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Management of Fraser Coast Forests: Crossing the boundaries of economy and ecology

Submitted by
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In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
College of Arts, Society and Education
James Cook University

February, 2025



Statement of the Contribution of Others

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references given.

Intellectual and editorial support were provided by Dr Claire Brennan (College of Arts, Society and Education, James Cook University [CASE JCU]); Adjunct Professor Russell McGregor (CASE, JCU) and Associate Professor Don Garden (CASE, JCU).

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_____ _____ 02/02/2025

Signature Date

Abstract

The forests of the Fraser Coast have grown through multiple layers of human management, which have been informed by varying visions of what the forests were and aspirations for what they should be. Geological development, First Nations management and settler-colonial modification worked to shape forests according to human values and in response to various often conflicting ideas. Colonial pastoral aspirations and timber resource interests worked to transform the forests from 1842, in line with their visions of what the forests should be. These economic visions clashed with cultural and ecological realities, increasingly with each other, and were further exacerbated by an expanding bureaucracy. Intensification of these layers of forest management contributed to the growth of the conservation vision. As with the previous layers of forest vision and management, enacting environmentalist aspirations added new and different layers, that conflicted with the cultural and ecological reality of previous layers. This thesis explores how these tensions have intersected to produce the Fraser Coast's forests as they are in the present day.

Tensions exist between differing visions and are heightened along the borders that work to separate them. Forest biota have disregarded human boundaries, especially those that exist only on paper. People implementing various forest visions have complied with both imagined and real boundaries to varying degrees, at times respecting them, at others wilfully disregarding them. As a result, forest uses and management styles have intermingled across the lines supposed to separate them, because of inattention, deliberate disregard and in response to environmental circumstances. Tensions surrounding forest uses have been further fuelled by official boundaries and forest designations shifting over time. The complex ways in which various aspirations for forests intersected and overlaid each other also contributed to widening schisms between distant perception and local experience. When direct forest experience conflicted with vision, the ways in which people negotiated the conflict often became hidden: by those unable and unwilling to engage with increasingly complex bureaucratic processes, and by official visions that minimised and

disparaged undesirable aspects of the previous layers. Yet the ways in which those previous visions shifted forest composition impacts the forests' continuing growth (and the application of subsequent visions). This thesis argues that today's forests have been shaped by the ways in which people have negotiated official visions, private aspirations, and by the forests' own responses over time.

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The wit, wisdom, and patience of many people made this thesis possible, and no thanks I could put on paper would ever equal how deeply in their debt I am.

This thesis would not have happened without the support of my family. My mother Narelle, step-father Greg and brother Fraser were willing to accommodate me on research trips, act as chauffeurs, facilitate contacts, answer myriad annoying questions, and allow me to get my boots seriously dirty, despite my cattle work incompetence and fears for my safety. I hope I've done their visions some justice.

This story of the Fraser Coast's forests would likely have been little more than a list of events without the unending patience and gentle guidance of my research supervisors: Claire Brennan, Russell McGregor, and Don Garden. How they managed to read some of my early drafts and still be nice remains a mystery. Without Claire's metaphorical advice to "stand in the library, not the local pub"; Russell's insistence that "words have meaning Cindi"; and Don's "but where is the argument?", the analysis herein would mostly be "it was cooked" and "they were fucked". Claire, Russell, and Don on the other hand, not only rock but are also the quintessence of supervisors. I only wish I could write as well as them.

It would be a thin story indeed without the support and assistance of the librarians, archivists, and curators who facilitated my access to the forests of paper and material culture in their care. The abilities of library staff to solve whatever strange issue I was having at the time were phenomenal. Even in the face of the covid pandemic, the staff at JCU, the John Anderson Library in Maryborough and the State Archives of Queensland remained incredibly helpful with navigating systems and accessing documents I never dreamed existed. The curators of the Bauple, Brooweena and Gympie museums were also generous with their time, and I'm thankful they continue to exist, despite their limited funding.

Much of this history was driven by local residents who consented to be interviewed about their association with the Fraser Coast's forests. The issues

they raised and the anecdotes they shared worked to shape this thesis, to give context to the ways in which these people had experienced the forests they lived and worked within. It is a lot more balanced than it would have been without the human representation of the different visions that have worked to shape these forests over time, and in turn have been shaped by these forests.

Thanks are also due to my educational colleagues and students. Their patience with my ranting about various aspects of forest history has been more helpful than they will ever know, as has their irreverent humour. So too with my CASE associates at JCU, whose interest in my work inspired and motivated me considerably, especially Lyndon Megarrity and Ryan Daniel.

Thanks must go also to my coterie of friends, in the north and the south, who have kept me sane throughout this process. Randa, Tina, Clinton, Sophie, Maddy and Beck have continually reminded me there is so much more to life than school and thesis, even if that is all I wanted to talk about. Thanks for helping me find the right words, and thanks for your faith x.

Table of Contents

Statement of the Contribution of Others i
Abstract ii
Acknowledgements iv
Table of Contents vi
Abbreviations and Acronyms ix
List of Figures x
1 Introduction 1
1.1 The Forests 2
1.2 The Literature 10
1.2.1 Historical narrative and characterisation 11
1.2.2 Australian Environmental History 17
1.2.3 Forest History 23
1.2.4 Conservationists 32
1.2.5 National Parks 34
1.2.6 Subversive Characters 36
1.2.7 Recent stories on these themes 39
1.3 The Method 42
1.4 The Outline 46
2 Fraser Coast Forests to 1842 52
2.1 Pre-historic forests 54
2.1.1 Rocks, soil, and climate 54
2.1.2 Trees and fire 58
2.2 First Nations' Forests 61
2.2.1 Fire 61
2.2.2 Permeable boundaries 63
2.2.3 Using the forests 68
2.3 Colonisers' forests 72
2.3.1 Shipwrecked timber getters 72
2.3.2 Escaped convicts 77
2.3.3 Official visions 80
2.4 Conclusion 83
3 European Encroachment 1842 – 1900 85
3.1 Resisters 86
3.1.1 Fear of First Nations 86
3.1.2 Admiration of bushrangers 92
3.2 Pasture 101

3.2.1 Sheep fail 101
3.2.2 Cattle roam 105
3.3 Timber 113
3.3.1 Rebuilding Sawmills 113
3.3.2 Expanding Reserves 118
3.4 Conclusion 123
4 Closer Settlement, Increasing Conflict 1890s – 1940s 124
4.1 A new layer of management: Forestry 125
4.1.1 Forestry vs Lands 125
4.1.2 Forestry vs Pastoralism 131
4.2 A new layer of government: The Burrum Council 136
4.2.1 Internal Divisions 136
4.2.2 Forest Access 139
4.3 A new layer of removal: fighting the forest 142
4.3.1 Improving Weaponry 142
4.3.2 Ringbarking 146
4.4 Conclusion 153
5 Fuel for the Great Acceleration 1930s – 1980s 155
5.1 Accelerating removal 157
5.1.1 Shrinking Chainsaws 157
5.1.2 Proliferating Bulldozers 163
5.1.3 Spreading Herbicides 170
5.2 Accelerating processing 177
5.2.1 Forestry Experimentation 177
5.2.2 Private Acceleration 179
5.2.3 Adjusting to Depletion 181
5.3 Accelerating growth 186
5.3.1 Developing planting 186
5.3.2 Establishing plantations 189
5.3.3 Managing hardwood 197
5.4 Conclusion 203
6 Politics of Conservation: 1960s to the present 205
6.1 Conservation vs. Conservatives 207
6.1.1 Bureaucratic Process and Urban Concern 207
6.1.2 Direct Action and International Concern 213
6.2 Federal direction and state variation 219
6.2.1 Federal Direction 219

6.2.2 Variations 221
6.2.3 Implementation 225
6.3 Economic visions overlaid 226
6.3.1 Forestry Privatisation 226
6.3.2 Timber Compensation 229
6.3.3 Forest Grazing 231
6.4 Conclusion 235
7 The Growth of National Parks 1880s – Present 237
7.1 Scenic Parks 239
7.1.1 Implementing the vision 239
7.1.2 Fairlie's Knob 241
7.1.3 Burrum River 244
7.2 International Parks 249
7.2.1 Defining National Parks 249
7.2.2 Other conservation 253
7.2.3 Wilderness Emphasis 258
7.3 Political Parks 260
7.3.1 Shifting political visions 260
7.3.2 Managing Fraser Coast Parks 265
7.3.3 Negotiating management 273
7.4 Conclusion 274
8 Conclusion: Continuing Growth 275
8.1 Summary 275
8.2 Conclusions 275
8.2.1 Crossing Boundaries 275
8.2.2 Continuing Growth 277
Bibliography 280
Appendix A 334

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFHS	Australian Forest History Society
AHC	Australian Heritage Commission
AUSLIG	Australian Surveying and Land Information Group
ABARES	Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics
AHC	Australian Heritage Commission
BVG	Broad Vegetation Groups, as classified by the Queensland Herbarium
CRA	Comprehensive Regional Assessment
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
DPI	Queensland Government Department of Primary Industries
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
NFPS	National Forest Policy Statement
QNPWS	Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service
QPWS	Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service (from 1999)
RFA	Regional Forest Agreement
SEQFA	South East Queensland Forestry Agreement
SGP	Stock Grazing Permit
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America
VMA	Vegetation Management Act (1999)

The term *Chronicle*, capitalised and italicised, is used throughout this thesis to refer to the local newspaper. Throughout its history it has variously been named: the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* (1860 – 1947), the *Maryborough Chronicle* (1947 – 2020), and the *Fraser Coast Chronicle* (1993-2020, continuing online thereafter).

All land portion measurements throughout are given in acres, to enhance comparability across time and place.

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map showing the Fraser Coast Local Government Area in 2021, reflecting the boundaries of this study..... 4
Figure 2 Map showing the areas examined by papers presented at Australian Forest History Society Conferences 1988-2015, subsequently published. 31
Figure 3 Map showing Native Title claims on the Fraser Coast in 2024..... 65
Figure 4 Photograph showing possible location of Big Jim's Cave, 2023..... 100
Figure 5 Photograph showing Ned Kelly statue, Gympie Road, Tinana 2023.. 100
Figure 6 Photograph showing two people holding a two-person McCulloch chainsaw, which was manufactured in approximately 1954..... 162
Figure 7 Photograph from c. 1962 showing a D2 bulldozer on the back of an International Acco.. 169
Figure 8 Photograph showing a person in 2020 wearing a Tordon (herbicide) application kit, with needle dispenser inset bottom left. 176
Figure 9 Graph showing Tuan Planting 1948-71. 192
Figure 10 Photograph showing a planting machine in operation, n.d. 195
Figure 11 Graph showing Annual Forestry Regeneration 1931-81..... 199
Figure 12 Image showing the Cooloola campaign postcard, 1969. 209
Figure 13 Photograph showing fresh cattle manure in Fairlies Knob National Park, January 2023. 269
Figure 14 Photograph showing the view on the cleared road down from the Fairlies Knob summit, January 2023. 269
Figure 15 Photograph of the Burrum Road, looking west in 2023.. 272

1 Introduction

The forests of Queensland's Fraser Coast have been many different things to many different people throughout their human history. Shaped by geological and climatic factors, they have been reshaped by various human endeavours, especially following European colonisation. This thesis explores the ways in which people have worked to reshape these forests, highlighting the layering of intent, interaction and forest response that have interwoven over time to construct the forests of today. It argues that today's forests are a product of negotiations between human intent and forest growth over time. It illuminates the ways in which these interactions have taken place, how intent has shifted in response to forest realities, as well as some of the ways in which these interactions have become buried. Maintenance of this highly valued resource relies on an intimate knowledge of how the forests have been constructed, both on the ground and in the imagination.

The maintenance of forests is directed by desired outcomes. Within this thesis, these desired outcomes, or visions, are classified as economic or ecological, despite the masking effect this binary has on the complexity of the continuum of people's attitudes towards forests. In the past, the majority of these visions were utilitarian and are herein referred to as 'economic'. This label works to generalise extractive forest uses, those motivated by financial gain, and those that were a continuation of colonisation processes. It includes pastoralism and the timber industry, as well State Forestry interests and ambitions. These interests were not always entirely focused on monetary gain, but also worked to promote forest growth, albeit where it aligned with human ideas about what the forests should be. The term 'ecological' has been used to describe the visions that opposed large-scale extraction and that ascribed inherent value to the forests. While aesthetic, climatological and conservation visions sit fairly comfortably under this descriptor, tourism and sustainability do not, as they also include economic benefits and involve human-induced changes to forest composition. Those engaged in extractive industries sometimes appreciated and worked to conserve the aesthetic values associated with certain forests, while those propounding ecological visions occasionally

amplified tourism and sustainable-use profit, whilst minimising potential extractive worth. The ways in which these visions have cooperated conflicted and overlapped has resulted in the forests' present growth and composition. The interplay of these visions is the primary focus of this thesis, to explain how today's forests came to be.

1.1 The Forests

The Fraser Coast was named for its proximity to K'gari, and makes reference to its former name, Fraser Island. The coastline forms the eastern boundary, which turns inland to meet Bauple Mountain, then south to the Gunalda range, continuing westerly to Grongah National Park. The boundary then turns north-east, bisecting Mount Walsh and Wongi National Parks, before joining the Isis River in the north. These boundaries are represented on the Fraser Coast Regional Council's Local Government Area (LGA) Map, shown in Figure 1.[1] This administrative boundary was used to limit the study area, though it is not guided by environmental factors. K'gari, for example, is currently part of the LGA, and forest-related events on the island have impacted the mainland's forests, significantly at times. The southern boundary bisects a large exotic pine plantation at Tuan/Toolara, as well as national parks and state forests in the west. Further, the LGA encompasses the lands of three different groups of First Nations peoples. The Butchulla peoples' Native Title to K'gari was extended to the mainland in 2019.[2] The Kabi Kabi people's lands extend from the south and west of the Butchulla boundaries, including the forests west of Maryborough. Their Native Title was officially recognised in 2024, though their boundary with the Butchulla between the Mary River, Bauple Mountain and the coast line

[1] Government Statistician's Office, *Queensland Local Government Areas (LGA), 2021 - Fraser Coast (R) (ASGS Code 33220)*, Queensland Regional Profiles (Brisbane, Queensland: The State of Queensland (Queensland Treasury), 2021), https://statistics.qgso.qld.gov.au/qld-regional-profiles.

[2] J Collier, De Satge on behalf of the Butchulla People #2 v State of Queensland [2014] FCA 1132, No. QUD 287 of 2009 (Federal Court of Australia 24 October 2014); J O'Bryan, Cronin on behalf of the Butchulla People (Land & Sea Claim #2) v State of Queensland [2019] FCA 2082, No. QUD 460 of 2018 (Federal Court of Australia 13 December 2019).

remains unclear.[3] Native Title to the lands of the Wakka Wakka people was officially recognised in 2022, overlapping the western limits of the study area.[4] The Wongi waterholes, on the boundaries of Kabi Kabi and Butchulla land, were a culturally significant resting spot for travellers, from these nations and others.

[3] ACJ Collier, Douglas on behalf of the Kabi Kabi First Nation Traditional Owners Native Title Claim Group v State of Queensland (No 5) [2024] FCA 645, No. QUD 20 of 2019 (Federal Court of Australia 17 June 2024).
[4] J Rangiah, Bell on behalf of the Wakka Wakka People #4 v State of Queensland (No 2) [2022] FCA 371, No. QUD 277 of 2019 (Federal Court of Australia 12 April 2022).

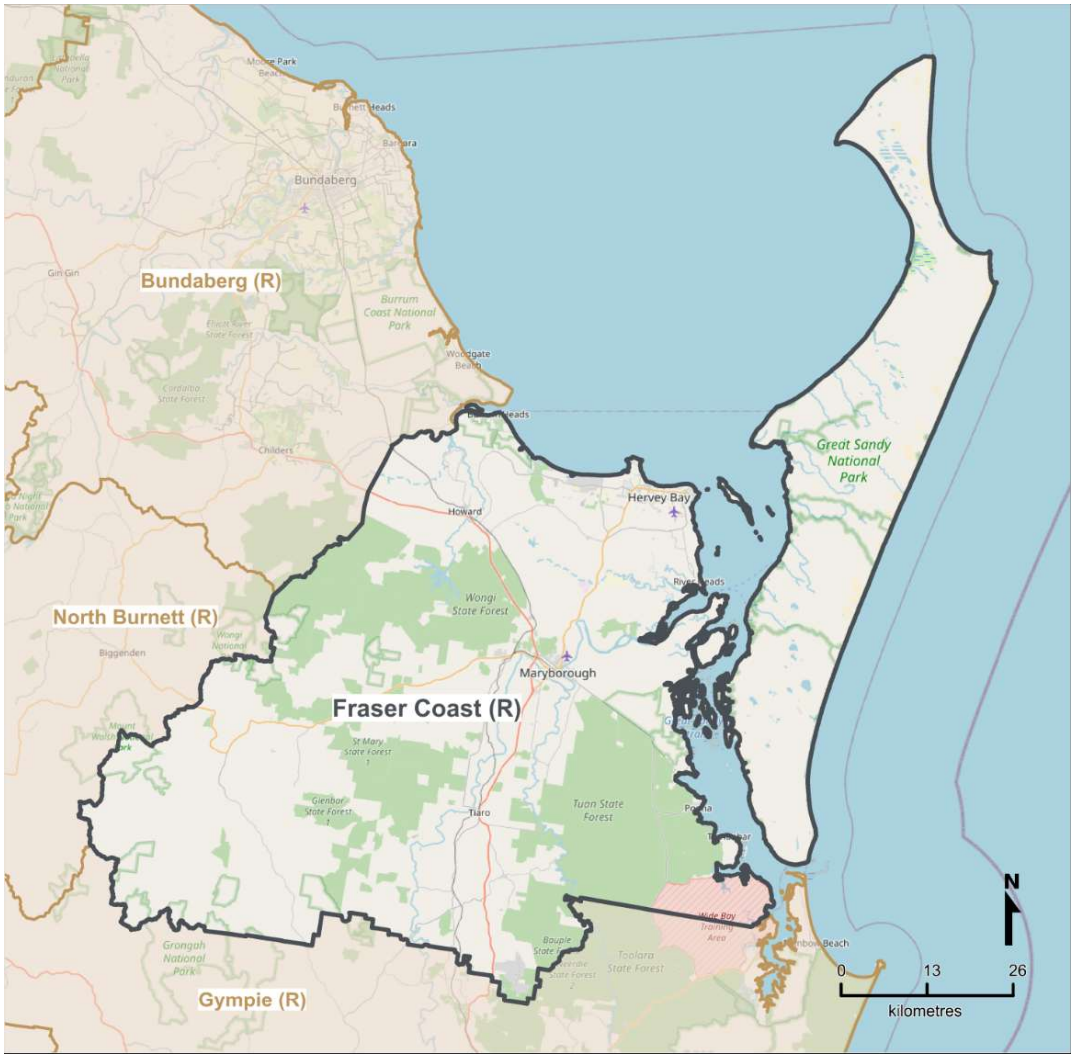


Figure 1 Map showing the Fraser Coast Local Government Area in 2021, reflecting the boundaries of this study. Source: Government Statistician's Office, Queensland Local Government Areas (LGA), 2021 - Fraser Coast (R) (ASGS Code 33220), Queensland Regional Profiles (Brisbane, Queensland: The State of Queensland (Queensland Treasury), 2021), https://statistics.qgso.qld.gov.au/qld-regional-profiles. CC BY 4.0.

The floral and faunal diversity of the area is immense, with littoral mangroves, wallum heath lands, and tree coverage ranging from dense rainforest patches to open dry sclerophyll woodlands, cleared pastoral areas and exotic pine plantations. The two main rivers in the area are the Mary and the Burrum. The Mary rises to the south, in the Conondale range, enters the Fraser Coast west of Theebine and exits to the south of Hervey Bay. One of the Mary's tributaries, Tinana Creek, is dammed to the south of Maryborough, supplying drinking water to that town. The smaller Burrum River rises in the inland forests, and is dammed at Lenthall's in Wongi State Forest, providing water to the city of Hervey Bay. The Burrum's mouth is north of that city. Some large areas have been cleared of various types of native forests to establish a variety of economic enterprises. These are interspersed with government reservations that seek to protect native timber resources, and some of those reservations have then become National Parks. Rainforest and wet sclerophyll, as well as vine scrub type forests cluster around low mountains and in valleys, including Bauple Mountain in the south and Fairlies Knob to the west.

The Fraser Coast's forests not only spill over administrative boundaries, they spread across official forest definition boundaries as well. The Australian Bureau of Agriculture and Resource Economics and Sciences (ABARES) defines forests as:

> An area of land dominated by trees that have a height of at least two metres and a crown cover of at least 20 per cent. Crown cover is the area of ground covered by tree canopies, ignoring any overlaps and gaps … What many people would typically think of as forests—stands of tall, closely spaced trees—comprise a relatively small part of the country's total forest area.[5]

Within this broad definition, forests are designated by their dominant vegetation type, as well as their structure. Structure is divided into three categories of crown cover (woodland, open and closed), and three descriptors of height (low, medium and tall). There are two dominant forest types on the Fraser Coast:

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[5] Commonwealth Government and Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry, 'Australia's Forests - Overview 02' (Australian Government, 21 October 2022), https://www.agriculture.gov.au/abares/forestsaustralia/australias-forests/profiles/australias-forests-2019.

Commercial Plantation, and Eucalypt forest, both of which vary between woodland and open density. There are also some small patches of closed rainforest. Tree heights vary across these forest types and their locations, with some eucalypt species classed as tall (greater than thirty metres), and some as medium (between 10 and 30 metres). Exotic commercial plantation pine can reach up to 35 metres, while the native pine in these plantations is capable of reaching 60 metres. There are also many other lower species present, though not included on ABARES mapping. This categorisation system describes the dominant forest types in the present. It does not describe past forests, or explain how the forests have grown the way they have.

Federal and State Government agencies have produced comparative mapping to show the changes that have occurred in native vegetation composition. In 1997, the Australian Surveying and Land Information Group's (AUSLIG) produced comparative mapping showing *Natural Vegetation* and *Present Vegetation*. The first represents Australia's vegetation in the 1780s, informed by "a large number of historical descriptions and current botanical reconstructions".[6] The second was informed by "satellite imagery interpreted in conjunction with a large number of botanical survey records and reports".[7] These maps indicate that the forest composition of the Fraser Coast has changed significantly since European colonisation. *Natural Vegetation* shows predominantly eucalypts that were of medium height (ten to thirty metres) at 30-70% foliage cover, shifting to taller and more widely spaced forests towards the coast. *Present Vegetation* indicates that grassed areas have expanded considerably at the expense of eucalypt density, though closed medium height patches remain. The exotic pine plantation at Tuan/Toolara was big enough to be included on this map. Generalised descriptions and visualisations of what

[6] JA Carnahan, *Australia Natural Vegetation* (Canberra, Australia: Australian Surveying and Land Information Group, 1997), https://ecat.ga.gov.au/geonetwork/srv/eng/catalog.search#/metadata/42280.
[7] JA Carnahan, *Australia Present Vegetation* (Canberra, Australia: Australian Surveying and Land Information Group, 1997), https://ecat.ga.gov.au/geonetwork/srv/eng/catalog.search#/metadata/42281.

the forests are and were have been produced at the national level, yet the level of generalisation required to produce national definitions does not reflect the complexity of the vegetation types and their associations present on the Fraser Coast.

The Queensland Herbarium's comparative mapping focuses exclusively on native vegetation and shows significant change between 'Pre-clearing' and 'Remnant' vegetation.[8] Its pre-clearing data is predominantly informed by aerial photographs from the 1960s, though the term "generally equates to terms such as 'pre-1750' or 'pre-European'".[9] Remnant vegetation refers to vegetation classed as 'undisturbed'. In conjunction with preparing these maps, the Herbarium team identified 35 Broad Vegetation Groups (BVGs) across the state, classified by predominant vegetation type and density. According to this official system, the predominant forest type on the Fraser Coast, pre-clearing, was BVG 9g: "moist to dry woodlands to open forests dominated by stringybarks or mahoganies", with a 2021 state-wide remnant of 38.2%.[10] However, the forests themselves are a patchwork: of BVG 9g, as well as mesophyll to notophyll vine forests in protected areas, shifting to more xerophytic and open eucalypt communities to the west, and wallum heaths in the east. The growth of the hoop pines, spotted gums and iron barks in the area have also been shaped by an extensive sawmilling industry, many cattle, and a host of other uses throughout time, so that forest composition today is far more complicated than scientific generalisation suggests.

Significant areas within the Fraser Coast have been labelled 'scrub' in the historical record and frequently by locals. The ABARES classification

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[8] V.J. Neldner et al., 'The Vegetation of Queensland: Description of Broad Vegetation Groups Version 6.0' (Brisbane, Queensland: Department of Environment and Science, 2023).
[9] V.J. Neldner et al., 'Methodology for Surveying and Mapping Regional Ecosystems and Vegetation Communities in Queensland Version 7.0' (Queensland Herbarium, Science and Technology Division; Department of Environment, Science and Innovation, 2023), 27, 106, https://www.qld.gov.au/environment/plants-animals/plants/herbarium/mapping-ecosystems.
[10] Neldner et al., 'The Vegetation of Queensland: Description of Broad Vegetation Groups Version 6.0', 84.

system does not include this designation. However, AUSLIG did. Its classification system included a category below low trees, recognising a continuum of density designations for tall shrub lands between two and ten metres tall. AUSLIG did not apply this designation to the Fraser Coast in *Natural Vegetation*, though it appears on northern K'gari in *Present Vegetation*. In aggregating the BVGs, the Queensland Herbarium equates scrub with rainforest, equivalent to BVGs 1-7, and barely present on the Fraser Coast on both 'Pre-clearing' and 'Remnant' maps. Despite scrub being largely or completely absent on these significant maps, it appears regularly in this thesis, in reference to mesophyll/notophyll vine forests containing pine species, described in BVGs 2 and 5. These categories seem to most closely match the places that have been labelled scrub in the historical record, as well as by locals in the present. ABARES, AUSLIG and the BVGs classify the Fraser Coasts forests as predominantly eucalypts of medium height and density, not scrub. However, people in direct contact with the forests have frequently used this informal term, from the very first European explorer through to the present.

Modern scientific definitions fit historical uses of the term scrub unevenly. Early explorers used the word to designate areas of dense woody growth of unexceptional height, often using it interchangeably with 'brush'. Historian Eric Rolls worked to separate the ways in which these terms had been used, defining scrub as occurring on dry soils, "a sparser growth of stunted eucalypts with scattered shrubs" whereas in brush, shrubs were more numerous than the trees.[11] Species designation could act as a qualifier, differentiating Mallee scrub, Brigalow scrub and pine scrub, but generally there was no particular species indicated by either brush or scrub. Historian Bill Gammage's examination of how explorers used 'scrub' suggests it designates vegetation communities. Gammage repeats the definition given by southern explorer W.H. Breton in 1834: "'scrub' is dense forest with much underwood and bad soil'",

[11] Eric Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest* (New South Wales, Australia: Hale and Ironmonger, 1981), 36.

with brush more likely to have taller trees.[12] The analysis by Rolls and Gammage suggests that 'scrub' and 'brush' were used in different ways to label marginal forests that did not conform to early explorer understandings of what a forest should be. Modern sources suggest that the Fraser Coast was dominated by well-spaced eucalypts between 10 and 30 metres in height, while historical sources suggest that significant areas contained shorter, denser, vegetation growth, sometimes dominated by pine. The slippage between historical and modern uses of the term scrub also works to illustrate the complex mosaic nature of the Fraser Coast's forests, both now and in the past.

Scientific definitions informed by tree species work to fix forests in place, whilst the before and after binary of comparison minimises the dynamism of the forests themselves, as does the imprecision of the label 'scrub'. The forest vision shared by many of the current locals can be summarised as 'good for nothing but timber and cattle,' reflecting an economic use mindset, yet the Fraser Coast's forests were carefully managed for various purposes, long before European colonisation. Settler-colonial practices introduced multiple new forest uses which extensively impacted the growth, use and management of the area's trees. The pace of change, and conflicting visions intensified throughout the twentieth century, so that today's forests are a product of intermingled layers of growth, use, management, and vision.

This entanglement can be seen in today's forests. The inland sclerophyllous forests have become far more open in places, replaced with pasture that blends native and exotic grasses that spread across private and public land. State Forestry's attention to native hardwoods has promoted some eucalyptus species at the expense of others so that spotted gum, ironbark and blackbutt predominate in drier areas with densities and undergrowth varying across land tenures. In some places, where economic activities have declined,

[12] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Sydney, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 337.

these forests have closed in, with scattered emergent eucalypts rising above undergrowth of acacia, lantana, and pastoral grasses. In some respects, these areas reflect the ‘scrub’ described by European explorers, as well as the more modern uses of this term. More mesophytic forest types, such as wet sclerophyll vine scrubs, that declined in favour of open grasslands throughout the twentieth century are again expanding from their mountainous refuges and on K’gari, supported by official protection from most extractive activities. The open wallum heathlands closer to the coastline have also become far more closed in by pine plantations that mingle with the native forests on their boundaries despite intensive human intervention. This thesis explores the ways in which this patchwork of forest types has grown.

1.2 The Literature

Forests loom large in human history, their futures of concern to a wide variety of interested parties, often with conflicting agendas: international organisations, historians, scientists, politicians, the public service, conservationists, First Nations’ people, and the descendants of the settler-colonists who also continue to manage Australia’s forests. The stories people tell about forests have real world consequences, working to inform the ways in which people shape forests, both imaginatively and materially. Many different people, trained in many different epistemologies, have written histories about the ways in which people have interacted with forests over time, often incidentally. These stories reflect the concerns of their authors, whose positioning of the people and environmental factors influences the structure of the stories they tell, and further work to influence the ways in which people interact with forests. Stories that feature the environment, and specifically forests, as a main character proliferate. Yet the story of the ways in which these ideas and visions have played out in the enduring forests of the Fraser Coast, and the ways in which these forests have reacted, has until now been unwritten.

The structure of this thesis and the positioning of the trees and people within it are informed by several academic visions that are outlined below. It aligns with the historical tradition of narrative structure, though it looks to sub-branches of the discipline to centralise forests. It is firmly situated within the field

of environmental history, which foregrounds the role of the environment in human endeavours, and has proliferated in the Australian context. More specifically, it is a forest history, a distinct subset of environmental history, though the two fields share many characteristics. The authorship of forest histories is not confined to historians, nor do these stories always centralise forests. They can also focus on the groups of people who have envisioned forests in different ways, and how those people have worked to transform their visions into reality. The following review examines some of the more prominent ways in which forest histories have been constructed and how they have emplaced the various people within them, to inform this thesis and situate it within its academic context.

1.2.1 Historical narrative and characterisation

This thesis will follow the general historical tradition of narrative structure. Though stories of the past have been told since before the written word, History as a distinct and professionalised field came into shape with the rise of the 'nation' as a distinct social grouping, influenced by the work of German historian Leopold von Ranke in the mid-nineteenth century.[13] Histories then, according to more recent Australian scholars, were stories that supported and reinforced the political notion of the nation, gleaned from official written documents, with the unity and coherence of the nation itself as the climax of the story.[14] Structure is

[13] Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan, and Kevin Passmore, *Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800* (Oxford, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/jcu/detail.action?docID=168979; Richard J Evans, *In Defence of History* (Great Britain: Granta Publications, 2000); Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction* (Sydney, New South Wales: UNSW Press, 2006); Rohan Lloyd, 'Fathoming the Reef: A History of European Perspectives on the Great Barrier Reef Form Cook to GBRMPA' (PhD, Townsville, James Cook University, 2016), https://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/49776/; Mike Jones, 'The Temple of History: Historians and the Sacralisation of Archival Work', *History Australia* 18, no. 4 (2 October 2021): 676–93, https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2021.1988650; Donald Worster did not mention Ranke by name, however referred to these types of histories as 'old histories', in Donald Worster, 'Appendix: Doing Environmental History', in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (United States: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 289–307 .

[14] Anna Clark, *Making Australian History* (Australia: Vintage, Penguin, 2022), 25; Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel: Historians and Their Craft* (Melbourne, Australia: Black Inc., 2016), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/jcu/detail.action?docID=4419742; Curthoys and Docker, *Is History Fiction*.

also influenced by the positioning of the characters in the story. The inclusion of a protagonist as a way to drive narrative was discussed by Patrick Bahners in a chapter for *Writing National Histories*, entitled “National Unification and Narrative Unity”.[15] In the creation of national histories Bahners observed, “the historian has to choose a representative, a hero, so to speak, who holds the narrative together”.[16] These heroes were generally significant political figures, such as a monarch. The nationalistic flavour of these European histories influenced Australian histories, so that European ‘discoverers’ became heroes in the beginnings of ‘new’ national histories prompted by imperialism.[17] While History as a field has moved away from nationalistic visions, narrative remains a compelling structure. In a 1969 A.R. Louch, in the journal *History and Theory*, argued that the narrative form was “essential to the business of historical explanation”, as it works in a similar fashion to the persistence of vision on which motion pictures rely.[18] Louch was writing as the field of history was fragmenting, driven by disruption of nationalistic teleology and a broadening in who (or what) was considered to be an historical character. In acknowledging this broadening, of the field and included perspectives, William Cronon, in “A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative” argued that narrative remained essential despite its silencing flaws.[19] Cronon extended Louch’s explanation of narrative coherence by arguing that narrative is crucial to historical analysis, which “derives much of its force from the upward or downward sweep of the plot”, as stories of triumph, or tragedy.[20] Stories of triumph or tragedy are shaped by the individual historian’s perspective, including how they portray the characters they choose to include, and how they envision their focus phenomenon in the present. It was the question of which characters qualified as

[15] Patrick Bahners, ‘National Unification and Narrative Unity: The Case of Ranke’s German History’, in *Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800* (Taylor and Francis e-Library: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999).
[16] Bahners, 58.
[17] Clark, *Making Australian History*, 44.
[18] A. R. Louch, ‘History as Narrative’, *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 54, https://doi.org/10.2307/2504189.
[19] William Cronon, ‘A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative’, *The Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (March 1992): 1347–76.
[20] Cronon, 1348.

protagonists that drove the fragmentation of history, not a failure in the allure of presenting history as a coherent story of motion connecting discrete events.

The environment became an active character in stories of the past following a post-World War technological and cultural shift. Heightened sensitivity to formerly silenced voices and visions included concerns for the environment, and could be seen in the United States from the early 1960s, where books such as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* drew attention to environmental degradation.[21] Within ten years of Carson's story of pesticide disruption to ecosystems, there were enough stories explaining how people in the past had contributed to various environmental issues that historian Roderick Nash was able to offer a course in Environmental History at the University of California. He defined the subject's focus as "the past contact of man with his total habitat".[22] Though Nash foregrounded environment it was still in a rather passive role. Contemporaneously, Crosby's work emphasised the active role of the environment in human affairs, beginning with the highly influential *The Columbian Exchange* in 1972, with 1986s *Ecological Imperialism* refining and extending these ideas.[23] Crosby's work grew from his observation that humans are "a biological entity which has existed on this globe, affecting, and in turn affected by … fellow organisms, for many thousands of years" indicating a more active role for the environment than Nash.[24] In 1988, materialist Crosby and the more culturally inclined Donald Worster could still consider the field an emerging phenomena, in their collection of environmental histories *The Ends of the Earth*.[25] Worster's introduction asserted "the field deals with all the interactions people have had with nature in past times", closer to Nash's

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[21] Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962).
[22] Roderick Nash, 'American Environmental History: A New Teaching Frontier', *Pacific Historical Review* 41, no. 3 (1972): 362–72, https://doi.org/10.2307/3637864.
[23] Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (United States: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1972); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[24] Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, xxv.
[25] Donald Worster and Alfred W. Crosby, eds., *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).

definition than Crosby's.[26] John R. McNeill provided more explicit balance between people and environment in 2000's ambitious *Something New Under the Sun*.[27] This story of the acceleration of environmental degradation on a global scale did not explicitly define the field, though McNeill did provide a definition in a later historiography. For McNeill, environmental histories cover "the history of the mutual relations between humankind and the rest of nature", with 'mutual' indicating greater balance between people and environment.[28] Mutuality of environment and people was again emphasised by *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental History,* where Andrew Isenberg's introduction explained "environmental history understands the environment in an historical context, while at the same time understanding human history in an environmental context" suggesting a more complex interplay than earlier definitions.[29] By 2017, *Environmental History in the Making: Volume 1: Explaining* proclaimed environmental history as an established and distinct discipline, further confirmed by 2019's *A Field on Fire*.[30] Environmental histories tell stories concerning the relationship between people and their environment over time, foregrounding the environment as a main character within these stories. The development of a general definition for environmental histories emphasises the intertwined nature of culture and place, now frequently indicated by the description 'more-than-human-history', and serves to guide the focus of this thesis.[31]

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[26] Worster and Crosby, vii.
[27] JR McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun* (New York: WW Norton and Company, 2000).
[28] J. R. McNeill, 'Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History', *History and Theory* 42, no. 4 (December 2003): 6, https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1468-2303.2003.00255.x.
[29] Andrew C Isenberg, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 6.
[30] Estelita Vaz, Cristina Joanaz de Melo, and Lígia M. Costa Pinto, eds., *Environmental History in the Making: Volume I: Explaining*, vol. 6, Environmental History (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-41085-2; Mark D. Hersey et al., *A Field on Fire: The Future of Environmental History* (Tuscaloosa, UNITED STATES: University of Alabama Press, 2019), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/jcu/detail.action?docID=5633609.
[31] Emily O'Gorman and Andrea Gaynor, 'More-Than-Human Histories', *Environmental History* 25, no. 4 (October 2020): 711–35, https://doi.org/10.1093/envhis/emaa027.

The process of colonisation marked a significant shift in the growth of the Fraser Coast's forests, and is a foundational theme within environmental history. Many environmental historians have framed imperialism as a tragedy, and the environment as a victim of settler-colonialists, a theme reflected in the early work of Alfred Crosby.[32] Crosby argued that European dominance was enabled by biotic factors, more so than by individual nation-establishing heroes, in a narrative arc that presented this exchange as a tragedy for the people and environments that were colonised. As environmental histories flourished, attention turned towards the interplay of environmental visions, though the environment itself remained a victim of imperialism. Richard Grove went further than Crosby in framing colonised environments in this way, using the degradation arc to explore the roots of environmental consciousness in western thought.[33] He argued that this raised consciousness was triggered by the tragedy of environmental degradation, with protagonist reactionaries resisting imperialism's ecological impacts from the peripheries of empire. Thomas Dunlap also employed the imperial degradation arc to highlight a reactionary environmental ethos, in this case examining the interplay of peripheral informal settler and centralised formal colonialist ideas about environmental management.[34] Dunlap contended that the destruction narrative was 'necessary' in order to show the ways in which settled lands worked to shape people. He suggested a more active environment than Grove, but one still in need of rescue by ecologically minded people. The forces that worked to shift environmental visions towards conservation however were also a product of imperialistic processes, as peripheral ideas filtered through colonial bureaucracy. In the Australian context, Libby Robin found less cause for the positioning of ecologists as environmental defenders, given that field's shaping

[32] Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*; Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*.
[33] Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[34] Thomas R Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*, Studies in Environment and History (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

by imperialistic and nationalistic priorities.[35] In a provocative chapter for 1997's *Ecology and Empire*, "Ecology: A Science of Empire?", Robin explored the role of ecologists, finding they did not necessarily oppose the imperial process, but in many ways were a product of it. In seeking to explain the causes of contemporaneous environmental crises, environmental historians have structured the events of European colonisation, with its distinct beginnings, into stories of environmental tragedy. In this, the role of protagonist could be played by environmental defender rather than nation builder. Though the environment is included as an historical character, it has often been positioned as a victim of imperial antagonists, in need of rescue by human ecological protagonists.

Much of the environmental degradation that spawned these narrative arcs was thrown into sharp relief by what is now termed the Great Acceleration. The term was devised in the context of The Dahlem Workshops, so named for their location in Germany, which work to unite disparate fields of knowledge, particularly in the sciences, to seek interdisciplinary and novel solutions to pressing issues.[36] The 96th workshop, in 2005, focused on devising an 'Integrated History And Future Of People On Earth' produced a significant submission from a team including prolific environmental historian John R. McNeill.[37] This submission, linked to the notion of the Anthropocene, described trends in earth system changes following World War II, particularly from 1950, as a "Great Acceleration" using a variety of indicators, including atmospheric gases, domesticated land and deforestation. The causes of this phenomenon were linked to acceleration in several corresponding socio-economic indicators,

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[35] Libby Robin, 'Ecology: A Science of Empire?', in *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1997).
[36] Julia Lupp, 'Dahlem Workshops History', in *Sustainability or Collapse? An Integrated History and Future of People on Earth*, vol. 96, Report of the Dahlem Workshop on Integrated History and Future Of People on Earth (IHOPE) (Berlin, Germany: Freie Universität Berlin, 2007).
[37] McNeill was one of the eight people credited as authors of this paper Kathy A. Hibbard et al., 'Group Report: Decadal-Scale Interactions of Humans and the Environment', in *Sustainability or Collapse?: An Integrated History and Future of People on Earth* (96th Dahlem Workshop on Integrated History and future Of People on Earth, Berlin: Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Freie Universitat Berlin, 2006); See also McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*; J. R. McNeill and Peter Engelke, *The Great Acceleration: An Environmental History of the Anthropocene Since 1945* (Harvard University Press, 2016).

though these were generalised and focused on the abstract systems that enabled and supported the changes. Interest in the concept of the Great Acceleration prompted the International Commission on Stratigraphy to investigate these impacts, and several Dahlem authors served on the Subcommission on Quaternary Stratigraphy, which proceeded to reject the Anthropocene as a new geological epoch in 2024.[38] Despite their rejection, this label for the profundity of environmental change occurring since 1950 remains important culturally and in the field of environmental history. In this paradigm, the environment remains a victim of human processes, though apparently more so to historians than geologists. However, both have paid significantly more attention to effects than producing nuanced and particularised study of causes. Historical attention to the causes of the Great Acceleration is taken up in greater detail in Chapter Five of this thesis, in relation to the tools that enabled the acceleration of imperialistic forest visions.

1.2.2 Australian Environmental History

Australian authors turned their attention to the environment more slowly than their colleagues in the United States of America (USA), at first leaving environmental concerns to non-historians. Concern about the material effects of settler-colonial environmental management attracted attention from Australian ecologists, geographers and farmers, who wrote stories explaining environmental issues.[39] While more Australian historians turned their attention to environmental issues, as late as 2000, historian Don Garden could still ask "Where are the Historians?", and find only a few. Garden identified the beginnings of a distinctly Australian environmental history in the 1960s, but

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[38] Raymond Zhong, 'Are We in the "Anthropocene," the Human Age? Nope, Scientists Say.', *The New York Times*, 5 March 2024, sec. Climate, https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/05/climate/anthropocene-epoch-vote-rejected.html; Alexandra Witze, 'Geologists Reject the Anthropocene as Earth's New Epoch — after 15 Years of Debate', *Nature* 627, no. 8003 (6 March 2024): 249–50, https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-024-00675-8.

[39] Francis Ratcliffe, *Flying Fox and Drifting Sand: The Adventures of a Biologist in Australia* (Chatto and Windus, 1938); Joseph Michael Powell, *Environmental Management in Australia, 1788-1914: Guardians, Improvers and Profit: An Introductory Survey* (Oxford University Press, 1976); Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest*.

argued it belonged to zoologists, naturalists, ecologists and geographers. [40] Though a few historians, such as Garden, had turned their attention to environmental issues, materialists continued to significantly influence the field. Four years after Garden's commentary, historians Libby Robin and Tom Griffiths represented the Australasian contribution to the tenth anniversary historiography issue of *Environment and History* in 2004, where they made similar observations.[41] In this, though they did not cite Garden, they concurred that the field of environmental history in Australia began outside of the history discipline, predominantly in geography and ecological sciences. They found more historians than Garden had, and drew more heavily from *Environment and History* than books and government reports, to reflect the increasing numbers of Australian historians who were writing about environmental matters. Editor of the Australian-based *International Review of Environmental History*, James Beattie, saw the variety of contributors as a great strength of the field, commenting in the first 2015 issue: "It is a healthy statement of our field, I think, that three of the six articles in this volume are by scholars who are not environmental historians—two bio-geographers, an ecologist, and an historical geographer".[42] Successive editions of this journal show that while the numbers of historians now contributing to the field has grown, geographers, ecologists and others still write 'more-than-human histories'.

Though the imperial degradation arc has influenced Australian environmental histories, the environment became a much more active character as the field developed. Works following the imperial degradation narrative in the Australian context were not far behind the USA's, with zoologist Alan 'Jock' Marshall's *The Great Extermination: a guide to Anglo-Australian cupidity,*

[40] Don Garden, 'Where Are the Historians? Australian Environmental History', ed. Mark Stoll, *HNet (Humanities and Social Sciences) Online*, Historiography Series, 11 October 2000, https://lists.h-net.org/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx.
[41] Libby Robin and Tom Griffiths, 'Environmental History in Australasia', *Environment and History (10th Anniversary Issue)* 10, no. 4 (November 2004): 439–74.
[42] James Beattie, 'Introduction', *International Review of Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (2015).

wickedness and waste as a graphic example appearing in 1966.[43] Historians too continued with this arc when discussing environmental matters: Geoffrey Bolton's *Spoils and Spoilers* was published in 1981, with a second edition appearing in 1992.[44] However, other scholars resisted the positioning of the environment as passive victim, rather foregrounding environmental processes; with humans often the victim of their own hubris when attempting environmental re-shaping. Farmer and historian Eric Rolls focused on environmental factors (both native and introduced) that ran wild under colonial management, fostering a structure of rise, decline and resurrection.[45] Historian Keith Hancock's *Discovering Monaro* used similar characterisation and structure in exploring grassland resilience.[46] A pioneering collection in 1994 of *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* further illustrated this trend.[47] Editor and geographer Stephen Dovers collected environmental histories from diverse contributors, including geographers, ecologists and also some historians. Rolls' contribution continued his visions of active environment and oscillating structure, and was joined in this by ecologist Henry Nix's "The Brigalow", forester John Dargavel's "Constructing Australia's forests in the image of capital" and Dover's "Still Discovering Monaro".[48] Indeed, Nix's chapter exemplifies this structural trend, concluding "Human mismanagement of the domain, aided and abetted by ENSO-driven drought and flood could provide

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[43] A.J. Marshall, ed., *The Great Extermination: A Guide to Anglo-Australian Cupidity Wickedness and Waste* (London: Heinemann, 1966).
[44] Geoffrey Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: A History of Australians Shaping Their Environment*, 2nd ed. (Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992).
[45] Eric Rolls, *They All Ran Wild* (Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1969); Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest*.
[46] W.K. Hancock, *Discovering Monaro: A Study of Man's Impact on His Environment* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
[47] Stephen Dovers, ed., *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[48] Eric Rolls, 'More a New Planet Than a New Continent', in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 22–36; Henry Nix, 'The Brigalow', in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 198–233; John Dargavel, 'Constructing Australia's Forests in the Image of Capital', in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994); Stephen Dovers, 'Still Discovering Monaro: Perceptions of Landscape', in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).

opportunities for recolonisation. Brigalow can wait."[49] The tragedy arc was not entirely neglected, with former politician Kenneth Fry's "Kiola" and ecologist James Bowen's "The Great Barrier Reef" utilising this structural feature.[50] Published in the same year as Dovers' collection, palaeontologist Tim Flannery's influential *The Future Eaters* used an active environment and oscillating structure to explore how Australia's vegetative composition and faunal inhabitants had shifted over time.[51] His detailed discussion of how the ENSO cycle contributed to this shifting further illustrated a climatological rationale for the story's structural fluctuations. When story tellers characterise the environment as a victim, the story structure follows tragic lines. A distinct trend in Australian environmental history resists this victimisation by casting the environment as a highly active character responding dynamically to people's attempts to change it.

