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Cultural Landscape Change in the Historical Perspective of White Settlement in the Wet Tropics:

Case Study of the Redlynch Valley

Thesis submitted for Doctor of Philosophy

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Statement of the Contribution of Others

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Abbreviations

AAMWS	Australian Army Medical Women's Service
ACH	Australian Camp Hospital
AITM	Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine
ANU	Australian National University
ASPA	Australian Sugar Producers' Association
AWC	Allied Works Council
AWU	Australian Workers' Union
BDM	Births, Deaths and Marriages
CCC	Cairns City Council
CDB	Cairns Divisional Board
CEDT	Certificate of Exemption from Dictation Test
CHS	Cairns Historical Society
CSR	Colonial Sugar Refinery
CWA	Country Women's Association
JCU	James Cook University
MRD	Main Roads Department
NAA	National Archives of Australia
QATB	Queensland Ambulance Transport Brigade
QCWA	Queensland Country Women's Association
QGG	*Queensland Government Gazette*
QGR	Queensland Government Railways
QPP	*Queensland Parliamentary Papers*
QSA	Queensland State Archives
QV&P	*Queensland Votes and Proceedings*
UQ	University of Queensland
USA	United States of America
VAD	Voluntary Aid Detachment
WAP	White Australia Policy
WWII	World War Two

Measurement Conversions
Imperial to Metric

Length

       1 inch (in)   = 2.54 centimetres (cm)

       12 inches   = 1 foot (ft)   = 30.48 cm

        3 feet   = 1 yard (yd) = 0.9144 metre

       66 feet   = 1 chain   = 20.12 metres

       1 mile   = 1.609 kilometres (km)

Area

        1 perch   = 25.29 square metres

       40 perches   = 1 rood   = ¼ acre   = 1,012 square metres

       1 acre   = 0.405 hectare (ha)

       640 acres   = 1 square mile   = 259 hectares

Weight

       1 ounce (oz) avoirdupois   = 28.35 grams (g)

       16 ounces = 1 pound (lb)   = 0.4536 kilogram

       112 pounds = 1 hundredweight (cwt) = 50.80 kilograms (kg)

       20 hundredweight   = 1 ton (long) = 1.016 tonnes

       2,000 pounds   = 1 ton (short) = 0.907 tonne

Liquid   1 gallon   = 4.546 litres

Rainfall   1 inch   = 25.4 millimetres (mm)

Temperature 1°Celsius   = 1.8°Fahrenheit

Barometric Pressure 1 inch = 33.86 millibars (mb) or hectopascals (hPa)

Currency   12 pence (12d)   = 1 shilling (1/-)

               20 shillings   = 1 pound (£)

Two pounds 10 shillings and sixpence would be written £2/10/6.

Old currency cannot be converted to its decimal equivalent at the 1966 changeover rate, given the impact of inflation over time.

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Abstract

This thesis is an historical investigation into the cultural, political, social and economic factors that affected settlement in the Redlynch Valley near Cairns from the 1880s to the 1960s, and how these both created and changed a wet tropics cultural landscape following colonisation. In particular it examines how social values and government policy concerning attitudes to White settlers in the tropics had an impact on the landscape following a period of intense debate about the ability of White settlers to survive there, and the need to encourage such settlement to fulfil racial and defence policy imperatives. Both ideas affected land legislation, immigration and economic policies, population density and ethnic makeup, which in turn transformed the landscape both physically and symbolically. A gendered perspective has been employed to give a balanced historical perspective of cultural landscape change, as settlement historiography often excludes or marginalises women.

This was done through the analysis and comparison of primary sources within a regional, state and international framework that involved the examination of official government documents, and legislation involving land, immigration and nationalism. Investigation into the cultural landscape, which is the study and analysis of the relationship between humans and the land over time, involved detailed examination of land use and power relations embedded in the landscape. This process was assisted through the examination and analysis of photographs and maps, paying particular attention to the inclusion or absence of women, while newspapers provided the social and human aspect not provided in official sources. By analysing these records, it was found that women played an essential part in the settlement process.

This study found, through the case study of the Redlynch Valley, that a cultural landscape consisting of permanent White agrarian settlement was achieved in the wet tropics of Queensland through a combination of the Queensland government's closer land settlement policy that favoured agriculture, and implementation of the White

Australia policy at the turn of the 19th century. It was found that Redlynch settlement occurred in two layers. The first layer occurred through European selectors taking up land in the 1880s, with Chinese labour employed to fulfil the improvement conditions of their selection agreements. This was achieved mainly through sub-leasing small acreages to Chinese who played an important pioneering role in agriculture, growing maize, bananas, citrus fruits and pineapples. The belief that White people could not settle the tropics without such 'coloured' assistance, along with Imperial constraints on racist legislation within the Australian colonies, meant that Chinese immigration to the district was officially allowed in the 19th century. Agricultural assistance to selectors was provided by the government through the establishment of the Kamerunga State Nursery where experimental trials and testing the potential of other tropical crops were carried out in the process of establishing a viable economy for farmers. The resulting landscape was one of small-scale agriculture using mixed crops, but with significant areas still uncleared. The catalyst for the second layer of settlement in Redlynch was the introduction of sugar cane in the 1920s.

Changes in social values resulted in legislation that eliminated non-White labour and farmers from the sugar industry in the first two decades of the 20th century. Legislation also eliminated Chinese from fruit culture and resulted in their removal from the Redlynch landscape. The Anglo-Australian labour engaged in the sugar industry had been boosted by the immigration of workers from Britain, as well as Northern and Southern Europe that included Finns, Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs under the White Australia policy. Some of these became farmers.

The second layer of settlement in Redlynch occurred through the creation of a landscape of small family sugar cane farms, subdivided and sold from larger freehold estates, that supplied sugar cane to the Hambledon Mill. This landscape was made possible by Queensland and Commonwealth policies that provided encouragement to and protection of the sugar industry to fulfil the goal of a White farming population in

the tropics. Unlike the previous agricultural landscape, this was a monoculture in which areas of the original vegetation were confined to hillsides too steep to cultivate by horse-drawn plough.

Urbanisation in the form of small towns progressed with the gradual establishment of the essential services that were necessary to cater for the needs of settlers and necessary to attract and hold more population, such as a reticulated water supply, electricity, roads, bridges, and schools. These services were in addition to the transport network of roads and railway already in place. Businesses such as stores and hotels, also attracted by the provision of services, both followed population and assisted its further growth. Women were an essential element of family to achieve the goal of White settlement, necessary to produce and raise healthy children. They also played a central role in the development of a permanent township. They owned and/or ran important businesses, and as voluntary workers, featured in fundraising which was a dominant activity for the acquisition and maintenance of family-oriented amenities. This small-scale urbanisation did not progress in a linear fashion, with towns rising or declining with the economic developments that originally produced them.

Overlaid on these evolutionary developments are the impact of natural disasters such as cyclones and floods that affected both layers of settlement in the short term, but had less impact over long periods.

Introduction

This study examines how the changes in social values and government policies concerning attitudes to White settlers impacted on the landscape in a small area of the wet tropics of Queensland. The themes that emerge from the historiography of Queensland's tropical sugar industry, and its place in the turn towards White Australia at the turn of the 20th century, have been considered in the context of state and national concerns. Examination of the impact of these larger-scale concerns on a small regional area can test these assumptions.

The Redlynch Valley landscape is a discrete area that is isolated from the larger Cairns agricultural area due to its particular physical topography. This limited area has been chosen as a discrete geographical landscape isolated by the physical barriers of the river and the mountain ranges which surround it. As such it provides a practicable area for study. The Redlynch Valley lies between the natural topographical boundaries of the Lamb Range to the west and the Whitfield Range to the south-east. Freshwater Creek runs through the valley and meets up with the Barron River, which forms the natural northern boundary. The area selected for study is that which lies on the western side of Freshwater Creek between the Barron River and Lamb Range, recognised today as the western suburban area of Redlynch in modern Cairns.

Prior to European settlement within the Cairns region the area described as the 'Redlynch Valley' was an Aboriginal subsistence landscape, mostly under rainforest. European occupation changed the landscape with the establishment of a capitalist agricultural system which has been replaced more recently by a residential urban landscape. However, the landscape has also been given social and cultural form by the values, ideologies and laws of the societies living within it. Its separation from the larger Cairns agricultural area provides the opportunity for a case study of a discrete area involved in agricultural activity and how the change in attitude to race at a national level, and the legislation shaped by this change at a national and State level,

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combined to bring about permanent White settlement in the Australian tropics at the expense of the Chinese who helped to make initial White settlement successful.

The Cultural Landscape

One of the analytical tools used for this history is to consider Redlynch as a cultural landscape. The cultural landscape is the physical environment as modified by humans over time. Cultural landscapes are not static, but evolve as the result of human interactions with the natural environment, those interactions themselves shaped by socio-economic and cultural forces over time.[1] Landscapes are usually viewed as gender neutral, though in practice most attention is paid to public activity, usually defined as 'male', rather than the domestic activity usually ascribed to 'female'. Landscapes can change dramatically over time, leaving only traces of previous 'lost' landscapes. Often the residents of the current landscape are unaware of the transformations that have occurred. Understanding the meaning of 'recovered' landscapes can enrich understanding and a sense of place which contributes to social identity and well-being. The physical form and the climate, as well as the spatial structure and activity patterns of a settlement or region, are key aspects of identity in the cultural landscape. It is through analysis of the relationship between humans and the land over time that the cultural landscape can be understood and interpreted. Cultural landscapes are best analysed through small case studies to allow for depth of investigation.

Definitions of cultural landscape abound and are widely used as a tool for analysis of human interactions with geographical features. An interpretation of 'cultural landscape' particularly useful to this study is the view that it is a complex entity with many layers of meaning, and that changes in the physical landscape reflect the prevailing ideologies and cultural structures that have shaped the environment.

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[1] W. Norton, 2000. *Cultural Geography: Themes, concepts, Analyses,* Oxford University Press, Ontario, p. 69.

Changing ideas, socio-political values and the needs of the occupants provide historic meaning to the changes wrought on the land by those cultural values and practices over time to create the cultural landscape.

The framework for understanding the cultural landscape is a comprehensive local history considered within a national and international context. Such a history is currently unavailable for the Redlynch Valley. This study aims to provide this history and place it in its context to understand the physical, economic and social changes on the landscape, using Redlynch as a case study for the wet tropics of Australia. The particular cultural framework which informs this study is the concept of 'White man in the tropics' – first as the idea that Europeans could not live and labour in the tropics without degenerating, and then the push to establish Europeans in the Australian tropics driven by the ideology of a 'White' Australia. Both ideas had a noticeable impact on agricultural landscapes in the wet tropics such as the Redlynch Valley.

The Redlynch Valley cultural landscape will also be investigated from a gender perspective, a viewpoint that has not previously been applied in cultural landscape studies. Emphasis on a gendered approach exposes the contradictory ideology underlying government encouragement of small family farms using sons' labour as necessary for establishing a 'White' sugar industry, while discussing that farming community in terms of the (male) farmer alone. It also exposes the persistence of an uncontested acceptance of a 'masculine' rural agricultural landscape which consistently fails to either value or recognise women's contribution or existence, through their exclusion in documentation of settlement or historical accounts of that settlement.

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The aims of this thesis are to investigate factors that affected post-contact settlement in the Redlynch Valley from the 1880s to the 1960s and produced changes in the landscape over time. These aims are outlined as follows:

1. Document in detail land settlement patterns and land usage in the Redlynch Valley, and include an historical analysis of the cultural landscape produced by such patterns and usage. While acknowledging the Aboriginal cultural landscape, the study will focus on European activity and the reasons underlying change from a European cultural perspective.

2. Examine the social, economic and legislative framework that ensured permanent White settlement and White land tenure following a period when Europeans were not considered suited to the tropics.

3. Expose the contradictory elements concealed in the assumption of a 'masculine' rural agricultural landscape and seek out and acknowledge the participation of women and make them visible to give a more balanced interpretation of landscape change.

4. Acknowledge and document the Chinese contribution to the landscape, which was highly significant before White Australia ideology virtually drove them from that landscape.

5. Add depth to the understanding of tropical agricultural landscapes in Queensland.

Significance

This study will contribute to greater understanding of the regional history of tropical Queensland, notably the wet tropics. It will provide a detailed interpretative study of progressive land use in a well-defined district from the first land selections by

Europeans, and trace the development of a small White community in the wet tropics of northern Australia, a region that caused intense national debate about the ability of White settlers to survive there, and the necessity that they do so in order to fulfil racial and defence policy imperatives. It will investigate the 'lost landscape' of Chinese mixed farming and the impact of White Australia on that landscape. While a small Aboriginal community persisted in the Redlynch area, it is beyond the scope of the thesis to consider its cultural landscape and how that community adapted to changes in it over time.

