shipwrecks have been seen to be both disaster and boon, and have extensively shaped community relations and interaction. They created new relationships within and without the township (particularly between the maritime groups), and also generated new places that were accessed by many different social groups for many different reasons. The collection of flotsam and jetsam, particularly of coal in Lonsdale Bight, has generated new social practices and etiquette that were undertaken by all social margins of the community. As such these sites operated as unifying mechanism within the township that cross cut other social relations and boundaries and provided an area of equal access to all.

Fishermen were also subject to the inclement weather in this area, but were forced by necessity to endure it as part of everyday life. This led to different perspectives of the area from passers by, and although they often feared the region they often understated the danger with a philosophical air of indifference:

Was The Rip dangerous? Christ Yeh!, especially in a south west wind and a big break, with the tide and a break coming behind you. A few boats got sunk there. I wasn't too happy sometimes coming through I tell yeh! [CS]

Some pilots expressed differing views of working the Rip in bad weather, which presented the greatest enjoyment, but also the greatest challenge:

Some pilots did the job but didn't enjoy what they were doing. I always enjoyed the job. I always did my best job in bad weather. When the wind was blowing a gale, you always had to think about what you were doing. In safe weather you were yacking to the master, and your mind was not as much on the job. I always enjoyed it then, like most pilots did. You planned the job in bad weather better, as you had to think about the job more. [CSp]

Furthermore, areas of The Rip and The Bay were also held in high esteem for their associations as burial grounds, particularly in regards to where local loss of life had occurred on shipwrecks (e.g. *HMAS Goorangi*), but also where the ashes of cremated loved ones had been scattered over the water (See Appendix G-1 for more discussion of these areas).

Historical photographs often portrayed the Heads with one or more vessels atop the rocks at Pts Lonsdale or Nepean. The abundance of these iconic photographs suggests that they were originally produced for newspaper sensationalism, but may have had a joint effect in encouraging sightseeing into the area in a similar fashion that macabre tourism ventures often arise at murder scenes or aircraft crash sites. Whatever the case, shipwrecks have remained an enduring influence on the area, and are still used today to promote tourism and heritage values for the area.

II) External Perceptions

Thus far, this area has been examined from a predominantly local viewpoint. But this area was also a nodal focus for thousands of ships every year, and it would be remiss not to briefly touch upon the external viewpoints of those who also utilised this area. There was another side to the impact of the shipwreck images that had not yet been considered above. Thousands of vessels have entered the Heads, and with them many new immigrants into the colony/state. The effect of these photographs on those contemplating their arrival at the heads must have been twofold. Mixed with the jubilation at the end of a long and arduous voyage, these images must have induced caution in those who controlled the vessels, and terror in those who did not.

Many accounts exist of the descriptions of voyages through the Rip into Port Phillip Bay. Most speak of joy at the end of the voyage, but also comment on the ferocity of the entrance:

...Before long the Rip is at hand, the dreaded Rip, before which even the hardest pilots will sometimes quail, and small wonder at it... There she goes, right through the wrathful Rip, which hisses its mad defiance of the intruder upon its gambols. 'By heavens' exclaims the captain who had never visited the port before, 'I had heard The Rip was bad, pilot, but had no idea it was anything like this'. Now the vessel cuts The Heads, and the water is breaking heavily on Lightning Rock. Safely through her passage, she continues on her way, her course shaped by the South Channel ("The Mark Three" 1884b)

For those who had previously suffered tragedies in the area, it was a dangerous place to be forever avoided for its associations with bad luck. A seaman who had been wrecked in two separate incidents at the Heads (*George Roper* and *Holyhead*) was quoted that:

...all the wealth of the Indies would not entice him to ship on board of a vessel; bound for Victoria, as he believes it would be simply tempting providence if he tried to run the gauntlet of Port Phillip Heads a third time. (QS 15/2/1890)

It is clear that the Rip represented many different things to a diverse range of people. It was a place of employment, a challenge, a dangerous area and a harbinger of homecoming to name but a few perceptions. More significantly, these observations reveal the attachment of intangible values to an area of seemingly natural stretch of water that transformed it into a cultural junction imbued with multiple understandings and meanings.

III) The Rip as a Transition Point: Gradual Shedding of Responsibility and Imposition of Authoritative Landscapes

The interaction of incoming vessels with many of the above industries represents a compulsory process of shedding of responsibility for the vessel's master. As the ship approaches the coast, the master is guided by official sailing directions as to where he could navigate his vessel. Until that time, the commander possessed supreme responsibility and power over his vessel, and answered to no man. This represented the first stage of the imposition of an authoritative landscape, where neo-liberal governmental strategies are gradually introduced and the authority of the master is decreased. The acceptance of a pilot to navigate through the heads then relieved the master charge of the vessels' navigational responsibility, and similarly as the Customs, Quarantine, Immigration and Postal Officers boarded the ship, so did the Captain's responsibility for cargo, shipboard health, passengers and mail. By the time the ship had docked in Melbourne or Geelong, liability for shipboard discipline, and cargo was also transferred to the water police and the shipping agent respectively, along with the ultimate command of the vessel to the owners, and responsibility for the crew back to themselves. This handing over of power represents a convergence zone of authoritative maritime landscapes, where power is gradually transferred in both directions dependent on the course of travel (inwards or outwards). This liminal zone is a preparatory transformation which both heralds and farewells the entrance into the disparate worlds of terrestrial and shipboard life. As such, it is a formal ritualistic and/or authoritative landscape that prepares both crew and passengers for the new rules and regulations of the changed lifestyle ahead. Stretched further, for passengers it could also be seen as a right of passage into the liminal world of

the sea, where aspects of time and routine reality are suspended, before a ritualistic reintroduction into sometimes strange, but more familiar environments upon reaching land. Those completing the voyage are borne anew into a new land, which has strong parallels with ritualistic initiation processes.

From a career sailor's perspective, the transferral of these powers may represent a ritual transition from unfamiliar and/or uncomfortable terrestrial customs to routine and familiar shipboard life. These gradual transferrals of power represent cognitive transition points along the maritime routes that herald imminent changes in their daily landscapes, which are essential elements for preparation into a new world.

On the outward voyage, the captain can be seen to gradually accrue supreme responsibility of the vessel through the deference of the various maritime authorities to him, until he assumes supreme command of the ship. Similarly, as the vessel approaches port, the crew have time to prepare for the transition to terrestrial life and the freedom and responsibilities attached to it. In some ways this represents a transposition of the crew's roles between dependents and free men (or initiates and initiated/ child and adult) where they are forced to rotate between giving up their independence and assuming responsibility for themselves. The separate roles of the captain and crew are reversed with each transition, and are diametrically opposite with each conversion.

The junction of these zones (or transitional landscapes) are marked with physical and cognitive markers that are recognisable to passengers, crew and master alike, and have different meanings dependent on individual roles. These liminal zone junctions are expressed physically by cruising pilot vessels; lighthouses, beacons and flagstaffs; approaching vessels and anchorages. Cognitive factors may include changes in wind, cloud or swell direction and size, presence and absence of light (from lighthouse or settlement looms; pilot or lifeboat lights), sounds (Natural: from wind against coastal features; breaking seas; terrestrial activity; birds or Artificial: foghorns, or whistling buoys), smells (trees; soil; smoke; livestock) etc.

For passengers the sight of the shore may represent the end of the voyage and the arrival of safety, whereas for the mariner, the coastline heralds the onset of approaching danger. The transposition of the mariners and passengers perspectives of arrivals and departures represented the existence of two community landscapes during the same voyage, where arrivals and departure represent opposing outlooks dependent on the ideology of the participant.