The undulating structural trend within Australian environmental histories was further enabled by inclusion of a much older beginning for the relationship between people and environment than imperialism offered. Recognition of the relationship between First Nations people and their environments worked to overturn the simplicity of the environmental tragedy narrative by complicating imperialist visions of pre-colonised environments as unpeopled wilderness. Anthropologist and geographer Marcia Langton commented on the unpeopling function of the wilderness concept in 1996 in "What do we mean by wilderness?" She argued "The popular definition of 'wilderness' excludes all human interaction within the allegedly pristine areas, even though they are and

[49] Nix, 'The Brigalow', 229.
[50] Kenneth Fry, 'Kiola: A History of the Environmental Impact of European Occupation', in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994); James Bowen, 'The Great Barrier Reef: Towards Conservation and Management', in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[51] Tim Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People* (New York: Grove Press, 1994).

have been inhabited and used by indigenous people for thousands of years".[52] The rethinking of wilderness was also a central thesis in Gammage's *The Biggest Estate on Earth* in 2011, where he asserted "There was no wilderness" and argued that the extent of First Nations' land management, predominantly with fire, was vast and intricate.[53] Literary author Bruce Pascoe extended Gammage's work in 2014 with *Dark Emu: Black Seeds: agriculture or accident?* arguing for even more extensive management.[54] Anthropologist Peter Sutton and archaeologist Keryn Walshe critiqued both in *Farmers or Hunter-gatherers?:The Dark Emu Debate.*[55] Sutton and Walshe argued both Gammage and Pascoe were attempting to fit First Nations land management practices into European paradigms of 'advancement'. Increasing recognition of First Nations land management continues to weaken the wilderness concept globally. The trend can be seen in 2021's "Indigenous knowledge and the shackles of wilderness", which included analysis of wilderness application to the Amazon, Asia-Pacific forests and Australian deserts to show "wilderness [as] an inappropriate and dehumanizing construct".[56] Biogeographer Michael-Shawn Fletcher continued this line of inquiry in 2022, co-authoring studies that have pointed to extensive environmental changes created by the suppression of fire.[57] These ideas have significantly complicated simple tragedy arcs by

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[52] Marcia Langton, 'What Do We Mean by Wilderness? Wilderness and Terra Nullius in Australian Art', *The Sydney Papers*, 1996, 22, an argument she later reiterated in; Marcia Langton, *Lecture 4: The Conceit of Wilderness Ideology*, Boyer Lectures, 2012, https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/boyerlectures/2012-boyer-lectures-234/4409022#transcript.
[53] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, 2.
[54] Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu: Black Seeds Agriculture or Accident?* (Western Australia: Magabala Books, 2014).
[55] Peter Sutton and Keryn Walshe, *Farmers or Hunter-Gatherers?: The Dark Emu Debate* (Melbourne Univ. Publishing, 2021).
[56] Michael-Shawn Fletcher et al., 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Shackles of Wilderness', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 118, no. 40 (27 September 2021): 1, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2022218118.
[57] Michela Mariani et al., 'Disruption of Cultural Burning Promotes Shrub Encroachment and Unprecedented Wildfires', *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 20, no. 5 (15 February 2022), https://doi.org/10.1002/fee.2395; Alice Laming et al., 'The Curse of Conservation: Empirical Evidence Demonstrating That Changes in Land-Use Legislation Drove Catastrophic Bushfires in Southeast Australia', *Fire* 5, no. 6 (December 2022): 175–97, https://doi.org/10.3390/fire5060175.

tarnishing the idea of pristine pre-imperial environments. While this thesis is primarily concerned with the ways in which settler-colonial visions shifted in response to the forests of the Fraser Coast, it also acknowledges that Australia's forests were not a static backdrop awaiting European visions. They were rather an oscillating system involving people responding to and directing their growth.

Fire has been a particularly active character in stories of Australia's forests, where the interplay of environmental tendencies and people's responses drive cyclic narrative. First Nations people's use of fire was provocatively (for 1969) described as a deliberate agricultural technique by anthropologist Rhys Jones, with his term "Fire-stick Farming" emphasising human agency in using fire to shape the landscape.[58] Since then, numerous fire stories have drawn on Jones' re-envisioning of pre-imperial fire, further entangling human agency with the environmental factors that have influenced Australian fire patterns. Stephen Pyne's *Burning Bush* further developed Jones' fire-stick concept as a metaphor for how successive groups of people appropriated and adapted pre-existing fire regimes.[59] The cyclic structure supports this story of how fire has burnt and been withheld over time. Flannery's discussion of fire in *The Future Eaters* drew on the work of both Jones and Pyne to argue that fire use increased dramatically after the arrival of the First Nations people, using vigorous regrowth as evidence of settler-colonialism altering fire regimes.[60] In 2001's *Forests of Ash* Tom Griffiths drew on the work of Jones, Pyne, Flannery and various ecologists to examine the role of fire within the growth, contraction and regrowth of Victoria's Mountain Ash forests.[61]

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[58] Rhys Jones, 'Fire-Stick Farming', *Australian Natural History* 16, no. 7 (September 1969): 224–28; Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; Tom Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Robin and Griffiths, 'Environmental History in Australasia'.
[59] Stephen Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia* (New York: Holt, 1991) Ideas later reiterated in; Stephen Pyne, *The Still Burning Bush* (Victoria, Australia: Scribe Short Books, 2006).
[60] Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*.
[61] Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*.

Griffiths, like Pyne and Flannery, considered fire a fundamental part of the Australian environment both pre- and post-colonisation. In 2011, Gammage's *The Biggest Estate on Earth* argued that the extent of Aboriginal fire in the Australian environment was still greater than previously recognised.[62] Gammage's claims have been challenged, as above and notably by Grace Karskens, in a case study in the Hawkesbury region. Karskens reconstructed a highly selective fire regime, notable for the regions from which it was withheld, as much as for those it was applied to.[63] Though Gammage and Karskens focused on pre-colonial fire, they also discussed its impacts on post-colonial vegetation patterns, and here too Karskens took a more moderate stance than Gammage. Fire has played a vivid and dramatic role in Australian environmental history, informed by the entanglement of human intent and environmental process. Records of First Nations fire on the Fraser Coast are rare, however stories of fire use and management from other places and local vegetation patterns indicate that fire use was complex. Post-colonial fire has been far less dramatized on the Fraser Coast than in colonial New South Wales and Victoria, where almost every day of the week now signifies a memorable bush fire.[64] Even so, fire and its control by First Nations people, as well as the ways in which this tool was adopted by settler-colonists, has worked to impact forest composition significantly on the Fraser Coast.

1.2.3 Forest History

Histories of Australia's forests, and the academic coteries that wrote them, appeared before the establishment of university-based environmental history, and remain a distinct subfield within the broader context of Australian environmental history. Like environmental history, forest history first emerged as a distinct historical sub-discipline in the United States. The American Forest

[62] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*.
[63] Grace Karskens, 'Fire in the Forests? Exploring the Human-Ecological History of Australia's First Frontier.', *Environment and History*, 1 August 2019, 391–420, https://doi.org/10.3197/096734018X15254461646378; Sutton and Walshe, *Farmers or Hunter-Gatherers?*
[64] Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*, 129.

History Society began in 1946, whereas the American Society of Environmental History was not founded until 1977. Consolidating previous journals such as *Forest and Conservation History* and *Environmental History Review*, the two organisations began publishing *Environmental History* in 1996.[65] The first volume featured a discussion sparked by William Cronon's critique of the concept of wilderness.[66] Meanwhile, in Britain, the White Horse Press began publication of *Environment and History* in 1995. The first editor, geographer and conservation biologist Richard Grove, drew on trends in South Asian subaltern studies, the French *longue durée,* and American conservationism to justify the journal's creation.[67] Grove's interest in forests was apparent in the publication of *Green Imperialism* that same year.[68] The relationship between forest history and environmental history developed somewhat differently, and later, in the Australian context. An academic Australian Forest History Society (AFHS) began in 1988, "to advance historical understanding of human interactions with Australian forest and woodland environments."[69] This general definition encompassed economic, ecological and cultural visions of forests. A generalist environmental history organisation took almost a decade longer to appear, with what is now named the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand Environmental History Network (AANZEHN) established in 1997.[70] A journal publishing the

[65] Hal K. Rothman, 'From the Editor', *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996): 6–6.
[66] William Cronon, 'The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996): 23; Samuel P. Hays, 'Comment: The Trouble with Bill Cronon's Wilderness', *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (January 1996): 29, https://doi.org/10.2307/3985060; Michael P. Cohen, 'Comment: Resistance to Wilderness', *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996): 33–42, https://doi.org/10.2307/3985061; Thomas R. Dunlap, 'Comment: But What Did You Go Out into the Wilderness to See?', *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (January 1996): 43, https://doi.org/10.2307/3985062; William Cronon, 'The Trouble with Wilderness: A Response', *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (January 1996): 47–55, https://doi.org/10.2307/3985063.
[67] Richard Grove, 'Editorial', *Environment and History* 1, no. 1 (1995): 1–2.
[68] Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*.
[69] Kevin Frawley and N Semple, eds., *Australia's Ever Changing Forests: Proceedings of the First National Conference on Australian Forest History* (Australian Capital Territory: Australian Defence Force Academy, 1988); Kevin Frawley, ed., 'Australian Forest History Society Newsletter 1', 1988.
[70] Previously Australian and New Zealand Environmental History Network (ANZEHN) AANZEHN, 'About', Australian & Aotearoa New Zealand Environmental History Network, 25 March 2010, https://www.environmentalhistory-au-nz.org/about/.

works of these and other scholars began in 2006: *Environment and Nature in New Zealand*, with some Australian contributions.[71] From 2006 until 2018, only two papers concerned explicitly with forests had appeared therein, as well as a Review of the AFHS's New Zealand conference in 2007. In 2011, due to several issues including declining membership, John Dargavel, founding member and former President of the AFHS, suggested a broadening of focus, to be indicated in a name change to 'Australian and New Zealand Environmental History Society'.[72] This found some favour, as the two academic networks shared some members. However, the committee's vote did not meet the 75% threshold required to make the change.[73] Following the failed name change, the AFHS continued with its explicit focus on "human interactions with Australian forest and woodland environments", and held their last conference in 2015. A second Perfumed Pineries Conference was proposed for 2020, but was cancelled due to Covid-19. The society hopes to host another conference soon.[74]
Environmental history remains closely linked with forest history, as illustrated by the publication of the *International Review of Environmental History* (IREH) from 2015, with forest and garden historian James Beattie as editor. This journal also illustrates the growth that has occurred in the number of Australian historians who identify as environmental historians, including those who write about forests. Twelve submissions concerning forests have appeared in the *IREH*, with four of those being a 2022 forum on the "Hybridity of Colonial and Postcolonial Forestry in Environmental History."[75] Forest histories have been somewhat subsumed within the larger field of environmental history, though there remains a schism between the academic collectives. This schism is fed, in part, by the types of stories these academic collectives want to tell about

[71] James Beattie, ed., 'Environment and Nature in New Zealand Newsletter' (ANZHN, ANU Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Canberra, 2006).
[72] Leith Davis and Sue Feary, eds., 'Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 58', December 2011.
[73] Fintan O Laighin and Sue Feary, eds., 'Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 60', December 2012.
[74] Fintan O Laighin, ed., 'Australian Forest History Society Newsletter 87', December 2022.
[75] Brett Bennett and James Beattie, eds., 'International Review of Environmental History', *International Review of Environmental History* 8, no. 2 (2022), https://doi.org/10.22459/IREH.08.02.2022.

forests. This thesis sits within this schism, as it works to advance historical understanding of human interactions with forests, though its structure is not guided by forester triumph or environmental tragedy, rather by the continuing growth of the forests.

Unsurprisingly, when foresters write stories about forests, foresters tend to be heroic figures. In the 1980s a cluster of foresters at the Australian National University (ANU) began writing forest histories, partly influenced by the proximity of the Australian Forestry School. Former forester Les Carron's *A History of Forestry in Australia* was a pioneering study in 1985, drawing predominantly on Government Forestry archives.[76] The importance of Carron's work was noted in PhD theses by forester Dargavel in 1982 and geographer Kevin Frawley in 1983, who also drew heavily on forestry archives.[77] Subsequently, Dargavel continued to illuminate foresters' work in *Fashioning Australia's Forests*, "The Fight for the Forests in Retrospect and Prospect", *The Zealous Conservator: A Life of Charles Lane Poole* and other publications.[78] Similarly, Frawley continued to make use of forester documents in work on the history of Queensland's wet tropics.[79] Together, Frawley and Dargavel instigated the first conference and subsequent formation of the AFHS in 1988, guided by the broad definition given above: "to advance historical understanding of human interactions with Australian forest and woodland environments."[80] The society continues to publish a newsletter that provides a platform for academics

[76] LT Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia* (Australia: ANU, 1985).
[77] John Dargavel, 'The Development of the Tasmanian Wood Industries: A Radical Analysis' (PhD, Canberra, Australian National University, 1982); Kevin Frawley, 'Forest and Land Management in North-East Queensland: 1859-1960' (PhD, Australian National University, 1983).
[78] John Dargavel, *Fashioning Australia's Forests* (UK: Oxford University Press, 1995); John Dargavel, 'The Fight for the Forests in Retrospect and Prospect', *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management* 11, no. 3 (January 2004): 237–44, https://doi.org/10.1080/14486563.2004.10648618; John Dargavel, *The Zealous Conservator: A Life of Charles Lane Poole* (Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2008).
[79] Kevin Frawley, 'Queensland Rainforest Management: Frontier Attitudes and Public Policy', *Journal of Rural Studies* 7, no. 3 (1991): 219–39.
[80] Frawley and Semple, *Australia's Ever Changing Forests: Proceedings of the First National Conference on Australian Forest History*; Frawley, 'Australian Forest History Society Newsletter 1'.

and hobbyists concerned with forests to share their research. However, the reliance on archives created by foresters led to veneration of their antecedents; prominent professional foresters such as Charles Lane Poole[81] and EHF Swain[82] among them. “A Forest Conscienceness” (the misspelling deliberate and attributed to Poole) even became the topic of the sixth Australian forest history conference in 2004.[83] This conference included a poetic contribution from Geoffrey Bolton: “The Apotheosis of Charles Lane Poole”.[84] An earlier conference had been named for Swain’s “Perfumed Pineries” in 2001, with a follow up proposed for 2020.[85] Less prominent foresters have also been celebrated by society members. Peter Evans, in *Newsletter No. 43* in 2006, describes “Tom Bailes, Mount Cole Forester” as “a fine example of that class of unsung heroes”. [86] Rob Robinson, a guest editor for the newsletter in 2015,

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[81] Denise Gaughwin, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 38’, September 2004; Paul Star, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 39’, December 2004; Fintan O Laighin and Sue Feary, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 42’, December 2005; John Dargavel and Sue Feary, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 44’, August 2006; Sue Feary, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 50’, September 2008; Fintan O Laighin and Sue Feary, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 51’, January 2009; John Dargavel and Sue Feary, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 54’, January 2010; Sue Feary, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 57’, July 2011; Fintan O Laighin, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 63’, September 2014; Fintan O Laighin, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 72’, October 2017.

[82] John Dargavel and Carolyn Scowcroft, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 20’, November 1998; John Dargavel and Carolyn Scowcroft, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 23’, October 1999; John Dargavel and Carolyn Scowcroft, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 28’, March 2001; Jane Lennon and Sue Feary, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 55’, May 2010; O Laighin and Feary, ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 60’; Fintan O Laighin, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 65’, April 2015; Fintan O Laighin, ed., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 71’, June 2017.

[83] MC Calver et al., eds., *A Forest Conscienceness: Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference of the Australian Forest History Society Inc.* (Rotterdam: Millpress Science Publishers, 2005)., xvii

[84] Geoffrey Bolton, ‘The Apotheosis of Charles Lane Poole’, in *Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference on Australian Forest History* (A Forest Conscienceness, Rotterdam: Millpress, 2004), xv–xvi., xv

[85] Calver et al., *A Forest Conscienceness: Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference of the Australian Forest History Society Inc.*; John Dargavel, Diane Hart, and Brenda Libbis, eds., *Perfumed Pineries: Environmental History of Australia’s Callitris Forests* (Canberra, Australia: Australian National University, 2001); O Laighin, ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 65’. The 2020 conference was postponed due to quarantine restriction associated with Covid 19.

[86] In Peter Evans and Sue Feary, eds., ‘Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 43’, April 2006, 2.

described the establishment of South Australia's Kuitpo plantation as "a great place for enjoying plantings from this heroic age of plantation forestry."[87] Within successive issues of the newsletter, Peter Holzworth, District Forester in Maryborough Queensland, was acclaimed for advocating the role of foresters, including himself, in collecting and preserving forestry documents, and for his contributions to AFHS conferences in 1999 and 2002.[88] Holzworth's "outstanding work" was further "gratefully acknowledged" in David Gough's 2018 *Newsletter 75* article "Early Forestry and 100 years of Timber Research in Queensland".[89] Foresters writing forest history have often positioned their professional forebears as heroes for their role in constructing Australia's current forests, including Holzworth's contributions to forestry on the Fraser Coast.

These stories about forests have predominantly come from the south-east corner of the continent, though Australia has considerable forested areas outside that region. Forest histories are not alone in this focus: a recent survey of history within universities conducted by historians Martin Crotty and Paul Sendziuk revealed the New South Wales and Victorian clustering of the nation's academic institutions.[90] That concentration of historians in the southeast corner of the continent is also apparent when consulting the maps provided in socio/political histories presented as 'Australian'.[91] The significance of the ANU school of forestry means that same pattern is present among forest historians

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[87] Rob Robinson, ed., 'Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 66', September 2015, 4.
[88] Frawley, 'Australian Forest History Society Newsletter 1'; Peter Holzworth, 'Recent Forest-Use Disputes in Queensland: A History of Resolution', in *The Fourth National Conference on Australian Forest History* (Australia's Ever Changing Forests IV, Canberra, Australia: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, 1999), 205–23; Peter Holzworth, 'Early Queensland Forestry: George Board and Philip MacMahon', in *Fifth National Conference on Australian Forest History* (Australia's Ever-changing Forests V, Canberra, Australia: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, 2002).
[89] Fintan O Laighin, ed., 'Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 75', June 2018, 10.
[90] Martin Crotty and Paul Sendziuk, 'The State of the Discipline: University Histroy in Australia and New Zealand: Report to the Australian Historical Association Executive' (Australia: Australian Historical Association, March 2018), 66.
[91] Manning Clark, *A Short History of Australia*, 2nd ed. (London: Heinemann, 1977); Geoffery Blainey, *A Shorter History of Australia* (Australia: William Heinemann, 1994); Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge Concise Histories (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

and forest histories: almost half of Carron's *A History of Forestry in Australia* was dedicated to New South Wales, Tasmania, and Victoria. [92] The other 75 per cent of the country is dealt with in approximately one-third of the book, with a few extra pages for Federal forestry (based in Canberra) and private forestry (where Tasmania is mentioned more than any other state). Further, despite being a nominally national organisation, the AFHS's conference submissions from 1988 to 2015, from scientists, geographers, foresters and historians, have predominantly focused on Tasmania, Victoria and New South Wales, as illustrated in Figure 2. A flood of papers appeared about the south-western corner of Western Australia when a conference was held there in 2004, but the conference hosted in Queensland in 1999 only saw seven papers about the state's forests, out of the 26 presented at the conference. Both states received increased historical and scientific attention as a result of the Regional Forest Agreement process in 1999. Only the Northern Territory and South Australia have received less attention than Queensland: eight papers across 10 conferences. The burst of Western Australian forest history associated with the Western Australian conference suggests that this nominally national organisation does not adequately represent interest in forest history across Australia, perhaps due to the costs in travelling to south-eastern conferences for researchers located elsewhere. Nominally national stories about forests tend to project events occurring within a limited geographic region across the continent. This projection has been touched on by Griffiths, in his review "How many trees make a forest? Cultural debates about vegetation change in Australia", in which he argued "other states cleared [their trees] earlier and Queensland can be seen as 'the last tree rich frontier', a distant site to exercise belated southern consciences".[93] The projection of southern experience to Queensland was examined by tourism professor Warwick Frost, when he challenged Keith Hancock's phrase, later borrowed by Geoffery Bolton, that 'the invaders hated

[92] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*.
[93] Tom Griffiths, 'How Many Trees Make a Forest? Cultural Debates about Vegetation Change in Australia', *Australian Journal of Botany* 50, no. 4 (2002): 375, https://doi.org/10.1071/BT01046.

trees'.[94] Both texts were far more informed by environmental negotiations conducted in the south than those within Queensland. In explicitly including Queensland examples of nature appreciation amongst famers at Atherton and the Lamington Plateau, Frost complexified the assertion considerably. Southern experiences do not translate automatically to Queensland; and when the Queensland experience is investigated it can change the story. Forest histories need to expand to include all of Australia's forests, 'to advance historical understanding of human interactions with Australian forests and woodlands and the ways in which the forests have responded.

[94] Hancock, *Discovering Monaro: A Study of Man's Impact on His Environment*; Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: A History of Australians Shaping Their Environment* especially Chapter Four 'They Hated Trees'. Warwick Frost, 'Did They Really Hate Trees? Attitudes of Farmers, Tourists and Naturalists towards Nature in the Rainforests of Eastern Australia', *Environment and History* 8, no. 1 (2002): 3–19.

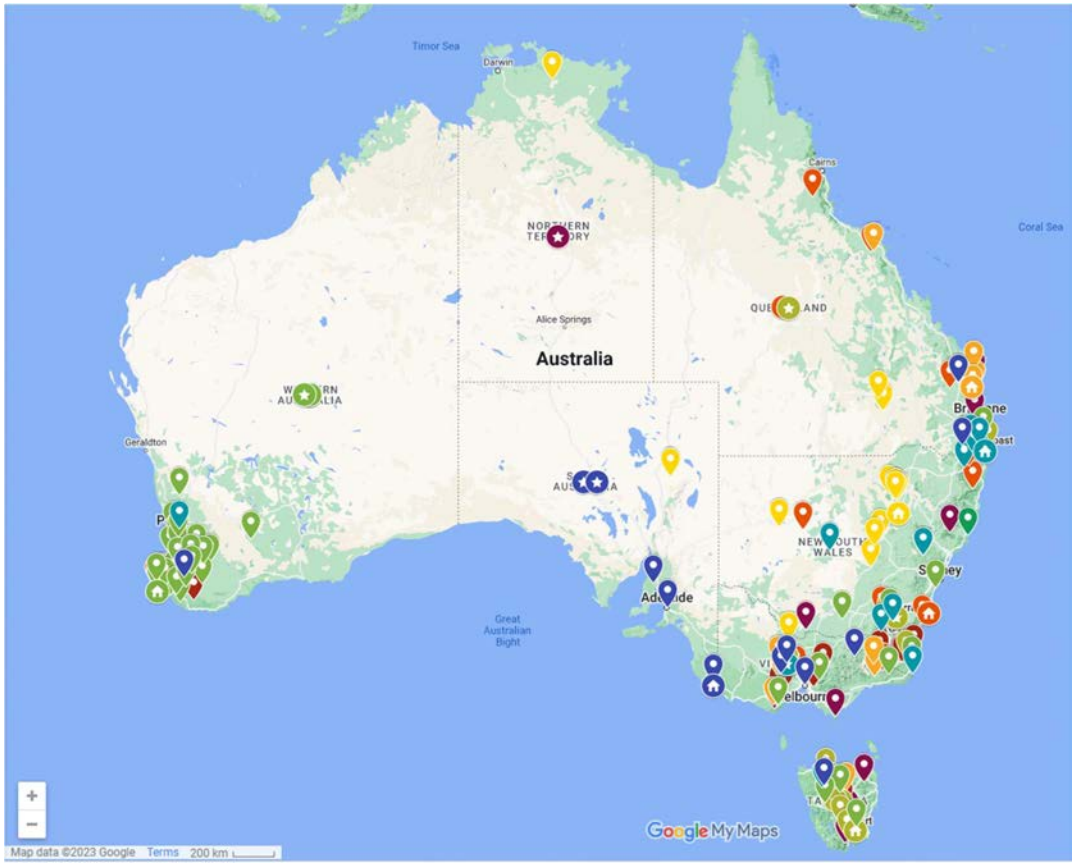


Figure 2 Map showing the areas examined by papers presented at Australian Forest History Society Conferences 1988-2015, subsequently published. Also here: where zooming reveals the extent of overlapping pins. Pins are colour coded by conference location, starting with the 1988 Canberra conference in maroon, through the colour spectrum to dark blue for the 2015 Mount Gambier conference. Star pins indicate a paper that deals with the whole state. House pins indicate the conference location. Pins were dropped as closely as possible to the centre of the given study area. Base Map Source: 'Australian Forest History Society Conference Papers 1988 - 2015', Google My Maps, 2022, https://www.google.com/maps/d/embed?mid=1zKGx5vfrvond-diTSm3IfB6rfALjZxM&ehbc=2E312F%22%20width%3D%22640%22%20height%3D%22480%22&ll=-28.504541639474528%2C122.14828483732882&z=5. Data from AFHS Conference Proceedings, listed in Appendix A.

1.2.4 Conservationists

The conservation movement's attention to forests recast foresters as antagonists and villains, and conservationists as forest allies and heroes. Forest historians examining this interplay of conflicting narrative arcs and character roles framed the divergence quite dramatically. The beginnings of the drama could be seen in philosophers Val and Richard Routley's 1973 "Fight for the Forests". Their scathing framing of exotic plantation creation was popular, "[t]he first edition of the book in 1973 sold out within a few months, and two further editions, revised and updated (1974, 1975), also sold out shortly after printing, making it one of the best-selling books ever distributed by ANU Press."[95] Yet sales of the book also reflect the controversy it provoked, as its opponents engaged with the text. Dargavel explained in 2004 that many foresters "reacted defensively and angrily, some matching the Routleys' pugilistic stance and aspersive expressions".[96] The 'pugilistic stance' reflected by the Routleys was continued in Ian Watson's *Fighting Over the Forests*, which credited *Fight for the Forests* as sending the Forestry Commission into "a siege mentality in most of its dealings with its outside critics", contributing to the forest conflict at Terania Creek in 1979.[97] Pugnacious titles continued in 2007 with economist Judith Ajani's *The Forest Wars*, which critiqued official forestry policy in continuing to log native forests, when the plantations the Routley's had complained of were now economically viable.[98] Dargavel attempted to resist these inflammatory terms in 1995, with *Fashioning Australia's Forests*, by predominantly using 'contest' to explain the negotiations. However, even he was unable to avoid 'heat of battle' and 'brawling' when discussing how forest conservation issues played out in the political sphere. Stories of forest conflict have been dramatised, in the media and by academics, heightening concerns for forest futures. Though these campaigns took place outside the Fraser Coast,

[95] Richard Routley and Val Plumwood, 'The "Fight for the Forests" Affair', in *Intellectual Suppression: Australian Case Histories, Analysis and Responses* (Sydney, New South Wales: Angus and Robertson, 1986), 72, https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/86is/RoutleyPlumwood.html.
[96] Dargavel, 'The Fight for the Forests in Retrospect and Prospect', 238.
[97] Ian Watson, *Fighting over the Forests* (Sydney ; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 10.
[98] Judith Ajani, *The Forest Wars* (Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2007).

and campaigners showed more concern for rainforests than the less photogenic dry sclerophyll bush or coastal wallum, legislation addressing the issues had ramifications for this region.

Stories of how conservationists worked to save exceptional forests falling victim to the imperial tragedy (and the Great Acceleration) focus predominantly on legislative events that supported protection of environments. Art historian Tim Bonyhady's book *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law* examined the interplay of people's interactions with legislative processes, focused on conservationists' influence. His narrative was driven by the accumulation of this influence over time, signalled in part by his discussions of forest protections on K'gari as the beginning and end of his wider story. Though Bonyhady used the passing of protective legislation as the climax, and triumph of various conservation interests, tragedy still beckoned. He concluded "government cannot be trusted to protect even those areas identified as the common heritage of mankind, conservationists are destined to fight again and again for places they believe worth keeping", sentiments reiterated ten years later in "The Disappointment of the Law". [99] Director of the Australian Conservation Foundation from 1986 to 1992, lawyer Phillip Toyne drew heavily on Bonyhady's work for *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, law and politics in Australia* in 1994. Toyne's narrative too concluded that Australian environmental management laws were "a consensus often arrived at on the lowest common denominator of agreement".[100] Drew Hutton and Libby Connors referred to Bonyhady's and Toyne's works at length in *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*.[101] Though one of their aims was to write a story of the triumphs of the conservation movement, it was tempered by disappointment:

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[99] Tim Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law* (New South Wales, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1993); Tim Bonyhady, 'The Disappointment of the Law', in *Managing Australia's Environment* (New South Wales, Australia: The Federation Press, 2003), 463–71.
[100] Phillip Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia* (Sydney, New South Wales: ABC Books, 1994), 2.
[101] Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement* (Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Labor had routinely not met the expectations of conservationists, but the Liberals were worse. In these stories, legislated protection is frequently used as a narrative climax, driven by the heroic people who worked to influence this designation. The legislation that worked to protect those forests conservationists judged desirable displaced economic concerns into other forests that conservationists found less interesting. When national parks, such as K'gari, are positioned as the climax of the story, the environmental impacts of the legislation both inside and outside the protected area are silenced.

1.2.5 National Parks

Histories exploring national parks as an historical institution rather than using them as a structural feature concentrate on the development of the institution, and how visions and expectations of national parks have shifted and changed over time and place. The ways in which early parks in the United States were manifested by legislative processes was controversially explored in 1979 by environmental historian Alfred Runte with *National Parks: The American Experience*.[102] In this story, the first national parks were 'worthless' lands, a judgement derived from the justification for reservation used in Congress: advocates claimed Yellowstone and Yosemite were of no use to agriculturalists, miners or other large-scale developers, thus the land could be reserved without economic loss occurring for the nation. Runte's theory was debated in a roundtable discussion in *The Journal of Forest History*, instigated by Richard Sellars, who questioned the narrowness of Runte's definitions.[103] Runte's reply insisted that it was congress' definition of 'worthless' he referred to, as an illustrative term to question the United States' prioritisation of economy over ecology.[104] Two further critics, Robert Utley and Robin Winks, also took issue with the meaning of the term 'worthless'. Utley's "Commentary on the

[102] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 2nd ed. (United States: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).
[103] Richard W. Sellars, 'The National Parks: A Forum on the "Worthless Lands" Thesis National Parks: Worthless Lands or Competing Land Values?', *Journal of Forest History* 27, no. 3 (1983): 130–34, https://doi.org/10.2307/4004950.
[104] Alfred Runte, 'Reply to Sellars', *Journal of Forest History* 27, no. 3 (July 1983): 135–41.

"Worthless Lands" Thesis" disputed 'worthless' as having "connotations of extremity that detract from its accuracy", and took the view that national park creators sought to balance altruism and materialism.[105] Winks agreed, arguing that using 'worthless' was "to employ emotional terminology that neglects a complex historical context."[106] He also pointed out the dangers of assuming people, including Members of Congress, meant precisely what they said. As those at the roundtable and since have argued, national parks are reflective of more than just potential extractive values. The discussion also revealed the different ways in which national parks were being characterised, informed by the changing values people have attached to them.

As with the ways Environmental History and other environmental ideas have been integrated into the Australian context, stories that feature national parks characterise them differently. Evaluating Runte's positioning of national parks, in 2004 tourism professor Warwick Frost's story of how the concept was applied in Queensland found that national park declaration for scenic and recreational values was beset with dissent, as legislation moved to recharacterise forests (and other environments) from their settler-colonial characterisation as cattle shelter and timber repository. [107] People were either already using these places, or wanted to before they were legislatively repurposed. Frost continued this theme in 2013, co-writing an article with Jennifer Laing to show how the conceptualisation and enaction of national parks changed as the idea flowed out from North America.[108] In the same year, Libby Robin contested the reverential positioning of the USA's Yellowstone as the First National Park, explaining that Australia did not press its claim because the

[105] Robert M. Utley, 'Commentary on the "Worthless Lands" Thesis', *Forest & Conservation History* 27, no. 3 (July 1983): 142, https://doi.org/10.2307/4004952.
[106] Robin W. Winks, 'Upon Reading Sellars and Runte', *Forest & Conservation History* 27, no. 3 (July 1983): 142, https://doi.org/10.2307/4004953.
[107] Warwick Frost, 'Tourism, Rainforests and Worthless Lands: The Origins of National Parks in Queensland', *Tourism Geographies* 6, no. 4 (November 2004): 493–507, https://doi.org/10.1080/1461668042000280255.
[108] Warwick Frost and Jennifer Laing, 'From Yellowstone to Australia and New Zealand: National Parks 2.0', *Global Environment* 6, no. 12 (January 2013): 62–79, https://doi.org/10.3197/ge.2013.061204.

intent of Australia's 1879 declaration of the (Royal) National Park was scenic and recreational, rather than the wilderness ideology that had become attached to the concept in the 1970s.[109] Melissa Harper and Richard White had also commented on Australia's deprecating attitude towards its national park origins, "which have been further muddied by later readings that seek to demonstrate how inadequately they measured up against the Yellowstone precedent or later standards of national park management".[110] Harper and White further pointed to the complications in a nationalised characterisation of national parks, given their 'anomalous' management at the state level of governance rather than the national, as the nomenclature suggests. The international scope of this story left little room to untangle the various ways the states have characterised national parks. However, zoologist and conservationist Geoffrey Westcott briefly explained these organisational complexities in 1991, as part of a larger story on the ways in which the federal and state governments interacted to construct national parks. Even here, Queensland's parks suffer in comparison with the efforts of other states which are perceived as bigger and better managed.[111] Comparison of Queensland's national parks with versions overseas have further diminished their perceived worth and have had significant consequences for their continuing growth and management, as this thesis illustrates.

1.2.6 Subversive Characters

When forest residents are included in forest histories, they are often constructed as antagonists to colonial systems and the conservation movement. Indeed, forest dwellers have often been associated with clandestine activities, functioning outside moral and legislative frameworks. Stories of these people and their role in forest histories have been neglected in academic literature for

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[109] Libby Robin, 'Being First: Why the Americans Needed It, and Why Royal National Park Didn't Stand in Their Way', *Australian Zoologist* 36, no. 3 (January 2013): 321–31, https://doi.org/10.7882/AZ.2012.025.
[110] Melissa Harper and Richard White, 'How National Were the First National Parks? Comparative Perspectives from the British Settler Societies', in *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective* (New York: Berghahn Books, Incorporated, 2012), 58.
[111] Geoffrey Charles Wescott, 'Australia's Distinctive National Parks System', *Environmental Conservation* 18, no. 4 (1991): 339, https://doi.org/10.1017/S037689290002258X.

various reasons, though some have attempted to write their stories. Within documents pertaining to National Park management, historian Karl Jacoby focused on the ways in which forest dwellers (and close neighbours) had continued to interact with forests in their traditional ways, despite legislation that criminalised their activities. Jacoby's resulting book, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatter, Poachers, Thieves*, *and the history of American Conservation* highlighted the general dearth of histories that deal with how environments have been used in ways officials did not approve. Jacoby notes the lack of primary documentation produced by people engaged in activities that were "by definition clandestine", and who were often illiterate.[112] In Australia, Rolls discussed this issue in *A Million Wild Acres* in 1981. Rolls believed that forest interactions in Australia were more categorised by resistance than compliance, and "so much of Australia's history took place outside the law that there was more attempt to hide it than record it", a sentiment in tune with Jacoby's observations.[113] These issues were further highlighted in historian and satirist David Hunt's three volume history *Girt*, first published in 2013.[114] In seeking to place subversive characters centre stage, Hunt suggested that Australian history was partly driven by events and people silenced in political histories because of their illegal, immoral and unethical actions. The satirical tone and lack of referencing obscures a very important observation: much history occurs outside the official accounts. The work of Rolls and Jacoby indicate this is true of environmental as well as political history.

The mythologising of bushrangers, particularly the Victorian Ned Kelly, highlights a tendency to position forest dwellers as subversives. The social conditions that gave rise to these renegades have been discussed at length

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[112] Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (California: University of California Press, 2003), 3.
[113] Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest*, 77.
[114] David Hunt, *Girt: The Unauthorised History of Australia*, vol. 1 (Australia: McPhersons Printing Group, 2013); David Hunt, *True Girt: The Unauthorised History of Australia*, vol. 2 (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2016); David Hunt, *Girt Nation: The Unauthorised History of Australia*, vol. 3 (Melbourne, Victoria: Black Inc, 2021).

elsewhere, but there has been less written about the environmental aspects of their exploits.[115] Susan West in her article, "The role of the 'bush' in 1860s bushranging" is one of the few to have examined how bushrangers were inextricably linked with the 'bush'; in the skills they developed and in the environment that cloaked them.[116] However, very few authors seem to have acknowledged bushranger mythologising as it impinges on forest use and management. Both at the time they operated, and subsequently, Bushrangers have received considerable veneration from some aspects of society. In contrast, First Nations people, and the links between their forest skills and resistance to the process of colonisation have received far less attention let alone admiration. Historian Henry Reynolds moved to redress this imbalance in Australian history in 1981 in *The Other Side of the Frontier*.[117] Within this larger story of colonisation flipped to position First Nations people as main characters, Reynolds argued that environmental familiarity was such a great tactical advantage that it initially equalised the odds for Aboriginal people. Though improving European weapons technology played a significant role in frontier conflict, Reynolds argued that the employment of the native police, who could match the environmental skills of their fellows, was also a major contributing factor to eventual success by colonisers. Jonathan Richards agreed with this assessment in 2008, adding that the use of Native Police also allowed squeamish Europeans to distance themselves from the realities of 'dispersal'.[118] More recent archaeological scholarship on the Native Mounted Police emphasises the clandestine nature of the force's activities, taking place in the

[115] A recent useful discussion of the socio/political construction of bushrangers can be found in Meg Foster, *Boundary Crossers: The Hidden History of Australia's Other Bushrangers* (Sydney, AUSTRALIA: NewSouth Publishing, 2022), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/jcu/detail.action?docID=30194372.
[116] Susan C West, 'The Role of the "bush" in 1860s Bushranging', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 91, no. 2 (December 2005), https://doi.org/10.3316/ielapa.200512351.
[117] Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press, 2006).
[118] Jonathan Richards, 'The Native Police of Queensland', *History Compass* 6, no. 4 (2008): 1024–36, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2008.00536.x.

bush, enabling colonial administrators to remain ignorant of the details.[119] The affiliation of forests and subversive characters, on the ground and in the imagination, appears to be a significant element in forest history, though their very nature hampers the collection of evidence of their extent. This thesis includes these stories where possible, interwoven with the more official stories of imperial 'discovery' and degradation, forestry and conservation.

1.2.7 Recent stories on these themes

Two environmental history theses relevant to the themes outlined above have guided this story of the Fraser Coast's forests. The first, Rohan Lloyd's 2016 thesis *Fathoming the Reef: a history of European perspectives on the Great Barrier Reef from Cook to GBRMPA*, told the story of how European visions of the Great Barrier Reef shifted and changed over time, particularly in regards to the entanglement (rather than the dichotomy) of economic and ecological visions.[120] He critiqued the simplicity of tragedy/triumph narratives as 'outdated' by pointing to the complexities of human perceptions of environments; with most economic exploitation not exclusive of concern for aesthetic and ecological factors, and most conservation visions not entirely averse to sustainable economic uses. Lloyd's story ends with a legislative attempt to find common ground amongst these visions, by creating a management body for the Reef that was required to facilitate compromise between economic and ecological visions. Whilst many of these ideas are taken up within the following thesis, the ways in which economic and ecological visions have interacted within forests is necessarily different to the ways they have interacted in Lloyd's littoral environment. Further, while he examined the intertwined growth of ideas about the reef, he included less "detailed explanation of the physical change in the coral Reef structure". Lloyd focused more on the interplay of the ideas than

[119] Heather Burke et al., 'The Difficult, Divisive and Disruptive Heritage of the Queensland Native Mounted Police', *Memory Studies* OnlineFirst (2 May 2023), https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980231170353.
[120] Lloyd, 'Fathoming the Reef: A History of European Perspectives on the Great Barrier Reef Form Cook to GBRMPA'; This thesis was later published as Rohan Lloyd, *Saving the Reef* (Brisbane, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2022).

the ways in which these ideas actually impacted the environment. This thesis focuses more on how forest composition has changed over time, in response to people attempting to enact their visions.

The second, and forest-centred, environmental history thesis of relevance is Leith Davis's 2020 *Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry*.[121] Davis's story was less focused on the interplay of forest visions; her main characters were tools as a human/environment interface, a novel approach. In this positioning, she found that developments in tool technology have worked to intensify human impacts on forest over time, with new technologies enabling the harvest of more trees, and expanding the types of trees considered valuable, ending with the triumph of tools leading to environmental degradation and unsustainable practices. Davis uses an almost exclusively economic vision in presenting case studies of how various timber interests valued and used the forests, and the ways in which they adapted and adopted tools to enact these visions. The following thesis considers this intensification enabled by tools, not only in removing and processing forests, but also in planting and maintaining them, as well as the lack of historical attention to the tools themselves. Davis's scope was not only limited in terms of the forest visions it explored, but also geographically: her story was set on the south-coast of New South Wales amidst forests that have received considerable national attention.

History tells stories, though the shape of these stories, and the positioning of the various characters has changed significantly over time, in line with the changing concerns of the historians who write them. Narrative structure moved from national triumphalism to environmental tragedy concomitantly with other dramatic cultural, social, and political shifts following the World Wars. The largely tragic structure of histories that positioned the environment as an

[121] Leith Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry' (PhD, Sydney, New South Wales, Western Sydney University, 2020).

historical actor were in part driven by their concern for the environmental impacts of the Great Acceleration. In these stories, the environment's role has predominantly been that of victim to human, especially Imperial, processes. Stories of Australia's environment as an active historical participant have tended to be more practical and grounded than those written elsewhere, and they look deeper into the past, resulting in stories that deal with growth just as much as deterioration. In this, they have been less likely to conform to a tragedy/ triumph narrative, and tend more towards an undulating structure that extends before and beyond the discrete narrative. Foresters in Australia have shown a keen interest in producing forest histories, where foresters are often the heroes, and they more frequently feature forests in the south-east corner of the country than those located outside this locus. Concomitantly, conservationist stories position conservationists as heroes, with the climax of those stories often involving the achievement of national park legislation. Where national parks appear as a main character, the stories focus on the various ways in which people have characterised national parks, and idiosyncrasies within the Australian system. Less recognised forest shapers, those who opposed colonial processes and sought shelter in forests, also worked to construct forests on the ground and in the imagination. Their stories are often difficult to trace, due to the clandestine nature of their activities, yet work done in this area suggests the surreptitious rebelliousness of forest dwellers worked to shape forests, outside official visions. Many of these themes have been examined in other locations, and within other ecosystems. Some forests (and rivers and deserts and animals) have received a lot more attention than others because of geographic convenience, or the drama that swirls around them, or their aesthetic values. The forests of the Fraser Coast have none of these advantages. Detailed forest histories of all forests (the good, the bad and the ugly), are essential to understanding the ways in which they have grown and how that growth might be maintained into the future, as their value to people increases. Localised forest histories are also crucial to inform future forest management, as despite the reams of paper generated on the forests' behalf, many remain unexplored. Newer issues such as concerns around climate change and carbon sequestration potential add fresh urgency to the need for forest histories, especially in forests like those of the Fraser Coast, where all these visions

intersect, overlap and have worked to shape and reshape the forests and their people.

1.3 The Method

Understanding history from a forest's perspective requires a significantly broader interpretation and consideration of evidence than merely what people have written about them. RH Tawney, a British social historian, is credited with the decree that historians need fewer books and more boots.[122] This recommendation, to balance documentary evidence with direct environmental engagement, has become embedded in Australian environmental history methodology. Tom Griffith's Ernest Scott Lecture of 2017, sought to show "the embodied experience of research, whether it's paying attention to country, listening to locals, pulling on a strong pair of boots, or undergoing the rituals and protocols of archival access".[123] Margaret Cook also used the boots metaphor to exhort environmental historians to engage with their environment in the methodological discussion that concluded *A River with A City Problem.*[124] Emily O'Gorman and Andrea Gaynor included the metaphor in their "More-Than-Human Histories", a discussion of approaches to environmental humanities, and added to it: "environmental historians have often literally donned boots – or wetsuits, skis, or lifejackets – and immersed themselves in the present manifestation of their subject places".[125] Many environmental historians examine the physical environment, as well as the human perceptions that have contributed to its shaping, and the material culture that is a result. They study books and wear boots in varying degrees in all sorts of places when reconstructing the past. With this proviso in mind, and the assistance of my

[122] Ross Terrill, *R.H. Tawney and His Times: Socialism as Fellowship* (Harvard University Press, 1973); Peter Coates, *Nature: Western Attitudes since Ancient Times* (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1998); Margaret Cook, *A River with a City Problem: A History of Brisbane Floods* (Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2019); O'Gorman and Gaynor, 'More-Than-Human Histories'.
[123] *Ernest Scott Lecture 2017*, 2017, https://soundcloud.com/history-council-victoria/tom-griffiths-ernest-scott-lecture-2017-5-sep-2017.
[124] Cook, *A River with a City Problem: A History of Brisbane Floods*.
[125] O'Gorman and Gaynor, 'More-Than-Human Histories', 726.

family and many other local residents, I have spent countless hours walking and driving through these forests: burning, pulling weeds, working cattle, examining material culture, taking photos and listening to the stories of the people who use and manage them, to get to know the character whose story I wanted to tell.

Many other visions of these forests exist on paper. The Queensland State Archives and the Fraser Coast Library holdings have been examined for the official and unofficial views of these forests. Archival access was impacted significantly by the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly in terms of travel to access archives. Covid restrictions also hampered the gathering of interview data. However, the digitisation of primary documentation was a significant consolation. Sources such as the local newspaper, the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* (1860–1947), and the *Maryborough Chronicle* (from 1947) can be found through Trove (though only to 1954), the Government Gazette is available through the University of Queensland, and various documents from the Queensland State Archives were accessible from Townsville, where I live and work. Other digitised primary sources freely available include memoirs from early European explorers, surveyors and Lands Agents.

Localised and socially focused histories of Maryborough and surrounding villages abound, many of which have been self-published by their local authors, others funded by council and community groups. Interest in local history is further reflected by the existence of a general historical society, and two family history societies, all of which were helpful in tracking the residents and other shapers of the local forests. Local interest in history is further reflected in the production of history books, including from the Maryborough and Woocoo historical societies, as well as a detailed history commissioned by

Maryborough's mayor in the early 1990s.[126] A family history concerning the operation of Hyne's sawmill was produced in 1980.[127] Local museums further pay homage to various aspects of the timber industry's development over time, with paper and displays of material culture.

In regards to sources dealing with First Nations land use and management, modern sources produced by First Nations people have been key, including those of Butchulla Caboonya (or record keeper) Olga Miller, informal conversations with Dr Peter Morris of the Butchulla Aboriginal Corporation's Elders Committee, and an interview with Norm Barney, Butchulla elder.[128] These have been supplemented with European sources where necessary. First Nations records of their land tenure, especially prior to colonisation, have largely been lost through the cultural disruption bought about by the colonising process and 'protective' displacement. Discussion of the exploits of the first Europeans to encounter the Fraser Coast's forests (and First Nations people) has been informed by several primary sources. These have been supplemented with localised histories, as the knowledge and experiences of disreputable timber getters and escaped convicts has largely been silenced in official more generalised 'discovery' narratives.