The first set of social beliefs about Europeans in the tropics, based on colonial experience in India, South America and Asia, said that they could not work in or cope with the heat. Developing theories of race under the impetus of Social Darwinism during the 19th century added a eugenic component, to the effect that Europeans would not breed successfully in the tropics due partly to tropical diseases, and because the heat which was thought to be responsible for the apparent inferiority of the 'Black' races would cause the 'White' race to become degenerate. This applied particularly to the humid wet tropics due to the tropical fevers found there. However, the rise of the White Australia policy in the late 19th century, accelerated by Federation of the Australian colonies in 1901, demanded that the nation become White and that northern Australia become the home of a well-established White population which would also assist to defend the 'empty north' from the 'Asian hordes' threatening to the north of the continent. The debate on whether this was possible raged into the 1930s. The earlier belief was reflected in Redlynch in the experiments with non-European labour, the second in the establishment and eventual dominance of small sugar cane farms based on the idea that family labour would replace the imported Black (Melanesian) or Asian labour which previously provided the workforce. The development of a cultural landscape of a sugar farming region of small farms has also not previously been examined for the wet tropics of Queensland.

The economics of tropical settlement and its impact on Redlynch's development will also be examined. Despite two centuries of British colonial experience in tropical agriculture, northern Australia was found to present fresh problems requiring research and experimentation to establish viable regional economies. Primary industry was understood to be the most suitable for a newly settled area, feeding into the capitalist world economy or more specifically, the British imperial economy. Distance from markets meant that primary produce would have to be valuable enough to cover transport costs and not too perishable to survive the voyage. Labour costs, particularly as White Australia began to take effect and more expensive White labour had to be used, meant that crops could not be too labour-intensive or should be capable of mechanisation, and would be amenable to growing in a monoculture which is easier to farm. These economic factors shaped the types of agriculture found in the Redlynch area and therefore the landscape, as sugar cane replaced the mixture of crops grown by early European and Chinese farmers.

This study is significant as a history of cultural landscape change in the wet tropics of Queensland. Other cultural landscape studies of north Queensland exist but they were not in the wet tropics. One is that of a sugar plantation, examined from the viewpoint of social class and ethnicity of the plantation workers[2], while the other cultural landscape study traces the change from plantation to small farms.[3] However, neither includes any gender analysis. Other regional studies in existence related to the sugar industry concentrate on specific issues such as the labour problem, milling and expansion of farming, and housing for the canecutters. These will be useful in assisting with identification and comparison of characteristics relevant to the cultural landscapes of cane farms, and have been included in the review of literature in Chapter One.[4]

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[2] L. Hayes, 2011. *On Plantation Creek: a community history of the Australian South Sea Islanders in the Burdekin Shire*, Burdekin Shire Council, Ayr.

[3] P. Griggs, 1989. From Plantation to Small Farm: Lower Burdekin 1880-1930, PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.

[4] See Chapter One, Literature Review, for more detail.

Many other histories exist which examine the sugar industry generally in Queensland[5] and there are also those pertaining to local central mills, such as the Mulgrave,[6] Mossman[7], Tully[8] and South Johnstone mills.[9] These histories of the sugar industry will provide context on the history of the industry, for example how changes in harvesting would have impacted on the cultural landscape. Most north Queensland central sugar mills were owned by farmer co-operatives. The Hambledon Mill which serviced the cane farming lands in the Freshwater and Redlynch districts was owned by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, later CSR. The peculiarity of an isolated cane farming area such as the Redlynch Valley being serviced by a CSR mill might provide an interesting study for comparison with other, similar districts serviced by private central mills.

In local histories of the Cairns district, Redlynch is mentioned briefly. Documentation on the earliest settlers in the Redlynch area is non-existent and there is an absence of information on early settlement and land usage patterns. The area receives only passing general mentions in reference to the overall industries and events concerning the progress of the Cairns region, as being yet another location for farming and later, an outer suburb of Cairns city.[10]

Redlynch Landscape Evolution: themes to be considered

Aborigines of the Djabugay group[11] first occupied and used the landscape of the Redlynch area. The original landscape was of rainforest, and open grassy woodlands

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[5] P. Griggs, 2011. *Global Industry, Local Innovation: The History of Cane Sugar Production in Australia, 1820-1995*, Peter Lang, Bern.

[6] C. Morton, 1995. *By Strong Arms,* The Mulgrave Central Mill Co. Ltd., Gordonvale.

[7] J. Kerr, 1979. *Northern Outpost*, Mossman Central Mill Co. Ltd., Mossman.

[8] A. Hudson, 2000. *By the Banyan: Tully Sugar, the first 75 years,* Christopher Beck Books, Brisbane.

[9] A. Hudson, 1995. *Sweet Success: A Story of South Johnstone Mill*, Christopher Beck Books, Brisbane.

[10] T. Bottoms, 2002. A History of Cairns: City of the South Pacific 1770-1995, PhD Thesis, Central Queensland University.

[11] T. Bottoms, 1999. *Djabugay Country*: *An Aboriginal History of Tropical North Queensland*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards.

created and managed by the Aborigines. A transport corridor from the uplands to the coast within the Redlynch area was used by Aborigines to gather resources for food and housing as well as other cultural practices such as ceremonial gatherings. Some of their tracks later provided the base for European transport routes. The Djabugay people continued to live in the area, but their traditional land management techniques had less impact on the landscape following White invasion.

The first layer of White settlement was done by selectors taking up large parcels of land, often called 'estates', and with the pattern of West Indian plantations in mind. This was encouraged by the Queensland colonial government which wanted agricultural settlement as the most desirable kind, as it put most people on the land, unlike pastoralism, and could be expected to be permanent, unlike mining. White families were the most desirable and it was women who bore and raised the children of those families, and did the domestic work necessary to feed, clothe and care for those families, occasionally with some Aboriginal assistance. However, agricultural labour was scarce, a problem aggravated by the social and medical prejudice against Whites working in the wet tropics, and the land needed to be cleared, so in fact much of the land was leased to Chinese who were leaving the declining goldfields to the north and west. 'Coloured' labour was considered essential for establishing a successful European economy in the tropics, and Chinese and Aboriginal labour were utilised.[12]

The Chinese played an important pioneering role in agriculture within the Cairns district through leasing portions of the European selections, clearing the forest, and operating market gardens where they mainly grew fruits such as pineapples, mangoes, bananas, and citrus, as well as maize and rice.[13] The Chinese created a landscape of

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[12] In sugar producing areas elsewhere in Queensland, much of this work was done by South Sea Islanders, but there were few in the Redlynch area because of its late entry to sugar growing.

[13] C. May, 1984. *Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns, 1870-1920*, Studies in North Queensland History No. 6, Department of History and Politics, James Cook University (JCU), Townsville.

small farms and market gardens amid larger European holdings. Their presence as farmers in large numbers in the district decreased gradually after Federation under the pressure of hostile legislation aimed at creating a White Australia, but some evidence of their operating local businesses such as a slaughter yard, market gardens and shops indicates that some Chinese remained in the area through to the 1930s. In other sugar-growing areas, Melanesian canefield workers were the principal targets of much White Australia legislation, but the Chinese were the other group most heavily affected.

Settlement with any economic success could not proceed without a certain level of infrastructure, particularly transport. Various local governments with responsibility for the area provided access to Cairns by the building of bridges and making roads suitable for wheeled vehicles, reducing the likelihood of being isolated during the wet season when flooding of Freshwater Creek and the Barron River occurred. A transport network was added to the landscape which changed further with the coming of the railway. The major impacts were closer settlement, and the development of small towns.

Construction of the Cairns to Herberton railway boosted settlement from 1886, as small towns such as New Cairns and Kamerunga were established in the Valley to service the workmen and their families as the second stage of the railway progressed to Kuranda.[14] While Kamerunga did not survive, the siding at Redlynch became a nucleus for more permanent township building. The railway also helped the choice of Kamerunga as the site of a Government experimental farm. Tropical crops were trialled from 1890 at the Kamerunga State Nursery, which played an important part of the process of establishing a viable economy for the farmers that the Government was trying to encourage to settle in Queensland's wet tropics.

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[14] D. Jones, 1976. *Trinity Phoenix*: *A History of Cairns and District*, Cairns and District Centenary Committee, Cairns.

 Sugar cane became the dominant crop for the entire valley area during the 1920s, creating a new landscape, with more intensive use of the area from which small farmers supplied CSR's Hambledon central mill. This would assist in establishing and increasing settlement for the next forty years.   This landscape was made possible by Queensland and Commonwealth Government policies, that provided encouragement and protection of the sugar industry to fulfil the goal of a White small farming population in what was perceived as the vulnerable and thinly-settled north. Anglo-Australian cane cutting labour was gradually replaced by cane cutters of Mediterranean origin, who eventually became farm owners in the creation of a 'White' multicultural landscape.

Services that were necessary to cater for the needs of settlers in the Redlynch area, and necessary to attract and hold more population, were gradually established. These included postal and telegraph services, hotels, shops and schools, a reticulated water supply, and electricity supplied by the Barron Gorge Hydro Electric Scheme established nearby in the 1930s. Women were particularly important in the provision of labour, either paid or as business owners, to many of these services, and of volunteer labour to schools and informal welfare. These services facilitated closer settlement by small farmers, and boosted the populations and permanency of towns.

International events like war also had their impact on settlement. For example, the huge influx of Australian and American forces during World War II when Cairns was an important base in the Pacific theatre of war contributed to temporary changes in the cultural landscape, with troop movements through the Redlynch Valley for training on the Atherton Tablelands.[15] Natural disasters such as cyclones and floods also had their impact on the landscape, though with different effects through different stages of settlement.

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[15] V. Bradley, 1995. *I Didn't Know That*, Booralong Press, Moorooka.

This brief overview indicates that several themes affecting settlement in the wet tropics were played out in Redlynch: the change from an Aboriginal subsistence landscape to one using farming to establish a European economy; the reliance on non-European labour and adoption of earlier colonial patterns of tropical agriculture in the early stages, such as estates and plantations; the search for viable industries in the remote wet tropics of northern Australia; the importance of female labour to the establishment of White settlement; and the politically forced change to White Australia, and the consequent establishment of a White farming community through the sugar industry and removal of a group of very successful Chinese farmers and service people. In addition are the geographical themes of urbanisation and the establishment of transport, communication and service networks, and their impact on the cultural landscape. Overlaid on these evolutionary developments are the more temporary impacts of social and natural disasters such as war, cyclones and floods.

Theoretical Framework

The framework applied to this thesis is derived principally from theories of cultural landscape. The cultural factors which shaped that landscape come principally from the political and legislative framework related to 'peopling the north', first for economic reasons and then culturally, with Whites alone, and land ownership. As earlier noted, the particular cultural framework which informs this study is the changing concept of 'White man in the tropics'. The earliest social belief was that Europeans could not cope with the heat and humidity, especially in the wet tropics, and needed 'Black' or 'coloured' labour to do the physically demanding work. It was reinforced by the Social Darwinist idea that the colonised people in warmer countries must be inferior because of the heat and that Europeans in the tropics might therefore be prone to racial degeneration. However, the late 19th century saw a growing demand for a White Australia, which became policy with the new Commonwealth Government once Federation had occurred. The debate set up by these conflicting ideas lasted into the

1930s and ensured that the Federal and Queensland governments would legislate to favour closer White settlement in the tropical north and discourage continued settlement by Asians and Melanesians. For Queensland's wet tropics, this meant Government policies to encourage and protect the most successful crop: sugar cane. In the national quest for a White Australia and the push to establish Europeans in the Australian tropics, the districts' problems of health and environment were also subjected to scientific and medical investigation. The interaction between these socio-political concepts and the tropical landscape itself shaped the Redlynch area.

Queensland Government policy on closer settlement from the 1870s had favoured agrarianism and small-scale farming. Legislation on land tenure combined with settlement policy to enforce the vision of north Queensland being settled by a yeomanry of small holders, preferably White. Government influence was evident in the control over land access by ensuring from 1876 onwards that agricultural land was opened to selection in smaller blocks. From the 1880s, discrimination against aliens owning land, and against non-Whites working in the Queensland sugar industry, ensured the essentially European development of the sugar cane industry in north Queensland. Legislation to 'protect' Aborigines also operated to remove large numbers of them to missions and Government stations to lessen their use as cheap labour in competition with Whites.

 Protective legislation was also introduced through market regulation to ensure the sugar industry's success. Both the Federal and State governments' willingness to provide extensive protection to the sugar industry, provided it became White, influenced the form of settlement in northern Australia. The creation of a small sugar farming landscape owned and operated by 'Whites' in the Redlynch Valley, replacing a European and Chinese mixed crop landscape, is a clear example of the impact of the defence and White Australia policies and State land legislation.

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Organisational Structure

Chapter One reviews available literature relevant to this thesis and has been divided into three parts. The first section includes literature considered useful for historical investigation into the cultural, political, social and economic factors that affected and effected White settlement in a tropical environment. The second part of the literature review deals with literature concerning theories and approaches to cultural landscape studies. The third part is the review of histories of Redlynch. As this project will be investigated from a gendered, or gender sensitive approach, the literature has been reviewed from this critical point of view.

The remaining chapters follow a largely chronological format. Chapter Two provides a general background of Cairns that includes the context of settlement and development under European land management. It also provides an overview of initial agriculture prior to the establishment of sugar cane, and a brief overview of the Queensland sugar industry to explain the development of sugar as the dominant crop and a White industry.

Chapter Three, which examines the problems perceived for settling Whites in the tropics, has been divided into two parts. The first part is a case study of land legislation and investigates its impact on initial settlement patterns in the Redlynch Valley. The second part investigates the experimental phase of agriculture, including government assistance with setting up the Kamerunga State Nursery, in the search for economically viable tropical crops with suitable 'coloured' labour due to prejudices against settlement of Whites in the tropics.

