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CHAPTER 7: VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LANDSCAPE:

THE ARTISTS

Introduction

Visual representations were significant in creating the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region, initially for visitors and later for residents. The Barron Falls and the rainforest dominated early artistic representations. Early paintings were linked to Romanticism and the picturesque, discourses which encompass particular ‘ways of seeing’ the landscape, as discussed in the previous chapter. These representations however only portrayed one ‘way of seeing’ the region’s landscape and by the 1930s, the ‘modernists,’ those who were seeking ‘...freedom from narrow, critical commentary...’1 and new themes for their art were travelling north. Paintings tended to be available only to a limited section of the population and as such it is difficult to ascertain the significance they had on shaping perceptions of the tropical landscape of the Cairns region. However, as noted by Gavin Wilson it was the artists:

...who first perceived the extraordinary riches, both in the diverse cultural life and the unique landscape of the wet and dry tropic regions of Australia’s ‘deep north’...2

Artists have been venturing to the Queensland tropics since the mid 1700s when the voyages of discovery included professional artists as part of ships’ scientific crew.3 After settlement occurred in northern Queensland during the second half of the 19th century artists began to travel and portray the diverse landscape beyond the coastline. During the 1880s and 1890s artists such as Julian Ashton and Ellis Rowan were searching for the

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1 G. Wilson, Escape Artists, p. 12.
2 Ibid., p. 15.
picturesque and adventure in the tropical wilderness. Tourism began to develop in the Cairns region as the Heidelberg School of painting was establishing itself. Tom Roberts is credited with the establishment of the Heidelberg School in 1885 when he brought back Impressionistic techniques and theories from Europe. He and others including Frederick McCubbin, Arthur Streeton, Charles Conder and Julian Ashton pioneered and popularised ‘open air’ painting. Influenced by the French Barbizon School they experimented with colour and light and began to capture the colours of the Australian landscape in a way not seen before. Tom Roberts travelled to the north in the 1890s in response to emerging nationalistic ideals of the era, to paint Australian subject matter and to satisfy his belief that artists should travel to record Australian history. As noted earlier, this northern tropical landscape was regarded as quite peculiar in Australia, much removed from the frontier mythology and nationalist imagery of the country, and was not incorporated into the national consciousness. As a result it created an image of the tropics as different, exciting and exotic.

The search for the exotic and Romantic continued to lure artists to the region well into the 20th century. By the 1930s, artists such as Margaret Preston, Donald Friend and Ray Crooke were influenced by plein air painting, that is, the effects of light on landscapes and subjects captured on the spot, and Gauguin’s portrayal of Tahiti and its inhabitants. They began to apply these same associations to the tropical coastline and its islands, and

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6 Ibid., p. 10.
to a lesser extent the region's indigenous inhabitants and their culture. Of the artists of this era Donald Friend and Ian Fairweather in particular were, like Gauguin, motivated by the desire to escape. By the late 1950s artists were travelling less frequently to the Cairns region due to changes in the idea of art itself and the role of the subject in art. The rise of abstraction and the decline of the landscape in art after this time resulted in many artists no longer needing to travel to seek out new subject matter. Commentators such as Ross Searle also see that the exotic tropical coastal and island landscape did not provide for some artists the range of imagery found inland, particularly in the desert. In his words:

... Nolan, Drysdale and Boyd produced images of natural dereliction that were akin to the vision of an injured nature, prevalent in English painting in the 1930s and 1940s. War had underscored this imagery. The environment of North Queensland provided a completely opposite dynamic...

Interestingly it is these artists who have become the most well known and successful of those who travelled north. Sidney Nolan captured the idea of 'natural dereliction' in Rain Forest with the juxtaposition of cabbage palms and a derelict building. His use of colour and light highlights the gloom, somberness and dankness of a rainforest environment. (see Figure 7.1) However the tropical environment of Far North Queensland did suffice for many artists and in more recent times the 'travelling' artist has been replaced by home-grown artists or those attracted by the lifestyle such as Ludij Peden, Joy Stewart, Joan Frame and Tom Risley.

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7 Ibid., pp. 11 & 27.
8 G. Wilson, Escape Artists, p. 38.
9 R. Searle, Artist in the Tropics, p. 57.
Figure 7.1: Sidney Nolan, ‘Rain Forest,’ 1957. Note the signs of ‘natural
Artistic representations of the Cairns region 1880 to 1900

The same 'sights' attracting tourists were also of interest to artists. Few images of the landscape, particularly the rainforest of Queensland in general and Far North Queensland in particular, were executed and survived for posterity from this era. The area's geographic isolation was a major factor in this general lack of landscape images and another factor would have been the rise in the use of the camera which occurred around the same time as settlement in the Far North. (discussed in the following chapter)

However, those who could "...endure a little roughing and camping out..." were generally full of praise for the region's attractions. The Barron Falls, the Barron River, Mulgrave River and Kuranda were favourite subjects for artists prior to 1900 but many of their works have not survived. However, they were exhibited publicly in southern cities and would have influenced public perceptions. Julian Ashton, a well known landscape painter, spent a year in Queensland in 1884 - 1885, drawing pictures for the 1886 edition of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia. He recorded the Falls for the Atlas but had to rely on his imagination in his depiction on account of the undergrowth which obscured

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10 E. Rowan, cited by R. Ritchie, Seeing the Rainforests, p. 78.
11 Brisbane artist J. Findlay McFadyen travelled to Cairns in 1891 for the express purpose of painting the Falls. This was a 'large and bold oil painting' titled The Barron Falls which was exhibited at the Queensland National Association Exhibition of 1891. R. Searle, Artists in Tropical Queensland, p. 19. Mrs. Hodges exhibited a watercolour Mermaid Pool, Barron Falls at the Queensland Art Society's eleventh annual exhibition, Brisbane, in 1899. J. Brown & M. Maynard, Fine Art Exhibitions in Brisbane, 1884 – 1916. (St. Lucia), p. 75. Walter Jenner exhibited Mulgrave River at the Queensland Art Society's fourth annual exhibition, Brisbane, in 1892. Ibid., p. 55. Ethel Stephens exhibited Road to Myola, North Queensland, The Red Cutting, Kuranda, At Kuranda, Queensland, and The Barron River, North Queensland at the Queensland Art Society's eleventh annual exhibition, Brisbane, in 1899. At the same exhibition Miss A.E. Norton exhibited Still Evening, 'Barron River. Ibid., pp. 74 – 77.
the top of the Falls.\textsuperscript{13} (see Figure 7.2) Ashton provided a number of sketches of the Cairns region to the \textit{Atlas} including the Bellenden-Ker Mountains, The Barron River and the Hinchinbrook Passage. (see Figures 7.3 to Figure 7.5) Other artists such as A.H. Fullwood provided sketches of the region including the Great Barrier Reef.\textsuperscript{14} (see Figure 7.6) These Romantic depictions of the region portrayed a dramatic, wet and hot environment with their Baroque skies, lush vegetation and unusual light. The inclusion of mountains in all the drawings and the indication of human presence in the form of coastal steamers and a person in a boat helped to establish isolated North Queensland as a picturesque landscape. Ashton’s sketches reflect his tendency to paint around dawn and dusk when he could capture reflected light in the sky and water.\textsuperscript{15}

Ellis Rowan, known as the ‘flower hunter,’ was a frequent visitor to Far North Queensland, at least six times between 1887 and 1913.\textsuperscript{16} Rowan was a prolific painter with over 1,000 paintings forming part of Australia’s largest art exhibition when held in Sydney in 1920.\textsuperscript{17} Occasionally she included in her flower drawings an insect, a butterfly, a landscape or seascape.\textsuperscript{18} (see Figures 7.7 and Figure 7.8) Rowan’s inclusion

\textsuperscript{14} A.H. Fullwood also produced similar images to those he contributed to the \textit{Atlas} which were published as postcards by Raphael Tuck & Sons Ltd from 1888 until the 1920s. D. Cook, \textit{Picture Postcards in Australia, 1898 – 1920}, (Victoria, 1986), pp. 184 – 185.
\textsuperscript{16} L. Loader, \textit{Blighted Paradise}, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{18} Rowan began to incorporate elements other than flowers in her work after 1887. She also began to use bolder colours and paint in oils. This has been attributed to her newfound confidence from this time after her meeting with Marianne North, an English botanical artist who visited Australia in 1880. P. Fullerton, \textit{The Flower Hunter: Ellis Rowan}, (Canberra, 2002), p. 6. Rowan’s inclusion of butterflies in her paintings may have been inspired by viewing the ‘Butterfly Man of Kuranda,’ F.P. Dodd’s collection of insects and butterflies. Rowan and Dodd sailed to and from Port Moresby on the \textit{Morinda} in 1917, Rowan to paint Birds of Paradise and Dodd on a butterfly and insect collecting trip. G. Monteith, \textit{The Butterfly Man of Kuranda: Frederick Parkhurst Dodd}, (Brisbane, 1991), p. 23.
Figure 7.2: Julian Ashton, 'The Barron Falls.' (A. Garran, Picturesque Atlas. 1886, p. 401)
Figure 7.3: Julian Ashton, ‘The Bellenden-Ker Mountains from the Mulgrave River.’ Note the reflection of the mountain in the water and boats. (A. Garran, *Picturesque Atlas*, 1886, p. 400)
Figure 7.4: Julian Ashton, 'The Barron River, near Cairns.' Note the dramatic skies, unusual light and lush vegetation. (A. Garran, Picturesque Atlas, 1886, p. 402)
Figure 7.5: Julian Ashton, ‘Hinchinbrook Passage.’ Note the unusual light and lush vegetation. (A. Garran, *Picturesque Atlas*, 1886, p. 398)

Figure 7.6: A.H. Fullwood, ‘The Great Barrier Reef.’ Note the Baroque skies and the reflection of the hill in the water. (A. Garran, *Picturesque Atlas*, 1886, p. 392)
of lush jungle in some of her paintings reveals how artists were influencing perceptions of the tropical landscape. While the flowers depicted in Rowan’s illustrations are realistic and botanically accurate, her misty rainforest backgrounds in some of her paintings with its shadows and light give the impression of lush vegetation but also a feeling of coolness.

Rowan was passionate in her praise for the rainforest. The rainforest at Myola, outside of Kuranda, she described as:

...a network of branches above all hung and festooned with thickets of clematis, convolvulus, and flowering begonias, erythrina1, tossing acacias, feathery palms. The riverbanks were green with sedges and tall white lilies, and beyond ... masses of moss-grown rocks, and the river tosses and tumbles round and over them, falling in countless cascades into the deep, dark pools below...[19]

Rowan exhibited her paintings widely both nationally and internationally. In 1912 the Queensland government purchased 125 of them.20 In 1924 Rowan’s colour paintings of flora appeared in a series of postcards produced for the Australian Pavilion at the British Exhibition at Wembley, England.21

Tom Roberts was the epitome of the travelling artist as he travelled extensively throughout Australia in search of subject matter. In 1892 he visited North Queensland on a ketch bound for Cooktown and the Torres Strait.22 While he does not appear to have stopped in Cairns nor painted anything from the region his influence on future artists was

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[20] These are now held by the Queensland Museum. R. Searle, Artist in the Tropics, p. 16
far reaching. In addition to encouraging artists to travel to find themes and subject matter for their art, he believed that the cultural and political life in Australia was unique and could not be found anywhere else in the world. Importantly, Roberts was one of the first Australian artists to portray the exotic cultural mix of North Queensland in his paintings and descriptions of the "...Port Darwin, Bungithis, Japs, Manila and Rotumah men..." in Cooktown and on Lizard Island.

Not all artists were lured to North Queensland by the wet tropics. In 1893, a civil engineer and amateur artist from Brisbane, Donald S. Thistlethwayte, travelled to the Chillagoe Caves. This visit formed the basis for his later lecture to the Queensland branch of the Royal Geographic Society. Thistlethwayte’s impressions of Chillagoe, as presented to the Society, were recorded in the Queenslander in 1893. The thrust of his paper was to bring to the public’s attention the wonder and beauty of this place with the aim of preserving it for the ‘people of the colony.’ He provided a descriptive account of

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23 R. Ritchie, Seeing the Rainforests, p. 78.
26 Occasionally artists such as Roberts and Rowan crossed paths in their pursuit of subject matter. In 1892 they met on Murray Island, north of Cape York. This meeting was less than cordial with Roberts refusing to acknowledge Rowan’s presence. P. Fullerton, The Flower Hunter: Ellis Rowan, (Canberra, 2002), p. 20. This discord arose from two sources: she was an internationally acclaimed female artist working in a male dominated field and when she won the 1888 Melbourne Centennial Art Award many men protested; and her subject matter, flowers, botanically accurate but almost Romantically depicted, isolated her from the landscape and portrait artists of the time. Ladies painted flowers. They were normally amateurs. Therefore, any lady painting flowers was an amateur unworthy of serious attention. Ibid., p. 1.
27 Donald Thistlethwayte was an amateur painter. He was a prominent member of the Queensland Art Society serving on its first committee in 1887. He was Honorary Treasurer in 1892 and Vice President 1893-6, 1904-7 and 1909-11. J. Brown & M. Maynard, Fine Art Exhibitions, p. 182.
28 By 1891 the Chillagoe caves were being focused on by the Queensland Royal Geographical Society for scientific research. The Minister for Mines in the same year issued instructions for the permanent preservation of the caves by excluding them from Mining Leases as far as possible. R. Kerr, Chillagoe: copper, castle and caves: an historical guide, (St Lucia, 1986), p. 32.
29 The Chillagoe Caves, Queenslander, 2 December 1893, p. 1080.
the dimensions of various caves saving his most enthusiastic response for the Royal Arch
cave:

... the colouring is particularly rich and varied, and includes delicate tones of
French grays, purples, chromes both red and orange, browns and greens... the
effect is quite startling... I wish I could convey to you the beauty of this chamber,
Nature’s handiwork; with its rich and diverse colouring, its many and varied
ornamentations... 30

Accompanying this article were seven drawings illustrating the limestone rock formations
in the Chillagoe area, the fauna of the area, a cave entrance and the interior of a cave. 31
Included in his party was Charles Handley, prominent photographer from Cairns, from
around 1890 to 1914. 32 At this time photographs frequently were used to form the basis
of illustrations for newspapers. It is possible that any pictures made by Thistlethwayte on
this trip were done after the event, based on photographs taken by Handley. It is difficult
to evaluate the impression of Thistlethwayte’s drawings on perceptions of the Caves, but
it is likely that they were realistic depictions of the Chillagoe Caves, and suitable for
illustrating a scientific article.

Some artists chose to live in the region prior to 1900. Leila McIlwaine arrived in
Herberton around 1880 with her brother Dr. William D. Bowkett. 33 She remained for at
least a decade. By 1892, Leila and her husband Arthur, whom she met and married in
Herberton and who was also an amateur artist, were living in Sydney. One of
McIlwaine’s paintings, Views of Herberton, won a third class merit certificate at the 1888

30 Ibid.
31 Ibid. These illustrations included ‘The Hanging Rock’ and ‘The Cathedral Rock,’ images which were
used later by the tourism industry.
Another photographer Henry Livesey toured the Chillagoe area in 1891 and took a series of photographs of
the caves. No record of these images has been located.
33 Leila McIlwaine (c1840 – c1920). Ibid., p. 76.
Meloourne Centell1l1al JUlenml;onal E~hib'I,ion . She shared third place with Tom Roberts and Walter Jenner, with first place going to Ellis Rowan. The painting is one of the two surviving works by McIlwaine and is held in the Rex Nankivell Collection. McIlwaine’s Herberton, Queensland, depicts the prosperous and populous tin mining town of Herberton at its zenith. The newly constructed township and the surrounding landscape are harmoniously portrayed. Less prosperous dwellings in the foreground give reference to its simple beginnings. Vibrant but muted tones throughout indicate McIlwaine’s expertise in working with tropical light and colours and lush vegetation in Herberton. (see Figure 7.9) Herberton is on the edge of the wet tropics and presents a rather different picture to the lush vegetation of Cairns. It does however show the diversity of landscapes in the Cairns hinterland while reinforcing the picturesque nature of the northern landscape.

Some authors during this period illustrated their books with sketches. Arthur Bicknell in Travel and Adventure in Northern Queensland used illustrator J.B. Clarke to depict Herberton and the Great Barrier Reef. (see Figures 7.10 and Figure 7.11) Bicknell’s sketch of Herberton provides a contrast to McIlwaine’s painting, with Bicknell observing that the most striking features of Herberton were “...the numbers of little windmills and

36 Another artist Ada Ellwood briefly visited Herberton around this period and her two watercolours of the township were exhibited at the 1885 Queensland National Agricultural Association Exhibition in Brisbane. These paintings do not appear to have survived. J. Kerr (Ed), Heritage: the national women’s art book, (N.S.W., 1995), p. 196. In 1889 Ellwood exhibited a watercolour titled On the road to Watsonville at the Queensland Art Society’s second annual exhibition, Brisbane. J. Brown & M. Maynard, Fine Art Exhibitions, p. 51.
Figure 7.7: Marion Ellis Rowan, ‘Eugenia cormiflora, Barron River, c. 1911.’ (P. Fullerton, The Flower Hunter, 2002)
Figure 7.8: Marion Ellis Rowan, ‘Dendrobium atroviolaceum [tree orchid and forest], c. 1890 – 1892.’ Note the misty rainforest background and lush vegetation. (P. Fullerton, *The Flower Hunter*, 2002)
the loafers about its streets and public-house doors...”

His simple sketch could be of any mining field. The view of the Reef, however, depicts a less familiar sight, one evocative of a rather odd garden, with the dramatic tropical sky in the background.

By the end of the 19th century rainforest was seen less frequently in paintings. This was due to the convergence of a number of factors: the influential Heidelberg school of artists had excluded the Romantic paradigm, into which Far North Queensland's rainforest fitted, in favour of the drier bush land landscape; and Eucalypts and Acacias had become icons of nationalism and rainforests somewhat unfashionable due to their association with English Romanticism. Despite this trend in high culture, the rainforest continued to have popular appeal in art and literature until well into the 20th century.

**Artistic representations of the Cairns region after 1900**

Artists continued to travel to Far North Queensland after the turn of the century but they remained few in number and their paintings do not appear to have survived. If resident in the area they tended to supplement their income with teaching, especially female artists. Winifred Rumney moved to Cairns in 1902 to teach art at the Cairns Convent and the School of Arts. Rumney sold her canvases depicting North Queensland scenes locally from 5 to 100 pounds each. She left Cairns in 1915 after the death of her husband. She worked on an intermittent basis on a large studio based work of the Barron

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40 R. Searle, " *Artists in Tropical Queensland*," p. 47.
Figure 7.9: Leila McIlwaine, ‘Herberton, Queensland, c. 1880.’ Note the muted vibrancy of the colours. (R. Searle, *Artist in the Tropics*, 1993, p. 32)
The Windmills of Herberton. (A. Bicknell, *Travel and Adventure*, 1895, p. 49)
Figure 7.11: The Great Barrier Reef. Note the dramatic sky. (A. Bicknell, *Travel and Adventure*, 1895, p. 32)
Falls. Completed in 1908, *The Barron Falls* now hangs at the Queensland Art Gallery.\(^{42}\) (see Figure 7.12) This painting is described as a strange work for its time, that is, it was a large and powerful painting, executed by a woman in Edwardian Queensland when most females were painting flowers.\(^{43}\) The style of the painting can be viewed as old fashioned due to its Romantic treatment, resembling the mid 19th century ‘photo-realist’ genre of Rosa Bonheur and Corot in Europe. Upon exhibition, *The Barron Falls* attracted criticism due to Rumney’s preoccupation with detail to the point where everything enjoyed the same focus.\(^{44}\) Rumney’s attention to detail has created for posterity an accurate portrayal of the Falls but one which is somewhat static.\(^{45}\) It is difficult to ascertain the influence that this painting had on perceptions of the region. However, given the rhetoric surrounding this tourist site vis-à-vis Archibald Meston, it is likely to have dove-tailed nicely with Meston’s convoluted and extravagant prose.

Another female artist, Gwendoline Grant, moved to the Cairns region around 1905 to take up a position of governess at Fonthill Station near Mount Molloy.\(^ {46}\) She painted a number of landscapes of the Cairns district which were exhibited at the Queensland Art Society in 1905.\(^ {47}\) In 1906 Grant mounted a solo exhibition at Kent’s building, Brisbane and exhibited realistic landscapes titled *Barron Falls, Hinchinbrook Channel, A Selectors*

\(^{44}\) This produces a distortion of normal vision and an artificial depiction of the landscape because the distance between the viewer and the object is collapsed. *Ibid.*, pp. 198 – 199.
\(^{47}\) Gwendoline Stanley Grant (1878 – 1968) was born in Ipswich and studied at the National Gallery School, Melbourne. She married artist William Gregory Grant (1876 – 1951) in 1915 and exhibited at the Victorian Artists Society, the Society of Women Painters, Sydney, the Royal Queensland Arts Society, and jointly with her husband. C. Ambrus, *The Ladies’ Picture Show: sources on a century of Australian women artists*, (Marrickville, N.S.W., 1984), p. 123.
Home – North Queensland, and Barron River and Granite Range. This exhibition was well received with all paintings being sold. In June 1944 in another solo exhibition at the Canberra Hotel, Brisbane, Grant exhibited a water colour titled *Mossman – North Queensland*. Gwendoline and her artist husband William Grant journeyed to Cairns again in 1946, making day trips to Green Island. Many paintings of the Cairns region resulted from this trip and were exhibited by both artists until the mid 1950s. Despite their prolific output the paintings have not been located, although Gwendolyn’s *Cane Cutting* has been included as a representative example of her work. (see Figure 7.13) It is likely however that both artists influenced the way in which this region was ‘seen’ by the public particularly prior to World War II when few people were able to travel and the public were curious about exotic and mysterious rainforest and island locations.

After World War I artists were influenced by a number of factors which encouraged them to travel to North Queensland. The region was increasingly being portrayed in exotic terms with lush and verdant vegetation and an Oriental flavour, its winter climate was touted as an escape from the southern cold, Cairns was being advertised as the

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48 K. Bradbury & A. Grant, *Gwendoline & W.C. Grant*, p. 11.
49 Ibid., p. 76.
50 Ibid., p. 57.
51 In 1947 W.G. Grant exhibited an oil painting titled *A Bridge At Cairns* at an unspecified venue. In the same year in a joint exhibition at Finneys’ Art Gallery, Brisbane, opened by the influential art patron J.V. Duheg, Gwendoline exhibited *Cairns Harbour, A Street in Cairns, Mission Boats – Cairns, Mossman – North Queensland, Green Island – Near Cairns*, and W.G. exhibited *Cane Fields* and *Cairns*. In 1948, in a joint exhibition at Finneys’ Art Gallery, Brisbane, Gwendoline exhibited *A Coral Island, Barrier Reef and Green Island, Barrier Reef*, and W.G. exhibited *Creek Near Cairns, and Boats, Cairns*. In another joint exhibition at Finneys’ Art Gallery in 1949 Gwendoline exhibited *A Country Store – Mossman, North Queensland*. In 1950 at the same venue Gwendoline exhibited *Fishing on Second Beach and W.G. At Cairns, North Queensland and Cane Fields Evening*. In a solo exhibition in 1951 at the Moreton Galleries, Brisbane, W.G. Grant exhibited *In North Queensland*. In the 1954 W.G. Grant Memorial Exhibition at the Queensland National Art Gallery the Cairns region was represented by a two paintings: *Hills at Kuranda and Creek, Cairns*. In 1990 at the ‘Partners in Art Queensland Art Gallery,’ Brisbane an exhibition of the Grants’ work was mounted. Paintings depicting the Cairns region included *Creek near Cairns, Lake Street, Cairns and Hide’s Hotel, Lake Street, Cairns*, by W.G. Grant. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 – 85.
Figure 7.12: Winifred Rumney, ‘The Barron Falls, 1908.’ (R. Searle, Artist in the Tropics, 1993, p. 18)
"...principal attraction of Queensland..."\textsuperscript{52} and the final stage in the rail link between Brisbane and Cairns was completed, making travel to the region somewhat easier. In addition, artists began to associate tropical Queensland with Gauguin's South Sea images.\textsuperscript{53}

Around 1924 Walter Orthman settled in Cairns.\textsuperscript{54} Little is known about him. Employed as a photographer at Chargois Studio, Cairns, until his death, Orthman also painted landscapes. In 1932 Orthman exhibited around twelve 'drypoint etchings' at the first public exhibition of the newly formed Cairns Art Society. His artistic ability received accolades in the local press, described as "...something of a prodigy with a true artistic sense..."\textsuperscript{55} In 1948 he exhibited 22 paintings at the Cairns Art Society's second exhibition depicting many aspects of the Cairns landscape and lifestyle.\textsuperscript{56} Two of his landscapes have survived and are held by the Cairns Museum. The impact of Orthman's paintings was likely to have only been local. He captures the casual lifestyle associated with Far Northern beaches during the 1930s and 1940s with the inclusion of small boats, along with the Queenslander style home and red tin roofs. A touch of the exotic is inferred with the inclusion of coconut palms although he fails to realistically portray the

\textsuperscript{52} Picturesque Travel, No. 3, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{53} R. Searle, "Artists in Tropical Queensland," p. 27.
\textsuperscript{54} Walter Orthman (1899 - 1966), was born in Germany and arrived in Queensland around 1905. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 81. Orthman was better known as a photographer. His contribution to this medium was significant and is discussed in Chapter 8.
\textsuperscript{55} "Cairns Artists Have a Picnic," \textit{Northern Affairs}, 6 May 1932, p. 10. The Cairns Art Society was founded by Victor Kennedy and its first Exhibition was held on the top floor of Boland's Building. Kennedy was a staunch supporter of the arts and literature. "Literature and Art: housing the societies," \textit{Ibid.}, 3 June 1932, p. 10.
colours of the trees and sky. (see Figure 7.14) Orthman’s paintings fail to capture the vibrancy and fecundity of a tropical landscape, although in Figure 7.15 he may well have been commenting on the extensive deforestation undertaken to achieve the rural idyll in the foreground. Another exhibitor of note was Herbert Chargois of Chargois Photographic Studio, who exhibited ‘particularly well composed’ water colours, charcoal studies and lino cuts.57

Well known artists visited the region during the 1920s although surviving works of only one, Margaret Preston, have been located.58 Margaret Preston was intensely interested in the region and was one of the first Australian artists to combine abstract techniques with Aboriginal motifs. She used these motifs for her own investigations into Modernism and contributed to the emergence of a modern Australian art style.59 She travelled the Atherton Tableland for six weeks in 1927. Little of her work appears to have been influenced by the natural environment apart from the Riflebirds, executed around 1928

58 Arthur Streeton (1867 – 1943) visited Cairns in 1924. He painted three watercolours and three oil paintings while in Cairns and Kuranda. The landscape of the region does not appear to have been fruitful for him in terms of providing new themes for his art. The only significant painting to emerge from his visit was a large studio painting, The Barron Gorge, Kuranda. R. Searle, “Artists in Tropical Queensland,” pp. 28 & 29. The significance of his painting lies in Streeton’s ability to capture the illusion of far distance. R. Searle, Artist in the Tropics, p. 36. Roy Parkinson (1901 – 1945) travelled to Cairns in 1927 and again in 1939. He travelled extensively throughout the region and painted the Babinda Canefields, Lake Eacham, Port Douglas, Green Island, the Daintree River and Kuranda. Ibid., p. 97. These paintings have been described as “luscious tropical landscapes... [which] attempted to popularise a modern style of colourful, simplified and patterned compositions.” No extant works have been located. Ibid., pp. 36 – 37.
59 Margaret Preston (1875 – 1963) studied under Frederick McCubbin before travelling to Europe to study in Munich and Paris. G. Sullivan, Seeing Australia: views of artists and artwriters, (Annandale, N.S.W., 1994), P. 94.
Figure 7.13: Gwendolyn Grant, ‘Cane Cutting, circa 1942.’ (K. Bradbury & A. Grant, *Gwendolyn and W.G. Grant*, 1990, p. 73)
after her return to Sydney, and woodcuts of the *Tully Falls* and *Millstream Falls* which appeared in *Art in Australia* in December 1927.\(^6\) (see Figures 7.16 and 7.17) The paintings have not survived. These paintings were typical of her stylised treatment of a subject but carry on the tradition of the picturesque scenery, and emphasise the popular waterfall motif associated with the region.

Preston was not looking for new themes for her painting during her travels but sought to give breadth to the repertoire of symbols utilised in her work.\(^6\) While the reef and the rainforest were at this time the most common images of tropical Australia, Preston’s inclusion of Aboriginal motifs in her art, like Tom Roberts’ portrayal of the cultural mix of the region in the 1890s, contributed to the idea of ‘exotic’ North Queensland and encouraged other artists to travel north.\(^6\)

The 1930s saw an increasing number of artists visit the Cairns region. Not all were able to translate what they saw onto a canvas.\(^6\) However those who could and whose works survive and are pertinent to this study include Donald Friend, Ian Fairweather and Arthur Evan Read.

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\(^6\) R. Searle, “Artists in Tropical Queensland,” p. 27.

Figure 7.14: Walter Orthman, untitled scene of Cairns, circa 1940s. (Cairns Museum)
Figure 7.15: Walter Orthman, untitled scene of Cairns, circa 1940s. (Cairns Museum)
Eighteen year old Donald Friend arrived in Cairns in 1933 having run away from home in 1932. He met the Sailor family, a Torres Strait Islander family living at Malaytown on the outskirts of Cairns.⁶⁴ He spent a year living with the family and working with them on their pearl-lugging lugger between Cairns and the Torres Strait. This relationship was the beginning of a lifetime association with and love of indigenous people. Friend returned to Sydney in 1934 to study post-impressionist techniques and it is at this point that he was exposed to the works of Gauguin. Gauguin’s paintings linked with what he had experienced while living with the Sailor family, “…the matted, endless green foliage, filtered light, crystalline sea, blazing colour and the proud gestures of the islanders…”⁶⁵

Friend returned to Malaytown in 1940 – 1941, once again living with the Sailor family and travelling with them to Thursday Island. After World War II and a trip to Europe Friend returned to North Queensland with Margaret Olley in 1954.⁶⁶ They stayed at various places: with the Sailor family in Malaytown, at an old mining area in the Daintree, and in a corrugated tin shed on Four Mile Beach, Port Douglas.⁶⁷ Both artists produced vividly coloured paintings of this trip capturing the exuberance and atmosphere of the tropics, with Friend’s perhaps capturing the exuberant growth of tropical vegetation more clearly. (see Figure 7.18) The region’s casual lifestyle is captured particularly in Friend’s painting of Port Douglas with its tin and timber buildings and their red tin roofs. (see Figure 7.19)

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⁶⁶ Margaret Olley (1923 – ) was born in Lismore and is best known for still-life paintings, particularly her 1948, Portrait in the Mirror. J. Kerr (Ed), Heritage, pp. 59 – 60. This was probably Friend’s last stay at Malaytown as it was demolished in 1954 and Alligator Creek today is now Cairns’ industrial centre of Portsmouth. G. Wilson, Escape Artists, p. 102.
⁶⁷ ibid., p. 97.
Margaret Olley's 1956 *Canefarmer's House, North Queensland*, is a strong, bold, naturalistic image in vivid tropical colours. The colours are used to challenge the eye and beckon the viewer as she records the vernacular building in its fecund tropical setting. (see Figure 7.20)

Donald Friend like Margaret Preston used a colourful palette. His Abbott Street, Cairns, landscape is filled with bustling action stylishly delineated in a recognisably tropical environment with its coconut trees, umbrella trees, variegated shrubbery and tin and timber architecture. (see Figure 7.21) The townscape of Port Douglas in Figure 7.19 provides a more old fashioned and casual view of the tropical landscape with its lack of vehicles, red tin roofs and timber houses and vegetation in many shades of green.

Ian Fairweather arrived in Cairns in 1939 with little money. Fairweather was the quintessential wandering eccentric artist but influential never-the-less. Prior to his arrival in Australia and Cairns he had spent many years living and painting in China and Bali. His works had been exhibited in Melbourne during the early 1930s and modern artists such as Noel Wood, Yvonne Cohen and Valerie Albiston were influenced by their beauty and his technical mastery. Fairweather found his way to Malayatown where, like Donald Friend before him, he found a welcome. He rented a boathouse from the Nicol family and it was here that Fairweather's first Australian landscape *Alligator Creek*.

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Figure 7.16: Margaret Preston, 'Tully Falls, 1927.' Note the lack of vegetation. (E. Butel, *Art and Australia*, 2003, p. 49)

Figure 7.17: Margaret Preston, 'Millstream Falls,' circa 1927. (E. Butel, *Art and Australia*, 2003, p. 8)
Figure 7.18: Donald Friend, A Tropical Garden in Cairns. note the colourful trees and shrubs and the fecundity of the scene. (Queensland Courier Mail Annual, 1955, p. 21)
Figure 7.19: Donald Friend, Main street of Port Douglas. Note the tin and timber buildings and red roofs. (Queensland Courier Mail Annual, 1955, p. 20)
Figure 7.20: Margaret Olley, 'Cane farmer's House, North Queensland, 1956.' Note the exuberant growth. (C. France, Margaret Olley, 1990, p. 71)

Figure 7.21: Donald Friend, Abbott Street, Cairns. Note the tropical vegetation and the bustling activity in this shopping thoroughfare. (Queensland Courier Mail Annual, 1955, p. 19)
Figure 7.22: Ian Fairweather, 'Alligator Creek, Cairns no. 2, 1939.' Note the forbidding skyline and the melancholy nature of the scene. (G. Wilson, *Escape Artists*, 1998, p.34)
Cairns no. 2, was painted. (see Figure 7.22) This painting is considered to be a:

...fine example in a rare series [depicting] the humid, wet tropic environment ... with the heavy ominous clouds, mangroves and coconut trees and the elevated timber jetties thrusting out over a lively waterway... 70

This is a heavy rendition of the tropical landscape. Fairweather seems to have been overcome by the humidity and lowering skyline associated with the impending downpour. It marks a reversion to the 'wet' tropics and dramatic skies of pre-World War I artists. This painting also reflects his well-known tendency toward melancholy.

In September 1939 Fairweather moved across Cairns harbour to Browns Bay where he built a hut which he described as "... an isolated abandoned forge sunk in a forest of guava and lantana..." 71 He left Cairns in 1940 having enlisted in the army, not returning until 1947. Upon his return to Browns Bay Fairweather built a studio from the skeleton of an old saw mill. 72 It was here that he painted a large body of work mostly concerned with Indian and Chinese themes and subjects. Fairweather left Browns Bay permanently in 1950.

Although Fairweather produced a significant number of paintings while living in Cairns little of his work portrayed the local landscape. It would appear that only three depicted the region. 73 Therefore it is unlikely that Fairweather shaped perceptions of the Cairns

70 Ibid., p. 36.
72 Ibid., p. 12.
73 These included Malayaown, Cairns, 1964, Alligator Creek, Cairns no. 2, 1939, and Landlady and daughter, Cairns, 1941. G. Wilson, Escape Artists, pp. 2, 34 & 37.
Figure 7.23: Arthur Evan Read, ‘The Cook Highway.’ Note the bold colours and relative lack of green vegetation. (Queensland Courier-Mail Annual, 1963)
district to any great extent. However, his semi-abstract style of painting heavily influenced by Chinese, Indonesian and Aboriginal art would have contributed to the way in which exotic tropical locations and their indigenous inhabitants were perceived generally.\textsuperscript{74}

Arthur Evan Read made his first trip to Cairns in 1938. This was brief, but he returned in 1950 to live and he painted in the Cairns hinterland and around Innisfail.\textsuperscript{75} In the 1960s a number of his watercolours were published in the \textit{Queensland Courier-Mail Annual} including a boldly coloured sketch of the Cook Highway. Read uses unusually contrasting colours to portray this wet tropical region. Aggressive russet tones give a striking impression of the Cook Highway as it wends its way north to Port Douglas. His unusual colours reflect the outside image of the tropics as a place of colour and not the reality of a mostly green landscape. (see Figure 7.23) Read’s paintings inspired at least one traveller to venture north. In 1977 Neilma Sidney journeyed up the eastern coast to Innisfail and onto the Atherton Tableland via the Palmerston Highway. In a book about her travels she credited Read’s pictures with preparing her for the landscape but conceded that she found “...the reality... numbing...”\textsuperscript{76} Sidney too saw the colours that Read portrayed in his painting although it was mostly the agricultural landscape of the Palmerston area which provided this vividness:

... the red soil was good for everything except your clothes... prodigious growth, marvellous birds... the colours of the area are so vivid from the pristine light green shoots of the new cane plants moving in the wind over the red earth, to the little cane trains with their bright yellow engines moving through the fields and

\textsuperscript{74} Serle, Geoffrey, \textit{From Deserts}, p. 190.
crossing the highway. The huge cane harvester was often dark red, and the tractors bright blue, red or yellow...\textsuperscript{77}

The exotic Barrier Reef islands were a drawcard for a number of artists during the 1930s, especially Dunk and adjacent Timana and Bedarra islands. These islands attracted both itinerant\textsuperscript{78} and resident artists such as Noel Wood, and sisters Yvonne Cohen and Valerie Albiston. These resident modernists were drawn by the beauty of the untouched tropical islands and their isolation.

Noel Wood purchased 16 acres on Bedarra Island in 1935, moving there in 1936.\textsuperscript{79} Like others before him Wood was in search of his own ‘Garden of Eden.’ He wanted ‘...a place with a warm climate where one could live for approximately nothing and solve one’s own problems in paint and colour...’\textsuperscript{80} Not content with painting his ‘Garden of Eden,’ Wood also set about to transform it. He began to clear his acreage of jungle immediately upon moving to the island, secured a piped water supply and planted over thirty varieties of tropical fruit. Wood lived on the island until the early 1980s.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., pp. 181 - 182.
\textsuperscript{78} These included Melville Haysom in 1935 and Robert Campbell in 1933. R. Searle, \textit{Artist in the Tropics}, pp. 37, 45. Other itinerant artists during the 1930s included Laurence Hope, Roy Parkinson and Kenneth McQueen. G. Wilson, \textit{Escape Artists}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{80} N. Wood, cited by \textit{Ibid.}
Figure 7.24: Noel Wood, 'Brammo Bay, Duak Island, 1946.' Note the signs of a garden in the bottom left of picture. (G. Wilson, Escape Artists, 1998, p. 25)

Figure 7.25: Yvonne Cohen, 'Mango Trees, 1945.' Note the vivid colours and exuberant vegetation. (G. Wilson, Escape Artists, 1998, p. 23)
Figure 7.26: Valerie Albiston, ‘Timana Island, 1945.’ Note the layers of geometric shapes particularly in the mountains. (G. Wilson, Escape Artists, 1998, p. 26)
Despite the erratic nature of Wood's painting output he had an influence on the perception of North Queensland's tropical islands due to the Romantic nature of his lifestyle, reminiscent as it was of Banfield on nearby Dunk Island. His 1946 *Brammo Bay, Dunk Island*, is Arcadian and conjures up a placid late afternoon where no-one has a care in the world and everything looks its best. In the left foreground of the painting Banfield's and others' influence on the environment is seen with hints of a garden. (see Figure 7.24) Essentially this painting depicts a 'Garden of Eden' lightly modified by the artist's hand.