A series of interviews with a wide selection of forest users was conducted in 2022 and 2023 to support the paper trail of historical forest use and my own meanderings. Seven of the fifteen official participants were

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[126] Norm Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 2nd ed. (Maryborough, Queensland: Maryborough Wide Bay & Burnett Historical Society Inc., 1998); Len Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress: A History of Division One Shire of Woocoo, Queensland* (Brooweena: Woocoo Historical Society Inc., 1988); Tony Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, vol. 1 (Maryborough Qld: Maryborough City Council, 1995).
[127] James Richard Lambert Hyne, *Hyne-Sight: A History of a Timber Family in Queensland*, ed. W. Ross Johnston (Queensland: Maryborough Printing Co. Pty Ltd, 1980).
[128] Tony Matthews and Olga Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation, mp3, 1 April 1993, The Tony and Lensie Matthews Historical Research Collection; Tony Matthews and Olga Miller, Interview 02: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation, mp3, November 1994, The Tony and Lensie Matthews Historical Research Collection; Olga Miller, *Fraser Island Legends* (Milton, Queensland: The Jacaranda Press, 1993); Norm Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder, interview by Cindi Davey, 3 July 2022, Held by Cindi Davey and JCU.

engaged in varying aspects of the pastoral industry.[129] The Dunmora Rural Fire Brigade shared their perceptions of fire use and abuse within the region and more broadly.[130] Two retired forestry workers gave freely of their perspectives and memories of their time working for the government.[131] Conservation visions were shared by representatives from Friends of the Burrum River and the Wide Bay Burnett Environmental Corporation.[132] Commercial sawmillers were represented by two sawmill owners, one retired.[133] First Nations land uses were explored with two of the key people involved in the environmental work of the Butchulla Korrawinga Aboriginal Corporation.[134] Unfortunately, the contents of these interviews contain so much sensitive information that the Fraser Coast Regional Libraries was unable to hold them as was originally planned.[135] Instead, edited transcripts are held at the John Oxley library, with full transcripts held by the author and James Cook University.

No single text could explore all the ways in which people have used these forests. Some forest uses and values have therefore been marginalised in

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[129] Anonymous, Interview with Pastoralist, interview by Cindi Davey, 11 April 2022, John Oxley Library, Brisbane; Dennis Dilger, Interview with Pastoralist, interview by Cindi Davey, 3 July 2022, Held by Cindi Davey and JCU; Trevor Rockemer and Shona Rockemer, Interview with Pastoralists, interview by Cindi Davey, 21 September 2022, Held by Cindi Davey and JCU; Anonymous and Anonymous, Interview with Former Forestry Worker turned Pastoralist, and his Wife, interview by Cindi Davey, 23 September 2022, Held by Cindi Davey; Cliff Pappin and Coral Pappin, Interview with Retired Timber Worker, Pastoralist, interview by Cindi Davey, 24 September 2022, Held by Cindi Davey; Christophe Bur and Sylvie Bur, Interview with Pastoralists, interview by Cindi Davey, 1 February 2023, John Oxley Library, Brisbane; Eddie Broom, Interview with Pastoralist, interview by Cindi Davey, 8 February 2023, Held by Cindi Davey and JCU.

[130] Wayne Theurkoff et al., Interview with Dunmora Rural Fire Brigade, interview by Cindi Davey, 10 January 2022, John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

[131] Terry Thies and Ron Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers, interview by Cindi Davey, 10 April 2022, John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

[132] Tim Thornton and Sol Thornton, Interview with Friends of the Burrum River System, interview by Cindi Davey, 7 January 2022, John Oxley Library, Brisbane; David Arthur and Jackie Scott, Interview with Wide Bay Burnett Environment Council, interview by Cindi Davey, 6 July 2022, Held by Cindi Davey and JCU.

[133] Glen Simpson and Lola Simpson, Interview with Aramara Sawmill Owners, interview by Cindi Davey, 5 July 2022, John Oxley Library, Brisbane; Raymond (Curly) Tatnell, Interview with DTM Timber Director, interview by Cindi Davey, 3 February 2023, John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

[134] Tina Raveneau, Interview with Korrawinga Botanist, interview by Cindi Davey, 8 April 2022, John Oxley Library, Brisbane; Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.

[135] Tara Webb, Personal Communication: Fraser Coast Libraries, email, 4 May 2021; Marian Bennett, Personal Communication: Fraser Coast Libraries, email, 7 September 2023.

this thesis. It does not include the agricultural vision of sugar cane growth on the Fraser Coast. While cane contributed significantly to Maryborough's economy, it did not extend very far into the forests. Sugar cane plantations occurred primarily in the vine scrubs of the Mary River corridor, and to a much lesser extent in the nutritionally deficient forests to the west and east of the river. They have taken up less space on the Fraser Coast than the pastoralism, forestry and conservation visions that this thesis has explored. Further, the involvement of South Sea Islander people in this industry, particularly in the initial phases of clearing, significantly complicate the exploration and inclusion of this particular vision within the constraints of a PhD thesis. The story of the struggle to implement this vision, the reversion to vine scrub of abandoned plots, and more recent conversions of cane fields to macadamias all illustrate the undulating and layered nature of forest growth and visions over time, reinforcing rather than challenging the themes explored in this thesis. But sugar cane is not trees. This thesis also omits discussion of the transportation of trees from forest to processor and beyond as extraneous to the discussion on technology advancements. Improvements in transport technology, from bullocks to trains and trucks, and rafts to punts and then shipping, is similar but separate to discussion of the tools that enabled tree felling, processing and growth. In the initial phases of this study, the Fraser Coast emerged from a 2019 drought to three La Nina cycles in a row. The vigorous plant growth associated with this climate cycle made access to some forest areas impossible, a situation exacerbated by associated floods in 2022. However, while the thesis recognises the significance of climate cycles it has not engaged in a full study of the impact of ENSO cycles.

1.4 The Outline

This thesis explores the resilience of the forests through multiple layers of often conflicting management. Together with tensions between economic and ecological forest purposes, conflict between forest users, managers and visionaries was heightened by the schism between remote vision and local experience. When legislative and bureaucratic visions conflicted with the histories and practices of forest users, aspects of the forest's growth became concealed. Layers of forest use and management were hidden by the

lawbreakers and by the weight of official versions that worked to silence undesirable aspects of the previous layers' management and growth. This silencing has led to forest legislation and management recommendations increasingly further removed from the people, plants and animals constructing the forests. This thesis argues that maintaining the valued aspects of forests requires responding to the ways in which they have been constructed, rather than attempting to impose visions of what they should be.

This introduction, Chapter One, situates the research, on the ground and within the historical academy. It foregrounds the environmental factors present within the study area, and examines the ways in which historians have told the stories of other forests. The methodologies used by these historians (and others concerned with forests) informs the methodology outlined in this chapter: the use of narrative, the recognition of forests as characters, the sources of evidence. Here, it indicates the content and argument of each proceeding chapter. These chapters follow a rough chronological order. As with the forests, in regards to administrative boundaries, official definitions and barbed wire fences, analytical organisation of the chapters tends to spill over and interweave across these chronological boundaries.

Chapter Two: Fraser Coast Forests to 1842 argues that the forests of the Fraser Coast were highly dynamic prior to European 'discovery'. Geological and climatic factors worked to destabilise the vegetative communities in the area, creating a mosaic of forest types with boundaries that shifted, expanded and contracted in response. This patchwork was reshaped by First Nations people's management: managing the vegetation communities with fire, establishing their own socio-cultural boundaries with pathways, and using forest products to shape the forests. The ways in which the European 'discoverers' viewed these forests, and described their mosaic nature, varied considerably in assessments of tree density and potential for imperial aspirations. These accounts reveal a divergence between localised experience and official vision: of what these forests were and could be. This chapter shows how the forests grew prior to colonisation.

Chapter Three: European Encroachment argues that the Fraser Coast's forests destabilised European visions of settler colonialism. The forests were imbued with anxieties relating to European abilities to reshape them. First Nations people resisting the processes of settler-colonialism were sheltered by the forests, which facilitated their abilities to escape European reprisals for thefts and murders. So too were bushrangers, whose rise represents a shift in settler anxieties and of growing confidence in their abilities to master the forests, concomitantly with the decline of Aboriginal populations. Visions of sheep pastoralism also shifted in response to the forest's hostility, both in terms of the people it sheltered, and in its climatic and biological factors. Pasturing of cattle did better, though soil nutrient paucity and official settlement's increasing push from existing pasture into more heavily forested areas impeded this vision as well. Commercial industry also found the environment and its fluctuations hostile, though sawmillers were mollified by their profits. For some, fear of the forests changed to fear for them, as European visions became more entrenched resulting in forest degradation and decreasing timber supply. The inability of the forests to satisfy these demands saw ecological and economic interests concur in the spread of timber reserves, an additional official vision for the Fraser Coast's forests. Settler-colonial visions for the Fraser Coast's forests shifted in response to forest realities.

Chapter Four: Closer Settlement, Increasing Conflict argues that the increasing conflict brought about by closer settlement worked to encourage unsanctioned forest use and management. The antagonistic relationship between State bureaucracies of Lands and Forestry was fed by their differing visions for forests. This was particularly visible in Lands' paucity of resourcing allocation to fledgling State Forestry. These tensions were intensified by increasing polarisation and politics, while selectors varyingly tried to comply with increasingly contradictory visions. Local councils added a new level of governance. Introduced to alleviate the pressures on State government, distracted by internal divisions, and overwhelmed by disgruntled settler colonists, this new level of governance presaged even more antagonism, within and between governed and governors. The council managing the rural areas of the Fraser Coast was so beset with internal conflict that they were viewed with

derision by constituents, who were more hampered than assisted by either of these levels of governance. Constituents were not only hampered by bureaucracy's fumbling, they were also hampered by the forests themselves, which continued to defy European attempts to establish their visions, further fuelling the schisms between official vision and lived experience.

Chapter Five: Fuel for the Great Acceleration argues that war demands drove the Great Acceleration of forest reshaping. Examination of the development of the tools that enabled deforestation suggests that though they were driven by geo-political conflict, they could also be applied successfully to conflict with the forests, to more effectively reshape them into economic visions of what they should be. The role of these tools in reshaping forests has largely been glossed over in environmental histories, working to mask their origins and the actual extent of their use. As the native timber was cleared and harvested, processors had to modify their processes and tools to utilise a greater range of smaller timbers, showing an acute awareness of forest depletion though rarely accepting responsibility for it. The contribution of timber to economic growth, particularly in construction, received increasing government attention as the native resource decreased exponentially. State silvicultural experimentation before and during the war years aimed to address the resource reduction with regeneration, in plantations and in native forests. Together with war-inspired clearing technologies, large areas of remnant forest and heathland were completely transformed into exotic softwood plantations. Forestry also worked to accelerate the growth of native hardwood forests; their composition streamlined to promote economically viable timbers at the expense of those unwanted by processors. This chapter shows that the Great Acceleration on the Fraser Coast was in clearing **and** growing forests, as well as being a direct result of the demands of geo-political conflict.

Chapter Six: Politics of Conservation argues that in Queensland the growth of the environmental conservation movement worked to mobilise stakeholders from outside the locations of concern to implement new visions for forest use and management. In Queensland, forests, especially rainforests, were sometimes ancillary but more often the focus of these campaigns.

Economic extraction was not compatible with desired wilderness visions, with the positions becoming more polarised over time. Direct action, often by visiting environmentalists served to bring the disparate interests together in the disputed areas which significantly heightened tensions, on the ground and in the political arena. Attempts to bridge this divide had limited success at the intergovernmental level, as the Federal Government attempted to direct Queensland's forest use in compliance with international visions, as well as party political philosophies. Finding a cooperative approach between legislative interests relied on the forests of the Fraser Coast to carry the load displaced from other, more aesthetically desirable areas, whilst also supporting an increasing conservation reservation estate. In order to secure compliance from the forest users and managers displaced, Queensland's Labor government privatised commercial forestry, and provided compensation to the timber processors and graziers to reduce their forest use. Legislation supporting the conservation vision has had varying levels of success in changing the forests, as the existing users navigate legislative complexity and the forests themselves comply to varying degrees.

Chapter Seven: Growth of National Parks argues that the visions signified by the appellation 'national park' have shifted considerably over time and place, influencing changes in forest composition. The growth of the concept has primarily been attributed to spreading ideals of reserving particularly scenic areas perceived as wilderness in the USA. Though the appellation continued, the intent of national parks shifted as it was adopted by other nations, and again following the World Wars, reflecting growing ecological concerns over time that bolstered wilderness preservation ideals. Queensland's continuing enactment of this internationalised concept differed considerably from internationally standardised visions and descriptions of what a national park should be. The conception and management of National Parks has been influenced by competing visions for forest use, political priorities and bureaucratic obfuscation. A lack of alignment between distant vision and local processes has also led to marginalisation of many of Queensland's parks in terms of recognition and management priorities, where parks compliant with political and tourist visions receive far more attention than others, while small 'insignificant' parks are

neglected. Political convenience and wilderness aspirations have worked to reshape those forests shrouded in the national park vision, though some of them have continued to contest those visions by growing in unexpected, and unwanted ways.

Queensland's forests have received little historical attention compared to that enjoyed by forests in the southern states. This thesis works to address this gap, to provide a detailed and nuanced history of how the forests of the Fraser Coast came to their present form. It shows the historical context of the ways in which modern forest use and management have evolved over time and it contributes to a more balanced view of forest history. Many histories concerning forests have promoted the visions of their chosen group of forest users at the expense of others. This thesis, in foregrounding the forests rather than the people, works to disrupt this trend. It also works as a source for informing future visions, including carbon sequestration projects. Further, it provides an opportunity for previously hidden aspects of forest history to be recorded, expanding understanding of how the people in the forests negotiated the gaps between human vision and forest reality.

2 Fraser Coast Forests to 1842

This chapter is informed by several broad conventions in Australian environmental history. Environmentally conscious historians often begin their discussion of the country with the geological disruption of the Gondwanan break up, as it marks a point when Australian nature diverged from that found elsewhere. While Geological descriptors for time boundaries, including Eras, Periods and Epochs, have shifted and changed as that field has expanded. The discussion below, on the geological development of the Fraser Coast, uses the descriptors currently accepted by the International Commission on Stratigraphy and represented on their *Chronostratigraphic Chart*.[1] This chart was used to frame the changes that occurred in forest growth and development on the Fraser Coast, prior to human intervention.

The human period also has shifting and changing naming conventions. The ethnonyms of the three predominant groups of First Nations peoples responsible for the area currently known as the Fraser Coast have shifted across time, place and user. The spelling used for Native Title applications has been used throughout this thesis for the sake of consistency, and for its level of official recognition.[2] Yet 'Butchulla' can be spelled in at least eight different ways, including those specific to the gender of the speaker, the people themselves and the language they speak. The Kabi Kabi's ethnonym has less variation, though the alternative Gubbi Gubbi may also indicate two separate groups of people, complicating their path to Native Title recognition. The Wakka Wakka people's name experiences less variation, occasionally appearing with one 'k' instead of two. Discussion of First Nations' forest use and management

[1] K.M. Cohen et al., 'International Chronostratigraphic Chart' (International Commission on Stratigraphy, 2013), https://stratigraphy.org/chart.
[2] Collier, De Satge on behalf of the Butchulla People #2 v State of Queensland [2014] FCA 1132; O'Bryan, Cronin on behalf of the Butchulla People (Land & Sea Claim #2) v State of Queensland [2019] FCA 2082; Michael Douglas & Ors on behalf of the Kabi Kabi First Nation Traditional Owners Native Title Claim Group and State of Queensland (Kabi Kabi) and Katy Woods Native Title Registrar, 'Registration Decision: Acceptance', 12 July 2019; Rangiah, Bell on behalf of the Wakka Wakka People #4 v State of Queensland (No 2) [2022] FCA 371.

are informed in part by modern sources produced by Butchulla people, including Caboonya (or record keeper) Olga Miller, the reflections of Dr Peter Morris of the Butchulla Aboriginal Corporation's Elders Committee, and an interview with Norm Barney, Elder, and Farm Manager at Korrawinga Aboriginal Corporation.[3] As a great deal of First Nations land tenure history, especially prior to colonisation, was lost through the cultural disruption of colonisation, these modern sources have been supplemented with those created by the colonisers and some generalisation from nearby areas, where necessary. When discussing the ways in which First Nations people used the forests of the Fraser Coast, the plant names are given, as much as possible, in the Butchulla language. The two main sources for this were a mini-dictionary published by the Korrawinga Aboriginal Corporation, and the glossary informed by local elders published by the Hervey Regional Gallery.[4] Latin binominals and common names are then given in brackets, with the iNaturalist database consulted extensively in cross checking these names.[5] Common names precede traditional in the few instances where the Butchulla word could not be found. Three different names are intentionally used for each of the plants discussed in this section to illustrate the official and unofficial labels for the plants whose growth was influenced by the First Nations people, as well as in the interests of precision.

The third section of this chapter also contains polyonymies, in this case attached to convicts. With regard to Thomas Pamphlett and David Bracewell, the spelling used here conforms with their *Australian Dictionary of Biography*

[3] Matthews and Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation; Matthews and Miller, Interview 02: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation; Miller, *Fraser Island Legends*; Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.
[4] 'Butchulla Language Mini Dictionary' (Korrawinga Aboriginal Corporation, n.d.), https://butchullalanguageherveybay.com/mini-dictionary/; 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Ngurooingan', Hervey Bay Regional Gallery, 2022, UK, https://hbrg.ourfrasercoast.com.au/butchulla-seasonal-garden-2; 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Walai-Walai Djau', Hervey Bay Regional Gallery, 2022, UK, https://hbrg.ourfrasercoast.com.au/homepage/31/walai-walai-djau.
[5] 'iNaturalist', iNaturalist, n.d., https://www.inaturalist.org/.

entries.[6] However, Pamphlett was an alias for James Groom, while the various spellings of Bracewell's name were likely caused by auditory similarity (-fell and -field being the other common spellings). Further, Bracewell and James Davis were also known by their First Nations names, Wandi and Duramboi. These shifts in naming illustrate the various layers of official and unofficial recognition attached to pre-colonial events and people.

This chapter argues that the forests of the Fraser Coast were highly dynamic prior to European 'discovery'. Geological and climatic factors worked to destabilise the vegetative communities in the area, creating a mosaic of forest types with boundaries that shifted, expanded, and contracted in response. This patchwork was reshaped by First Nations people's management, managing the vegetation communities with fire, establishing their own socio-cultural boundaries with pathways, and using various means of shaping the forests. European people's views of these forests, and descriptions of their mosaic nature, varied considerably in their assessments of forest density and potential for imperial visions. Early accounts reveal divergences between local experience and official visions of what these forests were and could be.

2.1 Pre-historic forests

2.1.1 Rocks, soil, and climate

This story of the Fraser Coast's forests starts not with a human event, but with the Australian land mass moving away from the other continents. The Australasian plate began its long slow separation from the Gondwanan land mass towards the end of the Jurassic period, approximately 145 million years

[6] J. H. Hornibrook, 'Thomas Pamphlett (1789–1838)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1967), https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/pamphlett-thomas-2536; J. H. Hornibrook, 'David Bracewell (c. 1803–1844)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1966), https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bracewell-david-1819.

before the present.[7] Climatic conditions at this time were warm and wet, sustaining the Gondwanan biota throughout most of the Cretaceous period.[8] As Australia left the Gondwanan land mass, volcanic activity increased, with the Graham's and Myrtle Creek formations emerging at this time as the underlying formations of the Maryborough Basin.[9] These volcanic tuffs bisect the inland forests, stretching from the older land formations in the west to the younger Fraser Coast and Mary River Basin. Increased volcanic activity also followed the tectonic separation of the Zealandia plate, when the Maryborough Basin began to sink.[10] Small intrusions of granitic magma appearing in a line from Gunalda to Childers, including Fairlies Knob and Bauple Mountain, remained. Their granitic "compositions … give fertile soils, and many of the hills are clothed in dry rainforest or vine scrub" in the present day.[11] Geographic instability continued throughout the Cretaceous period, as the Zealandia plate moved away. The ocean inundated the sinking Maryborough Basin, with marine depositions occurring on the mainland Fraser Coast at this time, as well as the formation of sedimentary rocks and limestones.[12] Following a global cooling period, the Basin began to drain from the middle of the Cretaceous period.[13]

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[7] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*; PG Quilty, 'The Background: 144 Million Years of Australian Palaeoclimate and Palaeogeography', in *History of the Australian Vegetation: Cretaceous to Recent* (New York, United States: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; B.A. Barlow, 'Phytogeography of the Australian Region', in *Australian Vegetation*, 2nd ed. (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3–36; Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*; Warwick Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*, Rocks and Landscapes of Queensland (Hornsby, NSW: Geological Society of Australia, 2016).

[8] Quilty, 'The Background: 144 Million Years of Australian Palaeoclimate and Palaeogeography'.

[9] Peter L. Ellis, 'THE MARYBOROUGH BASIN', *The APPEA Journal* 6, no. 1 (1966): 30–36, https://doi.org/10.1071/aj65004; Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*.

[10] Quilty, 'The Background: 144 Million Years of Australian Palaeoclimate and Palaeogeography'.

[11] Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*, 2.

[12] Ellis, 'THE MARYBOROUGH BASIN'; Quilty, 'The Background: 144 Million Years of Australian Palaeoclimate and Palaeogeography'; PR Wilson, HM Anderson, and DM Brown, 'Soils and Agricultural Suitability of the Maryborough-Hervey Bay Area, Queensland', Bulletin (Brisbane, Queensland: Department of Natural Resources, 1999); Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*.

[13] Ellis, 'THE MARYBOROUGH BASIN'; M.E. Dettman, 'Cretaceous Vegetation: Microfossils', in *History of the Australian Vegetation: Cretaceous to Recent* (New York, United States: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

With the ocean's retreat, river sediments from the Eastern highlands and the Conondale Range appeared in the Basin, including those that created the Elliot river bed formation and the Burrum River coal deposits.[14] This coal was formed from Jurassic type vegetation, as the plant types then growing on the Fraser Coast had changed less than the land itself during this time.

As a generally flat land mass with a lithosphere becoming more stable, Australia continued to drift north into the tropics. The northwards movement into the warmer latitudes coincided with global cooling, so that not only the land mass but also its climate stabilised during the Paleogene and Neogene periods, compared to the upheaval of the Gondwanan separation.[15] Some east coast volcanic activity did occur during the drift north, likely related to the continent passing over hot spots approximately 30 million years ago.[16] This included an arc of basalt volcanoes from K'gari, through to Dundowran, finishing in Childers approximately 10 million years ago.[17] The hot spots may also be responsible for an unusual basalt formation near Duckinwilla Creek. It was at this time that the Australian plate met the Asian in the north, with that meeting still visible in New Guinea's mountainous terrain. In addition to volcanic activity, the Cenozoic weathering of the Maryborough Basin, with its alternating marine/riverine sediments, contributed to acidic soils; with upper iron oxide layers covering bleached under layers. The weathering and leaching were more extensive to the west, though there were thicker, and more fertile, ferruginous layers capping

[14] Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*, 2.
[15] Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; A.P. Kershaw, H.A. Martin, and J.R.C. McEwen Mason, 'The Neogene: A Period of Transition', in *History of the Australian Vegetation: Cretaceous to Recent* (New York, United States: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[16] Quilty, 'The Background: 144 Million Years of Australian Palaeoclimate and Palaeogeography'; Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*, 79; Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*, 3.
[17] Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*, 3; Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, 'A Time Line of Significant Events – Part 1', Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, n.d., https://fido.org.au/about-fraser-island/history-of-fraser-island-kgari/a-time-line-of-significant-events-part-1/.

those areas closer to volcanic outcrops.[18] As the land weathered, it also folded. Much of the Fraser Coast is undulating in nature, as the various layers folded through continuing, though by the later Cenozoic subdued, tectonic movement. The lithosphere was also impacted by the cycle of marine incursions that followed the glacial/interglacial cycle developing around the beginning of the Quaternary Period, approximately three million years ago.[19] Volcanic activity, folding and varying sediment types have led to soils that are generally more fertile than those found west of the Great Dividing Range.[20] However the Fraser Coast too was subject to intensive weathering as the climate became generally colder and drier, and the soils were no longer renewed by tectonic instability.

More recently, climatic rather than geological forces have worked to change the Fraser Coast's environment. Increased intensity of glacial and interglacial cycles during the Quaternary period led to an alternating regime of marine and riverine sedimentation layering over and into the folding bedrock. Glacial maximums resulted in Hervey Bay waters retreating to the eastern coast of K'gari, exposing the Great Sandy Strait.[21] These drier, icier conditions saw rivers, such as the Mary and Burrum systems draining further to the north and east than their current interglacial locations.[22] Interglacial maximums, with higher sea levels, saw inland inundation, and longshore drift of southern sand accumulating around the volcanic outcrops of K'gari and the Greater Sandy

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[18] Wilson, Anderson, and Brown, 'Soils and Agricultural Suitability of the Maryborough-Hervey Bay Area, Queensland'; G. Taylor, 'Landscapes of Australia: Their Nature and Evolution', in *History of the Australian Vegetation: Cretaceous to Recent* (New York, United States: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*.
[19] Ellis, 'THE MARYBOROUGH BASIN'; A. Berger et al., 'Interglacials of the Last 800,000 Years', *Reviews of Geophysics* 54, no. 1 (2016): 162–219, https://doi.org/10.1002/2015RG000482; Willmott, *Rocks and Landscapes of Maryborough & Hervey Bay*.
[20] Patricia Mather, *The National Estate in the Moreton and Wide Bay-Burnett Regions, South-East Queensland and Recommendations on Its Management* (Brisbane: The Queensland Museum, 1976), 18; Taylor, 'Landscapes of Australia: Their Nature and Evolution'.
[21] Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, 'A Time Line of Significant Events – Part 1'.
[22] Lindsay Titmarsh, *Tandora: A Pioneer's Dream* (Toowoomba, Queensland: Jinglestix, 2007), 69.

Strait.[23] These glacial and interglacial cycles occurred on approximately 40 000-year cycles initially, though lengthened to 100 000 from the middle of the Quaternary, for approximately the last one million years.[24] The climatic oscillations worked to continually change soil and vegetation composition. The sea waters in Hervey Bay have retreated periodically, exposing the seabed around six times during the million years before the present. The most recent glacial maximum approximately 20 000 years ago, dropped seas approximately 100 metres, and extended the coast line by up to 25 kilometres.[25] Inundations were more frequent and varied in height throughout this time, with current ocean height last being matched approximately 120 000 years ago.[26] This process led to some soil nutrient renewal, particularly along the lower stretches of the rivers, though the older inland sections continued to leach. These shifting geological and climatic factors worked to determine forest composition on the Fraser Coast.

2.1.2 Trees and fire

Geological and climatological forces worked to change the vegetation patterns of the Fraser Coast. Following the tectonic separations of the continent to the south and east, and during its northwards drift, Australia's climate slowly cooled and dried, a trend that intensified in the Neogene period. As the climate cooled and desiccated, sclerophyllous plants such as Eucalyptus and Acacia began to multiply.[27] Though tectonic changes had slowed, this continent-wide vegetation change, from warm wet rainforest to dry, open, grassed sclerophyll forest was so significant that fire historian Stephen Pyne dubbed it "The Great Upheaval

[23] Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, 'A Time Line of Significant Events – Part 1'.
[24] Berger et al., 'Interglacials of the Last 800,000 Years'.
[25] Berger et al.; Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, 'A Time Line of Significant Events – Part 1'.
[26] Maureen E. Longmore, 'Quaternary Palynological Records from Perched Lake Sediments, Fraser Island, Queensland, Australia: Rainforest, Forest History and Climatic Control', *Australian Journal of Botany* 45, no. 3 (1997): 507, https://doi.org/10.1071/BT96109; Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, 'A Time Line of Significant Events – Part 1'.
[27] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*; Barlow, 'Phytogeography of the Australian Region'; Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*.

end[ing] with a Great Inversion of the Australian biota."[28] Sclerophyllous species are "categorised by relatively small rigid leaves, by short internodes and by small plant size", developing more in response to the leaching of the soils than aridity per se, specifically to increasing phosphorous deficiency.[29] They were well placed to take advantage of drier conditions, as the leaves which define them resist evaporation from transpiration. Sclerophyllous species appeared in the western parts of the continent, including Eucalyptus at the end of the Paleogene, and Acacia from the beginning of the Neogene.[30] These species spread eastwards as the continent continued its northward movement, while mesophytes, the trees that preferred wetter conditions, retreated to find refuge in the eastern highlands and wetter coastline.[31] Nothofagus and Araucarias were abundant on the Fraser Coast 23 million years ago, then began to decline in favour of the sclerophylls, with Eucalyptus, Acacia and grass pollens increasing in coring samples from later in the Neogene.[32] The grass pollens also suggest decreasing forest density, as grass requires ample sunlight. While Nothofagus left the Fraser Coast, Araucarias survived, not only retreating into wetter areas, but also adapting to the drier climate. The mesophytic Gondwanan-style rainforests retreated into relicts and remnants around hills and river valleys, such as Bauple, Fairlies Knob and the Mary River, with drier sclerophyllous species spreading through the areas between. The oscillating climate encouraged both forest types at different times, with rainforests expanding during the warmer, wetter periods, and retreating in favour of the sclerophyllous species during cooler, drier periods.

With aridity and scleromorphy came fire, an effective weapon against the mesophytes. Evidence of charcoal layers in sediment cores shows that fire was

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[28] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*, 5.
[29] Barlow, 'Phytogeography of the Australian Region', 13.
[30] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*.
[31] Pyne; Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; Barlow, 'Phytogeography of the Australian Region'; Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*; Kershaw, Martin, and McEwen Mason, 'The Neogene: A Period of Transition'.
[32] Kershaw, Martin, and McEwen Mason, 'The Neogene: A Period of Transition', 323.

present across the Australian landscape long before people.[33] As Australia drifted into the tropics, and climatic oscillation intensified, lightning storms began to drift across the continent. Lightning provided a spark for the aridifying environment, and with no great mountains or large rivers to stop them, fires spread as far as there was available fuel.[34] Trees that had already begun adapting to increasing aridity were able to cope better with the fires than their mesophytic forebears.[35] Heathlands in particular, like the Fraser Coast's wallum, seem particularly welcoming to fire, with these species already adapted to nutrient paucity, and families such as Banksias and Hakeas requiring fire to open their seed pods.[36] Fire further contributed to a hostile environment for the mesophytic biota, who hastened their retreat before it. Evidence of fire patterns on the Fraser Coast can be inferred from a K'gari sediment core reaching back 600 000 years, taken from Lake Coomboo.[37] Charcoal fragments were present from the beginning of the core, increasing over time; while rainforest species decreased, wet sclerophyll fluctuated, and dry sclerophyll and grasses increased dramatically, commensurate with spikes in the charcoal quantities. This sediment core likely reflects the patterns on the mainland, with mesophytic species advancing and retreating in response to climate and fire. The lakebed itself, from which the sediment core was taken, burned approximately 110 000 years ago. The nature of the prehistoric relationship between fire and plants became entangled with the next layer of forest growth, that managed by humans.

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[33] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*; Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*; David Bowman, 'Bushfires: A Darwinian Perspective', in *Australia Burning: Fire Ecology, Policy and Management Issues* (Victoria, Australia: CSIRO, 2003), 3–14; Kershaw, Martin, and McEwen Mason, 'The Neogene: A Period of Transition'; Quilty, 'The Background: 144 Million Years of Australian Palaeoclimate and Palaeogeography'.
[34] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*; Bowman, 'Bushfires: A Darwinian Perspective'.
[35] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*.
[36] Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*.
[37] Longmore, 'Quaternary Palynological Records from Perched Lake Sediments, Fraser Island, Queensland, Australia'.

2.2 First Nations' Forests

2.2.1 Fire

When First Nations people arrived, they intensified pre-existing fire regimes and vegetation patterns. Though the specific date of their arrival remains unclear, nation-wide archaeological evidence suggests that First Nations people are most likely to have arrived in northern Australia approximately 60 000 years ago.[38] The last interglacial maximum occurred approximately 120 000 years ago.[39] Humans most likely arrived as the next glacial cycle developed, when land bridges were revealed in South East Asia, travelling towards to the Australian continent. As Griffiths has suggested, "Perhaps it was the smoke of fires on the horizon which first drew Aborigines to Australia".[40] Understanding occupation and burning practices on the Fraser Coast has also been made more difficult by fluctuating sea levels destroying potential evidence, with sea levels having risen 120 - 130 metres since the Last Glacial Maximum, approximately 13 000 years ago.[41] Stronger archaeological evidence for the presence of First Nations people on the Fraser Coast is derived from abundant middens dated to 5 000 years before the present.[42] Further, much information was lost and or intentionally hidden as a consequence of colonisation's frontier wars, discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The particulars of how and where First Nations' fires were applied can be inferred by reference to more general texts, such as Bill Gammage's *Greatest Estate on Earth*, as suggested by Butchulla scholar Dr Peter Morris.[43] Gammage argued that a highly complex and directed fire regime was used to manage the environment, where fire was withheld and/or applied to certain areas at specific times.[44] Miller spoke in

[38] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*; Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*; Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*, 7.
[39] Longmore, 'Quaternary Palynological Records from Perched Lake Sediments, Fraser Island, Queensland, Australia'.
[40] Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*, 6.
[41] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*; Taylor, 'Landscapes of Australia: Their Nature and Evolution'.
[42] Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, 'A Time Line of Significant Events – Part 1'.
[43] Peter Morris, Personal Communication: Butchulla people, Phone Call, 30 December 2021.
[44] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*.

general terms about the uses of fire for hunting: “the herbaceous animals were their stock … grass were their crops”. She also suggested that a fear of lightning-sparked wildfires further directed the intentional use of fire as an environmental management responsibility: “this is the thing they dreaded more than anything, because they knew they couldn’t stop a forest fire … one of their tasks was to watch the undergrowth” to keep the fuel load in check, a clan responsibility.[45]

The Butchulla people’s intimate and intricate relationship with fire is illustrated by the First Time story of the red-backed fairy wren (*Malurus melanocephalus*), or “The Fire Bird”.[46] Mellong, the Punisher-of-Wrong-Doers, advised the Wise Man that all the people and animals should retreat to Mount Bauple. Once they did so, it started to rain,

> not a storm, just steady, soaking rain. And it kept raining and raining … after a long time, the rain stopped, and everyone went out to see what had happened … everyone was very worried … The men tried to make fire but all the wood was wet, and for the first time they realised just how valuable fire was.[47]

As with many other First Nations fire origin stories, birds were involved.[48] The owl suggested fetching a coal from Gindan, the sun, though being a night bird, it could not go itself. A small black bird offered, but was laughed at. A competition was held amongst all the birds, until only the hawks and eagles were left. Guthard, the largest sea eagle, made the attempt, and was branded by the heat, though fell short. However, the small black bird (who had been the subject of the other birds’ mockery) hid on Guthard’s back, flew off when Guthard began to falter, and thus reached the sun. The coal the bird carried to earth burnt a red patch onto his back, so that,

> he became known as the Fire-Bird. The people then made several fires. They also made a new rule – that the fires had to be looked after all the time. When they moved from place to place, they carried hot coals with them. This important task was given to the oldest woman in each family.[49]

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[45] Matthews and Miller, Interview 02: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation.
[46] Miller, *Fraser Island Legends*, 46–50.
[47] Miller, 46–47.
[48] Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*, 107.
[49] Miller, *Fraser Island Legends*, 50.

As one of the few Butchulla First Time stories to have survived, this history served to show the importance of domestic fire, especially maintenance and use of the fire stick, or the carrying of hot coals to make new fires when desired. The story also clarified who was responsible for these fires. While it focuses on domestic fire, the red-backed fairy wren was also linked to the timing of land management fire. The elders informing the Hervey Bay Regional Gallery Seasonal Garden explained "the return of the red-backed wren with his mates and their newly fledged chicks means it is time to burn according to traditional patterns and practices".[50] Unfortunately, the specifics of these patterns and practices have received far less attention than other cultural and social aspects of Butchulla environmental use and management.

2.2.2 Permeable boundaries

Management and use of the forests within the Fraser Coast area appears to have been the responsibility of three nations: Butchulla, Kabi Kabi and Wakka Wakka. Miller described First Nations boundaries as freeways:

> Around everybody's boundaries was a strip of freeway. And this is where you could walk, and you could go north, south, east and west right across Australia, without encroaching on anybody's private property. And when they went on these walkabouts, on these freeways, it was like a holiday time. Because when they were on that freeway, they were not bound by their strict totem rules, their totemic laws and things.[51]

Miller's description suggests that these 'boundaries' were thoroughfares connecting various groups of people, rather than exclusionary edges. These freeways or boundaries were also relatively malleable, and changed over time, reflected in the difficulties of determining exact borders in the present day. Documentation from Native Title processes makes some of the perspectives of First Nations people available, providing insights unavailable from imperialist interpretations of boundaries and traditional ownership. Ascertaining boundaries is part of the Native Title claim process, and when approved, Native Title

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[50] 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Ngurooingan'.
[51] Matthews and Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation; J. A. Walker, 'Aboriginal-European Relations in the Maryborough District 1842 - 1903' (Honours (History), Brisbane, University of Queensland, 1975).

provides officially recognised lines. However, some of these boundaries remain contested. The map in Figure 3 was extracted from the Native Title Tribunal's summary map.[52] It highlights the Kabi Kabi Native Title claim in orange. The majority of this claim was officially recognised in June 2024, though there is still some dispute about the northern and southern margins.[53] The map also indicates the areas to the east for which the Butchulla people were responsible (K'gari recognised 2014, mainland in 2019), and the Wakka Wakka people's lands to the west (recognised 2022), overlapping the Fraser Coast.

[52] Geospatial Services National Native Title Tribunal, *Southern and Western Queensland Region: Native Title Claimant Applications and Determination Areas* (Australia: Commonwealth Government, 30 July 2024), http://www.nntt.gov.au/assistance/Geospatial/Pages/Maps.aspx.
[53] Dechlan Brennan, 'Kabi Kabi People Recognised as Native Title Holders on the Sunshine Coast', *National Indigenous Times*, 17 June 2024, https://nit.com.au/17-06-2024/12022/kabi-kabi-people-recognised-as-native-title-holders-on-the-sunshine-coast.

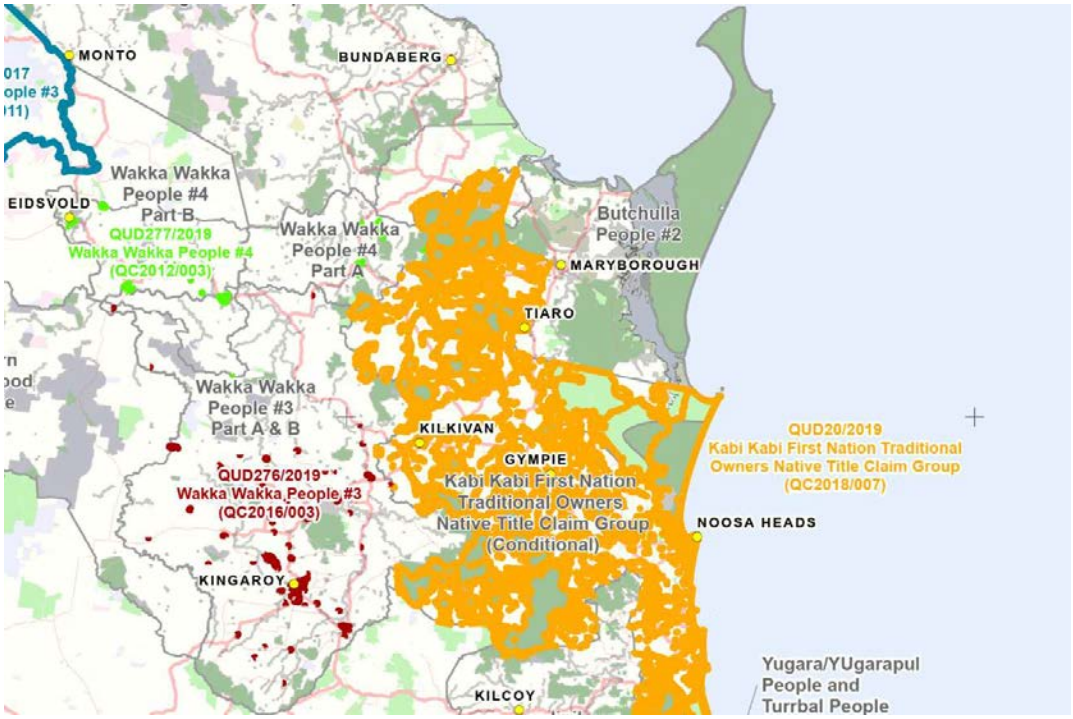


Figure 3 Map showing Native Title claims on the Fraser Coast in 2024. Source: Geospatial Services National Native Title Tribunal, Southern and Western Queensland Region: Native Title Claimant Applications and Determination Areas (Australia: Commonwealth Government, 30 July 2024), http://www.nntt.gov.au/assistance/Geospatial/Pages/Maps.aspx. CC BY 4.0.

The boundary separating Kabi Kabi from Butchulla was rather permeable: it was largely set by the Mary and Isis Rivers on the Butchulla's eastern side, and was likely punctuated by Mount Bauple. This boundary arose approximately two to three thousand years ago, when a period of rainforest retreat caused food shortages, and consequent population clumping on the more resource rich coastal areas.[54] Both Butchulla and Kabi Kabi probably used forested areas in seasons when sea foods were less abundant.[55] However, the officially recognised boundary indicates that the Kabi Kabi kept the inland forests, while the Butchulla became restricted to the coast.[56] The recency of the separation of these two nations is further supported by Miller's description of the Kabi Kabi as enemies.[57] Enemies here indicates a tribe that could not be married into, though other resources were still shared between these people. Nations to the west such as the Wakka Wakka were a moiety of the Butchulla, with whom genetic exchange could more safely take place.[58] Further, the line between the Butchulla and Kabi Kabi peoples was guided by shared resources, indicating some of the permeability of these boundaries. Bauple Mountain was an important resource, with its bopple nuts and stone tool quarry. The Mary River separates Butchulla from Kabi Kabi between Bauple Mountain and Maryborough, where the boundary then veers west across the Wongi State Forest. The Wongi Waterholes, a permanent water source to the west of Maryborough, situated where three Burrum River tributaries meet, represents a 'gateway' to Butchulla land.[59] 'Wongi' or 'Wangai' in the Butchulla language and 'Wungai' in Kabi Kabi means carpet snake, which was the totem of the Butchulla nation, the naming signalling custodianship of this highly valued

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[54] Ian J. McNiven, 'Fissioning and Regionalisation: The Social Dimensions of Changes in Aboriginal Us of the Great Sandy Region, Southeast Queensland', in *Australian Coastal Archaeology*, Research Papers in Archaeology and Natural History 31 (Canberra, Australia: ANU, 1999); Patrick Moss et al., 'Patterned Fen Formation and Development from the Great Sandy Region, South-East Queensland, Australia', *Marine and Freshwater Research* 67, no. 6 (2016): 819, https://doi.org/10.1071/MF14359.
[55] Elaine Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2000).
[56] Brown.
[57] Matthews and Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation.
[58] Matthews and Miller.
[59] Walker, 'Aboriginal-European Relations in the Maryborough District 1842 - 1903', 18.

resource.[60] Travellers would have been the most frequent users of this area, the Butchulla themselves and their neighbours who would have accessed these water holes for refreshment and food in the form of water lilies and fish.[61] In addition to people, vegetation and fire also crossed these boundaries. However, cultural boundaries remained important in regards to plant use and care. Miller explained how plants from one's own country were more efficacious for healing and growth than those of the same species on other lands, due to localised nutrient cycling between the plants and the people.[62]

Though the Butchulla did not share a boundary with the Wakka Wakka, the two nations were close. The Wakka Wakka were a moiety of the Butchulla, indicating increased travel between the two areas, above and beyond the sharing of food.[63] Travellers from the Wakka Wakka likely crossed Kabi Kabi land, south of Fairlies Knob, then turned north-east towards the Wongi waterholes. However, their pathway through the forests west of Maryborough is no longer clear, as it was later overlaid with settler-colonial roads. The Wakka Wakka were also Bunya custodians, together with the Kabi Kabi people. The Bunya festivals have received ample attention in historical and contemporary literature, and occurred to the south of this study area.[64] Here though, they serve to illustrate the close associations between these groups of people. The lands of the Wakka Wakka people only overlap the Fraser Coast Local Government Area slightly, though they had a larger impact on the Fraser Coast's environment than twenty-first century boundaries suggest. Boundaries

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[60] Edward Armitage, 'Aboriginal Place Names and Meanings', 1 May 1923, UQFL2/99-100, University of Queensland: Hayes Manuscript Collection; 'Butchulla Language Mini Dictionary'; Matthews and Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation; 'Learn Gubbi Gubbi Language', Gubbi Gubbi Dyungungoo, 2022, https://gubbigubbidyungungoo.com/gubbi-gubbi-language/.
[61] 'Wongi National Park Management Statement' (Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 2013), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents.
[62] Matthews and Miller, Interview 02: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation.
[63] Matthews and Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation.
[64] Ray Kerkhove, *The Great Bunya Gathering: Early Accounts* (Enoggera, Qld: Ray Kerkhove, 2012) contains numerous references from early European accounts, including all of those used in this chapter.

envisioned as freeways for travellers suggests that Fraser Coast forest use was diffused across various groups of travelling peoples, though the bulk of the area was predominantly the responsibility of the Butchulla people. These freeways also represent the first human boundaries to bisect the Fraser Coasts' forests, and the ways in which use and management spilled across these boundaries.

2.2.3 Using the forests

Attention to the cultural significance of the banya (*Araucaria bidwillii*/ Bunya,) masks the importance of other plant foods, particularly outside the vicinity of those mountain scrubs to the south. Similarly, recorded consumption of sea food, as shown by the numerous and massive middens in the coastal areas, may detract from the significance of other food sources. However, mainland forest foods were also important. The bungwall (*Blechnum indicum*/ swamp water fern root) was a staple for people further south, as shown in histories of the Turrbal people, though it seems to have been less popular on the Fraser Coast.[65] There, flour was more often ground from seeds, from dilgur *(Acacia leiocalyx*/ black wattle) and bul'yel or dobun (*Eucalyptus spp*./ ironbark) seeds.[66] The harvest and consumption of these seeds would prevent tree regeneration.[67] The seeds of various species of the ban'ga (*Cycas spp.*/ cycad) also contributed to flour production, though these were more labour intensive, requiring drying and leaching before preparation. Yim'bun (*Alocasia brisbanensis*/ Cunjevoi) roots were treated in a similar manner. The consumption of these toxic plants impacted both the species own regeneration, and other species as the leaching process affected water quality of forest waterways. Sucking the nectar from the flowers of the yu'lou *(Grevillea robusta*/ silky oak) and other nectar rich flowers may have disrupted their breeding

[65] Constance Campbell Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co, 1904); Chris Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1993).
[66] City Council Maryborough and Wide Bay Region Queensland Department of Education, 'Maryborough Queensland Sesquicentenary 1997: Living with Heritage - an Educational Resource', 1997, John Andersen Library, Local History Collection.
[67] Raveneau, Interview with Korrawinga Botanist.

cycles. Harvest of the gooman or yidney (*Dioscorea transversa*/ native yam) likely prevented its vine from choking the iron bark trees up which they twine while also supplying edible roots.[68] Other First Nations plant foods appearing on the Fraser Coast have now spread well beyond their original habitats, with cycads, grevilleas and bottlebrush used as ornamental plants globally. Lilly pillies such as *Syzygium australl* have also spread as an ornamental, though its berries can be consumed with no prior preparation. Ba'rum (*Macadamia integrifolia*/ Macadamia), though not as culturally significant as the Bunya, was exported to and cultivated in Hawai'i and then globally.[69] In identifying, relocating, and propagating the native plants of the Fraser Coast elder Norm Barney and local botanist Tina Ravenau have identified numerous edible roots (above and beyond the commonly known native yam), numerous rainforest fruits (in addition to lilli pillies and midgen (*Austromyrtus dulcis*/ midyim) berries, and even medicinal plants. Their relocation and cultivation efforts seek to restore and revitalise the native vegetation of the Fraser Coast, both edible and ornamental.[70] Though the consumption of plant foods left less obvious archaeological evidence than middens, First Nations vegetable consumption patterns changed the ways in which the forests grew.