Chapter Four acknowledges and examines the contribution of Chinese to agriculture and settlement of the Redlynch Valley, as the Chinese filled the role of 'coloured' labour' considered suited to the tropics – even though most came from a region which

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was, at most, sub-tropical. It then relates the impact of discriminatory legislation on Chinese under 'White Australia', resulting in their removal from that landscape by the mid-1920s.

Chapter Five investigates transport routes and how developments with roads and rail, and European land management, impacted on the landscape and influenced the pattern of the first stage of European settlement in Redlynch.

Chapter Six closely analyses the introduction of sugar to Redlynch in the 1920s and development of the small farming landscape with the next stage of settlement, and consequent changes in the cultural landscape. Legislation again largely determined the pattern of settlement within the cultural landscape, changing it to a monoculture tied to a mill outside the district.

Chapter Seven covers the further expansion of settlement and the changing cultural landscape, with improvements in transport and the provision of services, and establishment of infrastructure and community amenities necessary to support a permanent population. It also notes some diversification of the economy away from sugar cane farming, with small-scale tourism making its advent.

Chapter Eight investigates how international events of economic depressions and war impacted on settlement and the landscape, such as the temporary change in the cultural landscape for Cairns and Redlynch presented by Australia's involvement of the war in the Pacific region from 1942-1945. The natural climatic events of floods and cyclones are also examined and evaluated regarding challenges during different stages of settlement and their impact on the landscape.

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Methodology

Apart from the overarching analysis using cultural landscape theories, the methodology used for this thesis was the standard historical method: analysis and comparison of primary sources within a regional, State, national and international historic framework. Primary sources were available in the Cairns Historical Society Archives, James Cook University collections, Queensland State Archives, National Australian Archives, Noel Butlin Archives at Australian National University, and John Oxley Library. Published primary sources, including books and articles discussing the problem of 'White man in the tropics', Acts, debates on those Acts, and annual reports of the Departments of Land and Agriculture and Stock provided the context of White settlement and Government attempts to implement and encourage it. Government department reports also included a regional component which was useful for information directly on Redlynch, particularly the reports of the Kamerunga State Nursery in the Department of Agriculture and Stock's annual reports.

Newspapers provided a human face to local problems and challenges that faced settlers and also provided other detailed information regarding settlement that was not recorded in government documents. There was a high dependence on newspapers in Trove for information about Redlynch, especially from the early 1880s, to trace selectors' improvements and agricultural progress. The wealth of information available in newspaper reports and advertisements also provided detailed information regarding land sales, subdivision and transfer of property ownership. Produce sales indicated the diversity of early farming prior to the dominance of sugar cane, and new business advertisements indicated the development of services. The development of a community could also be traced through social columns, entertainment, sporting and recreational activity.

Women were often absent from primary sources and finding them took a circuitous route via family history research with an unforeseen dependence on Birth, Death and Marriage Registers, often simply to find women's names. Continuation of the 19th century practice of "coverture"[16] of married women, with the loss of a woman's personal identity to her partner (as, for example, Mary Jones becoming Mrs Tom Smith) and therefore becoming invisible, contributed to this problem. One search for a woman's name uncovered an obituary in 1929 which listed all the accomplishments of her deceased husband from a former marriage, rather than her own.[17] This implied that the woman's only notable accomplishment in her life was the good fortune to have been *his* wife. This is only one example of women being taken for granted, even though they were an essential component of 'family', that was encountered when seeking information about women's participation in the settlement process.

Parish maps and survey maps featured strongly as primary sources of information to trace land tenure, subdivisions and settlement patterns, and to identify transport routes of both road and rail. Topographical maps assisted with identifying changes in the physical landscape, for example the courses of waterways affected by flooding. The maps were used in conjunction with other information gleaned from the documents that indicated changes in the physical and cultural landscape. Local government (Divisional Board and Shire Council) Rate books assisted with investigation into land tenure. One point to be noted in this study is the adherence to imperial measures such as length and acreage, volume and weight as well as currency that were the common form of measurement for the period under study. Conversion tables have been provided in the preliminary pages.

The normative process of naming places and giving streets and roads commemorative names was also closely investigated on local maps. Early European settlement and crop

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[16] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coverture . Coverture was a legal doctrine whereby, upon marriage, a woman's legal rights and obligations were subsumed by those of her husband. Coverture arises from the legal fiction that a husband and wife are one person.
[17] *Cairns Post*, 27 August 1929, p. 4.

farming are generally viewed as male-dominated undertakings, masking the contributions of women. A gendered approach seeks to compensate for this overtly male projection of gender in the landscape, and explore gender relations. One of the ways this can be done is by looking at street names which might reflect female residents.

Photographs have been studied for indications of changes to the physical environment due to human activity and cultural influences related to habitation and settlement, such as fences and farm buildings, as well as for the influences of industry and infrastructure, and for changes caused by natural climatic events such as cyclones and flooding. Interpretations of the landscape have also been critically examined in the way photographs were framed and composed, for example from a 'capitalist' perspective of emphasising progressive and productive improvement of the land. Photographs sourced from National Archives records of Chinese Certificates of Domicile and Certificates of Exemption assisted with providing personal identities to some Chinese individuals in Redlynch who have often been referred to in histories as "the Chinese" and considered as an "undifferentiated mass".[18]

Photographs were also examined for evidence of women and families. Agriculture, including sugar, and early settlements are usually viewed and photographed as 'masculine' landscapes because they have been documented and expressed from a male point of view that generally excludes women. The notable absence of women from photos confirms the male perspective, but does not confirm the absence of women from the landscape.

It has generally been said by feminist authors that mainstream histories tend to exclude or marginalise women's contribution, or simply take it for granted as

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[18] S. Couchman, 2016. "Chinese-Australian Commercial Photographers in Australia's North", in G. Grimwade, K. Rains, and M. Dunk, Eds, *Rediscovered Past: Chinese Networks,* Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia (CHINA) Inc., Melbourne, p. 28.

'domestic' and therefore marginal. There is a general agreement amongst feminist authors of the continued need to simply write women into historical narratives to prepare the ground for deeper analyses of the society in question.[19] As this study proceeded, efforts were made to include women in all aspects of this study from the earliest settlement stage onwards to recognise and document their contribution. It confirms the presence of women, despite their being a minority in population statistics, as they were an essential element of White settlement being established in the wet tropics of Queensland.

It should be noted that the term 'White' is used in this thesis to refer to those of European origin, partly because the theme of 'White Australia' is important to this thesis, and partly because the common alternative 'European' is inaccurate when referring to people of European extraction born in Australia.

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[19] K. Morin and L. Berg, "Explaining current trends in feminist historical geography", *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 6, Issue 4, 1999, pp. 311-330.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

This thesis aims to evaluate the impacts of social values and Government policy, specifically attitudes to White and Chinese settlers in the tropics, on a landscape. A search of literature could find no other landscape study on settlement of a farming community in the wet tropics of Australia that developed within the legislative framework of the White Australia policy. Histories of north Queensland have explored the course of White settlement in the tropics, but not specifically evaluating the effect of ideas about race in the tropics on a farming landscape, and not from a gender perspective. There is a wealth of material on related topics of the White Australia policy generally, land legislation and its effects, agriculture and the sugar industry of Queensland, cultural landscapes, and the history of Cairns and district.

The literature reviewed for this thesis has been divided into three parts. The first section includes literature considered useful for historical investigation into the cultural, political, social and economic factors that affected and effected Asian and White settlement in a tropical environment. The second part of the literature review deals with approaches to landscape studies. The third part reviews histories of Redlynch.

Part 1: Whites in the Tropics

The settlement of north Australia, and specifically north Queensland, was encouraged as a result of government policies formulated first, to create favourable conditions for economic land uses, and secondly, towards the end of the 19th century, to put in effect the ideology of 'White' Australia with a legislative framework of land alienation that favoured closer settlement mainly through agriculture. By the last decades of the 19th century, it was becoming apparent that a stable economic future for north Queensland was clearly linked to the development of tropical agriculture, especially the growing of sugar cane which at that time was labour intensive and dependent on non-White

labour.[20] The simplistic national policy of White Australia became inextricably linked with policies that enforced racist and discriminatory practices in Queensland following Federation, and led to arguments about the question of labour in the sugar industry and the climatological debate concerning the unsuitability of White settlement in the tropics. Literature reviewed in this section is concerned with the White Australia policy, immigration and northern settlement, the debate about the suitability of Whites for the tropics, land legislation and tenure, and tropical agriculture and the sugar industry. As this project will be investigated from a gendered, or gender sensitive approach, the literature has been reviewed from this critical point of view.

<u>Social Beliefs and Cultural Values: White Australia and Whites in the tropics</u>

There is a wealth of material on immigration to Australia and the White Australia Policy, the reasons behind its formulation, and the general effects of the policy on immigration throughout Australia. An overriding theme throughout Australian immigration history has been the conscious attempt to maintain the entire continent as a stronghold of British culture and the European 'races'. The issue of Asian immigration arose following the influx of Chinese on the southern goldfields in the 1850s and led to discriminatory and exclusionary racist policies in all the colonies. The general opinion was that non-Whites threatened the social and economic future of the new colonies and following Federation, the nation. Some useful early texts for a national background on the development of the policy are Willard[21] and Palfreeman[22], who provide an analysis of the implementation of the policy. Yarwood is useful for a viewpoint on the reasons behind restrictions on Asian immigration.[23] Price also offers a discussion of the history of restrictive immigration to countries established through

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[20] Mining had in fact attracted a larger number of people to the north than agriculture, and distributed that population more widely across inland areas not suited to cropping, but was anything but stable as mineral deposits were worked out or metal prices varied.

[21] M. Willard, 1967. *History of the White Australia Policy to 1920,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

[22] A. G. Palfreeman, 1967. *The Administration of the White Australian Policy*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

[23] A. T. Yarwood, 1964. *Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion 1896-1923*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

British colonisation to Pacific regions of the world, including the United States of America (U.S.A.) and New Zealand, as well as Australia in the earlier part of the 19th century.[24] Anderson[25] offers a more recent review of the White Australia policy. His and other recent reviews of the policy are critical of its racism and discrimination towards prospective settlers. Ganley's[26] recent thesis provides a comprehensive review of the White Australia Policy and how legislation was applied on the basis of racism to create a national identity of White Australians. This thesis is an analysis of discourses on the White Australia Policy (WAP). Ganly's study is part of 'Whiteness' studies, a relatively new field of academic and interdisciplinary pursuit. He argues that the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* became the legal means by which WAP was applied to the entire continent on the basis of race. His thesis is critical of the racism enacted to determine the suitability of immigrants based on their 'Whiteness' as a determinant rather than their suitability for the effective economic and social development of the country. Prince's[27] thesis takes this theme further with his argument that the racial meaning of the word 'alien' in the *Immigration Restriction Act* was used in political and legal contexts instead of its proper legal meaning. However, these studies offer no insights into White settlement of Australia's north, an area usually considered suited only to the 'Black' races until the 1880s.

Racism and Northern Settlement

Reynolds[28] is also critical of the White Australia Policy but from a different point of view. He argues from the perspective of the policy's effects on northern settlement that it had a detrimental effect on the developing north. In his study of society of

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[24] A. C. Price, 1974. *The Great White Walls are Built: Restrictive Immigration to North America and Australasia 1836-1888*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

[25] W. Anderson, 2002. *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

[26] N. T. Ganley, 2007. The Construction of Whiteness in Australia: Discourses of Immigration and National Identity form the White Australia Policy to Multiculturalism, PhD Thesis, School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland.

[27] P. Prince, 2015. Aliens in Their Own Land, PhD Thesis, Australian National University.

[28] H. Reynolds, 2003. *North of Capricorn: The Untold Story of Australia's North,* Allen & Unwin, Crow's Nest, p. 161.

northern Australia, he believes that the policy was introduced due to southern influence. The population of the southern settled colonies was overwhelmingly White and held hostile views towards the developing multi-racial society of the tropical north. Reynolds argues that "the White Australia Policy … grew out of contemporary racial thought, vilification of non-Europeans, and all-embracing prejudice as well as general ignorance about the actual conditions of society in the north of the continent".[29]

Reynolds argues a positive case for the multi-racial north with the existence of Indigenous people, Pacific Islanders, Chinese, Japanese, Singhalese (Sri Lankans), Javanese (Indonesians) and Malays involved in agriculture, pearl-shelling and mining, all contributing in a way that benefited economic development of the region. Legislation introduced before and following Federation would slow economic development and kill the existing dynamic multi-racial society in northern towns. However, such was the southern prejudice towards non-Europeans that an under-developed north was preferable to racial 'pollution' of the White race. Reynolds perhaps downplays the strength of anti-Asian feeling in the north, particularly in the growing Labour movement and on the mining fields, and disregards the assistance given by the Queensland and Federal governments to boost the settlement and therefore the economy of a 'White' North in compensation.