D) Cross Cutting Ties and Nested Landscapes – Queenscliff as an Interwoven Community

The collective identity of Queenscliff has been examined from a variety of avenues. It has been shown that many members of one thematic group also identify with other factions that cross-cut the social and occupational boundaries present in the town. For instance, although the defence forces and fishermen were widely separated by hierarchical class system, they both identified with each other as footballers, an analytical unit that also drew together farmers and other isolated communities from around the Bay. Numerous other affiliations through sporting and sailing clubs provided evidence of other ties that cross cut the social fabric and identified usually disparate individuals as communal social groups.

Furthermore, shipping tragedies drew together many different sectors of the community in the common cause of rescue. Pilots, Customs and Health Boat crews united with fishermen to become Lifeboatmen, which bridged any past social differences and identified a new social group based on their shared activities and common cause. Similarly saviours often later transformed to salvors or looters, and this practice may collectively be used to identify a large proportion of the ancestral community. The continuance of the practice of communal reliance of coal collection for fuel may provide a unique archaeological signature for this township, as a community of beachcombers.

External relations with the town also provided an impetus for other cross-cutting ties. Visitors often galvanised the divided community into other categories based on residence and ancestral belonging. Surprisingly, this may have particularly been the case where defence forces and fishermen were united in their perspectives of visitors as outsiders and interlopers, despite the fact that the former were often assigned similar status by the latter within the township itself. This was also evident in the distinction of annual residential (or ancestral) tourists from daytrippers.

Other distinctions may have included the division between mariners and landlubbers, where demonstration of specialist nautical knowledge differentiated those of the sea from the landmen, and this situation might further explain the divisions between the land based army and the fishers. However, there also appears to have been a unity between the farmers and fishers that was probably rooted in their mutual distinction as primary producers who understood the difficulties associated with seasonal produce availability.

It has been demonstrated above that these perceptive landscapes were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Members of one specialist community often overlapped into more than one thematic maritime landscape, and this was frequently the case with fishing, the military, pilots and the lighthouse service sub-groups. In these cases the juxtaposition between these groups represents in themselves yet another thematic landscape, but notably this does not appear to have been categorised as an accepted sub-group identity within the community. In particular, many residents actively reiterated the negative role of the military within the community, even though they were descended from defence force personnel as well as fisher folk. This observation leads to the speculation that there was a folklore regarding negativism against the military that may not reflect the actual reality of relationships within the town. It may be that the current perception of the community may be more favourably disposed towards a fishing ancestry than a defence background, and therefore some townsfolk are remodelling their identity to fit that role.

The differences between the army and fishers might also be attributable to a lack of common ground required to forge any relationships (based on disparities in religion, education and social status), especially as the army was not in a position to provide any of the economic opportunities that helped mesh relationships between the latter and other groups in the township (e.g. pilots, merchants/farmers, lighthouse service). Further unifying/divisive aspects which has not been further explored here are the effects of religion, education and shared country of origin (the latter of which was a powerful determinant in social relationships in the nineteenth century [JG]), and which presents further opportunities to investigate multivalent cross-cutting landscapes at many different levels.

Furthermore, both the lifeboat crew and pilots were held in high regard in the town for their services. Pilots were custodians of the Melbourne merchants and predominantly looked after property. Conversely the Lifeboat Crew's primary function was to save lives, and the prevention of destruction of property in the form of shipping and cargo was a secondary (if irrelevant) consideration. The disparity between pilots and lifeboatmen derived from the fact that pilots looked after and reinforced authoritative structures, whereas the lifeboatmen did not. It is notable that the fishermen, who were often considered the lowest societal members, were often revered as members of the lifeboat crew. This suggests that recognition of these men as lifeboatmen transcended the inherent social hierarchies present in the town as they ceased to be recognised as fishermen, but instead gained status for their ability as the sole group in the township who could deal with the intricacies of The Rip to save lives. In this regard, the fishermen of the lifeboat crew belong to yet

another thematic maritime group. It has also been suggested that similar cross-cutting landscapes might also exist that are based on religion and sporting affiliations, where members of individual maritime groups were temporarily transformed into collective congregational affiliates or club sportsmen for the duration of those activities.

Many of the thematic sub-groups investigated have starkly contrasting landscape extents which were not necessarily bounded within the study area. The Pilots Service and defence forces clearly utilise and possess landscapes that stretch far beyond Queenscliff to Melbourne (Williamstown - Pilots). The military forces were also a notable component of a wider international defence landscape. The tourism industry landscape of Queenscliff extended to Ballarat, Bendigo, Melbourne and the Western District, and to some tourists Queenscliff was part of their ancestral cultural landscape due to their annual holidays there. Of particular significance however, is the observation of the multiple residential cultural landscapes for individual fishermen, due to their migratory occupation of a number of towns throughout the year. These observations support Benders (1992:9) assertions that landscapes are differentiated, changing and sometimes boundless, and are dependent on experience and social access to place and space.

These situations highlight the presence of multiple nested landscapes, which exist on many different levels both geographically and temporally, and often cross-cut the normally accepted social boundaries. Where community members belong to more than one social group, these individuals may possess multiple perspectives or understandings of the same event or location, further complicating and highlighting the intricacies of landscape investigation.

9) Discussion

This chapter has examined the range of social relationships within the township of Queenscliff. The diversity of interaction between the townsfolk has been shown to be effected by social ideologies of class and exclusionary practices that encroach upon the territory of others, and the rebellious reactions to those notions that united often disparate groups in joint opposition to them. But not all communal relations were based on conflict. As has been shown, many landscapes of reciprocity were born of common hardship, altruistic values, opportunism and shared communal understandings which sometimes illuminate often unexpected solidarity within the community.

The situation is further complicated by the duality of seemingly unified groups, which demonstrate both external cohesion and internal fragmentation which operate concurrently on two different fronts.

Space availability was obviously a significant factor in determining inter-relationships in the township, given the restricted space available on this very compact region, which was essentially an island linked by a narrow peninsula. It must be remembered that although many of the social groups (e.g. defence, tourists/tourism) may have used or controlled access to areas of the sea at various times, most of the social interaction that took place was based on terrestrial areas. These spatial limitations constrained the development of individual and group landscapes, and often forced inescapable social interaction that resulted in both interdependence and friction between the various sub-communities. Those mariners who could escape the physical parameters of the township for the day via the ocean (e.g. fishers and pilots) had a far greater landscape to operate in, as opposed to the rest of the population who were forced to live within the locked parameters of the isthmus. This observation may explain the different social structures of the fisher community, who had a far wider area over which to develop social relationships. The constricted space of the topographic setting further reinforced the insular notions of ancestry and belonging in the township, as the restricted physical boundaries easily demarcated those who belonged on the island from those who did not. These notions of island mentality are akin to those described by Greverus (1999:63), and underpinned the alternative social structuring of the local community in opposition to the outsiders.

The physicality of these relationships is expressed in the demographic layout of the settlement, the location of various prominent features/structures and archaeological remains, which, with the benefit of reflective examination (provided by numerous unconventional data sets) revealed tangible aspects of cognitive landscapes based on communal belief systems and hierarchical ideologies. Significantly, these material props were then often used to reinforce and substantiate those same philosophies within the township. It has also been shown that the impacts of communal interaction are also identifiable environmentally, where what might traditionally be viewed as natural formation processes are actually archaeological signatures evident at a regional scale.