Aside from their usefulness as food, plants and their growth cycles also signalled the availability of various protein sources, and when to move between coast and inland forest. The flowering of particular inland trees indicated when coastal seafoods were accessible, such as the flowering of the dilgur (*Acacia leiocalyx*/ black wattle) occurring two weeks prior to the mullet swarms along the coast line, an event which worked to significantly increase the local population as neighbours came to share the bounty.[71] The flowering too of the dee'bing

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[68] Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*.
[69] Ian McConachie, 'The Macadamia Story - an Overview', ed. Michael Powell (The Australian Macadamia Society, 2012) Locals still call it the Bauple Nut.
[70] Raveneau, Interview with Korrawinga Botanist; Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.
[71] K'gari (Fraser Island) Defenders Organisation, 'Cultural Heritage', 2 November 2015, https://fido.org.au/cultural-heritage/; 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Walai-Walai Djau'.

(*Melaleuca quinquenervia*/ paperbark) indicated the readiness of oysters and other shellfish.[72] In addition to coastal protein sources, flowering cycles also indicated the availability of forest marsupials, where the flowering of the fern-leaf wattle (*Acacia filicifolia*) was an indication for kangaroo hunting time, whilst possums were hunted following the flowering of the bu'boo (*Acronychia imperforata*/ Fraser Island apple).[73] In addition to indicating the appropriate time to access different resources in different places, the dropping of the cones of the dundardum (*Agathis robusta*/ kauri pine) indicated the time to leave the coastline, prior to the onset of the wet season, and to shelter from the wild electrical storms.[74] Forests, and their component trees not only provided food for First Nations people, they also provided indications of when various resources were at their most abundant.

Forests also provided First Nations people with tools, though as with food harvest, trees were more modified than destroyed. Stone tools were not unknown on the Fraser Coast, with Bauple Mountain hosting a quarry, and differing compositions of stone tools being used as evidence to show the fissioning of the Butchulla and Kabi Kabi peoples.[75] Wooden tools were also widespread, and were easier to make and maintain, though they have left less archaeological evidence. Paperbark was a particularly versatile resource. Sheets of paperbark set about saplings protected people from wind and rain, were used as a blanket, and were important to the construction of specialised birthing huts.[76] It was also used extensively in funerary practices.[77] The harder bark of other trees provided shields and canoes, with wirri (*Brachychiton*

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[72] 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Ngurooingan'.
[73] Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*; 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Ngurooingan'.
[74] 'Butchulla Seasonal Garden: Walai-Walai Djau'.
[75] Lillian Coyne, *Bauple: Looking Back to Pioneering Times*, ed. Kerrie Davis (Tinana Qld: Bates Quick Print, 2003); McNiven, 'Fissioning and Regionalisation: The Social Dimensions of Changes in Aboriginal Us of the Great Sandy Region, Southeast Queensland'.
[76] John Mathew, *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1910); Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*, 48; Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.
[77] Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, 31, 132.

populneus/ currajong) and gundan (*Erythrina vespertilio*/ cork wood) favoured for shields.[78] This bark removal left some of the most enduring and visible evidence on the Fraser Coast of First Nations tree use, with scar trees scattered throughout the region, and shields more common inland than canoes. Construction of hunting and digging tools involved the use of stronger parts of the trees, branches and sometimes even whole saplings. Acacia was an important species for tool construction, with "boomerangs, throwing sticks [and] digging sticks" all constructed from black wattle.[79] Spears were made from a variety of timbers, impacted by the spear maker's social standing, as well as the intent of the spear. In addition to various acacias, gululai (*Callitris spp.*/ cypress pine) saplings made good straight spears, particularly for those first learning how to make them.[80] More complex, interlocking spears were also made from the rainforest species aniseed myrtle (*Syzygium anisatum*), where the spear could be shortened and lengthened at need, with a carved dovetailing device.[81] Even harder woods, such as ironbark were used for spear wood, as were the light flower spikes of djaga (*Xanthorrhoea spp.*/ grass trees). Aside from the valuable resins in these plants, their flower spike was also the favoured tool for the drilling method of creating fire.[82] Women's digging sticks, much like spears, but shorter and thicker, were tool and weapon.[83] Unlike spears, digging sticks would have been made of the hardest woods such as ironbark, as softer lighter woods would splinter and break if used for digging yams. First Nations people used parts of trees to make a variety of tools for a variety of purposes, reshaping the trees they used.

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[78] Mathew, *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland*; Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*.
[79] Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.
[80] Barney.
[81] Barney.
[82] Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*, 46–47; Mathew, *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland*.
[83] Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*; Mathew, *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland*.

Funeral processes involved another important use and modification of trees. The complexity and the timing of the ceremonies was dictated by the deceased's standing within the community.[84] Paperbarks were particularly important. People who were buried directly in the ground were often wrapped with paperbark during their internment. Those with higher social standing, mostly men, were not buried, but rather placed upon a platform constructed with a tree that forked at an appropriate height. Two sticks would then be procured, forking at the same height, and were fixed into the ground near this tree. Sticks or saplings placed horizontally finished the triangular frame for a platform of sticks and branches. The deceased was laid upon this platform for several months, depending on the season.[85] Following decomposition and desiccation, the bones would be gathered and placed in a living tree close to a water course, in tree hollows, or in a dilly bag hanging from the branches close to running water.[86] Paperbarks, growing close to watercourses, were most commonly used to host human remains.[87] The funerary practices further illustrate the multiple uses that First Nations people had for the trees of the Fraser Coast. They made extensive and variable use of trees, for nutritional, mechanical and cultural purposes; managing the forests and reshaping them according to these uses.

2.3 Colonisers' forests

2.3.1 Shipwrecked timber getters

The first documented Europeans to describe the vegetation patterns established at Moreton Bay and the Fraser Coast were not the official 'discoverers' John Oxley and Andrew Petrie. Rather, they were from a small crew of convict timber getters. Leith Davis argues timber getters played an

[84] Walter E. Roth, 'Burial Ceremonies, and Disposal of the Dead', *Records of the Australian Museum*, Bulletin No. 9, 6, no. 5 (18 July 1907): 365–403, https://doi.org/10.3853/j.0067-1975.6.1907.1021; Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.
[85] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:85; Neville 'China' Johnson, *Along the Banks of the Burrum* (Queensland: Friends of the Burrum River Society, 2020).
[86] Henry Stuart Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland* (Sydney, New South Wales: Turner & Henderson, 1888), 299; Roth, 'Burial Ceremonies, and Disposal of the Dead'.
[87] Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.

important role in exploration, in shaping of European visions, and as unwitting ambassadors, despite being largely ignored in imperial histories beyond hyperbolic portrayals of their lawlessness.[88] This trend is illustrated by the role of Richard Parsons, recidivist and sawyer, in the European exploration of Queensland. Parsons was not an acceptable figure for the beginnings of a triumphant imperial story, yet he and two other convicts were seven months ahead of Oxley. Further, Parsons alone explored the Fraser Coast 19 years before Petrie. Yet Oxley, Petrie and even Parsons' companions receive greater attention in historical texts. Chris Pearce's exhaustive history of the shipwrecked timber-getters, focused on Parsons' companion Thomas Pamphlett, suggests that Parsons' original conviction was simply for theft. However, more recent studies have revealed his escalating crimes from the age of 26, until being sentenced to transportation in 1813.[89] An excerpt from the *Bath Chronicle*, suggests that Parsons was transported due to the attempted murder of Thomas Stone.[90] On arrival in Australia, he served two colonial sentences for further crimes. However, his work as a sawyer earned him his ticket-of-leave, issued by employer William Cox.[91] As a violent recidivist and a timber-getter, he was not an ideal character for an official discovery narrative.

The crew of current and former convicts arrived at Moreton Bay accidentally. When red cedar became scarce around the Hawkesbury, employer Cox sent Parsons along with fellow ticket-of-leavers Thomas Pamphlett and John Thompson, as well as John Finnegan, still serving his sentence, to Illawarra on March 21st 1823.[92] Parsons had the most timber experience, though the others had also worked in cedar gangs as part of their

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[88] Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry'.
[89] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*; Jennifer Harrison, 'The Third Man: Pamphlet, Finnegan and... Richard Parsons: Castaways at Moreton Bay 1823-1824', *Queensland History Journal* 25, no. 1 (May 2022).
[90] Excerpt at Steve Thomas, 'Convict Records', 2011, https://convictrecords.com.au/convicts/102929.
[91] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*; Harrison, 'The Third Man: Pamphlet, Finnegan and... Richard Parsons: Castaways at Moreton Bay 1823-1824'.
[92] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*.

sentence. After leaving Sydney, a large storm blew them considerably off course, and they became hopelessly lost. The believed they had gone south, and overcorrected, so that they headed more north than west to find land.[93] They finally made landfall twenty-six days after setting out, though by this time Thompson had died of dehydration. At Moreton Bay, the First Nations people welcomed Parsons, Pamphlett and Finnegan. Parsons was particularly was eager to return to Sydney. Finnegan, still serving his sentence, was recalcitrant, provoking Parsons' violent nature. The first time Parsons attacked Finnegan, he was enraged by Finnegan's failure to maintain a burning fire-stick, and beat him with an axe handle.[94] Finnegan attempted to leave Parsons and Pamphlett, but his later refusal to assist them with constructing a dug-out canoe also provoked the First Nations people, who insisted he leave with Parsons and Pamphlett.[95] The trio had travelled as far as the Maroochy River when the poor state of Pamphlett's feet prevented him from travelling further. He stayed in the company of the First Nations people, while Parsons and a trepidatious Finnegan continued on. Without Pamphlett's mollifying company, they only got as far as the Noosa River before Parsons drew a knife on Finnegan and again threatened to kill him.[96] Finnegan was again able to escape Parsons' wrath, and fled back to Pamphlett. Parsons continued north, alone.[97] Pamphlett and Finnegan meanwhile made their way back to Moreton Bay and their First Nations friends there, and thus met and assisted Oxley in November 1823.

When Oxley arrived, Parsons was not present to defend himself, or share his timber expertise. Unable to find the mouth of the Brisbane River

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[93] John Uniacke, *Narrative of Thomas Pamphlett* (National Library of Australia, 1823).
[94] Uniacke, 110.
[95] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*.
[96] Uniacke, *Narrative of Thomas Pamphlett*, 126.
[97] Uniacke, *Narrative of Thomas Pamphlett*; Matthews, Tony, *This Dawning Land* (Spring Hill, Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1986); Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*, 78; Richard Laurance Connor, *A Man A Time and A Place: Early Settlement and Development of the Maryborough and Bundaberg Districts.* (Brisbane: Richard Connor, 2020).

himself, Oxley was guided in by Pamphlett and Finnegan.[98] Their version of events was thus recorded by John Uniacke, travelling with Oxley. In Uniake's account, Pamphlett described Parsons as "a very violent, passionate man, [who] declared he would kill Finnegan" when the fire-stick went out.[99] When Finnegan took up the tale, he immediately conveyed his fear of Parsons, "who had once or twice attempted to kill me". Finnegan did not explain why he continued with the feared Parsons after Pamphlett had stopped, but did explain that he left "when, arriving at the bank of another river, a quarrel arose between Parsons and me, on which he opened his knife and swore he would murder me".[100] Given Finnegan's previous reluctance, he likely balked at the river. Uniacke did not record their impressions of the country north of Moreton Bay, though they had described the forest around the Brisbane River as "brush so thick, and the country so rough, that it was impossible for us, naked and shoeless as we were, to travel it".[101] The narrative contained more details about their relations with the First Nations people than about the land and its vegetation.

Parsons' descriptions of the vegetation patterns north of Noosa, and his version of events, had to wait until Oxley's return in September 1824. Oxley had little hope for Parsons' survival, and was pleasantly surprised to find him alive and well, though did not record the answers to the 'numerous questions put to' Parsons.[102] Allan Cunningham did. Of the conflict between the castaways, Parson's desire to return to Sydney was "discountenanced by his comrades in misfortune on account of the presumed length and difficulties of the Journey", not mentioning Parson's violent reaction to their 'discountenance'. Of the land between the Sunshine Coast and Wide Bay, Parsons "described country of

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[98] Ross Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915: A History of Queensland* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1982), 64 where Parsons falls out of the story after Noosa; Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 95 where Parsons is not included at all.
[99] Uniacke, *Narrative of Thomas Pamphlett*, 110.
[100] Uniacke, 126.
[101] Uniacke, 119.
[102] John Oxley, 'Remarks on Moreton Bay - September 1824', 1824, FL1165643, State Library of New South Wales.

fresh land clothed with heavy Timber (of the Eucalypti) of the kinds (being himself a sawyer) usually met with in the Colony, and low marshy interjacent flats".[103] He also showed his familiarity with timber values by identifying the pine cut on Oxley's previous voyage. Neither Oxley's nor Cunningham's accounts were as detailed or as widely read as Uniacke's account of Pamphlett and Finnegan, and Cunningham's journal was further obscured by his voluminous botanical writings. Further, no mention was made of the tense relationship between Finnegan, who was also aboard this second voyage, and Parsons.

On Parsons' return to Sydney, a fuller (and clearer) account of his exploration north of the Noosa River, and through the Fraser Coast appeared in *The Australian*, in one of the few published accounts of his journey. The report claimed "he had travelled four or five hundred miles along the coast, and only began to suspect his error by the extreme heat which he felt, as he advanced".[104] There may be some exaggeration in the distance covered, but even conservative estimates indicate that Parsons passed through the Fraser Coast.[105] He most likely followed the First Nations freeways, which would have included the Wongi waterhole. In the newspaper article, Parsons described the land he travelled through as 'very sandy and poor' with no 'rain for twelve months' and 'covered with thick scrubs and vines.' He further identified some of the trees he had recognised, including valuable timber species such as pine, iron bark, spotted gum, and "Currijong in great abundance", representing a mix of sclerophyllous plants and mesophytic species.[106] The report made no mention of red cedar, and the poor conditions described by Parsons seemed

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[103] Allan Cunningham, 'Colonial Secretary's Special Bundle - Allan Cunningham 1816-31. Allan Cunningham's Journals Iii)27 September 1822 - 25 February 1831', 11 September 1824, SZ9 Reel 46, Museums of History New South Wales - State Archives Collection; J.G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days 1824-1842* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1975), 12.
[104] 'Curious Case of Shipwreck', *Australian*, 21 October 1824, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37072074.
[105] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*, 131; Connor, *A Man A Time and A Place: Early Settlement and Development of the Maryborough and Bundaberg Districts.*; Harrison, 'The Third Man: Pamphlet, Finnegan and... Richard Parsons: Castaways at Moreton Bay 1823-1824'.
[106] 'Curious Case of Shipwreck'.

more to denigrate the country than boost settlement or economic prospects. Parsons later worked as a bullock driver in Illawarra, served further time on Norfolk Island in 1849, and died in 1864.[107] He was the first European to assess the forests of the Fraser Coast, seeing some economic worth in their timber, though he is given little credit for it. His violent nature, and his criminal recidivism, did not promote imperial ideals of developing civilisation, and thus he was doomed to virtual obscurity and historical hobbyists.

2.3.2 Escaped convicts

The recidivist timber getter was followed onto the Fraser Coast by other convicts, this time escapees from the colony established at Moreton Bay. That colony was intended to take those who had received further convictions upon arrival in Australia, particularly runaways.[108] Under the command of the savage Captain Patrick Logan between 1826 and 1830, many convicts attempted escape, but few of the survivors' stories were recorded, because of their defiance of the law. Pamphlett's story of the life he had enjoyed with First Nations people must also have presented escape as a viable option, particularly after he returned to Moreton Bay in 1827, this time as punishment for theft in Sydney.[109] Of those Moreton Bay convicts who fled north, three likely travelled as far as the Fraser Coast. George Mitchell was the first to survive, fleeing the settlement on 8 January 1826.[110] John Graham, escaping 18 months later and heading for Asia, met Mitchell near Noosa in 1829, where the pair agreed to travel further north.[111] They likely followed a similar path to that taken by Parsons, going through the Fraser Coast, but were stymied near St Lawrence, and so returned south, with Graham remaining with the Kabi Kabi near Noosa.

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[107] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*, 167.
[108] Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915: A History of Queensland*, 65.
[109] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*.
[110] Mamie O'Keeffe, 'The Runaway Convicts of Moreton Bay', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 10, no. 1 (1976): 62; Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*, 154; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*.
[111] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*.

Mitchell returned to Moreton Bay after hearing he had been pardoned.[112] Graham returned at the end of his sentence, but still had to serve his time, during which he participated in the rescue of Eliza Fraser.[113] Graham's involvement in this affair led to some documentation of his environmental observations, including in a 1937 book by Robert Gibbings, though these observations were of the Noosa area, not the Fraser Coast.[114] Gibbings' book did not even include Graham and Mitchell's meeting. The third convict to return from the Fraser Coast area was Samuel Derrington. After attending a Bunya Feast, Derrington followed a group of people to just north of Hervey Bay, and lived with them for eight years.[115] He also returned to Moreton Bay when he thought his sentence complete, but remained there a further two years, guiding the 1837 capture of repeat escapee David Bracewell.[116] Mitchell, Graham and Derrington would likely have followed the same pre-existing freeways Parsons had, and thus became unofficial ambassadors to the First Nations people. Their impressions of the forests on the Fraser Coast were not recorded, though their expertise was valued during official voyages.

Like the 'discovery' of the Brisbane River by Oxley, recidivist convicts facilitated Andrew Petrie's official discovery of the Mary River. The two who became entangled with the official exploration party had their stories recorded by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Stephen Simpson, including their impressions of the forests of the Fraser Coast, and thus have received

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[112] Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*.
[113] Eliza Frazer, wife of James Fraser, Captain of the Stirling Castle, survived the wreck of her husband's ship, and lived with the Butchulla on K'gari for three months prior to her rescue. For more detail see Barry Dwyer and Neil Buchanan, *The Rescue of Eliza Fraser: 150th Anniversary Edition* (Noosa: Noosa Graphica, 1986) and; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*.
[114] Robert Gibbings, *John Graham, Convict, 1824; an Historical Narrative* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1956), http://archive.org/details/johngrahamconvic0000gibb.
[115] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*; O'Keeffe, 'The Runaway Convicts of Moreton Bay'; Matthews, Tony, *This Dawning Land*.
[116] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*.

somewhat more attention than Graham, Mitchell and Derrington.[117] David Bracewell made his first attempt at escape in 1828, returned days after and absconded again for several months at the end of 1829. He was more successful in 1831, until an official party (guided by Derrington) recaptured him in 1837. In his final escape in 1839 he returned to his First Nations family near Noosa, who had accepted him as a deceased relative, naming him 'Wandi' or 'Big Talker'.[118] In total, Bracewell had spent approximately nine years with these people, learning and participating in their ways of shaping the environment. He was then collected by Petrie in 1842, thence acting as interpreter and guide for that party. To Simpson, he described the lands to the east and south of the Mary River as "Scrubs and mountains [that] gradually recede to the Westward, leaving between them and the beach a fine level open Country thinly wooded from 20 to 30 miles in breadth". To the north and west, the lands were "quite open … abundantly watered, but lightly timbered, with luxuriant grass & abounding in Kangaroo."[119] Bracewell's description was more specific and localised than Parsons, though the two descriptions both suggest a mosaic of forest types, of scrubs and more open sclerophyllous spaces.

James Davis was the second escaped convict 'rescued' by Petrie's party. Davis had successfully escaped with John Downie on 30 March 1829.[120] They came to rest on the Fraser Coast, however Downie soon met a violent end: while the pair were fishing, he removed a dilly bag from an overhanging branch, and emptied the bones to make room for his oysters. He was speared for this

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[117] Peter Lauer, ed., *The Simpson Letter Book*, trans. Gerry Langevad, Cultural and Historical Records of Queensland 1 (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland, 1979); O'Keeffe, 'The Runaway Convicts of Moreton Bay'; Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995; Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*; Coyne, *Bauple: Looking Back to Pioneering Times*; John Maynard and Victoria Katharine Haskins, *Living with the Locals: Early Europeans' Experience of Indigenous Life* (National Library of Australia, 2016).
[118] O'Keeffe, 'The Runaway Convicts of Moreton Bay'; Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*.
[119] Lauer, *The Simpson Letter Book*, 1.
[120] Pearce, *Through the Eyes of Thomas Pamphlett: Convict and Castaway*.

disturbance of the dead.[121] Davis was more respectful and luckier. He fell in with a Kabi Kabi clan, where elder Pamby Pamby 'recognised' him as a reincarnated son, 'Duramboi' or 'Kangaroo Rat'.[122] Under this name he was initiated into the tribe, and lived with these people for 12 years, learning their techniques for using and managing their environment. When Petrie arrived, Davis was reluctant to return to European society. However, he acted as an intermediary between his clan and Petrie's party, and may have agreed to return to defuse tensions between First Nations people and imperialists (discussed in the next chapter). Davis told Simpson that the area north of the Mary River was "a fine open, rich Country, plentifully watered and lightly timbered, with intervening grassy planes, even close to the beach & abounding in Kangaroo. No Bunya scrubs or even Mountains of any description to be seen to the North or N.W."[123] Davis did not report the 'scrubs' Parsons and Bracewell had, though he agreed with them about the timber, the open grassy areas, and the kangaroos. He had also spent more time in the locality, and was more deeply enmeshed in First Nations ways of using and managing the environment.

2.3.3 Official visions

Davis and Bracewell, informed by their experiences with the First Nations people, reported more open grassy areas than those with less experience of the area. Cunningham's interpretation of Parson's report was 'heavy timber … interrupted by interjacent flats", though the open flats were lost in the newspaper report, and the heavy timber renamed scrub. The records of the official explorers who followed the unofficial ones also contained more scrub than potential pasture. The accounts of Henry Stuart Russell and Andrew Petrie are entirely focused on the riverbanks, as Davis and Bracewell assured the party that the First Nations people were too hostile for the officials to leave the safety of the boat. Petrie's observations of the mainland were limited to the

[121] Pearce; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995.
[122] Maynard and Haskins, *Living with the Locals*, 87.
[123] Lauer, *The Simpson Letter Book*, 2.

presence of Kauri pine in amongst scrub at the river mouth, and a brief foray into “the scrubs where I procured some specimens of timber”, near what is now Tiaro.[124] His confinement to the river informed these descriptions. In his overall assessment of the mainland, Petrie acknowledged the people on K’gari for providing his description: “there was a beautiful country about forty miles from the Bahpal Mountain, extending quite to the ocean and abounding in emus and kangaroos. According to their account, this country is thinly wooded”.[125] The account provided to Petrie by the First Nations people (and Davis and Bracewell) indicated there was good pastoral country beyond the scrubs.

Henry Stuart Russell, who was also aboard this voyage, saw and recorded more scrub than Petrie. Russell particularly noted that crew mate William Jolliffe was disappointed in his aim to find good sheep pasture for employer John Eales. Russell too was disappointed in this aim, though it was prompted more by their hasty departure than an observed lack of suitable land.[126] Russell was even more vociferous about scrub when he later travelled up from the south, describing all the land between the Mary River’s headwaters in the Conondale Range and the earlier landing site near Tiaro as “broken, densely brushed, dismal and uninviting country, all the way”. Jolliffe had returned with a flock of Eales’ sheep and established the head station near the party’s earlier landing site. Russell also assessed the head station and Jolliffe’s attempt to establish sheep pasture as dismal, and he turned west and out of the Fraser Coast. He did not assess Jolliffe’s outstations. As he left, he described “Pine brush from above, below, and all around in that dark horror which it always seemed to assume in wholly unknown spots, frowned at us and stood in the way of our advance. The night of the day was the most unpleasant I ever remember having passed in the bush”.[127] An oppressive humid atmosphere likely contributed to Russell’s experience here, as his party suffered a large

[124] Petrie, *Tom Petrie’s Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, 261.
[125] Petrie, 267.
[126] Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*, 282.
[127] Russell, 331–32.

thunderstorm that night, cementing Russell's unfavourable impressions of the region. His account relied on his own perceptions of the area, which differed substantially from his existing pastures on the Darling Downs. Petrie and Russell found scrub, though Petrie believed, informed by Bracewell, Davis and the K'gari First Nations people, there was also pasture.

Bracewell and Davis' reports partly inspired Crown Lands Commissioner Stephen Simpson to explore the area and provide a more detailed description of its geological and vegetative patterns.[128] Arriving from the south as had Russell on his second voyage, Simpson found more open areas than Russell, though less open country than indicated by Bracewell, Davis and Petrie, with most of it already taken up by Jolliffe. Simpson also found the Fraser Coast less inspiring than the "beautiful flats of the richest description, nearly clear of timber" near the headwaters of the Mary River. The first of Jolliffe's outstations, on the approach to Mount Bauple, "had altogether a fertile aspect, and it [was] even picturesque" indicating low tree density and good grass coverage. However, between Mount Bauple and the river, the country turned to "extensive but not very luxuriant flats, thickly timbered with Gums, Oaks and occasionally Tea Trees" with "thick scrubs (no Bunya)" between his party and the river. Jolliffe's head station was located on a "grassy flat with extensive swamp". Travelling north-east from there Simpson crossed two miles of "swampy uneven flat, but well adapted for cattle". This was followed by ten miles of "high and sandy ridges with tolerable pasturage for sheep", though poorly watered. These two areas, between the Mary River and Tinana Creek, were the most promising potential pasture Simpson found. Between the area 'tolerable' for sheep and the Mary River, he found "a flat and for the most part barren country, so thickly timbered, with dwarf gums, intermixed with Tea Trees, that it is scarcely fit for any purpose". There was better timber "In the scrubs on the bank of the river and on the neighbouring hills", and potential agricultural land, but he was dismissive of

[128] Stephen Simpson, 'Journal of an Excursion to the Bunya Country Situated to the North of Moreton Bay District, NEW SOUTH WALES', 1843, Maryborough, Wide Bay and Burnett Historical Society.

both; suggesting transport costs would outweigh the value of the timber, and that surface clay would impede agriculture. Four years later, the official Surveyor, J. C. Burnett's brief comments were also hardly inspiring, "some tolerably open grassy forests of inferior quality" and "generally covered with brush containing a good deal of pine, with small patches of forest intervening … but I saw little forest land which I thought desirable for cultivation"[129]. Burnett's observations, as with Petrie's and Russell's, were confined to the river. Simpson, travelling overland saw some of the open grassy areas described by Parsons, Bracewell and Davis, though he too recorded more scrub and thickly timbered areas than places 'desirable for cultivation'. For explorers confined to water courses, the area appeared much more thickly timbered than for those who had ranged more widely. Taken together, these unofficial and official accounts of the Fraser Coasts forests at the time of colonisation suggest a complex mosaic of vegetation communities, of varying heights and densities.

2.4 Conclusion

The forests of the Fraser Coast were a product of geological and botanical disruption, long before the arrival of humans. Tectonic forces and subsequent climate change affected plant development, with scleromorphic responses to aridity occurring as the rainforests retreated. General aridity and climate oscillation encouraged fire, which xerophytic plants were well placed to take advantage of. Into this oscillating and occasionally flaming environment came the First Nations people. In maximising valued resource availability, they intensified and fragmented the existing geological and vegetative patterns. Official, imperially sanctioned explorers such as Oxley and Petrie relied upon the assistance of people who were already familiar with the environments they 'discovered', which worked to shape the ways in which these explorers presented the places they found. Initial European accounts of the Fraser

[129] J.C. Burnett, 'Rivers Burnett and Mary', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 7 September 1847, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/12498862, Trove.

Coast's forests varied considerably, informed by specific location, access to localised knowledge, and intent. Some saw denser, shorter and less valuable forests than others, though together the accounts suggest a complex mosaic of vegetation patterns rather than a coherent singular forest. This chapter has shown that the forests of the Fraser Coast were highly dynamic, and shaped in different ways by different people prior to the official discoverers beginning the colonial narrative.

3 European Encroachment 1842 – 1900

This thesis uses the year 1842 as a distinct chronological boundary as events in this year marked a significant turning point for the Fraser Coast's forests. Early in that year, a group of First Nations people were killed by poison, a tragedy which was to have far reaching impacts for the settlement of Queensland generally and the Fraser Coast in particular. In May of that year, the Moreton Bay penal colony was officially declared a free settlement, and Andrew Petrie was officially commissioned to explore the Fraser Coast.[1] Before the year ended, the first sheep pastoralists arrived, beginning the overlaying of European visions. The colonisation of the Fraser Coast officially began in 1842.

This chapter argues that the Fraser Coast's forests resisted European visions of settler colonialism. The forests were associated with anxieties linked with European attempts to reshape them. First Nations people resisting the processes of settler-colonialism were sheltered by the forests, which facilitated their escape from European reprisals for thefts and murders. So too were bushrangers, whose rise represents a shift in settler anxieties about forest dwellers and a growing confidence in European ability to master the forests, as Aboriginal populations declined. Visions of sheep pastoralism also shifted in response to the forest's hostility in terms of the people it sheltered, as well as its climatic and biological character. Cattle pastoralism did better, though soil nutrient paucity and official settlement's increasing push from existing pasture into more heavily forested areas impeded this vision as well. Commercial industry also found the environment and its fluctuations hostile, though sawmillers were mollified by their profits. For some, fear of the forests changed to fear for them, as European visions became more entrenched resulting in forest degradation and decreasing timber supply. The inability of the forests to satisfy these demands saw ecological and economic interests concur in the spread of timber reserves, an additional official vision for the Fraser Coast's

[1] Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915: A History of Queensland*.

forests. Settler-colonial visions for the Fraser Coast's forests shifted in response to forest realities.

3.1 Resisters

3.1.1 Fear of First Nations

As colonisation of the Fraser Coast began, European visions of and for forests were shaded with fear. Henry Reynolds argued in 1981 that the shelter provided by forests was critical to successful Aboriginal resistance.[2] This sheltering deepened European anxieties regarding native forests, discussed at length by Peter Pierce in 1999, who argued that settler anxieties about land tenure were represented by lost children stories.[3] Forests became the refuge of First Nations people, as they were displaced by settlers attempting to establish pastoral visions. From these forests, they were able to challenge the settler-colonialists, generating settler fear and frustration with the resistance fighters and the forests that sheltered them.

Sheep pastoralism had expanded from the south, through the Darling Downs, and become established in the vicinity of Moreton Bay while it was still an off-limits penal colony. Amongst these forerunners were the Mackenzie brothers at Kilcoy, a station on the southern slopes of the Conondale Range.[4] Shepherds at this and other stations used poisons such as arsenic and strychnine as insecticide and herbicide to improve living conditions for sheep. Sheep treated with these chemicals may have been the source of some accidental First Nations poisonings, as people consumed the new animals. However early settler-colonialists also deliberately added these poisons to food

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[2] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, 106.
[3] Peter Pierce, *The Country of Lost Children: An Australian Anxiety* (Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[4] 'Claims to Leases of Crown Land', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 11 May 1848, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article230130982; H. J. Gibbney, 'Mackenzie, Sir Evan (1816–1883)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1974), https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mackenzie-sir-evan-4108; Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915: A History of Queensland*.

intended for Aboriginal consumption. This subterfuge was employed at Kilcoy early in 1842, when shepherds there reacted violently to the appropriation of their sheep, and the situation spiralled, with First Nations' environmental prowess assisting their counter attacks. The conflict intensified dramatically when 50 to 60 people were poisoned.[5] News of the carnage spread, and while immediate lethal revenge was taken against two other Kilcoy shepherds, this atrocity required a larger response.

The Kabi Kabi people hosted a great *toor*, or meeting, to discuss the European encroachment in general, and further responses to the Kilcoy poisoning in particular. Many tribes converged on the forests of the Conondale Range, including the people that had taken in escaped convict James Davis, where they could meet in safety away from settlers.[6] This *toor* worked to disrupt traditional forms of proportional vengeance, as discussed by Reynolds, vowing vengeance on all white people, beyond individual transgressors.[7] William Coote, in his 1882 history of Queensland believed that murders committed for years afterwards "were more or less in consequence, or in revenge, of the wholesale poisoning at Kilcoy".[8] More recent historians, such as Ray Kerkhove, argue that the decision arising from this *toor* not only increased violence, it was an official declaration of war, with specific reference to the evidence provided by Davis and Bracewell.[9] Sheltered within the forests to the north of Kilcoy, Davis was a party to this deliberate shift in First Nations responses to colonisation.

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[5] 'German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay', *Colonial Observer*, 3 December 1842, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article226361391; Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*.
[6] James G. Lergessner, *Death Pudding: The Kilcoy Massacre* (Woorim, Qld: James G. Lergessner, 2007); Matthews and Miller, Interview 01: Caboonya for the Budjula Nation.
[7] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, 81.
[8] William Coote, *History of the Colony of Queensland from 1770 to the Close of the Year 1881, in Two Volumes* (W. Thorne, 1882), 50.
[9] Raymond Constant Kerkhove, 'Tribal Alliances with Broader Agendas? Aboriginal Resistance in Southern Queensland's "Black War"', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal* 6, no. 3 (2014): 38–62, https://doi.org/10.5130/ccs.v6i3.4218.

Whilst the *toor* was underway, so was Andrew Petrie's expedition. In recovering Bracewell near Noosa, Petrie was in no apparent danger, and Bracewell said nothing about Kilcoy or the great *toor* at that stage. Further, the people on K'gari were quite friendly.[10] This relatively peaceful contact contrasted with the journey up the heavily forested Mary River. Within hours of putting ashore, Bracewell discovered Davis's party returning from the *toor,* concealed amongst the forests near the river. The official explorers were unable to explore the Fraser Coast due to the wide-ranging vengeance agreed to in the forests of the Conondale Range. Informed by Davis, Petrie wrote "the blacks were determined to attack us, as they would have revenge for the poisoning of their friends at some of the stations in the South".[11] Henry Stuart Russell's version was more detailed, including a general discussion on 'tourrs' in relation to the "the cry for vengeance" that followed the Kilcoy deaths.[12] Davis prevented an attack by relying on the traditional view of proportional vengeance, insisting that the official explorers were there peacefully to collect him and had nothing to do with Kilcoy. He also convinced elder and adoptive father Pamby Pamby to exchange his Kilcoy shepherd's watch for a tomahawk. When Davis and Bracewell returned to Moreton Bay, they both told Lands Commissioner Stephen Simpson about the *toor* and the poisonings. Six weeks later Simpson alluded back to these statements, when he reported "the Aborigines … appear to be carrying out their vengeance in a very insidious manner … plunder does not appear to be so much their object as the destruction of life, which they effect by proceeding in small bodies without giving the least warning of their approach".[13] Simpson's comments on intent here illustrate the ways in which the First Nations responses to colonisation were changing as a result of the Kilcoy massacre. The *toor* itself, and its results, suggest that despite the initial colonial inroads, Aboriginal people had control of the forests, from which they

[10] Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*; Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*.
[11] Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, 264.
[12] Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*.
[13] Lauer, *The Simpson Letter Book*.

were able to plan and conduct their increasingly violent resistance to European encroachment.

Colonisation of the Fraser Coast began amidst these heightened tensions. The early pastoralists suffered from First Nations attacks (discussed below); however, the violence was much more visible in what was to become the town of Maryborough. Journalist George Loyau's early history described this time as inciting fear of "a foe in every bush and danger lurking 'neath the shade".[14] This view was informed by stories from bullock drivers moving through the bush to deliver goods to the port, as well as the experiences of pioneer George Furber. In 1847 he established a wool store at the abandoned out-station of Girkum on the banks of the Mary River, to service the burgeoning sheep stations further inland.[15] Heightened tensions following the Kilcoy incident were not the only factor working against Furber; he reoccupied an important resource point on the river, and was antagonistic to the people already there.[16] He was first attacked within a month of his arrival, when fencing out in the bush. The perpetrators were able to escape the injured Furber and his assistant by fleeing into the surrounding forest. Furber survived, and was revenged when the supposed perpetrator left the bush and appeared in town. Furber shot the man there, in the middle of the day, an act witnessed but ignored by the first official Lands Commissioner John Bidwill.[17] Furber's eventual murder, along with that of his son-in-law also occurred out in the bush, where there were cutting timber in 1855.[18] The perpetrators were never apprehended. Furber's death further increased settler fear of the native people and the native forests that sheltered them. Bidwill too, as the official administrator, did little to ameliorate the tensions, and was frustrated by pilferers escaping into the scrub surrounding his homestead and gardens at Tinana. As

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[14] George Loyau, *The History of Maryborough and Wide Bay Burnett Districts 1850-1895* (Brisbane, Queensland: Pole. Outridge & Co., Printers and Lithographers, 1897), 148.
[15] Loyau, *The History of Maryborough and Wide Bay Burnett Districts 1850-1895*.
[16] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:43.
[17] Matthews, 1:51.
[18] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 48.

well as ignoring Furber's brazen revenge shooting, Bidwill set lethal booby traps for the people he was unable to track through the scrub surrounding his homestead and gardens at Tinana.[19] His successor Arthur Halloran frequently complained about robberies, beginning with Aboriginal interference with his cattle soon after his arrival. On one occasion Halloran attempted pursuit for three hours, but the people escaped, "having taken to the scrub. In fact without a native as tracker it is worse than useless to go after them at all. They are aware of this and take advantage accordingly."[20] The shelter of the bush was proving a great advantage to the First Nations people, and a disadvantage to the settlers. As the violence continued to escalate, store owner, and first mayor of the town, Henry Palmer resorted to Kilcoy tactics of revenge, when flour stolen from his store proved to be fatal.[21] Throughout 1855, Halloran's listing of depredations increasingly included beatings and murder of settlers.[22] At the end of that year he again averred

> From the nature of the Country around Maryboro, it is almost useless for the Police to attempt to follow the Blacks. It requires people of their own class who can make their way through dense scrubs and creeks and places where a white man encumbered with clothing cannot travel.[23]

As the violence escalated, so too did settlers' fear and frustrations over their inability to master the forests and successfully detain their tormentors. For the nascent town of Maryborough, the surrounding forests were a source of anxiety.

Commissioner Halloran reflected a wider European belief that Native Police were essential to dispatching settler fears. So loud did the clamouring

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[19] 'Maryborough's Earliest Days', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 4 June 1907, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148468851.
[20] Arthur Halloran, *Commissioner for Crown Lands: Maryborough Letter Book*, trans. Merv Hopton, 2021. The quote is taken from a letter drafted November 16th, which contains stronger language than the circumspect letter actually sent on the 22nd.
[21] Halloran; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995; Walker, 'Aboriginal-European Relations in the Maryborough District 1842 - 1903'.
[22] Halloran, *Commissioner for Crown Lands: Maryborough Letter Book*; Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915: A History of Queensland*.
[23] Arthur Halloran, 'The Commissioner of Crown Lands for the District of Wide Bay and Burnett to the Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands Reporting Murders Committed by the Blacks', 13 December 1855, ITM7206, Queensland State Archives - Letterbooks - Commissioner of Crown Lands, Wide Bay and Burnett; Walker, 'Aboriginal-European Relations in the Maryborough District 1842 - 1903', 37.

become that the New South Wales government established a Native Police Force in 1848.[24] Halloran's fear was such that he repeatedly requested the force's services from within a month of his arrival.[25] The mobile contingent that reached the Fraser Coast at the end of the year had more confidence and skill than the settlers, but lacked the numbers to police the outstations effectively. Commander Frederick Walker was also more conciliatory than the Maryborough settlers desired. They expected the force to be "their personal instrument to be used in the destruction of the Aboriginal population" and Walker's small force did not meet their expectations.[26] Following Walker's dismissal in 1854, the force remained small but active in the district, often passing by Gigoomgan station.[27] Their numbers, and their violence, swelled significantly following the outrage of the Hornet Bank massacre, where several First Nation's people emerged from the bush to kill a family of nine European settlers. Native police flooded into that region and beyond, conducting 'dispersals' up to 300 kilometres away, including on the Fraser Coast.[28] The use of the term 'dispersal', which implied displacing, worked to mask the reality of the wholesale slaughter that took place. The extent of this slaughter was hidden within the forests. Though the First Nations people suffered significantly from the magnitude of the Hornet Bank reprisal, some still found refuge in the forests. In 1860, John O'Connell Bligh, then Commander of the Native Police, pursued people from bushland along the Gayndah Road into the centre of town where two were shot. Though some of the town's settlers were outraged at this blatant

[24] 'No. LII. An Act for Applying Certain Sums Arising from the Revenue Receivable in New South Wales, to the Service Thereof, for the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Nine; and for Further Appropriating the Said Revenue. [Assented to, 16th June, 1848.]', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 27 June 1848, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article230131694.
[25] Arthur Halloran, 'The Commissioner of Crown Lands Wide Bay to the Commandant of Native Police Requesting That Two Troopers Might Be Placed at Tinana, for a Few Months.', 13 October 1853, ITM7205, Queensland State Archives - Letterbooks - Commissioner of Crown Lands, Wide Bay and Burnett.
[26] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:95.
[27] Peter Anderson, 'Gigoomgan Station Records - Journal', 1854, Box 8640 (Items 1-5), John Oxley Library.
[28] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:98.

violence, Bligh was publicly awarded a ceremonial sword for his actions.[29] He was further exonerated by the findings of a Select Committee into the force.[30] After leading not only Bligh but also other witnesses into assertions that Europeans could not navigate the bush effectively, the first finding of the report was "any change in the organisation of this Force by the substitution of white troopers for Native, would destroy its efficiency".[31] Native Police were still needed to assuage European fears of the bush. Historians such as Henry Reynolds and Jonathan Richards suggest that the Native Police killed more First Nations people than European settlers did.[32] The violence persisted, in scope if not in scale, as First Nations numbers dwindled before the onslaught of their forest refuges. Their numbers continued to decline after the removal of the Native Police, as survivors were driven into missions, first on K'gari, then to Cherbourg on the lands of the Waka Waka people. The deployment of the Native Police assisted in quelling resistance and easing settler fear of attack from within the forests.

3.1.2 Admiration of bushrangers

Another source of fear associated with the forests, and for many of the same reasons, was the presence of bushrangers. However, this fear was fractured along racial lines, and shifted towards veneration of this group of Europeans who displayed mastery of the bush. For some settlers, the superior environmental skills that enabled bushrangers to flout and event taunt the

[29] A Correspondent, 'Maryborough', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 21 February 1860, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3716916; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995 John O'Connell Bligh was the grandson of William Bligh, of the Bounty and the Rum Rebellion. .

[30] R.R. Mackenzie, 'Native Police Force Report' (Queensland Legislative Assembly, 17 July 1861).

[31] Mackenzie, 2 In terms of leading questions, Bligh was asked "Do you think any other force would be as efficient as the Native Police Force?". Jacob Lowe was asked "Have you reason to believe that they follow the blacks through the bush efficiently?" followed by "Can a white man follow them so?", and later "Speaking of the fact that it is necessary to have officers accustomed to a bush life - since your arrival has the old Mounted Police been done away with?". To HB Sheridan: "Are you not aware that the mounted corps were good bushmen, and very useful in tracking bushrangers?" Further instances can be found in the report.

[32] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*; Richards, 'The Native Police of Queensland'.

authorities was not a source of fear but admiration.[33] Bushranger historian Meg Foster suggested that the success of the stereotypical white male bushrangers, symbolised by Ned Kelly, "epitomised colonists' capacity to be at home in the natural environment and use the bush for their own ends".[34] Bushrangers are of enduring fascination to many Australians, including those on the Fraser Coast.

The shifting attitudes towards bush-based outlaws can be seen in the case of the Fraser Coast's most extensively documented bushranger, James "The Wild Scotchman" McPherson. Patrick McCarthy's 1975 biography remains the most comprehensive source on McPherson, and he attempts to separate fact from exaggeration, much of it McPherson's own.[35] McPherson arrived with his family in Brisbane in 1854. After becoming involved in local politics, he left Brisbane in 1863 to go shearing with two others. McPherson was a poor shearer, and when he was refused payment for his shoddy work, he turned to a life of crime. He was captivated by newspaper reports about New South Wales's infamous bushranger Ben Hall, and wanted to be just like him.[36] McPherson and his friends stole horses, and held up Richard Willis' pub on the Houghton River, where McPherson shot the publican in the face. Patrick McCarthy's account suggests that the shot was not on purpose, but came as the result of a tussle with Willis' employee trying to prevent the hold up.[37] McPherson and his friends looted the pub and left. Willis, the only person shot by McPherson during his criminal career, survived, and warrants were issued in Bowen for the three men. McPherson split from his friends and headed south, to New South Wales, looking to join Ben Hall. He was apprehended there, extradited to Queensland, and escaped his police escort near Rockhampton in February 1865. Using the

[33] Susan West, *Bushranging and the Policing of Rural Banditry in New South Wales, 1860-1880* (Melbourne, Australia: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2009); Jayne Wilson, 'Essay - Bushrangers in the Australian Dictionary of Biography', Australian Dictionary of Biography, 15 March 2023, https://adb.anu.edu.au/essay/12.
[34] Foster, *Boundary Crossers*, 5.
[35] Patrick McCarthy, *The Wild Scotsman: James McPherson the Queensland Bushranger* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1975).
[36] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:292.
[37] McCarthy, *The Wild Scotsman: James McPherson the Queensland Bushranger*, 16.

bush for cover, he moved south again, to bedevil the Maryborough to Gayndah postal route.[38] During these hold ups he stole cash and other valuables from the mail, as well as boasting at length of his bush skills and supposed exploits with Ben Hall's gang. Police were pressured to do something about the bushranger menace, but were ineffectual.[39] P.W. McNally, who interviewed McPherson for his biography, included McPherson's specific taunting of John O'Connell Bligh, by then Police Magistrate in Gayndah.[40] Bligh apparently accepted a horse race against McPherson, who won by riding down a steep precipice that even Bligh would not dare. Though this story was repeated in the *Chronicle* in 1909, and again by historian Tony Matthews in 1995, it may be an example of McPherson's exaggeration of his bush skills, as the horse race does not appear in contemporaneous newspaper reporting.[41] However, the story added to the folklore of bushrangers' superior environmental skills. It also worked to denigrate the officials, further seen in a report of McPherson's capture, where the witnessing correspondent explained "the [capture was] simple enough in itself, and, of course, not by the police", but by local graziers.[42] McPherson was less a source of fear for Maryborough residents than he was for the postmen or the residents of Gayndah, as reflected by the *Chronicle's* Gayndah correspondent, writing after McPherson's capture, "We have heard up here that a feeling of sympathy prevails in Maryborough for the Scotchman … Are the people of Maryborough so degenerate as to sympathise with a lawless ruffian?"[43] For some, the presence of a bushranger increased their fear of the forests. For others, bushranger's skills provoked admiration, in contrast to the more generalised fear associated with First Nations people who had also evaded officials in the forests.

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[38] McCarthy, *The Wild Scotsman: James McPherson the Queensland Bushranger*.
[39] McCarthy; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995.
[40] P.W. McNally, *The Life and Adventures of the Wild Scotchman: The Queensland Bushranger* (Brisbane: Outridge Printing Co, 1899), http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/165138.
[41] 'The Wild Scotchman', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 25 March 1909; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995.
[42] 'The Capture of MacPherson, the Bushranger', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 4 April 1866, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article147939270.
[43] 'Gayndah', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 18 April 1866, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article147939287.