As well as acknowledging that non-Europeans were of economic benefit to northern development, Reynolds also pointed out the contradiction of White Australia with regard to the Aboriginal population. In a similar vein, McGregor also acknowledges that Aborigines did not figure prominently in debates over the racial destiny of the north until the 1930s, as they were presumed to be fated to extinction.[30] Medical scientists arguing for the viability of White tropical settlement were unanimous in claiming that the Aborigines posed little threat as they were not an agent in the

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[29] *Ibid.*

[30] R. McGregor, 1997. *Imagined Destinies: Australian Aborigines and the doomed race theory 1880-1939*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

introduction of tropical diseases, though others believed their contact with White people should be controlled because they were considered agents for spreading diseases such as leprosy and venereal diseases.[31]

In a very recent thesis Richards offers yet another view on racism in the north from the local perspective.[32] His perceptive study of representations and perceptions of race in Cairns during the first twenty-five years of settlement, which spanned the introduction of the WAP, provides an analysis of local responses to national politics and the perceived racial future of Cairns. He investigates the reasons, how and why, the racial future seen by Cairns residents was dissimilar to that of other Australians. His thesis usefully assesses attitudes of tolerance to the Chinese and their implied contribution to the creation of a viable economy and therefore the cultural landscape.

Economics and Labour

North Australia, and specifically north Queensland, was being settled in the latter half of the 19th century amid optimism about tropical prospects, but also in conflict with the commonly held belief that a White race could not do manual labour in the tropics. This belief was used as an argument from an economic viewpoint to support the use of non-European labour in tropical agriculture, particularly indentured South Sea Islanders and Asians. A search of literature concerning the White Australia Policy and its application to Queensland revealed a plethora of material focusing on Melanesians and the question of non-White labour in the sugar industry. Melanesians (then called 'Kanakas', but who now prefer to be called South Sea Islanders) have been omitted from this literature review. Although they were involved in earlier attempts to establish plantations in the Cairns region, their labour was not used in the area under study. Their contribution to the sugar industry generally, and their role in the White Australia debate, will be discussed briefly in Chapter Two. Several texts concerning

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[31] A.T. Yarwood, 1991. "Sir Raphael Cilento and the White Man in the Tropics", in R. McLeod and D. Denoon, Eds, *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea*, JCU, Townsville, pp. 47-62.

[32] M. D. McD. Richards, 2010. Race around Cairns: Representations, perceptions and realities of race in the Trinity Bay District 1876-1908, PhD Thesis, JCU.

Chinese and Italian immigration have been included as they are the largest groups subject to racist attitudes who were involved in the Redlynch study area. The Chinese were involved in agriculture prior to the local development of sugar cane and the WAP, and the Italians were prominent in north Queensland and the sugar industry after the 1890s and became noticeable in the Redlynch area in the 1920s.

An old but still useful overview on Chinese immigration in Australia is offered by Choi.[33] In his demographic study he shows that the pattern of Chinese migration and settlement was vitally influenced by immigration restrictions. His analysis of primary sources of censuses, immigration records and marriage registrations, helped to determine that these immigrants were, contrary to the stereotype, not a uniform group of the peasant class. Rather, those Chinese who intended long term settlement were merchants and other service providers. The Chinese immigration to north Queensland, specifically their involvement in agriculture following the decline of the alluvial goldfields, is also dealt with in May's analysis of the Chinese in Cairns.[34] May agrees with Choi that merchants' interests aligned with being long-term residents, but assesses the miners and market gardeners as mainly sojourners, whose purpose in immigrating was to make money to send home to their families in China and eventually return to their homeland. Her regional study of Cairns emphasises the importance of Chinese as pioneers of agriculture in the early development of north Queensland.

A different point of view from studies of the restrictions on non-Whites, especially the Chinese, is offered in Wong Hoy's thesis on Chinese naturalisation which investigates the attempts of 'aliens' to become citizens of the nation in which they resided.[35] His historiographical overview, and comparisons with studies of other immigrants, raises questions of the motivations for naturalisation, usually credited to the desire for commercial gain and the opportunity of gaining the right to land tenure. His thesis

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[33] C. Y. Choi, 1975. *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia,* Sydney University Press, Sydney.
[34] May, *Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns*.
[35] K. Wong Hoy, 2006. Becoming British Subjects: Chinese in North Queensland 1879-1903, MA Thesis, La Trobe University.

investigates the complexities of and requirements for non-Europeans to become naturalised, with an alternative viewpoint that the 'desire to belong' was an extra motivational component and would contribute to overcoming racial prejudice.

The abolition of Australian South Sea Islander labour in Queensland raised concerns about labour supply in the labour-intensive sugar industry. The debate concerning White manual labour in the wet tropics continued into the first two decades of the 20th century. Although both the colonial and Federal immigration policies privileged northern Europeans, Mediterranean Europeans were thought to provide a more likely substitute for South Sea Islanders as they were from a warmer climate. The Mediterranean Europeans, the belief ran, were a peasantry accustomed to field labour under hot conditions. Douglass offers a review of immigration policy that encouraged southern Italians' entry into north Queensland and the sugar industry.[36] His analysis of census records and land ownership concludes that the perception of Italians as peasantry was altered, as immigrants after WWI rapidly progressed from labourer to permanent resident and landowner. Italians made good settlers and farmers, and their immigration continued and increased after the Second World War, contributing to the success of the sugar industry in north Queensland.

Arguments For and Against White Settlement in the Tropics

Literature regarding this region also focuses around the debate generated by the national need to settle and populate the north. One of these arguments was that the 'empty north' would attract an Asian invasion and a denser population would act as deterrent and defence. In his post-war economic study of northern Australia, Davidson debunked these theories.[37] He argued briefly that north Australia was not attractive to neighbouring Asians who were not interested in developing the empty lands, and also that defence was not realistically a problem as southern, developed

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[36] W. A. Douglass, 1995. *From Italy to Ingham: Italians in North Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.
[37] B.R. Davidson, 1965. *The Northern Myth*: *A Study of the Physical and Economic Limits to Agricultural and Pastoral Development in Tropical Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Australia was more attractive to potential invaders. However, this does not detract from the fact that popular opinion, until well after WWII, held that the 'teeming' populations of Asia were casting envious eyes at the 'empty North', and this impacted on Government policy for northern Australia and the arguments of those northerners lobbying for Government spending there.

P. P. Courtenay's short paper offers a review of pre-war prejudices and opinions for and against White settlement in the tropics.[38] He argues that the White Australia policy challenged established concepts of the tropics largely based on British acquaintance with the tropics in overseas colonies, where the British were in roles which were temporary and supervisory.   He reviewed papers by Breinl and Young (1920), R. W. Cilento (1925), and A. W. Tilby (1912) who found that arguments against settlement based entirely on climatic negatives were unfounded and survival had more to do with suitable living conditions and other factors related to the remoteness of the region. Griffith Taylor (1919 - 1926), E. Huntingdon (1920) and G. L. Wood (1926) opposed the suitability of Whites for the tropics based on 'scientific' research.   As a detractor, Griffith Taylor argued that the tropical north did not possess the physical resources needed to sustain a large population. He believed that the tropics caused severe discomfort among White residents and held to the belief of 'Races in proper places'. He advocated neither White dominance nor an exclusively White north.[39]

Grenfell Price rehashed the issue of White peoples' suitability for permanent northern settlement in Australia in his wide-ranging historical and geographical study that addressed climate, environment, economics, health and administration in tropical regions of the world, with reviews of previous reports and studies prior to World War II. He acknowledged the complexities of the problem but overall was cautiously

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[38] P. P. Courtenay, 1975. "The White Man and the Australian Tropics: A Review of some opinions and prejudices of the Pre-War Years", *Lectures in North Queensland History* 2nd Series, ed. B.J. Dalton, History Department, JCU, Townsville.

[39] Griffith Taylor, 1919. "The Settlement of Tropical Australia," *Geographical Review* Vol. 8, pp. 84–115; Taylor, 1926. *Environment and Race*, Oxford University Press, London.

optimistic of successful settlement depending on issues of diet, health and advances in tropical medicine, as well as economic development in the region. [40]

Cilento's *Triumph in the Tropics* [41] is one of the studies that provide the background for uncertainty surrounding permanent White habitation in the tropics and the debate over who was appropriate to occupy the space. These ideas related to the early plantation culture and later acceptance that tropical living was healthy for Whites. Cilento argues that climate alone is no barrier to successful settlement in a tropical environment by Whites, and that both White men and women could live and work "without any undue loss of health, longevity or fertility".[42]

The problems of settling the north of Australia have been recently revisited by McGregor.[43] This new study offers an account of the reasons underlying past perceptions of Australia's tropical regions as an empty land and how they continue to resonate in current policy and national identity. The origins of concerns regarding fears of invasion, underdevelopment of natural resources and international censure of White nationhood are considered as well as shifting attitudes towards race.

However, any gender perspective incorporated in the above literature is that of the 'normalised' masculine worldview and women are largely ignored.

The late 19th century also coincided with the rise of medical science and interest in tropical regions of the world, and social belief was guided by medical advice of the time and coloured by the pervasive ideas of Social Darwinism. As noted earlier, mid-19th century medical opinion held that the tropics were irredeemably unhealthy for the White race and ethnological science maintained that races outside their 'proper places' risked degeneration. A large proportion of the debate about "Whites in the tropics" was concerned with issues of health and tropical diseases. Consequently, a

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[40] A. Grenfell Price, 1939. *White Settlers in the Tropics,* American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 23, ed. J. K. Wright, New York.

[41] R. Cilento, 1959. *Triumph in the Tropics,* Smith & Paterson, Brisbane.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[43] R. McGregor, 2016. *Environment, Race and Nationhood in Australia: Revisiting the Empty North,* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

large proportion of literature deals with the historical debate about the health of Whites in the tropics and medicalizes the problem of the tropical climate.

Health

The early 20th century ideal of White Australia illustrated the increasing determination to meet the challenge of the north. European experience in other tropical areas contributed to the idea that northern Australia would be unhealthy. However, the British experience of the tropics was largely as supervisors, not manual workers, and their inability to adapt was blamed on the climate. Harloe points out that health was not a major issue for debate in north Queensland in the earlier decades prior to the 1880s, and the later interest in tropical heath was dominated by nationalism and arguments for racial homogeneity.[44] Harloe's paper on "Anton Breinl and the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine" (AITM) reviews the purpose of the Institute which was established in 1910 in Townsville. The formal function of the institute was to gain knowledge of diseases peculiar to the Australian tropics. Harloe found that the Institute's work eroded the image of the tropics as intrinsically hostile to the White race, due to advances in the diagnosis and prevention of tropical diseases. However, Harloe concludes that as well as advancing tropical medicine, the AITM had a political dimension and was also a vehicle for the extension of European culture into the tropical north. Although the work of the Institute was significant in dispelling misconceptions about White people in the tropics, misgivings still remained about powers of White women to breed and the capacity of White men to sustain strenuous labour in the tropical climate. In this early period "no definitive scientific investigations were carried out into European labourers residing permanently in the tropics as a 'working White race' ".[45]

Under Raphael Cilento's direction a combined medical and sociological investigation was undertaken in the 1920s to determine the suitability of permanent and successful

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[44] L. Harloe, "Anton Breinl and the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine" in McLeod and Denoon, *Heath and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea*, pp. 36-40.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

White settlement in northern Australia.[46]   His study became a seminal work. This study could be considered to be the first with a gender perspective on tropical White settlement.   For the first time serious consideration was given to housing and living conditions with a focus on women and the domestic sphere. The study came to the conclusion that White people could survive quite well with no obvious signs of physical or mental degeneration. Cilento's report said that White people had to make the effort to adapt to the tropics in housing, clothing and diet. They must be vigilant in personal hygiene and exercise self-discipline in social interactions.[47]   In inter-war Australia, the ambition for a dense White-only population from coast to coast was associated with the nationalist quest and was widely supported.

<u>Women</u>

Recently there has been a growing interest in conditions for women in the tropical settlement of north Queensland, with a focus on the eugenics at the heart of the 'White man in the tropics' issue. Several theses investigate this topical area and both combat and demonstrate the marginalisation of women in history by focusing on women exclusively. These specialized studies are important in the way they contribute to the historiography of Queensland. Wilson firmly establishes her study of eugenics, ranging from Federation to the 1950s, within the context of the White Australia policy aimed at maintaining the purity of the White race in Australia with the claim that "Women were central to the White Australia policy, marriage and motherhood".[48] This observation appears to have been overlooked in other studies concerned with White settlement, as women have been largely ignored.   A chapter devoted to the White race provides useful analysis of the effects of WAP with a focus on the health

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[46] R. Cilento, 1925. *The White Man in the Tropics*, Commonwealth Department of Health Service Publication 7, Melbourne.

[47] A.T. Yarwood, "Sir Raphael Cilento and *The White Man in the Tropics*" in McLeod and Denoon, *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia*.

[48] E. J. Wilson, 2003. Eugenic Ideology and racial fitness in Queensland 1900-1950, PhD Thesis, School of History, University of Queensland.

and fitness of future generations in north Queensland. She provides a comprehensive review of literature concerning the medical debate surrounding Whites in the tropics.

Another thesis on eugenics by Colclough investigates the experiences of White women in north Queensland from 1901 to the late 1920s.[49] She also acknowledges that the development of White settlement in tropical Australia depended on there being an adequate proportion of women among the residents, who wanted to be certain that it was safe for them to live there. Her thesis covers a more limited period and focuses on the survey undertaken by Cilento in the 1920s on the suitability of living conditions for White women in tropical Queensland. It is useful for its social analysis of north Queensland with insights into living conditions, and indicates the growing interest in experiences of women in the tropics. These recent theses are the only historical studies reviewed that use a female gender perspective.