Yvonne Cohen and Valerie Albiston purchased Timana Island in 1938 to escape from Melbourne's winters. The sisters spent periods of up to six months each year on the island between 1938 and the late 1970s when tourists became too intrusive on their lifestyle. Each produced vividly coloured portrayals of Dunk Island and Timana Island respectively. (see Figures 7.25 and 7.26) Cohen's style is one of optimism with her use of balanced tones, and vivid and pure colour as in her 1945 *Mango Trees*.

This is a sympathetic impression of a tropical landscape: colourful and dominated by exuberant vegetation, although the scenery is more tame than the pre-World War II picturesque style. Valerie Albiston's style differed from Cohen's in that it is Gauginesque, semi-abstract and influenced by Cubism with its layers of geometrical shapes. Her use of a

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81 By 1897 Banfield had begun to plant cacao, coffee and durian. See Minutes of meeting held 19 September 1897, in OM 66-24/5, Minute Book 1895–1901, Queensland Acclimatisation Society. John Oxley Library.
Figure 7.27: Douglas Annand, ‘Barron Waters, Cairns,’ c. 1940s. Note the shadows and the threatening rainforest. (R. Dobson Australia: land of colour, 1962, p. 29)
Figure 7.28: Ray Crooke, 'Chillagoe, 1961.' Note the green and exotic looking vegetation. (G. Wilson, *Escape Artists*, 1998, p. 61)
carefully limited palette adds style to the simplicity of her image. Hidden in the picture, though, are the familiar icons: a glimpse of a tin and timber house, the vegetation soaring over and lapping the house, and a dramatic landscape behind it coloured the multiple greens of rainforest. In the foreground the canoe infers a casual lifestyle. Although the output of the islands' resident artists declined, artists continued to travel north in search of the exotic during the 1940s.

World War II revealed the landscape of North Queensland to an increasing number of artists, many of whom were employed as camouflage experts by the Australian Army. Most of these men concentrated on portraying the transformation of the landscape by the stationing of troops on the Atherton Tableland. A number went on to influence the 'idea of the tropics' in the post-war period when travel to the Cairns region began to accelerate. These artists included Douglas Annand and especially Ray Crooke.

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64 Valerie Albiston (1911 - ). Ibid.
65 In 1940 Roy Dalgarno (1910 - ) made his way to Bedarra Island where he and Wood painted together and later showed their work in Brisbane in An Exhibition of Tropical Paintings. Although Dalgarno's paintings of the island have not been located, it is likely that he had some influence on the way in which the tropical landscape was perceived as he painted extensively in Queensland between 1936 and 1945. R. Searle, “Artists in Tropical Queensland,” pp. 93 - 94. Another painter, John Buust, arrived on Bedarra Island in 1941, residing there until 1957. Buust was taught to paint by Justus Jorgensen of Montsalvat, a colony of Bohemians which constructed a Gothic chateau on the outskirts of Melbourne and advocated a simple lifestyle. Buust and his wife Phyllis moved to Bedarra wanting to grow their own food and paint. He built a mud-brick house on a headland facing Noel Wood's Doorilla Bay. None of Buust's paintings have been located and it appears that he spent much of his time involved in defending the Great Barrier Reef against 'controlled exploitation' as advocated by the Great Barrier Reef Committee, particularly for lime for the region's cane fields. Buust organised a campaign against lime mining and eventually he and other naturalists and conservationists broadened their agenda to include oil exploration and made these issues national and international issues. P. Clare, The Struggle, pp. 86 - 87, 89 - 91.
67 Douglas Annand (1903 - 1976) was one of Australia's most celebrated advertising designers during the 1930s. The ceiling of the Australian Pavilion at the 1937 Paris Exposition was designed by Annand, and in 1938 - 39 he was the art director of the Australian Pavilion at the New York World Fair. A. McCulloch,
Douglas Annand’s first visit to North Queensland was during the war. Watercolours he made during the war years were well received in southern states due to his “…surreal juxtaposition of military elements against the tropical environment…” He became interested in the vernacular architecture of the region during these years as well as producing evocative tropical scenes. One such scene was his sombre and highly shadowed Barron Waters, Cairns, Queensland, which suggests depths and the contained profusion of hidden life peculiar to the rainforest. (see Figure 7.27) There is a hint of the rainforest as slightly grotesque because it is so fecund and overpowering, suggesting a revival of the ‘dangerous jungle’ idea.

Ray Crooke had his first experience of indigenous people and their lifestyle during World War II while stationed in the North and on Thursday Island. He was captivated by the dry landscape north-west of Cairns, particularly Chillagoe with its smelters and mines. (see Figure 7.28) This is a curious rendition of Chillagoe as it is too green and exotic looking for a dry inland mining town. His treatment of Chillagoe in this painting suggests that he is trying to imbue the township with a ‘touch of the tropics.’

He and his wife, whom he met in the Torres Strait after the war, moved to Cairns in 1951 and lived for a short period at Buchan’s Point where Crooke painted and printed fabrics.


89 *Ibid.,* p. 60.
Figure 7.29: Ray Crooke, 'The Arrival,' c. 1940s. Note Crooke's use of slabs of warm and cool colours. (G. Dutton, Sun, Sea, Surf and Sand, 1985)
for the tourist trade. Few of his screen prints have survived. Crooke returned to Cairns
in 1959 and settled in Yorkeys Knob until 1969 when the need to exhibit and provide for
his family led him south. Crooke exhibited widely particularly throughout the 1960s and
the landscape of Cairns and its hinterland was frequently a subject of his paintings. He
has been credited by at least one art reviewer with interpreting and portraying the
regional landscape in a manner not seen before. According to D.V. Duhig the coastal
landscape between Townsville and Port Douglas was a landscape which had "... previously
been somewhat falsified by the interpretations of visiting southern artists..."
It would appear however that Crooke like many artists before and after him was
Romanticising the tropical landscape of Cairns and its hinterland, judging by his work.

Crooke certainly would have had an influence on the manner in which tropical beaches
were perceived. In *The Arrival* Crooke's balanced use of tone and colour conveys the
"...sensuous richness of the tropics..." (see Figure 7.29) While Crooke's style is often
compared to Gauguin, the difference between the two lies in their use of colour and tone,
with Crooke using a highly tonal approach in conjunction with a well developed sense of

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90 R. Dobson, *Focus on Ray Crooke*, (St Lucia, 1971), pp. 5 - 6.
91 In 1957 Ray Crooke exhibited 23 oil paintings and 25 silk screen prints at the Lower Kozminsky Gallery,
Sydney. Cairns and Thursday Island were the main subjects of this exhibition. In 1961 he exhibited at the
Australian Galleries where works such as *Northern Queensland, Tobacco Klin, Mareeba, and Port Douglas*
were shown. In another exhibition in 1961 at the Johnstone Gallery, Brisbane, 43 oil paintings were
exhibited. Most were landscapes of the tropical coast from Townsville to Port Douglas. In 1962
exhibitions in Adelaide and Sydney showed *Chillagoe* which was bought for the National Art Collections.
In 1963 exhibitions consisting of North Queensland landscapes, dry rivers, sandstone outcrops and mining
towns, and the Torres Strait Islands were shown in Brisbane and Melbourne. *Ibid.*, pp. 29 – 35.
Figure 7.30: Russel Drysdale, ‘Yorkeys Knob, 1950.’ (G. Wilson, Escape Artists, 1998, p. 91)
Figure 7.31: Charles Callins, 'View from Barrier Reef, Fitzroy Island to Double Island, 1951.' (G. Lehman & C. Blackman, *Australian Primitive Painters*, 1977)
Figure 7.32: Charles Callins, ‘Fitzroy Island and Cape Grafton Passages,’ 1950s. (B. McCullough, *Australian Naïve Painters*, 1977)
colour. He uses slices of hot and cold colour to convey the richness of a tropical landscape and creates a feeling of languor in the balmy tropical heat.

Russell Drysdale journeyed to Far North Queensland and Cape York Peninsula in 1951. He returned again in 1956 and spent six months travelling the region, living in a swag and Landrover. Drysdale's focus was largely on the people and landscapes of Australia's interior therefore few of his paintings depict the Cairns region. There is however one notable exception: his only known seascape, Yorkeys Knob, was painted in 1950 when he visited Ray and June Crooke there. (see Figure 7.30) While Crooke's painting suggests the casual lifestyle, his portrayal of the hills adjacent to the beach is reminiscent of an inland scene.

An interesting artist emerged in the 1950s. Charles Callins moved to Cairns in 1891 when he was four years old. He did not begin to paint seriously until the 1940s and first exhibited with the Johnstone Gallery in Brisbane in 1957 and with Gallery A in Sydney thereafter. Callins spent much time fishing and sailing around the coast and islands of Cairns during his youth and this is reflected in his art. His is a naïve style and in his paintings he sought to "... depict the peculiarities of our Great Barrier Reef, both inner and outer reef walls, including the shallow water table on the outer barrier reef..." (see Figures 7.31 and 7.32) This naïve painting of the region's islands, beaches and waterways is a colourful and symbolic representation of the land and seascape as exotic and exciting.

Like Callins, artist John Coburn spent his childhood in North Queensland and despite moving away as an adult, his art reflects the emotional effect of the 'idea' of the tropics. As a child he was fascinated by the 'dramatic proportions' of the rainforest and the presence of Aboriginal stone formations on the Burdekin River. Coburn's work is allied with the extreme end of post-World War II abstraction and has strong Aboriginal influences evident. His portrayal of a tropical rainforest as in *Primordial Garden*, captures the variations in shape, colour and size to be found in that environment but is unlikely to convey an image of the rainforest to a potential visitor as it is too personal and subjective. (see Figure 7.33)

In 1966 Bruce Arthur and Deanna Conti moved to Timana Island to establish a tapestry studio-workshop. Like Banfield Arthur was influenced by the writings of Thoreau. Their move to the island produced a 'second-wave' of travelling artists as the likes of John Olsen, Fred Williams, Frank Werther and Clifton Pugh collaborated with Arthur and Conti in the production of woven textiles. Although these artists did not produce paintings or textiles depicting the landscape of the region, Fred Williams aside, they did utilise the Great Barrier Reef as a source of design, especially for textiles and tourism

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98 John Coburn (1925 - ) was born in Ingham and has lived and worked in Sydney since World War II. R. Sextie, *Artist in the Tropics*, p. 51.


100 During the 1970s Williams produced two paintings inspired by his two week visit to Bedarra Island: *Bedarra, North Queensland* and *Milkwood Tree, Bedarra*. These paintings are unlike any of his earlier works. G. Wilson, *Escape Artist*, pp. 27 – 29.
Figure 7.34: Olive Ashworth, cover for Kitty Monkman's book. (K. Monkman, *Over and Under*, 1975)

Figure 7.35: Olive Ashworth, 'Reef Fantasy, 1971.' Note the tropical fish and corals. (R. Searle, *Art in the Tropics*, 1993, p. 45)
posters. Textile artist Olive Ashworth for example was commissioned to design some of the earliest tourist brochures for the Whitsunday Island resorts in the 1950s. These brochures were considered as influential as the photographs of Frank Hurley and Noel Monkman in shaping perceptions of the Reef. In fact, she designed the cover for Kitty Monkman’s Over and Under the Great Barrier Reef. Her designs were based on sketches she had made of the reef and its marine life from underwater observations. (See Figures 7.34 and 7.35) Another textile designer, Francis Burke, from Melbourne designed the fabrics used in decorating the Royal Hayman Hotel on Hayman Island in 1951. This design, Seapiece, is described as being comprised of “…stylised classical, floral and marine motifs … which threaded marine life forms, shells and weed formations together in a strong graphic band across the fabric…” (see Figure 7.36) Both designers produced designs that were original, with Ashworth’s in particular highlighting the colour and riotousness of reef life.

Cairns had at least one cartoonist, H.W. Blom, who in the 1930s produced a number of postcards and at least one book. Some of his work commented upon the tourism industry and its effects upon the town. In a cartoon titled “Some Forgotten Tourist Attractions” he is commenting upon Cairns’ lack of sophistication and that the town did not possess the hallmarks of an advanced culture (such as, with more than a hint of irony, flappers). (see Figure 7.37) The drawing of the contained Norman Park shade tree may well be a

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101 R. Searle, Artist in the Tropics, p. 45.
102 Brisbane born Olive Marie Ashworth (1915 - ) ran the Burns Philp art department from 1933 until 1945. She then opened ‘Olive Ashworth Publicity Service’ which operated for twenty years. Ashworth’s textiles won various prizes: 1951, runner up in Grafton Prize; and 1954, finalist in the Leroy-Alcosor prize for textile design. J. Kerr (Ed), Heritage, pp. 303 – 304.
103 Ibid., p. 304. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the influence of photographers on perceptions of the landscape.
Figure 7.36: Francis Burke, ‘Seapiece, 1951.’ (R. Searle, *Artist in the Tropics*, 1993, p. 44.)

Figure 7.37: H.W. Blom, ‘Some Forgotten Tourist Attractions.’ (H.W. Blom, *Light Counterlunch*, 1930)
Figure 7.38: H.W. Blom, 'The Southern Idea of the North,' c. 1930s. (Postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
comment upon the problem of roaming goats in the town and their propensity to eat anything.

In his postcard "The Southern Idea of the North," Blom is highlighting the more extreme perceptions held of Cairns by those in southern states. (see Figure 7.38) The Chinese man in the cooking pot with herbs being added by an Aboriginal cook, the rampaging snakes and crocodiles, and particularly the goat-drawn buggy were often included in cartoons portraying the North. Goats frequently appeared in cartoons and photographs in publications such as the Queenslander and the North Queensland Register between 1890 and the 1940s.105

Conclusion

Artists have been travelling to the Cairns region since at least the 1890s. Those who visited or resided in the region sought to capture the diversity of its tropical landscapes: its colour, light and texture; its languid pace of life and architecture; and its life forms. Many such as Rowan, Preston, Friend and Cohen found inspiration in the landscapes they encountered, but others such as Nolan, Drysdale and Roberts, did not, finding more inspiration in the inland bush and desert landscapes.

Nationalism was the dominant cultural and aesthetic mode in the 1880s and 1890s. This sentiment may have propelled a number of artists to travel north in search of unique aspects of Australian life. By the beginning of the 20th century calls for 'Australianess' in

art were becoming more muted and rainforest began to become less fashionable giving ground to Eucalypts and Acacias. As a result, the unusual landscape of the Wet Tropics was not incorporated into the national consciousness. However, artists influenced by Impressionism began to explore colour and form and by the 1930s and 1940s and the rise of Post-Impressionism, the region was increasingly being seen as reminiscent of Gauguin’s South Sea, ‘exotic.’ Far North Queensland with its non-European culture and tropical environment was a beacon for some artists who were seeking new influences for their art.

Paintings made before the 1930s generally speaking portrayed the landscape of the Cairns region dramatically with threatening, forbidding and unusual skies, mist shrouded mountains, and lush, seemingly impenetrable jungle. This is seen particularly in Ashton and Fullwood’s sketches. Ellis Rowan, with her focus on the minutiae, the region’s flowers, highlighted the delicate beauty and colour of the vegetation. Leila McIlwaine’s Herberton appears to be one of the few that portrayed the region in the picturesque style during this period. Reflecting nationalistic concerns of the day it records the establishment of a new town.

Paintings executed after the 1930s, particularly those of Friend, Olley, Cohen and Crooke were colourful and evocative. The artists had largely mastered the different light conditions and colours of the tropics. Their images portrayed an environment that was different, with ‘exotic’ people, places and vegetation, both adventurous and well-settled. The different ‘moods’ of the tropics were provided less frequently during this period but

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Ian Fairweather and Douglas Annand depict the oppressiveness of approaching monsoonal rain and the idea of the terrifying jungle respectively.

While visual representations were significant in creating the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region, it is difficult to ascertain the influence that paintings had on tourists’ perceptions and the development of images due to the relative lack of access to art works by the general public until recent times. However as noted earlier, artists were the first to perceive the richness and uniqueness of North’s landscape therefore from this perspective there can be no doubt that their use of vibrant colour and evocative themes such as palm trees and white sandy beaches were significant in the development of the idea of the ‘exotic tropics,’ and certainly raised the expectations of potential travellers.

Generally speaking, artists and authors traversed a similar track when portraying the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region. Even those authors writing from a scientific viewpoint evoked a Romantic view of the rainforest and reef due to the intermingling of Romantic and scientific prose until at least the 1930s, producing in some cases vivid ‘word pictures.’ These dovetailed with the many colourful and vibrant paintings of the Region’s exotic attractions. Few brooding paintings were made of the Region with Fairweather’s 1939 Alligator Creek corresponding with some of the dread-inducing descriptions provided by Archibald Meston and later, E.J. Brady. Even Julian Ashton’s and A.H. Fullwood’s sketches of the region in the 1890s do not capture this brooding and ominous aspect of the landscape, although that may well be due to our knowledge of Fairweather’s tendency toward melancholy.
By the 1960s, as indicated earlier, artists were travelling North less frequently and Romantic landscapes were being displaced by the rise of abstraction and the decline of the landscape as subject matter. Elaborate 'word pictures' too had largely disappeared from tourism literature by this time. While it is difficult to account for this, simpler and more concise modern writing, and the rise of the photograph (discussed in Chapter 8) were probably responsible.
CHAPTER 8: VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS – THE PHOTOGRAPHERS

Introduction

Images have an extraordinary power to:

...determine our demands upon reality and are themselves coveted substitutes for firsthand experience [that] become indispensable to the health of the economy, the stability of the polity, and the pursuit of private happiness...¹

Photographic images since their inception have come to assume an almost unlimited authority in society, thereby structuring what is 'real' because of their close resemblance to the 'real thing.' While the distinction between a painting and its object is often obvious with the painting seen as possessing the object or spirit of the object, a photographic image has been seen as 'reality.' Sontag makes this distinction clear when she suggests that:

...a fake painting (one whose attribution is false) falsifies the history of art. A fake photograph (one which has been retouched or tampered with, or whose caption is false) falsifies reality...²

The magic of the photographic image lies in its ability to capture more than what is seen by natural vision and that which painters did not record.³

Photographic images in the form of postcards, brochures, posters and advertisements and in magazines, books and newspapers have been very powerful in shaping the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region. Cultural meanings were embedded into the landscape as images were used to portray the landscape

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according to popular taste: Romantic, picturesque, exotic, tropical, scientific and ecological. Under the rubric of the ‘exotic’ for example the traveller was bombarded with unusual images in the form of postcards, brochures, advertisements and pamphlets. These fragments are incorporated into a unified experience, a destination which, from the time tourists leave home, revolves around images. After all, tourism revolves around the consumption of images. Examination of images contained within tourism literature allows us to understand how a destination or attraction is portrayed and sold and to elicit the meanings contained within.

The tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region, from its inception was an exotic landscape. Since the 1890s the region has been dominated by the unusual features of the natural landscape. These were different to what could be seen in other parts of Australia because of their location in the tropics. While the message embedded in the images may be difficult to discern from a distance of 100 years, the government’s concern for portraying Australia and Far North Queensland as safe, prosperous and scenic outposts, imbued with British social mores and values, was persistent. Accompanying the images was often elaborate ‘word pictures,’ reinforcing this message if the potential traveller was in doubt.

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The development of photography in Australia

Photography assisted the tourism industry and the pictorial movement, which advocated the use of the camera for artistic expression, to flourish. State governments began using photographs to entice Australians to visit beauty spots both near and far, and internationally, wealthy tourists were lured by the exotic land in the Southern Seas. It is important to note that State Governments were quickly aware of the potential of photography for the tourism industry as they commissioned photographers to take the images that the Railways Department displayed in trains and stations, that shipping companies used to adorn ships’ lounges and guide books, and that local councils and businesses used for advertising purposes. Initially these images portrayed specific places but by about 1910 images increasingly signified ‘Australian-ness.’ At this point nationalistic ideas began to intersect with landscape photography. Emerging nationalism had a significant influence upon how landscapes were perceived, constructed and portrayed photographically, both nationally and internationally.

By 1900 photographs had largely replaced hand drawings for illustration purposes. As technical advances occurred in the reproduction process and newspapers, magazines and journals realised the potential of photography, the photograph’s function as an illustration

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5 The father of Pictorialism in Australia was Harold Cazneaux (1878 – 1953). He vehemently believed that any subject, sensitively handled, could be portrayed pictorially. In 1909 he staged Australia’s first one-man show, a show which caused an ‘artistic riot’ and was acclaimed nationally and internationally. In 1917 he joined Sydney Ure Smith’s studio as the official photographer. The studio went on to publish ‘The Home’ and ‘Art in Australia’ publications. ‘The Home’ was noted for its ‘sun-filled subjects.’ J. Cato, The Story of the Camera in Australia. (Melbourne, 1955), pp. 150 – 153. A major criticism of Pictorialism was that it did not portray the Australian landscape as it really was. There were calls for images of ‘sun-kissed, sun-crowned Australia’ rather than those imbued with ‘English mists.’ A. Willis, Picturing Australia: a history of photography. (London, 1988), p. 145.
6 J. Cato, The Story of the Camera, p. 64.
7 A. Willis, Picturing Australia, p. 78.
for articles increased markedly.8 This growth in the use of photographs was particularly pertinent in Queensland where due to geographical isolation, professional and amateur photographers were encouraged to send articles and photographs together for publication in newspapers such as the *Queenslander*9 and the *North Queensland Register*.10

Pictorialist photography was particularly vigorous in Queensland during the 1920s and 1930s. This was due to a number of factors including the influence of amateur photographic societies and the Queensland government’s championing of the ‘yeoman farmer’ ideal and ‘Peopling the North’ policy at the expense of industrial development.”11 These factors combined with a geographically large and sparsely populated State led to much of the art emanating from Queensland tending to emphasise the bush ideal.

The development of photography in the Cairns region

Early photographs of the Cairns region are dominated by images of the unusual, primarily the limestone caves and bluffs of Chillagoe, the Barron Falls and the unusual tropical vegetation. Photographers did not cover the whole range of landscapes in the region; rather a few images came to represent ‘Cairns’. This was not accidental; it was a deliberate process whereby a select set of images were structured to form a coherent

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9 The *Queenslander* was begun in 1866. It was enlarged and improved in 1883 and in 1887 the purchase of new equipment allowed it to reproduce photographs for illustrated supplements, popular during the 1890s. These supplements were also used by the government to lure migrants from Britain. *Ibid.*, p. 94. In 1900 for example 4,200 supplements were distributed in England by the Agent General for Queensland. See “Report of the Agent General for Queensland for the year 1900,” in *I & P*, 1901, vol. 4, pp. 1055.
10 The *North Queensland Register* also used photographs extensively in its publications from 1898. The Register began in 1892 having previously been known as *The Northern Mining Register*. This publication attracted a different type of photograph to the *Queenslander* in that the photograph was largely used to convey information rather than illustrate the text as seen in the *Queenslander*. J. Brown, “Versions of Reality,” p. 95.
representation of the region. These images were selected as they most closely corresponded with the idea of what Cairns was. Understanding this message can be problematic if the photographer is unknown given that the relationship between the photograph and the object of the photograph is mediated by the photographer, that is, the photographer interprets the ‘reality’ depicted.\textsuperscript{12} In addition, the photographer’s interpretation can be changed or distorted by the manner in which is presented in a publication and the text accompanying it.

The region’s commercial photographers had a significant influence in selecting the images that came to portray the Cairns region. The major studios were those of Handley \& Atkinson and Chargois Studio in Cairns, and Lyn Brown in Mareeba on the Atherton Tableland. Smaller studios were established by Harry Cree in Port Douglas and Harriet Brims in Mareeba. Ultimately however the landscapes that were ‘created’ for the tourism industry and appeared in postcards and photographs were selected by publishers far removed from Cairns. Publishers would have been mindful of the close association between Queensland and Britain, initially as a colony and later as a source of immigrants and tourists. This would have played an important role in shaping both the tourism product and the images produced for tourism literature.

The photographic studios

Charles Handley operated his studio in Cairns from 1888. He formed a partnership with Alfred Atkinson in 1900 and they operated the studio known as Handley & Atkinson. Handley was a well established professional photographer prior to Atkinson’s arrival and dominated the commercial photography trade in the Cairns region during the 1890s. An early ‘photo-journalist,’ Handley documented the district in an illustrated article.[14] Interestingly the illustration accompanying this article was drawing rather than a photograph. (see Figure 8.1)

Handley developed a characteristic style when photographing sites such as Chillagoe in which “...he showed views of individual sites enhanced by dramatic lighting and included a standard figure or group...”[15] This is seen in a photograph he took of ‘Easter Rocks’ at Chillagoe when he accompanied amateur artist Donald Thistlethwayte to Chillagoe in 1893 as discussed above. (see Figure 8.2) Thistlethwayte used this image and others to make drawings of his findings at Chillagoe for a paper presented to the Royal Geographical Society while Handley used them in commercial albums for

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Figure 8.1: Charles Handley. ‘Chillagoe limestone bluffs.’ (C. Handley. *Queenslander*, 26 August, 1893, p. 408)
Figure 8.2: Charles Handley, ‘Easter Rocks, Chillagoe Caves,’ c. 1893. (P11903, Cairns Historical Society)
purchase. In 1899 Handley's photographs of Chillagoe accompanied a descriptive travelogue by travelling journalist Maude Wheeler, and they later formed part of a photo composite reproduced in William Lees' *Goldfields of Queensland* (see Figure 8.3) The unusual natural feature 'Easter Rocks' located in the bottom right hand side of the composite, has been distorted by its reduction in size in this layout. This along with the addition of decorative floral borders is seen by Brown as negating the true content of the photograph. From a traveller's perspective however the use of a composite layout highlighted the variations in rock formations and piqued the imagination.

Alfred Atkinson was a prolific photographer who shared Handley's interest in Aborigines and natural history. He photographed all aspects of early Cairns including ships, a boating series on local creeks, sporting events, local buildings and people, government officials, birdlife on Michaelmas Cay, local industry, the Cairns to Kuranda railway, timber felling activities, and the Barron Falls and Gorge. (see Figures 8.4 and 8.5) These photographs are portraying two very different tropical scenes. The image of birdlife on

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16 Commercially produced photographs were sought after to place in photo albums. Albums served a social function and were widely used. According to Grace Seiberling "...albums could play a direct role in communicating ideas, whether through providing artistic models or through stimulating discussion on issues as diverse as evolution or family history. Their conjunction of images also implied an underlying set of values which the albums reinforced among the people who used them." G. Seiberling, cited by *Ibid.*, p. 92. Photographs of the fig trees of the Atherton Tableland by photographer Lyn Brown of Mareeba were collected by the Campey Beazeley family and the Hood family. *Ibid.*, p. 129. In the early 1900s a migrant to Cairns, Derwent Vallance, selected a range of photos from Handley and Atkinson's collection, mounted them in two albums and sent them to his family in England so they would understand the nature of the place he had moved to. L. Pearson, *Historical Photographs of Cairns and District: photographs selected by Derwent Vallance in about 1900 to show his family in England the local scene*. (Cairns, 2004), p. 5.

17 Maude Wheeler's series 'Queensland of the North' included articles on Cairns, Hambledon Plantation, Mareeba, Irvinebank, Mount Garnet and the Barron Falls. Her description of the Chillagoe Caves was published in the *Queenslander* 18 November 1899, p. 107.

18 British born William Lees (1868 - ?) arrived in Australia in the early 1880s and spent some time in North Queensland working in the sugar industry. During the 1890s he was associated with the Outridge Printing Company. He travelled extensively throughout Queensland collecting photographic material from local photographers connected with the railways and gold mines. J. Brown, "Versions of Reality," p. 227.

Figure 8.3: Charles Handley, ‘The giant limestone rocks of Chillagoe.’ (W. Lees, The Goldfields of Queensland, 1899)
Figure 8.4: Alfred Atkinson, 'Michaelmas Cay, showing terns and gulls,' early 1900s. (Postcard, P00724, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.5: Alfred Atkinson, 'Boutting on Freshwater Creek, Barron Gorge' 1900. (postcard, P00651, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.6: Alphonse Chargois, ‘Barron River Aborigine.’ (P08986, Cairns Historical Society)
Michaelmas Cay represents one of the first photographs of the largely unknown and exotic Great Barrier Reef. Reflecting Atkinson’s love of the natural environment, the man in the boat is dwarfed by the surrounding jungle, particularly its density. It appears somewhat brooding or threatening. Those viewing these images would have been enticed by the exotic nature of the scenes.

Chargois Studio was operated by Alphonse Chargois from 1921. Walter Orthman, a talented photographer and painter, was employed by Chargois. Both of these men were well known in photographic circles in Queensland with Chargois having a higher profile. Chargois was a renowned outdoor cameraman and was well known for roaming the countryside taking photographs particularly of Aborigines and natural history subjects. Occasionally he portrayed Aborigines in an ‘exotic’ manner which would have reinforced the image of Cairns as an exciting and adventurous destination. (see Figure 8.6) Chargois was a regular contributor to the *North Queensland Register* with his interests in Aborigines and natural history suiting the style of this publication. Chargois’ son Herbert joined the studio in 1919 and managed it until 1947 when it was sold. Like his father Herbert focused his photography on Aborigines and natural history and other local scenes. His photo series ‘Coral from the Great Barrier Reef’ was hung at the Seventh

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International Photographic Exhibition, held in Japan in 1935,23 further enhancing the "tropical" image of the region. Many "conventional" images of people, places, events and scenes were taken also such as Matron Varley's Convalescent Home at Yorkeys Knob. (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.9)

Walter Orthman moved to Cairns around 1924 and worked at Chargois Studio until his death in 1966. He exhibited his photographs from 1930 onwards and was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society.24 While it is difficult to ascertain the significance of Orthman's photographs upon perceptions of the Cairns region it is known that Orthman was encouraged by photographic supply companies such as Harrington's to exhibit in photographic salons in Brisbane during the 1930s.25 It is likely that Orthman's major legacy to shaping perceptions of the region was in his roles as a photography teacher at Adult Education classes, a founder-member of the Cairns Art Society in 1931, and as a member of the Cairns Camera Club.26 One of Orthman's photographs, Toilers, taken around 1934 has been located. (see Figure 8.7) In common with Pictorialist conventions of the time the Toilers focused on nationalistic themes of idealised rural activity, and like many painters of this era there was an emphasis on restraint and harmony together with low tonalities.27 Orthman was experimenting with light in this photograph creating a 'fuzzy' effect commonly seen in Impressionist paintings of the late 19th century and in the work of major photographers. Chargois Studios produced many

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24 S. Smith, *Queensland Pictorialist Photography*, pp. 31 – 32. The date of Orthman's appointment as a Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society is not specified.
26 Other early members of the Cairns Art Society were Harry Swinburne, James H. Smith and Randolph Morse. *Ibid.*, pp. 16 & 31.
images of the region’s landscape and buildings as well as studio portraits, and provided the photographs that illustrated Victor Kennedy’s travel guide *Cairns North Queensland Guide Book: winter tours.* 28 Most of the studio’s photographs were not attributed to a particular photographer. It is likely that Walter Orthman was responsible for many.

On the Atherton Tableland Lyne Brown established a combined photographic studio and stationer’s in August 1893. 29 Brown was mayor of Cairns in 1899 at which point he moved his studio to Cairns. Official photographer for the Railways Department, he took many photographs of the construction of the railway and its tunnels, a number of which were used to illustrate William Lees’ book: *The Goldfields of Queensland.* (see Figure 8.8) Consistent with the aim of this book to showcase the Walsh and Tinaroo mining district, and the Hodgkinson goldfield, and with his role as Railway Department photographer, these photographs demonstrate humankind’s mastery of nature. In an inversion of the Romantic tradition, the angle of the camera renders nature almost insignificant as the railway bridges tower over the Barron Gorge and Stoney Creek Falls. The addition of a flower and water lily embellished frame is a curious picturesque touch.

Brown also took photographs of Aborigines and the natural environment and a number of the commercially popular regional scenes such as the strangler fig tree. (see Figure 8.9) Large trees like this fig tree on Abbott Street were popular subjects for photographic albums. Fig trees were considered to be unusual vegetation, typifying jungle, and unlike

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28 All of the photographs in this publication are attributed to Chargois Studio. See frontispiece, V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland.*

29 “Photographic Studio, Mareeba,” *Cairns Argus,* 22 July 1893 & “Notice to the Residents of Mareeba and Goldfield and Kuranda,” 31 August 1893.
Figure 8.7: Walter Orthman, 'Toilers,' circa 1934. (S. Smith, *Queensland Pictorialist Photography*, 1984)
Figure 8.8: Lyn Brown, ‘Views between Cairns and Herberton.’ (W. Lees, The Goldfields of Queensland, 1899)
Figure 8.9: Lyn Brown, ‘Fig Tree, Abbott Street, Cairns,’ 1890s. (P13307, Cairns Historical Society)
depictions of vegetation of southern and western regions of Queensland, these trees were frequently labeled as to their species and their location. Other rainforest trees tended to be labeled as ‘Queensland Scrub’ or ‘Tropical Scrub.’ Due to the exceptional quality of Brown’s photographs they sometimes provided the basis for journalists to produce drawings to illustrate their articles. A ‘Special Reporter’ for the Queenslander for example produced hand drawings of Hambledon Plantation based on Brown’s photographs to accompany an article on the plantation.

Archibald Meston while rather better known for his description of the Barron Falls included photographer Harry Crees on his expedition to Mt Alexandria in the Upper Daintree River. A poor quality photo of Mt. Alexandria appears with Meston’s article in the Queenslander, revealing the jungle looming large on the region’s rugged mountain landscape. Harry Crees operated a photographic business in Port Douglas from 1894 to 1900. It is likely that he produced many of the early photographs of the Port Douglas area but only a few photos have been located attributable to him, including one of the Queens Hotel and another of packers with bags of stream tin bound for Port Douglas. (see Figure 8.10) Images such as these recorded the progress of the township and did not appear in tourism literature therefore it is not likely that Crees’ images influenced the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region to any great extent.

32 An account of this expedition “Wild Country and Wild Tribes XIV: the ascent of Mount Alexandria,” was published in the Queenslander, 10 April 1897, p. 793.
Female photographers

Unlike other states, Queensland's female photographers did not concentrate in the capital city, Brisbane. In fact there were more female photographers working in the coastal townships than in Brisbane. However, Cairns does not appear to have attracted female photographers. The region did however boast at least one female photographer, Harriet Brims, who opened a studio at Mareeba in 1903. Between 1904 and 1905 she operated a 'visiting studio' in Chillagoe and provided a similar service to Irvinebank and Watsonville, near Herberton, in 1907. Brims spent much time outside of the studio photographing sugar cane plantations and their Melanesian labourers, the Chillagoe Smelters, Aborigines, bullock teams, the buildings of Mareeba and landscape views. She also produced studio photographs of children and families. (see Figure 8.11) The overall impact of Brims' images appears to have been small as her images were not used in travel literature.

The explorers, adventurers and naturalists as photographers

Many of the early photographic images of North Queensland came from naturalists, adventure-lovers and explorers. In the early 20th century explorer Francis Birles travelled on a bicycle across Queensland and Northern Australia photographing

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Figure 8.10: Harry Crees, 'Packers with bags of stream tin bound for Port Douglas,' c. late 1890s. (P12481, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.11: Harriet Brims with Aborigines in North Queensland bush, early 1900s.
(147022, State Library of Queensland)
landscapes and children for the isolated settlers. Travelling with Birtles was Sydney photographer Frank Hurley who became one of Australia's best known photographers. Hurley took many photos of the Cairns region including a photo series of Innisfail, the Atherton Tableland and the Great Barrier Reef. He also created a photo series to commemorate the coming of electricity to Port Douglas. In 1922–23 he made a movie of the fish and coral of the Great Barrier Reef and in 1936 joined Cinesound and made movies and photographs for State Governments. Many of these movies and photographs would have been used to promote tourism in Queensland and the Cairns region as he was renowned for his technical ability, the sharpness of his photographs, and the artistic qualities he brought to each image.

Hurley passionately believed in Australia and saw the country as a land of progress and promise. After World War II he began a series of Camera Study books, one of which was Cairns: The Tropical Wonderland: a Frank Hurley camera study, 1961. In relation to this study Hurley's most important and easily accessed photographs are contained in this book. It focused on the region's natural beauty and its industrial productivity. This connection is celebrated in these images without any reference to the extensive changes made to the environment to achieve this. This book was obviously written for the travel market as it contains an itinerary for the "Tropical Wonderland Tour" and a detailed map, and uses an evocative prose style to entice visitors to the region. The images are free of

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37 J. Cato, The Story of the Camera, p. 177.
39 Hurley in his pursuit of the artistic photograph endeavored to capture the relationship between people and nature. This quality was seen particularly in photographs produced on his five expeditions to the Antarctic. J. Cato, The Story of the Camera, p. 139.
Figure 8.12: Frank Hurley, 'The Barron Gorge,' circa 1940s. (Cairns the Tropical Wonderland, 1961)

Figure 8.13: Frank Hurley, Green Island, circa 1940s. (Cairns the Tropical Wonderland, 1961)
Figure 8.14: Frank Hurley, 'Panorama from the lookout on the Kuranda Range Road,' circa 1950s. (Cairns the Tropical Wonderland, 1961)
Figure 8.15: Frank Hurley, 'Little Mulgrave Valley,' circa 1950s. (Cairns the Tropical Wonderland, 1961)

Figure 8.16: Frank Hurley, 'Mulgrave Valley,' circa 1950s. (Cairns the Tropical Wonderland, 1961)
Figure 8.17: 'A Coral Garden.' (T.C. Eoughley, Wonders of the Great Barrier Reef, 1936)
Figure 8.18: Noel Monkman, 'The fish of coral reefs are startling in their beauty.' (N. Monkman, *Escape to Adventure*, 1956)

Figure 8.19: Noel Monkman, 'A colourful sea slug crawling over red organ-pipe coral.' (N. Monkman, *Escape to Adventure*, 1956)
tension as they express a harmonious relationship between people and nature. The artistic images of canefields and farms are almost a reversion to the picturesque mode whereby the agricultural landscapes are presented as art. These are aestheticised landscapes enhanced by the exaggerated colour contrasts of the tropical landscape. (see Figures 8.12 to 8.16)

Perhaps the most frequent form of photography used to capture early images of the Cairns region was the naturalistic style, a style favoured by those with scientific interests. The region attracted this type of photographer due to its unusual geological formations particularly at Chillagoe, the unusual vegetation such as the strangler fig trees which were sometimes referred to as ‘freaks of nature,’ and the Great Barrier Reef. The region attracted a number of scientists and naturalists including William Saville-Kent, T.C. Roughley and Noel Monkman.

William Saville-Kent, a well known marine scientist, was the first photographer to systematically record the Great Barrier Reef on film. These images appeared in his book The Great Barrier Reef of Australia: its products and potentialities published in 1893 and his 1897 The Naturalist in Australia. One of his aims was to demonstrate the possibilities of photography to biologists. From 1889 to 1892 Saville-Kent was Queensland’s Commissioner of Fisheries. During this period he studied the reef extensively and in 1891 a number of his photographs were sent to England for

41 William Saville-Kent (1845 – 1908) was an English zoologist and photographer. R. Searle, "Artists in Tropical Queensland," p. 89.
exhibition. His photographs continued to appear in State government publications well after his death.