Local interest in bushrangers was also reflected in the mythopoesis of James “Big Jim” Morris. Big Jim was ostensibly a local bushranger who lived in the forest around the village of Musket Flat. Failure to make a small pastoral holding profitable may have been the impetus for him to turn to sly grog, reflecting the fears of others attempting to implement pastoral visions. The story of Big Jim’s exploits first appeared in a report by ‘Musketeer’ in the *Chronicle*, who suggested the bushranger was active in the 1870s.[44] In this story, Big Jim turned to sly-grog manufacture after one occasion when teamsters had drunk the village dry. His still was supposedly hidden in a cave near Duckinwilla Creek. The police were notified but were ineffectual, as “at a certain place he always managed to elude them. Be it here remarked that the country was not so well known then as it is now, and neither police nor carriers care to stray too far from known tracks.” Jim’s more intimate knowledge of the bush enabled his evasion. No longer able to sell sly-grog, Jim apparently turned to bushranging to support himself. However, he was caught when he returned to town and became inebriated at one of the pubs, enabling police to overpower him. During the arrest Jim apparently announced: “Boys, I know I am done for; my sentence will be a lifer. I have a lot of money planted in a cave. There is a kettle full of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. It’ll never be any use to me, and some of you may as well have it. The police will never find it.” He later sent a written message to a friend (apparently of the Grout family) from gaol, reporting the location as “where the creeks meet. Look for a high rock, and a rock bridge across the creek; you won’t see them until you run right up against them.” Local First Nations guides could not be induced to go anywhere near this place, adding to its mysterious allure. A local surveyor’s promised guide did not show up on the day, and Musketeer commented on this “peculiar thing about the place … that no aboriginal can induced to go within a mile of it. They will promise, but always fail.” Their lack of engagement may indicate it had great

[44] ‘The Treasure Cave’, *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 27 September 1900, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article147782162.

significance for First Nations people. Or perhaps the author was padding the story with further layers of anxiety. Evidence given during an unrelated inquiry suggested that Lands Commissioner Halloran had come into possession of Jim's horse and surplus alcohol after "Big Jim bolted on the day he was convicted."[45] Bushranging, and the kettle of gold were not mentioned in this report. Musketeer did not mention the escape, likely as it suggests that any riches would have been retrieved. The story of Big Jim reflected settler anxieties about the local bush, but also romanticised them with visions of bushranger treasure.

The story of Big Jim, as told by Musketeer, achieved its aim in attracting people to the forests around Musket Flat. Various people over time have attempted to follow Big Jim's directions, including a second journey by the Grout party after public interest was buoyed by the September article. Musketeer boosted the local "open … gently undulating … fairly well watered land" in the area. On arrival at the 'cave', at the rock in Figure 4, he speculated that the cave was on the opposite side of the creek, under a low mound that forms the other half of this geological formation. This conclusion was supported by tales of a vault entrance further down the creek, ostensibly known to First Nations people, who continued to refuse to act as guides. Musketeer's follow-up article suggests there was no suitable cave in that rock. Many others have since visited the site; including local historians and children avid to find the lost treasure.[46] There has been no reported success. The story of the kettle of gold was likely embellished by Musketeer, who Matthews identified as RJ Grout. Robert Grout and his family owned several businesses in Musket Flat, including the blacksmith's, as well as other selections scattered throughout the local forest.[47] Matthews also interviewed descendant Alwyn Grout regarding the

[45] 'Inquiry into the Conduct of Mr. Commissioner Halloran', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 28 November 1860, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article150313096.
[46] Simpson and Simpson, Interview with Aramara Sawmill Owners; Gail Gauld, Personal Communication: Brooweena History Museum Tour, 4 July 2021.
[47] Len Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress: A History of Division One Shire of Woocoo, Queensland* (Brooweena: Woocoo Historical Society Inc., 1988), 29.

legend, with Alwyn explaining that the existence of a fortune was supposed by the locals, as Jim had been bushranging and had not spent his ill-gotten gains elsewhere.[48] Robert's colourful account of the bushranger followed up with a glowing description of the local country was intended to boost the economy of the struggling town. Even the demurral "that this is not written with a view to benefitting any business people in our locality" is undermined by his advice to "a couple of town students or to anyone wishing to rusticate in perfect quiet for a week or so, the place could not be surpassed, and the distance from town is not great." Musketeer's reports contain no mention of McPherson, though the Big Jim story was likely inspired by the real-life Gayndah Road bushranger. There has been some conflation of James McPherson and James Morris over time, partly because of the similar names, but also as fact and memory have been blurred by 'bushranger' mythology more generally.[49] McPherson was in gaol when Morris was ostensibly inspiring fear along the Gayndah Road and building a fortune. There is much less documentation to support the bushranging activities of Big Jim, whose treasure and 'hideout' were perhaps more imagined than real. Along with the blurring together of McPherson and Big Jim, bushranger mythology from the southern states also worked to influence local lore concerning bushrangers and their forest prowess.

The blurring of bushranger fact and mythology on the Fraser Coast is further illustrated by amplification of connections with infamous Victorian bushranger Ned Kelly. This trend can be seen amongst First Nations people, as well as Europeans. Anthropologists researching the Native Police suggested that people's claims to connections with Kelly have been embellished for their redemptive power, fuelled by a view of Kelly as resisting invasion and

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[48] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:413.
[49] Anonymous and Anonymous, Interview with Former Forestry Worker turned Pastoralist, and his Wife; Gauld, Personal Communication: Brooweena History Museum Tour; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:416; Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 30.

injustice.[50] Elder Norm Barney confirmed historian Norm Buettel's account that Butchulla men Gary Owens and Willy Wondunna were involved in tracking Kelly, and further that they were offered rewards for their efforts.[51] Despite their success, said Barney, they did not receive their promised rewards or concessions.[52] Buettel does not include any reference to McPherson or Big Jim. Fraser Coast preoccupation with the Kellys is also shown in Norm Armstrong's memoir of his early life, *The Murgon Mite*, which included an apparently well known 'local secret' that Steve Hart escaped Glenrowan and lived out his life near Murgon.[53] The Kelly connection that further muddies the waters is the Big Ned Kelly, situated at the front of a service station/ motel on the main road into town, shown in Figure 5. Kevin Kelly, who was no relation to the bushranging Kellys, opened the roadhouse on Gympie Road in Tinana in 1961, extending to accommodation over time.[54] Several long-term residents suggest there was a small Ned Kelly statue in place as early as the 1960s, predating the more logically located statues erected in Glenrowan.[55] No evidence can be found of Ned being anywhere near Queensland's Fraser Coast, Yet in 1996 Bap Romano, a retired race car driver who had purchased the Roadhouse in 1988, installed a 6.2 metre statue as part of 'heritage' renovations, larger than the most recent Glenrowan statue.[56] The presence of this marketing ploy has encouraged local beliefs that the nationally venerated bushranging Kellys have

[50] Burke et al., 'The Difficult, Divisive and Disruptive Heritage of the Queensland Native Mounted Police'; Deborah Bird Rose, 'Ned Kelly Died for Our Sins', *Oceania* 65, no. 2 (1994): 175–86, https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.1994.tb02498.x.
[51] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*.
[52] Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder; Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 160.
[53] Norman Armstrong, *The Murgon Mite: A Personal Memoir 1920-1945* (Maryborough Qld: True Blue Books, 1994), 24.
[54] Pat Kelly, 'Kelly's Roadhouse', Facebook, *MARYBOROUGH-Remember When*, 28 September 2019.
[55] Cindi Davey, 'When Was Ned Kelly Built?', Facebook, *MARYBOROUGH-Remember When*, 15 June 2023, https://www.facebook.com/groups/1655638224665584/search?q=ned%20kelly. Charlie Walker, Sandra Joy Kruger Miers, Julie Hinds, Arthur Bsrnes, Barry Routledge, Roslyn Jamieson all remembered a statue in the 1960s. Others suggested 1970s and '80s; David Clark, 'Big Ned Kelly Statues in Australia', *Australian Traveller* (blog), 29 June 2005, https://www.australiantraveller.com/vic/big-ned/.
[56] Davey, 'When Was Ned Kelly Built?' Jenny James was able to provide newspaper articles, though was unclear if they were from The Maryborough Chronicle or another newspaper.

some links with the Fraser Coast. The presence, and local lore, of this incongruous statue further illustrates the ways in which bushranger mythology has been blurred through appropriation, augmentation and exploitation for economic gain. Bushranger veneration reflects settler-colonist desire for mastery of the bush at the expense of First Nations people, whose forest-based resistance to colonial authority evoked fear rather than admiration.



Figure 4 Photograph showing possible location of Big Jim's Cave, 2023. Source: Cindi Davey, 2023. CC BY 4.0.



Figure 5 Photograph showing Ned Kelly statue, Gympie Road, Tinana 2023. Source: Cindi Davey, 2023. CC BY 4.0.

3.2 Pasture

3.2.1 Sheep fail

The first settler-colonial economic vision trialled in the Fraser Coast's forests was a failure, due to the escalating tensions connected to the local Frontier War, but equally due to environmental factors hostile to sheep. Henry Stuart Russell and William Jolliffe had accompanied Andrew Petrie with the express purpose of expanding established sheep stations in the south-west. Though, as in the previous chapter, these explorers did not record the presence of any suitable pasture during the trip, Davis's and the K'gari people's descriptions of grass and open forest was enough for Jolliffe to recommend the venture to employer John Eales. Jolliffe returned to the Fraser Coast within six months with approximately 20 000 sheep to establish the first pastoral station on the Fraser Coast, though the area was still technically outside the boundaries of legal free settlement.[57] Jolliffe set up a head station at Tiaro, with outstations wherever there appeared to be suitable pasture: at Gigoomgan to the west, Owanyilla and Girkum (Tinana) to the north, as well as Curra, Theebine and Gootchie to the south.[58] The stations did not prosper. When Russell returned, his assessment was that "Eales' sheep were in a terrible mess; the country was most unsuitable; the outstations far away; the blacks inveterate".[59] First Nations people had killed several shepherds, instilling great fear in those who remained. Jolliffe had quit the station by the time Russell returned at the end of the year, and two more shepherds left with Russell, to find better sheep country.

While fear of First Nations people partly motivated eventual abandonment of the station, the environment itself was unsuitable for sheep. Russell foregrounded this issue in explaining the 'mess' the sheep were in.

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[57] Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*; Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:38; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*, 125.
[58] Loyau, *The History of Maryborough and Wide Bay Burnett Districts 1850-1895*, 254; Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island: The Aboriginal and Settler Histories of a Unique Environment*, 126; Anthony George Clift, Personal Communication: President of the Maryborough, Wide Bay and Burnett Historical Society, Telephone conversation, 5 July 2024.
[59] Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*, 331.

Stephen Simpson did not mention the condition of the sheep at the end of March 1843, though he did later record shepherd murders.[60] Explorer and naturalist Ludwig Leichhardt elaborated on the unsuitability after he visited in August, declaring the region too wet for sheep, though likely suitable for cattle.[61] Wet weather encouraged parasitic diseases such as scab. Leichhardt's conclusions were based on his brief visit, and perhaps also informed by the bullocks that had taken up residence prior to Jolliffe's arrival. Jolliffe's successor described one of these bullocks to Russell as "Sleek, glossy, coal-black and unbranded [and] When cut up, found to be immensely fat" in comparison to the poor condition of the sheep.[62] George Loyau attributed the eventual abandonment of the sheep station to "the continued hostility of the natives", barely mentioning the environmental factors.[63] These factors, which contributed to the failure of the station and future attempts to farm sheep, have received greater recognition over time, so that in 1998, Buettel explained that in the 1880s:

> the diseases of catarrh, foot rot and scab reduced the flocks … Thousands of sheep were sacrificed by the early settlers in attempts to control disease and some success was achieved; but then … drought years, … heavy rain, and after it the black spear grass appeared. Within a short time the wool industry was almost at an end[64]

Though First Nations hostility bought great fear to the shepherds; disease, climate, and spear grass also contributed significantly to the failure of the first attempt to enact pastoral visions on the Fraser Coast.

Despite Jolliffe's failure, fear of First Nations people, and forests that were inhospitable to sheep, more sheep farmers followed. The abandoned Gigoomgan outpost was soon repopulated with the sheep of Henry Cox Corfield, who left Brisbane in 1843, though his residence on the abandoned

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[60] Simpson, 'Journal of an Excursion to the Bunya Country Situated to the North of Moreton Bay District, NEW SOUTH WALES'; Lauer, *The Simpson Letter Book*.
[61] Ludwig Leichhardt, 'From Newcastle', 10 May 1844, A 2541, Mitchell Library, https://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/_transcript/2015/D24453/a9489.html.
[62] Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*, 331–32.
[63] Loyau, *The History of Maryborough and Wide Bay Burnett Districts 1850-1895*, 44, 55, 66.
[64] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 69.

Gigoomgan run was not officially recognised until 1849.[65] Reports appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* from 1850 about the number of shepherds and sheep he lost to the First Nations people.[66] The emphasis in this reporting was the shepherds murdered and the large numbers of sheep driven off. However, the second, later article suggests that the large majority of the sheep were soon recovered. Further, although the murder of shepherds was routinely attributed to First Nations people, at least of one of Corfield's European shepherds murdered another, initially blaming it on the First Nations people.[67] The 800 sheep lost to bushfire during the drought of 1853-54 received even less media attention.[68] Corfield also abandoned the area after the death of his wife (likely due to birthing difficulties), though this was probably the last straw.[69] Teebar was taken up by John Eaton, who pastured cattle, and prospered. George Leslie persisted with sheep on Gigoomgan, but later diversified with cattle after he took over the property in 1854.[70] Leslie's business partner, Peter Anderson, who ran Gigoomgan, faithfully recorded the sheep deaths that occurred almost daily, predominantly with no given cause. He also cultivated a friendlier relationship with the First Nations people than his predecessors.[71] The most trouble the cattle gave was occasionally wandering outside the boundaries of the run, leading to difficulties recovering them in the surrounding bush. By 1855, Leslie directed Anderson that "sheep should be turned off Gigoomgan into cattle by exchange".[72] William Henry Walsh also found sheep farming on South Doongul unprofitable. Walsh divested his sheep and lease to James Smith only

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[65] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 84.
[66] A Sufferer, 'Original Correspondence', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 August 1850, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920671; 'News from the Interior', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1850, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920992.
[67] 'Wide Bay', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April 1850, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12916907.
[68] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 85.
[69] Harvey, 85; 'Corfield - Australia and New Zealand, Find a Grave® Index, 1800s-Current', Ancestry.com, n.d., https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60528/?name=_Corfield&name_x=_1&pcat=bmd_death&qh=VtGcFRE5KYqoK2pRLth7vw%3D%3D. Harvey says the cause of death was unknown. Ancestry records show a daughter died at birth, and Jessie two weeks later, indicating birthing complications.
[70] Halloran, *Commissioner for Crown Lands: Maryborough Letter Book*.
[71] Anderson, 'Gigoomgan Station Records - Journal'.
[72] in Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 3.

months after his tender was accepted in 1852, with Smith trying to sell the sheep and land two years later.[73] Andrew Melville profitably turned his Doongul to cattle by 1863. From the 1860s, when the First Nations' population was in serious decline, cattle, rather than sheep were on the increase, suggesting that the environment was the problem, not the diminishing threat of robbery or attack.

One of the environmental factors working against sheep was the mysterious disease of catarrh, which persisted in the forests of the Fraser Coast well after disappearing from the southern colonies. Catarrh was a respiratory disease affecting sheep in New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland. Four years after its initial appearance the disease was of such concern, that legislation was introduced to control it.[74] The Chief Stock Inspector, P.R. Gordon, reported an outbreak of the disease on the Fraser Coast in 1884.[75] In response to drought, large flocks of sheep were on the move in search of feed. A large flock from Cecil Plains, on the Darling Downs, contracted catarrh when passing through Kilkivan. By the time the disease was discovered, the flock had already been driven along the Gayndah Road to Degilbo. A flock of 10 000 Eton Vale sheep had camped along the same route, after the passage of the diseased sheep. Gordon placed the road itself under quarantine, and the Eton Vale flock at Doongul station. Doongul by that time was pasturing cattle rather than sheep, so if the Eton Vale sheep were infected, they were unlikely to affect the resident stock. Gordon advanced many potential causes for this outbreak and the disease generally, including increased instances of cold dry weather. [76] The Cecil Plains' sheep themselves, aside from the 1700 that had already died,

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[73] 'Crown Lands Beyond the Settled Districts - Runs Obtained by Tender', *NSW Government Gazette*, 26 July 1851, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article230770387, Trove; 'Advertising 03', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 1854, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12955351.
[74] New South Wales Government, 'An Act for Preventing the Extension of the Disease Commonly Called the Influenza or Catarrh in Sheep and Lambs in the Colony of New South Wales', 20 Vic 12 § (1838), https://legislation.nsw.gov.au/view/pdf/asmade/act-1838-16a.
[75] P.R. Gordon, 'The Outbreak of Catarrah', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 14 August 1884, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article146683954.
[76] Gordon, 3.

were destroyed and all the infected bodies burnt. The fate of the Eton Vale sheep at Doongul was not mentioned. Gordon's article was framed as his report to the Under Colonial Secretary, but publication of it in the newspaper was an attempt to minimise the spread of the disease, through improving informal and unofficial diagnosis.

In more recent investigations into the epidemiology of sheep catarrh, the Fraser Coast outbreak has been ignored. The *Australian Veterinary Journal* has published articles that purport to investigate the historical mystery of this disease. In a 1992 history of catarrh in Australian sheep, P.J. Mylrea announced that the disease had disappeared by the 1870s, but that the name remained in legislation "because of precedent rather than need."[77] This may have been the case in New South Wales and Victoria, but not in Queensland. From the southern reports, it appeared that catarrh was not necessarily contagious amongst sheep, but that a full epidemiology of the disease was difficult due to not only its disappearance, but also to variation within historical accounts, with heightened concern contributing to 'diagnoses' by laymen. I.M. Parsonson's reflections in this journal 15 years later reaffirm the 1870s fallacy, but explains the disappearance of the term from official documents as 'catarrh' being "dropped as knowledge of its true nature advanced".[78] Whatever the disease may actually have been, it was one more environmental factor working against the pasturing of sheep in the Fraser Coast's forests.

3.2.2 Cattle roam

As sheep grazing proved too difficult, the pastoral vision shifted to cattle. This type of pastoralism was also subject to environmental constraints, compounded by official closer settlement policies. Following separation from New South Wales, the new Queensland government worked to limit run sizes by resuming,

[77] P.J. Mylrea, 'Catarrh in Sheep', *Australian Veterinary Journal* 69, no. 12 (1992): 299, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-0813.1992.tb09909.x.
[78] I.M. Parsonson, 'Epidemic Catarrh of Sheep: The Possible Role of Black Disease', *Australian Veterinary Journal* 85, no. 1 & 2 (February 2007): 78.

slicing and re-opening smaller selections on the resumed runs.[79] In order to comply with closer settlement policies, selectors were forced either to over stock their diminished runs, or unofficially continue using resumed land. As more selectors came, more pre-existing pasture was taken up, eventually leaving only more densely forested and more difficult lands available for new selectors. These increasingly smaller and heavily forested runs could not support as many cattle without major modification because there were too many trees and not enough grass. Nutrient paucity, particularly of phosphorous, was also a contributing factor to the limitations on cattle, requiring dietary supplementation. The shifting boundaries of the Doongul runs, officially acknowledged as second-class lands, illustrate how closer settlement policies were delayed and inhibited by the forest's inability to support high stocking rates. Added to these difficulties was the official attitude towards unofficial occupation. The Colonial Secretary was moved to warn that, in line with the 1848 Regulations for Crown Lands Beyond the Settled Districts:

> all persons who may take unauthorised possession of Runs of Crown Land, that although the Government may not find it practicable or expedient to take immediate measures for the removal of persons who may form Stations beyond the limits … the holding of the Lands upon which such Stations may be formed will not be regarded as in any degree permissive; or as conferring on the occupants the slightest preferential claim to leases of the Lands … On the contrary, any improvements effected by such Occupants, will be entirely at their own risk, and they will be liable at any moment to be summarily removed.[80]

This proclamation conflicted with practices on the ground, where selectors had to set the boundaries and assay stocking rates as part of their applications, both of which required familiarity and practical experience. The forested areas of Doongul can sustainably support about one head of cattle to twenty acres of

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[79] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws Relating to the Occupation of Crown Lands for Pastoral Purposes', 27 Vic 17 § (1863), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4690/; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws Relating to the Alienation of Crown Lands', 27 Vic 17 § (1868), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4694/; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Provide for the Leasing of Runs in the Settled Districts of the Colony', 40 Vic 16 § (1876), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4701/; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Make Better Provision for the Occupation and Use of Crown Lands', 48 Vic 28 § (1884), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4707/.

[80] E. Deas Thomson, 'Crown Lands Beyond the Settled Districts', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 8 December 1848, 1778, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article230151194.

land (1:20), across a mosaic of tree densities through drought and flood years.[81] More intense stocking rates lead to poor economic and environmental outcomes. The stocking rates advised by the initial selectors reflected the 1:20 ratio across an extended and complex mosaic of forest types. It did not scale down to smaller selections with denser forests very well, though official understandings suggested it should have.

Low stocking rates made selections in the inland forests unattractive to potential pastoralists, of sheep or cattle. Under New South Wales's 1848 Regulations, the boundaries of Doongul station were first outlined by James Gibbon in 1851. The station was 12 000 acres with an official capacity of 640 cattle (1:19) or 4 000 (1:3) sheep.[82] The run changed hands several times before ending up with Andrew Melville in 1867. William Henry Walsh, speculator and local politician, was awarded the tender for the 18 000-acre South Doongul run in March 1852, but he transferred it to James Smith by July of that same year, indicating Walsh's poor opinion of its worth. Smith also found it wanting. In 1854, that station (and its 4 000 sheep) was advertised at a stocking rate of 1:1.5 or 1:9 for cattle.[83] In reality, stocking rates were much lower. Smith may have been able to sell the sheep, but nobody bought the station. Smith however selected new stations, shifting to cattle and expanding his available pasture east; with the 18 000-acre Lower Doongul (1:28), and the 16 000-acre East Doongul, which was not officially recognised until after Smith's death. [84] All three stations passed to R.S.B. Forbes on Smith's death.[85] The 34 000-acre Lower and East Doongul together were attractive enough for William Powell (who was likely interested in the timber as well as the cattle capacity) to purchase from Forbes. However, the 34 000-acre combination of South

[81] Fraser Davey, Personal Communication: Stocking Rates, 29 April 2023.
[82] 'Crown Lands Beyond the Settled Districts - Runs Obtained by Tender'.
[83] 'Advertising 03'; '4000 Sheep, Wide Bay District', *Empire*, 9 May 1854, sec. Advertising.
[84] 'Accepted Tenders for Runs', *Empire*, 23 May 1857, sec. Advertising, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article64986538.
[85] 'Transfer of Runs', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 11 February 1856, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article228681099.

Doongul and Forbes' existing station Bennachie, proved unattractive to other potential pastoralists when Forbes tried to sell them, together with 450 cattle (1:62) in 1861. [86] There were no takers. Even with expansion of initial selections, these early attempts to develop pastoral country on Doongul "hardly got off the ground. Land in the area was regarded as being of poor quality", discovered through the trial and error of implementing pastoral visions, and explaining the difficulties in selling, even when making outrageous claims as to stocking rates.[87] Even by combining smaller runs, and exaggerating carrying capacity, Doongul remained an unattractive prospect for potential pastoralists.

Diversification of economic interest bought some stability to those attempting to establish pastoralism in Doongul forests. When Forbes died, he willed the combined Doongul and Bennachie stations to Andrew Melville in 1863, the same year that Melville was mayor of Maryborough.[88] Melville had the necessary capital to clear more cattle pasture and to extend the run by purchasing the Greater Doongul lease in 1867, making a combined total of 40 000 acres.[89] The efficacy of Melville's land management was also less critical to his prosperity, because of economic diversification through partnership in a general store in Maryborough.[90] The success of the general store, as well as Melville's other civic involvement (he was also a magistrate, alderman and Mayor) were critical factors in supporting his pastoral run, its size and concomitant relief on stocking rates. The benefits of diversification were also apparent with the longevity of the Powell family's hold on Lower and East Doongul. Prior to purchasing these runs from Forbes, William Powell was engaged in the timber industry, cutting timber as well as carrying it with bullocks and cart. He requested tenders for the use of his bullocks and rig from 1860, to

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[86] 'Advertising 04', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 7 March 1861, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article150316576.
[87] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 12.
[88] A.C. Gregory, 'Transfer of Runs', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 3 January 1863; Loyau, *The History of Maryborough and Wide Bay Burnett Districts 1850-1895*, 104.
[89] W. Alcock Tully, 'Transfer of Runs', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 12 October 1867.
[90] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 3; 'Classified Advertising 01', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 2 June 1855, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3709709.

supplement his income after taking up the East Doongul lease.[91] Powell did not consolidate Lower and East Doongul, rather he transferred Lower Doongul to son James in 1868 while William Junior, who was also engaged in professional timber cutting, inherited East Doongul. Their actual stocking rates are unclear, but likely intensified over time as the timber cutting patriarch and his family cleared forest to establish pasture and government legislation worked to decrease the size of their runs.

The 1868 Crown Lands Act sought to break up these stations to promote closer settlement.[92] This act also specified fencing requirements, but only required fences for those with stocking rates of 1:5. It also defined the quality of the land available, based on the judgement of the selector and the Crown Lands Agent.[93] Under this Act, the Doonguls, and the other large neighbouring runs were deemed second-class pastoral land. The existing runs were to be split in two, with the landholder able to retain, under a new lease, "the part of the run least likely to be required for selection of sale".[94] Not only were Melville and the Powells to lose half their land, the Act's intent was for them to lose the better half, and effectively to double their existing stocking rates as their available pasture was constricted. The resumed half was officially divided into much smaller runs.

This closer settlement legislation was undermined by the deficiencies of the Doongul lands. The smaller runs received the same limited interest that Forbes and Smith had received when trying to sell their runs in the mid-1850s.

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[91] 'Weekly Epitome 01', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 21 April 1860, 2, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3723791.
[92] Judith Powell, 'Travel Routes, Forest Towns and Settlements', Queensland CRA/RFA Steering Committee (Queensland, Australia: Regional Forest Assessments, Department of Natural Resources, 1998); Ruth Kerr, 'Part 5: Key Legislation for Land Selections since 1860, Summarised', Stories from the Archives, 3 April 2018, https://blogs.archives.qld.gov.au/2018/04/03/part-5-key-legislation-for-land-selections-since-1860-summarised/.
[93] Queensland Government, An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the Alienation of Crown Lands.
[94] Queensland Government, 9.

Melville used the act to consolidate his Doonguls and Bennachie before he acceded to resumption. The southern half of the run was opened for smaller selections in January 1870, with the *Chronicle* reporting in October 1876 that only 240 of the 19 200 acres had been taken up.[95] There were few people on the resumed half to notice or prevent Melville's continuing use of it. The small selectors who did take up Doongul lands, mostly along the creeks, rarely lasted the full term of their leases.[96] Given the lack of interest, and government difficulties in policing land uses, it seems unlikely that Melville would have made a concerted effort to restrain his cattle to the lesser half of his former run, particularly as he kept paying the same rent. Officially though, he did intensify his stocking rate, as is reflected in his transfer of his diminished run in 1882. Charles Ross and Richard Hall became the new tenants of the diminished Doongul, with Melville's stocking rate of 1:11.[97] This stocking intensity was almost double the earlier recommendations, and was likely sustained by cattle continuing to graze outside official boundaries, which, even at this stocking rate still did not officially require fences.

James Powell had a similar experience with Lower Doongul, retaining only 6000 acres.[98] The *Chronicle* reported that none of those resumed lands had been taken up by 1876, so that there was no one to prevent Powell from running cattle on the resumed sections. William Powell's East Doongul was resumed in its entirety, though he was able to reselect a 1000-acre block, officially shrinking the run to one-sixth of its former capacity.[99] There was more interest in East Doongul, though by the 1876 article, less than half of the available land had been selected, including William Powell's 1000 acres. From

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[95] Sam W Blackall, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 15 January 1870; Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 12; 'Commercial 01', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 26 October 1876, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148511722.
[96] L.G. Board, 'Show Cause', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 19 September 1885.
[97] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 12.
[98] 'Lower Doongal', 1896 1869, ITM27842, Queensland State Archives - Pastoral Holdings (Run Files).
[99] Sam W Blackall, 'Proclamation', *Government Gazette*, 31 July 1869; 'Land Selections', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 18 September 1869, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148019289.

1875, most of East Doongul was taken up by the State to enact timber visions, discussed below.[100] As with Melville, it seems unlikely that the Powell brothers, or indeed other selectors on whom the Act was imposed, would have significantly intensified their stocking rates in response to their new official boundaries, so that in practice, if not in government vision, their cattle continued to shape the forests.

The 1884 *Act to make better Provision for the Occupation and Use of Crown lands* divided the big runs yet again. It also included a proviso in Section 31 that recognised the practice of keeping cattle on resumed lands, allowing that "the leasee of the remainder may continue to depasture his stock upon the resumed part or any part thereof until the same has been selected."[101] Inclusion of this clause signalled acceptance of a common practice that was too difficult to police, so was codified. Further, recognition of the difficulties in establishing new tightened boundaries over such large areas was included in section 44, which allowed for the suspension of on-the-ground surveys, in favour of the Surveyor-General indicating selections on maps. Each small rectangular block could then be opened "in the same manner as if it had been surveyed".[102] Tightened boundaries could no longer be signalled by environmental markers (such as shield trees and creeks), so were shifted to definition by chains, with one chain equal to approximately 20 metres. Further, fencing became a lease condition for all selectors, not just those with high stocking rates, reflecting attempts to actualise official boundaries and restrict people's cattle. It was the selector's responsibility to interpret the Surveyor-General's lines and construct the boundaries. The 1884 Act also introduced the concept of village settlements, an attempt to apply a yeoman farmer vision that worked to accelerate closer settlement. Portions thus designated were labelled with a 'v' following the portion number, and were closely packed together in the vicinity of

[100] William Fryar, 'Timber Reserve', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 3 July 1875.
[101] Queensland Government, An Act to make better Provision for the Occupation and Use of Crown lands.
[102] Queensland Government.

existing mercantile centres, shifting away from the more isolated runs selected on patches of good pasture before this act. This Act distanced officials from the forests, whilst simultaneously increasing the responsibilities of selectors to make the boundaries real with fences.

The village vision spelled the end of the Powell tenure over Lower Doongul. The run was split yet again.[103] The 5 220 acres Martha Price (nee Powell, widow of James) retained could have supported 261 cattle, but Price sold up her stock, and advertised the run from June 1887.[104] The next year, Lower Doongul was split into four 'v' selections of approximately 2 500 acres, each capable of stocking only 125 cattle at most.[105] Those on East Doongul, however, used this act to increase their official hold on the forest. William Powell was able to convert 1 025 acres to freehold, and obtain a further 640 acres, adjoining, by the time of his death.[106] His widow Susan and her new timber-getting husband, William Greatorex Nichol, increased the run with a further 640 acres, with Susan leaving 2 305 acres to her first son William Henry Matthew Powell (the third) in 1910.[107] Melville's Doongul, now in the hands of Ross and Hall, had been further diminished by closer settlement policies, as well as other government requirements, including forestry. The village of Eliot had also grown considerably.[108] Eliot was an official name for a bullocky camp along the Gayndah Road, informally named Musket Flat. It was also the settlement where bushranger Big Jim was supposedly apprehended some years prior. Though the town was gazetted in 1862, surveyed in 1863 and officially named Eliot (likely to honour local member Gilbert Eliot), the locals

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[103] E Deshon and T.S. Sword, 'Department of Public Lands - Lower Doongul', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 31 October 1885.
[104] Bryant and Co, 'For Private Sale', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 11 June 1887.
[105] Anthony Musgrave, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 2 June 1888; Anonymous, *Map - Parish of Dunmora Lower Doongul (from Kullogum, 4444/71)*, 1887, 1887, ITM3682180, Queensland State Archives - Pastoral Holdings (Run Files).
[106] 'Advertising 08', *Telegraph*, 30 March 1891, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article172650074.
[107] 'Advertising 10', *Telegraph*, 27 June 1910, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article186573352.
[108] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 12–13.

persisted with the name Musket Flat.[109] Land to the south and west of the town was resumed, briefly, for a State Forest in 1885, until it was required for the village vision, and North Doongul was split into seventy-five potential v coded selections.[110] Fifteen of these were offered in March 1886, only for most of them to be withdrawn five years later.[111] These blocks could have comfortably carried eight to fifteen cattle, an insufficient number to ensure profit, and one that would also have been impacted by selector diversification of production. The village vision, and that of closer settlement more generally, was frustrated by the realities of what the forest could support.

3.3 Timber

3.3.1 Rebuilding Sawmills

Realisation of timber processing visions was also hampered by environmental factors, though to a lesser extent than had been the case with pastoralism. For sawmills, floods were a regular menace, though the profits made from the forests were ample compensation for occasional loss. One of the first mills in the area, started by the company Pettigrew and Sim, was situated south of the developing township of Maryborough.[112] When William Pettigrew, an established Brisbane sawmiller, wished to expand further north in 1862, he explored the lower reaches of the Mary River in company with Tom Petrie (son of explorer Andrew).[113] Finding the area replete with kauri pine (*Agathis robusta*/ Dundatha*)*, he purchased a 188-acre lease right on the river, as the

[109] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*.
[110] 'Doongal', 1900 1868, ITM27823, Queensland State Archives - Pastoral Holdings (Run Files), https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM27823; *Doongul* (Queensland Government, 1903), ITM112675, Queensland State Archives - Parish Maps.
[111] C.B. Dutton, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 27 March 1886; A.S. Cowley, 'Schedule of Grazing Farms Withdrawn from Selection', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 19 September 1891.
[112] The first sawmill was closer to town: Gladwell and Greathead's Union in 1861. However, as it was soon purchased by Pettigrew and Sim, who left more complete documentation than the various owners of the Union, Pettigrew and Sim was chosen as the focus for analysis here.
[113] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 55 says Andrew Petrie; Elaine Brown, 'William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant's Life in Colonial Queensland' (PhD, St Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland, 2004) says Tom Petrie; Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* confirms that it was Tom.

site “contained an extensive swamp, which would provide freshwater for the sawmill’s boilers”.[114] Returning to Brisbane, he finalised a partnership with his foreman, William Sim, creating the company of Pettigrew and Sim. [115] Pettigrew occasionally supervised the construction of the mill, including importation of machinery, and the use of local clay to construct foundations. Named for the pine, the Dundathu mill began operating in August 1863. The next year, in March, the Mary flooded and “wreaked havoc”.[116] The *Chronicle* reported this flood as “the greatest flood that has visited these parts since first the white man settled here, and we are sorry to add the most disastrous”, being approximately seven and a half metres above the wharf.[117] The paper did not report on the havoc at Dundathu, focusing rather on the township itself, where the stockpiled timber from the Union sawmill (also on the bank of the river) presented a major hazard to rescue efforts.

Despite this flood, and the destruction it caused in town and at Dundathu, Pettigrew and Sim continued operations. As his operations progressed, Pettigrew began complaining about timber scarcity in the mill’s vicinity the same year as the flood, calling for greater regulation of timber cutters.[118] The company was doing so well, and processing so much timber, that in 1870 they were able to purchase town-based, flood-damaged hardwood competitor the Union Sawmill.[119] The dubious condition of the machinery there, and an inability to keep the fire/water ratio in the boiler correct, resulted in a massive explosion in 1872, killing at least seven workers, and rendering the mill inoperable for

[114] The Butchulla Dictionary used in Chapter One calls the tree Dundarum, as does Tom Petrie, who says ‘The white man has mispronounced it so’. Dundathu was Pettigrew’s interpretation, in Brown, ‘William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant’s Life in Colonial Queensland’, 153.
[115] Tony Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, vol. 2 (Maryborough Qld: Maryborough City Council, 1995), 354; Brown, ‘William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant’s Life in Colonial Queensland’.
[116] Brown, ‘William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant’s Life in Colonial Queensland’, 154.
[117] ‘The Flood’, *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 17 March 1864, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article150314409.
[118] Peter Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland* (Brisbane: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 46.
[119] Brown, ‘William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant’s Life in Colonial Queensland’, 209.

weeks.[120] Even this was not enough to dissuade Pettigrew and Sim, who rebuilt the town mill, and installed a train line at Dundathu, using a private locomotive to ease transport of kauri from swampy areas.[121] Soon after the grand opening of the train line, Sim was killed unloading logs, though his family remained closely involved with the mill.[122] The company continued lucratively milling local timber, and the floods of 1890 did not appear to have affected it beyond the loss of a shed and an old wharf.[123] It appeared to have weathered this flood better than their competitors, discussed below. A cyclone in 1892 that carried away the mills' roof also did not dissuade Pettigrew and Sim for long.[124] However a combination of flood and fire in 1893 proved too much for Pettigrew's interests on the Fraser Coast.

To date, the 1893 flood remains the largest flood Maryborough has ever experienced, even carrying away the main bridge from Tinana to Maryborough.[125] The water rose almost four and a half metres over the floor of Pettigrew's town mill, carrying away timber and administrative paperwork. The mill at Dundathu was no better off, though both remained standing.[126] Pettigrew suffered in the economic depression of that year, as well as losing his wife. Yet restoration was well apace when a fire ignited in the Dundathu mill. The mill had closed down for the Christmas break, and it burnt to the ground. Pettigrew had let the insurance lapse due to the cost of earlier repairs. He was now

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[120] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:355.
[121] Brown, 'William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant's Life in Colonial Queensland'; Lindsay Titmarsh, *Walking with History* (Maryborough, Queensland: Self-published, 2018).
[122] Brown, 'William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant's Life in Colonial Queensland'.
[123] 'Great and Disastrous Flood in the Mary', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 27 January 1890, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article146757585.
[124] Elaine Brown, 'Colonial Enterprise: Pettigrew and Sim's Dundathu Sawmill, 1862-1893', in *Australia's Ever-Changing Forests IV* (National Conference on Australian Forest History, Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, ANU, 1999), 245.
[125] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995; Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*.
[126] Brown, 'William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant's Life in Colonial Queensland', 291–92.

bankrupt.[127] Sim's sons were able to hold onto the site at Dundathu until 1930, when another large fire drove them out as well.[128] The declining timber resource at that stage made rebuilding unworthwhile, particularly given the underlying threats of fire and flood.

Wilson Hart sawmill was also plagued with flood and fire, though were more responsive to the environmental conditions than Pettigrew and Sim. In 1866, Andrew Wilson, a lawyer with ample capital, formed a sawmilling partnership with carpenter Robert Hart and sawmiller James Bartholomew. Their sawmill was located at Granville, across the river from the main township, "to take advantage of the large stands of timber on that side of the river, of water transport of logs, and the opportunity to shift timber from its own wharf".[129] The water had only just reached the site in the 1864 flood.[130] The company imported machinery from England, and began milling the timber on their side of the river. They prospered until another flood in 1875. The mill was inundated to about 60 centimetres, and "sustained great loss in timber, and damage to machinery".[131] Yet the mill's greatest loss was partner James Bartholomew. He drowned while checking on his house.[132] This flood did not convince Wilson and Hart to move. A fire in 1881 did. The fire started near a planing machine, in a pile of timber awaiting the planer's attention. It burned hot and fast, and the mill was a lost cause by the time help arrived 20 minutes later. The machines inside were destroyed, though most of the stacked timber was far enough away to be saved. Insurance premiums were also very expensive for sawmills, and the mill was only insured for a quarter of its value. Yet the company had enough in their

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[127] Brown, 'William Pettigrew 1825 - 1906: Sawmiller, Surveyor, Shipowner and Citizen: An Immigrant's Life in Colonial Queensland'.
[128] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:356.
[129] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*.
[130] 'The Maryborough Saw and Planing Mill', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 11 May 1867, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article147937279.
[131] R.B. Sheridan, 'FLOODS—PAST AND PRESENT.', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 2 March 1875, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148508067.
[132] 'Drowing of Mr James Bartholomew', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 2 March 1875, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148508070; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:357.

own accounts, from processing the local trees, to rebuild.[133] The new site, still adjacent to the river, was on the town side near Queen's Park, and even less prone to flooding than the previous one in Granville, especially with the park acting as a buffer. The site was a haven during the huge 1893 floods.[134] However, elevation did not confer a defence against fire. In 1934, the mill was again completely destroyed, though this time the company had adequate insurance, facilitating its rebuilding on the site.[135] It eventually closed in 1986, due to declining profits and resources.[136] Wilson Hart lasted longer than Pettigrew and Sim, because it was more responsive to the flood threat. Wilson Hart's profits from the processing and sale of local timber also facilitated its resilience to fire.

The Hyne company remains the most resilient of the Maryborough sawmills. As with Pettigrew and Sim and Wilson Hart, the processing and sale of local timber was profitable enough to support recovery, and Hyne's was more responsive to environmental conditions than Pettigrew, though not as lucky as Wilson Hart in obtaining high ground. Founder Richard Matthews (R.M.) Hyne made his fortune in the Gympie gold-rush, not by digging for gold but by running a hotel.[137] Soon after moving to Maryborough to accommodate his growing family, his wife Elizabeth died birthing their eighth child.[138] In despair, he left Maryborough. On his travels north he noticed a huge demand for timber, which could be met from the forests surrounding Maryborough. Hyne returned, and opened the National Sawmill, next to Pettigrew's town mill, on the river bank, in

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[133] 'Destruction of the Maryborough Sawmills', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 22 October 1881, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148661027; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:357.
[134] 'The Weather - Flood in the River', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 2 February 1893, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article146957683; 'The Second Flood', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 20 February 1893, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article146959575.
[135] 'Disastrous Fire Destroys Maryborough Sawmill', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 5 November 1934, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article152004966.
[136] V.E.R. Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island* (Maryborough, Queensland: V.E.R. Eckert, 2003), 6.
[137] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:361.
[138] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995.

1882.[139] Pettigrew's town mill had already been flooded significantly at least three times. To mitigate the flood risk to his own mill, Hyne had the floor built almost two and a half metres from the ground. It was not enough. The 1890 flood was devastating, with Hyne and Son the most affected of the three sawmills examined here.[140] The yard "was stacked with enormous heaps of sawn pine, which had been secured down the previous day, but to no purpose" as the flood picked it up and smashed it into the mill walls.[141] The loss of profit represented by these 'enormous heaps' of timber brokered no delay, and Hyne had the mill running again within eighteen days, with no immediate plans to move.[142] He did however install flood racks to stack milled timber off the ground as future flood insurance. In 1893, they failed to save the timber, but the flood gave Hyne the impetus to move the mill. The aftermath was "the consummation of inextricable confusion. One [did] not know where to begin to describe the appearance of his huge mass of wreckage".[143] The mill was uninsured, and Hyne and Son lost over £20 000.[144] Despite this massive loss, he had sufficient funds, and saw enough potential future income, to rebuild upriver on higher ground. Interestingly, Hyne did not endure any noteworthy fires in the mill during this period. Good fortune combined with careful fire prevention has likely contributed to the company's staying power, along with their lucrative timber-milling profits.

3.3.2 Expanding Reserves

In response to the timber removal that expanded pasture and fed sawmills, concerns arose about deforestation. The most organised pressure for government reservation of timber came initially from the Acclimatisation Society,

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[139] The company, and mill, were renamed Hyne and Son after R.M.'s son Henry became a partner in 1888.
[140] 'Great and Disastrous Flood in the Mary'. The name of the company, and mill, were changed in 1888, when R.M.'s son Henry became a partner.
[141] 'Great and Disastrous Flood in the Mary'.
[142] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 32.
[143] 'Hyne and Son's Sawmills', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 10 February 1893, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article146962491.
[144] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 34.

though the first timber reservations were for the construction of railways. Acclimatisation societies were part of a global network facilitating flora and fauna exchange, with the aim of fostering economic prosperity. They have often been judged harshly for their attempts to change the environment, yet the Queensland branch also showed concern for the conservation of native forests.[145] The members at the 1862 inauguration of the Queensland branch included the Governor and "many other members of both Houses of Parliament, and other gentlemen of influence".[146] While their aim was the introduction of species of benefit to settler-colonialists, by 1870 they also turned their attention to native forests, with the Society's secretary raising concerns about forest loss and climatological consequences with the Governor. Their request for land clearing data to be collected and included with meteorological data was rejected, as, according to Peter Taylor's history of Queensland forestry, "the Registrar-General … thought he had enough work without that."[147] Yet government reservation of forests began that same year, in Ipswich by their Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), J. Malbon Thompson, as Secretary for Lands.[148] The 1868 Lands Act had allowed for government reservation of lands for various purposes, Malbon used it to establish timber reserves. Maryborough MLA, and former Doongul sheep farmer William Henry Walsh, as Secretary of Public Works, followed suit, and reserved forested corridors throughout Ipswich and Brisbane in 1873.[149] These reserves were not for the conservation of trees, rather to serve economic expansion as railway sleepers. As the forests within these reserves were to be used immediately, not conserved, the Acclimatisation Society continued its agitation, and two papers

[145] Peter Osborne, 'The Queensland Acclimatisation Society: Challenging the Stereotype', *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal* 20, no. 8 (November 2008) contains a summary of environmental historians condemning acclimatisation societies, as does; Simon Farley, '"The Menace of Acclimatization": The Advent of "Anekeitaxonomy" in Australia', *Historical Records of Australian Science*, 9 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1071/HR24019 who examines the native protection turn taken by more southern societies in the 1930s .
[146] 'Queensland Acclimatization Society', *Courier*, 15 August 1862, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4607407.
[147] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 48.
[148] J Malbon Thompson, 'Timber Reserve', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 8 October 1870.
[149] William Henry Walsh, 'Department of Public Lands: Timber Reserve for Railway', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 22 February 1873.

presented at a special meeting of the society in 1873, were then handed to the government. The papers argued that deforestation would result in desertification, and advocated for government control of native forests for preservation.[150] Although forest historians Les Carron and Peter Taylor identify this meeting as the beginnings of forestry in Queensland, it had limited impact.[151] Government timber reserves, for railway construction not climate concerns, extended through the Sunshine Coast to Gympie in 1874.[152] Though these reserves were intended for utilitarian purposes, they marked the beginnings of official attention to forests beyond the profits of alienation.

Though the official intent of timber reservation broadened, it was still driven by economic motivations. The burgeoning sawmill industry on the Fraser Coast prompted new MLA John Douglas to instigate and chair a select committee in June 1875 to examine "the best means to be adopted in order to preserve and promote the growth of timber trees and to conserve forests".[153] This emphasis on timber suggests the influence of the electorate's sawmill industry, though the arguments of the Acclimatisation society also played a role. As the committee began its investigations, the first timber reserve for non-railway purposes was declared, 40 000 acres, in a portion that included and extended the former pastoral run of East Doongul.[154] The boundaries of this reserve have shifted over time, however it remains under state control in the present day, now named Thinoomba State Forest. The initial 40 000 acres was partly responsible for the committee's conclusion in September that official forest reserves had a beneficial effect. The committee found that reserves could

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[150] 'Forest Preservation', *Queenslander*, 10 May 1873, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27275848.
[151] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*.
[152] T.B. Stephens, 'Department of Lands: Reserves for Timber in the Maroochy and Gympie Districts', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 9 May 1874.
[153] Reported in the Queenslander as 'Legislative Assembly 02', *Queenslander*, 19 June 1875, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18336586; as well as in Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 49 but not in the Hansard record for that week. Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia* did not include Douglas' role in instigating this committee, attributing it to the agitation of the Acclimatisation Society.
[154] William Fryar, 'Department of Public Lands: Timber Reserve. County of Lennox, Wide Bay and Burnett District', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 3 July 1875.

"be extended with great advantage" to support their assertion that "there had been a shameful waste of valuable timber [that] if not checked, will cause serious inconvenience, and short supply both for home consumption and foreign export".[155] Their focus was the economic potential of the timber.

While Douglas' committee and report may have had little impact elsewhere, as Carron and Taylor suggested, Douglas' efforts introduced a new layer of forest use and management to the Fraser Coast. The Thinoomba State Forest was soon joined by smaller tracts of forest near the pastoral runs of Dunmora and Gigoomgan, as well as 10 350 acres that became the core of St Mary's State Forest.[156] Further, the Myrtle Creek timber reserve was extended from its 1879 gazettal by 26 880 acres, the year after R.M. Hyne's mill opened.[157] In 1882, the designation State Forest, with more legislative protection than that of timber reserve, was also used for the first time, to reserve almost one-third of K'gari.[158] In 1884, 32 000 acres overlapping the former pastoral run of Doongul were also gazetted as a state forest.[159] While historians, and even Hyne thought that Douglas' report had little impact, it triggered the reservation of large tracts of the Fraser Coast's forests for their timber resource potential.