Several recent papers revisit tropical medicine and the implications on the White settlement debate and labour in tropical Australia. Anderson's[50] argument, that is framed in the biomedical science surrounding indentured labour in the late 19th century and present-day foreign labour contracts, has more to do with the economic selection of labour than issues of race and applies a masculine gendered approach. Bashford[51] re-examines the question of the tropics as an appropriate 'place' for White settlement. She is critical of past biomedical investigations of the health and fitness of Whites that were unequally focused on male labourers, and 'White Australia masculinity' with relatively minimal interest in maternal and reproductive issues. Women's health was scrutinised differently to men's, with emphasis on their domestic environment. This observation overlooks the fact that women's bodily health was central to achieving the goal of a White population in the tropical north. Bashford

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[49] J. Colclough, 2008. The Measure of the Woman: Eugenics and domestic science in the 1924 Sociological survey of White women in North Queensland, PhD Thesis, JCU.

[50] W. Anderson, "Coolie Therapeutics: Labour, Race, and Medical Science in Tropical Australia", *ILWCH*, 91, Spring 2017, pp. 46-58.

[51] A. Bashford, "Is White Australia Possible? Race, Colonialism and Tropical Medicine", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2, March 2000, pp. 248-271.

concludes that the problem of White settlement had more to do with the relationship between White people and the problematic tropical environment than biomedical health.

Henningham takes a similar approach to the 'problem' of White women in tropical Queensland. In an article based on her PhD thesis, she notes that by the 1920s, health experts accepted that White men could labour without ill-effects in the tropics, but that there was still a great deal of anxiety about the success of White women in Queensland's north. She suggests that experts such as Raphael Cilento blamed outdoor work, poor quality housing which exacerbated the effects of the hot climate, and dress, particularly the women's stubborn adherence to European dress instead of adopting other types of dress more suited to the climate, such as Asian styles. However, she points out that the women felt obliged to retain their British dress simply because it marked them as belonging to the 'superior' White civilisation they were supposed to uphold.[52]

Settlement and Land Legislation

The principal tool used by governments to bring about a small farmer cultural landscape in Queensland was land legislation. C. A. Bernays,[53] though almost a primary source himself, merely provides a chronological overview of Queensland land laws that progressively attempt to break up large pastoral holdings, prevent speculators, and achieve closer settlement by favouring agriculture with more intensive use of the land. Such overviews are useful for providing the policy framework for land distribution in Queensland. Land and its uses remained as the contested ground in waves of ideology that influenced government policy making to achieve development and settlement of

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[52] Nikki Henningham, "'Hats off, gentlemen, to our Australian Mothers!' Representations of white femininity in north Queensland in the early twentieth century", *Australian Historical Studies*, 32, 117 (2001), 311-321.
[53] C. A. Bernays, No Date. *Queensland Politics during 60 Years: 1859 to 1919,* Queensland Government Printer, Brisbane.

Queensland. Richmond's[54] thesis offers an insightful analysis of the balance that Queensland's land legislation and economic policy sought in the competing goals of achieving closer settlement of people on the land and maximising government revenue obtained from the land resource.

A thesis by Gilmore on Atherton Tablelands agriculture discusses land acts and closer settlement, and the effects of government land policies on that region.[55] Gilmore argues that the development of northern Australia was regarded by both State and Commonwealth governments as necessary to legitimate the White Australia policy and establish a White yeomanry. Her analysis confirmed that it was a means to achieve the ends of closer settlement, but legislation had a negative effect on Tableland industries, because it privileged White settlers – particularly returned soldiers – over Chinese, who were better farmers. This thesis fits firmly into the literature on the WAP influences that ensured White settlement in the tropics. The concept of family farms is addressed within agricultural pursuits but no gender perspective is employed in the study.

Sugar

Under the overarching legislative framework of the White Australia policy intended to achieve settlement of the north, protective legislation was introduced into the sugar industry to ensure its economic success using European labour as well as ensuring successful White settlement. Two general histories of the sugar industry have been reviewed.

Griggs gives a comprehensive history of the Australian cane sugar industry.[56] He offers a detailed description of the spread of sugar cane growing along the tropical east coast from northern New South Wales to far north Queensland. Explanation is also provided

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[54] W.H. Richmond, 1987. Government and Economic Development in Queensland 1883-1914: A Study of Policy Making, PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland.

[55] M. Gilmore, 2005. Kill, Cure or Strangle: History of Government Intervention in Agriculture on the Atherton Tableland, PhD Thesis, JCU.

[56] Griggs, *Global Industry, Local Innovation*.

regarding how that industry was tightly regulated to avoid over production in order to keep the industry viable by restricting it to the domestic market, which was protected by tariffs on imports. This is combined with explanations of legislation regarding employment and marketing which involved a change in the industry to White labour, which was more costly, and assuring the survival of farmers by ensuring they were paid fairly for their cane. He offers a comprehensive analysis of government intervention and control of the industry through the passing of Acts designed to protect and promote the industry, and ensure White ownership of the small farms by discriminating against Asians, Africans and Pacific Islanders. The history covers all aspects of agricultural techniques, improvements in milling and refining processes, mechanisation, and disease and pest control, all of which enabled more intensive farming practices suited to White labour and small farmers. Included is a useful section on the development of the central sugar mill, replacing the earlier plantations with their Black and Asian labourers, and the establishment of small family farms intended to be based on White family labour. He also covers the contribution by governments to scientifically improve every aspect of the industry through the Bureau of Sugar Experiment Stations.

The other text reviewed, *South Pacific Enterprise: The Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited*, is written from the point of view of CSR, the major refiner of raw sugar who was heavily involved in government marketing programs as well as being a planter and miller in its own right.[57] It provides a sympathetic history of the company's involvement in sugar milling and refining and the effects of scientific research applied to milling and cane breeding. CSR mills used up to date machinery and manufacturing techniques.   Entering the field of raw sugar production in Queensland in the early 1880s, initially through plantations, the Company was later effective in assisting to establish the central mill concept in sugar cane farming. That was an arrangement whereby independent growers supplied their cane to a large centrally situated mill.

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[57] A.G. Lowndes, Ed., 1956. *South Pacific Enterprise: The Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

The Company's scientific approach to raw sugar production and the central mill concept made a large contribution in the successful establishment of small sugar cane farms, including in the Redlynch Valley landscape. The Australian sugar industry was the only sizeable sugar cane industry in the world operated solely with White labour. In both histories, despite the emphasis on the development of small family farms, little reference is made to women's contribution to the landscape of the north Queensland sugar industry, apart from some mention of coloured female labour in the plantation era. This is despite the fact that in order to obtain family labour on farms, a female must labour to produce (and maintain) a family.

Other texts reviewed were Pagani's[58] study concerning politics and the Queensland sugar industry as well as theses by Richmond [59] and Shogrun[60] on a similar topic. These insightful studies investigate the conflict between economic and social goals over the exclusion of coloured labour, government intervention in the sugar industry and protection with tariffs, and legislation to ensure a White industry. Balanzategui's[61] study of cane cutters examines the later period of refugees and displaced persons immigrating to sugar areas following World War Two. Both Morton's[62] and Kerr's[63] works on the Mulgrave and Mossman Sugar Mills provide context on the history of the industry, and cover aspects of changes in harvesting, particularly mechanisation, which obviated the costliest aspect of the change to a White industry, cane cutting.

Part 2: Theoretical Approaches to Landscape Studies

Because this study of the Redlynch Valley also includes changes to land use and evolution of the landscape, an overview of literature concerning theories and

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[58] M. Pagani, 1972. *T.W. Crawford: politics and the Queensland sugar industry*, Department of History and Politics, JCU, Townsville.
[59] Richmond, Government and Economic Development in Queensland.
[60] D. Shogrun, 1980. The Politics and Administration of the Queensland sugar Industry to 1930, PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.
[61] B.V. Balanzategui, 1990. *Gentlemen of the Flashing Blade*, Department of History and Politics, JCU, Townsville.
[62] Morton, *By Strong Arms.*
[63] Kerr, *Northern Outpost*.

approaches applied to cultural landscape studies mainly from the viewpoint of historical and cultural geographers has been included. As this study is being investigated from a historical perspective, a brief overview of landscape studies in the local and regional history tradition has also been included.

Concepts of Landscape

'Landscape' can be defined as the combination of geography and climate, a region, an ideology, a history or a heritage. So divergent are the views that literature concerning 'landscape' investigations spans several disciplines, most notably anthropology, geography, history, and art, and more recently has expanded to include literature, archaeology and cultural studies and other social sciences to become an interdisciplinary field of study. According to Seddon:

> 'landscape' is a perceptual term, not an objective reality, it is a way of looking at a terrain.[64] …and although they have a physical substrate, landscapes are also a cultural construct. The ways in which we read them, talk about them, perceive them, …use them, …evaluate them:
> these are all informed by our culture.[65]

A brief definition of a cultural landscape as the concept is used in this study is 'a geographical unit that is created by the interaction of humans with the environment such that the area reflects the culture of the human society or societies utilising it'. The various interpretations of the concept of 'cultural landscape' over time have influenced the theoretical approaches to landscape study, particularly within geography, which focuses on land and humans. One of the most influential and enduring approaches in geography has been the study of the evolution of landscapes over time.

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[64] G. Seddon, 1997. *Landprints,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 15.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. xv.

Rosalie Shephard

Cultural Landscape in Historical Geography

Norton's *Historical Analysis in Geography*, and his *Cultural Geography: Themes, Concepts and Analyses* provide a useful and comprehensive overview of the development of approaches used in historical geography.[66] According to Norton:

> Historical geography is interpreted as being primarily concerned with geographical change through time, the developments of landscape and the evolution of spatial form.[67]

Early regional geographical studies were concerned primarily with the analysis of facts associated with spatial form and did not include temporal analysis. Early cultural geographer, Carl Sauer, was critical of this approach without the dimension of time.[68]

The Study of Change Through Time in Landscape

Norton observes that Sauer's approach was historically inclined and emphasized the evolutionary aspect of landscape. His challenge to regional geography by studying the evolution of landscapes effectively resulted in the rise of historical geography. His insistence on the importance of acknowledging that cultural impacts on the landscape prompted landscape change, was outlined in a statement that said "humans, through their culture, transform the natural landscape".[69] Other geographers who followed the temporal approach in the 1950s were Ogilvie and Platt. According to Norton, geographical change through time has become one of the traditional modes of analysis in historical geography, one particularly associated with Andrew Clark (1975). He notes that more recent studies that follow the approach to historical geography initiated by Sauer are those undertaken by Williams (1983, 1987) and Donkin (1997).[70]

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[66] W. Norton, 1984. *Historical Analysis in Geography*, Longman Group, Essex; W. Norton, *Cultural Geography: Themes, Concepts and Analyse*s.
[67] Norton, *Historical Analysis in Geography*, Introduction, p. vi.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 17.
[69] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, p. 73.
[70] *Ibid*., p. 102.

Norton observes that in determining change, Sauer posed three questions that asked: what the physical character of the country was like before human intrusion, where settlement was established and what its economic character was, and what successions of land use have taken place.[71]   It was out of this investigative approach that theories developed in historical geography in explanation of landscape evolution.

Frontier Theory and Landscape

One of the theories developed in historical geography to explain the evolution of landscapes, relevant to settler activity, was frontier theory. According to Norton, Frederick Jackson Turner, a 19th century American historian, introduced the idea that a frontier could be defined in terms of population density. Turner further proposed the view that frontier was the outer edge of settlement or civilisation and the meeting point between it and 'savagery' or wilderness.[72] In the American context the frontier was seen as a continually advancing line expanding outwards from a central point of initial settlement or point of initial economic and social growth, and the theory was used as an explanation of American development.[73] Norton observes that an alternative to Turner's idea was proposed in the 1990s by Meinig, who devised a six-stage transition of frontiers, with each stage characterized by some particular economic and cultural circumstance.[74] He notes that economic growth, as a reason for the expanding frontier, was one major area of concern in American studies pursued by Kay, Lewis and Wills in the 1970s.[75] Later, he suggests that Guelke criticised the lack of precise definition in allowing two different phenomena to be subsumed under the heading of frontier: new land settlement, and interaction between Europeans and the Indigenous people. Guelke favoured the latter. In his view, the frontier period began with initial European settlement and ended with the removal of Indigenous peoples as

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[71] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[73] Norton, *Historical Analysis in Geography*, p. 98.
[74] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, p. 96.
[75] Norton, *Historical Analysis in Geography*, p. 98.

competitors for land.[76] The frontier theory is better suited to a broad canvas and does not fit the very limited area of Redlynch.

Settlement Theories and Landscape

Norton suggests yet another approach to settlement applied to land policy as a determining factor of landscape changes. Land policy relates to the manner in which governments dispose of land, the cost of land and the mechanics of land granting, the availability of land for settlement, and the manner in which land is subdivided, as well as the prevalence of speculation. According to this view, the manner in which land is alienated can have implications for settlement patterns and the resulting landscape. Norton acknowledges the importance of government action in landscape formation in the Australian experience.[77] Land subdivision, selection conditions, and tenure were major factors determining settlement patterns rather than the type of industry. This approach is therefore more appropriate for landscape studies in the Australian context as the resultant landscape reflects land policies.