Another marine naturalist, T.C. Roughley, was influential in shaping perceptions of the Great Barrier Reef. He published the enormously popular *Wonders of the Great Barrier Reef* which was reprinted 11 times between 1936 and 1949. One of his main objectives was to reach the lay reader:

...to tell the story of the wonderful life of the reef, to give the reader an accurate impression of the colour of some of its inhabitants. Scientific terms and technicalities have been scrupulously avoided; to the layman...they make reading difficult and sometimes obscure...

His prose style is an interesting mixture of scientific fact and Romantically tinged perceptions:

...we decide to explore the deeper water beyond the reef and requisition a glass bottomed boat...here the coral, never exposed to the retarding influence of the air, never battered by waves churned up by an angry wind, is free to grow in almost limitless profusion and it reaches a size never attained in the shallow water of the lagoon. As we gaze into the cool green light of the liquid depths we are transported into a new world, and we fairly gasp with wonder at the magnificence of the scene below us. Here are coral gardens that might have been planted and tended by fairies, so strangely different are they from the gardens of our previous experience. Delicate, finely branched coral trees and shrubs, corals like giant mushrooms, corals resembling enormous fans, corals arranged in tiers like a Buddhist temple, coral grottoes, coral caves, corals infinite in their variety, pass by as we slowly and quietly move over the surface. Their colours are restful rather than brilliant. A hedge of light blue staghorn coral contrasts with one of

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43 Saville-Kent provided a photograph of Stag’s Horn Reef on the Outer Barrier Reef, a photograph of reefs around Thursday Island, and an image of the inshore reef at Palm Island, off Townsville. See QGTB, *The Great Barrier Reef of Australia: a popular account*, p. 4.
pink; branches of lavender are thrown into relief by borders of red rose. Here and there the coral shrubs are variegated; pale green stems are tipped with mauve, like buds about to burst into bloom; bright yellow branches tipped with pale blue; pale fawn tipped with heliotrope. The shape and colour are limitless...

The likening of clusters of corals to gardens and flowers in tourism and travel literature was common. One narrowly cropped photograph (see Figure 8.17) isolates the coral from its surrounds and highlights the magnificence of the corals. Later images of coral tended to present coral as more garishly coloured, a presentation not helped by the selling of hand painted dead coral. However, whether the coral was presented naturalistically or garishly, visitors to the Reef were captured by the variety of colours and shapes, and its 'exotic' tropical connotations.

One of the few local photographers to contribute to government tourism publications was Noel Monkman. His naturalistic photographs of the abundant birdlife and coral of the Great Barrier Reef were appearing in tourism literature as early as the 1930s as well as illustrating his own books. (see Figures 8.18 and 8.19) These vividly coloured images were very influential in shaping perceptions of the Great Barrier Reef as an exotic and highly coloured wonderland. Monkman was a pioneer of underwater photography. Films of the Great Barrier Reef were seen nationally and internationally after Monkman adapted his camera to underwater use by making it water tight. His innovation was met with great interest and by 1929 Fox Movietone was buying short films from him for its Australian and American newsreels. From 1929 onwards Monkman made many films of the underwater world of the Reef. When he and his wife Kitty returned to Green Island

\[45 \text{Ibid., p. 14.} \]
\[46 \text{QGTB, The Great Barrier Coral Reef, Queensland, (Brisbane, circa 1935), pp. 12 & 24.} \]
Beautiful 'FAIRYLAND'
(a little over a mile from Kuranda)

Dense Tropical Jungle: Palms, Tree Ferns, Orchids and Flowers

Dainty Refreshments served amidst artistic surroundings

Daily Morning Train Return Rail Motor Service

Page Ten

Figure 8.20: 'Fairyland.' (Cairns and Tableland Publicity Association, Informative Tourists' Guide Book, 1931)
Figure 8.21: Burkitt Studio, 'Tea Gardens, Fairyland, Kuranda,' 1930s. (P11638, Cairns Historical Society)
permanently in the late 1950s they opened the Castaway Theatre\textsuperscript{47} so that visitors could experience aspects of the Reef without diving. Topics included the life history of the Green Turtle; microscopic life under the sea; the inhabitants of the Reef; and the Reef’s birdlife.\textsuperscript{48}

Another ‘local,’ John Dick, dubbed a ‘fine photographer from Charters Towers,’ produced photographic images of the region’s vegetation.\textsuperscript{49} Dick was the owner of ‘Fairyland’ near Kuranda.\textsuperscript{50} It is likely that he provided the early images that appeared in travel literature from as early as 1914. ‘Fairyland’ was bought by the Department of Railways in August 1934\textsuperscript{51} and photographs of the attraction after this date are usually attributed to the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. The photographs appeared in almost all of the tourism literature, including magazines such as \textit{Cummins & Campbell’s Monthly Magazine},\textsuperscript{52} produced from the late 1920s until the 1950s, and generally took the form of a child or woman framed by rainforest. The figure does not intrude into the natural environment thereby suggesting the idea of being in a ‘natural garden,’ allaying fears of the dense and mysterious jungles. (see Figure 8.20) A souvenir pack of photographs was produced by Burkitt Studios, Cairns, during this decade showing the tea

\textsuperscript{47} The Castaway Theatre was built by Noel and Kitty Monkman and officially opened by J.C.A. Pizzy, Minister for Education on 4 August 1961. Cairns Harbour Board, \textit{Fifty-Sixth Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1962}, p. 5.


\textsuperscript{49} John Dick was a keen photographer. A number of his images were published in the \textit{North Queensland Register}, 14 January 1907 and 21 January 1907, ‘The Famous Hot Springs on the Einales River, near Ambio’ and ‘A Group of Natives on Ambio Station, Einales River’ respectively.


\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Ibid.} It is unlikely that John Dick made photographs after 1926 when he was declared “a person of unsound mind” by the Supreme Court.

\textsuperscript{52} See untitled photographic spread of various attractions on the Atherton Tableland, in \textit{C & C}, April 1931, vol. 5, no. 48, no page numbers.
gardens, the shelter shed and the rainforest.\textsuperscript{53} (see Figures 8.21 and 8.22) These images depicted ‘Fairyland’ as the Romantic attraction that it was. Rustic tables and chairs, tablecloths and thatched shelter sheds are humanising features suggesting a touch of ‘civilisation’ in this picturesque environment. This series of seemingly ‘empty sights’ highlight the Romantic aspects of ‘Fairyland.’

\textbf{The government photographers}

The most important source of photographic material was the government. By the early 1860s departments such as the Railways Department and the Survey Branch of the Lands Department had appointed photographers. Their work during this decade was to provide technical photographs to enhance the work of these departments.\textsuperscript{54} Their scope widened during the 1890s with the rise in tourism and the Department of Railway’s need to promote its services and the beauty spots of the state. During this period the Lands Department established the Survey Branch Photographic Collection which offered a centralised source for government departments and commercial interests to obtain images of the State’s industries, resources and scenic views.\textsuperscript{55} Photographs of the Barron Falls and the Cairns to Kuranda railway line were also taken by professional photographers such as Handley and Atkinson and forwarded to the Department. Such was the interest

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Souvenirs Of Beautiful ‘Fairyland’} via Kuranda, North Queensland, circa 1930s, no publishing details. Other photographs contained in this souvenir pack are of the Barron Falls, Stoney Creek Falls and the Kuranda Railway Station. Burkit also published in other media including the \textit{North Queensland Register}. See photographs of Abbott Street, Cairns in \textit{North Queensland Register}, Christmas Edition 1938.

\textsuperscript{54} J. Brown, “Versions of Reality,” p. 25.

\textsuperscript{55} ibid.
Caves of Chillagoe.
Stalactites and Stalagmites.

There are several caves in the vicinity of Chillagoe, the principal being about three miles distant. Intending visitors should make their arrangements with the caretaker in Chillagoe.

Caves of Mungana.
Pristine Beauty and Massive Formation.

The most beautiful of the Mungana Caves is only about half a mile from the latter township, and is a wonderfully beautiful sight, the stalactites and stalagmites being perfectly preserved. The Organ Cave is about three miles on the Chillagoe side of Mungana.

Figure 8.23: Chillagoe Caves. (QGIB, North Queensland: Australia’s richest territory, 1928)
in the Kuranda rail line it was the subject of the first pictorial postcard issued by the Queensland Government in 1898. (discussed below)

During the 1880s the Queensland government recognised the importance of promoting the use of railways for tourism. Archibald Meston was engaged to produce the 1891 railway guide which was a descriptive account of the various railway routes and their scenic attractions. Curiously in this edition Meston's elaborate account of the Barron Falls in flood was accompanied by Lyn Brown's view of the Falls in the dry season rather than in flood conditions. The second Railway Guide was published in 1898 with William Lees entrusted with the letterpress and illustrations. Lees drew extensively on the photographic material held by the Survey Branch of the Lands Department, as well as professional and other sources to illustrate this edition. His integration of text with illustrations proved popular resulting in several reprintings and the number of illustrations in the third and fourth editions being increased substantially.

The caves of Chillagoe and Mungana came to the government's attention in the early 1890s initially because of the mineral potential of the district. Herberton photographer H.G. Liversey was commissioned by the government to make a photographic record of the caves and surrounding limestone formations. A number of Liversey's images were

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56 J. Brown, "Versions of Reality," p. 150.
57 This railway guide was published in 1891. A. Meston, Queensland Railway and Tourist Guide, (Brisbane, 1891).
58 J. Brown, "Versions of Reality," p. 149.
59 Ibid., p. 12.
60 Ibid., p. 13.
61 H. G. Liversey and E O. Lonergan operated a photographic studio in Herberton in 1892. A number of photographs belonging to the Department of Mines have been tentatively identified as those produced by
published in the *Northern Mining Register* in 1893. The caves and limestone bluffs continued to attract the attention of photographers who depicted the caves realistically but the accompanying text was a mixture of fact and romanticism designed to pique the interest of adventurous travellers: (see Figure 8.23)

...wherever they appear caves of large extent and stalactitic and stalagmitic formation create wonder and awe among thoughtful people and fear among those who are uncivilized. Old Aborigines who have remembered tribal traditions have told that the singular shapes of the Chillagoe `castles’ invested them with superstitious dread, and although it was believed by the blacks that some of them were vastly hollow, dread of what they might contain prevented any attempts to tap them... [a] plentiful botanical feature associated with [one of the caves] is a very beautiful species of white lily. These lilies crowd about the entrance to the dark and mysterious interior...

**Postcards**

The first postcard published in Australia was issued by the New South Wales postal authorities in December 1875. State Intelligence and Tourist offices along with postal departments were responsible for publishing many. After 1900 when the popularity of postcard collecting became apparent local printers began producing them. At least half of the postcards sold in Australia prior to the 1930s however were printed outside Australia. Prior to the 1920s the largest market for postcards was the locals. After this however consumer patterns changed and those purchasing postcards were largely tourists. According to Albers and James this diminished the necessity for ‘authenticity’ in

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Liversey due to their technical content, which concentrated on portraying the topography of the area accurately. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

62 These images were titled ‘The Limestone Cliffs of Chillagoe’, ‘The Interior of a Chillagoe Cave,’ and ‘Cave Stalactites Chillagoe Caves,’ in *Northern Mining Register*, 12 April 1893, 19 April 1893 & 5 April 1893 respectively. These photographs resurfaced in 1945 when they were in the possession of the North Queensland Naturalist Club. Their location today is not known. “Current Nature Topics: Chillagoe Caves,” *Cairns Post*, 6 July 1945.

63 QGIB, *North Queensland, Australia’s Richest Territory*, p. 41.


Figure 8.24: Railway Cutting from Barron River, 1906 – 1908. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.25: Alfred Atkinson, ‘Wishing you a Merry Xmas and Happy New Year,’ c. early 1900s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.26: 'Greetings from Cairns,' 1909. (S.W. Series, postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
photographic images as photographers selected only those views encountered by tourists.\textsuperscript{66}

Cairns was well represented in Queensland's first postcard issue which included images the Barron River, the Mulgrave River and Hambledon Sugar Mill. Photographed by Charles Handley the image of the Barron River was taken looking up to Red Bluff and a cutting on the Cairns to Kuranda railway route, and includes European and Aboriginal children, the former in the foreground and the latter positioned as though in their natural setting.\textsuperscript{67} (see Figure 8.24) The inclusion of Aboriginal children in this image adds 'authenticity' to the scene and reveals Cairns as a unique and exotic destination with identifiable characteristics.

A number of local photographers were publishing postcards around 1900 including Alfred Atkinson and Paxton Brothers. Montage style postcards were not commonly used to depict Cairns. Alfred Atkinson and an unknown publisher in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century and Robert Alston in the 1920s (discussed below) appear to be the only publishers who did so. In common with other cards of this style each postcard contained six to ten vignetted views, each so small that the caption was often unreadable without the aid of a magnifying glass.\textsuperscript{68} (see Figure 8.25) Atkinson's postcard which is a Christmas card has an angular frame and is embellished with a floral surround. The 'Greetings from Cairns' postcard from the S.W. Series, is a very unusual card for Cairns. Best described as a novelty card it displays nine scenic images of the region, mounted on a black background.

\textsuperscript{66} P. Albers & W. James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image," p. 141.
\textsuperscript{67} J. Brown, "Versions of Reality," p. 150.
\textsuperscript{68} D. Cook, \textit{Picture Postcards}, p. 138.
and adorned with pink flowers. Inside the word ‘Cairns’ is a number of glamorous women and a man in various poses. In addition, the postcard is sprinkled with glitter giving it a rough texture. Postmarked 1909 this card was published when glamorous ladies were among the most popular of postcard subjects. The inclusion of a male in this type of postcard is unusual.69 (see Figure 8.26) Another unusual postcard published around this time was Paxton’s image of Abbott Street, Cairns. With its angular frame and art nouveau style surround70 it adds interest to an otherwise conventional view of early Cairns. (see Figure 8.27)

A common practice around the turn of the twentieth century was for newspapers to publish postcards from the photographs submitted to them.71 At least one postcard of the Cairns region comes from a photograph forwarded to the Department of Agriculture, Brisbane, and subsequently published by the Queenslander.72 (see Figure 8.28) This postcard highlights the unusual and ‘weird’ vegetation found in tropical Cairns. The presence of cultivated fields in the background and people at the base of the tree and climbing it help to domesticate the scene, and emphasise accessibility to the prospective traveller.

One of the most prolific postcard publishers in the early 1900s was Harding and Billings, of Sydney and Auckland, New Zealand. The company was established in 1904 and by

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69 Ibid., p. 54.
70 Ibid., p. 138.
71 Ibid., p. 157.
72 Albert Aplin sent a photograph of a fig tree on his property near Atherton to the Department of Agriculture in 1896. It was described in the accompanying article as “… one of the largest trees in the colony … [with a girth of] 158 feet”. Queenslander, 8 February 1896, p. 264.
Figure 8.27: Paxton Bros., ‘Abbott Street, Cairns,’ circa 1912. (Postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.28: ‘Giant Fig Tree Girth 158 feet,’ circa 1907. Note the man climbing the tree and another at its base on horseback. (Postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
World War I at least one million cards covering Australiana, theatre, comedy, glamour and children had been published. The company also produced ‘advertising cards,’ black and white cards advertising businesses and various goods such as tobacco and alcohol. At least one of these cards used Stoney Creek Falls on the Kuranda railway as a backdrop to ‘Elliott’s Beef and malted wine.’ (see Figure 8.29) During the 1930s magazines such as Cummins & Campbell’s used an image of the Barron Falls to advertise tobacco. (see Figure 8.30) These show that by this time, these Falls were iconic in status.

Around 1900 a postcard series known as the ‘Coloured Shell Series’ was produced. Considered the best of the Queensland publications they were technically well produced and printed in Germany. Typical of the Series are the depictions of the Barron Falls, Robb’s Monument on the Cairns Railway, and the Cairns Esplanade, which were full-bleed pictures. Comparison with an earlier version of the Cairns Esplanade shows how the images were manipulated by publishers to ensure that they conformed to ideas of the tropics (see Figures 8.31 to 8.34) with the same image being published by different publishers. (see Figures 8.35 and 8.36)

The ‘EDCO Series’ also used a full-bleed colouring technique and featured images such as the jungle clad Barron Gorge and the ubiquitous coconut palm amidst the jungle adjacent to the Mulgrave tramway. (See Figures 8.37 and 8.38) A similar series known as the S.W. Nature Series was probably produced around the early 1900s. This Series

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73 D. Cook, Picture Postcards, pp. 135 – 136.
74 Ibid., p. 149.
Figure 8.29: 'H & B Series,' advertising postcard, early 1900s. (Postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Things that make us proud of Queensland

Barron Falls near Kuranda

and

Q.L.D TOBACCO

... And we have every reason to be proud of Q.L.D. It is a really high-grade tobacco, ... a particularly fine blend of the cream of Queensland's finest tobacco crops.

A most enjoyable, satisfying smoke
... Q.L.D. completely justifies the confidence the British-Australasian Tobacco Co. Pty. Ltd. has shown in the future of the Queensland tobacco leaf growing industry.

Try Q.L.D... all tobacconists sell it!

Ready Rubbed Fine Cut and Flake Cut

1oz. Pkts. : 2oz. Tins

Figure 8.30: 'Barron Falls near Kuranda and Q.L.D Tobacco.' (C & C, December 1935, vol. 5, no. 104, p. 24)
Figure 8.31: 'Barron Falls (1) Cairns Railway,' c. early 1900s. ('Coloured Shell Series,' postcard)
Figure 8.32: 'Robbs Monument, Cairns Railway,' c. early 1900s. ('Coloured Shell Series,' postcard)
Figure 8.33: ‘Beach, Cairns,’ [today’s Esplanade] c. early 1900s. (‘Coloured Shell Series,’ postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.34: ‘Cairns Beach,’ [today’s Esplanade] c. early 1900s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.35: ‘No. 4 Tunnel, Cairns Railway,’ c. early 1900s. (‘Coloured Shell Series,’ postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.36: ‘Tunnel, Cairns Railway,’ c. early 1900s. (‘EDCO Series,’ no. 1114, postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.37: ‘View showing Stoney Creek, Cairns Railway,’ c. early 1900s. (‘EDCO Series,’ no. 2360, postcard)

Figure 8.38: ‘Palms, Cairns – Mulgrave Tramway,’ c. early 1900s. (‘EDCO Series,’ no. 2356, postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.39: 'Cascade, Barron Falls,' c. 1910. (‘S.W. Nature Series,’ no. 1367, postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
included images of a cascade on the Baron River and views from the Kuranda railway. The view of the cascade is an unusual image as the Barron Falls was usually used to illustrate the region’s waterfalls in the early 20th century. (see Figure 8.39) The image of the landscape along the Cairns railway renders the landscape ‘static.’ Perhaps the colouring techniques employed created this effect. The landscape in these views has a pastoral or Arcadian dimension to it with a hint of tropical luxuriance and abundance. It is a peaceful scene. (see Figure 8.40)

Sydney’s Crown Studios produced at least two postcards of Green Island early in the 20th century. These well photographed and produced images appear to be among the first postcards produced with the Great Barrier Reef as its subject. (see Figure 8.41) This is a very domestic view of Green Island with camping and boating parties enjoying a tropical island under coconut trees. It would have indicated to potential travellers the ease with which the Reef’s tropical islands could be accessed.

During the 1920s Robert Alston75 published a series of montage postcards, which portrayed a mixture of conventional shots of Cairns along with more commercially popular images of the jungle and the Barron Falls. (see Figures 8.42 to 8.45) Alston’s images introduced new depth to the tourism cultural landscape of Cairns with the inclusion of unusual images such as King O’Malley’s Chair, which gave a view of the Barron Falls (see figure 8.43) The panorama of Cairns (see Figure 8.45) is also a new image revealing Cairns as a modern, prosperous city with a backdrop of exotic coconut

Figure 8.40: 'Horse Shoe Bend, Cairns Railway,' c. 1910. ('S.W. Nature Series,' no. 1887, postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.41: Crown Studio, 'Landing Place, Green Island,' 1907 – 09. (postcard, P01720, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.42: Robert Alston, ‘Views: city of Cairns, North Queensland,’ c. 1920s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.43: Robert Alston, ‘Views: Barron Range near Cairns,’ c. 1920s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.44: Robert Alston, ‘Views: city of Cairns, North Queensland,’ c. 1920s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.45: Robert Alston, ‘Views of Cairns,’ c. 1920s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
palms and a rugged mountain landscape. Alston’s choice of street scenes containing the unusual fig tree is an interesting device indicating the proximity of the ‘exotic’ and unusual for the visitor to Cairns. (see Figure 8.44) Another local postcard publisher during the 1920s was Northage’s of Spence Street, Cairns which published at least two images of Abbott Street. These images are quite atmospheric probably due to the colouring used. Both scenes suggest a tropical languor along with a modern and progressive tropical city. (see Figures 8.46 and 8.47) A postcard series, the ‘Q.R.P. Series’ probably produced in the 1920s or 1930s employs an interesting colour technique with black and white photographs enhanced by the addition of light blue sky and water. (see Figures 8.48 and 8.49) This adds interest to conventional images of the rock strewn and grey coloured Stoney Creek Falls on the Kuranda railway.

The 1930s saw bigger private postcard publishers begin to produce images of the region: Murray Views Studio, Burkitt Studio and the Rose Stereograph Company. Murray Views, a Gympie company, produced a large number of postcards of the region particularly during the 1930s but also into the 1940s. Images included the Cairns Esplanade, local prominent buildings, the streets of Cairns, fig trees in Abbot Street and Yungaburra, Mossman’s sugar mill, Green Island and its jetty and Kuranda. (see Figures 8.50 and 8.51) Aspects of the natural environment such as the much admired fig trees, while appearing in some photographs, were secondary to the photographer’s aim of depicting Cairns’ progress as a city. Most of the postcards produced by the studio were

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76 Gympie photographer Frederick Charles Stewart Murray founded Murray Studios in 1908. During the Depression years he diversified into postcards, forming Murray Views. By the 1940s most of Queensland had been photographed by Murray Views. Cairns Post, Growing with Cairns, 1997, no publishing details, p. 60.
Figure 8.46: Northage’s, ‘Abbott Street, Cairns,’ c. 1920s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.47: Northage’s, ‘Abbott Street, Cairns,’ c. 1920s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.48: 'Stony Creek, Cairns Railway,' c. 1930s/1940s. (Q.R.P. Series, no. 10)
Figure 8.49: ‘Upper Stony Creek Falls,’ c. 1930s / 1940s. (‘Q.R.P. Series,’ no. 8, postcard)
Figure 8.50: Murray Views, ‘Green Island, Great Barrier Reef,’ c. 1930s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.51: Murray Views, ‘Abbott Street, Cairns,’ c. 1930s. (Postcard, no. 43)
documentary in their style and in contrast to other Studios which tended to follow the trend of photographing the places that tourists visited. The image of Green Island is one of only three that appear to have been produced during the 1930s and 1940s. This was probably due to the difficulty in accessing the Reef and its islands. Murray Studios coloured and reissued a number of postcards probably in the 1950s (see Figures 8.52 and 8.53) In the 1960s the Studio's photographers re-photographed much of Queensland and Australia due to the advances in colour films and the demands of the tourism industry.77 (see Figures 8.54 and 8.55)

Another large company, the Rose Stereographic Company, was also producing postcards of the Cairns region during the 1930s and 1940s. Based in Armidale, George Rose entered the postcard production business in 1908 and the company photographed all aspects of Australia until the 1960s.78 It is not known how many postcards of the Cairns region were made by Rose Stereographic but an image of Stoney Creek Falls captures the texture of the rock face and the grandeur of the Barron Gorge. (see Figures 8.56 and 8.57)

Burkitt Studios, a Cairns based firm, produced a smaller number of postcards during the 1930s. (see Figures 8.21 and 8.22 above) In contrast to images produced by Murray Studios and other large non-local photographic studios, those by Burkitt Studios captured the picturesque aspects of some of the region's attractions. These images of the 'Fairyland Tea Gardens' near Kuranda played to Romantic notions of benign fairies

77 ibid.
78 D. Cook, Picture Postcards, p. 148.
Figure 8.52: Murray Views, ‘Stoney Creek Falls, Kuranda – Cairns Railway,’ c. 1950s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.53: Murray Views, ‘Fernery, Kuranda Station, Kuranda,’ c. 1950s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.54: Murray Views, ‘Port Douglas,’ c. 1980s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 8.55: Murray Views, ‘Ellis Beach,’ c. 1980s. (Postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
lingering in dells and glades. Rustic furniture and thatched shelter sheds humanised and made safe an otherwise dense and seemingly impenetrable jungle landscape.

During the 1930s local naturalist Bruce Cummings produced a series of images which documented local crocodile hunter and owner of Koombal Park, Walter Schridde capturing a crocodile. Known as a 'postcard motion picture series,' these nine images were published in Viewpoint during the 1930s.79 (see Figure 8.58)

Interestingly during the 1930s and 1940s few postcards or photographic images of the Barron Falls were produced. During the 1930s images of the Falls tended to record the construction of the hydro-electric scheme and by the 1950s aerial views of the Falls, particularly when in flood, predominated. The occasional photo of the Falls was published in the 1970s but is not the iconic image of the early 20th century. Instead the Falls is photographed from its base and is revealed as a series of cascades falling into the Barron Valley. (see Figure 8.59) The decline in images is probably due to the loss of even dry season water going over the Falls thanks to the construction of the hydro-electric scheme and Tinaroo Dam on the upper reaches of the Barron River in the 1950s.

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79 "One picture is better than a thousand words," in Viewpoint, 1930s, vol. 2, no. 7, no page number.
Figure 8.56: ‘Stony Creek Falls, near Cairns,’ c. 1930s / 1940s. (The ‘Rose Series,’ P.7315).
Figure 8.57: Cairns Range Road (later Gillies Highway), circa 1930s / 1940s. (*The Rose Series,* postcard, P02935, Cairns Historical Society)
Newspapers

As indicated earlier newspapers such as the *Queenslander* and the *North Queensland Register* published large numbers of photographs sourced from their own reporters, government departments or readers. In the 1930s the *Queenslander* ran a photographic series titled ‘Caravanning Tales.’ These were well photographed and attractively displayed photo montages of various scenic locations in the Cairns region including Port Douglas, the Cairns beaches, Lakes Eacham and Barrine, the vegetation of the Atherton Tableland including the large strangler fig tree, and the region’s watercourses, waterfalls and industry. (see Figure 8.60) Occasionally full page photographs appeared in the *Queenslander* usually without an accompanying article (see Figure 8.61) A large number of diverse views of the region were depicted focusing particularly on its natural features, the jungle, lakes and waterfalls. These picturesque views were displayed alongside views of roads, towns, industry and accommodation houses suggesting that an exotic tropical experience was easily obtainable.

The *North Queensland Register* does not appear to have adopted a photographic montage style in presenting its photos. Photographs of some of Cairns scenic spots appeared in this publication during the 1930s, highlighting places such as Crystal Cascades, Russell River, Yorkeys Knob, Millaa Millaa and Elinjaa Falls on the Atherton Tableland and Dunk Island. (see Figure 8.62) The image of Crystal Cascades captioned ‘this pretty spot is the source of the Cairns water supply,’ juxtaposes comfortable civilisation and

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80 It is possible that these photographic series were taken by Murray Studios. Pers. Comm., L. Sim, Cairns Historical Society, 10 February 2005.
Figure 8.58: Bruce Cummings, ‘Close up of Walter Schridde and crocodile,’ 1936. (Postcard ‘Motion Picture Series, no. 9, P09455, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 8.59: Murray Views, 'Kuranda, N.Q. The Barron Falls drop 244 metres into the valley below,' c. 1970s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
scenic wilderness. The Lilliputian figures accentuate the density of the surrounding jungle.

Magazines

Like the Queenslander, Cummins & Campbell’s Monthly Magazine (C & C) used a photomontage style of presenting some of their scenic photographs during the 1930s and 1940s. Images of the Cairns region were extensively featured in this magazine and gave a more ‘intimate’ view than that provided by the Queenslander. The magazine’s photographers visited many of the region’s beauty spots and attractions and provided images which included aerial views of Cairns, beach scenes, birdlife on the Reef, waterfalls, Green Island, Paronella Park, street scenes, Lakes Barrine and Eacham, the Kuranda and Cairns railway stations, the Daintree River district, Innisfail, Beachview Health Resort, Kuranda, Yarrabah Mission and Dunk Island. Sometimes photographs were provided by government agencies such as the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau or by private photographers. Figure 8.63 suggests that the region’s waterfalls are sites of mystery due to the encroachment of the jungle. The image of the Barron Falls taken from its base shows that in 1931 this area was a lush tropical landscape. A view of the same area in the 1960s or 1970s reveals the extent to which this landscape has changed. (see Figure 8.59 above) As noted earlier, this change in the landscape was due to the construction of the hydro-electricity scheme on the Barron River, and later Tinaroo Dam, which significantly reduced the amount of water flowing through the Barron Gorge to the coast.
CARAVANNING THROUGH QUEENSLAND.

Tourist cars from Cairns.

At the mill, Yungaburra.

Appian Way—To Lake Eacham.

Inside Cathedral Fig—a famous sight for tourists at Peterson's Crossing.

Peterson's Crossing showing pathway to Cathedral Fig.

Lake Eacham from Silky Oak Cafe Kiosk.

Figure 8.60: 'Caravanning through Queensland: Yungaburra and Lake Eacham.'
Figure 8.61: 'The Foam-fringed sands of Yorkeys Knob, North Queensland.'
(Queenslander, 8 August 1929, p. 42)
Figure 8.62: 'Crystal Cascades.' Note the concrete and stone footpaths. (North Queensland Register, Christmas Supplement, 1936)
In addition to the photomontage style of presenting photographs, C & C also made extensive use of photo-journalists who provided articles with appropriate accompanying photographs. Cummins & Campbell's was influential in shaping perceptions of the region. Presentation of the Cairns region during the late 1920s served to position it as a 'place' to visit, invest or settle. Articles were rarely accompanied by photographs during this decade, with most reflecting a number of broad themes of the era: the effects of the tropical climate on health; obtaining wealth from the land; and from the sea. A few attractions were specifically referred to including Green Island, Mungana Caves, Kuranda and Double Island, and the region's potential for tourism was being discussed. The 1920s may well be the decade in which the descriptor 'Wonderland' was applied to the Cairns region.

The 1930s saw a relative explosion of information about the Cairns region in Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine. At least 17 illustrated articles featuring the region

87 Ibid.
were published during this decade and featured the following attractions: Port Douglas; Kuranda; Yorkeys Knob beach; the Mulgrave Valley; Lake Barrine; the Cook Highway; Chillagoe; the Tully Falls; Innis Hot Springs; the waterfalls on the Palmerston Highway; the voyage up the Queensland coast; and the region’s infrastructure. Most articles included comment upon the region’s infrastructure or lack thereof.

In terms of articles and images relevant to the Cairns region, the Great Barrier Reef and its islands dominated textually during the 1930s including four illustrated and six non-illustrated articles, but the region’s mainland attractions dominated the magazine’s

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92 *ibid.*
94 *ibid.*
pages visually. Around 18 photomontages highlighting the region’s attractions were published during this decade but only three of these featured the Reef. Of these three, none displayed the Reef proper due to the difficulty in obtaining these images.

During the 1940s it appears that only two illustrated article featuring regional attractions were published, these being Hypipamee Crater104 and other attractions on the southern Atherton Tableland including the waterfalls, the Crater Lakes, and Paronella Park.105

Eight non-illustrated articles were published highlighting the Chillagoe Caves, the Tully Falls, Green Island, Kamerunga, the Barron River and the Johnstone River, Innisfail.106 Most articles were produced during the early 1940s and with the death of the prolific ‘Tramp’ in 1944, illustrated and non-illustrated articles pertaining to the region dropped dramatically. Visually the region was represented in at least 31 photomontages. The reader was introduced to aspects of the region not previously seen including as indicated above the Hypipamee Crater and the Tully Falls, along with images of foraging on the reef and Beachview Health Resort near Millaa Millaa on the Atherton Tableland,107 the Kuranda Range road constructed during the War,108 and views of Innisfail.109 However,

105 “Motor tour through the North,” Ibid., February 1940, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 9, 10 & 80.
During the 1940s most of the photomontages were made up of a mixture of regional images highlighting the variety of landscapes found in the region, and indicate the difficulties in obtaining new material during the war years.

During the 1950s no illustrated articles featuring the Cairns region appear to have been published in Cummins & Campbell's. Five non-illustrated articles were published, most of which tended to portray the region historically rather than introducing new aspects of landscape. A number of regular columns were introduced one of which described and explained the marine life of the Great Barrier Reef. Titled either 'Rambles on the Reef' or 'Reef Hunting' the series continued until 1954. Visually the region was well represented with views of the Curtain Fig Tree, Lake Placid, Ravenshoe, the Barron River, Green Island, the Daintree River, the Green Island Underwater Observatory, Ellis Beach, the limestone bluffs of Chillagoe, the Tinaroo Dam and aerial views of Cairns. These illustrations were accompanied only by captions. Four photomontages were

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112 Other regular columns during this period included “Our World Today,” and “Tinfield Memones.”
produced during this decade highlighting the region, three of which portrayed Innisfail\textsuperscript{113} and one, the Reef's coral and coral hunting.\textsuperscript{114}

One magazine produced and published in Far North Queensland appeared during the 1930s. \textit{Viewpoint} was a quarterly magazine published in Townsville dedicated to telling 'picture stories' of Queensland. Using well produced black and white photographs the magazine portrayed the people, scenery, industries, pastimes and sport of North Queensland.\textsuperscript{115} Some articles adopted a scientific tone and were accompanied by appropriate illustrations. \textit{Viewpoint} did not use the photomontage presentation of photographs, instead tending to cluster two to three images on a page with no accompanying description except for a caption. Some photographs were accompanied by an article which in some cases was not directly related to the photograph, which presented the region's past in a Romantic manner. (see Figure 8.64)

\textit{Walkabout} magazine portrayed the Cairns region frequently from the 1930s to the 1960s. As in other magazines there were a large number of articles accompanying illustrations although the region does not appear to have featured as the subject of an article until the 1940s. \textit{Walkabout} differed from other magazines in that it carried a large number of advertisements. During the 1930s the Cairns region was not featured alone; rather it tended to be portrayed in general advertisements for Queensland, especially as the part of Queensland to be visited during the winter months. (see Figure 8.65) A series known as 'Our Cameraman's Walkabout' occasionally portrayed local beauty spots such as the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{"Coral and coral hunting," \textit{Ibid.}, January 1956, vol. 32, no. 1, no page number.}
\footnote{\textit{Viewpoint}, circa 1930s, vol. 3, no. 9, p. 1.}
\end{footnotes}
Figure 8.63: ‘Some Luscious Northern Falls.’ (C & C, Jan 1931, vol. 4, no. 5)
Barron Gorge and Millstream Falls. Exotic features of the region were sought after and the tree climbing Aborigines at the tourist attraction ‘The Jungle’ in Malanda caught the attention of the roving cameraman in 1936. (see Chapter 10, figure 10.55)

Little attention was paid to the Cairns region by Walkabout during the 1940s with only two articles and two large photographs. These highlighted the unusual aspects of the landscape with an article about Chillagoe likening the colours and shadows of the caves to Hell complete with grotesque monsters and not a place for “…those of weak nerves…”116 A full page black and white photograph and short informative article showed the Curtain Fig Tree near Yungaburra.117 (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.7) Perhaps one of the most artistic photographs of the Cairns region was published in a double page spread in 1947.118 Reminiscent of Julian Ashton’s Midday Rest119 the bushman takes a rest after enjoying a drink. This stereotyped view emphasises rural simplicity and nostalgia. (see Figure 8.66)

During the 1950s camera supplements in Walkabout provided a number of high quality black and white photographs of the region’s beauty spots. Most were of aspects of the natural environment and its rainforest. (see Figure 8.67) Some however highlighted the coconut palm, symbol of the tropics, and a sign that beach culture was overtaking the

117 “Curtain Fig Tree,” Walkabout, July 1946, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 23 – 24.
Less than two centuries have passed since Captain Cook sailed the “ Endeavour” through the underwater coral reefs of the Great Barrier Reef, and saw the land which lay west of the Barrier—a land not visited by white men . . . The inhabitants, wild, uncivilized blacks, roamed the dense jungle hunting their food, indulging in corroborees and tribal ceremonies, with occasional inter-tribal battles.

As the intrepid explorer gazed on the lofty ranges, covered with magnificent timber and dense tropical growth, did he see the coming of the white settler, fertile valleys, filled with herds of cattle grazing in the long grass, the pioneer prospector hunting unknown minerals, seeking and sometimes finding mineral wealth therein, encroaching ever more and more into the virgin land, the growth of cities, with their handsome public buildings and progressive communities?

Hidden among them were the numerous waterfalls, lakes and gorges. Even yet many people are not aware of the scenic beauty of North Queensland. Through the camera eye of “Viewpoint” we show you these natural beauty spots. Some hills may also be gained of the country penetrated by Edwin Kennedy’s party on their disastrous journey from Cockburntown Bay to Port Albany. (See illustrations from cover: Wilpawa River, Lake Barrine, Aborigines clothing Kangaroo, and Mossman River).

There are still many miles of thick bush and tall timber, although, to-day, this country is gradually becoming more settled, and hundreds of homesteads, surrounded by prosperous farms, growing cane, sugar or tobacco, meet the eye. Minerals of all descriptions are won from the mountains, while thousands of feet of valuable timber are gained from the forests which lie “WEST OF THE BARRIER REEF.”

Figure 8.64: ‘Fishers Falls,’ near Innisfail. (Viewpoint, vol. 3, no. 9, c. 1930s)
QUEENSLAND - the State that is different.

IN SUMMER
South Queensland
The Australian Riviera presenting miles of golden surfing beaches, picturesque rural retreats and verdant plantations with peaks that seem to touch the sun.

IN WINTER
North Queensland
Gently beautiful with majestic mountains, gorges, cataracts and haunting water lakes set in the green and gold of spreading cane fields and the dark beauty of tropical jungle.

GREAT BARRIER REEF
The world's greatest coral formation. An all-year holiday location offering the sportsman, naturalist and tourist a unique and fascinating playground where fishing marine and bird life, exciting fishing, entrancing scenery and wonderful coral gardens provide the ultimate in holiday enjoyment.

QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT TOURIST BUREAU
Adelaide St. BRISBANE
17 Martin Place SYDNEY
247 Collins St. MELBOURNE

Figure 8.65: 'Queensland - the State that is different.' (Walkabout, 1 March, 1936, p. 62)
Figure 8.66: 'Lake Eacham.'  (*Walkabout, 1 November 1951, p. 15*)

Figure 8.67: 'Camera Supplement: Barron River, near Cairns.'  (*Walkabout, 1 November 1954, p. 21*)
Figure 8.68: ‘Cairns: coconut palms on the Esplanade, looking towards Trinity Inlet.’ (Walkabout, 1 September 1954, p. 22)
Green Island
(Near Cairns)

Underwater Coral Observatory

Tiny Green Island, thirty acres of sand and coral debris reserved as a national park, is on the Barrier Reef about seventeen miles north-east of Cairns. It was so named by Cook because it was a low heavily wooded island. One of its attractions is the Underwater Coral Observatory. From the twenty-two windows of the underwater tank, at a depth of sixteen feet, tourists can see in comfort "the fascinating and unique wonders of coral marine life" as well as hundreds of varieties of fish from fifteen pounders to the very tiny coloured reef fish passing by.

Wallace (later with Darwin of Evolution fame) wrote: "The clearness of the water afforded me one of the most astonishing and beautiful sights I had ever beheld... For once, the reality exceeded the most glowing accounts I had ever read of the wonders of a coral sea."

Figure 8.69: 'Green Island Underwater Observatory.' (Walkabout, 1 July 1957, p. 27)
appeal of the jungle. (see Figure 8.68) A description and photographs of the wonders to be seen from Green Island’s Underwater Observatory were highlighted in a full page spread in 1957. (see Figure 8.69) Although not in colour the photographs very effectively showed this innovative attraction due to their clarity and simplicity.

Walkabout’s advertising became more focused during the 1950s. The ‘Tropic Wonderland’ tour established by 1951 was the subject of full page advertisements. (see Figure 8.70) Green Island began to be mentioned in advertisements for the ‘Barrier Reef’ islands but was generally subsumed by the better known and developed Whitsunday Islands. Barrier Reef advertisements tended to be more sophisticated than other advertisements in the magazine. Stylised palm trees and photographs of people collecting shells on the reef at low tide for example evoked the ‘tropics,’ (see Figure 8.71)

The 1960s saw Cairns itself, its mountain and waterfall attractions and Green and Dunk Islands feature in Walkabout’s illustrated articles and advertisements. Generally these provided more information about an attraction than previously, although Romantic prose was still used for specific attractions:

...soon you will see the twin crater lakes of Barrine and Eacham, still retaining some of the mystery credited them in early aboriginal lore. There is something sinister in the beauty of these deep lakes, tucked away in the jungle... are pools of silence in a Wellsian landscape, until weekend water skiers skim over their 300 foot depths...stepping into the jungle gloom is a journey remote from the cares of civilisation ... just past nearby Yungaburra is the Curtain Fig Tree, a remarkable freak of nature...120

The romance of Dunk Island was encapsulated in a detailed article on the life of E.J. Banfield. Accompanying photographs of Banfield’s house and the island’s tropical vegetation and beaches illustrated and perpetuated the idea of the exotic tropics.\textsuperscript{121}

\textit{Walkabout} also sought to educate the public about conservation problems facing the Reef. In 1967 an editorial on the Crown of Thorns starfish infestation, titled “Barrier Reef in danger” outlined the scope of the problem labelling the infestation a “...massive environmental upheaval [with] no recorded precedent...”\textsuperscript{122} and urging all Australians to be concerned for the future of the Reef.

During the 1950s and 1960s the \textit{Courier Mail Annual} portrayed the Cairns region extensively. Well produced black and white photographs were generally accompanied by an article. The style of the articles depended upon the scene being portrayed and tended to be informative particularly when depicting industrial development in the Far North (see Figure 8.72) Perhaps more than other publications the \textit{Courier Mail Annual} appeared to favour images which depicted people in harmony with nature. (see Figure 8.73) While this genre continued to predominate into the 1960s, the region’s rainforest was no longer being portrayed; rather it was the ubiquitous coconut palm. Its appearance may have been in response to the popularity of the beach for leisure, a pastime associated with warm areas in the popular imagination. The magazine also introduced a new dimension into some of its images of the region with a photograph of Port Douglas beach

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{122} “Publisher’s Column: Barrier Reef in danger,” \textit{Ibid.}, July 1967, vol. 33, no. 7, p. 11.}
THE TROPIC WONDERLAND OF QUEENSLAND

You've heard of the Barron Valley, of the Barrier Reef, of the Atherton Tableland. If you've not seen them you can do so this year by deciding to "Come to Queensland"... The view from Kununda of the Barron Gorge is fascinating ... the Barrier Reef is captivating in its colour and variety ... and the Atherton Tableland is famed for its scenery... There's warmth in the winter sunshine in Queensland. There is warmth in the Queensland welcome. You can enjoy all this by taking the TROPIC WONDERLAND TOUR - a 7 days inclusive tour by motor coach from Cairns to Innisfail, the Tully Falls, Lake Eacham and Barrine, Atherton Tableland, Green Island, the Gillies and Cook Highways... The Queensland Government Tourist Bureau will be pleased to tell you all about this intriguing tour of some of Australia's finest scenery... Decide to "Come to Queensland" this year.

For full particulars -

THE QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT TOURIST BUREAU

ANZAC SQUARE, BRISBANE
18 KING WILLIAM ST., ADELAIDE
1A WOOD ST., MACKAY

MARTIN PLACE, SYDNEY
ABBOTT STREET, CAIRNS
1 DENHAM ST., ROCKHAMPTON

34 COLLINS STREET, MELBOURNE
FLINDERS STREET, TOWNSVILLE
Cnr. Russell and Victoria Streets, TOOWOOMBA

COUNCIL CHAMBERS, COOLANGATTA

Figure 8.70: 'See this for yourself... The Tropic Wonderland of Queensland.'
(Walkabout, 1 September 1951, p. 6)
On the islands of Green, Hayman, Day Dream, South Mole, Long, Brampton, Lindeman and Heron you can spend dreamy holidays in glorious sunshine on Australia's incomparable 'Barrier Reef.'

You can be as active as you like on this holidayland—swimming, walking, reeling, fishing and dancing the hours away.

At Hayman Island is Australia's only modern Barrier Reef hotel with a cuisine which is unsurpassed.

Spend your next holiday on the Barrier Reef.

Figure 8.71: 'The Barrier Reef islands for your dream holiday.' (Walkabout, November 1951, p. 5)
dominated by a woman posed seductively against that icon of the Romantic tropics, the coconut tree. (see Figure 8.74)

Large numbers of advertisements for the attractions in the Cairns region appeared in *The North Queensland Annual* during the 1960s. Perhaps in response to travel industry reports during the 1960s local businesses were targeting tourists in larger, more focused advertisements.\(^{123}\) Cropton Clauson Jewellers, for example, in a simple, stylised half page advertisement informed tourists of their 'special selection of authentic Aboriginal handicrafts.'\(^{124}\) And the 'House of 10,000 Shells' outlined the extent of their shell collection and urged visitors to visit their internationally known Barrier Reef display and tropical gardens.\(^{125}\) Well established tourist attractions such as Chillagoe Caves and Lake Barrine featured in full page advertisements comprised of photographs and articles detailing tariffs, accommodation choices and leisure pursuits.\(^{126}\)

**Tourism Posters**

Tourism posters were a very powerful way of advertising at a glance the essence of a country or a destination. The first modern travel posters appeared in Australia around 1900 and were usually advertising specific events such as carnivals, circuses, theatre performances and sporting events.\(^{127}\) These were published by the organiser of the event. Prior to the establishment of the Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) the Commonwealth Immigration Office published posters which sought to lure both tourists

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\(^{122}\) See Chapter 4 for a discussion of travel industry recommendations for the Cairns region.  
\(^{121}\) *The North Queensland Annual*, "Yes! Tourists," 1966, no page number.  
\(^{123}\) Ibid., "The House of 10,000 Shells," no page number.  
\(^{124}\) Ibid., "Visit Magic Lake Barrine," & "Fabulous Chillagoe Caves," no page number.  
and immigrants to Australia. In the late 1920s ANTA was established and along with the Victorian Railways became Australia’s most important image-maker.\textsuperscript{128} ANTA used striking imagery and simple slogans to bring Australia to the attention of a world that knew little about it. Commercial artists were commissioned to create a variety of posters throughout the 1930s. Images portrayed specific events, Australia’s unusual fauna, and destinations and attempted to capture ‘Australia’ at a glance.

A number of vividly coloured travel posters portraying Far North Queensland appeared during the 1930s. These were produced mostly by the pre-eminent poster artists of the day, a select group including Percy Trompf, Eileen Mayo, Gert Sellheim and James Northfield. The Great Barrier Reef featured in two of the five travel posters located. The remaining three encouraged people to travel to North Queensland for winter sunshine. All of these artists, at least one of which had never been to North Queensland, were trying to capture the essence of the exciting and mysterious Cairns region and the Great Barrier Reef. Percy Trompf’s \textit{The Marine Wonders of the Great Barrier Coral Reef}\textsuperscript{129} was published by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. This highly coloured poster cleverly invites the viewer to an exotic warm destination. (see Figure 8.75) The traveller’s safety is assured by the boat and its proximity to land. Gert Sellheim’s \textit{Great Barrier Reef, Queensland: Australia}\textsuperscript{130} was commissioned by the Australian National Travel Association. (see Figure 8.76) This semi-abstract poster features the ubiquitous

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 5. See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the development of the Australian National Travel Association.

\textsuperscript{129} Percy Trompf (1902 – 1964) was an Australian born artist. He never travelled to North Queensland and his posters were based upon photographs and ‘ideas’ of the tropics. R. Searle, \textit{Artist in the Tropics}, pp. 2 & 34.

\textsuperscript{130} P. Spearitt & J. Duncan, \textit{Trading Places}, no page number.
THE QUEST FOR POWER

FIRST power from the Tully Falls hydro-electricity project in North Queensland is expected to be available by the end of 1956. This will mean the completion of the initial stage of a scheme that ultimately will supply all North Queensland from Tully to Cairns, Mossman, the Atherton Tableland, and out to Mt. Garnett, with power and lighting. The ultimate cost of the project is expected to exceed £41 million. The Tully Falls are about 200 miles to the south-west of Cairns.

Photographed by Harry Freeman

THE cascading Tully Falls, a spectacular tourist attraction, now being harnessed to provide power for the State's greatest hydro-electricity project.

THE RUGGED BEAUTY OF THE TULLY RIVER IN THE TIMBERED GORGE BELOW THE FALLS.

The harnessing of the Tully Falls has been a magnificent engineering feat. It has necessitated the construction of more than 50 miles of access roads and bridges to one of North Queensland's most rugged and precipitous areas. The capacity of the hydro-electricity scheme when four generators are installed (one always will be used as a standby) will be 54,000 kilowatts. But subsidiary schemes provide for stepping up the total output to 92,000 kilowatts. An intricate system of underground works includes a rock-hewn powerhouse 230 feet long, 48 feet wide, and 65 feet high at the bottom of the gorge, 1,400 feet below the falls, one of North Queensland's tourist attractions.
Figure 8.73: ‘On the shores of Lake Flacid.’ *(Queensland Courier-Mail Annual, 1955, p. 63)*
palm tree and stylised fish which are considered a high point of his graphic ingenuity.\textsuperscript{131} Percy Trompf again uses warm colours to entice travellers from southern states to North Queensland. \textit{Off to the North for Warmth}\textsuperscript{132} was published by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau as an advertisement for rail travel on Queensland’s ‘Sunshine Route’ between Brisbane and Cairns. (see Figure 8.77) Stylised penguins with packed bags set off from the cold southern states in search of the warmth of the tropics.

Within Australia the major publishers of travel posters until the 1950s were the Railways Departments and tourist bureaux. With the rise in air travel after this, this situation changed with the airlines assuming the major role. However, the production of posters began to decline in the 1950s as colour printing reproduction improved sufficiently to allow reproduction of colour photographs.\textsuperscript{133} This led to graphic imagination and imagery, a feature of earlier posters, being relegated to second place behind “…badly placed photographs with inelegant typography carrying the message…”\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 7. Gert Selliheim (1901 – 1970) was born in Estonia and arrived in Australia in 1928. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Ibid.}, no page number.
\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 7–8.
\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 9.
Figure 8.74: 'The romantic atmosphere of the tropics is captured in this delightful study on the palm-fringed beach at Port Douglas, far northern outpost.' (Queensland Courier-Mail Annual, 1961, p. 30)
Tourism brochures

Cairns and its hinterland were the subjects of a number of brochures. Generally speaking during the 1930s the region was presented as a series of tours: managed journeys which allowed the tourist to see the 'real thing.' In 1938 *Cairns & Hinterland, Queensland* was published by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. Visually this brochure showed a variety of images of the region including an aerial view of sugar farms on the Lower Barron Valley, the Barron Gorge, Stoney Creek Falls, the Tully Falls, the Millstream Falls, Walsh's Pyramid and Mulgrave River, 'Fairyland,' Kuranda, an aerial view of Cairns, Crystal Cascades and the Gillies Range Road. The cover of the brochure was adorned with a photograph of the Barron Falls. (see Figure 8.78) This image does not have an identifying caption nor is it referred to in the paragraph devoted to the Falls. Presumably the image was so well-known it needed no introduction. It was however described in far more prosaic terms in 1938 than the Romantic language of the 19th century. While still acknowledging the grandeur of the Falls more emphasis is placed upon the Barron River's water providing the area's light and power:

...with a daily flow of thirty-seven billion gallons in flood time and a billion gallons daily in normal periods, the Barron is Australia's largest waterfall. It is now used to provide power and light for Cairns and District. The hydro-electric plant has been ingeniously built into the almost perpendicular north wall of the Gorge to prevent spoilation of the natural beauty of the locality...  

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136 OGTB, *Cairns & Hinterland*, no page number.
Figure 8.75: Percy Trompf, ‘The Marine Wonders of the Great Barrier Coral Reef,’ 1930s. (R. Searle, Artist in the Tropics, p. 34)
This brochure incorporated many themes as it strove to portray a destination with something for all travellers. An appeal to the region's exotic past and unique location was made in the opening paragraph:

...With the name of Cairns is woven the brilliant tapestry of shimmering seas, cloudless skies, mountains, canefields, sugar mills, rivers, gorges, cataracts, jungle, and crater lakes. It conjures up memories of unique experiences in a region where climate, scenery, industry, and community characteristics combine to produce the magic that is North Queensland...

Contained within this brochure was a small map titled 'Tourist Resorts Cairns and District.' Maps from this era are innovative and well designed although they appear unattractive by today's multi-coloured standards. This map provides a wealth of information in a graphic form. Twenty of the region's major attractions are located on it. (see Figure 8.79)

Like all tourist brochures Cairns & Hinterland, Queensland, has a central message: Cairns and its hinterland is a special place, a tropic wonderland. Authenticity of experience was reinforced in this brochure when describing various attractions of the Cairns Hinterland. At Kuranda visitors could sample "... the luscious fruits of the North, and, in season, granadillas, pineapples and pawpaws..." and view gorgeously coloured insects while listening to the interesting features of their life histories by Mr. F.P. Dodd, a "... naturalist of repute..." However, the thrust of the narrative is of the

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137 Ibid.
139 OGTB, Cairns & Hinterland: North Queensland, (Brisbane, circa 1940s), no page number.
140 Ibid.
Figure 8.76: Gert Sellheim, ‘Great Barrier Reef, Queensland, Australia,’ 1930s. (P. Spearitt & J. Duncan, *Trading Places*. )
Figure 8.77: Percy Trompf, ‘Off to the North for Warmth,’ 1930s. (P. Spearitt & J. Duncan, Trading Places.)
region's progress and its ability to cater for the comfort, safety and taste of the cosmopolitan traveller in an exotic and special place.

During the 1940s the style of some brochures changed. Less detail about individual attractions was provided and attractions were indicated in the text by the use of bold lettering. More detail was given to introducing the exotic and Romantic environment to which the tourist was about to travel. In the similarly titled Cairns and Hinterland: North Queensland, Cairns was dubbed the 'Land of Adventure' and the 'Riviera of the North' and was introduced thus:

...at the height of the tourist season those wondrous months from May to September when the Northlands are invested in a glorious panoply of warm, rich tones there is in the air a note of gaiety, happiness, carefree abandon. Golden days are devoted to sightseeing or lounging in the cool shade of wide tropical verandahs, fragrant nights with stars like lamps in the sky are charged with romance...every winter when, the Tropic Coast is at its loveliest, the volatile beauty of tableland and gorge, the pagan sunshine flooding plantation and forest, act as a powerful lodestone, and visitors from all parts of Australasia journey north the Cairns... 141

Visually, the brochure contained many of the photographs seen in the 1938 version but portrayed Cairns as a more diverse destination with the introduction of 'new' attractions for the traveller. These additions included Lake Eacham, Mungana Caves, Spence Street, Cairns, the Johnstone River Falls, the Palmerston Highway, Hartley's Creek beach on the Cook Highway, and Green Island. The photographs were presented in a photomontage style rather than displayed individually. The exceptions to this were the images of the Barron Falls, the biggest image, and Green Island which was a small indistinct photograph of the island and its jetty. The cover of Cairns and Hinterland was quite a

141 QGTB, Cairns and Hinterland: North Queensland, Brisbane, no page numbers.
departure from that of the 1938 brochure, resembling a travel poster of the era. By featuring stylised Birdwing butterflies the vivid colour of the region’s exotic fauna is presented to the intending tourist. (see Figure 8.80) The strongly contrasting yellow and green of the cover suggests an exotic location and a warm and verdant environment.

The locality map accompanying the brochure is bigger than that seen in the 1938 brochure and contains more information. Titled ‘Cairns District’ it highlights thirty of the region’s attractions. (see Figure 8.81) This does not indicate that there had been an increase in tourism ventures, but rather that the QGTB was provided with the information regarding their existence and location. Alternatively, attractions in the periphery of the region may have been incorporated to sustain or perpetuate the region’s ‘exotic’ image.

The inclusion of a legend allowed differentiation between railways, highways and other roads, and pinpointed the location of waterfalls. Unlike the 1938 map, this version indicated that there were road and rail networks from Cairns to Mount Gamet, Innot Hot Springs, Forsyth, Mount Molloy, Port Douglas and Mossman. In addition, the extent of the Great Barrier Reef was indicated by the inclusion of arrows indicating the presence of Oyster Cay beyond the boundaries of the map. This more comprehensive map provided the traveller with the sense that the region was more diverse than previously depicted and that there were more attractions worth visiting in the hinterland and on the Reef.

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142 It was not until 1976 that the vivid blue Birdwing Butterfly was adopted as an emblem of the city of Cairns. *Sunshine News Bulletin*, circular no. 181, June 1976, p. 2.
Figure 8.79: Tourist map, 1938. (QGTB, Cairns & Hinterland, 1938)
Curiously, during the 1950s some brochures appeared with cover photographs reminiscent of the 1930s. Perhaps this was a device to provide a sense of timelessness or link to the past thereby enhancing the authenticity of the experience. *Tours from Cairns*, published in 1955 for example used a very old image of the Malanda Falls (see Figure 8.82) to carry a factual list of day tours from Cairns and a street map of Cairns adorned with stylised coconut trees, boats and buildings. The inclusion of tours was not new for brochures but the addition of a stylised street map was. (see Figure 8.83) This map is designed to meet the perceived needs of the tourist. It provides the location of hotels, government buildings, banks, the post office, hospitals, and major thoroughfares. A small number of attractions and tourist facilities are portrayed including local parks, the TAA and Qantas offices, the theatre, swimming pools, the wharfs and the Esplanade. The map also appears to meet the commercial and advertising aims of those seeking to benefit from their investment in the tourism industry. Adjacent to the map is tourist specific information which also supplements the information provided graphically.

By the 1960s many tourist brochures were highly coloured, providing a visual feast with their mixture of stylised drawings and photographs. Due to their striking presentation some of these brochures were able to ‘speak for themselves’ and little detail was provided apart from photograph captions and catchy one liners. A brochure for Green Island, *Green Island right on the Great Barrier Reef*, with its eye-catching, slick presentation of an adventure book tropical island with sandy beaches, luxuriant tropical vegetation including palm trees, and deep blue seas, sustains notions of ‘exoticism’ of a

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144 This image of Malanda Falls was taken prior to 1910 when the Johnstone River Bridge was constructed. Eacham Historical Society, *One Bend too Many: the story of the Gillies Highway*, (Malanda, 1999), p. 2.

145 OGTB, *Tours from Cairns*, (Brisbane, 1955), no page number.
Figure 8.80: ‘Cairns and Hinterland, North Queensland.’ (QGTB, Cairns and Hinterland, North Queensland, circa 1940s)
Figure 8.81: Tourist map. (QGTB, Cairns and Hinterland, North Queensland, circa 1940s)
Figure 8.82: 'Tours from Cairns.' (QGTB, Tours from Cairns, 1955)
Figure 8.33: Tourist street map, Cairns. (QGTB, Tours from Cairns, 1955)
You must see the wonders of the Great Barrier Reef.

Island of Enchantment
the Showground
of the Barrier Reef

Welcome to the Loveliest Island
that is anchored in any Ocean
The Only Coral Island on the Barrier Reef

Figure 8.34: Green Island. (Green Island right on the Great Barrier Reef, circa 1960s)
destination. (see Figure 8.84) Fun and excitement is depicted sailing in sapphire blue seas, or surfing and water-skiing. Visually one is assured that one can wander through 'coral gardens' in search of exotic shells, the proof of which is held in the hands of the bikini-clad, lei adorned woman welcoming tourists to the island. Just below the surface of the water is an exotic, vividly coloured world of sea sponges, coral and tropical fish. The inclusion of hibiscus and frangipani leis in tourism literature came after World War II due to American soldiers experiencing Pacific islands, the stage show *South Pacific*, and Elvis Presley movies.

This brochure symbolises how different Green Island is to 'home.' This difference is effectively conveyed through the use of colour and light. The colours are strong, bright and overstated. The authenticity of the experience being offered appears to be linked with the juxtaposition of the colourful graphic representations of the island and almost mundane photographs of the amenities on the island. This technique produces incongruence between the glamorous image and the basic infrastructure.

**Conclusion**

Visual images played an important part in creating an attractive image of the Cairns region. They were displayed in travel literature, newspapers, magazines, brochures and advertisements and on postcards and posters. They were often accompanied by an article detailing the sight in lavish and poetic terms or scientifically, or they appeared in isolation adorned only with a caption. Tourism in the region was always based on

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146 Water-skiing is not possible around Green Island due to the presence of coral reefs. A channel has been dredged allowing the passage of passenger boats to the wharf. Surfing is not a leisure activity generally undertaken within the Reef due to the absence of waves.
‘nature’ and the unusual ‘tropical nature’ attracted the attention of naturalists, adventure lovers and explorers from the outset.

Many images of the Cairns region were produced; however the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau was the main generator of images and descriptions of the region. Keen to attract investment, settlers and tourists the Bureau’s choice of image was important due to this multi-pronged nation building role. As a result the message conveyed by many of the images was one of safety, industrial development, adventure and prosperity in an ‘exotic’ and ‘natural’ landscape within a civilised, modern and democratic society. This was not the only message embedded in regional images but it was one of the more fixed messages. Other messages emphasised the Cairns region’s natural values and changed in accordance with popular aesthetic taste: the Romantic, picturesque, exotic, tropical, scientific and ecological. Travellers possessed the image in the form of a postcard, photograph or brochure, which authenticated and indicated that they had ‘done’ a particular destination.147

Interestingly, many of the dominant images of the region used by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau were taken by local photographers, or were later replicated by southern photographers. Locals therefore appear to have co-operated in the production of regional images but it is not known the purpose for which all the photographs were originally taken. The quintessential Romantic imagery was provided by John Dick, owner of ‘Fairyland Tea Gardens,’ while Charles Handley captured the grandeur and ‘weirdness’ of Chillagoe’s limestone bluffs. Lynne Brown had a dual role

as the Railways Department's official photographer and a studio owner, and his early images of the Barron Falls and the Kuranda railway appeared in tourism literature and on postcards. Noel Monkman’s naturalistic photographs of the bird and marine life of the Great Barrier Reef appeared nationally and internationally from the 1930s making this previously mostly unseen environment accessible to the general public for the first time.
CHAPTER 9: The development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Chillagoe Caves: a case study

Introduction

The Chillagoe Caves and limestone bluffs, located 215 kilometres west of Cairns in savannah woodland, have been a tourist attraction since the 1890s. They were unusual formations, the 'realm of pixies and fairies,' which piqued the interest of both Romantic and scientific travellers. Efforts to develop the caves as a tourist attraction have been hampered until recent years by their geographic isolation, poor roads and infrequent rail schedules. In addition, the focus of governments and others was on industries such as mining and pastoralism to develop the area economically. Despite the depopulation of the area following the closure of the Chillagoe Smelters in 1943 and resulting loss of services, interest in the Caves did not decline completely. By the late 1960s sufficient numbers of tourists were travelling to the Caves to warrant the construction of basic infrastructure such as toilet blocks, pathways, regular tours and electric lighting in one of the caves in 1972. Today, the caves retain few of their Romantic antecedents. Their original names such as the 'Cathedral,' and the 'fairy grotto,' have been retained and a sketch of their Romantic past is outlined by tour guides, but the focus of the tour is on the caves as a remarkable natural phenomenon.

The Natural History of the Chillagoe Caves

Around 500 million years ago the Chillagoe district was located on the east coast of Australia. The Chillagoe limestones formed in the extensive shallow, warm
and nutrient-rich seas off this coast.1 At this stage, the area would have looked much like today's Pacific Ocean islands, that is, coral reefs fringing basalt volcanoes. In the deeper water surrounding these atolls was lime laden mud and reef debris which was later to become the limestone of Chillagoe.2 Around 300 million years ago Australia underwent major uplift resulting in the coastline moving eastward.3 This event also exposed the limestone and its fossil record. The shallow seas had supported a rich and diverse marine life including the now extinct graptolites and trilobites,4 crinoids, algae, gastropods, ostracods, brachiopods, bryozoans, corals and trilobites.5 Today Chillagoe’s marine past can still be seen with fossils of these creatures preserved in the limestone bluffs which surround Chillagoe.

A volcanic period from 325 to 315 million years ago blanketed large areas with ash and ash flows.6 Following a period of cooling, geological stresses began to increase again. The near horizontal systems of cracks seen in the limestone are a result of these stresses and the Chillagoe Caves were formed in some of these cracks when groundwater dissolved the limestone. The caves have since been superimposed upon and enlarged by later cave-forming events such as the exposure of the land to weathering and erosion.7 Around 60 million years ago the tropical climate produced large volumes of warm acid water which percolated through the cracks and fractures, dissolving large amounts of limestone, enlarging

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1 I. Plimer, A Journey Through Stone: the Chillagoe story – the extraordinary history and geology of one of the richest mineral deposits in the world. (Victoria, 1997), p. 25.
2 Ibid., p. 27.
3 Ibid., p. 63.
5 Ibid., p. 22.
6 Ibid., p. 51.
the caves, and forming stalactites and stalagmites due to some of the calcium carbonate saturated water evaporating as it dripped onto the cave floors.

The vegetation on the limestone bluffs is different to that of the surrounding savannah, adding to their unusual appearance. Remnant wet tropical rainforest is still evident today on limestone outcrops which allow fig trees, Kurrajong and bottle trees (Brachychiton spp.), and helicopter trees (Gyrocarpus) to access water in the limestone's cracks and fissures and plant their roots in the floors of the caves below. These roots themselves form part of the caves' attraction.

The Chillagoe Caves are home to a variety of fauna including bats. One bird species, the white-rumped swiftlet (Aerodramus spodiopygius) makes its home in the caves, one of five known nesting regions in Australia. The bats and the swiftlets navigate the dark caves by using echolocation. In addition, many spider and insect species have been recorded in the caves. Skeletal remains of various animals have been well preserved in the carbonate-impregnated soil and stable environment of the caves including fossilised bones of the giant kangaroo and the giant wombat, both of which are extinct, and crocodiles. The fauna and faunal remains have also become attractions for tourists.

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9 QNPWS, Park Guide. These include bent-wing bats (Miniopterus schreibersii, Miniopterus australis), the little brown bat (Vespertulus roughtoni), the sheath-tailed bat (Taphozous georgianus), the eastern horseshoe bat (Rhinolophus megaphyllus) and the diadem leaf-nosed bat (Hipposideros diadema). The eastern horseshoe bat and the little brown bat breed in the caves.
10 Ibid.
**Historical Background**

The Chillagoe Caves were first seen by Europeans around 1888, by pastoralist John Atherton.¹¹ The caves came to the attention of the government soon after when in 1891 Muldiya photographer Henry Livesey was engaged to tour the region taking photographs for the Department of Mines, and scientist Thompson examined the caves and provided a report of his findings.¹² These prompted the Minister of Mines to issue instructions for the permanent preservation of the caves by excluding them from mining leases as much as possible.¹³ The ‘unique’ and ‘weird’ caves and limestone bluffs were a fascinating subject for early photographers, artists, newspaper reporters, travellers and naturalists despite the geographic isolation of the area, the primitive state of the road, the lack of organised coach services until 1898,¹⁴ and the lack of services for travellers, with Chillagoe township not developing beyond a mining camp until around 1900.

The establishment of Chillagoe Township was due to its selection as the site for central copper smelters. In 1898 the Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company was formed and a smelter was erected. The railway from Mareeba to Chillagoe and thence to Mungana was completed in 1901. Smelting continued erratically until the smelters were closed permanently in 1943.¹⁵ They came under Government control in 1919 and were deliberately kept going to sustain the mining population.

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¹³ R. Kerr, *Chillagoe*, p. 32.
¹⁴ The first organised coach trip between Mareeba and Chillagoe was arranged by Mr. H. Chatterfield. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
¹⁵ In its lifetime Chillagoe Smelter treated 1.25 million tons of ore, yielding 60,000 tons of copper, 50,000 tons of lead, 181 tons of silver and 5 tons of gold. QNPWS, *Historical Chillagoe Smelter*, (Brisbane, 2001), no page number.
This meant that visitors to the caves at least had the benefits of a town and relatively fast and comfortable transport.

The coming of the railway and the smelters boosted the fortunes of the town considerably with the construction of 10 hotels, 2 soft drink factories and other shops, and increased the population from 420 in 1900\textsuperscript{16} to 10,000 in 1917\textsuperscript{17}. Despite the establishment of infrastructure conducive to tourism, the continuing attention of artists, authors, photographers and naturalists, and its inclusion in tourism literature from at least 1913,\textsuperscript{18} few travellers to the Cairns region journeyed to view the Chillagoe Caves. The difficulties in reaching the area were highlighted in a 1925 Cairns Harbour Board Report which advised that:

\begin{quote}
... [the caves] are well worth a visit, but owing to the trains running only certain days in the week each way, and not being able to visit these without spending a day at each township, it is not advisable, unless ample time is at one's disposal...\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

Access to the Chillagoe area continued to be problematic largely because of diminishing investment in the area associated with the uncertain viability of the mines and smelters.

With the tourist trade so thin and considered secondary to mining and pastoralism, only crude attempts were made to make the Chillagoe Caves easily accessible and little effort was made to advertise the caves as an attraction. This contrasts with the Mungana Caves, 15 kilometres west of Chillagoe, which by the late 1920s

\textsuperscript{17} Atherton Tablelands Promotion Bureau, \textit{Discover the Cairns Highlands}, no publishing details, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{18} The Chillagoe Caves were briefly described in \textit{Picturesque Travel Under the Auspices of Burns, Philp & Company Limited}, No. 3, 1913, p. 22.
were under the care of the ‘Mungana Caves Trust’ which charged a fee for a guided tour, organised rail excursions from Cairns, and constructed tracks, wooden bridges, and steps into various caves. While possibly better known and considered more extensive and impressive by many, the Mungana Caves have not been included in this case study as they are no longer visited by guided tours today. Today in the Mungana area tourists are directed to the ‘Walkunder Bluff’ which contains various small caves and caverns, some of which are decorated with Aboriginal rock art, and some easily accessible caves with collapsed roofs.

Until 1932 the Chillagoe Caves were under the care and control of the Chillagoe Shire Council. The Council built a house at the entrance of the caves and employed a caretaker and guide. Early guides included Mr. Freeman, Chillagoe’s bookseller. The caretaker appears to have been of dubious value with Eric Mjöberg in 1913 describing him as a “… decrepit, hermit-like widower, who had the company of only a few chickens and … made frequent trips to the nearest hotel to throw off his loneliness…” The Chillagoe district was later absorbed into the Woothakata Shire Council which was later renamed the Mareeba Shire.

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23 Sydney Speleological Society, “Chillagoe Caves,” p. 22. At least three caves in Mungana were developed as ‘tourist caves’ during the late 1920s: the ‘Spring Cave,’ ‘Geck Cave,’ and ‘Cathedral Cave.’ The Spring and Geck Caves are located in ‘Spring Cave Bluff’ and the ‘Cathedral Cave’ in ‘Cathedral Bluff’ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 & 28.
25 E. Toohey, *From Bullock Team*, p. 52.
Council. The caretaker was dispensed with, his cottage removed, and the Woothakata Council displayed little interest in the caves.

During the 1940s the State Government and locals alike began to exhibit more interest in the potential of the Caves as an area for conservation and for tourism respectively. The Chillagoe National Park was established in 1940 and was under the care and control of the Department of Forestry. The formation of today’s 3,700 hectare park was an incremental process involving the progressive acquisition of 13 separately gazetted blocks of land over 35 years until 1975 when the National Park came under the control of the Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service. In the early 1940s residents of Chillagoe held a fund raising dance to raise money to purchase “…an efficient gate with lock and key, together with suitable notice boards to remedy the terrible vandalism…” In 1950 representations were made to the State Government for the appointment of a caretaker or guide. An honorary caretaker, Jack McDonald, was appointed to the Mungana Caves in 1955, and in Chillagoe Bob Shepherd conducted tourists through the Chillagoe Caves and transported them to and from the railway station. In 1959 Chillagoe’s postmaster, Vince Kinnear, began to guide visitors to the Chillagoe Caves, but only after hours. In 1975 the QNPWS began to conduct guided tours of the Caves, a practice continued today.

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27 E. Toohey, From Bullock Town, p. 52.
28 Pers comm., Lana Little, QNPWS, Chillagoe, 2 June 2005.
30 See letter dated 21 February 1950 from John McDonough on behalf of the Gulf Peninsula Development League to H. Collins, Minister for Agriculture and Stock, Brisbane, in A/18549, Batch no. 52/6252, 1947 – 1955, Department of Mines and Immigration, QSA.
31 See Memo 55/5110 dated 30 May 1955, in Ibid.
33 E. Toohey, From Bullock Town, p. 52.
While the Chillagoe Caves were identified by the Queensland Development Board in its 1947 report as an attraction which should be developed, a view reiterated by government officials in 1955, little was done by the industry post-war to promote and develop the caves. In fact in 1962 the North Queensland Local Government Tourist Development Association was informed by the Minister for Tourism that "...development of the [caves and Chillagoe area]...was impracticable." Given the depopulation of the area following the closure of the smelters, and resulting loss of services, this is not surprising. A report by the Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) in 1971 recommended that the road to Chillagoe be upgraded and electric lighting provided to the caves. By this time the Chillagoe area was enjoying something of a renaissance with sufficient visitors to warrant a toilet block erected near the Royal Arch caves carpark, and paved pathways to the Donna and Royal Arch Caves. Regular tours of the caves began in 1964 and by 1967 four caves were open to the public: The Royal Arch; the Donna; the Markham near Mungana; and the Ryan Imperial, also near Mungana. In 1967 Parlour Cars introduced regular two day bus tours during the winter months from Cairns to Chillagoe. This was despite

35 "Tourist Development Board enthusiastic on Cairns area's tourist attractions," Cairns Post, 9 September 1947, p. 4.
36 See letter dated 22 April 1955 to the Under Secretary for Mines and Immigration from the Director of Queensland Tourist Services which stated that while the "...caves have not the sparkle of the Jenolan Caves... with the proper light treatment they would be just as good..."in A/18549, 1947 – 1955; Batch no. 52/6252. Department of Mines and Immigration. QSA.
38 It is difficult to overestimate the effects of depopulation of this area by the 1960s. An important rural project during this decade was the construction of the 'Beef Roads.' This term was coined to distinguish between roads for which the Commonwealth Government supplied special funds, and those constructed entirely from Main Roads Department funds. Among the first 'Beef Roads' constructed was that between Georgetown and Mount Surprise. M. Diamond, From Bulldust, pp. 148 – 149.
40 Department of Forestry, Chillagoe Caves: national parks and scenic areas, (Brisbane, circa 1967), no page numbers.
41 E. Toohey, From Bullock Team, p. 52.
42 R. Kerr, Chillagoe, p. 32.
the journey from Mareeba and Herberton by road in 1969 being described as traversing "...hungry uninteresting country [on roads] little better than nightmares..."\(^{43}\) By 1971 two motels had been constructed, reticulated electricity supplied to the area\(^{44}\) and in 1972 the Donna Caves were lit with electric lights.\(^{45}\) Prior to this two caves were lit by butane-gas flood lamps, or carbide lamps were provided to visitors.

These events mark something of a turning point for Chillagoe with tourism slowly rebuilding the business sector of Chillagoe. Today tourism attractions have expanded to include bird watching, bush walking, tours of the area, horse riding, Aboriginal rock paintings, a golf course, heritage museum, steam traction engine tours, and the Chillagoe smelters, the chimneys of which still dominate the skyline. Chillagoe continues to attract artists although today they are portraying their perceptions of the landscape in a very different way. In 2000 contemporary dancers used the marble pits at Chillagoe to immerse themselves in Tropical North Queensland’s environment by exploring movement through the relationship of time and place, identity and body.\(^{46}\)

**The Caves: description**

The Chillagoe Caves made available for public access consist of the Donna, Royal Arch and Pompeii. They are located about 5 kilometres from Chillagoe Township in the large limestone formations that rise some 70 meters above the surrounding

\(^{45}\) R. Kerr, *Chillagoe*, p. 32.
\(^{46}\) "Wild Side of Dance," *Cairns Post Weekend Extra*, 13 May 2000, p. 3. Dancer Rebecca Youdell, artist Russell Milledge, photographer Glen O’Malley and composers Michael Whiticker and Paul Lawrence produced a multi-media art work *Bonemap – The Wild Edge* which was performed at the Tanks Art Centre, Cairns in May 2000 before touring internationally.
flat country. As noted earlier, the first cave, the Donna, was 'discovered' in 1888 by pastoralist John Atherton who was lost for two days before finding his way out. This cave was subsequently named after his daughter. By 1893 The Royal Arch, the Ellen, the Hereulean and the Pompeii had been discovered and named.