Sawmill owners worked to influence official policy on the expansion of timber reserves. Pettigrew had complained about timber scarcity soon after opening his Dundathu mill. He and the other local sawmillers influenced MLA Douglas' calls for timber reservation, and Hyne actually served as

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[155] 'Report of the Select Committee on Forest Conservancy, Together with Minutes of the Evidence Taken', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 25 September 1875, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148445891.
[156] Arthur Edward Kennedy, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 13 October 1877.
[157] Arthur Edward Kennedy, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 15 March 1879; Arthur Edward Kennedy, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 28 April 1883.
[158] Arthur Edward Kennedy, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 7 October 1882 Unfortunately, the Gazette did not advertise the actual size. One-third is my estimate based on the description of the boundaries.
[159] Anthony Musgrave, 'Proclamation', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 10 May 1884.

Maryborough's junior MLA from 1888 to 1893. Aside from his mill's economic contributions to the town, Hyne had also served as mayor in 1878, and was engaged in numerous other civic activities, including establishing the local grammar school.[160] During his time in state parliament, Hyne was a strong advocate for the extension of timber reserves. Further, Carron and Taylor have both credited Hyne with being the first government member, in 1889, to advocate for official organisation of forests, to manage the reserves and actively propagate timber.[161] Hyne tabled the motion in the belief that the Department of Lands was set to establish a separate office for these purposes, and used his speech to complain about the waste of timber by pastoralists and railways. The Minister of Lands agreed that forestry needed greater official attention, while also alluding to Hyne's self-interest:

> I think the timber-getters and saw-mill proprietors are very much to blame for the state of our forests, as described by the hon. member for Maryborough. If saw-millers and timber-getters, who derive considerable profit out of the timber of the colony, were compelled to plant one or two trees for every tree cut down, we should not have this complaint of the denudation of our forests.[162]

Despite Hyne's advocacy for greater government control of forests, there were few large additions to the reservation estate whilst he was in government. Neither was there a Forestry Department created. Yet his concern for the future of the forests, rather than his concern for the future of his company, is prominent in histories by Carron, Taylor, Buettel, Matthews, and (unsurprisingly) Hyne's grandson.[163] The company's continued influence on the forests of the Fraser Coast is explored further in Chapter Five. Though Hyne's efforts in parliament did not significantly increase the reservation estate on the Fraser Coast, timber reserve boundaries have continued to expand and contract over time in relation to the successes and failures of closer settlers' abilities to

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[160] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*.
[161] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*.
[162] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 6 September 1889, Queensland Parliament Website, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Dates/Sitting-Date?date=1889-09-06.
[163] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*; Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*; Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995; Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*.

implement pastoral visions. The increasingly complicated mosaic of intersecting visions, and the conflict these complications caused is explored in Chapter Four. The next significant wave of official forest reservation on the Fraser Coast was to the east of Maryborough, to replace forests rather than preserve them, and is explored further in Chapter Five.

3.4 Conclusion

Settler-colonial visions for the forests of the Fraser Coast shifted as attempts to realise them were stymied. The forests harboured threats to settler-colonial visions, provoking fear of First Nations outlaws, a fear which shifted to admiration of European outlaws, mirroring European anxieties in attempting to reconcile their expectations with Fraser Coast reality. The forests were hostile to sheep, and though friendlier to cattle, would only tolerate small numbers of them. Resuming land from fully stocked pastoral properties encouraged severe overstocking, or would have if selectors had kept their cattle off the resumed lands and not cleared trees to expand pasture. The sawmillers processing the timber from these forests were also at the mercy of the environment, particularly floods and fire. To endure they had to relocate. Timber processing profits were lucrative enough to provide sufficient capital to rebuild and continue milling, even without insurance. As the application of these visions expanded at the expense of trees, faith in forest endurance foundered. Ecological and economic concerns impelled the new State government to take greater control of forests, instigating another vision of the Fraser Coast's forests that further worked to complicate the vegetation patterns that had existed in 1842.

4 Closer Settlement, Increasing Conflict 1890s – 1940s

This chapter focuses on the use and management of the timber reserves and selections examined in the previous chapter. Conflict between land managers was most visible in and around the timber reserves, including the former Doongul runs, St Mary's (closer to Maryborough), and Gigoomgan to the south-west, all of similar vegetative composition. The visions of the various levels of bureaucracy with jurisdiction over these forests can be traced through legislation, Royal Commission reports and minute books. The ways in which settlers enacted these visions was less rigorously recorded, but can be glimpsed in newspaper reports, and erratic correspondence in Lands Department files. Tools for accomplishing the reshaping and removal of forests can be found in museums and hobbyist collections, where their evolution in response to environmental conditions is revealed.

While tangible records of some elements of transformation remain, ringbarking is even more difficult to track. Its extent in the south east of Australia has been partly explained as driven by settler-colonial hatred of trees, though Warwick Frost and Leith Davis have argued that necessity was a greater driver than hatred.[1] The actual extent of ringbarking however is unclear. Davis examined the extent within New South Wales, prior to 1900, using official "Permission to Ringbark" records. These revealed that permission had been granted for 3.9 million acres between 1881 and 1884, but also suggested that 22 million acres had actually been cleared this way by 1892, despite government legislation attempting to regulate it.[2] Within the context of the Fraser Coast, the schism between official permission and actual clearing is also large, and considerably

[1] Hancock, *Discovering Monaro: A Study of Man's Impact on His Environment*; Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: A History of Australians Shaping Their Environment*; Frost, 'Did They Really Hate Trees?'; Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry'.
[2] Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry', 31.

complicated by conflicting and shifting visions of tree worth, as well as forest resilience.

This chapter argues that the increasing conflict brought about by closer settlement worked to encourage unsanctioned forest use and management. The antagonistic relationship between State bureaucracies of Lands and Forestry was fed by their differing visions for forests.[3] This was particularly visible in Lands' paucity of resourcing allocation to fledgling State Forestry. These tensions were intensified by increasing polarisation and politics, while selectors varyingly tried to comply with increasingly contradictory prescriptions for forest use and management. Local councils added a new level of governance. Introduced to alleviate the pressures on State government, distracted by internal divisions, and overwhelmed by disgruntled settler colonists, this new level of governance led to even more conflict, within and between governed and governors. The council managing the rural areas of the Fraser Coast was so beset with internal conflict that they were viewed with derision by constituents, who were more hampered than assisted by either of these levels of governance. Constituents were not only hampered by bureaucracy's fumbling, they were also hampered by the forests themselves, which continued to defy European attempts to establish their visions, further fuelling the schisms between official vision and lived experience.

4.1 A new layer of management: Forestry

4.1.1 Forestry vs Lands

The emergence of State Forestry, to manage the timber reserves, began under the auspices of the Lands Department. The Lands Department's primary

[3] Forestry, with a capitalised F, is used throughout this thesis to denote State directed forestry, or the practice of silviculture. Using the word in this way also serves to better illustrate the development of this vision. The official title for the collection of government employees administering forestry practices included Branch, Service, Board, Sub-Department and Department, at various times throughout the period this thesis considers. The use of the singular 'Forestry' streamlines this complexity. Where the word appears with a lower case 'f', it denotes general forestry practices.

purpose was facilitating the alienation of crown lands, not managing government land. During parliamentary deliberations on forests in 1889, The Lands Minister had agreed with R.M. Hyne and other agitators that management of state forests required a separate and distinct bureaucratic body.[4] This bureaucratic body was finally created in 1900, when Lands Department restructuring established a sub-department of Forestry to manage the almost one and a half million acres of timber reserves. The creation of the sub-department also included provision for a formal head, in this case an Inspector of Forests. The first inspector, Leonard George Board, was transferred from his role as Fraser Coast Lands Commissioner.[5] Board was also allocated two rangers: Gilbert Burnett on the Fraser Coast and other southern forests, as well as F.W.H. Lade in the north.[6] This sub-department of three was a result of bureaucratic shifting rather than legislation, thus limiting its power. It was also ineffectual in that inspecting and managing the Fraser Coast's forests, let alone the whole of Queensland's, was an impossible task for three people. Board's successor was critical of Board's management, suggesting that the service had been "in reality working in the interests of land selection rather than in that of forestry".[7] In light of these weaknesses, Forestry historians Les Carron, Peter Taylor and V.E.R. (Dick) Eckert judged the creation of the sub-department as merely placatory towards the agitators for timber reserves discussed in the previous chapter.[8] However, these assessments fail to acknowledge the extra two million acres of timber reservation created under Board's tenure.[9] Despite its administrative short comings, the forestry vision

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[4] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 6 September 1889.
[5] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia* Carron transposes the initials, as does; Holzworth, 'Early Queensland Forestry: George Board and Philip MacMahon', who explained that GL appeared on Board's birth certificate, though his family used the LG to differentiate Board from his father. .
[6] Holzworth, 'Early Queensland Forestry: George Board and Philip MacMahon'; David Gough, 'Early Forestry and 100 Years of Timber Research in Queensland', in *Australian Forest History Society Newsletter 75*, 2018, 3–10.
[7] P.J. McMahon, in Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 98.
[8] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*.
[9] Holzworth, 'Early Queensland Forestry: George Board and Philip MacMahon', 348–50.

expanded across and beside the economic visions of its controlling Lands Department.

Legislation supporting Forestry and its activities came after its inception. Inspector L.G. Board shifted sideways within the Lands Department in 1905.[10] Board's replacement, P.J. McMahon, had more expansive visions for forestry, informed by his botanical training and role as the curator of Brisbane's Botanical Gardens.[11] McMahon, a botanist rather than Lands Commissioner, was critical of his predecessor's reservation efforts, as above. McMahon's determination to expand forest reservation was likely facilitated by a change of government in early 1906, with legislation to support forest reservation finally appearing at the end of that year.[12] The 1906 Act provided for a more permanent reservation system, so that State Forests and National Parks could only be revoked by Act of Parliament. The category of Timber Reserve, which could be converted to other land uses via departmental negotiations following timber removal, also remained. Further, the Act formalised the appointment of officers for implementing this legislation. As part of this formalisation, the Inspector's title was changed to Director, and the sub-Department to a Service. Though the act legitimised Forestry and created official records in the form of annual reports, the sub-department remained woefully understaffed.[13] In 1911 McMahon died of Dengue fever whilst visiting Forestry plots on K'gari.[14] By this time the reservation estate had grown to over three and a half million acres, despite the used-up timber reserves that were converted to other purposes.[15] Through Board's and McMahon's efforts, Forestry became a larger, more permanent

[10] Holzworth, 'Early Queensland Forestry: George Board and Philip MacMahon'.
[11] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 53.
[12] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Provide for the Reservation, Management, and Protection of State Forests and National Parks', 6 Edw VII 20 § (1906), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1906-020.
[13] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 53.
[14] Holzworth, 'Early Queensland Forestry: George Board and Philip MacMahon'.
[15] N.W. Jolly, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1912), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10843/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.

vision for the forests of Queensland.[16] Lands remained recalcitrant in funding staff to regulate these reserves.[17] McMahon's successor, N.W. Jolly further reflected and contributed to the increasing schism between Lands' alienation and forest conservancy. As the first professionally trained forester to direct the Forestry vision, he was particularly concerned with sustainability of supply. Jolly worked to limit timber extraction based on forest conditions and regeneration rates, rather than industry's demands. During his tenure, Lands became increasingly hostile towards its subordinate Forestry Service, for "standing in the way of settlement", to which Jolly responded that the majority of forest reserves were useless for agricultural and pastoral pursuits, with forestry a better economic use of these lands.[18] By the time Jolly resigned in 1918, to take up a higher ranking and less hostile position in New South Wales, he had expanded Forestry's bureaucratic reach considerably, though the extent of reservation had still not grown considerably since Board's tenure.[19] Though Forestry heads were increasingly focused on expansion of Forestry, their official power grew to a greater extent than forest reservation under McMahon and Jolly.

Jolly's successor was far less conciliatory than his predecessors. E.H.F. Swain did not have Jolly's European training, having joined the New South Wales forest service at 16 as a cadet. [20] After a study tour in America, Swain moved to Queensland, taking up the District Inspector's role for Gympie and Nanango. He was promoted to Director, replacing Jolly in 1918. Swain displayed a fierce dedication to improvement of Queensland's timber supply, including more reserves, increased silviculture, and expansion in the types of native timber used by processors. His vociferous opposition to forest alienation frequently bought him into conflict with Lands' priorities. A lengthy list of complaints against Lands was produced in approximately 1920, likely by a

[16] Jolly.
[17] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*.
[18] Carron, 100.
[19] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland: Department of Public Lands, 1 July 1919).
[20] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 58.

district forester rather than Swain himself, which included such issues as lost paperwork, delayed publication of reports so Lands could publish them first, and disagreements between land rangers and district foresters. Further:

> Recommendations by Land Commissioners are sought on proposals for reservation by forest officers. If recommendations differ, the Under Secretary for Lands can submerge the interests of the Forestry "Branch". The future of Forestry rests with its reservations, and the creation of these is at the mercy of the dangerous relationship.[21]

If Lands' representatives thought there was any potential alienation value, this took priority over future timber concerns, or indeed any other reasons for reserving forests.

Lands was more interested in alienation than reservation, as alienation created more immediate and larger profits for government than timber sales and tree production. Despite Lands' resistance, Swain succeeded in expanding the Forest Service considerably, with approximately 376 staff managing almost 5 million acres of forest reserves by the end of 1923, an increase of over one million acres by Swain.[22] Further, silvicultural experimentation in the area, especially on K'gari and other areas of the Fraser Coast, was extended and intensified. In line with this expansion, Swain recommended bureaucratic restreaming of the Service staff into two areas: "the sale of the old crop" and "production of the new".[23] Bureaucratic restructuring took place the following year, with the Director's position abolished in favour of a three-person Provisional Forestry Board to direct the Service, and head three branches: technical, trading and administration.[24] The board was to report directly to the Minister for Lands, therefore circumventing some of the existing bureaucratic

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[21] 'Proposed Federal - Control of Forestry - Transfer Batch', 1973 1936, ITM842357, Queensland State Archives - General Correspondence - Lands Department/ Forestry Department.
[22] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1924), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10862/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[23] Swain.
[24] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1925), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10571/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.

processes. The reshuffle did little to affect Lands' vision that prioritised immediate economic gain through alienation over reservation, though it did work to increase Forestry autonomy. It also deepened the schism between public servants who worked to maintain forests, and those who wished to sell them off.

The differing priorities of Forestry and Lands peaked in 1931 with a Royal Commission into land use in northern Queensland. Though the Commission focused on the forests of the Atherton Tablelands, it was an eruption in the ways the tensions between Lands and Forestry had escalated in the previous 30 years. As settlement spread across the Tablelands, the Forestry Service insisted on expansive rainforest reservation to ensure future supply of cabinet woods from these forests. However, the incumbent Country and Progressive National Party government were prioritising expansion of rural settlement through land alienation, which swelled government coffers more satisfyingly than forest reserves. The Royal Commission was held ostensibly to settle contradictory claims to the forests around the Atherton Tablelands and "to ascertain what would promote the permanent good of the greatest number of the people".[25] It would determine which vision was to have the greatest official priority: alienation or reservation. The findings of the report castigated Swain and the Forestry Service's visions of the forest situation in Queensland and desire to maximise State reservation. In regards to Swain's evidence, "An Economic Survey of the Cabinetwood Forest Region of North Queensland", the Commissioners recognised this lengthy paper as "a prodigious effort, [that] represented immense labour on the part of himself and the staff of the Forestry Department". However, the contents of the report, and Swain's evidence, "reads in parts more like imaginative fiction, than sworn evidence for the consideration of a Royal Commission".[26] The Commissioners were most annoyed by Swain's

[25] William Labatt Payne, Winton Woodfield Campbell, and John Grainger Atherton, 'Report of the Royal Commission on the Development of North Queensland (Land Settlement and Forestry)', Royal Commission (Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Government, 1931), 6, ITM334724, Queensland State Archives - Reports collected by Queensland Cane Growers' Council.
[26] Payne, Campbell, and Atherton, 7.

audacity in releasing his evidence to the press, after the commissioners requested Swain's evidence be given without the presence of the media. Unsurprisingly, given Swain's cavalier and antagonistic attitude in defying and undermining the arguments for Lands' alienation, the commission's report found against forestry, in favour of establishing settlement in the north. For forestry interests, the investigation was "a 'stacked deck' … It was seen as a means of arriving at a predetermined solution with a minimum of political fall-out, and if so, it would not have been the first Royal Commission to be set up for that purpose."[27] Taylor's assessment of this Commission was not only driven by sympathy for Swain's aims, but also by the credentials of the three commissioners: two were from the Lands Department, and the third was the son of North Queensland pioneer pastoralist John Atherton. The results of the Royal Commission, and a change in government in 1932, saw the Forestry Service again restructured, and Swain's dismissal from the Queensland Government. Further results of this clash included greater pressure on the forests of the Fraser Coast, especially the existing reserves, whilst the time and effort invested in fighting the bureaucrats in the Lands Department was taken away from active management of the existing reserves.

Swain's successor was more conciliatory, and thus won more concessions. Vic Grenning, a Rhodes scholar, served as Director of Forests from 1932 to 1964.[28] Whilst Grenning, like Swain, was convinced that Lands were the enemy, he spent less time fighting them, and more time building up the Service. Grenning eventually won freedom for Forestry from Lands in 1959. His tenure is covered in more detail in the next chapter.

4.1.2 Forestry vs Pastoralism

Empowered by the results of the Royal Commission, the Lands department expanded pastoral pursuits in state forests. Reshuffling following Swain's

[27] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 68; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 17.
[28] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 108.

departure replaced the Forestry Board with the Lands Administration Board, though new Forestry Director Grenning held one of the chairs.[29] This change in bureaucratic structuring signalled an official devaluing of forestry visions. The sub-Department was further distanced from its business of growing trees by the legislated intrusion of cattle. Using the rationale of providing drought relief to grazing selections, the Lands Act was amended twice towards the end of 1934: first to provide financial relief from land payments, then to allow cattle grazing leases in state forests and timber reserves.[30] Leases that allowed cattle to graze in reserved forests were not a new concept, rather one that now received specific legislative attention and considerable expansion. The move was welcomed by Wide Bay MLA and pastoralist Ernest Clayton who had "for a long time pressed the Forestry Department (sic) to allow special grazing leases [in the Bauple State Forest] or, alternatively, to allow it to be opened up for the use of settlers in the Bauple area".[31] While state forests could not be alienated unless by act of parliament, they could be leased. The Lands Administration Board was empowered to set conditions on these leases, which were specified as "Ringbarking of useless timbers, developmental works, timber treatment for regeneration purposes, or restriction of number and class of stock that may be grazed on the land."[32] Further, the Act stipulated there was to be no fire that was not directed by the local Forestry officer. European attitudes towards fire

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[29] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Constitute the Land Administration Board to Be the Prickly-Pear Land Commission for the Purposes of the Prickly-Pear Land Acts, and to Be the Forestry Board for the Purposes of the State Forests and National Parks Acts; to Amend Such Acts and "The Land Acts Amendment Act of 1931" in Certain Particulars; and for Other Purposes.', 23GeoV § (1932).

[30] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Provide a Measure of Relief to Certain Crown Tenants under the Land Acts, and for Other Purposes', 25 Geo V 27 § (1934), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1934-027; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Amend "The Land Acts, 1910 to 1932," and Other Acts by Providing Further Measures of Relief to Certain Crown Tenants; to Amend Such Acts in Certain Particulars; and for Other Purposes', 25 Geo V 31 § (1934), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1934-031.

[31] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 15 November 1934, Queensland Parliament Website, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Dates/Sitting-Date?date=1934-11-15. 640 acres of that forest was gazetted National Park at the end of 1935.

[32] Queensland Government, An Act to Amend 'The Land Acts, 1910 to 1932,' and other Acts by Providing Further Measures of Relief to Certain Crown Tenants; to Amend such Acts in certain particulars; and for other purposes.

still guided Queensland Forestry practices; they did not officially begin using it for forest management until the early 1960s.[33] Some selectors had continued First Nations' pasture management, of frequent low cool fires for grass renewal. It seems extraordinary that these two different visions were expected to cooperate, as the bureaucratic managers of Lands and Forestry had been at such odds. On the ground, in St Mary's and Thinoomba State Forests, the flashpoint of these conflicting visions was in fire, rather than bureaucratic forests of paper.

The northern section of St Mary's State Forest was first reserved in 1879, with its boundaries expanding and contracting over time in response to closer settlement polices. In 1937 several selectors with small freeholds on the boundaries of St Mary's obtained Forest Grazing Leases over various sections of this forest. The District Forester A.J. Owens, who oversaw these tenants, was infuriated by their fire. Charles Spiden's 7000-acre grazing lease on the north-eastern side of St Mary's was approved in October 1937, under the conditions of a stocking rate of 1:60 and that he keep the lease free from noxious plants.[34] Burning noxious plants was much less labour intensive than cutting them down and grubbing them out, and also promoted fresh pasture growth. When Spiden sought to renew his Forest Grazing Lease in 1947, local forester L.A. Boyce recommended "leasing of this area be discontinued. This should reduce the fire risk from persons wishing to burn grass for stock," sufficient reason for Owens to endorse the withdrawal of Spiden's lease.[35] Another 6400-acre Forest Grazing Lease allocation in this forest was not burnt, as per forestry prescription, and two separate lease holders forfeited in short order, C.S. Gordon only making it through three years of his ten-year lease,

[33] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 144.
[34] Charles Spiden, 'Forest Grazing Lease under Part III., Division I., of "The Land Acts, 1910 to 1936"', September 1937, ITM1571718, State Archives of Qld - Forest Grazing Leases.
[35] L.A. Boyce and AJ Owens, 'County Lennox Parish St Mary State Forest Reserve R390 Thinoomba Railway Station FGL 5', 1947 1937, ITM1571718, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Lease Files.

from 1937 to 1940, and H.H. Chapman lasting a fortnight in 1946.[36] When Chapman inspected his new lease, he found "there is very little of this lease with any grass on it and at the time of inspection all creeks were dry or waterless, and that the most of the area is Dense Wattle and Suple [sic] Jack undergrowth and too Dense for Man or Beast to travel through."[37] The dense wattle was regrowth, with supplejack a xerophytic fire survivor.[38] Without fire, these forests were not suitable for grazing, and the regrowth suggests that though forestry did not approve of fire as a management tool, St Mary's forest still welcomed it.

The Thinoomba State Forest also saw more fire than Forestry liked. This area was first proclaimed as a timber reserve in 1875, overlapping the former East Doongul and Gungaloon runs. Albert Beikoff, though not an official Forest Grazing Lease holder, did have a small selection bordered on three sides by this forest. He had formerly leased portions to the east and west of his freehold, until various issues with Lands, the Local Council and payments led to his forfeiture of these properties in 1932 and 1934.[39] Lands tried to support Beikoff's continued tenure, allowing delayed payments and reinstatement of the leases, but the selections were withdrawn in 1935, and gazetted as State Forest in 1937.[40] In 1936, Albert was still likely pasturing cattle and horses on these portions, and in the reserve across the road, despite not having legal rights to

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[36] C.S. Gordon, 'Lot 2 County Lennox Parish St Mary State Forest Reserve R390 Thinoomba Railway Station FGL 6 St Mary', 1940 1937, ITM1571719, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Lease Files.
[37] Herbert Henry Chapman, 'County Lennox Parish St Mary R390 Former FGL 6 - Surrender of Lease', 9 January 1947, ITM1571734, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Leases.
[38] *Ventilago viminalis* - a xerophytic species which apparently no longer appears on the Fraser Coast, but is widespread on hotter and drier inland areas 'Supplejack (Ventilago Viminalis) · iNaturalist', n.d., https://www.inaturalist.org/taxa/938694-Ventilago-viminalis; 'Ventilago Viminalis "Vine Tree" - Plant Profiles - Queensland Native Seeds', n.d., https://qldnativeseeds.com.au/plant-profiles/ventilago-viminalis.
[39] P Pease, 'Department of Public Lands', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 22 October 1932; JF Coll, 'Beikoff, Albert Otto - Forfeiture and Rates Owing', 12 September 1934, ITM3569921, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[40] P Pease, 'Withdrawal of Land From Selection', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 3 August 1935; P Pease, 'The Maryborough Land Agent's District', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 31 July 1937.

do so. In 1936, a spate of fires in the forest attracted the attention of District Forester Jules Tardent. Tardent and police constable Edmund Bauer went out into the forest to make inquiries into these fires. When they met with Albert's son, differing versions of events were given in the later court case brought by Bauer against Albert. The trial was not for arson (which they could not prove), but for Albert allegedly assaulting Bauer for harassing Mervyn, Albert's son. The officials claimed their interactions with Mervyn were friendly. In court, the Police Magistrate found Albert guilty, as he could not "imagine that the two witnesses for the prosecution, who [were] reputable men in the community, would perjure themselves", and Albert was issued with a £12/6 fine.[41] State government officials were determined to stamp out fires, using whatever legislation they could. Forestry's determination apparently even extended to hiding amidst lantana bushes, waiting for the Beikoffs to start a fire.[42] Pasture maximisation may have motivated this alleged arson. It may also have been spite. Albert "was bitter on the forestry" over their resumption of his former lands, and "he had one hell of a hatred for the police."[43] Forestry's visions for this forest were undermined illegally by neighbours as well as tenants.

The Forest Grazing Lease over Thinoomba State Forest was officially taken up by Colin Spiden in 1943. His lease was "resumed for Forestry Purposes" within 4 years, according to the official notice in the Government Gazette, but actually due to numerous unauthorised fires.[44] A.J. Owens recommended Spiden's lease be terminated, providing a list of 35 fires that had occurred there from 1941 to 1945. Few of them were identified as deliberate, but most were blamed on Spiden nonetheless.[45] Owens' opinion of Forest

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[41] 'Alleged Assault', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 24 November 1936.
[42] Anonymous, Interview with Pastoralist.
[43] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[44] A. Jones (Secretary for Public Lands), 'County Lennox Parish Gungaloon R12 Gayndah Branch Railway FGL 33 - To Colin Lennox Spiden, Thinoomba', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 22 February 1947, ITM1571727, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Lease Files.
[45] AJ Owens to Secretary Land Board, 'County Lennox Parish Gungaloon R12 Gayndah Branch Railway FGL 33 - Further Details on State Forest Reserve 12', Report, 9 November 1945, ITM1571727, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Lease Files.

Grazing tenants was reflected in not only the provision of misleading data, but also in his accompanying report: “these people have no scruples about lighting fires and I would think, from the general tenor of various ideas held, that they imagine they are doing the Forests a good turn”.[46] Owens’ report reveals not only the unauthorised ways of managing small selections, but also a patronising attitude towards the selectors, who did not agree with his professional ideas about fire in the forest, nor Forestry’s official stance. The selectors’ economic management was harming the land, he thought, and Forestry’s was better. It also seems unfair to blame Spiden when other neighbouring selectors were burning this forest, as it was alleged Albert and his sons had done ten years previously. Forestry eventually acceded to fire in this forest. The Department began experimentation with fire for regeneration in the 1960s, discussed in the next chapter. It was far more supportive of grazier fire by the 1970s when one interview participant, a long-term pastoralist who wished to remain anonymous, leased, ran cattle and regularly burned this forest.[47] Despite the efforts of the District Foresters, they struggled to keep fire, cattle and settlers out of the Fraser Coast’s reserves, as selectors went about establishing their own versions of official visions.

4.2 A new layer of government: The Burrum Council

4.2.1 Internal Divisions

While state administrators squabbled amongst themselves, so too did the new local level of bureaucrats. The nomenclature of the first local councils, or Divisional Boards, on the Fraser Coast seems remarkably apt in hindsight, due to the divisions that occurred internally and with the constituents. The State Government passed the Divisional Boards Act in 1879, to address rural agitation for infrastructure development.[48] The move was initially unpopular,

[46] ‘County Lennox Parish Gungaloon R12 Gayndah Branch Railway FGL 33’, 1947 1943, ITM1571727, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Lease Files.
[47] Anonymous, Interview with Pastoralist.
[48] Doug Tucker, ‘The Invisible Transformation of Local Government in Queensland’, *Queensland Review* 2, no. 1 (April 1995): 67.

predominantly because it added a further tax burden.[49] However, the number of Divisional Boards grew throughout the 1880s, including the Burrum Divisional Board, which governed rural areas around Maryborough. To address fragmentation and other issues, a hastily assembled and swiftly concluded Royal Commission in 1896 suggested changes in terminology and amalgamation of divisions under shire councils.[50] The Commission's recommendations were enacted through the Local Authorities Act of 1902, changing the name of the Burrum Divisional Board to the Burrum Shire Council.[51] The Council's area of responsibility curled around Maryborough, with shifting boundaries as various divisions were added or subtracted over time. Division One included Hervey Bay, Division Two was around the Isis River, Division Three included St Mary's and Thinoomba State Forests. Division Four included Howard and Torbanlea, while Divisions Five and Six were the Maryborough suburbs of Granville and Tinana respectively. The council was dissolved in 1976, with the various divisions amalgamating with other surrounding councils.

The Burrum Council's operations were hampered by internal conflict. In 1978, Council clerk Harold Whitby, who had served from 1923 to 1976, gave his account of the Council's history, blaming much of the conflict on the separatists from Division One Hervey Bay.[52] The council met in Hervey Bay from 1917 to 1919. It then moved to the more centralised, but out of council jurisdiction, Maryborough, leading to the rift between Division One and the others. Indeed,

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[49] 'Mungarr', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 26 July 1879, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148524176; 'Omnibus', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 16 August 1879, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148524781; Tucker, 'The Invisible Transformation of Local Government in Queensland', 67.
[50] A Morgan, 'Report with Minutes of Evidence Taken before The Royal Commission on Local Government Together with the Proceedings of the Commission, and Appendices', Royal Commission (Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Government, 17 July 1896), https://www.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdoc/au/other/qld/QldRoyalC/1896/1.html, AustLII Queensland Royal Commissions.
[51] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws Relating to Local Authorities', 2 Edw VII 19 § (1902), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1902-019.
[52] Harold James Whitby, *The Burrum Shire Council: 1917-1976* (Maryborough Qld: Maryborough Printing Co. Pty Ltd, 1978).

the council premises were to remain a key source of conflict, with Division One agitating for a move back to Hervey Bay each time the council changed buildings. The Division One councillors complained about the cost and location of a new building commissioned in 1938, finding unlikely allies in the Maryborough Council, with one of those aldermen describing the stucco building as made of "brown paper and wire netting".[53] Despite the *Chronicle* also running supportive articles, Whitby focused specifically on this alderman's comment, complaining "some very unfavourable criticism was levelled at the council".[54] A further proposed move in 1964 saw the Hervey Bay faction attempt to have the Minister for Local Government intervene in the situating of the offices. They wrote to the Minister, complaining that despite providing 64 per cent of the council's revenue, the other councillors consistently voted against them, and the Clerk was biased. They also circulated a petition requesting a poll on the new office site that attracted interest in Hervey Bay, though not so much from the other divisions. Unable to drum up enough interest from the other divisions' councillors, who supported the move, the purchase of the former National Bank went ahead, and Whitby "now felt no shame when visitors were received in the Council Chamber."[55] Undissuaded by their failure in influencing the council's meeting location, and with threats of secession, the Hervey Bay faction continued to agitate, until the Burrum Council was dissolved.

Whitby also blamed the Solid 8, a council faction including Division Three councillor J. Kernovske, for administrative conflict. In 1933, the faction wanted to economise, so voted to cease the employment of several administrative staff, including Whitby. The official meeting minutes were bland, but the reports by

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[53] 'Building of Parapet on City Premises', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 13 July 1939, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article151173294.
[54] 'Neat and Compact', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 7 August 1939, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article151186813; Whitby, *The Burrum Shire Council: 1917-1976*, 32.
[55] Whitby, *The Burrum Shire Council: 1917-1976*, 44.

Whitby and the *Chronicle* were not. [56] Both those sources reported that the debate over who would fill the clerk's positions almost resulted in blows between the sacked Chief Clerk, who was reapplying, and Councillor J. Murphy. The *Chronicle's* report went further:

> The Chairman had ruled that all documents dealing with the applications could not leave the council's office. To this decision Councillor Murphy objected, stating that the committee would take them if it wanted to. Mr. Beddows interposed that it would not, and an exchange of words led to an invitation to fight. Both were proceeding outside, when the Chairman and other members intervened, and wiser counsels prevailed.[57]

Despite this antipathy, the Chief Clerk and Whitby were rehired from amongst the hundreds of applicants, suggesting the failure of the Solid 8 to dominate council bureaucracy. However, the internal conflict did not cease, becoming so problematic that 850 residents signed a petition to the State Government Home Secretary to disband their council, which was duly granted on 9 January 1934. In the ensuing elections, the Solid 8 were re-elected, along with new councillors more sympathetic to the economising principles of this group. The clerks remained. Whitby's frequently injured tone, and the complaints levelled against the Clerks from the Hervey Bay and Solid 8 factions suggest that the unelected yet powerful role of the clerks was also a source of conflict within this governing entity.

4.2.2 Forest Access

The internal conflict exacerbated friction in the relationship between the council, its constituents, and State Government. As with the Hervey Bay separatists, rate payers might also implore State Government to intervene in their parochial disputes. Albert Beikoff, a selector on the boundaries of the Thinoomba State Forest, was one particularly vociferous complainant in this regard. He, and Council Clerk Beddows (who would later almost come to blows with Councillor Murphy), each complained to the Lands Department about the other's attempts

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[56] 'Burrum Shire Council and Its Office Employees', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 7 December 1933, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article149252394; Whitby, *The Burrum Shire Council: 1917-1976*.
[57] 'Burrum Shire Council and Its Office Employees'.

make the laws function to their benefit. Beikoff was infuriated by the council's exorbitant rates and poor road maintenance.[58] In protest, and from poverty, he stopped paying council rates and Lands rent, claiming he was quite happy to continue payments once he was guaranteed access. The Council's complaints involved their desire to resume Beikoff's holdings for non-payment of rates, and complaints that he was transferring his selections into the names of others in order to avoid this consequence.[59] Lands refused to become involved in the dispute. To Beikoff, they wrote "This Department has no jurisdiction in the matter", though more politely to the Clerk "It is regretted that, as far as this Department is concerned, there is no way of assisting the Council in its desire to prevent Mr Beikoff from dealing with his selections."[60] The dispute continued through 1933, as the Council was distracted by its infighting. Beikoff again complained to the Lands Department, "as no man could clean this sort of poor land pay rates then make his own road … I selected the land to clean it up and make a home out of it instead of that the council made a burden on my hands".[61] As a result of this conflict, Beikoff forfeited several of his selections, though he likely still used them without the bother of rent or rates.

Maintenance, or lack of it, on the Gayndah Road which bisected Division Three was also a source of frustration to the constituents. The road was heavily used by bullock wagons, then trucks, many of them carrying large loads of timber from the reserves and state forests. In 1918, the council wrote to Beikoff, demanding he remove two fallen trees from the Gayndah Road where it passed his property.[62] Beikoff's low opinion of the council was apparent even then, and

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[58] Albert Beikoff, 'Increased Rates', 23 October 1930, ITM3569861, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[59] T. A. Beddows, 'A. O. Beikoff, Thinoomba', 2 December 1931, ITM3569921, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[60] Lands Department to Albert Beikoff, 'Re: Rates Complaint', 30 November 1930; Lands Department to JF Coll, 'In Re A.O. Beikoff, Thinoomba', 16 December 1931, ITM3569921, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[61] Albert Beikoff to Lands Department, 'Beikoff, Albert Otto - Further Extension', 8 February 1932, ITM3569921, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[62] 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1918-1923', 8 October 1918, ITM3504505, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils.

his reply stated that there were no fallen trees from his paddock "and he therefore claimed 10/- for wasting his time looking for them."[63] The council admitted its error, in their minutes, but declined to pay. In that same council meeting, a complaint was also received from East Doongul's William Greaterox Nichol about the state of the Gayndah Road. His letter about the councillors of Division Three was sufficiently rude that the council moved it, "be referred to our Solicitors, and if he considers it justifiable, action to be taken immediately". Morton and Morton solicitors reported Nichol's conviction in January 1919.[64] The council seemed more interested in defending their honour than maintaining the road, as access grievances continued to come from the residents. Adam Rockemer complained in 1926 and again in 1927 about the 'bad state' of the road.[65] His complaints must have been worded more professionally than Nichol's or Beikoff's, as the council engineer was dispatched following Rockemer's second complaint. The engineer and Councillor Kernovske decided "as the road was not particularly bad, and not dangerous, that nothing could be done at present".[66] Even Henry Hyne, son and heir of R.M. Hyne the sawmiller, struggled to move the council to address this issue. After purchasing a property on the Gayndah Road in 1906, known as Coolreagh, he complained in 1930 that "he had paid rates amounting to £689/5/3, and that during that time not £25 had been expended on the Teebar Road from the Gayndah Road to Coolreagh Gates etc. etc".[67] The 'etc. etc.' was likely less insulting than the remarks of

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[63] 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1918-1923', 11 November 1918, ITM3504505, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils.
[64] 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1918-1923', 13 January 1919, ITM3504505, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils.
[65] 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1924-1930', 7 July 1926, ITM3504506, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils; 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1924-1930', 2 November 1927, ITM3504506, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils.
[66] 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1924-1930', 7 December 1927, ITM3504506, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils.
[67] 'Minute Book - Burrum Shire Council 1930-1940', 6 August 1930, ITM3504507, Queensland State Archives - Minute Books - Howard Shire Council/ Burrum Shire Council (II)/ Hervey Bay Councils; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 10.

Beikoff and Nichols, as the council moved to allocate works there in the following year. Yet the ratio of rates paid to roads maintained was still an issue for Beikoff's son Mervyn, who complained to Forestry in 1957 about the terms of his grazing lease: "As the No.3 councillors tells me they are not going to build a bridge unless the forestry pays half. Where is our money we pay in rates. May be in their pockets".[68] The Burrum Council were not likely to pay more attention to the thinly populated forests than the densities of rate payers in other Divisions, however their lack of attention to maintaining forest access bred resentment among their constituents.

4.3 A new layer of removal: fighting the forest

4.3.1 Improving Weaponry

Closer settlement policies also exacerbated conflict with the forest itself. Initial settlers had monopolised the preexisting open areas, and closer settlement policies pushed new selectors into denser and denser forests, as explained in the previous chapter. Removing trees to maximise pasture was a slow and difficult process with colonial technology. From the start of settlement at Sydney in 1788, there were complaints about tool efficacy and Governor Arthur Phillip was still requesting more and better tools four years after the landing.[69] Axes in particular were "inefficient, unwieldy and energy wasting" for removing trees.[70] The most common type of axe among settler colonists was the Kent type, prevalent in 1780s Britain. It featured a short, heavy wedge shape blade made of a poor-quality iron.[71] By the 1820s, Australian axe construction was improving in the hands of localised blacksmiths. In 1827, surgeon-superintendent Peter Cunningham's *Two Years in New South Wales*

[68] Mervyn Otto Beikoff to Minister of Forestrys (sic), 'County Lennox Parish Gungaloon R12 Gayndah Branch Railway FGL 33 Re: Rates and Rent', 11 November 1957, ITM1571727, Queensland State Archives - Forest Grazing Lease Files.
[69] Miles Lewis, 'Australian Building: A Cultural Investigation', 2012, https://www.mileslewis.net/australian-building/.
[70] Val Quanchi, 'The History and Development of the Australian Racing Axe', in *Australian Forest History Society Inc. Newsletter 05* (ACT: Australian Defence Force Academy, 1990), 3.
[71] Val Quanchi, 'The Australian "Hytest" Racing Axe: Development of the Australian "Hytest" Racing Axe and Background of the Manufacturing Company', in *The Tool Chest*, vol. 4.3 (Hand Tool Preservation Association of Australia Inc, 1992).

recommended that, “Edge tools require to be particularly well tempered to withstand our hard woods”, and described the new Australian axes in contrast to the British: “Our felling axes are long and narrow, to penetrate our iron woods more readily”.[72] Iron blades were not strong enough for ‘our iron woods’, especially the iron barks and spotted gums of the Fraser Coast. Despite the development of large-scale steel manufacture in the southern colonies in the 1850s, and importation of North American designs from the 1860s, iron remained the dominant axe metal on the Fraser Coast, forming the back of the axe, whereas the cutting edge was replaced with the more durable and stronger steel.[73] Axe heads utilising the new availability of steel slowly appeared on the Fraser Coast as selections expanded into denser forests and timber demands increased. Local museums display some composite axes along with wholly iron tools from this time, which were used by selectors and timber getters to reshape the forests.[74] Despite these improvements, fighting the forests with axes remained a slow and difficult process.

As demand for better forest fighting tools increased, Australian needs began to inform manufacture in the USA. The push by settlers and timber getters for improvements to timber felling tools was soon joined by the demands of other interests. The Gold Rushes, including Gympie’s in 1867, created huge demand for timber, and specialised timber workers. Greater specialisation in axes followed, particularly driven by competitive wood choppers, performing at local show days.[75] Manufacturers in the USA began testing Australian designs from the early 1900s. An Australian competitive wood chopper designed the Plum Axe Company’s ‘Tasmanian Pattern’, with better steel and modified weight distribution in 1908. From the 1920s, The success of this model was eclipsed by another USA-manufactured Australian-inspired axe, the Kelly

[72] Peter Miller Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales* (H. Colburn, 1827), 165.
[73] Lewis, ‘Australian Building: A Cultural Investigation’.
[74] Gympie Timber Museum, ‘Axes and Saws’ (Private Forestry Service Queensland Inc, n.d.); Bauple Museum, ‘Tools’ (Bauple Progress Association, n.d.).
[75] Quanchi, ‘The History and Development of the Australian Racing Axe’.

'Dandenong'.[76] The Kelly brand was popular enough to become a generic term for all axes, not just those manufactured by the Kelly company.[77] It was also a popular brand on the Fraser Coast, where these axes were taken up from the 1930s. W.J. Ryland hardware advertised Plumb's Tasmanian Pattern Axes in the *Chronicle* from 1933, and others were selling Kelly's 'Dandenong' from 1939.[78] These were the axes used to carve out closer settlement selections on the Fraser Coast. Australian mass production of more suitable axes finally began in 1933, when Keech Castings of New South Wales developed an innovative process of cast moulding.[79] Plum Australia, independent from the USA company, was awarded a World War Two contract, and were thus able to expand their experimentation by producing a better Australian axe, releasing the Hytest in 1945.[80] This axe was widely used by Queensland forestry in 1949 in order to manage forests on the Fraser Coast, along with other war-inspired tools, as discussed in the next chapter.[81] Improvements in axe technology gradually enabled settlers to fight the forests more effectively, to reshape them in line with colonial visions of what selections should be.

For those removing trees for processing, sawing technology was of greater interest than axes. Though the tool itself required adaptation to Australian forests, the ways in which manual saws were used remained the same. Crosscut saws relied on the labour of two operators to harvest and shape timber and were more precise and less wasteful than using an axe. Using pits for the shaping process allowed greater precision than horizontal sawing. One operator stood down at the bottom of the pit, whilst another stood up on the lip,

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[76] Quanchi; Quanchi, 'The Australian "Hytest" Racing Axe'.
[77] Kevin Frawley, 'Logging Technology and Forest Cutting Practices', in *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on Australian Forest History* (Australia's Ever-Changing Forests II, ANU, Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, 1993), 147.
[78] WJ Ryland, 'Advertising 02', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 7 September 1933, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article149246854; 'Advertising 13', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 25 October 1939, sec. Classifieds Advertising, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article151179840.
[79] Quanchi, 'The Australian "Hytest" Racing Axe'; Kevin Frawley, ed., 'Australian Forest History Society Newsletter 5', 1990.
[80] Quanchi, 'The Australian "Hytest" Racing Axe'.
[81] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 59.

guiding the cut. Sawpits were one of Queensland's first constructions: within weeks of settlement at Moreton Bay, sawpits abounded, with the largest being approximately fifteen by seven metres.[82] Seasonal narrow creeks with steep banks were convenient shaping pits as well, particularly as a good shower of rain would wash them free of sawdust.[83] This pattern was followed on the Fraser Coast for the processing of harvested trees, until sawmills running on steam were established.[84] The saws themselves, as with the axes of European design, required improvements in their effectiveness against Australian hardwoods, with North Americans also leading the way in adapting these tools. USA company Disstons began reshaping handles and blades in the 1870s.[85] By 1882, author Robert Grimshaw was able to list over 14 different tooth patterns, with specialities for hardwoods, softwoods, crosscuts and steam-driven saws, adapted to colonial timbers.[86] Disstons' saws became available for purchase in Maryborough from 1884, advertised in the *Chronicle* by James Hockley, Importer. These saws were used to harvest trees for processing at Pettigrew and Sim, Wilson Hart, Hyne and Son and the other sawmills on the Fraser Coast.[87] Australian saw designs began to filter through by 1897, and as with axes, the Tasmanians led the way. A Tasmanian saw manufacturer made adjustments to the M shaped tooth pattern, an innovation soon taken up by Disstons and British manufacturers, then exported to Australia under the name 'Tasmanian Tooth'.[88] Specialisation in tooth pattern for the harder Australian timbers included shorter, more closely spaced teeth than those on softwood saws. Softwood saws used against Fraser Coast hardwoods "would become

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[82] Lewis, 'Australian Building: A Cultural Investigation'; Peter Holzworth, *Monarchs of the Woods* (Brisbane: Department of Primary Industry, 1999).
[83] Frawley, 'Logging Technology and Forest Cutting Practices', 148; Holzworth, *Monarchs of the Woods*, 1999, 6.
[84] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*.
[85] Lewis, 'Australian Building: A Cultural Investigation'.
[86] Robert Grimshaw, *Saws: The History, Development, Action, Classification, and Comparison of Saws of All Kinds, with Copious Appendices, Giving the Details of Manufacture, Filing, Setting, Swaging, Gumming, &c.; Care and Use of Saws; Tables of Gauges; Capacities of Saw Mills; Lists of Saw Patents; and Other Valuable Informations* (E. Claxton & Company, 1882).
[87] James Hockley, 'Advertising 01', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 23 February 1884, sec. Advertising, Trove.
[88] Lewis, 'Australian Building: A Cultural Investigation'.

blunt very quickly" and even have teeth break off.[89] Despite adaptations in shape, maintaining a sharp edge remained a problem. Saw teeth still needed constant sharpening as the hardwoods wore down the edges. Sharpening was a highly specialised task that, if performed incorrectly, would render the tool inoperable.[90] Steam driven sawmills supplanted the manual shaping of timber, however tree removal via crosscut saw continued, until almost entirely replaced by mechanised chainsaws, as discussed in the next chapter. The intensifying demand for better tools to fight and harvest the forests indicates the difficulties both groups of forest users faced in shaping the forests to fit their visions, as the trees resisted European tools.

4.3.2 Ringbarking

The resistance of Australian trees to European axes was also circumvented by the process of ringbarking. Rather than rely on the time-consuming labour of removing whole trees, the inadequate axes could be used to encircle individual trees with cuts. If cut deeply enough, and all the way around, ringbarking would prevent circulation of water and nutrients, leading to tree death and more convenient disposal some years later.[91] Queensland's government considered ringbarking a valuable technique for fighting the forests, legislatively promoting the practice to increase land values. Despite concerns about the extent of ringbarking and other forest clearing arising in the early 1870s, as discussed in the previous chapter, the government included the technique in the legislative definition for required improvements from 1876.[92] More concerted attempts to regulate ringbarking did not appear until 1884, with that year's act specifying tenants of Grazing Farms and Agricultural Farms were not to remove trees,

[89] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 57.
[90] Gympie Timber Museum, 'Axes and Saws'.
[91] Brett J. Stubbs, 'Land Improvement or Institutionalised Destruction? The Ringbarking Controversy, 1879-1884, and the Emergence of a Conservation Ethic in New South Wales.', *Environment and History* 4, no. 2 (June 1998): 146; Titmarsh, *Tandora: A Pioneer's Dream*, 18.
[92] Queensland Government, An Act to provide for the Leasing of Runs in the Settled Districts of the Colony.

beyond those necessary for construction and fuel.[93] This Act also introduced the process for acquiring Lands' Permission to Ringbark. Without the completed and approved form, ringbarking or any other form of tree destruction could attract a fine of at least one shilling per tree. Permission requirements were loosened two years later, so that the process only applied during the first five years of the lease.[94] Carron considered these regulations to be aimed at dissuading opportunistic timber getters, rather than at protecting trees per se.[95] This may have been the case initially, however selector tree removal was also encouraged and extended by the Land Acts. There was no regulation for ringbarking after the initial five years of a lease, though it was still recorded as an improvement in terms of satisfying lease conditions. In the 1892 amendments, ringbarking was priced at "two shillings and sixpence per acre in computing the value of the substantial and permanent improvement" conducted by a selector, framing ringbarking as a valuable and permanent improvement to selected land.[96] In 1894, specific species of plant began to be targeted for destruction, with the native species desert poison-bush added to the ringbarking regulations.[97] Prickly pear and cycads were added the next year.[98] These plants were more of a nuisance outside the Fraser Coast than inside, but nuisance enough to the rest of Queensland to be specifically targeted in legislation.