Norton cites some examples of this approach in the Australian context including Camm's 1967 study that showed how a series of land acts between 1894 and 1917 affected the transition from pastoral to agricultural use for an area of Queensland. Williams' 1975 study also showed that Australia's closer settlement policy replaced the earlier large-scale pastoral use of land by squatters, with small-scale grazing and agriculture. In a similar approach, Robinson's 1974 study showed that land policies and the consequent subdivisions were typically intended to encourage the creation of freehold farms. Other factors suggested as influencing the advance of European settlement in northern Australia and the type of landscape resulting from this were distance, climate and ignorance of tropical conditions. Blainey elaborates on the problem of distance, adding this factor into the problems of establishing a European

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[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

economy, particularly transporting and marketing produce, and keeping official control over the large areas of Australia being settled.[78] This investigative settlement approach related to land policy fits the type of regional study being undertaken here, where the landscape reflects a government policy framework of closer settlement, followed by one driven by a White Australia ideology.

Sequent Occupance Theory for Landscape

According to Norton, another of the theoretical approaches used to explain landscape change was the concept of sequent occupance. Studies using this approach recognise that:

> a landscape normally remains relatively stable for a period of time, but then undergoes change that is both rapid and substantial leading into another period of stability.[79]

Thus, there is a succession of cultures and a related succession of cultural landscapes. Each period of stability reflects a particular cultural occupance, but is transformed into a subsequent period by some evolutionary or diffusionist process.[80]

> One stage may be transformed into another because of the in-movement of a different cultural group, or because of some substantial change in…technology or economic system.[81]

In Norton's view, a classic sequent occupance analysis in the Sauerian tradition is Broeck's 1932 study of the Santa Clara Valley in the United States, with a succession of cultures from Native American to Spanish, then early British American colonisation with wheat and cattle followed by horticultural activity and urbanization.[82] A later study that incorporates the sequent occupance approach is Conzen (1990), *Making the American Landscape*.[83] The sequent occupance approach to landscape is usually suited

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[78] Geoffrey Blainey, 1966. *The Tyranny of Distance*, Sun Books, Melbourne.
[79] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, p. 94.
[80] Diffusion is the spread or movement of phenomena such as people, settlements, innovations, crops and diseases over space and through time. B. Goodall, *Dictionary of Human Geography,* p.126.
[81] Norton, *Historical Analysis*, p. 94.
[82] Cited in Norton, *Cultural Geography,* p. 95.
[83] M.P. Conzen (ed.) 1990. *The Making of the American Landscape*, HarperCollins Academic, New York.

to a broader canvas and longer time period than the one used for this study. However, this analytic approach does have some value for the Redlynch Valley which was firstly an Aboriginal landscape, followed by Europeans and Chinese who practised intensive agriculture creating a small farming landscape before it evolved to residential as a suburb of Cairns.

Cultural Diffusion and Landscape

Paul Carter claims:

> In the broadest sense diffusion is the master process in human culture change…and cultural diffusion is the basis for understanding cultural origins, cultural landscape evolution, and the creation of the cultural region.[84]

The tradition of diffusion research typically focused on the description and mapping of a single landscape feature, with emphasis on particular cultural identities and descriptions of related impacts on the landscape. In following this approach traits considered distinctive to a group or society's way of life, such as building types, construction, agriculture and cropping methods, were studied. One example is that of covered bridges in the United States. Analyses often posited such traits as representative of the larger culture. As Australia was settled largely by Anglo-Celts, there was not much opportunity for the development of traits from other cultures of Europe to markedly shape the landscape apart from small regions such as the Barossa Valley.

Local and Regional Narrative History Tradition applied to Landscape

This is an explicitly historical approach that involves detailed investigation of the local landscape and detailed analysis of the landscape as it was made through time by humans. A significant contribution to regional landscapes was the pioneering work by

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[84] Quoted in Norton, *Cultural Geography*, pp. 75-76.

the British geographer, Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape.*[85] Another significant contribution was the Landscape Magazine tradition developed by J. B. Jackson in the 1950s.

Three characteristics of the tradition were

1. Landscapes are evolving.

2. Landscapes are related to prevailing ideologies interpreted in relation to the values of their occupants; therefore, they are composed of material things, but these also have symbolic character.

3. Recognition of the symbolic quality of landscapes introduces the need to read the landscape in order to learn (a) about the landscape, and (b) about the creators and authors of that landscape.[86]

Norton acknowledges that the concerns with symbolism and the concept of landscape reading clearly anticipates the later work on symbolic landscapes by cultural geographers. A context is established through accounts of attitudes to land, of historical matters, of the land survey system, of the process of determining place names, and of the technologies and resources employed in the making of the landscape.[87] This framework is most useful to my study.

Cultural Heritage Landscapes

The investigation of cultural landscapes in the Australian context emerged from a cultural heritage concept of conservation and protection of identified 'heritage' sites or areas that were usually preserved as 'static' sites. According to Armstrong,[88] it was the recognition of the concept of changing landscapes that inevitably located cultural

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[85] W.G. Hoskins, 1965. *The Making of the English Landscape*, Hodder and Staughton, London.
[86] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, pp.101-102.
[87] *Ibid*.
[88] H. Armstrong, 2001. "Investigating Queensland's cultural landscapes: whose heritage?" in M. M Cotter, W. E Boyd, and J.E. Gardiner, Eds, *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities*, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, pp. 81-90.

landscape investigations within historical and heritage studies such as Taylor (1990),[89] and more recently as cultural geography with the work of O'Hare (1997).[90] Armstrong also indicates that Queensland had a history of resistance to conservation of cultural heritage. This was associated with the view of Queensland as an economically underdeveloped landscape of mineral, timber and pastoral resources. The cultural landscape evolved from the land, utilised as it was as the basis of development and settlement through primary production.   According to Armstrong, this view is confirmed in the works of Fitzgerald (1982, 1984) and Johnston (1982).[91]

Application of Historical Geography Approaches to Queensland

Several theses have contributed to Queensland cultural landscape studies. However, these studies are located in south-east Queensland.   Nissen's[92] cultural landscape study of Mt Crosby is essentially a local history of settlement and land use that focuses on changes on the land wrought by human activity and how those changes were influenced by climate and the form of the landscape. Edwards'[93] regional study of the Noosa Shire also focuses on the changing development patterns of a small shire changing from rural to urban, with a geographical aspect that involves growing environmental awareness.   Both Horseman's and Alcorn's studies investigate the impact of government policy and legislation on the landscape. Horseman's[94] study of the Currumbin Valley examines the impact of Government land legislation, settlers and land use, highlighting the problems that land speculation caused by delaying

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[89] Ken Taylor, 1990. "Historic cultural landscapes and emerging heritage values: an Australian perspective", *Landscape Research*, Vol. 15, Issue 2, pp. 12-18.

[90] Daniel O'Hare, 1997. "Interpreting the cultural landscape for tourism development", *Urban Design International*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 33-54; O'Hare, 1997. *Tourism and Small Coastal Settlements: a cultural landscape approach for urban design*, Joint Centre for Urban Design, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford.

[91] Armstrong, "Investigating Queensland's Cultural landscapes", p. 85.

[92] J. Nissen, 1999. Creating the landscape: a history of settlement and land use in Mount Crosby, MA Thesis, University of Queensland.

[93] D. Edwards, 1999. Conflict and Controversy: the changing development pattern of the Noosa Shire 1910-1980, MA thesis in Local History, University of Queensland.

[94] M.J. Horseman, 1995. Patterns of Settlement, Development and Land Usage in Currumbin Valley 1852-1915, MA thesis in Local History, University of Queensland.

settlement progress. Alcorn's[95] study of the Maroochy district applies a sequent occupance approach and highlights the linkage between human agency and the physical landscape in the creation of a cultural landscape. In his view the shaping of the landscape is attributed to government policies and decisions, economic circumstances, socio-cultural trends, and exploitation of the natural resources.

A north Queensland study that investigates the impact of government policy on the landscape is Birtles' paper on land clearing on the Atherton Tablelands.[96] In order to encourage closer settlement by European settlers, a series of land acts were passed for the purpose of establishing a rural landscape of White yeomanry. However, Birtles is critical of the improvement conditions imposed by government on selectors, and the government's lack of restriction on timber licences, both of which led to indiscriminate land clearing of rainforest and resulting waste of valuable rainforest timbers.

Another north Queensland landscape study that investigates the impact of government policy and legislation is Griggs' thesis on the changes in the sugar growing landscape of the Lower Burdekin region.[97] His study traces the change from plantation culture to small farms and shows how the broader socio-political influences, such as the White Australia Policy and agrarianism, were reflected at the local level in the resultant landscape of White farmers. However, this study differs from the Redlynch project because it is not located in the wet tropics and does not include any gender analysis. Indeed, in most of the above literature concerning approaches to cultural landscape studies, gender in the landscape is taken for granted or ignored.

Other influential approaches to cultural landscape study developed within cultural geography. These approaches were related to reading or interpreting the cultural landscape and initially were involved with the visible or physical landscape. Under

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[95] B. C. Alcorn, 2008. Cultural Landscape Engineers: Humans and Environment in the Maroochy District 1859-1950, PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.

[96] T. Birtles, "Trees to Burn: Settlement in the Atherton-Evelyn Rainforest, 1880-1900", *North Australia Research Bulletin*, No. 8, September 1982.

[97] Griggs, From Plantation to Small Farm in the Lower Burdekin.

influences of postmodernism, 'seeing' the landscape became closely related to perception rather than empirical analysis, and further conceptual advances were incorporated that allowed for multiple cultural landscape interpretations and representations.

Postmodernist Influences: the phenomenological approach

A general break away from positivist scientific enquiry and knowledge during the 1970s, dubbed 'postmodernism', legitimised multiple ways of interpreting cultural landscapes. This shift from objective and empirical approaches inspired analyses using a range of conceptual concerns that explicitly focused on human beings as subjects or active agents, not objects.[98] These 'humanist' geographers pioneered a phenomenological approach to the landscape, focusing on ideas of nature and on human consciousness.[99] Tuan and Relph[100] introduced an interpretative emphasis on space and place related to human experience. A sense of place is often shared by many people. Tuan argued that, "when space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place".[101] For Tuan, understanding and sense of place are related to the experience of what it feels like to be human.[102] For both Tuan and Relph, their concern was to represent the value of everyday life embedded in cultural landscapes with emphasis on experience of place related to, and expressed through, sensual experiences. Tuan also interpreted 'home' in a positive sense with the claims that "home is a universally valued place with its implications of nurturance and peace".[103] However, such experiences can be different for men and women. Feminist geographers point out that designating the home as a place of security and nurture is questionable for women. In some instances, for women, it can be the centre of

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[98] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, p. 10.
[99] P. Jackson, 1989. *Maps of Meaning*, Routledge, London, p. 20.
[100] E.C. Relph, 1976. *Place and Placelessness*, Pion, London; Relph, E., 1981. *Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography*, Croom Helm, London.
[101] Yi Fu, Tuan, 1977. *Space and Place,* Edward Arnold Ltd., London, p. 73.
[102] *Ibid*.
[103] *Ibid*, p. 164.

oppression and confinement, a place that constrains their experience and behaviour. Others may experience abuse and violence impacting on feelings about the home.[104] In many cases, for both sexes but particularly women, it is a workplace as well as a home.

Robertson and Richards argue that the humanist geographers had limitations. There was too much emphasis on the individual, and they ignored the issue of why certain interpretations came to prevail over others in the struggle between groups for dominance. However, they acknowledge that challenges presented by humanistic geographers precipitated the lively engagement with social theory that ensued and persists today.[105]

New Cultural Geography

A new cultural geography developed during the 1980s that favoured a symbolic approach to landscape. New conceptions of culture had a strong social flavour and analyses looked for symbolism as well as physical changes to the landscape. Cosgrove and Jackson defined culture as "the medium through which people transform the mundane phenomenon of the material world into a world of significant symbols to which they give meaning and attach value".[106]

The symbolic approach differed from previous analyses by positing that the world cannot be viewed objectively. We can only perceive, experience and understand it subjectively. Raymond Williams' work in literary studies has been an influential contribution. He introduced the notion that all landscapes are cultural products.[107] In his view all landscapes carry symbolic meaning because all are products of human

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[104] Women and Geography Study Group, 1997. *Feminist Geographies: Explorations in Diversity and Difference,* Addison Wesley Longman Limited, Harlow, p. 9; Jennifer Craik, "Verandahs and Frangipanni: Women in the Queensland House", in Gail Reekie, Ed., 1994. *On the Edge: women's experiences of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, pp. 145-167.
[105] I. Robertson and P. Richards, Eds, 2003. *Studying Cultural Landscapes,* Hodder Arnold, London, p. 11.
[106] Quoted in Norton, *Cultural Geography,* p. 8.
[107] Robertson and Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, p. 3.

appropriation and transformation of the environment, whether physically or in the meaning we give to landscapes.[108] Acceptance of the subjective understanding of the landscape means that all landscapes, real or imagined, are seen as representations. The inclusive understanding of what constitutes a cultural landscape extends our symbolic understanding and allows for inclusion of landscapes expressed in art, literature, music, cinematography and photography.