Today, tours are conducted through the Donna and Royal Arch Caves, and the Pompeii Cave can be explored without a guide. These three caves are the focus of this case study. (see Figure 9.1)

The Donna Cave
The Donna Cave is located on the western side of the Donna limestone bluff. Access to the entrance of the cave has been improved over the years with a concrete pathway (see Figure 9.2) and new carpark and toilet block constructed in the 1960s. Remains of an old carpark and toilet block are still evident. (see Figure 9.3) There is a shelter shed located at the mouth of the cave. Entrance to the cave is down a steep flight of stairs, some 15 meters, to a flat floor. A series of concrete paths traverse the cave and in parts are roped to ensure that visitors remain on the path. This measure is due to the fragility of the cave floor which is the most easily damaged part of the cave. The cave has been electrically illuminated which provides quite a different experience to other caves which have not been lit. (see Figure 9.4)

47 Environmental Protection Agency, North Queensland's Mining Heritage Trails, p. 39.
49 Also located in the Donna bluff are a number of other caves such as the Trezkinne Cave, the Pompeii Cave, Surprise Cave and Brief Hole. Sydney Speleological Society, "Chillagoe Caves," p. 28.
50 Department of Forestry, Chillagoe Caves: national parks, no page no.
51 QNPWS, Exploring Royal Arch Cave, (Brisbane, 1979) no page number.
Figure 9.1: Map showing location of Caves visited today. (Chillagoe QPWS, Park Guide, circa 2000)
Figure 9.2: Concrete path built in the 1960s leading to the Donna Dave, 2004.
Figure 9.3: Remains of old carpark, 2004.
Figure 9.4: Entrance Chamber in Donna Cave. (Chillagoe: **home of the ancient reefs**, circa 2000)
This cave system consists of one large cavern known as the 'Madonna Chamber' off which short passages branch and lead to smaller chambers. The Donna cave system is made up of a series of false floors, one above the other, giving the impression of galleries radiating outward and upward. The false floors were created by redeposited minerals or 'flowstone' being left suspended when the underlying silt was washed away.\(^2\) A feature of the Donna Cave is the startling white profile of a cowled woman’s face peering upwards toward the roof of the cave. This Madonna-like bust appears lifelike and gives the chamber its name, 'Madonna Chamber.' (see Figure 9.5) The roof of the 'Madonna Chamber' is cathedral like and resembles a nave with dim light shining through a cathedral window. (see Figure 9.6)

From an historical perspective this cave contains some interesting graffiti which reveals that the caves were frequently visited in the latter part of the 19th century by both locals and visitors. Names include well known identities such as explorer James Venture Mulligan in 1891 and pastoralist William Atherton. Other inscriptions include H. Ward and J. Collins, 16/4/1920; E. Wiseman, 1905; Jenkins, 1938; Bustide and C. Jenkins, undated, and written using a cursive script;Paudy Atherton, 1895; and S. Jenkins, Melbourne, London, 1907. The practice of visitors adorning the walls with their signatures appears to largely stop around 1920, when guided tours were started by the locals and the practice was discouraged.\(^3\) The government attempted to curtail vandalism as early as 1893

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\(^3\) "Chillagoe Caves’ ancient graffiti goes on record", *North Queensland Register*, 23 September 1987, p. 9.
Figure 9.5: The ‘Madonna,’ Madonna Chamber, 2004.
Figure 9.6: The roof of the Madonna Chamber, 2004.
Figure 9.7: Graffiti in Madonna Chamber showing names Tait, Gill, Mathews, Davey, McKeegan and Gierke, late 1920s. (P11043, Cairns Historical Society)
when notices printed on calico advised visitors of the "...gross folly of destroying the stalactites and other ornamentation of the caves ... [and asked them] to cooperate with the Government officers in protecting this public property." In the 1930s journalists were still commenting upon the destruction of cave ornamentation, graffiti, and littering in the caves. (see Figure 9.7) By 1946 Walkabout magazine was reporting that the famous Chillagoe Caves were "...sadly neglected and damaged by vandals."56

Branching off from the Madonna Chamber is 'Atherton's Passage,' so named because William Atherton inscribed the wall with the name of his daughter, Essie Lillian Atherton, and dated it 27 December 1891. (see Figure 9.8) Delicate columns resembling candlesticks are found in this passageway. Located on a false floor is another branching passage, the 'Coral Passage,' so named because the cave decorations resemble undersea coral in appearance. At the end of these passages are the 'Devils Pit,' coral formations which resemble a pine forest, the 'vegetable patch,' another coral formation resembling vegetables such as broccoli, cauliflower and carrots, and the 'Fairy Grotto.' The 'Fairy Grotto' is a very pretty and highly decorated recess with delicate 'shawls' hanging from the roof resembling bedroom curtains. Crystalline deposits on the walls and formations of the grotto give it a glittering 'fairy-like' appearance. (see Figure 9.9) Inscribed on the wall of the 'Fairy Grotto' is the undated name of L. Bimrose.57 Adjacent to the grotto are good examples of delicate columns formed

54 'Special Correspondent,' "The Caves of Chillagoe: more beauties," Cairns Argus, 22 July 1893.
57 The Bimrose family were early settlers of Atherton. Richard Bimrose was the proprietor of the Herberton Hotel during the mid to late 1880s.
Figure 9.8: William Atherton’s inscription of his daughter’s name in ‘Atherton’s Passage’ in 1891.
Figure 9.9: ‘Fairy Grotto,’ in the Donna Cave. (Chillogoe: home of the ancient reefs, circa 2000)

Figure 9.10: The Royal Archway Bluff, 2004.
by three dripping stalactites. These are the only stalactites located in the Donna Cave system.

The Royal Arch Cave

The Royal Arch Cave, located in the Royal Archway Bluff, is one of the largest cave systems in the area.\(^{58}\) (see Figure 9.10) Its name is derived from a chamber containing an arch, formed by two separate roof collapses, leaving a bridge in the middle. (see Figure 9.11) Around 1.5 km of track guide visitors to almost all areas of the cave. (see Figure 9.12) It is not known when the cave was ‘discovered’ or by whom but examination of the literature indicates that it was known by 1893.\(^{59}\) The cave has not been electrically illuminated so as to provide visitors with a contrast with the Donna Cave, which is lit, and allows them to experience the Stygian blackness and gloom in full. Tourists today are given battery powered spotlights to view this cave.

This cave system is made up of large chambers which tend to be fairly high, ranging from 15 to 20 metres, and connected by passages. The floors of these chambers are generally at the same level as the surrounding landscape although some of the chambers in the Royal Arch system appear to be below this level and during the wet season water flows through them.\(^{60}\) A number of chambers within this cave system are no longer open to the public including the ‘Emerald Cave’

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\(^{58}\) Other caves located in the Royal Arch Bluff are the Fairy Cave, Church Cave, Disney Cave, Snakey Cavern, High Cavern, Piggery Hole, Kirkies Cavern and Shorties Hole. Sydney Speleological Society, “Chillagoe Caves,” p. 28.


\(^{60}\) Sydney Speleological Society, “Chillagoe Caves,” pp. 9 & 36.
Figure 9.11: The 'arch' from which the Royal Arch Cave derives its name, 2004.
Figure 9.12: Map of the Royal Arch Cave. (QPWS, Exploring Royal Arch Cave, 1979)
Figure 9.13: The ‘Entrance Chamber’ showing the flat cave floor and concrete pathways, 2004.

Figure 9.14: The old entrance to the Royal Arch Cave, 2004.
and the ‘Bridal Chamber,’ the latter having been taken over by the bat population as a breeding cave.\textsuperscript{61} A number of limestone formations in the Royal Arch caves are very large. Huge stalagmites which have toppled over can be seen. A number of the chambers have daylight holes, the sizes of which range from narrow slits to large roofless caverns.

Today entrance to the caves is made from the carpark up a gentle slope, down some stairs and along a passageway into the original entrance area known as the ‘Entrance Chamber’ (see Figure 9.13) The old entrance to the cave was located about 40 feet above the level of the surrounding countryside and was approached by a climb up the broken boulders forming the talus. This old entrance is now blocked off with a locked gate. (see Figure 9.14) Adjacent to this chamber is the ‘Picnic Chamber’ which is flooded with light due to a daylight hole in its domed roof. Historically the ‘Picnic Cave’ was popular with locals and visitors to escape the summer heat, boil billies, and have lunch. Much rubbish and broken bottles littered this cave in 1969.\textsuperscript{62} An early tourist guide reports that ‘...banquets have been eaten and classic plays performed in the Chillagoe Caves...’\textsuperscript{63} A number of visitors recorded their visit by inscribing the walls and rocks. (see Figure 9.15)

Along a passage from the ‘Picnic Chamber’ is the ‘Cathedral Chamber’ in which a limestone formation known as ‘the horseman’ is located. High on the walls of this chamber are two outcrops of limestone resembling pulpits. In the past a wedding has been held as have Carols by Candlelight.\textsuperscript{64} Along from the

\textsuperscript{61} QNPWS, Park Tour Guide, 23 November 2004.
\textsuperscript{62} Sydney Speleological Society, “Chillagoe Caves,” p. 36.
\textsuperscript{63} QGTB, \textit{North Queensland: Australia’s richest territory}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{64} QNPWS, Park Tour Guide, 23 November 2004.
Figure 9.15: Graffiti in the ‘Picnic Chamber’ showing names W. McCroath, 24 April 1900; and W. Wells and H. Mullins, 22 April 1900, 2004.
Figure 9.16: Limestone formations on the roof and walls of 'Picnic Chamber,' 2004.
‘Cathedral Chamber’ through a short passage is the ‘Walrus Chamber,’ so named because a limestone formation resembles a walrus. The limestone formations on the roof and walls of the closed caverns are beautiful with colours ranging from pure white to light and dark brown, and green caused by the presence of copper. (see Figure 9.16) Parts of the wall are covered with calcite crystal which gives caves a glittering effect. Scattered on the floor of this cave are snail shells.

A long passage known as ‘St Bernard’s Passage’ takes the visitor to the ‘Fig Tree Chamber’ and the ‘Stage Chamber.’ ‘St Bernard’s Passage’ was named because of the presence of a limestone formation resembling a St Bernard dog. In the ‘Fig Tree Chamber,’ a daylight chamber, the tree roots have wound their way down and burrowed into the floor of the cave seeking water and nutrients, and a number of maiden hair ferns grow on the walls. Incised into the larger roots is graffiti, some dating from 1939. Further along ‘St Bernard’s Passage’ is the ‘Stage Chamber.’ This formation resembles a miniature stage, glittering with ‘fairy lights’ from the crystalline deposits.

Like the Donna Cave, there are remnants of earlier service structures closer to the caves than the present carpark including a small concrete slab and a line of stones outlining the carpark boundaries. The new carpark is more elaborate than the general run of carparks for attractions in the area, which are usually just a cleared area. This one has marked parking bays, wooden barricades to mark it from the surrounding countryside, and a small shelter shed where visitors can wait for the guide. These recent infrastructure developments demonstrate a National Parks policy of distancing the carparks and tour assembly areas from the cave entrances.
Figure 9.17: The Pompeii Cave showing the debris from a roof fall and the range of colours found in daylight chambers, 2004.
The Pompeii Cave

The ‘Pompeii Cave’ is a daylight chamber located in the Donna Bluff. First mentioned in the literature around 1893 this cave was likely to have been ‘discovered’ by the Atherton family as it was located in the ‘home paddock’ of Chillagoe Station.\(^65\) This is a small cave as much of it has been blocked by debris from its roof. (see Figures 9.17) As in the underground caves the colours in the ‘Pompeii Cave’ range from pure white, through to browns and green, the latter due to algae. The entrance to the cave is through a hole in the Bluff and requires clambering over boulders and cave debris. (see Figure 9.18) There is no evidence of cave graffiti.

Chillagoe’s Limestone Bluffs

Of equal fascination for visitors to the area were the striking limestone rocks rising up to 70 meters from the ground. These bluffs range in colour from dark through to pearl grey to russet brown and were seen to resemble all manner of grotesque, magnificent and comical objects. Identified in the literature were the ‘Hanging Rock,’ the ‘Tower of London,’\(^66\) ‘Cathedral rock,’ ‘Lizard’s Head,’\(^67\) the ‘Haunted Castle,’\(^68\) ‘Polar Bear Rock,’ ‘Tank Rock’ and the ‘Balancing Rock.’\(^69\) (see Figure 9.19) Today, the only limestone formation noted on tourism maps is the ‘Balancing Rock.’ (see Figures 9.20) Despite appearing precariously balanced, the ‘balancing rock’ was struck by lightning in 2002. This blew 1.5


\(^{66}\) Ibid.

\(^{67}\) “The Chillagoe Caves,” Queenslander, 2 December 1893, p. 1080.

\(^{68}\) “Caravanning through Queensland,” Ibid., 20 February 1930, p. 32.

Figure 9.18: Entrance to the Pompeii Cave, 2004.
Figure 9.20: ‘Balancing Rock,’ 2004.
tonnes of rock off its base with little apparent effect on its stability.\textsuperscript{70} A concrete and earth path takes visitors to it from the cleared unformed carpark.

**Perceptions**

From the 1890s the caves captured the imagination. In today's parlance they are a "...distinctive physical resource..."\textsuperscript{71} The Chillagoe Caves are an ancient landscape seen by many early Romantic travellers as being on the "...borders of the nether world...."\textsuperscript{72} the realm of pixies and fairies. Despite its geological and topographical dynamism, the results of which were everywhere in the form of rock formations resembling toads, elephants, medieval castles and various other imaginings, the Chillagoe landscape appeared to many to be drained of vitality. Many a visitor commented on the landscape's bizarre, rare and unique aspects and its desolation. The landscape invited contradictory imagery of antiquity and newness:

... Chillagoe has a weird make-up – I felt that I had arrived in a new land, a country that bore little resemblance to anything I have so far seen of Queensland. It is both weird and wonderful... the bluffs stand up like thousands of clear-cut pyramids... here more than any place I have seen in the world, the dried up bed of the ancient ocean appeared to have lost little of its semblance to what it once was... even the trees seemed to be out of place...\textsuperscript{73}

Today tour guides do point to the Romantic aspects of the Caves' history but their emphasis is on their natural, scientific and conservation values.

\textsuperscript{70} Atherton Tablelands Promotion Bureau, *Discover the Cairns Highlands*, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{72} *Cairns Argus*, "The Caves of Chillagoe," 22 July 1893.
\textsuperscript{73} *Queenslander*, "Caravan Tales: Chillagoe," 6 February 1930, p. 4.
Conclusion

Although Chillagoe was established by mining and pastoral activities it is famous for its caves. The tourism industry which established the caves has proved to be the most enduring economic activity for the township. Despite changing from an attraction largely for local recreation to large-scale tourism from the late 1960s, little infrastructure has been developed in or adjacent to the caves. Indeed, the Department of Natural Resources appear to deliberately discourage such developments by distancing car parks from cave entrances and the establishment of concrete pathways only to discourage erosion.

Today, the caves are an educative, scientific and ecological experience emphasising the natural landscape, although there is reference to the fanciful rock formations during the guided tour. The Caves possess a rich cultural history and many stories about this landscape located on the ‘boundary of the nether world’ which would enhance a visitor’s experience of this attraction while providing some insight into early 20th century ‘ways of seeing’ the landscape.
CHAPTER 10: The Waterfalls: Malanda Falls, Millaa Milla Falls and ‘English’s Jungle,’ Malanda

Introduction

Extending 450 kilometres from Cooktown in the north to Townsville in the south and west to Herberton, Ravenshoe and Tully, the Wet Tropics of Far North Queensland cover an area of 900,000 hectares, 600 kilometres of which is accessible by road through the World Heritage Area.¹ This very different ‘tropical nature’ drew visitors prior to 1900, especially the waterfalls with one traveller commenting in 1897 that:

…it is questionable whether there is another part of Australia with such a wealth of scenic splendour as the Atherton Tablelands, where there are no less than six waterfalls...²

By 1950 another 26 waterfalls had been ‘discovered’ and were being mentioned in travel literature.³

Waterfalls have been variously described and depicted as sublime, beautiful and picturesque. They have invoked wonder and fear. According to Rashleigh the appeal of falling water is timeless:

…the range of emotions evoked by such spectacles has been extraordinarily diverse, whether it be a mere mountain brook like that which babblingly ‘comes

³ From 1900 to 1920 these ‘discoveries’ included the Dinner Falls, Surprise Creek Falls on the Kuranda railway, and Tully Falls. During the 1920s there were Millstream Falls, Vision Falls, Cowley Falls, Marathon Falls, Crystal Cascades, Fishers Creek Falls, Zillie Falls, Einjaa Falls and Goon Allyn Falls. The 1930s brought about the largest number of waterfalls to come to the attention of travel writers. Binda Falls, Carrington Falls, Fishery Creek Falls, Jones Falls, Josephine Falls, Mowbray Falls, Myrna Falls, Naandroya Falls, Olive Falls, Tchupala Falls and Wallichie Falls. The 1940s saw the inclusion of the Little Millstream Falls in tourism literature.
down' at Lodore, or some vast cataract which recalls the nightmare conception of Poe, who envisioned the ocean itself as thundering and shrieking onwards through 'stupendous ramparts of ice' towards some unfathomable abyss at the Southern pole. And, unlike mountains and lakes, which, except for the roar of an occasional avalanche or the gargantuan bellowings of the thunder when the Storm Kings enrol their legions, remain always silent and aloof, the great falls are ever vocal, appealing in a thousand variations of sound to the ear, as their irised and constantly changing beauty appeals to the eye...  

Waterfalls alone however are not sufficient to attract visitors to a region. Rather it is the associated scenery, in this case the jungle framing the various waterfalls, which was essential to the success of the Atherton Tableland in attracting tourists. Poets and artists liked to link the two. Extravagant prose transformed the Barron Falls and its Gorge into one of Queensland's most significant tourism attractions by 1900. Other waterfalls were subjected to less elaborate prose but were described in enticing Romantic terms none-the-less, with much importance attached to their jungle surrounds. In 1930 for example Vision Falls near Yungaburra was described as:

...a fairylike cascade of water falling into a limpid pool surrounded with exquisite ferns and vegetation, mak[ing] a picture of entrancing beauty in the secluded depths of the jungle... the Vision Falls, to which all tourists are taken, are unique...the sun never blazes down on these falls. They lie in the heat of the jungle, into which slender rays of sunshine ever penetrate...

Malanda and Millaa Millaa Falls did not generally attract such evocative descriptions. However they were visited more frequently than Vision Falls and became important for those visitors wanting to enjoy recreational past-times such as swimming.

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5 See Chapter 5.
6 *A Cordial Welcome*, p. 25.
Many early travellers were fascinated with the jungle with its verdant and luxurious growth, its enormous trees covered with vines and its delicate and unusual ferns and orchids. A number of attractions in the region offered a Romantic jungle experience but the early 20th century interest in natural science drew many the ‘Jungle’ at Malanda which offered an educative view of the region’s tropical vegetation along with a display of Aboriginal tree climbing skills.

Malanda Falls

Malanda Falls is located on the Johnstone River on Forestry Reserve 449 less than 1 kilometer north of Malanda Township. It has a height of about 4 meters and a width of about 30 meters, with a long pool of water at its base. The Falls was surveyed in 1906 when it was described as being “…partly covered with water lilies, and jungle stretched to the edge of the pool, with lots of fallen trees [in the] water…” (see Figure 10.1) As indicated earlier it was one of the first waterfalls on the Atherton Tableland to be mentioned in tourism literature. This was due to the proximity of the Falls to the township and its use for local recreation from 1918 when some of the locals decided to clear the underwater logs from the pool. The Falls quickly became a popular venue for New Years Day picnic celebrations and by 1920 the Eacham Shire Council had erected signs warning: “nude bathers will be prosecuted.”

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7 F. Struber, A Short History of Malanda Falls, undated. Held at the Malanda Environmental Centre.
8 It would appear that from the 1906 survey until 1918 the Falls remained undisturbed except for the installation of hydraulic rams below the Falls in 1911 to supply water to the Malanda Hotel, and to supply water to steam trains. Ibid.
9 Ibid.
Figure 10.1: Malanda Falls, 1909. (F. Struber, A short history of Malanda Falls, undated)
The railway was extended to Malanda and a railway bridge erected spanning the Johnstone River just above the Falls in 1910. This allowed excursioners from other parts of the Atherton Tableland to visit more easily. A causeway across the Johnstone River at Malanda Falls was built by the early 1930s between the Falls and the railway bridge. This was replaced by a narrow timber bridge further upstream (see Figure 10.2) and in 1960 a steel and concrete bridge was built in the same place as the early causeway.10 (see Figure 10.3) The Falls have therefore always been very accessible.

Photographs of Malanda Falls appeared in tourism literature as early as 1920 (see Figure 10.4) and in 1925 the Falls were part of a day trip from either Herberton or Ravenshoe.11 By the 1930s the authors of tourist guides featuring the Falls were declaring “…this is indeed the land of waterfalls, cataracts and cascades…”12 White Cars, established in 1926 was by this time offering two tours to Malanda Falls: one including a visit to Glen Allyn Falls and Malanda Township, and the other incorporating a tour of the Butter Factory and the ‘Jungle.’13 The Falls were part of the ‘Grand Tour’ and ‘Tropical Wonderland Tour’ during the 1950s and 1960s.14 Eacham Shire was dubbed ‘Cascade Country’ during the 1960s and tourists were enticed to wander:

11 This day trip was by car and included Millaa Millaa Falls, Malanda Falls and Lakes Barrine and Eacham. Cairns Harbour Board, Nineteenth Annual Report and Statement, 1925 p. 26.
12 QGFB, North Queensland: the holiday land, p. 16.
13 Fares were 12/6 and 7/6 respectively, based on parties of five or more A Cordial Welcome, p. 34.
14 The ‘Grand Tour’ comprising 20 days began in Brisbane and terminated in Cairns when visitors joined the ‘Tropical Wonderland Tour.’ QGFB, Tour No. Q9: The Grand Tour, no page number.
Figure 10.2: Malanda Falls, circa 1910. (P09644, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 10.3: Steel and concrete Johnstone River Bridge, 1960. Note the old narrow timber bridge to the left. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Main Roads for year ended 30 June 1959, V & P, vol. 1, 1959/60, p. 989)

Figure 10.4: Malanda Falls and swimming pool, c. 1920. Note wooden diving platform on right. (Pictorial Grandeur of Cairns, 1920)
...through the dense foliage of jungle paths [where] you'll see filmy bridal veils... weeping falls...trailing wisps of silver spray, surging in foamy cascades over rock ledges, often forming natural swimming pools with ferny banks... 

Their journey would take them to not only Malanda Falls but also Millaa Millaa, Zillie and Glen Allyn Falls. Most of the travel literature included photographs and made mention of the Falls through until the 1970s. Curiously Malanda Falls does not appear to be the subject of early postcards. The earliest postcard located was published in the 1960s. (see Figure 10.5)

At least one travel writer visited Malanda Falls. A.C.C. Lock’s ‘travelling companion’ was quite poetic in his praise of the pool at the base of the Falls which ‘...reminded him of an Oriental woman’s eyes: deep, black, beautiful and mystic...’

His guide Les Battle, one of the owners of ‘Whitecarts,’ also sang the praises of the Malanda Falls but in somewhat less poetic terms:

...this is one of the scenic gems of Queensland. The water cascades in silvery foam down rocks into a big bowl, which has been converted into a swimming pool. Surrounded by tall, impenetrable jungle, it is an ideal picnic spot. By moonlight it would have added beauty; would become something exotic...

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16 Ibid.
17 Hobbs was probably Lock’s alter ego.
19 L. Battle, cited by Ibid.
Figure 10.5: Malanda Falls, 1960s. (postcard, Murray Views, Cairns Historical Society)
The contrast between the effusive descriptions of the Falls and the reality of a fairly ordinary cascade is striking. Malanda Falls continues to evoke emotion in visitors today with one describing it as "... dark, dank and mysterious. That pool has to have a quinkan in it..." Today the welcoming ceremony of the ‘Malanda Monsoon Festival’ is held at Malanda Falls where traditional owners the Ngadjon Jii people invite good spirits into the town. In addition a Waterfall Ceremony is held at dusk at the Falls which includes the lighting of lanterns beside the Johnstone River.

Many changes have been made to Malanda Falls and its surrounds over the last 100 years in an effort to meet the needs of the local community and to enhance the beauty of the pool and its bush surrounds. A substantial wooden diving platform had been erected by 1920. (see Figure 10.4 above) In 1924 a wire netting fence was erected around an unspecified area of the Malanda Falls Reserve possibly to keep wandering animals from damaging the area. A retaining wall and a "...narrow turning platform for swimmers, 25 yards from the bank..." were built in 1925. Malanda’s first swimming club was formed in 1925 and swimming carnivals were held in the pool until 1930. Further removal of submerged logs was carried out in the early 1930s. By 1934 the Malanda Swimming Club and the Eacham Shire Council had "...done much to improve

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22 The cost of the posts and the labour was met by James English while the Eacham Shire Council paid for the wire netting, estimated at £30.00. "Eacham Shire Council Meeting," Atherton News & Barron Valley Advocate, 18 October 1924. I acknowledge with gratitude Marjorie Gilmore for this reference.
23 F. Strüber, A Short History of Malanda Falls, no page number.
24 The carnivals were held at Malanda Falls between Malanda, Atherton, Mareeba and Cairns clubs. Ibid.
the pool and to enhance the attractiveness of the reserve...

Seemingly because of these improvements an advance of £50.00 was approved by the Department of Lands for further enhancement works in 1934, and the Council engineer was instructed to look into building a track to the bottom of the Falls.

By this time the Falls and its Reserve were considered to be valuable from "...visitors' and tourists' points of view..." The Eacham Shire Council’s request to remove and sell two walnut rainforest timber trees that were said to be dying resulted in much correspondence between the Council, the Minister for Works, the Minister for Lands and the Forestry Department. Ultimately the decision was made by the Minister for Lands, Mr. P. Pease, who upon the advice of the Forestry Department declined the request, as much timber in the past had been destroyed on other, larger reserves in places out of the way of tourist resorts. The Eacham Shire Council’s conservation sentiments do not appear to have been as strong as those of the Lands Department as the Shire’s accounts indicate revenue of £8/1/0 in 1933 for timber sold from the Malanda Falls Reserve.

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27 "Malanda Falls Reserve," Ibid., 19 September 1934.
29 It appears that at least one of these trees, a rainforest walnut tree, may have survived with a travel writer reporting in 1951 that two excursionists were "...spread out on a rug, enjoying the quietude and cool shade thrown by an enormous walnut tree..." A.C.C. Lock, People We Met, p. 247.
30 Ibid.
During World War II the pool was further upgraded by Australian army units based in Malanda and a three level platform diving tower was built. In 1947 submerged logs in the deep water at the base of the Falls were removed.

Further changes were made from the 1950s when a movable steel diving platform was built. (see Figure 10.6) In 1961 a caravan park was established by the Eacham Shire Council, adjacent to the Falls with a capacity for 24 caravans, 30 camp sites and cabin accommodation for 20 people. A new concrete two-tiered diving platform was installed during the 1960s along with a steel climbing frame allowing visitors to swing into the water, and grab rails and ladders to enter and leave the pool. (see Figure 10.5 above and Figure 10.7)

It is difficult to ascertain how extensive the clearing of vegetation was in the Falls Reserve. Examination of photographs indicates that the rainforest lining the road on either side of the Falls was dense until the 1960s. Thinning of the trees probably occurred to allow paths down to the water. The river banks were benched and the edges of the pool concreted sometime during the 1960s. The fence on the boundary of the Reserve adjacent to the road was removed during this period.

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32 F. Struber, A Short History of Malanda Falls, no page number.
33 The caravan park was run by Mrs. Searle. G.M. Hart, The Magic of Malanda and Lovely Eacham Shire, North Queensland, reprinted from the North Australian Monthly, (Townsville, circa mid 1960s), no page number. The land that the caravan park was established on was owned by the English family. They sold it to the Eacham Shire Council for a very reasonable price so that the park could be developed. “Letters to the Editor. no need to pay,” Tablelander, 26 May 1988, p. 6.
Figure 10.6: Steel diving platform at Malanda Falls. (QS 189/1: National Parks, 1898 - 1989, item 19, QSA)
Figure 10.7: Malanda Falls. Note the concrete two-tiered diving platform on right. 
(Northern Wonderland, June 1973, p. 3.)
Malanda Falls today

Today the site is highly structured with its stone-walled terraces, manicured lawns, an extensive network of concrete paths, fences and steps, and handrails. A large carpark area has been developed along with a shelter shed and toilet block. While the jungle backdrop is still a feature of the Falls, the river banks above the Falls pool have been benched and mostly cleared of vegetation, and impatiens grow at will. Rainforest lining the roads and thinned out previously appears to have regained some of its density. (see Figure 10.8) On either side of the entrance and beside the highway are a series of picnic tables and barbeques and a colourful mosaic mural honouring the area's Aborigines. (see Figures 10.9 and 10.10)

The southwestern bank of the Malanda Falls site has seven terraces, paths, fences and steps leading up the hill, with the carpark and amenities area on the top of the bank. (see Figures 10.11 to 10.13) Access to the carpark from the main road is by a tree lined narrow road. On the north western edge of the carpark is a toilet block (see Figure 10.14) and a shelter shed. (see Figure 10.15)

The pool is enclosed by concrete retaining walls on two sides. A suspended concrete footbridge links the banks on the northern edge of the pool and the Falls marks the southern edge. (see Figures 10.16 to 10.18) The pool itself varies in depth. It is shallowest at the northern end where there is a sandy beach. (see Figure 10.19)
Figure 10.8: Entrance to Malanda Falls, 2003.
Figure 10.9: Paved picnic area, Malanda Falls, 2003.
Figure 10.10: Mosaic Mural at entrance to Malanda Falls, 2005.
Figure 10.11: Profile of terraces, Malanda Falls, 2003
Figure 10.12: Elaborate terracing and steps on the western side of the site, looking south-west.
Figure 10.13: The northern set of stairs on the western side of the site, looking west.

Figure 10.14: Carpark and toilet block, looking north-west.
Figure 10.15: Carpark shelter shed, looking north-west.
Figure 10.16: Site Plan, Malanda Falls, 2003 showing infrastructure immediately around the pool.
Figure 10.17: Footbridge, looking north.
The eastern side of the site is much less complex. There is minimal terracing and a grassed area separates the concrete pool edging from a low retaining wall. The retaining wall appears to be from an earlier era of development than the concreting. (see Figures 10.20 and 10.21) A set of stairs near the footbridge lead up the bank into the rainforest. (see Figure 10.22) Near the face of the waterfall are plantings of impatiens. There are also old water pipes and pump remains tucked into the slope beside the Falls.

Unlike the majority of the district’s waterfalls, this one has been heavily developed and changed. Curiously, much of this occurred during the period when ecological constructs of such sites predominated. This seems to imply that the Malanda Falls were not a scenic resource alone, as Hudson believes waterfalls are. Following Zimmermann’s functional interpretation of resources which argued that “...neither the environment as such nor parts of the environment are resources until they are, or are considered to be, capable of satisfying human needs...”, Hudson posits that waterfalls have ‘scarcity value as curiosities of nature.’ He sees that waterfalls fall into two broad categories: resource based and user oriented, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Resource based attractions can be divided into three sub-categories: those where an existing resource is open to the general public; those which are developed with additional attractions; and those which are created resources. User-oriented attractions are those in which location of the attraction rather than the quality of the attraction is of prime importance.

36 Ibid., p. 967.
Figure 10.18: Footbridge, looking south-west.

Figure 10.19: Western side of pool, looking north-east. Note sandy beach on left.
Figure 10.20: Retaining wall on eastern side of site, 2003.
Figure 10.21: Retaining wall of western side of site, 2004.
Following Hudson’s framework, Malanda Falls was a user-oriented attraction and later developed as a resource based attraction complete with additional attractions such as the adjacent caravan park, restaurant, gift shop and interpretative centre. The impetus for the initial use of the Falls appears to come from its proximity to the township and it was not until the 1930s that its tourism value became more apparent. The establishment of the ‘Jungle’ by James English less than a kilometer from the Falls in the 1920s can in a sense be seen as the point when the Falls became a resource based attraction. The early and possibly coincidental infrastructure development by James English in the 1920s and the Eacham Shire Council in the 1930s, to capitalise on the natural environment, represents two of the first such undertakings in the region. Furthermore, the opening of the caravan park in 1961 increased the popularity of the area and indicates that the Council was capitalising on the popularity of the Falls and the ‘Jungle’ to attract visitors.

**Millaa Millaa Falls**

Millaa Millaa Falls is located approximately 2.5 kilometres north of Millaa Millaa Township on Forestry Reserve 673, comprising an area of 80 acres. It was a popular camping place for the Waribarra Manu people in early times. Explorers such as Christie Palmerston also camped there in 1882, along with surveyors in 1909 and railway workers in the 1920s.\(^{37}\) Due to the slower settlement and development of road and rail links relative to other parts of the southern Tableland, and its proximity to a quarry in the 1920s, the Millaa Millaa Falls developed quite differently from Malanda Falls.

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Public works in terms of road construction from as early as 1918 tended to focus on establishing a second access road to Zillie Falls, 9.5 kilometres from Millaa Millaa, which were deemed more worthy of attention:

...From a tourist’s point of view alone this road is essential. The Falls are the most beautiful in the district and are at present accessible only via Elinjaa Road...\(^{38}\)

This preference for Zillie Falls may be an indication of changing tastes with Zillie Falls providing a more ‘Romantic’ waterfall experience. However ‘beautification’ of Millaa Millaa Falls was not neglected with the undergrowth cleared during 1917 to allow a better view of the Falls, and the planting of a \textit{pinus insignis} to celebrate Anzac Day.\(^{39}\)

With Zillie Falls apparently satisfying aesthetic taste, Millaa Millaa Falls was put to a utilitarian purpose during the 1920s. From 1922 to 1927 rock was blasted from a quarry immediately adjacent to the Millaa Millaa Falls. This rock was used to metal the area’s roads. During this period the secretary of the Millaa Millaa Progress Association, Tom Hanley, “...fought with a pen to ensure that the Falls were not blasted...”\(^{40}\) Probably as a result of this utilitarian view and the eyesore of a disused quarry, by the 1930s they were not considered “...much of an attraction...” by some local residents.\(^{41}\) Others however thought differently with the proprietor of the Malanda Hotel declaring:

...a fine spread of water shoots far out over its upper rocky brink to fall like a silvery mist 70 feet to the pool below. Here is a fine pool – bathing, or a lovely Nature Shower may be indulged in by getting along behind the shooting spray of the Falls...\(^{42}\)

\(^{38}\) "Millaa Millaa Notes," \textit{Atherton News & Barron Valley Advocate}, 30 October 1918.

\(^{39}\) "Millaa Millaa Notes," \textit{Ibid.}, 19 May 1917.


\(^{42}\) \textit{Malanda, North Queensland, and its Hotel}, (Malanda, circa 1935), p. 12.
During the early 1930s the 24 kilometre road between Malanda and Millaa Millaa was metalled, facilitating access to the area. In 1934 a selector of a property adjoining the Reserve, asked the Eacham Shire Council for a lease of a portion of the Millaa Millaa Falls Reserve, in order to "... beautify the approach to the falls and the reserve..." He proposed to "...only plant grasses suitable for lawns and not necessarily fodder crops..." and assured the Council that the Falls and Reserve would not be adversely affected by his activities. The Council refused the application as it felt that the applicant's idea was to establish an 'amusement park.' The development of such a scheme was seen as desirable and even necessary by the Council but it should be instituted and controlled by a public authority. Efforts by the Council in the past to arouse public interest in the development of a bathing pool and recreation ground had however met with little interest.

This lack of interest in the development of Millaa Millaa Falls in the 1930s is probably related to the utilitarian manner in which it was viewed at this time. In addition, local residents during this decade developed a swimming hole known as 'Rawson's Pool' downstream from Millaa Millaa Falls on Theresa Creek and 6.5 kilometres from Millaa Millaa Township. This pool became the area's 'social centre' with activities such as swimming, canoeing and picnicking. It would appear that the Rawson's were 'attractions' in themselves. Mr. Rawson, a retired British civil servant wore a "...pith
helmet and leggings and [Mrs. Rawson] rode side saddle in full riding dress... During World War II the pool was a popular venue for soldiers and during the 1950s the Millaa Millaa Junior Farmers constructed a changing shed. Other improvements included a diving board and a see-saw for children. Rawson’s Pool continued to be popular with locals and tourists alike until the late 1950s when the farm was sold.

Little in the way of improvements to the Falls appears to have occurred until the late 1950s when a road was built down to the bank facing the Falls and a small carpark, picnic shelter and toilets were established, and safety fences were erected. No further significant work appears to have been carried out until 2002 when the Eacham Shire Council replaced the old stone steps leading to the Falls with concrete steps, and the post and rail handrails with steel rails (see Figure 10.23). In 2002, the disused quarry was converted into today’s carpark and in 2003, two information boards in two small shelter sheds were built, and further paving and landscaping undertaken. A monument to Christy Palmerston was erected some time before the mid 1960s.

Millaa Millaa Falls, like Malanda Falls was part of a day trip from either Herberton or Ravenshoe by 1925 and photographs began to appear in tourism literature from this time. (see Figure 10.24) White Cars was taking tours to Millaa Millaa by 1930 and this

49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., p. 56.
51 Cairns, Innisfail and Atherton Tablelands Visitor’s Directory, 1949, p. 11.
54 C Jacoby, HI 3281 essay, James Cook University, Cairns, 2003.
55 Ibid.
56 This day trip was by car and included Malanda Falls, Millaa Millaa Falls and Lakes Barrine and Eacham. Cairns Harbour Board, Nineteenth Annual Report and Statement, 1925, p. 26.
included a visit to the Falls which were described somewhat tepidly as a “...source of interest to all...”\textsuperscript{57} No doubt the proximity of a working quarry had something to do with this along with the tendency particularly in government promotional literature not to comment upon environmental destruction due to the connection between Railway Departments and tourist bureaux. The Progress Association was lobbying the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau in the 1940s for inclusion of the area’s sights in tours.\textsuperscript{58} This may have had some influence as by the 1950s the Falls were part of the ‘Grand Tour’ and ‘Tropical Wonderland Tour’\textsuperscript{59} and during the 1960s they were part of Eacham Shire’s ‘Cascade Country.’\textsuperscript{60} (see Figure 10.25) By that time the rainforest may have grown back and hidden the quarry.

Today Millaa Millaa Falls has a reputation as:

...the most perfect of waterfalls in the North... [where] a steep wall of sheer rock wraps around you like an amphitheatre [and] a broad sheet of water cascades into a deep, dark pool...\textsuperscript{61}

Part of the beauty and appeal of this waterfall is due to the pipe arrangement of the weathered basalt on the face of the Falls.