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[93] Queensland Government, An Act to make better Provision for the Occupation and Use of Crown lands.
[94] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Further Amend "The Crown Lands Act of 1884"', 49 Vic 7 § (1886), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4709/1/CrownLandsSecondAmendment_50VICT_33.pdf.
[95] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 97.
[96] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Further Amend "The Crown Lands Acts, 1884 to 1891"', 55 Vic 16 § (1892), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4714/.
[97] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Further Amend "The Crown Lands Acts, 1884 to 1892"', 58 Vic 25 § (1894), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4718/.
[98] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Amend "The Crown Lands Acts, 1884 to 1894," with Respect to Certain Noxious Plants and the Payment of Survey Fees in Certain Cases, and to Make Further Provision with Respect to the Land Included in Holdings under the Provisions of Part III. of "The Crown Lands Act of 1884," the Term of the Leases Whereof Is Prescribed to Be Ten Years, and the Lands Occupied Therewith under a Right of Depasturing, and for Other Purposes.', 59 Vic 31 § (1895), https://digitalcollections.qut.edu.au/4721/1/CrownLands-1895_59VICT_31.pdf.

By the turn of the century, ringbarking as an official land improvement method was entrenched, and was spreading rapidly. In 1901 the Under Secretary for Lands reported that many Permissions to Ringbark continued to be granted. He justified the government expense in compensating selectors for ringbarking as a component of prickly pear eradication, and improving land values.[99] Special legislation to encourage selectors to clean up prickly pear-infested lands was introduced at the end of that year.[100] The 1902 Lands Act also emphasised the clearing of prickly pear and attempted to place responsibility for some of the improvement compensation back onto selectors, requiring that new selectors compensate previous ones for ringbarking in addition to any other improvements.[101] The 1910 Act acknowledged that ringbarking was not a permanent solution with the introduction of a sliding scale of value, where improvement calculations were adjusted for deterioration, set at one-eighth of the cost of the initial permitted ringbarking annually.[102] However, ringbarking remained a favoured technique for fighting the forests.

The 1910 Act remained the basis for all successive amendments to Lands legislation until 1962. Despite almost annual amendments, ringbarking remained an important condition of demonstrating improvement to the land. Indeed, it was even further promoted in the 1927 amendments, these ostensibly motivated by drought relief. Ringbarking was included there as a strategy for the "development of difficult country", with said development supposed to

[99] 'Prickly Pear', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 30 August 1901, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148165248.
[100] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Facilitate the Eradication of Prickly Pear from Crown Lands, and for Other Purposes', 1 Edw VII 11 § (1901), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1901-011.
[101] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Amend "The Land Act, 1897," and for Other Purposes', 2 Edw VII 18 § (1902), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1902-018.
[102] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to the Occupation, Leasing, and Alienation of Crown Land', 1 Geo V 15 § (1910), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1910-015.

ameliorate the effects of drought by encouraging pasture expansion.[103] By 1929, the process had gained such favour that these amendments contained a whole section dealing with “Assistance and Encouragement of Ringbarking”. It legislated for government loans to selectors to carry out ringbarking or otherwise remove vegetation considered useless.[104] Useful trees were to remain, though it was generally the selector who decided the usefulness, with limited oversight. The practice was further elevated in 1932, when that year’s amendments legislatively prescribed ringbarking as a condition of all Prickly Pear Leases.[105] Even Forestry’s acceptance, if not encouragement, of the practice was reflected in the 1934 Relief Act, with the introduction of the Forest Grazing Leases, discussed above. The terms of these leases could require the tenant ringbark “useless timbers", though Forestry were more concerned than Lands with what constituted ‘useless’, or acceptable management.[106] Concerted attempts to prohibit the practice, outside the initial five years of the lease, finally came with 1943’s amendments to protect water courses. This act specified that all land occupiers, freeholds, and leases, were forbidden to ringbark within 44 yards (40 metres) of the banks of a water course, without the express permission of the Commissioner.[107] Lands had increasingly promoted ringbarking as an effective and desirable technique to implement colonial agricultural visions for almost 70 years. However, this forest fighting tactic was

[103] Queensland Government, ‘An Act to Amend “The Land Acts, 1910 to 1925,” by Providing for a Measure of Relief to Certain Settlers Detrimentally Affected by Drought Conditions; and by Providing for the Further Encouragement of Pastoral Development; to Amend Such Acts and Other Acts in Certain Particulars; and for Other Purposes.’, 18 Geo V 17 § (1927), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1927-017.
[104] Queensland Government, ‘An Act to Amend “The Land Acts, 1910 to 1927,” to Make Provision for the Stabilisation of Leases of Cattle Holdings; Freeholding Tenures; Assistance and Encouragement of Ringbarking; to Further Amend Such Acts and Other Acts in Certain Particulars; and for Other Purposes.’, 20 Geo V 15 § (1929), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1929-015.
[105] Queensland Government, ‘An Act to Amend “The Land Acts, 1910 to 1931,” and Other Acts in Certain Particulars’, 23 Geo V 16 § (1932), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1932-016.
[106] Queensland Government, An Act to Provide a Measure of Relief to Certain Crown Tenants under the Land Acts, and for other purposes.
[107] Queensland Government, ‘An Act to Amend “The Lands Acts, 1910 to 1941,” and “The Rabbit Acts, 1913 to 1930,” Each in Certain Particulars’, 7 Geo VI 16 § (1943), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1943-016.

not necessarily helpful in the less prickly pear-infested closer settlements of the Fraser Coast.

Limited regulation of ringbarking, especially after the first five years of a lease, also ensured limited official records of its actual extent. Records for the extent of ringbarking in Queensland and on the Fraser Coast, are sparse and unreliable. What exists indicates there was less pastoral ringbarking occurring there than in other areas of the country. In New South Wales, Permissions to Ringbark were published in the Government Gazette.[108] Not so in Queensland. Here, the decisions of the District Land's Commissioner were published in local papers, including Permission to Ringbark, though not consistently. Reporting of the portion numbers of the holdings granted this Permission was also inconsistent. Those Permissions that were reported in the *Chronicle* from 1891 to 1919, amounted to approximately 45 000 acres approved, though not necessarily actually treated. Of those reported in the paper, none were rejected, and only a few were modified. The vast majority of these permissions applied to agricultural leases, predominantly those most impacted by prickly pear, in the parishes of Glenbar and Woocoo to the south, and Mungore (Mungar) and Degilbo to the west. Permissions were an indicator of what Lands would allow, not what actually happened. Griffith Thompson, a returned soldier, was granted Permission to Ringbark in 1921 for at least two-thirds of his 960-acre portion in St Marys Forest.[109] He forfeited the lease two years later, having conducted such minimal clearing that this portion was then reserved by Forestry.[110] Thompson's forfeiture was likely no surprise. Lands Ranger Gibbings, in approving Thompson's Permission to Ringbark, found the portion was "not

[108] Stubbs, 'Land Improvement or Institutionalised Destruction? The Ringbarking Controversy, 1879-1884, and the Emergence of a Conservation Ethic in New South Wales.'
[109] R Gibbings, 'Concerning the Application of Mr Griffith Thompson the Selector of P.L.S. 2770 for Permission to Ringbark', 4 March 1921, ITM3570184, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[110] Griffith Thompson, 'Selection Surrender', 26 March 1923, ITM3570184, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files; Leslie Wilson, 'Thompson, Griffith - The Maryborough Land Agent's District', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 18 January 1936, ITM3570184, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.

highly suited for ringbarking requiring as it will a great deal of after attention to keep down suckers etc".[111] Permission to Ringbark only included those selectors operating within the law, and did not include clearing conducted after the first five years of the lease. The extent of ringbarking outside the law, and outside the official record was likely vast, but the true extent is almost impossible to track.

The Doongul forest grazing runs that had hosted sheep then cattle had limited representation within the published Permissions. However, Selection and Dead Farm files from this area also include ringbarking records, outside the Permissions published in the *Chronicle*. The Lands Ranger completed selection inspections to ascertain if selectors had met their lease conditions, including listing the improvements such as ringbarking. What clearing successive Lands Rangers reported on the borders of the Thinoomba State Forest was often minimal, and conducted slowly, over an extended period. William Powell senior had officially selected the larger East Doongul run in 1860. When he and son William Junior received inspections from the Lands Ranger on the run's remnant portions, in 1879 the Ranger recorded Portion 1 as 13 percent cleared, after 20 years of residence.[112] Powell portion 1454, in 1887, was reported as only eight per cent ringbarked, after 28 years of residence.[113] There was likely little need for ringbarking until the Powells' available land shrunk due to closer settlement policies. Albert Beikoff took 30 years to clear half of his 116-acre Gungaloon portion 11v.[114] In the 20 years that Beikoff held the adjoining portions of 9v and 20, his clearing of these was so minimal that those portions were added to Thinoomba State Forest, after he forfeited them over disputes

[111] Gibbings, 'Concerning the Application of Mr Griffith Thompson the Selector of P.L.S. 2770 for Permission to Ringbark', 4 March 1921.
[112] 'Selection File: Powell, William Snr; Powell, William Jnr - Report of Crown Lands Ranger on Selection', 1879, ITM52678, Queensland State Archives - Selection Files.
[113] 'Selection File: Powell, William Snr; Powell, William Jnr - Report of Crown Lands Ranger on Selection', 1887, ITM52678, Queensland State Archives - Selection Files.
[114] 'Beikoff, Albert Otto - Report of Land Ranger on Selection', 1 May 1942, ITM3569921, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.

with the local council, as above.[115] Beikoff's step-brother, Charles Pettersen, took 30 years to clear 20 percent of his Gungaloon portion 41.[116] Other selectors, such as the Rockemer family in Gungaloon and Doongul, claimed no clearing or ringbarking, suggesting that they were not clearing their portions.[117] As ringbarking was a compensateable improvement, it seems unlikely that selectors would not claim as much as they could. Few of the selections in this area recorded over 50 per cent clearing or ringbarking. Those that did were generally attempting to establish dairy farms, such as Alexander Gauld and father William clearing 77 and 97 per cent of their respective blocks at Woocoo and Gigoomgan, and Bevan Young's family at Brooweena, who did "a lot of ringbarking and then also they had arsenic".[118] The role of poisons in clearing is discussed in the next chapter. While some selectors stayed, cleared, and converted their leases to freehold, many did not, as numerous selections were abandoned with no clearing indicated because of the difficulties in shaping them to suit European agricultural uses.

Despite government sanction and encouragement, on the Fraser Coast ringbarking was not the final solution envisioned. For ringbarking to effectively clear forested lands, it had to be conducted in dry warm weather, after good rain, when the sap was free flowing.[119] Otherwise the damaged tree would send forth multiple suckers, or new stems, in response to the ringbarking damage. If further work removing these suckers was not conducted, a single stem was replaced by multiple. Ringbarking the tree whilst it was flowering was also

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[115] Pease, 'The Maryborough Land Agent's District'.
[116] E Gillespie, 'Pettersen, Charles John - Report of Land Ranger on Selection', 25 October 1937, ITM3569447, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[117] 'Dead Farm File: ROCKEMER, John; ROCKEMER, Adam', 1938, ITM3569442, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files; 'Dead Farm File: ROCKEMER, Adam', 1938, ITM3569451, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files; 'Dead Farm File: SEMPF, August Friedrich; ROCKEMER, William Arthur', 1939, ITM3569449, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[118] 'Dead Farm File: Bargenquast, William; GAULD, Alexander James', 1913, ITM3569446, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files; 'Dead Farm File: GAULD, William McIntosh', 4 September 1930, ITM3569897, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files; Bevan Young, Greg Schilling, and Cindi Davey, Personal Communication: Farming, mp4, 30 December 2019.
[119] Titmarsh, *Tandora: A Pioneer's Dream*; Young, Schilling, and Davey, Personal Communication: Farming.

effective in avoiding suckers, although this would encourage seed dispersal. Combined with the opening in the canopy allowing more light, the trees would soon outcompete the pastural grasses the selector was trying to expand, without frequent follow up attention.[120] Burning the dead stems was also likely to promote seed sprouting. Official recognition of ringbarking's inadequacies could be seen as early as 1919, when the *Chronicle* essentially ceased publishing the Permissions to Ringbark. Lands Ranger Gibbings, in approving a Permission for P.G. Grohn of Gungaloon, indicated it was "not likely to ringbark well".[121] He was more loquacious in 1921 in regards to Thompson's St Mary portion, as above. Regrowth was also a problem for the Titmarsh's at Tandora, a large property on the banks of the Mary and Susan Rivers. 2000 acres was ringbarked by William Titmarsh from 1908-14:

> [he] thought that after the ringbarkers had finished each block, it would be the end of the tree problem, but it did not take long for him to realise his troubles were just beginning. Instead of having numerous large trees taking nutrients and moisture out of the soil, he had hundreds of smaller ones doing the same thing and more.[122]

This, and other environmental problems, led Titmarsh to attempt sale of the property in 1910. No one was interested in buying, partly because of the now even thicker forest on his land. Regrowth is a further factor that masks the true extent of forest clearing on the Fraser Coast.

4.4 Conclusion

Closer settlement policies increased conflict within the forests, as different visions collided, while the forests and the people in them resisted official management prescriptions. Lands alienation was more profitable, and of greater significance to government, than forest reservation, as signalled by bureaucratic structuring and restructuring. Growing official legitimisation and application of the timber reservation vision clashed with the more powerful Lands vision of pastoral and agricultural expansion. The addition of local councils added to the

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[120] Titmarsh, *Tandora: A Pioneer's Dream*, 19.
[121] R Gibbings, 'Application for Permission to Ringbark', 15 August 1919, ITM3570167, Queensland State Archives - Dead Farm Files.
[122] Titmarsh, *Tandora: A Pioneer's Dream*, 19.

conflict between manager and user, repeating the State level pattern of internal strife and frequent restructuring, which overshadowed the actual forest management conducted by the settlers being managed. What attempts were made to monitor and control settlers' forest management were ineffectual and inconsistent, due to the internal conflict and frequent bureaucratic restructuring. These issues also work to limit official records of what settlers were actually doing, as internal conflict distracted from active engagement and restructuring fragmented bureaucratic responsibility. What is available suggests that settlers were not only fighting the forests, they were also in conflict with the visions and requirements of their bureaucratic managers. In the forests of the Fraser Coast, settlers with inadequate tools struggled to conduct the forest clearing necessary to implement visions of profitable land use. Officially endorsed ringbarking was viewed as an easier technique than clear felling, especially for those with limited capital to expend in the working hours required for more extensive forest clearing. Some forest users, such as those establishing dairy and cane farms, had the capital and workers to do this. Many others did not. The forests themselves were recalcitrant. Iron barks, spotted gums and wattle resisted axes and saws, and regrew voraciously without frequent attention, creating new layers of forest growth, in conflict with official visions of economic profitability.

5 Fuel for the Great Acceleration 1930s – 1980s

In 2005, the 96th Dahlem Workshop, part of a wider organisation seeking interdisciplinary and novel solutions to pressing issues, included a submission from a team that included influential environmental historian John R. McNeill.[1] This submission argued that a remarkable shift in the relationship between humans and the environment started in the 1950s, illustrated by tracking of several earth-systems and socio-economic trends that increased dramatically from that point in time. The authors dubbed this phenomenon a "Great Acceleration". Graphic representations of data showed sharp and dramatic inclines in such indicators as human population, atmospheric gases, temperature, and extinctions of animal species. For some of these indicators, the acceleration can be seen prior to the 1950s, however poor economic conditions, such as "the Great Depression (1929-39), which diverted or stymied investment in technological change" and meant that general acceleration was not experienced prior to the 1950s.[2] For the Fraser Coast's forests however, the beginnings of a Great Acceleration are apparent from as early as World War I, with increasing geo-political concerns related to timber supply. These beginnings are apparent in the development and dissemination of tool technologies. Hibbard et al acknowledged that technology, especially that in the human/environment nexus, could be a cause and a cure for environmental degradation, though discussion of causes was highly generalised, and abstract.

In this chapter, the concept of the Great Acceleration frames the magnitude of the changes that occurred in the Fraser Coast's forests, though it began earlier there than this theory suggests. McNeill's work informs this chapter, though his reflections on the enabling tools of the Great Acceleration

[1] Hibbard et al., 'Group Report: Decadal-Scale Interactions of Humans and the Environment' See Chapter One for a discussion of McNeill's contribution to Environmental History.
[2] Hibbard et al., 344.

tend to be more symbolic and rhetorical than particular or detailed.[3] The foregrounding of the tools of deforestation (and their actual impacts) by academic historians is generally minimal. More discussion has started to appear in the twenty-first century, though to provide a full explanation of tool development for this thesis, literature from as far afield as Croatia and Sweden had to be consulted. In Australia, Forestry historians have said little about clearing technologies, avoiding the full breadth and scope of Forestry's changes to the forests, though timber processors attract more sympathetic attention. Leith Davis' recent doctoral work on the ways in which timber processing shifted with increasing efficiency of tool technology and worked to accelerate deforestation has also informed this chapter, though here these ideas are extended to State Forestry and other forest users, as well being used to examine forest growth in addition to forest removal.[4] Within this academic context, the work of forestry historians and self-published hobbyists was supplemented with forestry annual reports, interviews, local museum displays and reports from the *Chronicle* to show how the Great Acceleration in deforestation was enabled by a Great Acceleration in tool efficiency, nurtured by geo-political conflict.

This chapter argues that war demands drove the Great Acceleration in terms of the reshaping of forests. Examination of the development of the tools that enabled deforestation suggests that their development was driven by geo-political conflict, and they were later repurposed to support the conflict between economic vision and forest reality. The role of these tools in reshaping forests has largely been glossed over in environmental histories, working to mask their origins and the actual extent of their use. As the native timber was cleared and harvested, processors had to modify their processes and tools to utilise a greater range of smaller timbers, showing an acute awareness of forest

[3] including McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*; J. R. McNeill, 'Woods and Warfare in World History', *Environmental History* 9, no. 3 (July 2004): 388–410; McNeill and Engelke, *The Great Acceleration*.
[4] Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry'.

depletion though rarely accepting responsibility for it. The contribution of timber to the war effort and economic growth, particularly in construction, received increasing government attention as the native resource decreased exponentially. State silvicultural experimentation before and during the war years aimed to address the resource reduction by regeneration, in plantations and in native forests. Together with the war inspired clearing technologies, large areas of remnant forest and heathland were completely transformed into exotic softwood plantations, with far more trees than there had been in some of the areas previously. Forestry also worked to accelerate the growth of native hardwood forests; their composition streamlined to promote economically viable timbers at the expense of those trees unwanted by processors. This chapter shows that the Great Acceleration on the Fraser Coast resulted in both clearing **and** growing of forests, and was a direct result of the demands of geo-political conflict.

5.1 Accelerating removal

5.1.1 Shrinking Chainsaws

The history of chainsaw development and their contribution to accelerating deforestation has received limited attention from historians. History of chainsaw development received a brief paragraph in McNeill's *Something New Under the Sun*, where he explained "the first chainsaw patent dates to 1858 and its first manufacture to 1917, its real impact came after World War II". McNeill noted the tool's uptake by loggers in eastern Canada, where it was first adopted in 1950 and by 1958 had almost entirely replaced manual saws.[5] He suggested that chainsaws allowed people "to cut trees 100 or 1000 times faster than with axes", reiterating this rate of increase in *The Great Acceleration* 16 years later.[6] In contrast to these figures, one of the few detailed histories of the chainsaw, an article by Croatian foresters Jelena Kranjec and Tomislav Porsinsky, provided a

[5] McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*, 307.
[6] McNeill, 201; McNeill and Engelke, *The Great Acceleration*, 38.

considerably more nuanced and grounded discussion.[7] These forestry historians argued that the 1858 USA patent existed only on paper, and was never actually constructed. The first artificially powered saw was constructed in England in 1860, by attaching a steam-driven piston to a hand saw, though it was too big and heavy for widespread use. North American innovation with toothed chains continued with incremental improvements in accuracy and portability, on paper if not always in metal. In Croatia, as in Australia, soaring timber demand during World War I prompted greater acceleration of harvesting, including heated cables and increasing portability of mechanical saws. Power sources shrunk enough between the wars to produce a fully portable saw, that could be operated by just two people. But it was WWII that proved pivotal. During the course of this war, improvements in metallurgy allowed for increased portability and efficiency, driving general chainsaw uptake. With these improvements, in Croatian forestry chainsaws completely replaced manual saws between 1964 and 1968 and harvest rates almost doubled, a shorter time frame than McNeill's, and with considerably less acceleration of actual deforestation.[8] When compared with this more pragmatic study, McNeill's figures appear to be a rhetorical device to emphasise acceleration of deforestation. Though these texts disagree in detail of development, utilisation and scale of change, both agree that chainsaws appeared well before the wars, but their spread was greatly accelerated by them.

Australian forestry historians have paid limited attention to the development and proliferation of chainsaws, only occasionally mentioning generalised impacts. At the second Australian Forest History Society conference in 1993, Kevin Frawley argued that 1945 was a turning point for logging technology, though he discussed pre-war manual tools more than post-war powered ones. His commentary on chainsaws was brief, including a general statement about the rapid spread post-war and their significance:

[7] Jelena Kranjec and Tomislav Porsinsky, 'History of Chainsaw Development', *New Mechanisation of Agriculture* 32 (2011): 5.
[8] Kranjec and Porsinsky, 'History of Chainsaw Development'.

"intensive cutting practices such as clear felling could only be contemplated once such a technology was available".[9] In *Fashioning Australia's Forests,* John Dargavel only mentioned chainsaws once, specifying that they made formerly difficult, larger, harder trees more accessible. Despite this brief appearance, in conjunction with bulldozers (discussed below) the spread of chainsaws after World War II was "radical, because it made virtually every hectare and every tree accessible; exploitation was simultaneously extended and intensified."[10] Neither Frawley or Dargavel provided or even estimated chainsaw uptake rates or the tool's contribution to forest clearing beyond rapid and extensive. Queensland forestry historian Peter Taylor did, however his estimation did not include a date range, was unreferenced, and likely just as much a rhetorical device as McNeill's, though much lower. Taylor's figures were 8 000 super feet harvestable per day with a cross-cut saw, accelerating to 20 000 to 40 000 super feet with chainsaws, a harvest increase rate of 2.5 to 5.[11] He did not give a date range for this acceleration, other than post-World War II. Similarly, Davis did not examine the uptake or increase rates from cross cut to chainsaw, though she illustrated the increased harvest from chainsaw to tree feller.[12] These historians agree that chainsaws had a significant effect on forests following the war, though there is more generalised estimation of their proliferation and effects than supporting, or referenced detail.

On the Fraser Coast, chainsaws accelerated timber harvest as well as pastoral expansion. These tools appeared there soon after the War's conclusion, including in the *Chronicle* and at the Maryborough Show in 1948.[13] The two person chainsaws developed in Europe, while a substantial improvement on pre-war technology, were still cumbersome, measuring approximately two-and-a-half metres and weighing in excess of 50 kilograms,

[9] Frawley, 'Logging Technology and Forest Cutting Practices', 149.
[10] Dargavel, *Fashioning Australia's Forests*, 58.
[11] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 179.
[12] Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry'.
[13] 'Trade Displays Show Prosperity of City', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 28 May 1948.

as illustrated in Figure 6. Despite their cumbersome nature, Forestry acquired its first one in the early 1950s, where the new technology's efficiency was trialled against a cross-cut saw. Because of the trouble in getting the machine started, both teams finished their allotted cut at almost the same time. The overseer's assessment was that increased knowledge of the tool's operation would see chainsaws become a success.[14] Timber harvesters also quickly embraced the new technology, including the Sengstock family, whose collection of chainsaws used to harvest the Fraser Coast's forests are held at the Bauple Museum. The provenance cards attached to these tools give some indication of their reach, detailing individual properties and species cut.[15] The Sengstock family were also pastoralists, representing the ways in which chainsaws were taken up by timber extractors and pastoral expanders. Chainsaws allowed pastoralists to move from the capricious practice of ringbarking to more immediate pasture expansion. The arrival of single person chainsaws from the late 1950s further fostered their spread to facilitate these visions. Forestry's initial testing, while discouraging, did not prevent their embrace. By 1959, Forestry had 23 chainsaws at work on K'gari, 22 of which were the more advanced single operator chainsaws.[16] It had acquired so many of these, and other machines by the 1960s, that it was obliged to hire 15 full time mechanics, including Terry Thies, who specialised in chainsaw repair.[17] Two-thirds of the Sengstock collection is dominated by single person chainsaws used across the Fraser Coast's forests. Pastoralist Ray Jones of the former Doongul run, remembers the difference chainsaws made: "I'd go out and cut 200 blocks a day with a chainsaw. Wouldn't do that with a crosscut saw, two of yas. Be lucky to get 20 or 30". This was a tenfold harvest increase.[18] The effects of chainsaws on the Fraser Coasts' forests are illustrated by one particular McCullough brand chainsaw in the Sengstock collection. Mervyn Sengstock used this single

[14] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 100.
[15] Bauple Museum, 'Tools'.
[16] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 99–100.
[17] Eckert, 198; Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[18] Ray Jones, Personal Communication: Farming, interview by Cindi Davey, mp4, 31 December 2019.

person chainsaw to cut large blue gum in 1963 but modified it to cut smaller trees in 1965, indicating the substantial impact chainsaws were having on the bigger trees that had survived earlier attempts at harvesting and clearing the forests. Museums and private collections, as well as personal reminiscences, indicate the extent of private chainsaw use, and the ways in which its proliferation contributed to the acceleration of deforestation. The wide divergence in acceleration rate from international, national, state and local perspectives suggest that chainsaw uptake and use was considerably more uneven than the generalised estimations given by historians.



Figure 6 Photograph showing two people holding a two-person McCulloch chainsaw, which was manufactured in approximately 1954. Holding the saw are Mr Greg Schilling(right) and neighbour Mr Steve Kirby (left). Held in the collection of Mr Schilling, retired sawmill worker. Source: Narelle Davey, Personal Communication: Chainsaw Photograph, email, 15 September 2024. Reproduced by permission of the photographer and subjects.

5.1.2 Proliferating Bulldozers

Bulldozers were another tool where development and use was accelerated by geo-political forces. They have received marginally more historical attention than chainsaws. McNeill accords this tool even less attention than chainsaws, only mentioning bulldozers in relation to their post 1950s proliferation in the context of mining, and their later use by the US army against Vietnamese forests.[19] However, other USA historians have recognised the significance of bulldozers in the context of accelerating suburbanisation. In 2001, Adam Rome included bulldozers in a much wider discussion of the environmental impacts of suburbanisation in *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*.[20] Here, bulldozers became a symbol of accelerating installation of tract housing, though Rome discussed other issues such as sewerage and electricity supply in contributing to the growth of the bulldozers' poor reputation amongst environmentalists. There is limited discussion of pre-war developments, or the role of the wars in accelerating this technology. Francesca Ammon's 2016 *Bulldozer: Demolition and Clearance of the Postwar Landscape*, gave a more nuanced explanation of bulldozer development, including its war driven improvement and post war urban application, as well as a broader focus on cultural representations.[21] Ammon explained the coercive roots of the word, which was repurposed to describe the combination of vertical blades previously dragged by mules and the replacement of tires with tracks on heavy vehicles by the Caterpillar company in 1925. Rome and Ammon were both more concerned with urbanisation and symbolic power than forest clearing. In 2018, British historian Ralph Harrington took up Ammon's study in the British context.[22] Like Rome and Ammon, Harrington's analysis was shaped by shifts in cultural perceptions of the

[19] McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*, 40; McNeill and Engelke, *The Great Acceleration*.
[20] Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[21] Francesca Russello Ammon, *Bulldozer: Demolition and Clearance of the Postwar Landscape* (Yale University Press, 2016).
[22] Ralph Harrington, 'Landscape with Bulldozer: Machines, Modernity and Environment in Post-War Britain', in *Histories of Technology, the Environment and Modern Britain* (London: UCL Press, 2018), 41.

bulldozer, and like Ammon he discussed their pre-war development and World War II's role in their proliferation. He also included analysis of bulldozers in forests, briefly: he noted that Scottish foresters enthusiastically adopted bulldozers to facilitate the establishment of pine plantations. This short anecdote was used to support Harrington's analysis of the ways in which British perceptions of bulldozers shifted as their metaphorical power grew, from economic development's "harbinger of a new world" to environmentalists' "shorthand for the whole process of destructive development".[23] Historical analysis of bulldozers has focused more on urban applications than rural, which suggests that their symbolic power is at least as forceful as their mechanical power.

In Australian forest history the role of bulldozers receives even less specific attention than chainsaws. Where they appear, they are portrayed as assisting in forest protection, not deforestation. Les Carron, who said nothing about chainsaws, discussed bulldozers in relation to West Australian foresters using them to create protective fire breaks. He neglected to explain that dozing fire breaks removes trees and disrupts ecological processes.[24] Frawley's 1993 conference paper and Dargavel's 1995 book included bulldozers, with some linkage to their acceleration after World War II. They agreed that bulldozers accelerated deforestation, though suggest it was not with their blades but by facilitating access.[25] Taylor, on Queensland's forestry history, says nothing about them.[26] Davis links the introduction of bulldozers to increased intensity of forest operations, though the one example of bulldozer use is of a 1930s sawmiller purchasing a bulldozer for road building rather than for forest harvesting and clearing.[27] Australian forest histories suggest that in forestry

[23] Harrington, 52, 54.
[24] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 153.
[25] Frawley, 'Logging Technology and Forest Cutting Practices'; Dargavel, *Fashioning Australia's Forests*.
[26] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*.
[27] Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry', 223.

bulldozer impacts were minimal and facilitated forest protection, though they generally acknowledge bulldozers' vast role in reshaping forests, if not so much in removing them.

Bulldozers played a significant role in the deforestation of Queensland in relation to agricultural pursuits. This large-scale clearing was most visible in the inland prickly pear infested Brigalow belt; whose clearing was promoted through legislation as discussed in the previous chapter. The symbolic and mechanical force of bulldozers was illustrated in this environment by Joh Bjelke-Petersen, Queensland Premier from 1968 to 1987. He was employed in land clearing in south west Queensland during the interbellum, and is credited with instigating the connection of bulldozers with a ship's anchor chain to vastly increase forest clearing capacity.[28] Neville Foster's history of the Brigalow claimed Bjelke-Petersen "pulled Brigalow scrub with two ex-army Matilda tanks and a cable" before procuring D6 bulldozers and chain.[29] However these claims are perhaps exaggerated, in line with Bjelke-Petersen's forceful and coercive political career, which began in 1946.[30] Matilda tanks were not deployed until World War II.[31] This timing suggests the blurring of fact and bulldozer mythology, fed by Bjelke-Petersen's later career. As a politician, Bjelke-Petersen continued his war on the brigalow, supporting the creation of a joint State and Commonwealth initiative for clearing these forests. In response to this funding boost, an Australian consortium named the Fitzroy River Basin Brigalow Development

[28] This story appears in numerous populist texts, including on Wikipedia and John Howard, 'Hon. Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen KCMG Transcript 21716' (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 24 April 2005), https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-21716; Rae Wear, 'Johannes Bjelke-Petersen: Straddling a Barbed Wire Fence', Queensland Historical Atlas, 23 September 2010, https://www.qhatlas.com.au/content/johannes-bjelke-petersen-straddling-barbed-wire-fence; 'Former Member Details: Bjelke-Petersen, Johannes (Joh)', Queensland Parliament, 18 September 2017, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Members/Former-Members/Former-Members-Register/Former-Member-Details?id=1543517032.
[29] Neville Foster, *History of the Brigalow Scheme 1962: Troublesome Tree Crushers* (Neville Foster, 2016), 58.
[30] Ross Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland: From 1915 to the 1980s* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1984), 244.
[31] Thomas L Jentz, *Tank Combat in North Africa : The Opening Rounds Operations Sonnenblume, Brevity, Skorpion and Battleaxe* (Pennsylvania, USA: Schiffer Publishing, 2004).

Scheme worked to vastly accelerate brigalow deforestation through its links to USA bulldozer company Le Tourneau. This company, contracted to the USA government for earth moving during the war, shifted their focus post war due to "downturn in machinery sales because of surplus army machinery, so [they] turned [their] focus to the lumber Industry".[32] The machines were showcased at a well-attended Field Day near Biloela in November 1962, where suggestions from the public who had benefited from the technique attributed to Bjelke-Petersen led to the specialist manufacture of chain and cable to further extend efficiency.[33] By 1967, the Brigalow Development Scheme included almost 12 million acres of subsidised brigalow destruction, in contrast to the poor efforts at manual brigalow removal prior to the wars.[34] These massive machines had massive impacts to the west, but they bypassed the Fraser Coast, quite literally, as the tree crushers were delivered to Brisbane, then driven along inland roads to the brigalow forests. Further, this style of extensive clearing for agriculture also generally bypassed the Fraser Coast's forests, as their soils had already proved inimical to agricultural visions, and large quantities of forested area were being used for timber production, both native and exotic. Bulldozer clearing for pastoral and agricultural pursuits occurred, though the extent remains unclear due to the paucity, inaccessibility and intentional minimisation of records of private bulldozer use. Several pastoralists interviewed for this thesis had used bulldozers to clear regrowth at times, as well as maintain fire breaks on their properties, particularly those on the boundaries of timber reserves.[35] One pushing event does not prevent regrowth. The repetitious nature of maintaining cleared areas, as discussed in the previous chapter, further complicates understanding the full extent of bulldozer use.

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[32] Foster, *History of the Brigalow Scheme 1962: Troublesome Tree Crushers*, 6.
[33] Foster, 20.
[34] Nix, 'The Brigalow'.
[35] Fraser Davey, Personal Communication: Clearing, 26 December 2020; Anonymous, Interview with Pastoralist; Dilger, Interview with Pastoralist; Anonymous and Anonymous, Interview with Former Forestry Worker turned Pastoralist, and his Wife; Bur and Bur, Interview with Pastoralists; Rockemer and Rockemer, Interview with Pastoralists.

Forestry's acquisition and use of bulldozers is more extensively recorded than that of private landholders. On the Fraser Coast, they were initially an expensive novelty in the interbellum, first appearing in the *Chronicle* in the 1930s, in relation to their display at the Kilkivan Show.[36] Following the war, and to establish exotic pine plantations, Forestry's adoption of this technology burgeoned, especially with the purchase of surplus army equipment.[37] This procurement was predominantly in relation to facilitating the establishment of an exotic pine plantation south of Maryborough, one of the largest in Australia. Prior to planting, the wallum lands had to be cleared of their mosaic of vegetation, including their stands of poor, scrubby native species not suitable for timber processing. Clearing began with slow manual methods of axe and saw, but vastly accelerated with access to war surplus. Forester historian Dick Eckert listed numerous items purchased cheaply from Defence, including prefabricated huts, clothing, explosives and many bulldozers.[38] Forester John Huth, in his *As Things Were*, provided an even more extensive list of army surplus machinery acquired, which "included fire-fighting equipment, dozers with blades, tractors, graders, compressors, rippers, sixty-one water tank trailers, ten trailer pumps and over thirty trucks."[39] Tuan was further extended with the addition of Toolara from the 1970s, where trees suitable for timber processing were harvested with chainsaws, before bulldozers pushed the leftovers into piles for burning.[40] These repurposed war machines saved so much time and money in plantation establishment, as well as supporting forest access and protection, that Forestry continued expanding its fleet. Former Forestry mechanic Terry Thies and purchasing officer Ron Dreger described Forestry's enthusiasm for these machines: "they got more dozers and more

[36] 'Kilkivan Show', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 21 May 1935, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article150055495; 'Advertising 12', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 19 October 1935, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article149952835.
[37] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*; John Huth, *As Things Were: Trees and Snippets From Queensland's Forest History.* (Brisbane, Queensland: John Huth, 2022), 175.
[38] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 66.
[39] Huth, *As Things Were: Trees and Snippets From Queensland's Forest History.*, 175.
[40] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.

dozers". By the late 1970s, what Thies and Dreger described as the 'boom' years, Forestry's stable of mechanised tools amounted to at least 34 tractors and 25 assorted dozers, including D4, D6, D7 and two D25s. The D classification was in reference to specifically Caterpillar brand bulldozers, and designated the size and strength of the machine. Smaller numbers indicated smaller machines, as can be seen in the D2 shown in Figure 7. Specialised D7s, with wider tracks for swamps, were very useful in the preparatory clearing of the wallum wetlands at Tuan and Toolara. With increasing numbers of dozers, Forestry "just kept pushing, just kept pushing", leading to such obvious reshaping of the Fraser Coast's forests that "No one now will ever see what me and Ron seen. The change right through. Like from virtually nothing to cutting, clear felling by hand, to the dozers," indicating their accelerated assimilation into Forestry practices. By 1971, over 27 000 acres of Tuan had been cleared with chainsaw and bulldozer to be replaced by exotic pine.[41] Forestry's acquisition of army surplus, especially bulldozers, vastly accelerated their clearing of native vegetation for the establishment of exotic plantations, reshaping the existing forests into a more suitable timber resource.

[41] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 74.



Figure 7 Photograph from c. 1962 showing a D2 bulldozer on the back of an International Acco. Source: Glen Simpson and Lola Simpson, Glen Simpson and Lola Simpson, Personal Communication: Interview follow up, 8 February 2023. Reproduced by their permission.

5.1.3 Spreading Herbicides

As with chainsaws and bulldozers, the development and use of herbicides has received little attention from historians, despite the possible magnitude of their impacts. Further, their inclusion in environmental histories has been generalised and ambivalent. McNeill's work illustrates these trends with two very brief inclusions in *Something New Under the Sun*, as invasive weed remover and as water polluter, reflecting the role of herbicides as both friend and foe.[42] When he discussed war-driven deforestation though, he focused on incendiary napalm to a much greater degree than non-incendiary tree killers, such as Agent Orange.[43] Others, including journalists John Dux and Peter Young, ecologist Arthur Westing and Queensland historian Jean Williams have discussed the human and ecological impacts of herbicides in the Vietnam War in detail, contributing to a body of literature that illustrates the breadth and profundity of herbicides in this theatre as highly hazardous to trees and people.[44] Westing's introduction to *Herbicides in War* explained that the development of hormonal herbicides was a result of chemical testing in the United States during World War II, "in the hopes of perfecting militarily usable crop-destroying chemicals".[45] One of the results of these researches, both in the US and the UK, was the isolation and synthesising of a plant growth hormone, 2, 4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid, or 2, 4-D. Further research also led to a stronger version, 2,4,5-trichlorophenoxyacetic, or 2,4,5-T. Both 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T function against broad-leaved plants (dicotyledons), not grasses, grains or pine (monocotyledons). The war ended before the chemicals could be used to attack enemy food supplies, however 2,4-D was promptly packaged and marketed as

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[42] McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*.
[43] McNeill, 'Woods and Warfare in World History'; McNeill and Engelke, *The Great Acceleration*.
[44] Arthur H. Westing, 'Herbicides in War: Current Status and Future Doubt', *Biological Conservation* 4, no. 5 (1 October 1972): 322–27, https://doi.org/10.1016/0006-3207(72)90043-2; John Dux and Peter J. Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest* (Australia: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980); Arthur H. Westing, *Herbicides in War: The Long-Term Ecological and Human Consequences* (London ; Taylor & Francis, 1984); Jean Williams, *The Devil's Rainbow: Conscripts, Chemicals, Catastrophe* (Queensland: Homecoming Publications, 1998); Jean R. Williams, *Children of the Mist: Agent Orange - Future Generations* (Homecoming Publications, 2002).
[45] Westing, *Herbicides in War*, 1984, 4.

Weedone, amongst other commercial names. By 1950, manufacturing of 2,4-D reached 6 million kilograms per year.[46] Australian interest in weed killers was high. The CSIRO tested both chemical derivatives and reported their effectiveness by 1947.[47] The combination of both chemicals created Agent Orange, which represented 61 per cent of the herbicide distribution over Vietnam during that war.[48] The shattering effects on the forests, the Vietnamese people and the US and Australian soldiers who dispensed the chemicals was immense, both carcinogenic, mutagenic, and only slowly realised, prompting the official withdrawal of 2,4,5-T in the late 1980s. While much has been published about herbicide impacts in this war, there is far less about their development and use in the civilian realm. There are two likely reasons for this dearth: sensitivity to legal recourse by affected users, and a projection of the vast impacts in Vietnam to herbicide's role in deforestation in other places like Australia.

What discussion there is about herbicide use in the civilian realm generally focuses on agricultural applications. In Neil Barr and John Cary's history of Australian agriculture, *Greening a Brown Land*, herbicides allowed for a reduction in soil disturbance for removing weeds, though the war links or rates of dispersal were not referred to.[49] Studies in weed science suggest considerable rates of dispersal, in that some weeds began developing herbicide resistance in the late 1960s, a problem that accelerated over time.[50] Herbicide resistance has attracted considerable scientific study, given its economic implication for cropping, and suggests wide ranging incorrect and excessive

[46] Dux and Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest*.
[47] R. M. Moore, 'Preliminary Investigations with Plant Growth-Regulating Substances as Herbicides', February 1947, https://doi.org/10.25919/q68h-hs76.
[48] Westing, *Herbicides in War*, 1984, 7.
[49] Neil Barr and John Cary, *Greening a Brown Land: The Search for Sustainable Land Use* (Australia: MacMillan Education, 1992).
[50] Michael Thompson and Bhagirath S. Chauhan, 'History and Perspective of Herbicide Use in Australia and New Zealand', *Advances in Weed Science* 40 (12 January 2022): e20210075, https://doi.org/10.51694/AdvWeedSci/2022;40:seventy-five002.

application, though grounded concrete examples are rarely provided.[51] Few environmental historians even mention herbicides, though when they do they suggest widespread use and detrimental impacts and in such a general way that 'herbicide' is rarely indexed.[52] Herbicides did not appear in the index of Stephen Dovers' *Environmental History*, however Henry Nix's chapter in this text is one of the few to give specific data: 2,4,5-T sprayed over 300 000 acres in 12 years, in Queensland's war against the brigalow.[53]

Few of the forestry historians consulted in this study have discussed herbicides either.[54] Of those who have, Carron indicated that forestry in Victoria and South Australia had found herbicides useful in establishing pine plantations, while also acknowledging conservationist arguments about the deleterious flow-on effects.[55] Closer to the Fraser Coast, Eckert indicated that there were herbicide sheds at the Wongi and Elliot River forestry camps, though not their use.[56] The only mention of them in AFHS conferences was from Huth, briefly in a paper regarding the establishment of native hoop pine plantations.[57] Holzworth's book on Forestry's hoop pine growth, published that same year, provided a timeline of forestry's accelerating herbicide adoption in terms of

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[51] examples include Sharad Vats, 'Herbicides: History, Classification and Genetic Manipulation of Plants for Herbicide Resistance', in *Sustainable Agriculture Reviews*, vol. 15 (Switzerland: Springer, 2015); Dale Shaner, 'Lessons Learned From the History of Herbicide Resistance', *Weed Science* 62, no. 2 (20 January 2017), https://www-cambridge-org.elibrary.jcu.edu.au/core/journals/weed-science/article/lessons-learned-from-the-history-of-herbicide-resistance/B7D1B7A0E22265E46E614260346C4D14.

[52] Dovers, *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases*; Don Garden, *Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific: An Environmental History*, Nature and Human Societies (California: ABC-Clio Inc, 2005); Those who do not mention herbicides at all include Marshall, *The Great Extermination: A Guide to Anglo-Australian Cupidity Wickedness and Waste*; Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest*; J.M. Powell, *A Historical Geography of Modern Australia: The Restive Fringe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: A History of Australians Shaping Their Environment*; Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: An Environmental History*.

[53] Nix, 'The Brigalow'.

[54] Australian Forest History Society Conference Papers, 1988-2010; Dargavel, *Fashioning Australia's Forests*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*.

[55] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*.

[56] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 108, 117.

[57] John Huth, 'Hoop Pine Nursery Techniques, 1916 - 1997', in *Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference on Australian Forest History* (Australia's Ever-changing Forests IV, Gympie, Queensland: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, ANU, 1999).

plantation development.[58] Though Vic Grenning, Conservator of Forests, dismissed hormonal herbicides in 1950, his successor A.R. Trist ordered extensive trials of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T from 1966. Holzworth's list focused on the increasing mechanisation of herbicide delivery, and did not link its availability or use to the geo-political forces that hastened its development. Forestry's use of herbicides is not confined to Queensland, or Australia. A very recent paper from Swedish foresters highlights the lack of research in relation to civilian application of herbicides and warns against the dangers of condensed acceleration of land management practices, showing that almost two million acres of Swedish forest plantation was assisted by herbicide.[59] State Forestry, like agricultural interests, considered herbicides a useful tool, with their use accelerating extensively in line with their military development and dispersal.

Herbicides were in frequent use on the Fraser Coast, both in agriculture and forestry. Prior to the war-driven development of hormonal herbicides, arsenic was used as both sheep pesticide and herbicide, applied directly to unwanted trees to support ringbarking.[60] From the late 1940s, the *Chronicle* ran reports on the development of herbicides, mostly targeted at cane growers.[61] The 1951 article 'Chemists Solve Farm Problems' even declared: "A new word – herbicide – has come into the farmer's vocabulary". The reporter lauded the assistance of 2,4-D in the "war on weeds", significantly reducing time and labour costs.[62] Even at this time, 'experience' of using herbicides was 'piling up'. Though the article did not reveal the local extent of this experience it suggested that 2,4-D had been applied to 30 million acres of cropland in the United States.

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[58] Peter Holzworth, *Monarchs of the Woods* (Brisbane: Department of Primary Industry, 1999), 72.
[59] Lars Östlund et al., 'The War on Deciduous Forest: Large-Scale Herbicide Treatment in the Swedish Boreal Forest 1948 to 1984', *Ambio* 51, no. 5 (1 May 2022): 1352–66, https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-021-01660-5.
[60] Young, Schilling, and Davey, Personal Communication: Farming; Dilger, Interview with Pastoralist.
[61] 'Machines in Cane Fields Efficient', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 22 August 1947, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article147454544; 'Chemists Solve Farm Problems', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 17 August 1951, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article149091849; 'Cane Men's Corner', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 18 August 1951, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article149101648.
[62] 'Chemists Solve Farm Problems'.