The development of two conflicting modes of social hierarchy within the local community is significant, as it demonstrates the disparity between the types of sources that are available that inform of local and external belonging. It has been shown in the discussions above that

archaeological visibility is not necessarily related to locality or localness. Although local communities often demonstrated lengthy occupations of the same arena, they were often better represented through cognitive resources (e.g. oral histories, toponymy, folklore etc), and that where archaeological/historic sites were evident, they were much smaller in stature than those produced by their non-local counterparts. Conversely, those groups that were more transient in nature were often well characterised archaeologically, both through robust (often intact) and substantial sites, and through the exclusion of localized residents from their landscapes (which are evident in retardation of the development of the landscapes of others), but whose members usually lacked the time depth required to develop a deep understanding and knowledge of the surrounding locality. In the latter case, outsider groups often sought to anchor their advocacy of belonging (and hence local identity) to the relict remains, and to the memorialisation of their non-familial clan's local occupation. These two approaches also highlight the difference between authoritative landscapes (that dwell on legal physical ownership/possession of landscape) to those of resistance, which subvert the former through cognitive possession of that same region. This observation is significant, as it demonstrates that interactive landscapes can only be investigated by using a combination of disparate data derived from both from customary and non-traditional sources.

This small study area has been shown to harbour a multitude of landscapes, each with its own rich texture of varied perceptions that often assign multiple disparate meanings to individual specific features, each of which are dependent on the individual and collective perspectives of each maritime group. Where membership of one thematic landscape is cross-cut by one's associations with another, multivalent nested landscapes exist, which further demonstrates the complexity of interpreting thematic and community based landscapes. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that Queenscliff residents have predominantly based their collective cultural identity around their maritime environment and occupations, and that it was predominantly maritime professions that delineated social structuring within this coastal setting. This reinforces the validity of Westerdahl's previous observations that maritime culture is a valid entity unto itself, and not just a specialised extension of the terrestrial landscape, an area which requires further investigation.

Through the adoption of a cultural landscapes approach it has been demonstrated that for every landscape feature and change there are more than one interpretation or meaning, which is dependent on one's position within and between the various social groups of any township. This approach therefore enables researchers to understand complexity of social and environmental landscapes,

where relationships and interactions have tangible physical expressions (such as empty space and environmental change) that may not necessarily be confined to archaeological deposits alone.

The examination of interactive landscapes therefore also presents new understandings of communal landscape structuring as a different stance of thematic investigation. It has been demonstrated that this approach can only be achieved through the combined use of the many disparate data sources and thematic landscapes investigation of maritime communities. The successful of this methodology has produced insights into the holistic social behaviour and functionality of Queenscliff as a maritime community based on ethno-archaeological analysis that further demonstrate the strength of the ambiguous nature of the maritime cultural landscapes approach for regional investigations.

This methodology has facilitated the investigation of a maritime community using many disparate approaches and at multiple geographical and social levels. It has led to the identification of many different types of activities, practices, belief systems and ideologies that have previously been unaddressed, unrecognised or invisible in other Australian maritime studies. These observations have obvious connotations for future investigations of maritime landscapes, and the success and applicability of this methodology which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter Nine: Cultural Landscapes Investigation - Discussion and Conclusions

1) Introduction

This study has shown that complex cultural landscapes are constructed from sets of social interactions formulated within and between the environments of individuals and groups. Although people live within the same contextual setting, they use and therefore experience their surroundings differently to others, leading to highly diverse and overlapping landscapes. These worlds constantly evolve, and are dependent upon a whole raft of economic, social, ideological and technological factors, which further change how people think about their worlds at any particular time. Cultural landscapes are therefore clearly a fluid phenomenon, and directly reflect the relationship between, and perceptions of, a person/community towards the spaces they occupy.

Just as there are multiple influences that drive landscape development, so are there also numerous data sets that inform of it. The Queenscliff study has highlighted the range of relationships that might exist in any given area, and that many these avenues can only be understood by consideration of singular or a combination of disparate sources. This observation has significant implications for studying landscapes, as certain avenues of enquiry may only be accessible from given data sets/sources, and therefore it may be impossible to further explore some aspects of landscapes where they are unavailable.

This research has suggested new methodological approaches and theoretical abstractions for the investigation of historic period maritime cultural landscapes. Even though many of the abstracted theoretical factors that might underpin cultural landscapes research were derived from cultures with much greater time depths, they have all been shown to have great applicability for the examination of Western maritime cultures. Furthermore, this study used the Queenscliff region to test and refine several of the innovative methodological aspects of the approach. The combination of ethno-archaeological investigation of thematic groups, along with GIS data representation of disparate data sets provided substantial and often surprising insights/problems when analysing local landscape construction. The proven effectiveness of the technique has highlighted both exciting potential avenues and limitations for further research of maritime communities elsewhere.

The following chapter will provide an overview of the results of this study, and assess the effectiveness of the methodology and its interpretive theoretical framework for introducing behavioural studies into maritime archaeological research.

2) Analysis of the Methodology

A) Essential Principle Components of Landscape

It has been demonstrated that the many of the false dichotomies initially addressed in Chapter Two certainly have no place in a maritime cultural landscapes studies. The introduction of a physical separation between the research areas into land and sea (without comparison of the two regions) has been shown to be an inherently academic distinction, as the sea is imbued with as much cultural definition and meaning as the land, dependent on the viewpoint of the user. Indeed some mariners are more at home on the sea than the land, although they utilize both regions. The sea is literally dripping with cultural connotations and even areas where the seabed is hidden exhibit meanings tied to both cultural practices and beliefs. The demonstrated use by mariners of alternative sensory perceptions (smell, sound, touch, taste), along with observations of seemingly natural features and wildlife to determine routes, resource availability and weather/climatic change further exemplify the indistinctive character of natural versus cultural features, as all landscapes have cultural value. The “natural” marine environment has been demonstrated to not only provide resources, but to be a place of social transformation, where boys can return as men. It is also used as a social hierarchical tool to differentiate those who know its secrets from those who do not.

The sea may also represent a liminal transformation and cleansing that separates a former life abroad from that in a new land. To those that survive the journey it symbolizes the genesis of a new life, but for shipwreck victims it sometimes signified the end. Further to this theme, although many shipwreck sites were often invisible beneath the mask of the sea, they are still imbued with many deep meanings by their victims’ ancestors that are accessed on many different levels. The continued use of the sea as a burial ground, especially for those who traditionally operate on land suggests it holds deeper spiritual meanings that are often not readily accessible to those outside the community. It is therefore clear that the ocean is in itself a palimpsest of meanings that has many similarities and disparities to its terrestrial counterpart, and that it is used as an integral component of holistic landscapes that include both the terrestrial and marine environments. This observation reinforces previous statements by many other landscape researchers that the sea is a cultural

environment imbued with multiple layers of meanings (Firth 1993:1, 2; Darvill, 1999:104; Jasinski 1999:17; Roe and Taki 1999: 415, 419).

It is therefore also impractical to distinguish between so called natural and cultural areas within any landscape based on whether they are wet or dry, as whenever any area is subject to any form of human appreciation, it automatically attains cultural value. As demonstrated in the Queenscliff case study, although the sea apparently represents a seemingly natural feature, it may also be imbued with multiple cultural values, as do seemingly natural terrestrial areas. The only distinction that may be observed in these situations is that due to their different environments, the sea and land are differentially accessed, but are utilized as a holistic landscape neither the less.

The continuing nature of so called relict landscapes, which retain significant meaning within the community, both as sites of resource procurement and to actively reinforce the ancestral cultural identity has been succinctly demonstrated. Of note for maritime archaeological studies, shipwreck sites, which have long been considered “time capsules”, have been and still are actively directly and indirectly accessed by large numbers of the community (both physically and cognitively), and in some cases they still retain deep social meaning associated with ancestral identity.