One advantage of the symbolic approach is the recognition of a political dimension in interpretation such that landscape carries political values and ideologies.   It investigates below the surface to reveal the politics, processes and symbolic qualities written into landscape.   Robertson and Richards identify landscape as one of the principal ways by which the powerful in society maintain their dominance through a process of imposition and naturalization. According to them:

> recognition of the politics of landscape representation and of the fact that landscapes on the whole manifest the worldview of the dominant group is the beginning of the process of reading and decoding the landscape in order to reveal the deeper processes that have made it …[109]

The symbolic approach will be the most useful for my study. It will be used to explore the political dimension of the Redlynch cultural landscape for symbolism indicative of values and ideologies of White Australia that marginalised minorities such as Chinese and Aborigines.   This interpretation will also be used to investigate the symbolism indicative of the social relations, and the power relations within a largely masculinist landscape that appeared to value the progressive transformation of the 'wilderness' (i.e. the Indigenous landscape) to one of economic productivity in the world-economy. Symbolic representation of these values and ideologies could be expressed through photography, mapping and place-naming. It is particularly useful for photography, in which are embedded the artistic techniques of framing and composition.   The approach will be gendered, analysing the masculine values assumed to be at the heart

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[108] Jackson, *Maps of Meaning.*
[109] Robertson and Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, Introduction, p. 5.

of the symbolism emanating from settlement policy and White Australia, and expressed in the sugar-farming landscapes of tropical Queensland.

Our understanding of landscape is extended with further theoretical contributions accompanied by the recognition and acceptance of the plurality of interpretation.

For example, Jackson draws on literature of cultural studies and social theory as it introduces a variety of new perspectives besides the landscape approach. He refers to ways of seeing as 'Maps of Meaning', referring to mapping in a metaphorical sense. He argues for a more active conception of culture and acknowledgement of the extent to which cultures are humanly constituted through specific social practices. Jackson's approach emphasises the plurality of cultures and the multiplicity of landscapes with which those cultures are associated.[110] The recognition of the plurality of cultures shifts attention to the analysis of social relations through which cultures are produced and reproduced and involve relations of power.[111]

In the early 1990s Duncan diverged from the iconological method, wanting

> to view the landscape as a text, a social and cultural document to be read
> in order to reveal the layers of meaning and processes written into it.[112]

The notion of text has been expanded to include that of intertextuality. This approach furthers the acknowledgement of subjectivity so that today, the culture of the interpreter is seen to be significant in the interpretation.[113]

Feminist Challenges to the Landscape Theorist World-view: not gender neutral

Feminist geographers have argued that although language and concepts may seem to be gender neutral, the worldviews presented are grounded in masculine experiences and masculine realities. These masculine experiences are generalised and universalised

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[110] Jackson, *Maps of Meaning,* p. 2.
[111] *Ibid*., p. 23.
[112] Robertson and Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes,* p. 5.
[113] J. Duncan, and D. Ley, Eds, 1993. *Place, Culture, Representation,* Routledge, London.

and presented as experiences of all. As a result, they render invisible the experiences of women and minority groups.[114] Recent feminist geographers draw attention to the politics of power in discourses of language and knowledge, and identify the rationalist-universalist 'objective' view as a particularly masculine gendered view. They suggest that this assumption of objectivity means that the power of the geographers' gaze to normalise uneven gender relationships needs to be strongly critiqued.[115] Consequently, in their critiques of theoretical approaches to cultural landscapes, 'gender' has been the central analytical category for feminist geographers such as Alison Blunt, Gillian Rose, Sara Mills, Catherine Nash, Jane Jacobs, Louise Johnson, Kaye Schaffer and Nicky Gregson.[116]

Norton also acknowledges that:

> Gender is relatively invisible in landscape because gender itself is part of our taken-for-granted world … and one of the key contributions of feminism to cultural geographic research is that of uncovering what was always there, but what was not typically seen.[117]

<u>Symbolism of Uneven Power Inequalities</u>

One of the ways of making women visible in the landscape is achieved by focusing on the uneven power distribution and spatial relations within the landscape to bring them to attention. Janice Monk argues that the gendered nature of landscape is rarely acknowledged. Through an examination of the iconography of monuments in public places, Monk demonstrates how landscapes, both materially and symbolically, reflect power inequalities between men and women by embodying patriarchal values.[118]

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[114] N. Gregson, U. Kothari, J. Cream, C. Dwyer, S. Holloway, A. Maddrell, and G. Rose, "Gender in Feminist Geography", in *Feminist Geographies,* p.56.

[115] C. Brace, "Landscape and Identity", in Robertson and Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, p. 125.

[116] A. Blunt and G. Rose, 1994. *Writing, Women and Space: Colonial & Post Colonial Geographies,* The Guildford Press, New York, p. 37.

[117] Norton, *Cultural Geography,* p. 278.

[118] J. Monk, "Gender in the Landscape: Expressions of Power and Meaning", in K. Anderson and F. Gale, Eds, 1999. *Cultural Geographies,* Longman, Melbourne, pp.153-172.

According to her observations, monuments in Western societies symbolize the heritage of masculine power, accomplishment and heroism largely associated with military figures or paramilitary endeavours such as 'exploration'. The few female historical figures who are represented also favour the political realm. Monk points out, that amongst the many Australian memorials to the First World War, only one portrays a nurse. Women are largely invisible. She argues that "as indicators of patriarchal hegemony in Western cultures, these monuments set and reflect the context of gender relations of everyday life".[119]

Genderisation of the Landscape

The distinction between the public sphere as a male gendered space, and the domestic sphere as female gendered space, has been examined and discussed widely in feminist interdisciplinary studies. However, Norton believes that genderisation of the landscape goes beyond the traditional stereotyping of female/domestic and male/public spaces. He argues that:

> agricultural landscapes are sometimes seen as masculinist landscapes, often depicted as examples of the achievements of men in mastering what was previously wild. It may be possible to read the agricultural landscape as masculine, marginalizing women, and as a construction of subservient femininity.[120]

On this theme, Gillian Rose shows that landscapes are heavily gendered as property has been, for so long, the provenance of men, and gender-based exclusionary practices in the landscape are rife (and complex).[121] Conversely, Norton acknowledges that in the United States the rural landscape has been associated with nature rather than with culture and accordingly been coded as feminine.[122]

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[119] *Ibid.,* p. 156.
[120] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, p. 280.
[121] Cited in D. Mitchell, "Landscapes" in D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley, N. Washbourne, Eds, 2005. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., London, p. 54.
[122] Norton, *Cultural Geography*, p. 280.

Catherine Brace argues that in recent years, geographers and others have paid a great deal of attention to the practices and policies of identity formation. She states that identity now lies at the heart of critical enquiry.[123] It is recognized by feminist scholars that in Western scientific and philosophical discourses 'nature' has been gendered as feminine with references to 'Mother Nature' and 'Mother Earth'. Nature is also portrayed as virgin, to be raped, tamed or possessed. This feminisation of nature has produced a particularly exploitative approach to the environment.[124] The feminist viewpoint suggests that these narratives make the power of men seem like the natural order of things.

According to Gillian Rose, when male geographers represent the landscape as feminine, they are perpetuating both the link between women and nature and the power of men to see and know, to possess metaphorical, intellectual and sexual power over women.[125] This way of seeing demonstrates the uneven power relations of gender. However, Rose also acknowledges that the female gendered identity of landscape does not go uncontested. Women also find empowering meanings in the land which validate their own gender identity. Some identify the land as a woman who embodies traits that give them a sense of their own complexity, power and worth.[126] Catherine Nash argues that simply exposing the masculinity of the landscape tradition in geography has not been sufficient to curtail its power.

> It is necessary to engage with [oppressive images] to disrupt their authority
> … and open up the possibilities for difference, subversion, resistance and
> reappropriation of visual traditions.[127]

Feminist Critique

The agricultural landscape is often assumed to be masculine, as the site of male productivity. Economic activity and structures are almost automatically envisioned as

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[123] *Ibid*., p. 121.
[124] G. Rose, V. Kinnaird, M. Morris and C. Nash, "Feminist geographies of environment, nature and landscape", in *Feminist Geographies*, p. 172.
[125] Brace, "Landscape and Identity" in Robertson and Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, pp. 125-126.
[126] *Ibid.,* p. 126.
[127] Quoted in *Ibid*.

sites of male activity, even though the activity might in fact have been female and the structures built, paid for and/or maintained by women. This demonstrates the conflict associated with identity and also with 'ways of seeing' landscapes.

A liberal feminist perspective informs the framework of my investigation of the Redlynch Valley, in an attempt to correct the omission of women in the cultural landscape. In most cases this means using documentary research to correct the automatic assumption that public economic life, as expressed in that landscape, is male. However, the lack of attention to the importance of the female domestic role, and its manifestations in the landscape, will also be addressed. An analytic category of gender will be employed with particular attention being paid to the representations of the landscape in photographic images and maps, and the normative practice of place naming which carries a history of patriarchal values embedded within them.

Photography and Photographs as a Representation of Cultural Landscape.

The concept of landscape has long been associated with visual representation. From the mid 19th century photography was a new way of seeing and knowing the world and employed as a truthful representation because it was a new technology that had the ability to 'fix an image through optical-chemical means…'[128] Photography plays a significant role in the representation and conceptual notions of space and place, landscape and identity. As a valuable research source, photos are read, deciphered and made open to a range of interpretations. Initially accepted as a 'true' record, the subjectivity of images resulting from the decision of what to record, from what angle and when, was effectively masked. Recent cultural landscape studies focus on the production of cultural meaning and how the landscape 'works' and represents cultural

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[128] J. M. Schwartz and J. R. Ryan, Eds, 2003. *Picturing Place*: *Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, I B Tauris & Co. Ltd., London, p. 1.

values through photographic images. Peter Jackson says that "pictorial images carry multiple meanings… and interpretation also involves… political judgements".[129]

As an example of the political dimension of photography, Osborne critiqued images that were used in Canadian government immigration and settlement schemes to attract immigrants. Photographs representing potential European immigrants of particularly desired ethnic origin set against Canadian landscape scenes of progress and production were promoted by Canadian authorities. It was hoped that Europeans would be encouraged to emigrate by seeing pictures of people similar to themselves in photographs of Canadian scenes, particularly of the western wheat and cattle lands opened up by the railways.[130] In this way photography played a significant role in the process of creating a cultural landscape by constituting a national identity as the Native American landscape was transformed to farmland and immigrants became Canadians.[131] James Duncan claims "we have to examine 'relations of power' that allow us to see how interests play a constitutive role in vision and representation".[132]

Landscapes can also gain ideological significance beyond the political. On the assumption that the physical environment formed the character of its inhabitants, landscape images could be seen to represent the essence of national character. Jager's study shows how mid-19th century photographic images of landscapes could serve to communicate patriotic and nationalistic ideas if the subjects could be deciphered as symbols for the nation. For many Europeans, including the British people, "the countryside … was the cradle of national character and virtue".[133] Photographs of English landscapes could be read as expressions of certain values which were

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[129] P. Jackson, "Constructions of culture, representations of race: Edward Curtis' 'way of seeing', in Anderson and Gale, *Cultural Geographies,* p. 115.

[130] B. Osborne, "Constructing the State, managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual: Photography, Immigration and the Canadian National Railways, 1925-30", in *Picturing Place,* pp. 162-191.

[131] *Ibid.,* p. 174.

[132] Duncan and Ley, *Place, Culture, Representation*, pp. 39-56.

[133] J. Jager, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", in *Picturing Place,* p. 138.

representative of that country.[134]   In a similar way the landscapes of Australia have been represented as part of the national identity, in a particularly masculine view of it.[135]

The recent interest in identity within the landscape through photographic images is not matched by attention to gender in the landscape through visual representations. In the historical approach of this thesis, attention will be paid to the 'framing' of photographic images in terms of their political dimension or ideological intent. Investigation and methodology applied within this framework will reveal whether a masculine national identity is reinforced in relation to the landscape by photographs. In the north Queensland context of landscape photography, it seems clear that photos portray the wonder of *man's* improvements and conquering the terrain. Photographs reveal other values as well. The capitalist way of seeing the land as an important resource demanded that the natural landscape had to be 'improved', i.e. cleared of natural vegetation, to represent value. Scenes of crops such as sugar cane identify with the capitalist mode of a commoditised landscape and successful farming, and hence investigation will take into account whether particular values are represented in landscape images.