\textsuperscript{57} A cordial Welcome, pp. 32 & 34. The fare to Millaa Millaa was £1, based on parties of five or more people.
\textsuperscript{58} Minutes of the Millaa Millaa & District Progress Association, 16 January 1946.
\textsuperscript{59} QGTB, Tour No. Q9: The Grand Tour, no page number.
\textsuperscript{60} Eacham Shire Council, The Eacham and Crater Lakes District, no page number. Millaa Millaa, Malanda, Zillie and Glen Allyn Falls form ‘Cascade Country.’
\textsuperscript{61} C. Lawson, “Fall in love with the Tableland’s beauty,” Cairns Post Outdoor Passport, 17 January 2003, p. 1.
Figure 10.23: Stone stairs and timber post and rail handrail leading from the carpark to the Falls, 2001.
Figure 10.24: Millaa Millaa Falls. *Souvenir of the Atherton Tableland, circa 1920s*
Figure 10.25: Millaa Millaa Falls. *Northern Wonderland, June 1973, p. 3*
Its passage from the site of a quarry to ‘the most perfect of waterfalls’ is difficult to trace due to a dearth of information. It could be argued that the Millaa Millaa Falls did develop as a user-oriented attraction as from 1925 it was part of a day trip including Malanda Falls and Lakes Barrine and Eacham. However, unlike the Malanda Falls it was not frequented by local residents despite its proximity to Millaa Millaa township, even prior to the opening of a quarry on its pool bank. Nor was it visited because of its high quality as a waterfall attraction. This is curious given that Millaa Millaa Falls is located only 2.5 kilometres from town as opposed to Zillie Falls 9.5 kilometres. The latter was favoured from early times. The surrounds of Millaa Millaa Falls underwent considerable change during the 1920s with the establishment of the quarry indicating, following Hudson, that it was not viewed as a ‘scenic resource.’ Indeed, following Zimmerman’s functional interpretation of resources it appears that the major need it was seen to satisfy was one of providing material to construct the area’s roads. The Progress Association’s ‘war with the pen’ to stop the dynamiting of the Falls itself to provide road metal, further supports this view.

Millaa Millaa Falls appears to have become a resource based attraction in the 1960s especially after the closure of Rawson’s Pool which left the role of local swimming hole vacant. This followed a period of around ten years when it became more easily accessed by road, and paths, fences and toilets established and road signage erected directing

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visitors to this and other attractions. These improvements, mostly instigated by the Millaa Millaa & District Progress Association, raised the profile of the Falls and developed the site as an attraction.

The Progress Association began to carry a panorama of Millaa Millaa Falls on its letterhead from 1959. This marks the beginning of the journey of 'the most perfect of waterfalls' toward iconic status. This was a slow process due to the problems associated with publicising the region and in 1971 only 58% of visitors were viewing the region's waterfalls. In 1972 the Falls graced the front page of a tourism brochure advertising the Atherton Tableland and Cooktown. In recent years the Falls have been used in commercials for national and international companies as diverse as Qantas, Indian Lotto and Korean electrical company Samsung. For these commercials the Falls were made more 'natural' and beautiful through the laying of turf down to the waters edge over paved or bare areas, and the application of more moss and ferns on the face of the waterfall which accentuated the basaltic columns of its face. (see Figures 10.26 and 10.27) Today, images of the Millaa Millaa Falls adorn the walls of many of the State's domestic and international airports in much the same way that images of the Barron Falls adorned the walls of shipping companies and railway stations at the beginning of the 20th century.

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64 The Association moved to establish road signage for directing visitors to Millaa Millaa Falls, Rawson's Pool and Zillie and Elinjaa Falls in 1954. See Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Millaa Millaa & District Progress Association, 18 November 1954.
65 The secretary ordered 1,000 quarto sized letterheads from the Cairns Post with a stereo made from a photograph of the Millaa Millaa Falls for printing on the letterheads. See Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Millaa Millaa & District Progress Association, 20 January 1955.
67 Tableland Tourist Association, Tropical Atherton Tableland, Queensland, Australia: the north's gateway to Cooktown, 1972, no publishing details, front cover.
68 C. Jacoby, HI 3281 Essay, James Cook University, 2003.
Millaa Millaa Falls today

Today, Millaa Millaa Falls is a highly structured site but unlike the Malanda Falls site improvements are less regimented and lend themselves to a more ‘natural’ waterfall experience. The site is divided into two levels, the carpark level and the Falls level, separated by a grass covered bank (see Figures 10.28 and 10.29) and bounded by remnant rainforest. (see Figure 10.30) On the north-western side of the carpark level is a monument to Christie Palmerston honouring his passage through the area in 1882 (see Figure 10.31) two information boards contained in small galvanised steel shelter sheds with tin roofs, (see Figure 10.32) rubbish tins, a barbeque area, and a picnic shed. On the north-eastern side of the carpark is a toilet block. (see Figure 10.33) A fence is located along the top of the bank and a mix of native and exotic plants decorates the top of the bank outside the fence. (see Figures 10.34 and 10.35) Relatively steep concrete stairs with a galvanised steel rail lead down to the lower bank and the pool. (see Figure 10.36) These replaced the stone stairs and post and timber railing in 2002. (see Figure 10.23 above) A one metre wide concrete path leads to a paved area in front of the Fall’s pool, (see Figure 10.37) from which there is a 30 centimetre drop to a sandy ‘beach’ and the water. The eastern side of the path is lined with native bushes and ginger. The pool is surrounded on three sides by rainforest, and the edges of the pool and the base of the Falls are lined with thick clumps of ginger. (see Figure 10.38) The western side of the lower level is the wettest part of the site with Theresa Creek flowing through this area. Narrow grass paths, lined with ginger lead along the banks of the Creek. A narrow gravelled track with a minimal stone retaining wall leads from the toilets to the Falls themselves through the rainforest.
Figure 10.26: Millaa Millaa Falls being 'prepared' for filming, c. 2002. (Catherine Jacoby)
Figure 10.27: The film crew shooting commercial, c. 2002. (Catherine Jacoby)
Figure 10.29: Grassed bank with carpark in background, 2004.

Figure 10.30: Remnant rainforest bounding Falls carpark, 2004.
Figure 10.31: Christie Palmerston Memorial Plaque, 2004.

Figure 10.32: Information boards, 2004.
Figure 10.33: Toilet blocks on north-eastern side of site, 2004.
Figure 10.34: Fences on either side of stair way leading to Falls level of site, 2004.
Figure 10.35: Detail of post. 2004.
Figure 10.36: Concrete stairs with galvanised steel rail leading from carpark to Falls level of site. Note the native bushes and ginger lining the path, 2004.
Figure 10.37: Paved area in front of the Falls pool, 2004.

Figure 10.38: Clumps of ginger and rainforest on the edges of the pool, 2004.
The ‘Jungle,’ Malanda

The ‘Jungle’ is located on Monash Avenue, Malanda, near the Catholic Church. It is a
patch of rainforest approximately half a kilometre from Malanda Falls. Purchased in 1908
in its ‘natural’ state by James English, the ‘Jungle’ was developed and opened to
travellers in 1920.69 Living on this land in traditional shelters were about 200
Aborigines. Rather than displace them, James employed a number of them as guides and
to demonstrate Aboriginal culture to the tourists.70 A boomerang throwing area was
located next to the small Aboriginal village.71 These Aborigines in their ‘natural state’
were essentially a part of the tourists’ rainforest experience as were the aviaries, wallaby
and bandicoot pens. The entrance to the ‘Jungle’ was located beyond the Aboriginal
village and animal pens, which attracted the tourists’ attention. On either side of the
entrance James English planted around 20 varieties of bananas, many obtained from
Papua New Guinea.72 (see Figure 10.39) Immediately behind the entrance were large
clumps of bamboo which he planted because of its appeal to tourists.

Set in 30 hectares of ‘natural scrub’ with a circuitous track, the sights included 150
varieties of labelled timber trees;73 Aboriginal ‘mia mias’; scrub turkey nests; an
Aboriginal trap for catching scrub turkeys; an extensive fernery at the entrance displaying

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69 The first reference to the ‘Jungle’ appeared in Pictorial Grandeur of Cairns, North Queensland: tourist
playground of the tropics, 1920, no publishing details.
70 Pers. Comm., Tom English, Monash Avenue, Malanda, 7 April 2005. During the 1920s many of the
Aborigines from the Malanda area and elsewhere were removed to Palm Island. After this ‘resettlement’
around 12 Aborigines were left in the area, some of which were employed by James English. E. Toohey,
From Bullock Team, p. 86.
72 Ibid.
73 These included Queensland maple, silver maple, silky oak, red oak, white oak, black oak, pink silky oak,
black walnut, white walnut, yellow walnut, white beech, quandong, brown beech, pendas, and strangler
figs. Cairns Harbour Board, Cairns and District, North Queensland, pp. 74 - 75
tree ferns, tassel ferns, staghorns and orchids; an aviary containing local birds,\textsuperscript{74} and enclosures containing marsupials and a tree climbing kangaroo. Prior to the tour all Aboriginal instruments and food stuff and their various uses were explained by a guide, and Aborigines put on boomerang throwing and tree climbing demonstrations for visitors.\textsuperscript{75} (see Figures 10.39 to Figure 10.43) Aboriginal tree climbing skills were particularly admired by tourists as were glimpses of the tree kangaroo:

... [Jimmy] led the way to a tall tree, to whose trunk his dog had been tethered all night. Jimmy had located a ‘boongarry’\textsuperscript{76} among the higher branches, and had left his dog on guard. The active little man ascended the tree in the age-old blackfellow manner. With the aid of a lawyer-vine rope, knotted at one end, and a tomahawk, he walked up to the lowermost bough. Twisting one end of the rope around his right arm, he threw the other end about the tree trunk, catching it in his left hand. Then he leaned back, with his right foot planted against the pole. The rest was easy. Step by step, Jimmy went upwards, at each step loosening the rope and jerking the loop higher. Several times he paused to cut a toe-hold in the thick bark. This involved unwinding the palm-stem rope from his right arm and twisting it around his thigh, thus freeing the right hand. The tomahawk, when not in use, was carried across his mouth, the handle being firmly gripped by two rows of strong teeth needing no dentist’s attention.

We lost sight of Jimmy; but soon after his disappearance among dense foliage more than 100 feet from the ground, he commenced to shower twigs at the ‘boongarry’ and shout ‘Shoo! Shoo!’ From its perch about a dozen feet above Jimmy, the animal looked down, sized up the situation, and remained aloft. Not until the blackfellow had climbed a neighbouring tree and pelted it with fairly heavy branchlets, did it leave its perch. Sliding down, tail foremost, to a horizontal branch, the ‘boongarry’ jumped to the ground, a distance of 60 feet, and hopped away as nimbly as a frightened pademelon...\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{74} These included cat birds, satin bower birds, rifle birds, green winged pigeons, doves, bronze wing pigeons, Torres Strait pigeons, king parrots, rosellas, stone curlews, budgengars, and finches. \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.} Jackie Cattle Camp and Jackie Parkey provided the tree climbing demonstrations during the 1930s. C. Chrisises, \textit{Queensland Journey}, pp. 231 – 232.

\textsuperscript{76} According to Barrett ‘Boongarry’ is the Aboriginal name for the Tableland’s tree kangaroo. The tree kangaroo was described by naturalist Carl Lumboltz C. Barrett, \textit{The Sunlit Land}, p. 135.

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 136 – 137.
Figure 10.39: Entrance to the 'Jungle' with Aboriginal performer Davey Douglas, 1971. (Tom English, Malanda)
Figure 10.40: Aboriginal shelters at the 'Jungle,' 1930s. (P08719, Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 10.41: Aborigine climbing tree at the ‘Jungle,’ 1930s. (P02266, Cairns Historical Society)
Many rainforest trees were planted by James and visits by notables were commemorated by the planting of trees. Cricketer Don Bradman's visit to the attraction in 1931 with the Kippax team was marked by the planting of two kauri trees.78

Located in the heart of the 'Jungle' was a tearoom which was a functional 52 by 12 feet open shed with a concrete floor79 and a tin roof. Attached to one end of the tearoom was a kitchen and behind was a toilet block.80 The surrounding undergrowth was cleared and trees adorned with a variety of ferns obtained each weekend from Mount Bartle Frere by James English and his Aboriginal workers.81 In front of the tearoom was the corroboree area. Here a display of singing and dancing was staged for visitors as they enjoyed Mrs. English's renowned scones and tea. The head dancer and singer was Davey Douglas who enjoyed a fearsome reputation as the "...last known cannibal..."82 (see Figure 10.39 above) He was brought from Mornington Island in the 1960s to teach the guides performance skills.83 Occasionally the English children were painted by Davey and participated in the performance. Apparently tourists were unaware that they were not Aborigines.84 Photographs of the 'Jungle' appeared in tourism literature from the 1930s. The most enduring image was that of the tree climbing demonstration, appearing in magazines such as Walkabout.85 (see Figure 10.41 above)

79 Cairns Harbour Board, Cairns and District, North Queensland, pp. 74 – 75.
81 Many of the ferns displayed at the 'Jungle' were rare and did not grow there naturally. Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
Figure 10.42: The Penda – among the tall trees in the Jungle at Malanda, 1937. Note the label at the base of the tree, ‘the Penda’ and the large rope for tree climbing displays. (North Queensland Register, Christmas Edition, 1937)
Figure 10.43: Group of people including Aboriginal workers standing in front of 'the Penda' tree, 1930s. James English is second from the left. (Tom English, Malanda)
The ‘Jungle’ was showcased at the Brisbane offices of the Railways Department in the 1920s and 1930s. (see Figure 10.44) Much of the praise in tourism literature, tree climbing kangaroos and Aborigines aside, was showered upon the large number and variety of ferns seen at the ‘Jungle’:

...the walk through the Jungle is a sheer delight. The ferns especially are bewildering in their number and variety. Here is the somersault-fern...which grows upside down...boots lace, coral, tassel, riband, mare’s tail...and dozens of other fascinating specimens...86

Other descriptions tended to point to the curious and unique aspects of the ‘Jungle’ with a hint of Romanticism sometimes evident:

...it is a novel, attractive, and delightfully restful playground of Nature. To the tourist and Nature lover it is a sylvan Paradise. Here is the sanctuary of the many tropic wild birds and animals, carefully preserved from destruction. A large and intelligent party of Aboriginals will point out to visitors the resting places and feeding trees of the Climbing Kangaroos...deep in the jungle a fine little kiosk, with ample seating accommodation, will provide an attractive rest or writing room...87

By the 1930s the ‘Jungle’ was included in a tour offered by Whitecars which included a trip to the Malanda Falls and the Butter Factory.88 Despite changes in the nature of the attraction after World War II, which saw the death of James English and the release of the birds from the aviaries, the ‘Jungle’ remained enormously popular under the stewardship of James’ son Patrick (Paddy) English. During the 1950s and 1960s it was part of the ‘Grand Tour’ and the ‘Tropic Wonderland Tour’89 and was part of the

86 C. Christesen, Queensland Journey, p. 231.
87 J.J. Hannahan, Malanda, North Queensland, and its Hotel, circa 1935, pp. 7 – 8. J.J. Hannahan was James English’s son-in-law and proprietor of the Malanda Hotel.
88 The fare from Yungaburra was 7/6, based on parties of five or more. A Cordial Welcome, p. 34.
89 QGTB, Tour No. Q9: the Grand Tour, no page number.
Figure 10.44: Poster used to advertise the 'Jungle' in Brisbane's Department of Railways Office during the 1920s and 1930s. (Tom English, Malanda)
‘Atherton Tableland Circular Tour’ in the mid 1960s.\footnote{This full day tour operated 3 days per week. During the tourist season it operated 5 days at a cost of S$5.50 adult and S$2.75 child. The tour started in Cairns, ascended the Kuranda Range and visited the Mareeba tobacco growing area then proceeded to the Curtain Fig Tree, the Crater Lakes and the ‘Jungle’ before returning to Cairns by the Gillies Highway. See ‘Atherton Tableland Circular Tour,’ in \textit{Cairns Pioneer Scenic Day Tours}, (Brisbane, 1966), no page number.} A number of travel writers visited the ‘Jungle. They provided quite spare descriptions of it. George McLean described it as “...an interesting and fascinating place of rare beauty and tranquility...”\footnote{G. McLean, \textit{On Earth as it is}, pp. 24 – 25.} and the normally verbose Charles Barrett viewed it as “...50 acres of forest...in primeval state, save for tracks and a scenic road, and where the boongarry and other jungle dwellers are at home...”\footnote{C. Barrett, \textit{The Sunlit Land}, p. 136.} These authors were clearly not playing on the Romantic theme of most rainforest attractions.

Unlike other rainforest attractions such as ‘Fairyland’ and the ‘Maze,’ the ‘Jungle’ was able to reinvent itself and continue into the 1970s. From its inception the ‘Jungle’ was quite a different rainforest experience for visitors: it was an educative experience. There were few hints of Romanticism discernable in descriptions of the ‘Jungle,’ nor were descriptions overly ‘scientific.’ Rather, the curious and fascinating aspects of the rainforest and Aboriginal culture were highlighted. Another point of difference between this and other jungle attractions was that James English employed Aborigines to demonstrate the use of their food stuffs and equipment, tree climbing, and as guides through the 30 hectare property. (see Figure 10.45) During the 1970s under the guidance of Peter English, James’ great-grandson, the ‘Jungle’ continued to educate its visitors and he added a theatrical touch with:
...camouflaged warriors emerging threateningly from 'the Jungle'...
demonstrations of weapons, ambush and hunting techniques, tree climbing with
lawyer vine, fire making with sticks, domestic life in mia mia and corroboree
dances... 93

Prince Charles enjoyed this touch of theatre when he visited in 1971. (see Figure 10.46)

During the 1970s the 'Jungle' became unviable. It conformed to the new ecological
paradigm, but Christine Oravec's (1981) study of the establishment of American
wilderness areas as sights points to the educative features of attractions such as the
'Jungle' actually contributing to its demise. She suggests that once national parks
became established and visitors became more familiar and comfortable with 'nature,'
tourists began to resist participating in formal guided tours because to do so might seem
unsophisticated and ignorant. 94

Another significant factor in the demise of the 'Jungle' during the 1970s was complaints
received from tour leaders that the Aboriginal guides were in a state of inebriation and
unable to perform demonstrations and performances. 95 Prior to this decade Aborigines
had been prevented from purchasing alcohol legally. Despite the closure of the 'Jungle' it
did not fade from local memory. During the 1980s, Tom English in keeping with the
family's tradition of community involvement and the area's emphasis on tourism as the
engine for growth and development, allowed the 'Jungle' to be used in a collaborative

93 Tropic Wonderland Attractions, Cairns and the Tropical Wonderland, (Kuranda, circa 1970), no page
number.
project to train students as interpretive rainforest tour guides, involving Malanda High School, the TAFE College and the Wet Tropics Management Authority.96

96 A. Statham, Cows in the Vine Scrub, p. 306.
Figure 10.45: A group of James English's Aboriginal workers, 1930s. (Tom English, Malanda)
The 'Jungle' today

The 'Jungle' is still owned by the English family and a sign marks its presence near the Catholic Church. (see Figure 10.47) Behind this sign are the two large clumps of bamboo planted by James English in the 1930s. (see Figure 10.48) The tracks through the rainforest remain cleared and in good condition and it is still possible to follow the same route as early tourists. (see Figure 10.49) A number of the original trees remain such as the 'Pisa Penda,' so named by James English because of its lean. (see Figure 10.50) The Kauri trees planted by Don Bradman in 1931 are now over 70 years old and like true rainforest giants they have won the quest for light, standing taller than many surrounding trees. The most common tree to be found is the Penda tree, a number of which have been taken over by Strangler Figs. (see Figure 10.51) Some of the trees lining the walking tracks still show the nail holes where ferns were attached in the 1930s. (see Figure 10.52) The areas cleared of undergrowth in the past to showcase large trees and ferns are clearly discernible as they have now been overrun by lawyer cane. This is particularly obvious around the tearoom.

Little of the physical infrastructure remains. Near the original entrance is the remains of a barn used to store feedstuff for the birds and marsupials. (see Figure 10.53) Two upright posts mark the original entrance to the 'Jungle.' (see Figure 10.54) All that remains of the tearoom, which was still standing in the 1980s, is the concrete foundations, one post and steps down to the toilet area. (see Figure 10.55) The corroboree area in front of the tearoom has remained clear of undergrowth. (see Figure 10.56)
While the 'Jungle' no longer appears on tourists itineraries and has not received tourists since the 1970s, it is interesting to note the role that this attraction plays in two of the most recent brochures promoting the Malanda area. Both infer that the attraction is still open and highlight the visit of Don Bradman and the Kippax team in the 1930s:

...the English family's 30 ha Malanda Jungle has been welcoming visitors, including the nation's notable sportsmen and royalty since the 1920s. The Kippax team of the 1930s, which included a young Don Bradman, all planted trees in this precinct – that now, have become jungle giants in their own right...\(^7\) The 'Jungle' is promoted as 'one of Australia's first ecotourism ventures' although today visitors to Malanda can only view the rainforest at the Malanda Environmental Park adjacent to the Malanda Falls.\(^8\)

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\(^7\) *Welcome to Cairns Highlands: Kuranda, Mareeba, Atherton & Tablelands*, circa 2004, no publishing details, p. 39

\(^8\) *Atherton Tablelands Promotion Bureau, Discover the Cairns Highlands*, p. 41.
Figure 10.46: Prince Charles enjoying a theatrical moment with 'Charlie' during his 1971 visit to Australia. (Tom English, Malanda)
Figure 10.47: Entrance to the 'Jungle' today, 2005.
Figure 10.48: Clumps of bamboo planted by James English in the 1930s, 2005.
Figure 10.49: Tom English pointing out original tracks through the 'Jungle,' 2005
Figure 10.50: The 'Pisa Penda,' 2005.
Figure 10.51: The colonisation of a Penda by a Strangler Fig, 2005.
Figure 10.52: Ferns were attached to many trees during the 1930s. Note the dark areas on the trunk caused by nails used to attach the ferns, 2005.
Figure 10.53: Remains of a barn used to store animal foodstuff, 2005.

Figure 10.54: The remains of the original entrance to the 'Jungle.' Note the two upright posts in the centre of the photograph, 2005.
Figure 10.55: Concrete foundations and post marking the site of the tearooms, 2005.
Figure 10.56: The Corroboree area in front of the tearoom, 2005.
CHAPTER 11: Green Island and the Underwater Observatory

Introduction

Green Island has been important to the development of tourism since the 1950s, being one of only two resorts on the Reef proper, and because it is the closest coral cay resort to any port.¹ The Island remains the only place ‘...where the general public can, at relatively low cost and within day-tripping distance of the mainland, view and enjoy the natural attractions of the Great Barrier Reef...’²

Over time visitors’ motives for visiting Green Island have changed from wanting an ‘island resort’ experience to the desire for a ‘reef experience.’ As a result the Island is one of the few on the Great Barrier Reef which has sustained almost continuous human impact.³ For well over 100 years, and particularly since the 1930s, visitors have engaged in activities such as reef walking, camping, picnicking, collecting coral, shells and other marine life, and fishing. (see Figure 11.1)

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¹ Green Island Underwater Observatory Pty Ltd, Proposal to Revitalise the Underwater Observatory at Green Island, Queensland: a public environment report for the Department of The Arts, Sport, The Environment, Tourism and Territories, Canberra, 1989, p. 3.
³ Ibid., p. 11.
Figure 11.1: Exposed coral reef which tourists enjoyed walking and fossicking upon, circa 1930s. (*Cairns the Tropical Wonderland*, 1961)
**Geomorphology**

Green Island and its surrounding reef are now part of the Green Island Marine Park which covers an area of about 3,000 hectares.\(^4\) Around 2,000 reefs make up the Great Barrier Reef which is 200,000\(^2\) kilometres long. The Reef has been formed from the skeletons of various marine creatures over millions of years. The Great Barrier Reef is believed to have developed after falling sea levels caused the continental shelf to emerge, followed by a period of rising sea levels, which led to the formation of large platform reefs on the continental shelf.\(^5\) The reefs were formed during the Pleistocene, about 1 million years ago, and the main phases of reef growth occurred after that between 10,000 to 20,000 years ago.\(^6\) Co-existing with the Reef are minute organisms and crustaceans which are food upon which corals subsist. Darting amongst the corals, anemones and sponges are a large variety of vividly coloured fish including clown fish, demoiselle fish, zebra fish, trigger fish, parrot fish and harlequin fish. Larger reef fish include trevally, coral trout and red emperor.

Green Island’s reef is considered biologically second-rate, and damaged by its long history of tourism. According to Queensland’s National Parks service, who now administers it, it is:

... neither an outstanding reef in the biological sense or representative of a geological optimum of reef development. However, [it is] visually attractive and capable of providing a good experience of the Great Barrier Reef. Its prime value lies in the reef's ready accessibility and potential to

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allow the general public to view, study and enjoy an example of the Great Barrier Reef system.\textsuperscript{7}

Green Island is a 12 hectare coral cay surrounded by a reef. It is 660 metres long, 260 metres wide and 1.6 kilometres in circumference.\textsuperscript{8} Located on the inner side of the Great Barrier Reef, it is 27 kilometres from Cairns. In effect, it is a sand island sitting on a platform reef. It rises 4.5 meters above sea level at its highest point and has virtually no topographic relief.\textsuperscript{9} It is vegetated with closed vine forest reaching 25 metres in places. This type of vegetation is typical of mainland Queensland and is sometimes found on coral cays.\textsuperscript{10} The vegetation on the developed part of the island is in relatively poor condition due to human impact and development.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Tourism development on Green Island}

Green Island was ‘discovered’ in 1770 by Captain James Cook and until around 1900 was the site of bêche-de-mer stations,\textsuperscript{12} shipwrecks\textsuperscript{13} and confrontations.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Ibid., p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Ibid., p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{10} Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{11} QNPWS, Green Island Management Plan, p. 16.
\item \textsuperscript{12} In 1857 a bêche-de-mer station was established on the island by J.S.V Mein. Facilities included a palm thatched storehouse, two houses for the Pacific Island workers and one for the European workers. They cleared the centre of the island and planted seeds from the Sydney Botanical Gardens. This was the first recorded European settlement and commercial activity in the Cairns area. The station closed around 1858 due to the effects of a cyclone. George Lawson, more commonly known as Yorkey, after whom Yorkeys Knob was named, had a station on the island around 1875. D. Jones, “The History of Green Island,” \textit{The Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland}, 1975 – 76, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 91 – 92, 95. During the 1890s there were two bêche-de-mer stations on the island, one run by a Canadian named Wilson and the other by George Kellaway. Kellaway’s station employed 22 Islanders and at least two European men. Kellaway also had a small boat building operation. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 97.
\item \textsuperscript{13} A number of ships have sunk near Green Island: the \textit{Anagoneist} in May 1863 with all lives lost; the \textit{Blue Jacket} in September 1885; the \textit{Upolu} in March 1886 with 5 people rescued; the \textit{Idalia} in June 1886 with all lives lost; and the \textit{Deodar} in June 1887 with all lives saved. J. Martin, \textit{History of Green Island: the place of spirits}, (Cairns, 1993), pp. 16 – 18.
\end{itemize}
between Europeans and Aborigines. Despite it being described at one point as a "...place of no particular beauty... covered in shoulder high burrs...", excursionists from Cairns travelled to the island to picnic, camp and fish during the 1880s and 1890s. Fijian style grass huts were built for accommodation and coconuts were planted. Attitudes toward the island have not always been favourable due to its history. During the 1880s the conflicts there between Aborigines and Europeans, for example, prompted the local newspaper to describe Green Island as "... bright outside as the apple of Sodom... and often rotten inside..." Despite this ambivalence by 1913 tourism literature was describing it as a favourite fishing and bathing place with good camping grounds, coral reefs and an abundance of Torres Straits pigeons in the shooting season, and locals were camping there in increasing numbers.

During the 1920s the Cairns City Council established facilities on the island including a cottage, water tanks, toilets and a dressing shed to cater for visitors and camping parties numbering up to 200 during holiday periods. The cottage was probably built to house a series of caretakers from around 1905 until the mid

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14 In 1873 beche-de-mer fishermen, William Rose and William White were killed by their Palm Island workers. Later in the year four fishermen were killed and in 1874 an undetermined number of fishermen were killed on the island. *Ibid.*, p. 95. In 1905 the island was the scene of conflict between Europeans and Reverend Gribble of Yarrabah Aboriginal Mission Station. Gribble wanted to use Green Island as a source of coconuts for copra and expand the Mission's fishing activities. Cairns Chamber of Commerce vetoed this request as they felt that the presence of Aborigines on the island would dissuade Europeans from visiting the area. *Ibid.*, p. 19. A small graveyard containing the remains of beche-de-mer fishermen is located at the northern tip of the island. *Ibid.*, p. 24.


16 In 1888 a party of 15 men travelled from Cairns to camp on the island. *Cairns Argus*, 21 March 1888, p. 2.


19 *Picturesque Travel*, no. 3, p. 22.

20 *Cairns Argus*, 5 January 1908, p. 4. 100 campers camped on the island over the Christmas and New Year period that year.

21 *Cairns Argus*, 23 July 1925, p. 5 & 29 December 1920, p. 4.
1930s.22 (see Figure 11.2) Their responsibilities included tending to coconut palms and fruit trees planted on the island,23 preventing the removal of coral and shells, and curbing the growing vandalism problem.24 Ironically, at least one caretaker was removed from his position for the very practices he was supposed to prevent.25 However, some visitors viewed the resident caretakers as among the ‘sights of the island.’ Frank Dalby Davison described Kit Petrie thus:

...one of the sights of boat day was to see Kit Petrie...come down from his cottage to meet the little craft. He had to transact official business and believed in doing it in a manner befitting the dignity of his office and in attire suitable to the time and place...[with] his sharply creased white shorts obviously put on since the boat came into view, his silk shirt, freshly laundered, and open at the neck, and his pith helmet that rivalled the Antarctic snows in its whiteness, he made a commanding figure among the bundle-laden rabble that streamed from the boat...26

By the 1930s Green Island was seen as North Queensland’s ‘...jewel...’27 This decade saw the development of tourism infrastructure begin in earnest on the western end of the island. While tourism interests such as the Queensland

22 The island’s first caretaker appears to have been George Lawson (Yorkey), who resided there from about 1905 until his death in 1907. J. Martin, History of Green Island, p. 21. In 1910 there were two caretakers: Mr. Keith and G. Thomas. Cairns Argus, 16 February 1910, p. 5 & 22 June 1910, p. 5. In 1911 John Garland became caretaker. Ibid., 12 November 1911, p. 2. In 1924 the position was filled by John McDonnell. Cairns Post, 4 December 1924, p. 4. For the period 1929 to 1931 Clement Armitage Salmon held the position. J. Martin, History of Green Island, p. 39. The longest lasting caretaker appears to have been J.K. Petrie who resided there from 1932 until at least 1937. Cairns Post, 20 January 1932, p. 4. By this time the Cairns City Council was insisting that the caretaker be married ‘...so that the general public, and especially visitors, may justly expect more accommodation than formerly...’ The caretaker was also expected to keep the island clean and provide refreshments for visitors at prices regulated by the Council. ‘Green Island,’ Northern Affairs, 5 February 1932, p. 15.

23 Yorkey ‘tended’ the coconut palms planted on the island prior to 1900, although they require no care. This was probably in response to Yarrabah Mission’s Reverend Gribble who wanted to harvest the island’s coconuts for copra. Yorkey’s wage was £20 per year. J. Martin, History of Green Island, pp. 19 & 21. Cairns Post, 29 June 1910, p. 4.

24 Ibid., 29 December 1920, p. 5.

25 In 1931 Clement Salmon was sacked for setting fire to the undergrowth to rid the area of sandflies and mosquitoes and for selling coral and shells without permission. J. Martin, History of Green Island, p. 39. His actions, particularly the selling of shells and coral prompted a series of letters between the Town Clerk and government departments. See letter dated 12 November 1929 from Town Clerk Cairns to the Under Secretary, Treasury, Brisbane, & letter dated 13 August 1931 from the Office of the Commissioner of Railways to the Secretary of the Marine Board, Brisbane, in SRS/146/1: item 2 Permit protecting coral and surrounds of Green Island, Folder 2. QSA.

26 F. Dalby Davison & B. Nicholls, Blue Coast Caravan, p. 279.

Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB) were keen to increase visits to Green Island, lack of facilities such as a jetty, picnic tables and chairs, and regular ferry services were drawbacks. The Cairns City Council favoured the development of Fitzroy Island over Green Island, but by 1933 had constructed a jetty and a kiosk, and established camping sites. Camping on the island was discontinued in 1964.

As noted earlier, island ferry services became more frequent and regular from the 1930s when a fortnightly service was offered. It was not however until the late 1950s that daily tours were introduced. Visitors were able to go reef walking and shell collecting and view coral and fish through Hayles' 'glass bottomed floats.' These 'floats' or glass bottom boxes floated alongside the row boat. They had to be held close to the boat to exclude flashes of sunlight from the water. 'Floats' were replaced by glass bottom boats in 1937 when Blake Hayles designed and introduced the world's first glass bottom boat which opened "...the gates to a marine paradise... [where] the beauty and variety of underwater life exceeded the bounds of imagination... " The glass bottom boats were popular with postcard publishers and cartoonists. (see Figures 11.3 and 11.4) In

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28 Ibid., 12 July 1930, p. 4.
29 V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, pp. 47 – 50. The first jetty constructed in 1933 was a wooden jetty. This was destroyed by a cyclone in 1945 and was replaced by another wooden jetty which was subsequently destroyed by borers. J. Martin, *History of Green Island*, p. 28. It was not until 1961 that a three berth concrete jetty was constructed. This was under the control of the Department of Harbours and Marine with the maintenance of the jetty being the responsibility of the lessee of the Coral Cay Hotel. Economic Associates Australia, *Green Island Economic Study*, p. 16.
31 The Cairns City Council granted a licence to remove coral from an area within a one-mile radius of the low water mark around Green Island in 1932. This applied until 1945. Ibid., p. A.1.
32 V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, pp. 13 & 51.
33 F. Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, p. 280.
34 Cairns Post, *Growing With Cairns*, 1997, p. 96. The glass bottom boat oarsman for some 15 to 20 years was Olly Lindberg. A.C.C. Lock, *People We Met*, pp. 308 & 310. R. 827 was leased to Hayles in 1937 for the glass bottom boat service. This lease was cancelled in 1953. QNPWS, Appendix A, in "Green Island Management Plan," pp. A.1 & A.2.
Figure 11.2: Green Island Cottage, 1928. (P1587, Cairns Historical Society)
the mid 1950s one glass bottom boat with a 40-passenger capacity was used to view the coral.\footnote{Arrangements for landing at Barrier Reef Islands: Oronsay Cruise 24, circa 1955, p. 6.}

Viewing the reef by this means continued to be popular. By 1980 70\% of the island’s visitors were viewing the reef in five boats with a capacity of 26 persons each.\footnote{The tour lasted 30 minutes and cost $2 per adult and $1 per child. Three of the boats were owned by Hayles Cruises and the other two by Green Island Seateal Cruises. ONPWS, “Green Island Management Plan,” p. 35.} Despite this tour being rated highly by tourists, a number of deficiencies were noted including long queues during the peak season, lack of passenger comfort and an inadequate commentary.\footnote{Ibid., p. 98.} Today glass bottom boat tours are still a very popular way of viewing the reef. (see Figures 11.5 and 11.6) Commentated tours on an outboard skiff with a tin canopy reveal the diversity of the reef and its coral gardens and marine life, “...with the added fun of lively fish feeding...”\footnote{Big Cat Green Island Cruises, Welcome Aboard Reef Rocket: tips on today activities, safety and snorkelling, circa 2004, no page number. The cost of a glass bottom boat tour today is $5.} Delays have been minimised by the introduction of tickets specifying tour times.

Local tourism interests were keen to enhance visitors’ enjoyment and knowledge of Green Island and its marine environment. The North Queensland Naturalists Club along with the Cairns and Tableland Publicity Association organised a system of guided tours to provide information on the geology, and flora and fauna of the reef and island.\footnote{V. Kennedy, Cairns North Queensland, pp. 47 – 51. The provision of guides at various locations does not appear to be an unusual practice in the Cairns region. In 1925 for example guides were available at Kuranda to take visitors to the township’s attractions. Cairns Harbour Board, Nineteenth Annual Report and Statement, 1925, p. 26.} They often had to counter the disappointment of visitors
Figure 11.3: Viewing the coral in a glass bottom boat, circa 1940s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 11.4: ‘Charlie’s Glass- Bottom Tours,’ circa 1940s. (E. Mercier, Sydney Daily Sun, undated. Cairns Historical Society)
Figure 11.5: Glass bottom boat, Green Island, 2005.
when the reef did not live up to expectations.⁴⁰ This disappointment would have been exacerbated by the garish colours in coloured pictures and painted onto dead coral souvenirs which made the real reef look so much less colourful. The guided tour initiative, implemented briefly in 1933 and again in 1935, was seemingly doomed from the outset due to the “...passive resistance of numerous concerns catering for such tourists…”⁴¹ The few people who experienced a guided tour were enthusiastic:

...I loved every minute of it, and I never imagined there were so many thrilling and interesting things in the sea. I was very grateful to you for giving up your afternoon for us, as we probably would not have gone further than the beach on our own. It was wonderful having everything shown and explained to us. The thing I found most interesting...was the coral feeding...⁴²

Local efforts to educate visitors continued until at least 1952 when the Board of Adult Education was providing guided tours of the island, although not all year-round.⁴³ Attempts to educate the public continued erratically and in 1979 Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Rangers began to conduct occasional guided reef tours.⁴⁴

Green Island’s first resident naturalist was Bruce Cummings who leased a portion of the island during the 1930s, with the aim of studying the reef and using his findings to educate visitors. He established a laboratory to examine marine species microscopically⁴⁵ and built an aquarium containing box fish, anemone,

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⁴⁰ V. Kennedy, Cairns North Queensland, p. 31.
⁴³ Cairns ‘Queen City of the North’: jubilee year souvenir, 1876 – 1951, (Townsville, circa 1951), p. 25.
⁴⁵ F. Davidson & B. Nicholls, Blue Coast Caretten, pp. 271 & 281. Bruce Cummings was granted Informal Lease 2242 for his residence and photographic studies for the period 1937 to 1939. QNPWS, Appendix A in “Green Island Management Plan,” p. A 1.
prawns, mollusks, octopus, coral, crabs and bêche-de-mer.\textsuperscript{46} He filmed the reef's marine life with a view to making a half-hour film to educate the public.\textsuperscript{47}

In the early 1940s serious development of the island as a resort began when the Hayles family established a guest house, a kiosk including a dining room, three cottages, eight 'tents' with wooden floors and iron cladding, and the first purpose built attraction on the island, an aquarium.\textsuperscript{48} The complex provided accommodation for 90 people.\textsuperscript{49} Hayles installed caretakers Walter and Elsie Scott to run the guesthouse in 1941.\textsuperscript{50} The improvements to the accommodation were probably in response to the popularity of the island with American and Australian soldiers during World War II, when parties would travel to the island on the \textit{Merinda}. These first buildings formed the basis of the 'Coral Cay Hotel' built in the 1960s by Hayles. (see Figure 11.7) It would appear that much of the accommodation on the island was basic with at least one travel writer seeing an appeal in the primitive conditions.\textsuperscript{51} Honeymooners described it thus:

...we were honeymooners, so imagine our surprise not to be put in our own hut but a big building housing three bedrooms, a lounge area and bathhouse. It appeared to be an old army building with interior walls that went only picture-rail height and the rest covered in mesh. No privacy for us! It was built off the ground with a small flight of stairs allowing access. The bathhouse was connected to rainwater tanks – when one wanted a shower you filled a kerosene tin with water and hauled it up to the roof with a rope and opened a cap in the bottom for water. The dining room was one large building open to the weather – it had an adjoining kiosk where one could buy drinks etc...\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{46} "Current Nature Notes: Green Island Aquarium," \textit{Cairns Post}, 4 September 1936.
\textsuperscript{47} F. Davidson & B. Nicholls, \textit{Blue Coast Caravan}, p. 272.
\textsuperscript{48} J. Wright, \textit{Visiting Green Island}, p. 29. Hayles probably took over the aquarium developed by naturalist Bruce Cummings during the 1930s. "Current Nature Topics: Green Island aquarium," \textit{Cairns Post}, 4 September 1936.
\textsuperscript{50} J. O'Donoghue, \textit{A Magnetic Life}, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{51} A.C.C. Lock, \textit{People We Met}, p. 309.
\textsuperscript{52} J. O'Donoghue, \textit{A Magnetic Life}, p. 79.
Figure 11.6: View of reef fish through glass bottom boat, 2005.
The most important tourism development on the island was the Underwater Observatory. It was designed and constructed in 1954 by Vince Vlasoff and Lloyd Grigg. This was an innovative and world-class attraction, as important to tourism as innovations such as Skyrail are today, allowing visitors access to a ‘fish-eye view’ of the reef. Tourist numbers to Green Island increased markedly after the Observatory opened in 1955 with an average of 100 visitors per day visiting the attraction in its first season of operation. Resembling a large diving chamber it allowed visitors undreamed of access to and views of the Great Barrier Reef. The Observatory is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

Green Island’s remarkable growth in visitor numbers throughout this period can be attributed also to the introduction of other innovative tourist attractions including ‘The Great Barrier Reef Theatre’ and ‘Marineland.’ Leases for these attractions were granted in 1961. ‘The Great Barrier Reef Theatre’ was opened in 1961 by Noel and Kitty Monkman. At the time it was the only theatre in the world located on a coral island. Well known, nationally and internationally, for his pioneer underwater photography, Monkman was a naturalist who shot and screened his own documentaries to educate and entertain visitors about the

56 K. Monkman, Over and Under, p. 93. This was not the first time that the Monkman’s had lived on Green Island. They were there for a short period in 1930 when they lived in a tent and had to import fresh water. However the Cairns City Council lease of £150 per year proved prohibitive and they left, not returning until the 1940s when they were stationed there as volunteer air observers until the end of the war. They returned to the island in 1956 when Noel was appointed Honorary Ranger and Fisheries Inspector. J. Martin, History of Green Island, p. 23 & K. Monkman, Over and Under, p. 2.
wonders of the Reef.\textsuperscript{57} (see Figure 11.8) Covering an area of 835m\(^2\), the lease by 1983 comprised a 196 person capacity theatre, a small retail area for the sale of photographs and publications on the Reef, a dwelling, and storage sheds.\textsuperscript{58} The theatre was renamed ‘Castaways Theatre’ in the 1970s.