Holistically, archaeological sites in the region (both above and below water) are utilised as tangible anchors that actively reinforce the cultural identity and long term connections to place of many groups and the maritime identity of the community as a whole. The values ascribed to these features have been shaped and reshaped over the years to strengthen the ideologies and cultural practices present in the town. The continuing nature of the landscape’s evolution has been demonstrated in the fluidity of all the landscape themes investigated, which have themselves evolved and shifted both spatially and temporally.

The investigation of causes of landscape evolution of the study region has provided further unexpected insights into social dynamics and cultural practices of the Colonial and post Federation eras, which have broader applications elsewhere. It has been shown that technological advancements; changing political, administrative, hierarchical, authoritative, health and other social/community ideologies (and the reactions to them); economic market forces, environmental determinants and gender differentiation have all contributed to landscape evolution. It is notable, however, that all the thematic landscapes studied have been shaped by different combinations of social, cultural and environmental mechanisms, which further demonstrates the complexity of

cultural landscape construction. This observation is particularly important, as it has become apparent throughout the course of this investigation that there is no one singular approach to studying cultural landscapes, just as there is no particular combination of data sources that will inform of it.

It has been shown that the maritime landscapes of Queenscliffe have been heavily influenced by the expansion of British/Western European culture and its incorporation/hybridization within the new colonies. This transportation of cultural ideologies and practices from ancestral homelands by immigrants formed the basis of new cultural landscapes in the adopted country. This has further ramifications for the possibility of cultural landscapes studies that stretch across international boundaries, and offers new opportunities for studies of regional cultural landscape diversity and evolution that are akin to the indigenous expansion of culture into the Pacific (Gladwin 1962; Lewis 1980; 1994; Irwin 1992; Gosden and Head 1994) and northern Europe (Westerdahl 2003a:481). This observation highlights the potential enormity of landscapes, that might stretch across vast geographical areas that may not (initially) be readily apparent when investigating defined regions. Furthermore, the differentiation of local transported practices, technology, lore, custom and ideologies from their ancestral homelands (e.g. tourist landscapes) further reiterates the dynamic nature of localised landscape evolution.

The dependence of the many groups on the ocean, whilst at the same time fearing it, presents an interesting conundrum, where the potential fount of fortune is also the source of despair and ruin. This raises another focus of this study, the multivalency of landscapes for any given area. The perceptive landscapes of various groups has been shown to often be diametrically opposed (or at least very dissimilar), leading to the observation that individual landscape features may have multiple meanings, even to the same users group. This has been succinctly demonstrated through the examination of shipping mishaps, which are at once sources of tragedy and despair as an event to both victims and rescuers, and yet also sources of opportunity and hope as a place of resources for the latter. Similarly, the Queenscliff defence facilities, fishing accommodation areas, the piers and even The Rip evoke different meanings responses from the various thematic sub groups. This observation has further implications for management of heritage and archaeological sites, as it is evident that any one site may be the focus of varying and often contradictory values both within and without a community.

These theoretical components underlie the success of this project, and have great applicability not only in other maritime areas, but in all landscape regions.

B) Advantages of Using Themes/ Data Sources

The thematic methodology used in this thesis highlighted a number of areas of interest for the study of cultural landscapes. The use of themes provided a mechanism with which to order and manage complex and large bodies of data, through the recognition that disparate social groups use and exploit landscape differently. Archaeological sites, behaviour and history undertaken at the same site by group members could then be linked thematically. However, the differential use of landscape also provided an opportunity to examine collective similarities and differences of community members both within and without a group, and facilitated access to the diversity of multivalent views of landscapes, events and places that might exist in any one area, and by proxy provided a better understanding of the interrelationships that developed within the township. Furthermore, the thematic approach gave new insights into the multivalent community perspectives of individuals, whose membership of more than one topical landscape cross-cut normal social boundaries (e.g. the fishers as lifeboatmen). Therefore the thematic approach did not impose boundaries on meaning, but rather extended the understanding of the diversity of cultural landscapes meanings that might exist regionally.

Perhaps the most pertinent observation is that different themes require different data sources for investigation, and that the availability of these data sources will vary according to the nature of the social populations of the study area. Many factors determined the accessibility of these data sets. It appears that populations of official and administrative governmental personnel will be well documented historically, but that these records may lack a level of personal details required to access their cognitive landscapes, whereas the reverse is true for informal and/or extractive industries or other hunter gatherer societies. This notion is best represented through the examination of the types of data that were available for different types of maritime groups. Defence forces were generally well documented historically through numerous and detailed government records. Large and often complex archaeological sites are usually abundantly evident throughout the area which demonstrates the presence of the military. However, historical records predominantly deal with staid technical issues and regimented routines and do not normally provide access to the daily lives and thoughts of the soldiers outside of their military schedules. Conversely, the fishing industry was typical of most extractive industries, which do not normally produce their own individual

records (there are strong similarities here with the gold mining industry), but are occasionally represented communally in official records. Fishing as a practice was also usually sparsely represented archaeologically in traditionally investigated sites, but often has a rich oral tradition. The practices, beliefs and utilisation of fishing landscapes are usually transmitted orally through traditional folklore networks, that are held locally and are often restricted to familial or community groups. These oral histories provide rich and informative insights into the routines of the everyday lives of the fishing community that are not usually available through documentary sources.

It can be seen from the investigations of just two maritime groups within the community that there are obvious disparities between the types of data sets that inform of these groups. Furthermore, the stance of the view of these groups also varied based on the location of the recorder. An internal view is gained of the fishing industry, whereas only peripheral observations of the military are available, due to the transient nature of the defence forces and the documentation of their activities largely by external or hierarchical structures that are not concerned with personal views of individual soldiers. This observation further demonstrates the variation between how the data sets are organised, and highlights that different aspects of the world are accessed through different types of records. This disparity between the availability of data from similar sources for different community groups may at first be considered problematic, as it appears to curtail their joint analysis due to dissimilar representation, but as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, the strength of this approach lies in that it uses different data sets in same kind of analytical framework for comparative analysis.

Furthermore, the landscapes of some thematic groups may not be accessible within the geographical area of the study region, due to the transient nature of those groups. Although the official stances of defence forces and the tourism industry may be evident through official documentary records and often substantial archaeological representations, individual perspectives of those landscapes may only be accessible outside the study region where those landscape participants (or their descendents) now reside. Although this was initially seen as a failure of this research's method, it highlights the limitations of imposing researcher-derived boundaries on landscape studies, and further informs of the nature of the data and the character of the use of the landscape.

It has also been shown that the nature of the data sets for each thematic group does and will vary for each group. Therefore to adopt a thematic approach requires recognition that each theme's data sources will vary in character and availability, and that this will probably also alter between

locations and cultures. The overriding observation here suggests that there is no one acceptable way to analyse any particular theme that can be generally applied to every area, but that each investigation must tailor its approach to suit the nature of the thematic direction adopted and the data sets available. To reiterate this point, if certain data sets are not available in some areas, then it may preclude the investigation of that cultural theme, and new direction of investigation for that region may be required.

C) Differences in Structuring Agents/Data Sources for Each Theme

It has been demonstrated above that each thematic landscape has been ordered using very different structuring agents and mechanisms. For instance the fishing landscapes have been driven by environmental aspects, market forces, social hierarchy and access to and understandings of traditional knowledge networks, whereas defence landscapes were highly influenced by global political trends and technological advancements. It has been further demonstrated that other thematic approaches, such as the shipping mishap landscapes, are dependent on the conflicting ideologies of humanitarianism/altruism, economic profit and/or opportunism which cross-cut established social divisions. However, other themes which were not included in the main body of the thesis, suggest different mechanisms affected landscape development. For instance, tourism landscapes were affected by the changing ideologies concerning health and sexual separation, escapism and the need to reinforce social hierarchical divisions through the use of empty space as a cultural boundary (see Appendix D-1).