<u>Maps as a Representation of Cultural Landscape</u>

Norton observes that recently, mapping as a form of spatial organisation has generated a resurgence of interest within cultural studies as thematic maps have played a central role in examination and representation of patterns of cultural activity. This interest is associated with the recent emphasis on power and authority in cultural studies.[136] Cosgrove observes that cartography historian, Brian Harley, also argues for

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[134] *Ibid.*, p.118.
[135] R. Jones and C. Birdsall-Jones, "The Contestation of Heritage: The Colonizer and the Colonized in Australia", in B. Graham and P. Howard, Eds, 2008. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity,* Ashgate, Surrey, p.368.
[136] Norton, *Cultural Geography.*

a connection between cartography and power.[137]   As tools of those with authority, maps are inescapably bound as ideological instruments into the nexus of power and knowledge.[138]

Mapping structures were tailored also to those realms of society dominated by men. Feminists such as Blunt and Rose have argued that because gender was not an issue for males in their dominance of knowledge discourses, women were invisible in the landscape as represented by maps. As these knowledges were communications of a 'universal' view of male concerns it was their views and representations that were valued.[139] Hence women and their contribution were not documented in these representations of landscapes. This omission is demonstrated in Gorby's historical study of maps of a Shaker village. Because the maps were drawn by the brethren as a planning and communication tool, they consistently named brothers' work sites but omitted identifying or recording work sites of the sisters of the community.   These representations are a good reminder that maps, as instruments of knowledge and authority, can be used to conceal as much as reveal. Naming of the brothers' work sites was one way that the map makers subtly affirmed the specific contributions that brethren and not sisters were making to their communal order.[140]

According to Cosgrove, maps are also a visual representation of the spatial aspect of cultural landscape, and as such, they are a complex and culturally constructed means of representing knowledge in the study of the interconnections between culture and space.[141] Cosgrove acknowledges the argument by Harley and others, that mapping is a cultural activity that represents and communicates spatial knowledge.   Western

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[137] Cited in Denis Cosgrove, "Mapping/Cartography" in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*.
[138] *Ibid.*
[139] C. Gorby, "Pincushions, dormitory kitchens, and seed gardens: gender identity and spiritual place at West Union Shaker village" in L. Dowler, J. Carubia, and B. Szczygiel, Eds, 2005. *Women, Gender and Landscape,* Routledge, London, p. 165.
[140]*Ibid*.
[141] Cosgrove, "Mapping/Cartography" in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*.

mapping focuses on geometrically based spatial scaling and as such, is one culturally specific mode of geographical representation. Other cultures use different modes; for example, Australian Aborigines use narrated songlines or story-lines as a form of spatial knowledge. Therefore, maps are to be read as cultural negotiations of space and for what they reveal of the cultures that produce them, as much as for the geographical and topographical information they represent.[142] Maps can be read as cultural texts, and thus their selections, omissions, additions and inescapable contextual influences provide another interpretative field.

In relation to the study of Redlynch, cadastral maps show land ownership and the boundaries of that land. Even though women could own land, it was generally considered a male concern; when land ownership is shown with a surname and initial(s) it is generally assumed that the owner is male. These maps will be heavily relied upon to interpret the transfer of property in the context of land as a commodity related to proposed capitalist purposes, whether agricultural, commercial or residential. The transport networks necessary for these economic relations to function will also be analysed in these maps, and the power structures that dictated the routes chosen for roads and railways. However, other documents can reveal underlying female spatial structures, or female uses of apparently male structures, which can be used to correct a masculine interpretation of maps.

Naming Within Cultural Landscapes: cultural process and symbolism

Alderman observes that a recent emphasis has been upon examining the politics of claiming ownership of space through place naming and the conflicts of race, class and gender involved in this process in the creation of cultural landscapes.[143] Place names play a central role in mapping, for they provide the means of filling ostensibly empty

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[142] *Ibid.*

[143] D. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes" in *The Ashgate Research Companion,* p. 198.

space on maps with meaningful points of interest. The use of place names can thus be seen as a means of communicating ideological meaning about place.

In reference to naming places, Seddon says that:

> many colonial names are about possession and dispossession. The renaming of places [in Australia] often recorded some imagined likeness to some known place in Britain, or the name of some associate who would mean little to the future inhabitants of the district.[144]

In comparison, anthropologist, Peter Gardner, says that:

> the essence of Aboriginal names is that they delineate clearly the former Aboriginal occupation of the land and the depth of their association with that land. But for the names, many current residents would deny the prior existence of, and occupation of the country by Aboriginal people.[145]

Thus mapping, and naming places, are means of imprinting and asserting hegemony through these processes. However, these kinds of hegemonic constructions are never uncontested.[146]

Berg and Kearns say that "the naming of places is a key component in the relationship between *place* and *the politics of identity* in contemporary societies."[147] They understand that "naming produces a form of 'linguistic settlement'" and "provides legitimacy to those who dominate the politics of (place) representation".[148] They also assert that naming places reinforces claims of national ownership, state power, and masculine control. Place names can be scripted to evoke general or superficial associations with the past or to honour specific historical figures. Because of the normative power of naming, place names create a material and symbolic order that allows dominant groups to impose certain meanings onto the landscape and hence

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[144] Seddon, *Landscapes*, p. 24.
[145] Cited in *Ibid.,* p. 25.
[146] Alderman, "Place, Naming and the interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", p. 198.
[147] L. Berg and R. Kearns, 2009. "Naming as Norming: 'race', gender and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand" in L. D. Berg and J. Vuolteenaho, Eds. *Critical Toponymies,* Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Surrey, p. 19.
[148] *Ibid*.

control the attachment of symbolic identity to people and places. They express the culture of dominant groups, whether this dominance is through social hierarchies or proportion of the population.

According to Alderman the power and politics of naming is especially evident on the cultural landscape.[149] Recent studies recognize the role of naming as an active and contestable process of claiming and constructing landscape around certain ideological visions about the past. Names used for commemorative purposes "inscribe ideological messages about the past…making certain versions of history appear as the natural order of things".[150] Alderman understands that commemorative street naming melds history with geography and brings the past into the present to construct heritage and identity.[151]

Other scholars such as Herman, Nash and Yeoh have explored place naming as part of the post-colonial process of reclaiming heritage after gaining independence. Nash says that "getting rid of prominent colonial place names after independence asserts the value and validity of the culture denigrated under colonialism."[152] However, the process of erasing evidence of colonization leaves little room for cultural pluralism and has complex and contradictory implications.[153] Yeoh also says that the mapping of nationalistic ideologies onto Singapore's street names was an uneven process but not totally hegemonic, and reflects the co-existence of different systems of signification.[154]

Place naming represents a means of claiming the landscape and symbolically using the power to privilege one world view over another. Naming patterns serve as a source of

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[149] Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", p. 196.
[150] M. Azaryahu, "Naming the Past: The Commemorative Significance of Street Names" in *Critical Toponymies,* p. 67.
[151] Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", p. 196.
[152] C. Nash, "Irish Place Names: post-colonial locations" in *Critical Toponymies,* p. 138.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] B. Yeoh, "Street-naming and Nation Building: toponymic inscriptions of nationhood in Singapore" in *Critical Toponymies,* p.81.

social distinction for some people while bringing social marginalization to others. In the context of Redlynch, Aboriginal claims to place were erased and women and minority groups such as Chinese market gardeners and Mediterranean canecutters are almost entirely excluded. In relation to this study, the practice of using the surname of early settlers consistently refers to the gendered masculinity inherent in the naming process, and works to keep women invisible, and masks any contribution women have made. Therefore, the naming process can assist in creating unequal power relations. Post-colonial efforts to erase European placenames and reinstate Aboriginal names are occurring in the Cairns district but as yet have not touched the Redlynch valley.

Part 3: Historical Literature Review of Redlynch Valley Histories

There is very little historical writing available written for the Redlynch area. Very little of what does exist is analytical and while it contributes descriptive material of use in landscape analysis, none of it attempts that task itself.

From the perspective of Indigenous history of the region, the only literature available on this topic is Bottoms' *Djabugay County*[155] which includes reference to Aboriginal stories related to the landscape of the Redlynch/Barron Valley, and living conditions of Redlynch Aborigines in the 1960s. This study began as an honours thesis at James Cook University and it provides an analysis of the traditional Aboriginal landscape and land use of the Cairns region including Aboriginal placenames.

Although the area under study was opened for selection in the 1880s, existing literature referring to the early period covers brief periods of time, or particular events and locations. The only published general histories of Cairns, *Trinity Phoenix* and *A History of Cairns: City of the South Pacific*, provide brief mentions of instances in

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[155] Bottoms, *Djabugay Country.*

history related to activity in the Redlynch Valley area.[156] Later histories or articles have used Jones' publication and based their texts largely on her research. Brief mentions of the Redlynch area in the 1880s and 1890s have been made in books and articles written about the building of the Cairns to Herberton Railway with reference to the railway construction camps set up along the way during construction. These include the terminus of the first stage of railway construction at Redlynch, and Robb's camp, which was established on the banks of the Barron River at Kamerunga[157] during the second stage of construction.

As agriculture was important to the settlement of north Queensland in the 19th century, a State Nursery was established on the Crown Reserve at Kamerunga by the Queensland Department of Agriculture in 1889. It acclimatised, experimented with and distributed potentially useful plants. Two short *Bulletins* of the Cairns Historical Society contain a history of the Kamerunga State Nursery.[158] These provide a useful overview of the establishment of the nursery in that location, its purpose, size and plantings undertaken. The papers follow the progress of the establishment over a period from the 1880s to its closure in 1916, and re-opening of the property in the 1940s for a Horticultural Research Station and its subsequent history and relevance to north Queensland agriculture.

A brief glimpse of life during that early period has been recorded in an article entitled "Romantic Pioneering in the Tropics: Archibald Meston's Home Life in Cairns, 1882-1888" by Cheryl Taylor.[159] Meston's home was at Kamerunga. This provides a description of the selection's location, buildings and cultivation of the land. Taylor shows how Meston imbued the landscape around Kamerunga with a kind of tropical

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[156] T. Bottoms, 2015. *A History of Cairns: City of the South Pacific 1770-1995*, Bunu Bunu Press, Edge Hill.
[157] A. Hudson, 2003. *Tracks of Triumph,* The Cairns Post, Cairns; and A. Broughton, 1991. *Cairns Range Railway,* Cairns Historical Society, Cairns.
[158] S. E. Stephens, "Kamerunga State Nursery", *Cairns Historical Society Bulletins* No. 258, May 1981 and No. 259, June 1981.
[159] C. Taylor, 2003. "Romantic Pioneering in the Tropics: Archibald Meston's Home Life in Cairns, 1882-1888", *etropic: electronic journal of multidisciplinary studies in the tropics*, Vol. 2, No. 1.

Romanticism in which he figured as a great White pioneer and hunter in a landscape of danger and adventure, but also a landscape of tropical fertility which Meston was taming into productivity. It is also a landscape of White upper-class male dominance, in which hapless Chinese gardeners exist but are controlled by Meston's violence towards them and their possessions. Taylor disputes Meston's pretensions to upper class gentility but her description of his property and 'improvements' indicate that he was no ordinary selector. Rather, his property could be considered as an 'estate' of the type which experimented with tropical agriculture in the early period of White settlement.

Other literature available for review is related to a later period of the district's history, namely *The History of the Redlynch State School 1932-1993*[160] and a small booklet titled *History of the Redlynch Community Hall.*[161] Both of these small publications provide some insights into social activities of the community, residents' involvement in community activities, descriptions of and changes to the area during that time, and population growth. Various memoirs and reminiscences by past residents of the Redlynch area have been published as Cairns Historical Society *Bulletins*.[162] Though anecdotal, these papers give some idea of families who lived in the area during periods from the 1920s to the 1940s, and the occupations and locations of residents. Some memoirs have been published in genealogical periodicals[163] with similar information. From time to time some newspaper articles about the history of the Redlynch area have been published in the *Cairns Post*.[164] However, these various newspaper articles

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[160] L. Maykin, 1993. *The History of Redlynch State School 1932-1993,* Redlynch State Primary School P&C Association.

[161] Stanton, *History of the Redlynch Community Hall*.

[162] Major W. Hughes, "Redlynch in the 1930s", *Cairns Historical Society Bulletin* No. 415, July 1995 and "Redlynch in the 1920s", *Cairns Historical Society Bulletin* No. 416, August 1995; W. T. Johnston, "Reminiscences of Jim M. Tenni, Pioneer and Canegrower, Redlynch", *Cairns Historical Society Bulletin* No. 221, April 1978; Jim M. Tenni, "Cyclone Jim's Memories", *Cairns Historical Society Bulletin* No. 222, May 1978.

[163] S. Taylor (nee Redford), "Early Memoirs of Redlynch", *Origins*, Vol. 22 No. 1, September 2006, pp. 4-5.

[164] R. Holmes, "From Outpost to a Thriving Community", My Place Series, *Cairns Sun*, 6 August 1997, p. 11.

are compilations from the only two publications generally available, *Trinity Phoenix* and *The History of the Redlynch State School*, and consequently the same information is recirculated with no additional knowledge or analysis included.

More recent literature pertaining to the history of the region includes a cultural heritage study for a property developer. This report relates to the Redlynch General Store[165] which has since been demolished to make way for an IGA Supermarket. The historical investigation of this building was very shallow and indicates a flawed approach to investigation of a site with potential cultural heritage significance. The existing report is merely a recording of the site which contains a description of the building, a plan of the building at the time of the report, and photos of the interior and exterior sides of the building. These recordings could be useful in assisting further research into the building from a cultural perspective of prior ownership and its importance to the community. However, the historian is forced to rely on the recordings instead of the building itself. The building would have provided a much richer source of information about this central point of European settlement in the Redlynch landscape.

In conclusion, apart from Bottoms' analysis of Aboriginal placenames and Taylor's explanation of the Romantic image of the landscape supplied by Meston, the secondary literature on Redlynch itself on the whole provides little more than context for the study. However, the literature on cultural landscapes, photography and placenames provides a number of interpretative tools and approaches, many of which will prove useful for the analysis of the Redlynch landscape through time. This will supplement the framework partly developed from literature on 'White Man in the Tropics' used to investigate changes to the landscape over the course of European settlement.

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[165] M. Rowney, 2006. "Redlynch General Store", Cultural Heritage Archival Recording by Gordon Grimwade & Associates for PAL Properties Pty Ltd.