In 1979 the Monkman’s lease was acquired by the Queensland Fisheries Service.\textsuperscript{59} The Theatre closed in 1980 as it was struggling to attract visitors and had been excluded from the Island’s package tour due to unfavourable visitor response to the ‘dated’ films being shown.\textsuperscript{60} The late 1980s saw the Theatre open again screening films on the history of the island and the reef and operated by husband-and-wife diving team Rod and Valerie Taylor.\textsuperscript{61} It is not known how long the Theatre remained open after this. Today it is not operating and its buildings have been taken over by the Department of Primary Industries which runs the ‘Noel Monkman Reef Research Station.’ A memorial paying tribute to Noel Monkman’s pioneering efforts in underwater photography is located in front of the Research Station. Kitty Monkman’s ashes are interred beneath the memorial. (see Figure 11.9) A 1980 report recommended that the memorial be preserved as part of the island’s history.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{57} Monkman filmed the first undersea colour film to be made in Australia, filmed at Green Island in 1953. \textit{Cairns Post}, 8 August 1953, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{59} See “Appendix A: History of Green Island and its Reef,” in \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{61} D. Stranger, \textit{Queensland Islands}, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{62} QNPWS, “Green Island Management Plan,” p. 73.
Figure 11.7: ‘Greetings from Cairns: Green Island accommodation set amidst the tropical bush foliage,’ circa 1960s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
'Marineland' was conceived of and built in 1963 by Vince Vlasoff and Lloyd Grigg, developers of the Underwater Observatory. 'Marineland' comprised a series of aquaria known as the 'Fish Arcade', the arrangement of which allowed tourists a close view of the vividly coloured tropical fish, swimming amongst coral and sea anemones. They were housed in a building with a façade shaped like a ship. (see Figure 11.10 and 11.11) The hall containing the aquaria carried the theme further, resembling the interior of a ship below decks. (see Figure 11.12) Turtles, sharks, sea snakes and crocodiles and other large marine specimens were located in ponds at the rear of the main building. Few descriptions of the attraction have been located but invariably it was described in terms of its authentic and educational aspects, and as a photographer's delight. (see Figure 11.13) By 1964 the lease had been taken over by Al Miller, a dentist from Newcastle, who operated it until 1972 when George and Shirley Craig took up the lease and renamed the attraction 'Marineland Melanesia' due to his large collection of Melanesian and Asian art. Covering an area of 4188m² this lease is second in area to that of the Coral Cay Hotel. By 1983, living quarters and a shop had been added to the site, and retail activities had been restricted to souvenirs relating to 'Marineland Melanesia', and the hiring of boats, skis, surfboards and diving equipment. The attraction was facing competition from other aquaria in Cairns, Magnetic Island and the Gold Coast, and Hartley's Creek Zoo had a similar crocodile display.

64 Greetings From Green Island: a tropical coral island on the Great Barrier Reef, circa 1960s, no publishing details, no page numbers.
67 Ibid., p. 37.
Today 'Marineland Melanesia' has a distinctive 'South Sea' islands feel to it. The building design has remained unchanged, with the front housing a gift shop and a large shallow tank. Behind it the 'Fish Arcade' with its nineteen tanks and windows continues to display colourful and unusual tropical fish amongst coral and sea anemones very effectively. (see Figure 11.14) Tourism literature from the 1960s indicates that there were 29 windows and three large pools in this area in which fish could be viewed. A crocodile skull is displayed on a large Melanesian-themed table in the middle of the room. (see Figure 11.15) Much of the Melanesian art, and the crocodile and turtle pools, are housed in open-sided huts imitating Melanesian 'long houses.' (see Figure 11.16) These huts may have been thatched in the past but today have tin roofs. The crocodile enclosures are made of wire and round timber poles set in concrete. (see Figure 11.17) Some of the poles have been roughly dressed indicating that they were removed from the island and are part of the original infrastructure.

As indicated earlier 'Marineland Melanesia' has not always provided a 'South Seas' experience. This change from an ecological to Romantic ambiance appears to have occurred with the Craig's taking over the lease in 1972, signaled by the renaming of 'Marineland' to 'Marineland Melanesia.' While George Craig strengthened the crocodile attraction with his own crocodile hunting expeditions in Papua New Guinea and the introduction of crocodile and turtle breeding programmes, he changed the focus of the attraction considerably with the introduction of his very large collection of Melanesian artifacts along with a

68 Greetings from Green Island.
69 In the past Craig's marine specimens have included sharks. J. Wright, Visiting Green Island, p. 21.
70 Fifty crocodiles were housed at 'Marineland Melanesia' in 1972. Ibid., p. 34.
At Green Island
Great Barrier Reef Theatre
MOVIES IN COLOUR AND SOUND
AMAZING WONDERS OF THE REEF
Produced by NOEL MONKMAN, the world famous
undersea photographer.
SEE THE FANTASTIC LIFE DEEP DOWN MIDST THE
CORAL REEFS.
Wolves of the Sea herding their prey.
Survival in a dangerous world.
Enchanting beauty of Coral Gardens.
The tiny animals that build the massive Coral Reefs.
Myriads of nesting sea birds on Barrier Reef Islands.
Life of the Great Green Turtle.
Colour slides and Post Cards by NOEL MONKMAN
can be purchased only at the THEATRE.

Figure 11.8: Noel Monkman's Great Barrier Reef Theatre. (North Queensland Annual, 1966)
Figure 11.9: Memorial to Noel Monkman on Green Island, under which Kitty Monkman’s ashes are interred, 2005.
Figure 11.10: Exterior of ‘Marineland Melanesia’. (Peer Productions, *Green Island on the Great Barrier Reef*, circa 1970s)

Figure 11.11: Exterior of ‘Marineland Melanesia’, 2005.
smaller selection of Indian and Balinese art, and a collection of antique diving equipment. The art is poorly displayed and conserved, often stacked against walls and standing next to tanks of water, in hot humid conditions. (see Figures 11.18) No interpretation of the art is offered. Craig's crocodile hunting expeditions are the subject of many of the photographs on display. These are labelled with pen or black and white Dymo labels commonly used in the 1970s. (see Figure 11.19) Information about the crocodiles' breeding habits, habitat preferences and feeding practices is supplied by government departments and is mounted next to the enclosures. Crocodile feeding shows are held twice daily. 71

A report prepared in 1980 viewed the crocodiles and the primitive art at 'Marineland Melanesia' as "... incompatible with the natural character of Green Island and its reef..."72 and recommended that they be located elsewhere. The lessee, George Craig, was not compelled under the terms of his lease to remove the crocodiles or art and he has not done so. It has continued to operate and remains an important attraction on Green Island as its aquaria enhance visitors' experience of the reef.73 Marineland Melanesia's billing in current advertising brochures as a "... crocodile and marine life habitat..."74 with only visual reference to the presence of Melanesian art, is curious given the high profile of

72 QNPWS, "Green Island Management Plan," p. 98.
73 ibid.
74 Marineland Melanesia, "Crocodile and Marine Life Habitat," brochure cover.
Figure 11.12: The ‘Fish Arcade’ at Marineland Melanesia, 2005. Note the resemblance to the interior of a ship.
Fabulous MARINELAND
GREEN ISLAND
AUTHENTIC - EDUCATIONAL - INTERESTING

The whole of Marineland is a natural exhibit of life on the Barrier Reef in natural surroundings. Being as life-like Marineland has been used as the authentic background for many T. V. and Magazine Features and this wonderland of Reef Life is the only land aquarium where live coral can be viewed and photographed. Photographers bring your cameras - the conditions are so ideal, you will take photographs you will treasure and be proud to show your friends.

Figure 11.13: "Fabulous Marineland, Green Island." (North Queensland Annual, 1966)
the art throughout the attraction. (see Figure 11.16) It seems that the ‘South Seas’ island image of the 19th century has been completely replaced by the ecological paradigm. However the attraction’s art collection has been described as “...a fascinating collection of artifacts and treasures from the Coral Seas...” which seems to indicate that the image is not completely dead.

‘Marineland Melanesia’ is almost a surreal experience. Once one has passed through the ‘Fish Arcade’ which resembles the inside of a boat and contains only a few examples of Melanesian art, one is jolted into an incongruent, humid and tropical setting containing large fearsome Sepik masks and statues, and scientific explanations of the life and habits of saltwater crocodiles. George Craig’s own art is interspersed amongst the Melanesian artifacts. Executed in the Gauguin or White South Pacific tradition the paintings are not in ‘tropical’ colours, although they may have faded over time. Craig’s use of Melanesian idols and figures in his paintings indicates the influence of Papua New Guinea although a symbolic idol is normally incorporated into a painting to show ‘native’ culture. (see Figure 11.20) The crowding together of large groups of statues in gloomy corners, adjacent to crocodile enclosures and in imitation Melanesian huts, produces a feeling of having ‘stepped back in time.’

While walking in Green Island’s National Park has always been a popular activity it is only in the past 25 to 30 years that infrastructure such as interpretative information and boardwalks has been incorporated into the Park to allow visitors

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75 Great Barrier Marine Park Authority, Environmental Protection Agency & QNPWS, Green Island, National and Marine Park, no page number.
76 Pers. Comm. My thanks to Margaret Genever for her views on these paintings. James Cook University, 18 March 2005.
to gain a richer experience of the island. The late development of this initiative is probably largely due to visitors' preference for viewing the reef and other attractions. By 1983, 1,300 metres of formal walking tracks, some interpretative signs and a number of picnic tables had been established to allow for the "...passive use of the National Park...". Around 70% of visitors were using the Park for bush walking, nature study and picnicking. The Island's public esplanade and beaches were popular for these purposes also. The introduction of formal walking tracks and boardwalks from the 1980s has resulted in tracks traversed by early tourists no longer being used, particularly the tracks that passed through the middle of today's National Park. These tracks were outside Hayles' lease but had been made by tourists over the years as they explored the island. Considerable degradation of native flora had occurred as a result and in the early 1980s the Company planted their lease and the National Park with native species. It is interesting to note that few Romantic touches on the island remain; the 'Paradise Walking Track,' 'Pinsonia Walk,' and 'Pandanus Walk' are now nameless boardwalks or no longer exist. (see Figure 11.21)

Figure 11.14: Fish tanks in the ‘Fish Arcade,’ Marineland Melanesia, 2005.

Figure 11.15: Crocodile skull displayed in the ‘Fish Arcade,’ 2005.
THE CROC SHOW

Our crocodiles primitive instincts come to the fore at feeding time - it's exciting to watch. You will be amazed by their awesome power, and you will understand why they have a reputation as a "Man Killer".

Take this opportunity to handle a 'LIVE' young crocodile and have a photo taken to show your friends. Use your own camera or be professionally photographed by our friendly staff. Your photo is presented in a souvenir frame and available for purchase as you exit at the end of your visit.

Guided Tours are available for groups wishing to learn more about our attractions and the Great Barrier Reef. We look forward to welcoming you to our family owned and operated business.

Figure 11.16: Map showing the layout of Marineland Melanesia. (Marineland Melanesia, Crocodile and Marine Life Habitat, © 2000)
Green Island Underwater Observatory

The Green Island Underwater Observatory is unusual in the tourism history of Cairns. It represents an attraction developed before 1970 as a capital-intensive project resulting in substantial and technologically advanced infrastructure. Only Paronella Park is comparable. These two sites are the most important tourism heritage places dating from the period under study. The establishment of the Observatory gave visitors to the Reef an unprecedented and unimagined view of a fascinating marine wonderland with an endless variety of coral and brilliantly hued fish. Described by one commentator as "... the equivalent of a hundred aquaria all combined into one exotic fairyland..." it allowed visitors to be astonished by the 'enchanted magic realm' revealed through the windows of the Observatory. Others declared that "... for once, the reality exceeded the most glowing accounts I had ever read of the wonders of a coral sea..." It was greeted with seemingly unanimous enthusiasm with one visitor declaring:

...I was born near Niagara Falls, so I've seen them often enough. Since then I've been to 39 countries. I have seen the snow peaks of Mount Everest; I have looked down from the Peak upon the myriads of craft in Hong Kong harbour, and I have stood upon the Great Wall of China, where I allowed my mind to wander because I had studied Chinese history. I have seen the beauty of Rio de Janeiro by night, and I have stood beside the Zambesi Falls and listened to the thunder it makes that you can hear for miles before you get there. But of all those sights, the finest and most thrilling of all has been the Green Island Observatory..."^81^  

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While this may seem overstated today, it must be remembered that snorkelling and diving were rare activities; Noel Monkman was one of the first to use scuba equipment in the region in late 1960s. During the 1970s diving and snorkelling were offered as ‘special interest activities’ in some tourism literature and snorkelling trails and designated diving areas were not established at Green Island until the 1980s. The sense of immediate and intimate connection with underwater life allowed by the Observatory and later, scuba diving, was rare then.

This attraction was seen to enhance the qualities and beauty of both the island and its coral gardens. It was touted as the most fascinating tourist attraction in Australia as spellbound tourists descended into the Observatory and walked as though “...on the silvery sea bed...” The sights revealed by the Observatory had the power to inspire poetry:

Enter through the chamber here
through the portholes you can peer.
You won’t believe the things you see
nor describe them truthfully.
Nor will you fully understand
why things so real are not on land.

Artistry beyond belief
found only on this famous reef.
Folk from distant foreign lands
venture o’er the sea and sands
get hypnotised and cannot leave
the sights they see and can’t believe.

There are no words in use today
fitted for this vast array
of colour, shape and size.
Human senses fail to prove
why such creatures here must move
and lie before your eyes.

85 A.C.C. Lock, Tropical Tapestry, p. 302.
The magic of the coral fronds
forming mystery mermaid ponds.
Here fantastic coloured life
free from ev'ry man-made strife
making the enchanted scene
so many seek, so few have seen.  

The Observatory was the invention of Cairns fisherman and engineer Vince Vlasoff and his partner Lloyd Grigg, a crocodile shooter and hunting guide. Their common interest was that of underwater photography and it was through this medium that the idea of the Observatory was conceived. While touted as a 'world-first' in some tourism literature it appears that similar attractions were operating on the Island of Capri and in Monterey, California.

Initially dubbed "The Thing" by Cairns locals, the Observatory was thought later to be a 'brilliant idea.' Constructed in Trinity Inlet, Cairns, the 47 ton Observatory took 12 months to build. (see Figure 11.22 and 11.23) The 25 feet long, 8 feet wide and 7 feet high steel chamber was made from 3/8\(^{th}\) inch steel plate and reinforced with 10 inch steel girders. The chamber was encased inside and out with 5 inch ferro-concrete to withstand water pressure of 96,000 pounds, and the surge of water and wind in cyclonic weather. Following its completion, the chamber was towed, buoyed by air, 27 kilometres to Green Island where it was positioned 40 feet from the end of the Green Island jetty, in 3 fathoms of

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86 P. Guy, "Green Island Underwater Observatory," The North Queensland Annual, vol. 4, circa mid 1960s, no publishing details or page numbers.
87 The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens Observatory and Marineland, Circa 1955, no publishing details.
88 On Capri the observatory was known as 'the Blue Grotto.' A.C.C. Lock, Destination Barrier Reef, pp. 214 & 202.
Figure 11.17: Crocodile enclosures, Marineland Melanesia, 2005. Note a crocodile in the centre of the photograph.
Figure 11.18: Melanesian art on display at Marineland Melanesia, 2005.
water away from where boats anchored. Towing the structure took 18 hours. Upon arrival ballast and pre-fabricated super structure was added to the chamber and 8 railway rails were driven 8 feet into the coral and bolted to the decking and chamber to enhance the Observatory’s stability. This increased the weight of the structure to 80 tons. The corals surrounding the Observatory were placed by Vlasoff and Griggs.

Access to the Underwater Observatory was by a footbridge from the island’s jetty to the 30 feet by 18 feet promenade deck which contained a coral and shell display and souvenirs (see Figure 11.24) The Chamber was entered from the promenade deck down a steep stairway of 30 steps, taking the visitor 16 feet below the surface of the water. (see Figure 11.25) The viewing chamber has a floor space of about 20m² with a capacity of 26 adults. (see Figure 11.26) Viewing of the marine world was through 22 12-inch plate glass port holes, each with a different view of marine life. (see Figure 11.27 & 11.28)

The opening of the Green Island Underwater Observatory attracted both national and international attention as newsreels made by companies such as Movietone were shown throughout Australia, Britain and America. Scientists and naturalists saw the possibilities for scientific advancement and made visits to study marine life. New species of fish and habits of marine life were noted soon.
Figure 11.19: Melanesian art on display at Marineland Melanesia, 2005. Note the labelling with black pen of works on the left wall.
Figure 11.20: George Craig’s art work on display at Marineland Melanesia, 2005.
Figure 11.20: George Craig's art work on display at Marineland Melanesia, 2005.
Figure 11.21: Map showing Green Island's walking tracks. (Greetings from Green Island, circa early 1960s)
after its opening. Cruise ships began to stop off at the island so that passengers could view the reef and its marine life either at the Observatory or in a glass bottom boat. At least four P & O Liners anchored off Green Island during the 1960s to experience the island’s attractions. This practice ceased after 1966 due to changes in cruise schedules.

In 1955 further improvements were made to the Observatory when exterior lighting was installed. Two lights were attached to each side and one to each end of the tank so that visitors could view the fish and coral at night. In the words of one commentator this allowed visitors to observe “...night life on the Barrier Reef through a fish’s eye...” At the entrance of the Observatory was a replica of one of Captain Cook’s cannons, patterned on those dumped by him on Endeavour Reef off Cooktown and recovered in 1969.

As indicated earlier, the construction of the Observatory led to an increase in the number of visitors to Green Island. Reliable visitation statistics were not available until 1960 when ferry operators began to maintain figures. Anecdotal evidence suggests however that the construction of the Observatory did have a significant effect on numbers. In 1958 Vince Vlasoff estimated that around 20,000 people were visiting the island each year, compared with the 3,000 who

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96 The Famous Underwater Coral Gardens, no page number.
97 Arrangements for landing at Barrier Reef Islands: Oronsay Cruise 24, pp. 4 – 6.
100 A.C.C. Lock, Destination Barrier Reef, p. 224.
visited in 1955 when the Observatory was opened.\textsuperscript{103} By 1960 some 48,000 people were visiting the island increasing to 75,000 in 1965, 97,000 in 1970 and 148,000 in 1978.\textsuperscript{104} This represented an average annual growth rate over the period 1960 to 1987 of 5.6%.\textsuperscript{105} Despite the apparently strong growth in visitor numbers the rate of growth declined over the period, the annual trend rates of growth by period being 5.6\% for 1960 to 1978, 3.6\% for 1969 to 1978, 1.9\% for 1972 to 1978, and -3.4\% for 1975 – 1978.\textsuperscript{106}

The \textit{Green Island Economic Study} (1983) while not offering any concrete reasons for this plateauing nevertheless suggested some which had implications for the Underwater Observatory. Tourism activity in the Cairns region was not keeping pace with activity in the rest of Queensland or Australia; ‘incidental reef tourism’ had become a small part of a total holiday experience while ‘tropical inland tourism’ had increased;\textsuperscript{107} a more sophisticated island product could be found elsewhere on the other 15 island resorts in Queensland, as well as an increasing number of mainland resorts;\textsuperscript{108} and by 1974 Green Island was no longer the region’s only point of access to the Great Barrier Reef.\textsuperscript{109} In relation to the Underwater Observatory the Report noted that it was facing competition from two

\textsuperscript{103} Excerpts from 1955 editions,” 20 April 2002, \textit{Cairns Post}, p. 18. While this figure is incomplete for the year of 1955 it does give an indication of the rapid growth in visitations to the island after the Observatory was opened.

\textsuperscript{104} See ‘Table 6.1: passengers on Green Island Ferries,’ in Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 29. These figures represent fare paying passengers on the regular ferry services to the island and do not include those who travelled by private boat or disembarked from cruise ships anchored off.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{108} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 32 & 37.

other Queensland observatories, one located on Hook Island and the other on Middle Island in the Keppel Group.\textsuperscript{110}

Despite these trends the Underwater Observatory enjoyed high patronage into the early 1980s with an average of 240 people per day visiting the attraction,\textsuperscript{111} representing 80\% of visitors to the island.\textsuperscript{112} Ferry passengers were guided to the Observatory by the crew of Hayles Cairns Cruises which by this time had purchased the lease for the Observatory.\textsuperscript{113} Basic information about the reef and fish was provided on signs in the viewing chamber and all visitors were provided with a pamphlet.\textsuperscript{114} The Observatory's popularity began to wane in the mid 1980s. By this time Hayles was offering tourists snorkelling and bird viewing tours to Michaelmas Cay and Hastings Reef respectively in order to address the issue of overcrowding on the Island. These trips proved to be very popular and Hayles enhanced the reef experience by introducing four semi-submarine coral viewers between 1984 and 1987.\textsuperscript{115} As noted by O'Donoghue the coral viewers "...in many ways made the glass bottom boat and the Underwater Observatory obsolete..."\textsuperscript{116}

In 1987 Hayles Pty Ltd, which included the Observatory lease, was purchased by Dreamworld Corporation through its company, Great Adventures.\textsuperscript{117} The

\textsuperscript{110} Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{111} Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{112} Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 36. Admission to the Observatory was $1.80 per adult and 60 cents per child with unrestricted access on the day.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., p. 39.
\textsuperscript{115} J. O'Donoghue, \textit{A Magnetic Life}, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 7. The sale included 6 catamarans, 3 launches, 2 vehicular barges, a game fishing boat, 3 reef pontoons and semi-submarine coral viewers, 7 glass bottom boats, 3 cruise terminals, one in Cairns and two in
Company proposed to develop a new observatory, a proposal which despite gaining the necessary government approvals failed to go ahead. Great Adventures did however demolish the 'Green Island Resort' originally constructed by Hayles, replacing it with an eco-sensitive resort. As indicated earlier, by the 1980s the Island was described as resembling an amusement park. Following the approval of the *Green Island Management Plan* by the Queensland State Government in 1980 which provided guidelines for the long-term use, development and management of the island and its reef, more emphasis was placed upon visitor enjoyment of the natural environment, and tourist facilities and services became better coordinated to minimise tension between day trippers and overnight guests. The consultants felt that up until the time of this report visitors' were unbalance as "...the commercial attractions [had] been emphasised to the detriment of visitor enjoyment and nature conservation..." Today, Green Island is a national and marine park. It is also within the Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area, declared in 1981 for its outstanding natural beauty and diversity. The island was made a Recreation Area in 1990 due to its significant recreational values.

Perhaps one of the most striking features of this Report was that visitor surveys revealed that most respondents expressed a greater interest in the Reef per se,
rather than built attractions such as the Observatory, with 35.7% ranking the reef, including marine life, as the main attraction prompting a visit to the island. 10.4% nominated the Underwater Observatory as the main attraction, 7.1% the glass bottom boat, 5.8% the tropical island, and 1.3% Marineland Melanesia. 123 This preference of visitors for the 'natural' was strengthened further when 69.5% of respondents indicated that they would like to see and learn more about coral reefs and marine life. 124 This survey appears flawed due to the artificial division between the reef and the three built attractions which both interpreted and allowed visitors to view the reef. Most visitors would not have been able to access the reef without utilising this infrastructure.

Despite the obvious interest of tourists in the Underwater Observatory, one gains the impression that tourism interests did not really understand or appreciate the innovative nature of the attraction. Indeed much of the literature, including Walkabout and Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine, alludes to it only once or twice. 125 The Queensland Government Bureau's much touted 'Grand Tour' and 'Tropic Wonderland Tour' also failed to mention the Observatory. Although a launch trip to Green Island was part of the 20 day tour, much of the tourists' 'reef experience' was gained on a five day cruise of the Whitsunday Passage. 126

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123 Table 4.5: "Attractions which prompted visit to Green Island," Economic Associates Australia, Green Island Economic Study, p. 23.
124 Ibid.
125 Barrier Reef promotional material in Walkabout during the 1950s while mentioning Green Island tended to focus of the Whitsunday Islands. Images contained within these advertisements often portrayed people walking on the reef at low tide searching for coral and shells, a practice which by this time was known to cause considerable damage to the coral. Cummins & Campbell’s Monthly Magazine probably provided a more focused view of the Observatory. While the photographs were not accompanied by articles explaining the nature of the Observatory, a series titled either ‘Rambles on the Reef’ and ‘Reef Hunting’ would have provided contextual material for the views obtained from the Observatory’s windows.
126 QGTB, Tour No. 9: The Grand Tour, no page number.
Occasional efforts were made to include the Observatory in package tours but generally speaking, promotion of the Underwater Observatory was left to local tourism interests such as Tropic Wonderland Attractions, the Cairns Harbour Board, *The North Queensland Annual*, and the *Cairns Post*. *The North Queensland Annual* featured colourful portrayals of the attraction during the 1960s. (see Figure 11.29) At least one Queensland Government Tourist Bureau pamphlet published around 1980 mentioned the Observatory as a means of viewing the coral by ‘walking on the ocean floor’ but it was more concerned with providing a brief overview of all Queensland’s islands from Moreton Bay to the Whitsundays to Lizard Island. Glossy and paradisiacal photographs of uninhabited coral cays, reef and sunset scenes, black marlin and people swimming, snorkelling and water skiing depict the islands of the Queensland coast as a playground for tourists. One postcard featuring the Observatory, probably published in the 1970s, has been located although the postcard’s caption ‘Green Island, Great Barrier Reef, NQ’ and the position of the Observatory in the photograph indicate that it was not the focus for the photographer. (see Figure 11.30)

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127 See advertisement titled “See Australia via your own personal air cruise: a 5500 mile dreamtime safari,” in *Walkabout*, July 1968, vol. 34, no. 8, p. 48. This tour was provided by Wiltonair Tours. It included 3 days at Brampton Island, tours of Broken Hill and Mount Isa Mines, Ayers Rock, Katherine River Gorge and the Green Island Underwater Observatory.

128 Tropic Wonderland Attractions, *Cairns and the Tropical Wonderland*, no page number. This brochure portrayed the Observatory as a significant attraction of Green Island. Photographs of glass bottom boats rather than the Observatory were used to depict viewing the reef. *The North Queensland Annual* featured the Observatory during the 1960s. Brightly coloured photographs were accompanied by small articles which conveyed little information about the attraction.

129 QGTB, *The Enchanting Islands, Queensland, Australia*. (Brisbane, circa 1980), no page numbers.
Figure 11.22: The Underwater Observatory in course of construction at Trinity Inlet, Cairns, 1953. (Walkabout, 1 February 1954, p. 46)
The UNDERWATER CORAL GARDENS OBSERVATORY

"VINCE VLASOFF"

"LLOYD GRIGG"

Figure 11.23: The building and placement of the Underwater Observatory, 1954.
(The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens, circa 1954)
Although based on the 1950s promotional brochure, *The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens Observatory and Marineland*, the Annual’s portrayal of the Observatory in figure 11.29 is more vividly coloured and suggests that there are a myriad of activities to be enjoyed on Green Island. Curiously it would appear that the only comprehensive piece of tourism literature that focused on the uniqueness of the Underwater Observatory within Australia was the brochure issued around the time it opened, *The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens Observatory and Marineland*. It is likely that this was published by Vlasoff and Grigg, the inventors of the attraction. (see Figure 11.31)

The image of the Barrier Reef island as a whole has shifted over time. There is the same shift from a view of the reef to an ecological viewpoint in the 1930s as there was for rainforest, although there were earlier examples of scientific viewpoints, from at least the 1890s when scientists such as William Saville-Kent recorded and published his findings. Most imagery was attached to Dunk Island as opposed to the reef itself, but the reef was occasionally portrayed in Romantic terms in tourism literature:

...beating out for Coral Seas – and adventure, romance... coral gardens, tropic sunsets, and the boom of the mighty surf on the Outer Barrier weaving the spell of the Lorelei... following in the wake of the early mariners and traders, ever on the alert for treacherous reefs and shoals; exploring little-known isles and uncharted places... lazing on some lonely coral strand marveling at the beauty of chameleon seas turning to blood-red and then to opal as the setting sun flees before the evening star. It’s all wonderful, strangely exciting... \(^{150}\)

One gains an impression from the literature however that Green Island was not overly subjected to the ‘scientific gaze.’ This was probably due to the Island being an excursion spot for Cairns residents from the 1880s and the resulting

Figure 11.24: The Underwater Observatory, showing the bridge connecting the Observatory with the jetty, circa 1960s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)

Figure 11.25: Stairway leading to viewing chamber of Underwater Observatory, 2005.
The encroachment of humans on the marine environment. However from the 1930s the island did attract interest from naturalists associated with the North Queensland Naturalists Club who, as indicated earlier, sought to interpret the island and the reef for tourists. Bruce Cummings, the first resident naturalist, was followed by others such as Noel Monkman and Vince Vlasoff who chose to live on the island and promote the Great Barrier Reef in more scientific terms. Their efforts to educate the public represent an early example of the shift to an ecological way of seeing the Great Barrier Reef.

Paradoxically Monkman and Vlasoff’s attractions, the Great Barrier Reef Theatre and the Underwater Observatory respectively, served to increase visitor numbers and impact to the marine environment. Each appears to have been aware of the impact of increasing visitor numbers. As a keen underwater photographer, Monkman’s motivation for establishing the Theatre was his desire for visitors to see the reef’s marine life, something that was not possible in a one day visit to Green Island. Through the medium of cinematography he wanted people to care for the reef as he did, thereby curtailing reef destruction through shell collecting, harpoon and spear fishing, and reef walking. (see Figure 11.32) Shell collecting in particular was a difficult activity to curb. As late as the mid 1970s ‘shelling trips’ were being advertised as a ‘special interest’ activity in at least one brochure published by the Far North Queensland Board for Tourism and Travel, a

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131 Harpoons were used by visitors to prise open clam shells and other marine life. By 1936 signs prohibiting spear fishing and harpooning were erected. “Current Nature Topics: harpoons on Green Island,” Cairns Post, 7 February 1936.
132 K. Monkman, Over and Under, pp. 2 & 93.
Figure 11.26: Viewing chamber and portholes, Underwater Observatory, 2005.
body which should have been aware of the adverse effect of this activity on the Reef.  

Vlasoff too was a keen photographer. He and partner Grigg through the construction of the Observatory explored the idea of bringing the underwater world of the Great Barrier Reef to visitors. Like Monkman, Vlasoff was involved in the production of underwater films although Vlasoff's main contribution was as a guide for underwater photographers. He was also outspoken about the destruction of Green Island's reef by ignorant tourists who were unaware of the effect of their actions on marine life. The result of these and other educative efforts is that today, interpretations of the Reef are nearly all scientific, with little of the earlier imagery appearing, and the emphasis is on the Reef itself rather than the islands.

The Green Island Underwater Observatory was a unique tourism attraction in the Cairns region which allowed tourists a view of the corals and marine life of the Great Barrier Reef never obtained before. It was considered world-class when it was built in 1954. Unlike other attractions in the region which were constructed for local recreation and generally built on the back of infrastructure used to open up mining and pastoralism, the Observatory represents the first significant spending on tourism specific infrastructure in the region.

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133 Shelling trips were organised by the Cairns Shell Club. Far North Queensland Board for Tourism and Travel. Visitors Guide to the top of the Sunshine State. p. 69.
134 Around 360,000 feet of colour film were taken off the coastline and reefs north of Cairns and were included in an Italian feature film titled 'Around the World.' “Colour Film of Far North: unit director in Cairns,” Cairns Post, 30 November 1960.
Today the Green Island Underwater Observatory is a shadow of its former self. The viewing chamber is in a state of neglect with scratched algae-filmed windows and paint chipping off the porthole surrounds. (see Figure 11.33) The jetty was extended during the 1970s, directly to and past the Observatory.\textsuperscript{136} Now large tourist boats tie up close to the Observatory and glass bottom tours depart from the boats every half hour. (see Figure 11.34) This results in the stirring up of the seabed which further obscures the view obtained from the portholes and covers the corals in a layer of fine sediment in which algae can grow. Only the fish, anemones and soft corals retain their vivid freshness. Interpretation of the marine environment is poor and is limited to pages of National Parks literature attached in a slap-dash manner to the walls of the chamber. (see Figure 11.33 above) The chamber is ventilated only by the stairway and a pipe and exhaust fan in the ceiling so that the atmosphere is rather close for those accustomed to air conditioning. The exterior of the Observatory is in good repair, painted in bright blue and white. Captain Cook’s replica cannon and anchor are no longer on display at the attraction’s entrance. The Observatory no longer rates a mention in brochures on Green Island. Lack of signage apart from that on its exterior wall probably means that most visitors to the Island today do not visit. (see Figure 11.35) The upper deck is entirely given over to a souvenir shop.

\textsuperscript{136} During the 1970s erosion was endangering the dining room of the Coral Cay hotel and hampering access to the island. Extensions to the jetty alleviated this problem. Economic Associates Australia, \textit{Green Island Economic Study}, p. 2.
Facts

YOU SHOULD KNOW
OF THE
UNDERWATER CORAL GARDEN
OBSERVATORY

Please keep the stairway clear and allow those behind you to get down into the chamber.

Recommended Exposure—Kodachrome. Sunny Days 1/50 F2.8. If possible use wide angle lens, flash, and 20y filter.

Window—
1. Two giant clams, the largest shells in the sea.
3. Giant coral polyps of reef building type owing to very heavy skeleton.
4. Staghorn corals.
5. Giant clam and various branching corals.
6. Giant clam with soft coral and giant anemone.
7. Giant clam, anemones with anemone or down fish, and waving soft coral.
8. Anemone. Anode to prevent sea water damage to Observatory Chamber.
11. Clam, soft acyanaria and various branching corals.
12. Forest Coral, Giant Polyp Tongue Coral.
14. Flanges and Mushroom corals.
15. Various staghorn corals.
17. Giant Polyp, Tongue Coral.
18. Giant clam, anemone, black coral, soft corals.
19. Flange and Golden Leaf Coral.
20. Flange, soft and mushroom corals.
21. Giant anemone and dead man’s fingers soft coral.

May we suggest that you limit your stay to approximately fifteen minutes in peak periods.

From various windows may be seen magnesium anodes which give off small bubbles of gas into the water. These anodes are solely for the purpose of preventing the sea water from corroding the steel shell of this Observatory.

Figure 11.27: Views obtained from each porthole, c. 1954. (The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens, circa 1954)
From this Observatory can be seen approximately 24 types of living Corals, Soft and Hard, and 50 species of Fishes.

Figure 11.28: Views obtained from portholes in the 1960s. (Beautiful Far North Queensland, circa 1960s)
Figure 11.29: 'Welcome: Underwater Observatory Green Island.' (*North Queensland Annual*, 1966)
Conclusion

The Green Island Underwater Observatory is one of the earliest tourism attractions in the Cairns region which was built entirely within the reimagining of nature which started in the 1930s due to the influence of science on perceptions of nature. While many rainforest attractions failed to reinvent themselves during the 1960s as perceptions of the rainforest changed, the Observatory continued to enjoy strong patronage. This is due to a number of factors: its relatively late construction in 1954, some 30 years after mainland attractions; the Observatory and the Reef not often being portrayed in Romantic terms; the novelty of the Reef and its islands as tourism destinations after the 1950s when boat access to the Reef became easier; and the sheer delight of obtaining a face-to-face view of vividly coloured marine life, a view then not easily obtainable by any other means.

Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the Observatory for the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns district is that the region does not have a complex European cultural landscape. The Underwater Observatory is one of the few substantial attractions that remain and as such offers an opportunity for interpretation of the industry’s history in the region.
Figure 11.30: ‘Green Island, Great Barrier Reef,’ circa 1970s. (postcard, Cairns Historical Society)
The World Famous
Underwater Coral
Gardens Observatory
and Marineland

ITS AMAZING — ITS WONDERFUL — ITS REAL

On the Great Barrier Reef at
Green Island
via Cairns
North Queensland

PROPRIETORS, BUILDERS AND DESIGNERS OF UNDERWATER
OBSERVATORY, GREEN ISLAND, CAIRNS, N.Q.
L. GRIGG and V. VLASOFF

G. K. Bolgos, printers, Cairns

Figure 11.31: "The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens Observatory and Marineland," (The World Famous Underwater Coral Gardens, circa 1954)
Figure 11.32: Harpooning on the Great Barrier Reef, circa 1930s. *(Cairns the Tropical Wonderland, 1961)*
Figure 11.33: Portholes in the Observatory's viewing chamber, 2005. Note the chipped paint.
Figure 11.34: The Underwater Observatory, 2005. Note the proximity of tour vessels to the Observatory.
Figure 11.35: Green Island Underwater Observatory, 2005.
CHAPTER 12: CONCLUSION

The aims of this thesis were to identify the characteristics of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region for the period 1890 to 1970, and to examine and analyse the way in which it has been represented visually and textually during this period. This approach highlighted that the tourism cultural landscape did not develop in ways wholly explained by economic modes but was in fact a group of natural attractions marketed to suit changing aesthetics and paradigms in the popular consciousness.