Holistic community and interactive landscapes were another characteristic approach that cross-cut other themes, and were driven by the combination of all of the above landscape mechanisms, but in particular authoritarian and social hierarchical mechanisms, and attempts to subvert and/or reinforce them. The divisive nature of some thematic landscapes actually acted as a unifying mechanism for others. It has been seen that tourism congealed the normally disparate landscapes of defence and fishermen, to unite both in opposition to tourists and utilisation of tourism landscapes, even though this disparity also operates between the two former groups. Other relations were driven by areas of commonality/interaction which united normally dissimilar groups, such as farmers and fishers, or merchants and fishers. It can be seen that no two landscapes appear to be driven by the same mechanisms, and therefore landscape analysis must be tailored to suit each individual landscape theme being investigated.

To further complicate the matter as each theme is accessed using differential data sources, the approach to the investigation of landscapes is highly complex and may not necessarily be transferable between different geographical areas, as differential availability of data sets may occur in other regions. These observations suggest that although thematic approaches to landscape investigation have been successful, they are not necessarily formulaic in nature, and must be adapted to consider the data sources and nature of landscape determinants for any given locality. This further reinforces the ambiguity of landscapes as recognised by Gosden and Head (1994) and Anschutz (et al. 2001). The ambiguous nature of landscape lies not only in its structuring mechanisms, but also the ways and sources available to access them. Rather than being problematic, the indistinct qualities of diverse landscapes presents opportunities to examine and compare characteristically diverse themes using widely different data sources, approaches and disciplines, which in the past may have been considered academically impossible. This approach enables further consideration of the richly interwoven texture of social diversity and cultural interaction, as all data sources are worthy of inclusion and can inform of different aspects of similar and/or diverse landscapes. However, the key to ensuring the success of this approach lies in the recognition that the methodology itself is not ambiguous, but is clearly outlined along with the reasoning behind it, along with provision for change if needed.

D) Complexity of Landscape

Many of the sites discovered and different observations made during the study ultimately had to be omitted from the final documentation here for the sake of brevity. The Pilots, Customs, mail, tourism and quarantine landscapes proved to be viable study themes unto themselves, which further demonstrates another problem with this approach. It was necessary to impose boundaries on the scope and number of themes addressed, the geographical or temporal limits, or all of the above. Landscapes are often endless and seamless, and multiple landscapes overlap far beyond the horizon. For this reason any landscape study is flawed from the beginning, if it imposes external and/or artificial restrictions on what is significant (and what is not), geographical limits and time depth margins to keep the project manageable, and it is therefore important to recognise these restrictions within the methodology. This is particularly true of maritime cultural landscape studies and any imposed boundary between the land/sea divide.

Many issues surrounding the extent of landscapes have been highlighted during this study, for instance where the Queenscliff landscapes are not bounded to those who live in that locality, but are

a suite of multiple landscapes that extend to Lorne, Ballarat, the Western District, Geelong, Melbourne, Gippsland, Bass Strait and far beyond. Perhaps the question that should be addressed is whether landscapes studies should investigate regions, or directly focus on people? This thesis began as an investigation of a coastal maritime township (i.e. an area of land) and its residents' activities, but transformed into a study of its people, and where/what their worlds represented to them (i.e. landscapes). The fundamental difference between the two approaches is crucial. Land is present in the geography of the world, whereas cultural landscapes are resident in people's minds. This represents the basic difference between physical landscape studies (that are rooted in the discipline of geography) and cultural landscapes which embedded in the consciousness of its inhabitants.

Future cultural landscape studies therefore need to move away from physical territory oriented research towards people focussed studies, which recognise the overlapping and unconstrained nature of landscape. By adopting a thematic approach, it has been possible to reconstruct meaning and understanding of a study region, which has also negated the boundaries imposed by this researcher's own perceptions and/or research directions. However, the imposition of a thematic approach in itself introduces bias as it categorises cultural landscapes and who/where people fit within that framework. The ambiguous nature of landscape therefore requires a suitably flexible approach to recording it. Often the way landscape is structured will not become apparent until after the study is underway, and therefore fluidity and innovation in approach is essential to incorporate new developments as they arise.

This study has investigated several different thematic approaches to recording cultural landscapes, and in particular has shown that social structuring and diversity affect landscape construction and perception. Membership of a particular profession has been shown to hold specific relevance to the determination of social status, and hence individual landscape perception and access. However, it has also been demonstrated that there are many webs of relationships that cross-cut these social boundaries, thereby broadening or adding further individual landscapes. Furthermore, the introduction of external influences such as shipwrecks (but this could also include other phenomena such as war, immigration/external contact/trade, other disasters etc) produce stimuli for the unfolding of other types of relationships and social bonds (that cross-cut normal social structuring), and hence generate different cultural landscape evolution. Many other types of social bonds exist that may further determine individual landscape development, but were not explored in further detail in this study. These might include familial bonds, religious/ spiritual beliefs and community

(e.g. Catholic vs. Protestant), secular/community orders (e.g. Masons, Rotary), national identity/ethnic origins or sporting affiliations. The point made here is that it is impossible to ever address the entirety of individual and community cultural landscapes, as all are unique, diverse and/or boundless. Once this is recognised, the researcher can investigate different thematic aspects of landscape, with each new perspective a fresh chapter in a never ending book.

E) Problems Experienced with this Approach

I) Oral Histories

Although most informants were forthcoming with information when asked, many had to be prompted to offer information for certain topics. It became evident that some information was not shared by the entire community, but may be restricted to given sub-groups or individuals. This was particularly so for the fishing community, where threads of information (particularly regarding specific fishing sites and practices) had to be teased out when stumbled upon, and often were inaccessible unless the pertinent owner of that information was located. The researcher was often directed to ask another identified source, as that person knew more about the subject than they did. This may be indicative of ownership of specialized knowledge of different subjects, which are restricted to those trusted by the owner, an observation that has been made by other researchers working with Pacific and Australian Indigenous communities (Roe 2000; Monaghan 2005:262-6).

Alternatively, these apparent differences in knowledge accessibility may further elucidate aspects of individual landscapes, as what is considered important to one may be irrelevant to another, and this factor applies equally to the interests of the researcher. It may show that informants are telling the researcher the aspects of their daily lives that they think the researcher wants to know, and this may reflect the past bias of researchers who often concentrated on exciting or spectacular events and places. Everyday mundane factors of daily existence were often perceived by informants not to be of interest or significance, but were often forthcoming if the investigator expressed specific curiosity in or knowledge of those aspects (similar to an insider's perspective).

This highlights the problem that cultural landscapes studies try to describe concepts that are not usually verbalized, but which are stored within structured understandings of the meaning of landscape which are (often unconsciously) recognized in toponymy, landscape features and sensory perceptions. In recording oral histories we are introducing a practice where there is not usually a stated objective, or even verbalization of these factors. A simple analogy might be to ask someone

to describe the process of how to ride a bike. Some processes and actions are undertaken with often unconscious encoded thoughts, which are not normally described, and to enquire how a task is undertaken is perhaps less important than why is it done. This mirrors Bender's (1992:13) original observation that the event is often as important as the result.

These observations again demonstrate the restriction of knowledge (whether deliberate or unintentional is unsure) to outsiders, but is also indicative of individual landscape perspectives. This observation does not seek to denigrate the informants concerned (with whom the author often had very good relationships), but demonstrates the point made by Minnegal (et al. 2003) that community identity was often tied to one's ability to demonstrate an understanding of the social relationships and cultural meanings imbued in landscape, and that this was often restricted or rationed to outsiders. The relative paucity of fishing toponymy further illustrates this point, but is notable as it demonstrates that sometimes the knowledge required to understand the meaning of given landscapes was in itself restricted, and that other landscapes may exist that are inaccessible or rationed to outsiders. Furthermore, the key to unlocking access to this information may lie in knowing what questions to ask, which again demonstrates the naiveté of external researchers and their exclusion (whether deliberate or innocent) from that knowledge.

The researcher often experienced some (understandable) suspicion when first working in the community until a degree of trust was gained either through continued contact, or predominantly through introductions made by other community or family members. It became clear early on in this study that from the community's perspective my identification with an independent university (as a student) was preferable to any perceived association with the government (i.e. Heritage Victoria), which in itself opened differential avenues of inquiry. Any identification with an authoritative government institution often precluded access to some lines of investigation, and may further demonstrate the existence of cultural landscapes of resistance. This observation is notable, as it appears that this author was being classified into a thematic group by the community, and associations with any particular group could either open or preclude access to other landscape knowledge.

II) Recognition of Bias in Oral Histories

Often what appears to be individual experience is in fact based on shared familial knowledge. Familial ties within the community can lead to shared experience, which unless recognised, can

taint the researcher's perspective that the views expressed by these individuals are actually representative of a broad range of the community. This is a common problem in ethnographic research, but bears repeating here. In this study many of the informants were related (e.g. the Higgenbotham, Mather and Shapter families were kin; similarly the Ferrier Family) or derived from the same cultural subgroup (e.g. most Maritime Museum members had fishing backgrounds; Historical Museum members had business/tourism or defence ties). This raises the prospect of bias if other community members are not consulted, or only one group is surveyed, and highlights the necessity of investigating a wide range of sources and establishing the nature of familial connections, which is not always possible or immediately apparent. Although this initially appeared problematic, different perspectives of the same familial/ social group experiences may reveal other insights and/ or perspectives within that cultural subgroup. The key to successful use of this method is recognition of diversity and/or similarity of source derivation, and advantageous use of that fact. To compensate, the study questioned informants on their backgrounds, initially in relation to thematic maritime industries, but later with regard to familial ties. Despite these attempts, some community members who were reviewing this thesis still commented that it was slanted towards a fishers perspective [JG], and this may be the result of an unexpected over-representation of views from people with associations to that theme which was previously unrecognized by the researcher.

Furthermore, discretion was often required when considering the accuracy of some personal accounts. Some community members questioned the veracity and truthfulness of some informant sources, while others were accused of manufacturing truths. These factors were all considered when validating the existence of archaeological sites, and were cross referenced to other historical and archaeological data sources. However, this provided greater challenges when it came to perceptive landscapes, as personal perspectives define individual landscapes. Hence every informant's perspective was as important as the next in this regard.

III) Cultural Landscape Diversity: Adequate Range of Themes

It is clear that a decision must be made either to study one type of thematic landscape intensively, or to address many thematic landscapes in lesser detail or both dependent on time and resource allocation. The former approach will provide an in depth, but exclusive view of only that theme, but sets the basis around which other themes can be pursued. The latter direction similarly sets the frame around which other studies can be added, but can be peripheral in nature as it is impossible to

adequately cover all aspects of each landscape. Both these problems were encountered during this study, as the researcher was forced rationalize and exclude particular aspects of, and/or entire landscapes in order to provide a broad overview of the area.

Some cultural landscapes have not been adequately addressed in this study, particularly the defence and pilots landscapes (which often lacked personal perspectives). This was partially due to bias introduced through the access mechanisms to the community, which were predominantly fishing orientated; a paucity of long term ancestral residents in the defences forces (which is essentially a transient community); and author bias based on subject interest, opportunistic/available leads and time restrictions. However, the initial consideration of Queenscliff as a landscape study region was also problematic, as it was not until after the study was well underway that the sheer density of maritime services and activities in this region was appreciated, along with the vast geographical areas that they covered. Given more time and reflection on this experience, further studies in this field would address many of the other maritime occupations that operated in this area in greater detail including the Customs, Health, Lighthouse, Pilots and Mail Services; shipbuilding; tourism, quarantine along with other relevant businesses which although undertaken during this research, have by necessity been given scant consideration here due to space limitations. There is also considerable potential to expand the scope of investigation of landscape including routes and destinations, which provide a currently under-investigated avenue of enquiry that offers rich potential for future studies, as has already been indicated by the initial phases of this study.

IV) Ethnicity and Gender

It has only been possible to make a limited exploration of both ethnicity and gender within the constraints of the current study. For example the role of women and children has been further examined in regards to tourism and fishing, as has the relationships of ethnic Chinese and other non-British members of the fishing community. Indigenous interaction with the non-indigenous community has not been addressed here. The Indigenous population enjoyed often cordial early social interaction with the Queenscliff community, which was evident in many oral and historical accounts. However, given the extent of belief systems, social interactions and landscape features experienced for the predominantly European community, Indigenous perspectives would constitute a whole suite of landscapes again, which were considered beyond the scope of this study to adequately address. Similarly the perspective of the Chinese population invites further investigation. Although several female perspectives have been presented here, these have only

provided tantalising glimpses of the potential of detailed studies of women and children's perspectives of township and seaborne life that would undoubtedly further enrich the cultural landscapes scenario of Queenscliff.

V) Group Oral History Discussions

This study has thematically examined individual landscapes, but as has been demonstrated, individuals often transcend thematic boundaries through any number of factors including marriage and family ties, working relationships and externally introduced events. Although the use of categories demonstrate a fluidity of landscape, they also restrict those landscapes to individual and/or group perspectives, and sometimes bounded areas. This dilemma is further highlighted by the use of oral histories and historical documents, which essentially present individual landscape perspectives. Although landscapes are individually based, there is a need to address the commonality of landscape use. It is suggested that group oral history discussions may elucidate aspects of interconnectedness and disparity both within and without individual thematic maritime subgroups. One conversation observed between three older residents towards the end of the study demonstrated that memories of one event triggered other recollections from different community members, along with areas of disagreement and concordance. These aspects were often not observed during individual interviews alone, and hence offered multiple perspectives of the same place/ event/ person/ feature, which expanded understanding of the collective social landscapes of the town. Monaghan (2005: 250-70, 323, 331) has observed that group oral history discussions are an effective technique for recording Aboriginal community landscapes in Cape York, Queensland. It is perhaps these inter-relationships between disparate groups and individuals that present the greatest challenge for landscape recording, but may also offer the greatest insights of social interaction/discourse.

VI) Presentation of Interpreted Data: Narrative/ Chronological/ Network Approaches

The methodological approach used during this study was not 100% successful, as we need to look at other options for what the aims of these studies are and how the results are best presented. The ambiguity of cultural landscapes approach is one of its strengths as it does not limit the methodology or range of sources that can be exploited to investigate social behaviour and associated archaeological remains. However, a new reporting style is needed that is ambiguous in the same way, but which is currently not well defined.

The inadequacy of a narrative approach for cultural landscapes is apparent above. There are obvious overlaps between various maritime subgroups landscapes, and this is reiterated by the constant referral to, repetition and revisiting of the same themes/ events/ landscape features (which presented major challenges for the determination of the study layout). The narrative reporting approach is deficient for succinct investigation of cultural landscapes, especially where there are multiple and overlapping foci. GIS may be a more attractive approach as it allows one to view areas of commonality and disparity between different aspects of these landscapes that may reveal wider patterns that can not be explored using narrative alone.