Cairns and its hinterland emerged as a ‘destination’ due to the early and successful appropriation of images and myths reinforcing the ‘authenticity’ of its attractions. According with Saarinen’s model, these emerged and declined according to how the tourism industry both shaped and responded to consumer taste and behaviour. The ‘natural’ attractions of the Cairns region, especially its ‘tropical nature,’ have been the basis of its tourist industry and have featured in tourism literature since the 1890s. The attractions which people came to visit in the region have not changed to a marked degree, but the way in which they are ‘seen’ has. These changes in perception, initially of the rainforest and later the Great Barrier Reef and its islands, are a function of the ideas of myth, image and authenticity, ideas which have been manipulated by the tourism industry through visual and textual representations of the region.

A number of theories have been used to assist interpretation in this study. Paasi’s framework for understanding the emergence of regions and the development of
regional identity provides a flexible framework which allows for the examination of the intangible aspects of a landscape in their historical context. In addition, the framework provides for analysis of regional attractions to be examined individually, in terms of the owner's dreams and vision, before considering the sum of these attractions as the cultural landscape. This proved to be important as some individuals' foresight ensured that many of the attractions we have today survived. This progression from the individual to the collective provides insight into why some attractions evolved and developed, while others declined and disappeared or did not develop as fully as similar attractions.

A number of theories and models used in this thesis were compatible with Paasi's model and helpful to highlight the intangible aspects of the Cairns region. MacCannell's ideas on 'authenticity' for example are important when considering the emergence of regional consciousness which in part is based upon the history and traditions of a society. Following MacCannell, the destinations of a region are encapsulated in its images and ideas therefore the 'authenticity' of an attraction is continually 'staged' and reworked.¹

Other frameworks which have been helpful in understanding the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region were Stepan's idea of 'tropical nature' and Savage's examination of Western perceptions of the jungle. Stepan's idea of 'tropical nature' as a special kind of nature in Western imagination provides a fusion of nature and landscape which has been useful. The tropical landscape has attracted visitors since the 1890s because of its unusual natural

attributes and the association of myth and fantasy with tropical locations.\(^2\) Savage draws our attention not only to the effect of the jungle on people but also to the manner in which people can shape perceptions of themselves and others through ideas such as ‘tropical nature,’ ‘tropical garden,’ ‘wilderness’ and ‘Eden.’\(^3\)

The representation of the Cairns region visually has been central to this thesis due to the nexus of image, especially photography, and tourism. As Ashworth posited, the image to a large degree was the product being sold. Images have the power to define and redefine ‘reality,’ and none were more aware of this than the tourism industry. John Urry speaks of the ‘tourist gaze,’ that which identifies what is visually out-of-the-ordinary, different and the ‘other.’\(^4\) The relationship between tourism and photography has been examined more closely in recent years to include analysis of the messages embedded in an image. Albers and James for example see photographs not only as a representation of reality but also as a subjectively constituted ‘way of seeing.’ They see imagery as being embedded in a framework of ideology and visual symbolism.\(^5\)

This is clearly seen in visual representations of the Cairns region. Most of the early tourism literature was produced by the Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau until 1929 and the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau thereafter. Under the control of the Railways Department the bureau was primarily concerned with encouraging settlement, industry and investment in the region. However the Department was not indifferent to the value of tourism in its aim to

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\(^3\) V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, p. 243.


fill railway carriages. As a result many of the images produced were in the picturesque mode whereby signs of human presence in dramatic or aesthetic natural settings were welcomed and celebrated. Aestheticised images of the region were produced depicting prosperous agricultural scenes such as those produced by Frank Hurley which gave no hint of past large-scale clearing of rainforest.

Initially perceptions of the rainforest and islands were Romantic, drawing on European traditions in literature, art and mythology. Extravagant prose was a feature of early descriptions of the region. Travellers were encouraged to visit to experience the exotic, adventure, recreation and for their health. There was also a utilitarian tone to much of the travel literature: the region’s climate and landscape were presented in terms of its development possibilities with the aim of attracting settlers and investment. The utilitarian frequently existed side-by-side with the Romantic, both visually and textually.

Travellers also came to Cairns searching for the picturesque, that which was aesthetically pleasing. The region’s landscape with its unusual vegetation, rocks and mountains, along with its waterfalls, the epitome of the picturesque, satisfied this yearning. Naturalists, botanists and authors with a scientific interest were attracted by the region’s unusual flora and fauna and the Great Barrier Reef. The Reef was particularly seductive for scientists from the 1890s. During the 1890s William Saville-Kent systematically recorded the Reef on film. Others followed such as T.C. Roughley and Noel Monkman, adding to scientific knowledge and bringing the wonders of the Great Barrier Reef closer to the general public.
Roughley was also a gifted wordsmith and his Romantically tinged scientific descriptions of the Reef in *Wonders of the Great Barrier Reef*, which was reprinted eleven times, would have had a significant influence on shaping perceptions of the Reef. Other authors were influential, including E.J. Banfield and Charles Barrett although they did not use the Romantic/scientific prose style seen in Roughley's work. By the 1970s the Romantic/scientific paradigm had been supplanted by the ecological 'way of seeing' the environment.

As noted earlier, tourism literature was largely generated by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau which was closely aligned to the Department of Railways, whose aim was to increase passenger numbers. As a result the visual and textual images generated by the Department did little to present the diversity of a tropical landscape and made no reference to the widespread transformation of particularly the Atherton Tableland after 1900 through the destruction of large tracts of rainforest. Rather, the emergence of 'Arcadian' agricultural landscapes was lauded and accompanied by agricultural production tables supporting the progress and potential of the region. Alternatively industrial or agricultural pursuits could be ignored as highlighted in the analysis of Millaa Millaa Falls, located next to which was an operating quarry in the 1920s. Perhaps more than anything these omissions indicate the fluidity of the idea of 'nature' and highlight how close human constructs such as 'nature' are to utilitarianism and how image in tourism can be manipulated to suit economic and political ends.

The major difficulties encountered in examining and analysing the physical manifestations of the region's tourism landscape lay with the ephemeral and basic
materials used to construct early attractions. Many such as 'Fairyland Tea Gardens' and 'Koombal Park Zoo' no longer exist due to the flimsy infrastructure, easily removed or destroyed by the moist conditions prevalent in rainforest and seaside locations. Others such as the tearooms at Lake Barrine still exist in some form. A few such as the Green Island Underwater Observatory and Marineland Melanesia had more substantial infrastructure which demonstrated a later era of tourism development and represented some of the first substantial tourism infrastructure spending in the region. In addition, these attractions reflect the manner in which the tourism cultural landscape can be shaped by the perceptions of the owners. Vlasoff and Grigg, owners of the Observatory sought to increase ease of access to the underwater world of the Great Barrier Reef and developed viewing technology to do this whereas George Craig introduced to Marineland, initially a series of aquaria and tanks containing crocodiles and turtles, a strong Melanesian theme which today almost subsumes the attraction’s natural features.

This use of the ‘mini-narrative’ in case studies allowed the depth and complexity of each attraction to be acknowledged and validated. This approach allows yet another layer or fragment to be added to the story of a given landscape, as Paasi would allow. By examining this small area on the particular level, one is not engaging in reductionism or trying to fit it into the larger ‘narrative of history.’ Rather the examination and analysis of places such as the ‘Jungle’ at this level illuminates the notion that there are always differences in perceptions of ‘nature’ which aid us in understanding how a landscape can be moulded by an individual’s ‘way of seeing’ and his / her application of language to a seemingly undifferentiated landscape. This allows the individual place to be fitted into the
wider social context by identifying the dominant aesthetic of its image and promotional literature.

Five major findings have emerged from this thesis. These are: that tourism in the Cairns region has always been based on nature; that representations of the attractions and the cultural landscape as a whole were expressed through the Romantic, picturesque, exotic, scientific and ecological paradigms, which were used deliberately or unconsciously to reinforce the images; the idea of 'authenticity' when applied to tourism attractions, becomes contestable because of the fluidity of these images; tourism infrastructure based within these natural attractions was visually simple and basic; and the attractions were dependent upon more substantial infrastructure developed to serve agriculture and mining, which could actually threaten the natural landscape and features which were being promoted.

Tourism in the Cairns region has always been based on its dramatic landscapes, waterfalls ranging from awe-inspiring to delicate and 'fairy-like,' and coral gardens.6 Tourists were pursuing particular images and experiences, searching for the Romantic, the 'tropical,' the exotic and the picturesque. These ideas were portrayed extensively in literature, travel literature, art and photographs from the 18th century. In turn, these ideas had been shaped by myths and fantasies in Western art and literature since early times. Changing scientific ideas also influenced these notions from the 1930s. It was the natural, rather than the built environment, which embodied these ideas and fantasies. The only exception was

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the Romantic fantasy castle at Paronella Park, where the buildings are the attraction but their appeal is greatly enhanced by their setting in a tropical garden. Aspects of these landscapes could stimulate powerful emotions and most travellers did not leave the region unaffected by the unusual tropical landscape they encountered. A number of attractions elicited startling prose as travellers sought to understand the 'numinous,' the indescribable found in 'awful, grand and sublime' landscapes. The 'weird' and unusual landscape of Chillagoe was imagined by E.J. Brady as containing grotesque creatures amongst the limestone bluffs put there by genii to terrify invaders of this haunted region.

Archibald Meston described the passage of water over the Barron Falls as descending into the "...waste wide anarchy of Chaos, dark and deep, yawning in the depths below..."

Aboriginal and Islander culture and legends and Melanesian artifacts enhanced the vision of the region by adding a touch of the exotic South Seas. This image developed originally from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Rousseau's 'noble savage' of 18th century Tahiti, and was furthered by explorers such as Cook, artists like Gauguin and novelists such as R.L. Stevenson and E.J. Banfield, the 'Beachcomber' of Dunk Island. Banfield's work did much to attach 'South Seas' imagery to Far North Queensland. This is most apparent at the beach resort at Browns Bay and 'Marineland Melanesia' on Green Island. The thatched huts under the coconut trees at Browns Bay were in keeping with the image. The South Seas aspect of 'Marineland Melanesia' was not introduced until 1972 when

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7 V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, p. 263.
8 E.J. Brady, *Land of the Sun*, p. 163.
9 *Queenslander*, 20 February 1886, p. 292.
the lease was purchased by George Craig.\textsuperscript{10} Today a large number of artifacts from Papua New Guinea intermingle with antique diving gear, and marine fauna displays. Many artifacts are displayed in imitation Melanesian style huts.

The Cairns region abounded in picturesque scenes. Touted as the land of "... waterfalls, cataracts and cascades...",\textsuperscript{11} its many waterfalls were described glowingly in tourism literature. The Barron Falls received special attention from the 1890s and the journey through the Barron Gorge, past the Barron Falls to Kuranda on the train, was seen as one of the most awe-inspiring trips in Australia. Many other waterfalls in the region also attracted vivid description. This was largely due to the mysterious and fecund nature of their rainforest surrounds. A number of waterfalls, most notably Malanda Falls, were transformed by locals for recreation purposes but most of the region's waterfalls remain mostly in a 'natural' state, save the addition of access paths and in some instances barbeque areas, toilet blocks and shelter sheds.

From the 1930s Romantic and picturesque ways of seeing 'tropical nature' were being supplanted by the scientific paradigm. These genres tended to mingle thereafter but generally speaking the region's unusual features were represented less frequently in literature and art. As perceptions of the rainforest changed the language used to describe it changed from the disparaging and utilitarian 'scrubs,' to the exotic and image-laden 'jungle' and finally to rare and precious 'rainforest' in the 1970s. This recasting confronted the older, negative ideas of 'scrub' or 'jungle' as terrifying, dangerous or a useless barrier to settlement.

\textsuperscript{10} J. Martin, \textit{History of Green Island}, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{11} QGIB, \textit{North Queensland: the holiday land}, p. 10.
The move from the Romantic - scientific way of seeing nature as a collection of fascinating curiosities to the ecological paradigm which challenged human mastery over nature, viewing it as a systemic interrelationship between all living things including humans, and their environment began around the 1920s in Australia. Early naturalists such as Charles Barrett were influential in this shift as rather than ‘hunting and collecting’ unusual things for display in museums, he was “…interested in learning how nature worked in an ecological sense – that is, in situ...” Concomitantly, according to Mulligan and Hill the works of artists and authors were also influential in this paradigm shift as they were at the forefront of depicting and describing distinctive and challenging landscapes. However instead of emphasising the grand and sublime or, in the case of the flower painters the individual specimen of interest, they depicted images which emphasised the interrelationships of landscape elements.

Other aspects of the Cairns’ region’s ‘tropical nature’ were recast during the 1930s. Up until this time the Great Barrier Reef had been valued largely for its Romantic Isle associations and commercial possibilities. The development of viewing technology such as glass bottom boats but particularly the Green Island Underwater Observatory and underwater colour films were significant in shifting images, especially those of an exploitative nature. These developments also expanded the leisure patterns available on reef islands from camping, fishing, picnicking and Romantic tropic-isle fantasies encapsulated in Banfield’s

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‘Beachcomber’ books,\textsuperscript{15} to include viewing of the coral and marine life. Thereafter, ecological interest in the reef began to predominate over earlier recreational uses and even stopped some such as shell collecting, reef walking, coral souvenirs and turtle riding. The same trends can be discerned at the Chillagoe Caves, where emphasis on their geology, fauna and fossil remains has supplanted the Romantic experiences of early years. Traces of the Cave’s past survive with the retention of their Romantic names such as the ‘Cathedral,’ the ‘Ballroom’ and the ‘Madonna,’ but visitors no longer record their presence on the cave walls nor do they remove stalagmites and stalactites as souvenirs of their visit.

The infrastructure upon which the region’s attractions was based tended to be simple, made from locally available materials and designed initially for local recreation. These ‘simple’ constructions, usually tearooms, were situated in ‘natural’ environments such as the rainforest, beach or islands and were eminently suitable for representing the romantic and picturesque ideas of nature popular in the public imagination during the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The circular huts constructed around coconut trunks at Browns Bay beach resort for example comprised a light framework of saplings covered by plaited blady grass and roofs thatched with the same material.\textsuperscript{16} Similarly, locally available materials were used to make tables and thatched shelter huts at ‘Fairyland Tea Gardens’ and the ‘Maze.’ Other more substantial attractions were built and varied enormously from José Paronella’s

\textsuperscript{15} Although Banfield wrote mostly about nature he attracted a number of Romantics to Dunk Island who were searching for their own ‘earthly paradise.’ J.W. Frings for example left England in the 1920s to recover his health and communicated with Banfield after reading his books. He spent 6 weeks on Dunk Island with the Banfields before departing to find his own ‘Pacific Paradise’ on nearby Brisk Island. J.W. Frings, My Island of Dreams, pp. 7 – 12.

\textsuperscript{16} V. Kennedy, Cairns North Queensland Tourist, p. 123.
Spanish fantasy castle and ‘tropical gardens’ near Innisfail, to the pleasant but unremarkable 1920s guesthouse and tearoom at Lake Barrine, and the technologically innovative Underwater Observatory on Green Island. Except for Paronella Park, the structures are all functional and designed simply to allow visitors to better enjoy the natural attractions and cater for their comfort. Although technologically advanced, in that it allowed unprecedented views of the Reef, the Underwater Observatory was an unprepossessing construction resembling a large diving chamber. Marineland Melanesia was cosmetically a more complex construction with its façade built to resemble a ship and the hall containing the aquaria resembling the interior of a ship below decks.

Communications and transport infrastructure in the Cairns region were established to develop its economic resources. A number of attractions such as the Barron Falls and the Chillagoe Caves were located nearby and benefited from these facilities. The Barron Falls was particularly accessible thanks to its proximity to the railway leading to a great deal of attention, with descriptions comparing it to Niagara Falls17 and declaring it the “...King of Cataracts...”18 By 1900 the Falls were seen as one of Queensland’s most significant tourist attractions. The railway reached Chillagoe in 1901 but little attempt was made to publicise the Chillagoe Caves and promote travel to the area, as tourism was secondary to mining. In addition, rail services to Chillagoe were infrequent, a situation which did not improve with decreased investment in the mines and smelters over the 20th century.

17 G. Parker, *Round the Compass*, p. 256.
18 *Queensland pleasure trips by rail and by steamer*, no page no.
Other attractions such as ‘Fairyland Tea Gardens’ and the ‘Maze’ were established in part because of their proximity to the railway and Kuranda, the region’s popular honeymooning destination. However this was not a guarantee of success particularly during World War II when the railways were practically taken over for wartime purposes. They should have recovered after the war, particularly given the new range road built from Cairns to Kuranda in 1942 as part of the war effort. Their proximity to Cairns should have made them ideal day trip destinations. It would appear that visitor numbers to both of these destinations were in fact declining even before the War, as by 1939 the lessee of ‘Fairyland’ and the owner of the ‘Maze’ were embroiled in an ongoing feud regarding the number of visitors booked to each attraction through the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. Their decline occurred as ‘ways of seeing’ the rainforest shifted from the Romantic to the scientific or ecological paradigm. It is interesting to note that ‘Kuranda Rainforestation,’ opened in the late 1970s, is a thriving business providing rainforest experiences but in a more adventurous form. This includes ‘army duck tours’ through the rainforest, a wildlife park, an Aboriginal dance troupe and restaurant. As would be expected in a modern attraction, the emphasis is ecological in tone. However taken as one attraction, the Kuranda rainforest illustrates the ideas of Saarinen, Powell, Savage and Ashworth concerning the reworking of destinations in the light of changing aesthetics and other social values such as conservationism.

Inherent in any landscape are the tensions produced by groups of people using the environment in different ways. So it was with the tourism cultural landscape of

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19 See “Bookings to the Maze and Fairyland for 12 months ending December 1939 via the QGTB.” in A13019: Fairyland Tourist Resort Lease Department of Railways, QSA.
20 Cairns Post, Growing With Cairns, p. 94.
the Cairns region. The construction of the Kuranda railway benefited the regional economy enormously and accelerated the transformation of particularly the Atherton Tableland through agriculture, timber felling, pastoralism and settlement after 1900. Paradoxically, the accelerated economic development brought about by the railway altered irrevocably the natural attractions that people were travelling to see, while at the same time better transport and communications and larger towns produced other benefits to tourism and furthered economic development of tourist attractions. In the same way, mining also established a railway and towns which increased access to the Chillagoe Caves, while also creating threats such as mining the limestone bluffs for lime. This tension between preserving the natural attractions, and economic development which services but exploits and often destroys them, still exists.

The fluid nature of the representations of tourist attractions in the Cairns region over the last 80 years makes the idea of ‘authenticity’ in tourism somewhat problematic. If authenticity is what the local residents experience, as MacCannell implies, then early images of the region tended to provide a more ‘authentic’ view of the region because early travellers experienced the region’s attractions and leisure pursuits in much the same way as the locals did. There was little distinction made between locals and visitors in terms of the pursuits they enjoyed, and literature extolled the region for its development potential as much as for its picturesque qualities. As tourism became more important to the regional economy, new ways had to be devised to capture the tourist dollar as popular culture and the images associated with it shifted. Attractions were created and recreated in terms of image and presentation. These creations to varying degrees
tended to manipulate the cultural traditions of visitors and create the ‘reality’ of the natural environment they utilised.

The role of artists and photographers in generating these images of the Cairns region was significant. The Cairns region was an ‘exotic’ tourism cultural landscape with its unusual features such as jungle, waterfalls and later the Great Barrier Reef. As noted by Searle this tropical landscape was regarded as quite peculiar in Australia, much removed from the frontier mythology and nationalist imagery of the country, and was not incorporated into the national consciousness.21 As a result artists and photographers created an image of the region as different, exciting and exotic.

The images created of the Cairns region in brochures were largely controlled by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. This is clearly seen in many of the tourist brochures and advertisements used to represent Cairns and its hinterland, the majority of which were produced by the Bureau. As suggested by Ashworth, these images defined what was ‘real’ or authentic. This is a process of self-definition and resulted in the whole idea of ‘nature,’ shaped by Romantic and picturesque, being represented by a small number of images such as the Barron Falls, the Chillagoe Caves and the region’s unusual vegetation such as Strangler Fig trees. This narrow view of the region’s tourism cultural landscape, whereby a few images came to represent the whole, questions the idea of authenticity in tourism.

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In cultural heritage terms, the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region has high heritage significance. The importance of the area lies in what it represents on both a tangible and intangible level: it provides a microcosm of an industry which had an important influence on Queensland’s development. Touted as an exotic adventureland and playground from the early 20th century, the Cairns tourism landscape has developed strong social values for locals and visitors alike. A number of the attractions in the Cairns region are strongly associated with the life and work of individuals. Green Island’s development in particular was influenced by Noel Monkman’s desire to make the Reef more accessible to the public through underwater photography. Vince Vlasoff and Lloyd Griggs, with a similar vision, combined their love of photography with technological innovation to construct the Green Island Underwater Observatory and bring the underwater world of the Great Barrier Reef to visitors. The Hayles family was instrumental in developing early transport to the Island along with accommodation.

Attractions such as Green Island and Chillagoe Caves demonstrate historic significance because they have been influenced by a pattern of ‘seeing’ the landscape which moved from the Romantic / scientific to the ecological ‘way of seeing.’ While this change was beginning to occur during the 1930s, in relation to the Reef this way of seeing gained ground in the 1950s following the construction of the Underwater Observatory on Green Island along with complementary attractions such as the Great Barrier Reef Theatre and Marineland during the 1960s.
Chillagoe Caves were among the most Romantically imagined of the Region's attraction during the early 20th century. However, over time this changed as scientific knowledge increased and today little remains of their Romantic beginnings save their names, the 'Ballroom' and the 'Madonna' which reflect the rock formations from which they were inspired.

This thesis has generated a number of future areas of inquiry. Many of the attractions in the region are strongly associated with the actions of individuals. More interviews with key people or their families would be beneficial in aiding our understanding of this under-researched area. A number of attractions are still associated with the original owners such as the Curry family of Lake Barrine, George Craig of Marineland Melanesia and the English family of the 'Jungle' in Malanda. However many attractions no longer have this association including the Dick family of 'Fairyland Tea Gardens,' Walter Schridde and Berkley Cook of 'Koomba Park Zoo,' and Vince Vlasoff and Lloyd Grigg of the Green Island Underwater Observatory, and would benefit from more research. In addition, findings from oral histories would provide a different way of evaluating the industry and the cultural impact of it on the landscape. The history of the industry's material culture would also be enhanced by collecting oral evidence from those who worked in them.

Many of the early visual and textual representations of the Cairns region are also strongly related to individuals or local organisations. Of particular interest is Victor Kennedy who resided in Cairns in the late 1920s and early 1930s and established a newspaper which was widely read in southern states and distributed
to tourists by the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. Kennedy was instrumental in publicising Green Island and the Great Barrier Reef and was a keen supporter of tourism, the arts and literature. Despite this he also championed the construction of the Barron Falls hydro-electric scheme, a scheme which severely depleted the flow of Queensland's most 'significant' tourist attraction, the Barron Falls. His influence on the development of tourism in the region appears to be important and would benefit from further investigation.

Comparing the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region with that of other regions in Australia is instructive both for its similarities and its differences. The Cairns region followed many of the trends seen in other areas albeit later and in a more modest form due to its later settlement history, the depression of the 1890s, its geographic isolation and thin population. People travelled to the region for their health in the mountainous hinterland and while there engaged in popular pursuits such as fern collecting, caving and bush walking. The mountain resorts at Kuranda, Herberton and later Beachview and Mount Kooyong provided relief from the oppressive coastal heat and an invigorating destination for southern visitors, as did the region's only spa, Innis Hot Springs. Beach resorts provided holiday options for those from the hinterland and others and as the 'beach culture' developed in other parts of Australia so it did in the Cairns region.

Few studies of the development of regional tourism cultural landscapes have been undertaken in Queensland and Australia. In addition, those that have been done such as Berry's "Application of Butler's tourist life cycle theory to the Cairns
region" and Barr's *No Swank Here?* used Butler's economic framework to analyse the development of tourism in the Cairns region and the Whitsundays area respectively. Kate Hartig's 1987 *Images of the Blue Mountains* examined the personal, emotional and shared worlds of European travellers between 1788 and 1900.\(^2\) Hartig's study is the only work located that adopted an image oriented approach in analysing and examining a tourism region.

This study represents one of the few studies of the development of a tourism cultural landscape in Australia. It is also one of the few to analyse changes in that landscape through images. The value of this endeavour lies in the effort to portray the development of a tourism cultural landscape which was based on 'nature' and the infrastructure of which was simple and not enduring. Therefore looking at the area as a case study in tourism history entailed viewing the landscape not only in terms of its physical attributes but also in terms of the actions of people on the landscape and how people felt about, constructed, portrayed and perceived the tourism cultural landscape and its attractions. This landscape has accumulated over time meanings for the cultures and occupational groups occupying it. There has been little research on the region using this approach, allowing examination and analysis from a perspective which both complements and corrects economic approaches.

Appendix 1
Interstate sailings between Cairns and Melbourne, 1933

Interstate sailings to Cairns and return between the end of May and early October:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northwards of each week</th>
<th>Southwards of each week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leave Melbourne</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due Sydney</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Sydney</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due Brisbane</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Brisbane</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due Townsville</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Townsville</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due Cairns, via Palm Island</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the T.S.S. Canberra left Brisbane on the Friday and called at Seawell Island. All vessels sailing from Melbourne under this timetable called at various islands within the Reef (circumstances permitting).

Sailings between October and May:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northwards of each week</th>
<th>Southwards of each week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leave Melbourne</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Sydney</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Sydney</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Brisbane</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Townsville</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Townsville</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Cairns</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: During these months only one day was allowed in Cairns.

Fares:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single * min. first</th>
<th>Single Ordin. First</th>
<th>Return * min. first</th>
<th>Return Ord. first</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne to Cairns</td>
<td>14 5 0</td>
<td>17 12 6</td>
<td>27 2 6</td>
<td>33 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney to Cairns</td>
<td>10 10 0</td>
<td>13 7 6</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
<td>25 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane to</td>
<td>6 5 0</td>
<td>7 5 0</td>
<td>11 17 6</td>
<td>13 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single Second</td>
<td>Return Second</td>
<td>Single Third</td>
<td></td>
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<td>£  s.  d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne to Cairns</td>
<td>10 2 6</td>
<td>19 5 0</td>
<td>8 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney to Cairns</td>
<td>7 7 6</td>
<td>14 0 0</td>
<td>6 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane to Cairns</td>
<td>4 7 6</td>
<td>8 5 0</td>
<td>3 15 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsville to Cairns</td>
<td>1 5 0</td>
<td>2 7 6</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Minimum Rate Fares applied to certain accommodation only.

Appendix 2: A selection of poems from Victor Kennedy's *Farthest North and other verses.*
Farthest North

Away before the stretching eyes
the little valley lies;
and who would not be out with me along the
tropic way?
We sipped the wine of old romance when we
were fresh and strong,
but that was many years ago and many miles
along –
ah me, to breathe the golden air of farthest north today!

Who knows the deep entrancing blue
in Murray-Prior's view?
Or climbs again the coastal ridge to clamber
Bartle Frere?
Whose eyes recall the somber spread of
bending fields of cane
when coloured evens richly glowed to
trash-fires on the wane?
Ah me, to be in Queensland when the night
star shimmers there!

Below the gorge's purple gloom
the valley gardens bloom;
and winding past the mountain road the
Mulgrave beckons here;
to the emerald South Pacific and the ancient
Coral Seas.
The Barron hurtles forward with her
rhyme of centuries –
ah me, to be in Queensland when the north
sun glitters there!

The storm – the cyclone-season's best –
tears frantic to the west
as outposts on the waterfront are stamped
and driven through;
the time-built, time-worn Barrier sinks
back in old-time pain.
To meet the flashing fury of the foam
fiend once again –
ah me – a million victims grin a welcome
for the new!

Still I have seen the broad pale moon
change tropic nights to noon;
and I have seen the summer smile at
Cairns and Innisfail;
lantanas blazed their impudence down
edgeways from the heat,
but crotons and hibiscus hearts flushed
hot-blood welcomes sweet—
ah me, when tropic calls ring clear can
southern pleas prevail?
This Northland

I know the glitter and the gleam
are on that road to-day –
a southern road – a shadowed stream –
a cooling coloured way –
where woodland’s frailest flowers creep
and softened edgeways sweep.

I scent the slow perfume
that trampled daisies shed;
I pluck a proud hibiscus bloom
blood-tipped and passion bred;
then flowered days pass fitfully
to drift with memory.

This Northland lures my soul to love
and keeps my will away,
for strength is hers and strong above
each lilting rondelay,
her full deep organ tones shall rise
in grander harmonies.

Because I feel her flame of life
this North has need of me;
there is no joy, no hope, no strife
with pulse tides rippling free
but may be quickened from her wrongs
to measure sterner songs.

I heard God’s mightiest melodies
where tropic cascades fall,
and grasp the broader symphonies
when thickets whip birds call,
as through these crystal summer skies
flit amber butterflies.

Strong with their rich unmeasured pride
hibiscus buds o’erflow;
nor shall one red-lipped croton bid
unwept where warm winds blow;
or brilliant jacaranda rain
her dawn-kissed tears in vain.

The murmuring moan of many seas
brings now on breathless lips
a store of tragic histories.
that tell of martyred ships,
the while you Barrier grasps below
weird sins of long ago.

Romance in pictured memory
weeps round her broken bays,
and darker tales of tragedy
disturb her mountain ways;
each peak has raised its purple head
to shroud its royal dead.

Each has its mound – its silent wraith –
and each its epic deed,
and each for men of regal faith
its quenchless lights that lead;
yet no rich crown – no palm shall please
the men who climbed like these.

The strange new ecstasy that fills
the soul on Northern ways;
the sheen of splendour from her hills;
the valley’s purple blaze;
all are the time-built obsequies
of men who wrought like these.
Breaking the Barrier

The coral spreads
its purple beds
around those sanded cays
in bright mid-summer seas.

And I have seen
the em’rald sheen
of waves that lightly fall
athwart that Barrier wall.

Seen, too, the spite —
The tragic might —
storm fiends infuriate
fling from eternal hate.

And yet the fears
of darkened years
disturbed not at their posts
the gaunt sea-faring hosts.

Where all winds blow
(how long ago?)
they came, with greed or pride
to be their only guide.

So long ago
we may not know
how many men sailed there,
but many men there were.

The winds swung free
the unknown sea
was angry when they came
and jealous of their fame.

And so the reef
(in old belief)
upraised her strong defense —
reared too her grand pretence.

That ages long
in fabled song
limned her an awesome thing,
sea-built and menacing.

But many a man
as rumour ran
of strange rich worlds away
dared her despotic sway.

Wide sails were set
as lips were met
to bid God’s will to these
through half a world of seas.

Fierce men and strong
to swell the throng
swore deep by Mary’s pain
and travelled out of Spain.

Then Portuguese
and Hollandese
girt thrice all tracks they knew
until our South winds blew.

Stern – harsh – of cry
the gales tore by
and thrust them farther South
till prayers played on each mouth.

The blinding blaze
of tropic days
sank back to weird sights
of phosphorescent nights.

And through the gloom
the startling boom
of surf upon the reef
wailed forth an ocean’s grief.

Slow, soft, in awe
the sampans draw
across romantic miles
of cays and coral isles.

Their tribal song
is trolled along
where each long Barrier bed
holds fast their native dead.
And in whose grip
lies many a ship
that fanned heroic lore,
now silent evermore.

And yet men came,
their battle drum
the menace of the sea
that breaks eternally.

Across each mind,
from lips behind,
flash tales of mariners,
lost – brave – adventurers.

But bolder than
the sailor man
who first was driven here
are these who come with fear.

It was their pride
(who dared and died)
to break this Barrier;
whose now to conquer her?
Appendix 3: Archibald Meston’s 1885 description of the Barron Falls in flood
...Byron says that no picture can give us an idea of the ocean, and no world painting can give a clear outline of the unimaginable scene as the Barron Falls on the first three days of the present year (1885) ... ‘Stand back’ said the dying Raphael, as the first glories of the world of spirits appeared to the parting soul, ‘stand back until I paint that heavenly scene!’ And standing by the Barron Falls, I too felt disposed to say, Stand back, until I sketch that mighty picture, fixed their on the primal rocks among the everlasting mountains, like an immortal replica of Raphaelistic Nature, from some shrine original in the picture gallery of God! Before me was a torrent of water 300 yards wide, and about 40 feet deep, rushing resistlessly along at the rate of twenty miles an hour, tumbling in a solid wall suddenly over the edge of the enormous precipice, launched clear out into space and descending for over 700 feet into the ‘waste wide anarchy of Chaos, dark and deep,’ yawning abysmal in the depths below. I look up the river, and see it come sweeping round the bend, divided into three streams that rush together like wild horses as they enter the straight in the dread finish of their last race. They come with the sound of a tempestuous ocean, dashing it surges through dark passages in the caverned rocks. Weird fancy pictures them as the rivers that roam through the gloomy realms of Pluto. imagination hears the sorrowful wail of Acheron, the lamentation of sad Cocytus, and the hoarse roaring of infernal Phlegethon, ‘whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.’ They roll over the cliff, strike the first ledge of rock, and the water is dashed into foam and mist, rolling billows of vapour projected with terrific force in vast fantastic forms down the entrance of the Titanic avenue of the river beneath, and clouds of spray float away upwards for 1,000 feet, then condense, and drip in showers of emerald dew-drops from the trees on the slopes of the mountains.

The currents of air created by the cataract waved the branches of trees hundreds of feet overhead, as if they were swaying in the contending winds of a storm. The thunder of the water was awful. The rocks shook like a mighty steamer trembling with the vibrations of the screw. The soul recoils appalled before the inconceivable grandeur of that tremendous scene. Those falls stand alone among cataracts, like Everest or Chimborazo among the mountains. Eternity itself is throned there on those dark rocks among the wild whirlwind of waters, and speaks to you in solemn tones of the Past, the Present, and the Evermore. You stand voiceless, ‘mute, motionless, aghast,’ in that immortal presence.

The tongue has no utterance for the thoughts within you. They are not dead, those black rocks, those vast columns of descending waters! They tell you of

Vastness and Age and Memories of Eld,
Darkness and Desolation and dim Night.

Once only in each year do the flood waters of the tropic rains sweep the surface of the bed rock. The wear of that brief period on the adamantine formation is imperceptible. How long, therefore, has the river occupied in cutting 1,000 feet into the solid rock? You must look back through the shadowy vista of hundreds of thousands of years that bridge the period of time intervening between us and
that dim morning of the World! The Night of Times hides forever the birthday of that cataract. Empires have risen and fallen, barbarisms become civilisations, races of men flourished and died, religions triumphed and disappeared into eternal oblivion, thousands of plants and animals vanished forever, the face of Nature changed its aspect in the long wear and waste of centuries, and still those waters rolled down that precipice with a wail of lamentation over the dead past; like the voice of a lone Spirit in the agony of unspeakable despair.

The gulf has a weird and fearful fascination. You feel a mad impulse to leap out into vacancy — to launch out, as Lucifer did, into some vast void of Uncreated Night, and disappear forever into the yawning chasm, from the vast depths of which rise the sheeted columns of vapour —

White and sulphury,
like foam from the roused ocean of deep hell,
whose every wave breaks on a living shore.

At intervals there are deafening explosions like the discharge of enormous cannons, and the waves of spray roll out like cannon smoke, and recoil upon themselves, driven back by the resisting air, to be swallowed up in the downward current, and finally swept into the abyss. Imagine some Titanic race battling with the Demons! There is a rock fortress 700 feet high, with huge cannons projecting from a hundred barrels, discharging a continuous shower of projectiles, 'winged with red lightning and impetuous rage,' into the ranks of the advancing foe! Terrible, beyond conception, is the diapason of that cannonade.

On the left of the main falls is the circular pool, 200 feet in depth, whose sides slope inward from the top, with a narrow outlet not 20 feet wide at the bottom. Into this frightful cauldron poured a vast body of water from the main river. It fell clear down, struck the surface of the pool as if it were solid rock, dashed itself into vapour, and threw a dense shower of spray far up the face of the opposite rock, from whence it descended in a thousand little rivulets of silver, that sparkled like a flood of moonlight on the dark surges of the midnight main. On the left came down a torrent that poured itself out from the dense scrub overhead. That, too, fell clear down on the pool below in a sheet of glorious spray. Around the face of the rocks grew beautiful tiny orchids, and ferns, and innumerable little plants looking serenely down, with their green faces, into the awful maelstrom underneath, indescribably beautiful, amid the war of winds and waters —

Resembling, mid the torture of the scene,
hope watching Madness with unalterable mien.

And gorgeous blue-winged butterflies, emerged from the crevices of the rocks, fluttered slowly down until the spray caught them, and vanished like a flash of light into the vortex of remorseless waters, like lost spirits drawn in where the foramen of the Miltonian Hell spouted its cataracts of fire, until caught in the
descending flames, and swept down into the Infinite Abyss, 'nameless in dark oblivion there to dwell.' From the still pools up the river came magnificent blue and pink and scarlet lilies, with superb fan-like green leaves attached. On one of them was a splendid butterfly, floating along like the Indian Cupid in the Nelumbo flower, down the swift current of the Sacred River.

Swift and painless death for all life once closed in the pitiless embrace of that deadly surge, cleaving the azure with the rapidity of light! One step from where you now stand and you have passed the confluence of the two Infinitudes Eternity before you, and this world, with all its madness, is behind you; you are annihilated among those jagged and savage rocks; the spectral winds play your death march on their Aeolian harp of pines; the giant cannons fire in volleying thunder their last salute; the cataract wraps its white foam shroud around you; and the mighty mountains, throned on the primal rocks, stand there aloft in the majesty of eternal silence and immensity, as your everlasting monument! What was the pyramid-piled grave of the Egyptian kings compared to this? A tomb here more worthy of divine Cleora than the old Leucadian steep! This is the home of Poesy, first-born of the gods, and Romance, the parent of golden dreams. Alas, that the cold hand of Science has dragged the Naiads from the waters, and hurled the Dryads and Hamadrayads from the woods!

Twilight is descending, and I gaze once more into that awful realm of swimming shadows and enormous shapes, with fearful chasms, rolling billows of foam, vast cloud-vapours, descending columns of yellow water, like liquid fire, opalescent by Aeons of ages, towering mountains crowned by mournful pines, showers of spray and wandering mist, mingled with the roar and rush and howl of immeasurable waters plunging in their death agonies into the 'fathomless and thundering abyss,' in unutterable sublimity of illimitable madness. Alas, after all I have only proved how impotent is language to give more than a vague and shadowy outline of that mighty picture, hung there on the silent rocks among the grand old mountains as a presentation picture to Australia from the Art Gallery of the Eternal!...

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