Part of the problem is presentation of data. Currently data is expressed in a narrative that is antithetical to what we are trying to achieve. Bender (1992) has demonstrated that chronological analysis is not necessarily the best approach to cultural landscapes interpretation, as narrative is sequential, whereas landscapes are not. As has been shown, cultural landscapes consist of a complex interwoven fabric of social relations, landscape features and associated meanings, which form a web of multiple interlinked and/or overlapping ties that are not always easily defined or readily apparent within boundaries of time or space.

[DR] has suggested that new mediums such as the web offer alternative ways for presenting interlinked cultural landscapes data, which extends beyond the temporal or spatial restrictions of categorization systems. Network or web page style reporting offers the scope to integrate newly identified data and relationships into and between existing cultural landscape studies as it does not impose boundaries on time and space, and has already proven effective for at least one online journal (e.g. *Internet Archaeology*, see Hodder 1999). The integration of web-based GIS provides further opportunities for expanding cultural landscapes studies.

The interlinked nature of the themes (and consequently the data sets), have made this study very difficult to write. It has been impossible to address one without cross referencing to another, which in some ways may pre-empt the discussion of that theme, but is essential in order to cover one topic adequately. In some ways this dilemma characterizes the very essence of a cultural landscapes approach, as by its very definition it recognizes the overlapping and multivalency of landscapes in any given area. This problem epitomizes the ambiguity of both the approach and the reporting style. It is at once imprecise and yet all encompassing, and hence very difficult to present, as if it is too vague, it does not recognize all the linked relationships, and if too accurate then it is impossible to present as the connections are infinite. The presentation of cultural landscapes studies in

themselves highlight this problem as the researcher tries to generalize and concentrate multiple landscapes into a singular suite of observations which in itself is false.

The difficulty of how to present cultural landscapes research then raises the problem of what to leave in and what to exclude, and therefore imposes to some extent the objectivity of the researcher to decide what is significant. This is both a major strength of this approach, but also a fault. This project has attempted to investigate a region using several deliberately dissimilar themes that investigate both diversity and similarity to explore relationships within that area. It has been successful, yet narrow in its focus, and perhaps dozens of other studies are still needed before a minimal appreciation of the holistic maritime nature of this area is understood (but probably never fully).

The methodological approach used during this study has utilized the very fullness of the ambiguous nature of cultural landscapes, and (unlike many other studies) has addressed the vague nature of the ambiguity by providing a specific methodology for the investigation. This study has used the full range of possible data sets available from a very wide variety of disciplinary resources. By exploiting these data sources to their available potential, it has been possible to link behaviour to archaeological sites, which has identified a new set of site typologies that characterize specific traditional practices and possibly associated perceptions that may be applicable for use in other areas where some types of information that were used here are not available. In this respect the study has been a success.

Furthermore, as reiterated above, the study has identified that different themes require the analysis of dissimilar data sets. For instance the defence theme was informed predominantly by historical and archaeological data sets, as did the tourist landscape. Comparatively, the landscapes of hunter/gatherers demonstrated a relative paucity of historical and archaeological data, but were imbued with rich ethnographic and oral histories and folk traditions that relied on inherited knowledge. Landscapes of routes and destinations were informed by historical and archaeological data sets, but also environmental analysis and topographic change. Shipping mishap landscapes drew on all of these resources, which further demonstrated the cross cutting nature of this theme. This observation is significant, as it demonstrates the diversity of approaches required even at a base level such as the choice of data sets, and that if certain data resources are not available in the chosen study area, then that thematic approach may not be achievable for certain themes in that region. This does not mean to imply that the methodology utilized here can be transported and

immediately applied elsewhere, but that the approach for each area may be limited by the types of information available. The study also addressed the problem of comparison of dissimilar data sets, but has demonstrated that this can be achieved to produce tangible results. Furthermore, it has been shown that some landscapes (e.g. of communities) can only be accessed through the compassion of disparate data sets.

The variable nature of landscape development has been demonstrated to be highly significant, and very different determinants have been shown to formulate and diversify the various thematic landscapes. Perhaps the greatest (personal) discovery of this study is one that was already known, that landscape is a usefully ambiguous concept.

F) GIS as a Landscape Analysis Tool

GIS has proved to be a particularly potent analytical tool for landscapes interpretation in this study. The incorporation of geo-referenced historic cartographic sources and aerial imagery successfully guided the search for potential archaeological sites in the study area, and aided in identification of previously unknown sites through integration of ground-truthed GPS positions of archaeological data. Furthermore, the comparison of ethnographic and oral history data with archaeological and historically located features enabled social interpretations to be applied to these sites, and demonstrates the successful use of GIS as ethno-archaeological analysis tool. The ability to assign multiple thematic fields within the GIS databases made this medium an ideal tool for the examination of maritime group associations and aspects of multivalency of landscape features/events, and was probably one of the key elements for the success of this project. GIS also proved to be a successful medium for the analysis of temporal landuse change and environmental modification, which had further ramifications for the relocation of former underwater sites that were now located under land, such as in the case of the relict Fishermen's Pier and other former foreshore sites. Further investigation of spatial patterning using advanced GIS analysis techniques such as viewshed, cluster, nearest neighbour, cost distance and other statistical analyses were not attempted during the study (due to time constraints), but could be used to further investigate spatial/temporal relationships in the study area.

Perhaps the greatest utility of GIS integration in landscapes studies lies in its ability to view and analyse large bodies of disparate data types individually, thematically, spatially and/or temporally to further investigate areas of commonality and discordance between individuals' and/or group

landscapes when analyzing data patterning and social relationships ethno-archaeologically. The utilization of GIS systems mirrors the very concept of landscape, as it is unbounded, multivalent, dynamic, and exists on many different levels. GIS representations of cultural landscapes offer many advantages over conventional approaches for spatially depicting archaeological studies. They allow the recognition of fuzzy borders between conflicting user group territories, and the assignment of multiple meanings and values to individual features and areas, which have previously (by necessity of the recording techniques utilized) required defined or unique boundaries/ values when spatially characterized.

3) Analytical and Theoretical Innovations

This thesis has made a number of analytical and methodological contributions. Through the critical selection of many pertinent components of previous landscape investigations, a new methodological approach has been successfully tested to identify an extensive range of cultural landscapes within a maritime environment.

This approach has further shown that social relations which underpin and define cultural landscapes become evident when new types of data are considered. Social structuring is evident not only in settlement patterning within the landscape, but also through restricted access demonstrated by empty areas, and can be used to analyse the patterning of archaeological sites both under and above water.

A) Potential Research Directions

I) Oral Histories as a Significant Data Source For Ethno-archaeological Analysis

Although a wide variety of data sources were consulted for this study, the strongest and most illuminating force in this thesis turned out to be the nuanced way to approach ethno-archaeological analysis through the use of oral histories. The interplay with oral history and site data identified a range of new archaeological signatures, especially where people articulated how sites were used and constructed, and the associated perceptions attached to them. These are observations that are normally not understood from the archaeological record alone. The aspect that worked very well was being able to link an extremely rich oral record of (often) previously unrecorded behaviour to the tangible relict remains of those activities.

The significance of these observations is not that other researchers have not already notionally applied this approach elsewhere internationally (predominantly in Indigenous cultures), but that the results were surprisingly better than expected for a Western maritime community of this comparatively shallow time depth. This observation validates the original reasoning behind the importation of Indigenous Pacific Island literature to explore intangible aspects and the depth of perceptive landscapes for the study community, and shows that these types of studies could also be undertaken in Australia. This approach was not only rewarding anthropologically, but also facilitated a greater understanding of the physical landscape (and its seemingly natural changes) and spatial patterning of landscape features.

The characterisation of archaeological signatures associated with specific/thematic maritime landscapes has provided a potential window of opportunity for analysing similar site distributions found in other areas, where one or more of the data source types are not available. If folklore/ethnographic/anthropological observation of social behaviour can be linked to relict physical remains to understand cultural diversity and interrelationships in one area, then similar practices and culture may have been associated with analogous archaeological sites in other regions where (for instance) the historical record is lacking. Clearly, oral history studies have illuminated what would otherwise be a staid archaeological record, and therefore it is recommended that any archaeological study of landscapes should also address local knowledge networks. The product is recognition of the historical reality and the complexity, ambiguity and changes that make up a maritime coastal society.

II) Ethno-archaeological Approaches For Characterising New Types of Maritime Archaeological Sites/Cultural Behaviour

This study has made a case for the examination of new types of underwater cultural sites not previously considered within maritime archaeological studies. Maritime infrastructure sites have been shown to demonstrate large and/or complex archaeological signatures which, when considered in conjunction with ethnographic, historical and other data sources offer plausible demonstrations of cultural practices and social behaviour that formulated those sites. In particular, underwater infrastructure sites offer great utility in expanding the scope of landscapes research which has only begun to be accessed worldwide.

To date, there has been minimal integration of terrestrial and maritime studies beyond the littoral interface. Given that there are already huge databases of historic registered places and archaeological sites (both shipwreck and terrestrial), and that regional inventories of other specific types of maritime infrastructure sites are now starting to be compiled in many states, this approach presents the opportunity to expand the focus of archaeological investigations to consider the interconnectedness of maritime regional activities and perspectives that cross the land/sea divide.

The approach advocated here offers the opportunity to extend maritime archaeological investigation beyond purely functional and/or particularistic considerations to aspects of behaviour and societal structuring associated with maritime industries and communities. This avenue might further be extended to address the debate regarding cultural maritimity of a region as defined by Westerdahl (1995:213; 2000:13; 2002b:65). It is clear from this study that maritime activities were not just a specialised occupation within a terrestrial environment (as suggested by Hunter (1994) and Parker (1995), but actually underpinned the identity of an entire community as a maritime culture and/or centre (and was inclusive of many terrestrially based occupations). Although aspects of maritime culture have deliberately not been included in this thesis, this methodology has enabled further examination of this notion through the provision of a new mechanism of investigation.

This approach also has further implications for heritage site management, as the true multivalent nature of the range of values associated with features/events can now be recognised. This new stance contrasts starkly to some past considerations of heritage sites, where the functionality and significance of the site was often only officially recognised from a singular perspective, and any disconformity between recognised values presented more problems for site management than solutions. This approach has further connotations in relation to maritime archaeological sites, as it enables a wider appreciation of shipwrecks as places of continuing community value for economic, recreational and other practical/symbolic reasons, as opposed to their general previous consideration as non-systemic archaeological sites. These observations are significant, as they have the potential to expand shipwreck research into exciting new areas that focus on behavioural aspects of coastal life, and address the previous criticisms made of this field.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

The theoretical abstractions that drive cultural landscape developments are now better understood and have been successfully applied to the analysis of a maritime society. Although many of these principles have been derived from analyses of cultures with far greater time depths, they have been shown to have equal applicability to a Colonial Australian maritime setting, and demonstrate that the theoretical relationships proposed in the methodological application of the approach were very effective and achieved the stated goals.

The methodological approach proposed here has demonstrated the complexity to which maritime cultural landscapes be explored, and that this can only be achieved through the comparative analysis of disparate data sources. It has been seen that interpretation of these often highly contrasting data sets was most effectively managed using a thematic analysis (based initially on maritime occupations), and the innovative use of GIS technology for data storage and spatial, temporal, predictive and topical analysis.

A previously untapped font local knowledge has exposed a wealth of previously un-investigated archaeological sites. The archaeological expressions that have been revealed are interesting and alternative types of maritime sites have been characterised, often for the first time. However, it was the depth of the oral histories which were perhaps the most surprising and exciting aspect of this research, due to their ability to ethno-archaeologically illuminate previously staid relics and features into places of work, play, conflict and social interaction. It was this source that has put the community back into the archaeological record, through a greater appreciation of their behaviours, perceptions and significance that they associated to landscape features and events which have brought the landscape alive. The functionality of this approach has proved extremely successful, as it has enabled a greater understanding of the interrelationships between maritime practices and the subsequent sites they produce, and placed the community with all its idiosyncrasies within the archaeological record. This study provides a mechanism to draw out the social situation in other regions even if no oral tradition survives through new approaches to archaeological investigation, based on the spatial distribution of the artefacts and the explanatory framework provided by the findings of this study.

These observations have further highlighted that there are significant archaeological imprints below the water that, if recognised, contribute to our understanding of maritime exploitation, and make

those environments that have not previously been investigated more legible. It has been demonstrated that even seemingly inconsequential archaeological imprints might reveal significant behavioural observations when considered beyond the limitations of current site specific methodology employed by many maritime archaeologists. Given that the range of this study has been restricted to a handful of maritime themes, the applicability of using an ethno-archaeological approach to identify unexplored underwater site types is immense, and along with the exploration of the spatial distribution of various aspects of maritime communities (including settlements, piers wharves, navigational facilities, bars etc) has produced critical understandings how maritime communities operate. This is not something that generally occurs in maritime or historical archaeological research in Australia, although it is common place with Indigenous studies.

However, it is the theoretical principles which are of greater importance than the methodology. Although the latter enables us to access cultural practices associated with archaeological sites, these are on the whole standard techniques which have been innovatively adopted for the purposes of the study. What are more important are the abstract theoretical factors that drive the landscape development, and enable us to understand why these things were there. This work has produced a guideline to key notions that underpin the construction/evolution of maritime landscapes, which are central to their interpretation, and have great applicability for maritime cultural landscape analysis in other regions. As has been repeatedly advocated throughout this thesis, it is the ambiguity that is the best way to get to the principles.

I went in to this study trying to identify what I could find and where it might occur, and came out the other side with a complex web of social behaviour which better informs of how/why these communities operate. These are multifaceted landscapes, which are full of surprises, and this study has advanced the understanding of the complexity of even seemingly simple small townships, and the structural and cognitive forces that drove their evolution. The methodology and theoretical approaches advocated here clearly worked in this scenario, and it is recognisable that these are not unique influences that were at work in that township.

As a result of this study the mechanisms that drove several common types of maritime thematic landscapes in Colonial Australia are now better understood, and their potential data sources and archaeological characterizations have been identified. These observations have great utility in other contemporary areas where one or more of the data sets might be missing or incomplete. These factors therefore clearly need to be explored further, and this avenue, along with the already vast

body of knowledge of shipwrecks, has the potential to widen the scope of maritime archaeology research into exciting new areas of coastal life.

This thesis was an attempt at the integration of a cultural landscapes approach into mainstream maritime archaeological studies. It has developed and demonstrated new methodological and theoretical approaches that enables wider analysis of behavioural and social aspects of maritime heritage sites within a broad regional framework, and has demonstrated the range of themes available for investigation. As maritime archaeologists become more interested in culture associated with seaborne activities, this study has outlined new ways of accessing cultural meanings imbued in landscape, to provide better understandings of maritime communities.