There was no mention of its military development, rather development was attributed to official government agricultural research. As shown by Holzworth and in Forestry Reports, the forestry department was also experimenting in a small way with 2,4-D at this time, accelerating from the mid-1960s, when Forestry's stock was augmented by war surplus from Vietnam. Numerous drums of 2,4,5-T and other herbicides left over from the war were repurposed to support plantation establishment across the Fraser Coast. Former forester Ron Dreger's memory of the late 1970s was "the amount of herbicides that was used down there was just unbelievable hey. They were using that T80, which is very, very toxic. That's the same stuff they used in Vietnam", with friend and colleague Terry Thies clarifying "2,4,5-T".[63] They believed at least one forestry worker died as a result of using these herbicides without safety precautions. Another former forestry worker, turned pastoralist, who had less contact with herbicides in his Forestry work "sprayed enough of it round me farm".[64] In part, this participant's disclosure of herbicide use prompted their request to remain anonymous, to avoid trouble with government officials. By 1980, the combined Tuan/Toolara plantation covered almost 317 000 acres.[65] Much of it was treated with these herbicides, though the exact figure is difficult to ascertain from Forestry reports.[66] Pastoralists have also continuously used hormonal herbicides to fight wattle and eucalyptus regrowth, including the more advanced hormonal herbicide picloram from the late 1970s, sold under the brand names Tordon and Grazon.[67] The application apparatus for Tordon is shown in Figure 8. This private, and mostly undocumented, use of herbicides goes some way to

[63] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[64] Anonymous and Anonymous, Interview with Former Forestry Worker turned Pastoralist, and his Wife.
[65] W. Bryan, 'Annual Report of the Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1980), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10521/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[66] J.A.J. Smart, 'Annual Report of the Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1981), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10522/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[67] Brian Phillips, 'Greenhill Diary', 2014, DY4 Holdings; Young, Schilling, and Davey, Personal Communication: Farming; Les Howard, Personal Communication: Farming, 24 December 2020; Davey, Personal Communication: Clearing; Dilger, Interview with Pastoralist; Pappin and Pappin, Interview with Retired Timber Worker, Pastoralist.

explaining the lack of historical attention, as it is almost impossible to build a comprehensive account of what and how much was used where. This gap is reinforced by intentional suppression because of sensitivity to controversy.[68] The deleterious effects on humans of these chemicals contributes to concealment of documentation of their wider use. It is another hidden aspect of forest history. Despite these issues the small amount of evidence gathered here, within the constraints of a PhD thesis, suggests there is much more to be found.

[68] Another pertinent example of this sensitivity and concomitant secrecy was uncovered by historian Jean Williams in 2008, when, in researching the human impacts of the Vietnam defoliants, found documents labelled 'sensitive' that recorded Defence testing of these chemicals near the Johnstone River in North Queensland, in Matthew Benns and Frank Walker, 'Agent Orange Town in QLD', *Brisbane Times*, 18 May 2008, sec. Queensland, https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/agent-orange-town-in-qld-20080518-ge9ypq.html.



Figure 8 Photograph showing a person in 2020 wearing a Tordon (herbicide) application kit, with needle dispenser inset bottom left. Source: Cindi Davey, 2023. CC BY 4.0

5.2 Accelerating processing

5.2.1 Forestry Experimentation

War-driven acceleration of deforestation also drove development of timber processing tools. Processing tools have received considerably more attention from forestry historians such as Carron, Taylor, Dargavel and Davis, due in part to greater official acceptance and promotion of sawmills and their operation.[69] There are also considerably more publicly available primary sources detailing refinements in use, including those conducted by Forestry. In his first report as Forestry Director, E.H.F. Swain (whose enthusiasm for forestry led to significant conflict with the Lands Department), highlighted the ways in which World War I had decimated timber supplies and civilian construction.[70] As a result, he was eager to expand processing capabilities to more effectively use remnant timber, as well as promoting the growing of new trees. During World War I, the Queensland government had purchased several sawmills, partly to ensure war production. Two years after the war, and Swain's installation as Director, management of the state-owned sawmills was transferred to Forestry.[71] Swain used these mills to advance processing capabilities, including experimental processing of previously rejected native species, leading to publication of *Timber and Forest Products of Queensland*.[72] In this book, Swain advocated the use of numerous native timbers that had previously been ignored by sawmillers. Operation of these mills also suggested to Swain that improvement in processing tools was critical. By 1923, he quoted the agency's Forest Engineer to show the need for upgrades: "With present equipment the turnover of our sawn pine organisation has almost reached its limit, and extra sawing capacity is required, to increase it." This was particularly true of the mill at Imbil, just

[69] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*; Dargavel, 'Constructing Australia's Forests in the Image of Capital'; Dargavel, *Fashioning Australia's Forests*; Davis, 'Spotted Gum and Ironbark: An Environmental History of the South Coast New South Wales Forest Industry' Sawmills have also received considerable attention in the Australian Forest History Society conferences, as illustrated in Figure 2.
[70] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests', 1 July 1919.
[71] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 102.
[72] E.H.F. Swain, *Timbers and Forest Products of Queensland* (Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Government, 1928).

south of Gympie. It was "in a dilapidated condition and must either be rebuilt or superseded by a more modern mill. It would be folly to rebuild the mill on its present site or on its present lines".[73] Further to the push for enhanced processing tools, a more technologically advanced mill was purchased in 1926 to the south at Yarraman. It contained:

> a modern band mill consisting of a 7-ft. Berlin band saw, 5-ft. Canadian circular mill, gang edger, two hand benches, case bench, three docking benches, and the necessary power resources, building, tramlines, and other appurtenances for the operation of the mill … [It had] a log consumption capacity of 6,000,000 feet per annum.[74]

Modern machinery allowed greater processing capacity.

Forestry's experimentations in processing supported acceleration via tool improvement, though they were somewhat hampered by economy: mill renovations were less favoured by government than outright purchase. In Swain's final report, when the mills were losing money and Yarraman had burnt to the ground, he continued his argument that these operations were 'essential', highly valued "because of the illumination which they afford in respect to timber utilisation".[75] Despite this value, the Imbil mill was closed, and Yarraman reconstruction only authorised via insurance, and on a much smaller scale. Four years later, under a new director, the regional state-owned mills were divested, due in part to losing £4000 per year, and Department recalcitrance in allocating funds.[76] While under Forestry's control, these state-owned mills assisted the acceleration and expansion of processing forest products. In this way, they supported and endorsed private sawmills' accelerating processing technology.

While the regional mills were lost, the experimental station in Brisbane remained, where processing experimentation continued. To decrease the drying

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[73] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests', 1924.
[74] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1926), 54, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10833/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[75] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1930), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10840/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[76] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 75.

time required between harvest and processing, large-scale kiln technology was trialled. Swain suggested that many native trees were considered useless because of difficulties with drying, or seasoning, the timber prior to processing. Just before his dismissal in 1932, Swain had a commercial kiln installed at the Brisbane site with Jules Tardent, war veteran and Maryborough forester, directing experimentation.[77] Grenning's first report revealed the intentions behind this kiln installation: "it is hoped to impress upon timber merchants and manufacturers the advantages to be derived from modern seasoning practice [because] at the present time, there is little sympathy with kiln seasoning".[78] When Tardent's experiments showed that kiln seasoning could accomplish in two weeks what would take 12 months with air-drying, kilns became more popular.[79] By 1938, there were over 85 kilns in use across the state.[80] Forestry's experimentation between the World Wars worked to greatly expand processing capabilities, encouraging sawmillers with sufficient capital to accelerate their operations.

5.2.2 Private Acceleration

As the private sector adopted improvements advocated by the Forestry service, and made their own improvements, the rate of timber processing greatly accelerated. The Lahey sawmilling family of Canungra, inland from the Gold Coast, expanded their operations to the Fraser Coast in the 1920s.[81] Talbot Lahey established a steam driven sawmill at Gayndah in 1920. In his frequent travels between Gayndah and Maryborough, he had noticed large amounts of

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[77] Gough, 'Early Forestry and 100 Years of Timber Research in Queensland'; E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1931), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10842/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[78] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Forestry Board' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1932), 34, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10868/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[79] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board', 1931.
[80] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1938), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10547/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[81] Romeo Lahey, instrumental in the declaration of Lamington National Park, was Talbot's cousin.

timber piled at the Brooweena station, awaiting transport. When the Gayndah mill was destroyed by fire in 1923, Talbot moved to Brooweena to access this supply.[82] The mill's opening attracted a crowd of 200 people to witness the new processing technology in action, signalling its novelty.[83] Despite the Great Depression, which had critically impacted the state mills, Lahey prospered and continued to improve his technology, connecting electricity in 1933, as well as later adding a planing mill, and kiln drying technology to improve the mill's processing capabilities.[84] By 1935, Lahey shifted 230 tons of processed local timber in one day, due in part to a 30 per cent increase in exports out of the district, and the ability to run the mill day and night with the electrical connection.[85] He also advocated for state reforestation to replace the declining hoop pine scrub that his mill was processing. Following the conclusion of World War II, and in partnership with son Maxwell, they established their own hoop pine plantation at Brooweena to ensure future supply.[86] By 1952, their economic success was attracting other mechanised technologies to Brooweena, including heavy log haulage equipment, and a motor mechanic, in line with accelerating harvest of the local forests. Expansion of processing capabilities continued with complete electrical conversion in 1967, and specialist machinery to process hardwood railway sleepers in 1971.[87] The mill was gutted by fire in 1986, though Max rebuilt, with improved machinery and

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[82] 'Woocoo Shire Council 02', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 1 May 1924, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article151349466.
[83] 'Brooweena's New Industry', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 19 June 1924, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article151339383.
[84] 'Local Government', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 27 December 1932, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148861322; 'Woocoo Council', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 25 May 1933, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article149297303; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 16.
[85] 'Timber Industry', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 16 March 1935, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article150065480.
[86] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 13.
[87] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 186; John Kerr, 'Forest Industry Heritage Places Study: Sawmills and Tramways South Eastern Queensland', Cultural and Heritage Reports, Comprehensive Regional Assessment (Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Department of the Environment, January 1998), 108. Kerr says 1957 and cites Harvey, who says the electricity was turned on in 1967.

continued to employ 28 people in 1988.[88] Lahey's mill was eventually closed in 2013, with only 15 employees remaining, due in part to bureaucratic decision making, and in part to the exhaustion of the forests.

Stocks' sawmill at Aramara shared a similar fate, in that their expansion outstripped resource regeneration. This mill began when Edward Gordon Stocks found agricultural pursuits in the area less profitable than timber processing. He began by trialling bananas, pineapples, and coffee, and set up a small mill in 1937 to make his own packing cases out of local native hoop pine, using a recycled petrol-powered car engine to run the mill.[89] Stocks found he could make more money selling cases to his neighbours than in growing food himself, so he phased out agriculture, and expanded his sawmill. By 1943, he had amassed sufficient capital to relocate to a larger dedicated site, on the bank of Doongul Creek. Here, he was also able to add the manufacture of housing timbers to that of packing cases.[90] Like Lahey, his contemporary down the road, Stocks created a partnership with his sons, who continued operations after Edward's retirement.[91] In 1986, the mill was purchased by Glen and Lola Simpson, who continued to run it as a speciality hard wood mill, until bureaucratic decision making and forest exhaustion provoked the mill's closure in 1999.[92] Though the smaller mills improved their processing tools, they were unable to withstand the wider forces contributing to deforestation.

5.2.3 Adjusting to Depletion

The larger, and more enduring Hyne and Son's sawmill, established by patriarch Richard Matthews (R.M.) Hyne in 1883, also prospered during the

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[88] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress* says that the fire was in 1986; 'Robertson Brothers' Sawmill Closes down', *The Courier Mail*, 26 November 2013, https://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/gympie/robertson-brothers-sawmill-closes-down/news-story/525620c037bace4b60a3577bb8221a2b says the fire was in 1988, the same year Harvey's history was published.
[89] Andy Anderson, 'Horse-and-Cart Days of Dirt Roads', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 1993, Glen and Lola Simpson; Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 186.
[90] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*, 186.
[91] Harvey, *Pioneers and Progress*.
[92] Simpson and Simpson, Interview with Aramara Sawmill Owners.

early twentieth century, with processing innovations geared towards diversification as well as acceleration. Third generation managing director J. R. L. (Lambert) Hyne produced a history of the company in 1980.[93] His father Henry had married Jessie Hart, daughter of a competing Maryborough sawmiller, and had struggled to keep the company afloat, due to poor health and challenging economic conditions.[94] Lambert began working for the company in 1921, at 19, and rose to Managing Director on his father's death in 1936.[95] The timber demands of World War II allowed for significant expansion of the company, whilst severely diminishing timber reserves. These effects were noted by Lambert: "Why the government never increased royalties at that time [during World War II] to build up a fund to replant the forests later puzzled many of us. It became clear to me that I would have to look beyond the usual limits of our traditional log supply in the future".[96] He did so by improving the company's tools, and extending its reach.

War concerns facilitated Hyne and Son's expansion into hardwood forests west of the Fraser Coast. In 1942, Defence instructed the local sawmills, as essential industries, to protect their infrastructure with walls, though Lambert argued this would not protect the mill from aerial attack. Instead, to assuage government fears and expand hardwood processing, he offered to open a mill in a more concealed and rural location, to ensure government supply. Limited hardwood supplies on the Fraser Coast pushed this war-driven expansion 150 kilometres to the south-west of Maryborough. It was operational within one month, and could process approximately 4 000 feet of timber every eight hours.[97] Lambert also leveraged his company's importance to the war effort to further expand hardwood milling into forests to the north-west. Post war,

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[93] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*.
[94] Hyne; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*.
[95] Peter Taylor wrote that Lambert started working for the company after his marriage in 1928. It is assumed that Lambert himself is a greater authority in this regard.
[96] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 62; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 27.
[97] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 62.

concerns about declining native softwood resources focused attention on improving hardwood processing capabilities. The Maryborough mill had continued to process local hardwood, though slowly and with difficulty. Their existing eight-foot Canadian band mill was a satisfactory tool for the processing of local hoop and kauri pine, but struggled with hardwoods. Lambert explained the trouble:

> Australian eucalyptus has a characteristic unknown in the softwood areas of the world – of shortening the length of the woody fibres of the stem as the tree grows. This sets up great stress or 'spring' on the perimeter of the log. To relieve this 'spring' the best sawing pattern is to remove the two sides of the log simultaneously. This was invariably done with a frame saw (a reciprocating frame in which two or more vertical saws were keyed). These rigs were slow and laborious but produced good straight wood when followed by either a rack bench or large hand bench enabling the sawyer to saw the flitch free-hand.[98]

To accelerate their hardwood processing from these 'slow and laborious' methods, increased saw speed was trialled, but gave unsatisfactory results. American experiments with processing hard frozen wood showed that slowing down the saw speed was effective. This worked well, though still required two workers to guide the log through the saw. To improve its commercial viability, the system required specialist machinery to hold and turn the logs as they were fed through. There was no pre-existing machinery that matched these specifications, so Lambert designed his own, and contracted a USA company to manufacture it.[99] Norm Buettel's history of Maryborough describes this innovation in glowing terms: "designed to minimise labour and give maximum safety and production … [this] method of sawing difficult eucalyptus species was originated in Hyne's mill and has been copied throughout Australia".[100] It worked to accelerate Hyne and Son's processing of local hardwoods, and was another expansion driven by war demands.

Hardwood expansion was also driven by concerns about softwood depletion. From its opening in 1883, native softwoods such as hoop and kauri

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[98] Hyne, 70.
[99] Hyne, 70.
[100] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 56–57.

pine had formed the majority of Hyne and Son's sawmilling. Founder R.M. had expressed concerns about the depletion of Queensland's timber resource at the end of the nineteenth century, as discussed in Chapter Three. Henry had expanded the business to milling Bunya pine near Nanango just prior to his death. Under Lambert's leadership, from 1934 to 1960, this additional mill processed "some 2, 500, 000 - 3,000,000 super feet of hoop and bunya pine for twenty-six years until the resource failed", suggesting the company's role in this failure.[101] To address increasing supply shortfalls, Lambert's attention turned to Forestry's pine plantations, particularly in relation to the thinnings being removed from native and exotic forests to promote the growth of the more desirable trees. The thinnings were too small for existing mills to process, but Lambert drew on experiences in South Australian plantations, "and was alive to what could be done with these 'baby logs'". He also drew on the practices of Norwegian and Swedish mills, who were adept at processing smaller logs. He found that the thinnings could be processed with "a Linderman Jointer, which dove-tailed and glue-jointed narrow boards into wider ones". After procuring this specialised tool, he then requested Director of Forests Grenning auction the thinning rights to the Amamoor hoop pine plantation, near Gympie. On securing these rights, a new mill was designed and built in Maryborough and installed at the plantation. He claims his "competitors thought [he] was mad", yet the mill was successful enough to acquire another plot, as well as purchasing and upgrading the former Forestry mill at Imbil in 1949. In 1954, he obtained a new boiler for the Imbil mill from Sweden to improve processing, and fed this mill with expanded timber rights purchased from other, less successful sawmills. Thus, Hyne and Son had the technology to process pine well in hand when in 1973 the Government auctioned one and a half million superfeet of timber, representing the first cut from Forestry's Tuan plantation. With this security of supply, the equipment for processing smaller logs was transferred from

[101] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 65.

Amamoor to Maryborough. Combined with timber from other sites such as K'gari, this mill processed approximately "2,750,000 super feet per annum."[102]

By the middle of the 1970s, Lambert's three sons were contributing to the company's acceleration of pine processing. Soon after beginning the Tuan processing, the older mills and equipment left at Amamoor and Imbil were amalgamated into a more modern and improved mill at Melawondi. This mill was informed by international research in milling smaller timber conducted by Lambert and his sons, including engineer Richard's innovations with dry kiln technology. The Granville mill was also significantly modernised by Christopher, utilising his science degree, and computerised control of machinery was adopted from the 1980s.[103] Christopher later reflected that the initial forays into "plantation softwood was an absolute disaster. The timber was coming out like corkscrews" until the company's processing techniques improved.[104] With the shift to processing of plantation pine, Hyne and Son were favourably placed to continue operations when official visions for the regenerating native forests shifted to conservation, discussed in the next chapter.

In line with adaptations to processing tools, Hyne and Son also produced an increasing variety of end products. Lambert, in his extensive travels to open new markets, observed Mount Isa Mines' cooling towers being supplied with pine from South Australia. He undercut the competition, then had to adapt his processing technology, as the multi-head borers required to produce these framing timbers were 'prohibitive' in cost. Instead of purchasing this new tool, Richard was able to design and construct their own, which "was duly done at about one-tenth the cost of the imported plant, and our own design permitted twenty-two holes to be bored at the one time with each hole to be within a few millimetres of each other", enabling faster processing and greater precision.[105]

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[102] Hyne, 66.
[103] Hyne, 67; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 186.
[104] Hyne Timber, 'Our History', n.d., https://www.hyne.com.au/about/our-history.
[105] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 72.

These Fraser Coast pine boards were used in cooling towers across Australia. The company continued to improve its ability to process ever smaller logs, and artificially join shorter lengths of timber, as well as develop manufacture of veneers.[106] Hyne and Son's innovations in timber processing contributed significantly to the exhaustion of the Fraser Coast's forests, reflected in Lambert's disingenuous complaints in 1980:

> The logs are getting smaller and smaller and the percentage of sapwood greater and greater; if this sapwood had to be discarded it is extremely doubtful whether the hardwood sawmilling industry in Queensland and New South Wales would be viable".[107]

Lambert retired from active duty in 1979, leaving his sons to deal with the consequences of three generations worth of timber harvest and processing. Eldest son Warren, like Lambert, worked his way up through the company to Managing Director in 1978 and Chairman in 1985. His brothers also held key roles in the company; Richard as Manager of Development and Technical Services, and Christopher as Manager of Business and Development.[108] The brothers' roles show the continued attention to development and improvement of timber processing technology that has facilitated the company's continuing operations, throughout Queensland, nationally, and internationally.

5.3 Accelerating growth

5.3.1 Developing planting

Accelerating forest depletion in the first half of the twentieth century also drove improvements in silviculture. The limited resources of the first two Forestry directors, Board and McMahon, prevented any serious attempts at afforestation or reforestation, though they constructed the foundation on which third director, N.W. Jolly, was able to begin silvicultural experimentation. When not in conflict with Lands about native timber reservation, Jolly's focus was in assembling a detailed stock take of the existing forest reserves and promoting regeneration

[106] Watson, *Fighting over the Forests*, 8.
[107] Hyne, *Hyne-Sight*, 75.
[108] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 11.

through experimentation, starting at Atherton and K'gari.[109] The experimental station on K'gari was headed by Walter Petrie, grandson of explorer Andrew Petrie, and was instructed by Jolly "to experiment with the regeneration of eucalypts, the treatment of hoop and kauri pine and also to try out some exotic species" of pine.[110] Treatment involved clearing brush and ringbarking trees that were not economically viable, to increase the nutrients available to the desired trees and thus accelerate growth. Exotic pines were not successful on K'gari, though the developing treatment system supported the growth of native hardwoods.[111] Jolly, with limited funds and staff, focused on regenerative treatment rather than the more expensive and risky business of planting. When Jolly's successor Swain was not writing profuse critiques of Lands and timber wastage, he expanded the staff and silvicultural efforts, focussing on satisfying the enormous demand for softwoods.[112] Amongst other experimental sites expanded and established by Swain was 10 acres at Maryborough, "established on poor wallum waste and twenty different species [were planted] in order to prove by survival which ones may be applied eventually to the reclamation of the large areas of waste wallum along the coast of Queensland".[113] Exotic species of pine, such as Radiata (*P. insignis*) had performed well in the southern states, where plantations produced up to ten times as much timber as native forests could.[114] This species was rejected by Swain, as slash (*P. elliottii*) and loblolly (*P. taeda*) had more potential for the wallum, and were amongst the successful species trialled at the Maryborough site.[115] There, the new species "exceeded expectations, the slash pine in particular growing at a faster rate

[109] N.W. Jolly, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1914), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10850/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 100; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 56; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 128; Gough, 'Early Forestry and 100 Years of Timber Research in Queensland'.
[110] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 128.
[111] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1921), 8, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10858/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Holzworth, *Monarchs of the Woods*, 1999, 20.
[112] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 61–62; Gough, 'Early Forestry and 100 Years of Timber Research in Queensland'.
[113] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board', 1926, 60.
[114] Watson, *Fighting over the Forests*.
[115] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 104–5.

than under similar conditions in America".[116] Under Swain, treatment to encourage native regeneration expanded to planting; exotics and natives.

Of the native species, hoop pine became the most prolific after extensive experimentation in its germination, planting and growth. Hoop pines generally only produce viable seed every three years, which in natural conditions is only germinative for approximately six months. This supply problem was solved with cold storage.[117] Once germinated, transplanting was also difficult, though when successful could grow over one metre per year.[118] Within Swain's acceleration of silvicultural experimentation, the transplanting issue was addressed with tool development. The development of tubing for transplanting shows the widespread innovation that individual foresters were engaged in, as the origins of this technique are disputed. Deputy Forester Frederick Weatherhead was credited as developing the Weatherhead tube in 1921, which greatly improved the success rate of hoop pine planting. The tool's manufacture may have been inspired by the use of bamboo as planting tubes on K'gari, cut from Maryborough to facilitate hoop and kauri planting, as well as brush box hardwood.[119] Peter Holzworth, in *Monarchs of the Woods*, suggests Jack Innis was responsible for the innovation. Innis was a returned soldier who used the 'Innis' clip on tubes at Imbil nursery.[120] John Huth included three other claimants: Rollo Petrie's that his father Walter had used tubing for seedlings on K'gari in 1918; Jules Tardent's that his father had used tubes made from cans in his home garden in the early 1900s; and former forest manager Ray Robinson who claimed the invention as his uncle's. Huth concluded that it was a cooperative effort, "involving Petrie, Tardent, Weatherhead and perhaps Swain" as all of them had links to the Fraser Coast and were in contact through the

[116] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 169.
[117] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 75.
[118] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests', 1921.
[119] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 144; Holzworth, *Monarchs of the Woods*, 1999, 30.
[120] Holzworth, *Monarchs of the Woods*, 1999, 32.

Benarkin plantation, to the south.[121] Weatherhead however was the one to patent the tool, particularly the clipping device that secured it, thus receiving credit in the more widely available and general histories by Carron and Taylor, as well as by Swain in the next year's Forestry Report.[122] This collaborative effort signals Forestry's dedication to acceleration, and significantly increased the survival rate of hoop pines germinated in nurseries for reforestation. Improvements in the technology of seed storage and seedling transplant allowed for the rapid acceleration of hoop pine reforestation, so that throughout the 1930s Forestry planted an average of 2000 acres per year with hoop pine. Replacement of the denuded forests of the Fraser Coast began with Swain's push to accelerate the growth of economically desirable trees.

5.3.2 Establishing plantations

The experimentation conducted and directed by Swain came to fruition under his successor Grenning. The existing experimental stations expanded their planting, with a substantial boost from 1933, related to increased government funding. With this boost, planting accelerated from almost 500 acres in Swain's last year, to almost 4000 acres by the 1939-40 financial year, predominantly of hoop pine.[123] At this time, Grenning reported:

> Before the outbreak of War, the question of reducing the cut of [native softwoods], with a view to extending the supply for certain special purposes, was under consideration. On the outbreak of war, however, it was decided not only to postpone such action, but also to increase softwood output during the period of national emergency.[124]

This decision led to an almost 40 per cent increase in output during the war, in comparison to timber harvest in the late 1930s. Planting decreased dramatically

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[121] Huth, *As Things Were: Trees and Snippets From Queensland's Forest History.*, 82.
[122] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 102; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 62; E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1923), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10861/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[123] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1933), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10534/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1940), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10549/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[124] Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry', 1940, 2.

during the war, predominantly due to labour deficits.[125] Post-war, and with an increasing labour pool, Grenning further accelerated planting with "the conversion of low-grade hardwood forest, on the poorer coastal lands – unsuited to the growth of hoop pine – to plantations of exotic pines".[126] To this end, Swain's successful experiments begun in Maryborough were significantly expanded. A small timber reserve bordering Tiaro was enlarged to almost 100 000 acres towards the coast and gazetted state forest in 1948 to create the Tuan plantation.[127] Despite many scattered pockets of this wallum land being deemed unsuitable for planting, and the nutrient deficiency of the soils, it had the benefit of a permanent fresh water source as well as proximity to Brisbane markets.[128] This land was clearfelled in order to establish trees that were more acceptable to processors.

Once clearing (predominantly by bulldozers, as above) was complete, planting could begin. Manual clearing began in 1947 and slash pine seedlings from Beerwah were in by 1948. Eckert explained that slash pine was chosen over the harder loblolly pine because of its greater cost effectiveness: Loblolly required an extra fifteen centimetres of soil depth, and was harder to prune.[129] Eckert further provided a table of Tuan planting from 1948 to 1971, graphed in Figure 9. This graph indicates not only the planting that occurred, it also indicates how much of the wallum was cleared of its biodiversity to be replaced

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[125] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1942), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10552/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1943), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10553/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1944), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10557/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1945), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10558/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[126] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1949), 3, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10562/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[127] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 64.
[128] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*.
[129] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 169.

with these exotic pines. As Eckert's data shows, planting generally declined from 1955 to 1965. Andy Anderson, District Forester from 1954 to 1974, in an address to the Maryborough Historical Society in 1960, explained that the initial Tuan target was reached in 1957, with planting then slowing to 500 acres per year. Anderson estimated that six million trees had been planted in the previous 12 years.[130] After 32 years of expanding the plantation estate, Grenning retired in 1964, leaving a plantation estate of almost 100 000 acres across Queensland.[131] Grenning's successor AR Trist exceeded Grenning's achievements with an injection of new funding during the Vietnam War, when federal government concerns for self-sufficiency of timber resulted in the *Softwood Forestry Agreements Act* of 1967.[132] This funding injection resulted in another wave of accelerated planting, as can be seen in Figure 9. By the end of the 1970s, Queensland Forestry had planted native and exotic pines on almost 150 000 acres of land across Queensland, with over 20 per cent of this being the exotic plantation at Tuan.[133]

[130] Huth, *As Things Were: Trees and Snippets From Queensland's Forest History.*, 124.
[131] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 91.
[132] Commonwealth of Australia, 'An Act Relating to Agreements between the Commonwealth and the States in Connexion with Softwood Forestry', 42/1967 § (1967), https://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/num_act/sfaa1967421967372/; Ajani, *The Forest Wars*.
[133] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 118.

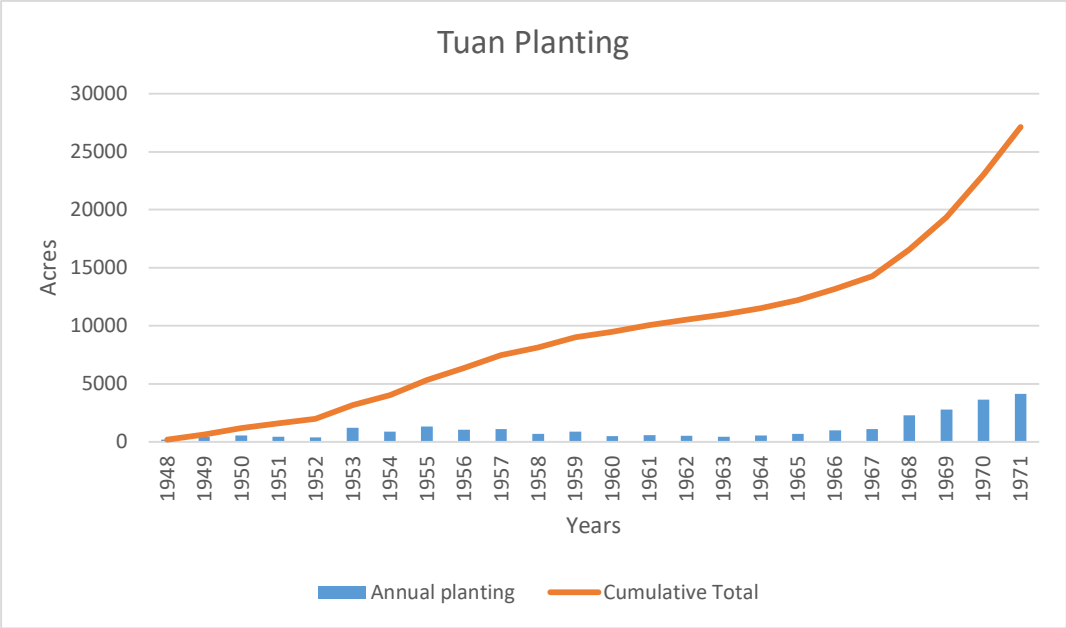


Figure 9 Graph showing Tuan Planting 1948-71. The bars show the annual area planted. The line shows the cumulative total. Data from: V.E.R. Eckert, A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island (Maryborough, Queensland: V.E.R. Eckert, 2003), 74.

The acceleration of tree removal and processing machines discussed above were not initially shared by planting, though experimentation was conducted to find faster and better ways to grow trees. Investigations in the 1940s suggested that improved drainage via mounding improved the viability of transplanted seedlings, though this earth moving was not attempted at any great scale until sufficient mechanisation was acquired.[134] Mounding was trialled on a larger scale at Tuan from 1968.[135] In 1978, with the aid of improved machinery, Eckert used this technique to establish another plantation inland, near Doongul, which was then named Wongi after the adjacent water holes.[136] Here, under Eckert's direction, mounds were constructed using a variety of rotary hoe sizes. A large, two-metre-wide hoe with six plough disks that slightly flattened the top of the mound gave the best results.[137] Planting of Wongi was considerably faster than Tuan's establishment, as the techniques developed there were applied and expanded to better fit the inland soils. Eckert continued to tinker with the process, and his mounding trials were considered significant enough for the Premier's public relations branch to collect numerous photographs of trials in 1983, to showcase Queensland progress in reforestation.[138] Planting in unmounded soils was enhanced with the adoption of a planting machine, the design of which Eckert attributes to Fraser Coast Forestry, though this technology had also been developing in the US during the labour shortages of the war years.[139] At the front was a plough to open the ground, and a chute for a worker to drop a sapling down, with highly angled tyres at the rear to close the ground behind, as illustrated in Figure 10. Pine trees planted in this fashion had a "higher survival rate than hand planting" as

[134] Carron, 117–18.
[135] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 69.
[136] Eckert, 108.
[137] Eckert, 109.
[138] That Premier was Joh Bjelke-Petersen. Premier's Department, Public Relations Branch, 'Trials with Tractor Mounding Plough - Maryborough - Wongi', 1983, ITM3350855, Queensland State Archives - Photographic Colour Negatives of Queensland Industry, Services, Views, People and Events.
[139] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*; Fred B. Trenk, 'Evolution of Modern Tree Planting Machines', *Journal of Forestry* 61, no. 10 (1 October 1963): 726–30, https://doi.org/10.1093/jof/61.10.726.

the machines “were fast and efficient”.[140] Genetic experimentation with various species of pine also began during Ekert’s time.[141] This experimentation combined slash pine with Caribbean pine (*P. caribaea*), an advancement that “combines the best attributes between these species”. Planting of these hybrids commenced in the mid-1980s.[142]

[140] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 66.
[141] Eckert, 109.
[142] HQ Plantations, ‘Southern Pine Fact Sheet’, HQ Plantations: Species we grow, n.d., https://www.hqplantations.com.au/our-plantations/species-we-grow; HQ Plantations, ‘Southern Pine Overview (Detailed)’, HQ Plantations: Species we grow, n.d., https://www.hqplantations.com.au/our-plantations/species-we-grow.



Figure 10 Photograph showing a planting machine in operation, n.d. Note the angled wheels for closing the soil around the seedlings. Source: Terry Thies and Peter Niesler, Personal Communication: Interview follow up, 30 October 2022. Reproduced by their permission.

Concomitant with the growth of exotic pines, hoop pines remained a significant aspect of Forestry's reforestation strategy. By the beginning of World War II, they represented 75 per cent of Forestry's plantation expansion.[143] Queensland's native hoop pines were under considerable pressure for a variety of purposes, including the transport of butter, with Australia's entire war export of this product encased in Queensland hoop pine, as well as the numerous other uses promoted by Swain.[144] Post war, planting of this valuable timber continued, particularly in the vine scrubs that had previously hosted them, including at the Imbil experimental station. While these trees were not suited to the environmental conditions of the Tuan plantation, they had grown profusely in the Fraser Coast's vine scrubs, including around North Aramara, Fairlies Knob and Brooweena.[145] From the 1960s, Forestry augmented the remnant stock and those plantations started earlier by local timber processors, such as Fairlie for his Maryborough joinery, Lahey at Broweena, and Stocks at Aramara, as well as replacing the remnant native timber those sawmillers had rejected. Once all millable trees were harvested, the remnant vine scrub was cleared with bulldozers, to replant better hoop pine, in greater density. In retrospect, Forestry bulldozer operator Terry Thies found it quite bizarre to be engaged in pushing over young hoop pine, to plant more hoop pine.[146] The work of replanting was also arduous: planting machines could not access the precipitous slopes, and the tubed seedlings were carried by the planter on a sling, along with manual planting tools. Despite the difficulties, the economic value of these trees was considered worth the troubles in growing them. Under this regime pine forest expanded dramatically, replacing fragmented sclerophyllous forest and the wallum vegetation with new trees that were better suited to human endeavours at the expense of forest biodiversity.

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[143] Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry', 1940.
[144] Swain, *Timbers and Forest Products of Queensland*; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 78.
[145] Carron, *A History of Forestry in Australia*, 105–16; Judith Powell, 'People and Trees: A Thematic History of South East Queensland with Particular Reference to Forested Areas, 1823-1997' (Indooroopilly, Queensland: Queensland CRA/RFA Steering Committee, 1998), 59; Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[146] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.

5.3.3 Managing hardwood

Forestry also worked to accelerate the growth of hardwood, using management of existing stands rather than planting. Hardwood planting had received less attention from commercial growers than softwood for several reasons, predominantly economically rationalist in nature: softwoods were easier to process, and grew more quickly than hardwoods. They were also less threatened than native softwoods, with Swain describing hardwoods as "native armies … which … have advanced upon the coastal belt under cover of winter and periodical droughts, and now beleaguer" the more valuable softwood stands.[147] Indeed, Swain went to great lengths to turn economic attention to hardwoods, and Grenning committed under five per cent of forestry's planting program to hardwoods.[148] For control and regeneration of hardwood timber, forestry conducted a program of 'treatment', trialled initially amongst the hardwoods of K'gari by Walter Petrie.[149] By 1926 Petrie's system was standardised under the following headings in Swain's annual report:

(a) The initial improvement ringbarking;
(b) Utilisation;
(c) The regeneration burn;
(d) The seeding ringbarking;
(e) The cleaning of reproduction and the planting of blanks.[150]

Ringbarking was used to remove non-economically viable trees, while regrowth was also selected for its economic viability, so that ironbarks, blackbutts and spotted gums were encouraged and most others removed. Spacing was also important, so that the treatment program also included ensuring the most viable trees were 15 to 18 feet apart, to maximise their nutrient uptake and potential growth rates. The treatment was to be repeated eight to ten years later, as unwanted growth returned following the treatment program. Accelerating the growth of economically viable native hardwoods relied more on labour than

[147] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board', 1926, 7.
[148] Data in this section sourced from Annual Forestry Reports 1931-1981, Department of Primary Industries eResearch Archive, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/..
[149] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests', 1921.
[150] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Provisional Forestry Board', 1926, 72.

specialised tools, and was of a lesser priority than supplying softwood, thus fluctuating considerably more than the accretion of plantation pine, as shown in Figure 11. Treatment of native forests peaked concomitantly with labour availability, so that government relief programs worked to accelerate the 'treatment' of hardwoods during the Great Depression, with the post war assistance of a displaced persons scheme, and with another round of unemployment relief in the early 1960s.[151] By the early 1980s this treatment had been applied to almost 340 000 acres of the Fraser Coast's hardwood forests, and was in decline as the availability of pine plantation for processing grew.[152] In working to accelerate the growth of native hardwood, forestry accelerated harvest, destruction, and 'natural' regeneration across a much wider area than that taken by the more visible exotic plantations.

[151] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1962), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10490/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*; Huth, *As Things Were: Trees and Snippets From Queensland's Forest History*.
[152] Smart, 'Annual Report of the Department of Forestry'.

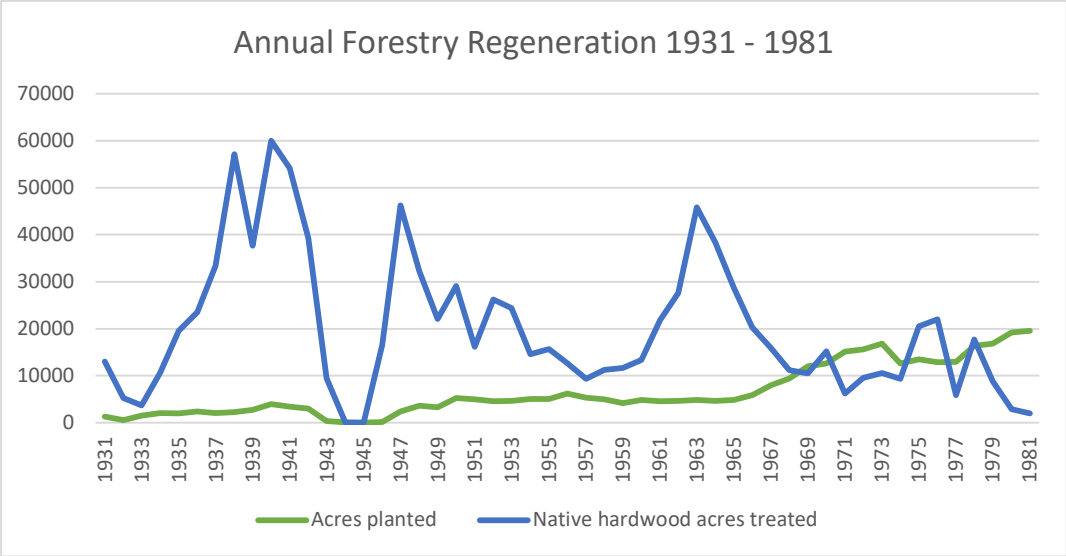


Figure 11 Graph showing Annual Forestry Regeneration 1931-81. The green line shows ‘Acres planted’, including hoop pine, exotics and hardwood. The blue line shows ‘Native hardwood acres treated’. Data from Annual Forestry Reports 1931 – 1981, Department of Primary Industries eResearch Archive, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/.

figure 11

With the labour available from the early 1930s, the hardwood forests on the Fraser Coast came under Forestry's attention. Treatment of the Thinoomba State Forest began in 1935, along with Doongul and St Marys in 1937, concomitantly with the Forest Grazing Leases discussed in the previous chapter.[153] Forestry's attempts to exclude fires other than their own had allowed the accumulation of large fuel loads, illustrated dramatically by severe fire seasons in 1951 and 1957.[154] Experimentation in preventative burning was conducted in the Thinoomba State Forest in the 1950s, with Eckert making comprehensive measurements of the effects. He did not mention that the District Forester lost control of this 'treatment' burn, though Dreger reported "the first time they burnt it, they, oh they scorched hell out of it 'cause it hadn't been burnt for years hey."[155] Unofficially some of it had, repeatedly, and this likely contributed to stymying Forestry's fire. Eckert's long-term measurements showed that more regular, controlled fire did not significantly impact the standing timber, though "lantana in the plots was reduced to almost nil, and D/F [District Forester] Anderson was pleased with the results."[156] Experimentation in controlled burning of vegetative debris in plantations as a preventative began in earnest after a particularly troublesome fire season in 1968, when "damage in areas that had been treated with prescribed burning was far lower than it otherwise would have been."[157] Rising costs associated with constructing fire breaks, despite the mechanisation that accelerated this practice, also contributed to Forestry's embrace of fire, as long as it was in their control.

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[153] Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1935), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10537/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries; Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1937), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10544/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[154] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 144.
[155] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[156] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 200.
[157] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 144; C. Haley, 'Annual Report of the Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1970), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10500/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.

Forestry dedicated considerable time and effort to excluding unofficial fire from forests. Clearing of fire lines and firebreaks were trialled in 1918, saving forests at Biggenden and on K'gari that year, whilst other neighbouring forests burned.[158] The fire breaks "consisted of two parallel narrow cleared lines separate from each other by a belt from which inflammable growth had been excluded".[159] By 1921, fire lines had begun to enclose 13 different state forests and reserves and expanded rapidly.[160] Billed as construction, they involved destruction of less valuable forest areas to protect the ones Forestry valued. Further attempts to control fire were taken in the legislative sphere, with Forestry's agitation leading to the Rural Fires Act of 1927, which worked to increase forestry oversight on neighbouring freeholds and forbid private fire on Forestry leases.[161] To save on patrol hours, mountaintops, tall trees and other naturally high vantage points were utilised, including on Mount Doongul. Shelters were built, and communication systems expanded from telephones to high frequency radio. Construction of artificial viewpoints began in Atherton in 1934, quickly spreading to other forests following the bad fire season of 1938-39.[162] Holzworth's history of these towers explained that initially, fire towers were built using plans from Sydney, though soon "most towers were designed by the men who built them … using intuitive design and rough sketches rather than formal plans".[163] Following World War II, towers were constructed at Tuan and on Mount Benarige in St Marys Forest. Innovation with these tools for fire detection continued through the 1960s, with three legged towers unique to

[158] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests', 1 July 1919.
[159] E.H.F. Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1920), 40, https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10857/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[160] Swain, 'Annual Report of the Director of Forests', 1921.
[161] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 143; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Make Better Provision for the Prevention and Control of Rural Fires, and for Other Purposes', 18 Geo V 15 § (1927), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1927-015.
[162] Peter Holzworth, *Silent Sentinels: The Story of Queensland's Forest Fire Towers and the People Who Built Them* (Brisbane, Queensland: Department of Primary Industries and Fisheries: Forestry, 2006), 8; Vic Grenning, 'Annual Report of the Sub-Department of Forestry' (Brisbane, Queensland, 1934), https://era.dpi.qld.gov.au/id/eprint/10541/, eResearch Archive: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
[163] Holzworth, *Silent Sentinels: The Story of Queensland's Forest Fire Towers and the People Who Built Them*, 14.

Queensland, concrete footings and the substitution of steel for timber in response to the decline of tall trees suitable for constructing lookouts.[164] The development, and the decline, of St Mary's fire tower was illustrated by John Huth, with a collection of photographs showing the tall tree with rungs nailed on in the late 1920s, to the construction of the wooden tower completed in 1936 and the ruins in 2018.[165] This tower fell into disuse as Forestry retreated from management of the hardwood forests in the 1990s, and eventually removed as a safety hazard.[166] The tower made of satinay at Tuan remains standing, and is now of heritage value.[167] Wongi State Forest's steel tower, constructed in 1982, also remains standing. Wayne Theuerkauf of the Dunmora Rural Fire Brigade, having climbed this tower, believed it would be very helpful in modern Rural Fire Brigade operations, though staffing them was problematic: some foresters had referred to the duty as 'detention', partly due to the long hours of close attention required.[168] The threat of fire in State forests and timber reserves was of enough concern to justify the long hours spent in manual clearing of fire lines and sitting in fire towers, until electronic monitoring equipment and aerial patrols became more economically advantageous.

Aerial technology, initially appropriated from Defence, also supported the extent of forestry's reshaping and control of forests. Jules Tardent, in addition to his work in Brisbane on kiln technology, gained access to an Army plane in 1932 and began aerial surveying of forests in North Queensland, vastly decreasing the time required to conduct ground surveying.[169] Following the end of World War II, "transport aircraft used by the services became available to

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[164] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 71; Holzworth, *Silent Sentinels: The Story of Queensland's Forest Fire Towers and the People Who Built Them*, 17–19.
[165] Huth, *As Things Were: Trees and Snippets From Queensland's Forest History.*, 143.
[166] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[167] George Seymour, 'The Tall Timber Tower of Tuan', *The Maryborough Sun*, 22 September 2022.
[168] Theurkoff et al., Interview with Dunmora Rural Fire Brigade; Anonymous, Interview with Pastoralist.
[169] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 216.

commercial operators".[170] These commercial operators contracted to Forestry, for large scale fertilising and fire management, as well as continuation and expansion of aerial surveying. Aerial fertiliser application began from 1958. A specialised truck loaded the fertiliser onto the plane, which then released the fertiliser over the young trees. Thies recalls they "did a lot [of fertilising] by hand originally. Then they done it with tractors and then they started aerial fertilising".[171] Fertilising the plantation was vastly accelerated by aerial technology, as was Forestry's ability to detect fires, initially by contract spotters flying loops around the Fraser Coast's forests.[172] From the early 1970s, aerial technology also facilitated the intentional use of fire. Capsules of potassium permanganate were loaded on the plane prior to take off. An incendiary machine, running off the power of the plane, would inject glycol into the capsules, then drop them from the plane. The resulting chemical reaction created fire.[173] It was a technique perfected with napalm in Vietnam. Forestry burnt "hundreds of thousands of acres" using this method, though "sometimes they'd overshoot, and light somebody's paddock up".[174] Overshooting could "not only be dangerous but illegal" as well.[175] Accuracy was enhanced, and compensation payments avoided, when helicopters replaced fixed wing planes. Forestry's acceleration of forestry growth was enhanced and extended by aerial technology.

5.4 Conclusion

War demands and technological developments for war purposes were a significant driver of the Great Acceleration, especially for forests. The development, uptake and spread of tools developed for war purposes and used to remove trees has received very little detailed analysis, despite their

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[170] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 81.
[171] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[172] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 33.
[173] Holzworth, *Silent Sentinels: The Story of Queensland's Forest Fire Towers and the People Who Built Them*, 11; Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[174] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.
[175] Holzworth, *Silent Sentinels: The Story of Queensland's Forest Fire Towers and the People Who Built Them*.

proliferation. Rather, tool development and use has been subsumed beneath generalisation and alarm at the profundity of their impacts. Acceleration of Queensland forest use and management began prior to 1950, particularly during the interbellum, when labour was plentiful. An immeasurable removal of trees, intensified by war resourcing needs, further drove technological innovation, by state and private enterprise, as processors adapted to the shrinking resource, both in land coverage and in tree height and girth. The forests had shrunk, in terms of their acreage, tree size and biodiversity. To continue supply of this highly valuable resource for domestic purposes (and support future geo-political conflict), State Forestry worked to replace the lost trees, as well as to ensure a better, more abundant timber product into the future. As part of this program, the second largest exotic pine plantation in Australia replaced wallum and low-quality hardwood forests on the Fraser Coast. The biodiversity of these forests suffered considerably, but there was considerable tree growth. In the hardwood forests, some types of growth were encouraged at the expense of others, across hundreds of thousands of acres. Forestry's management refreshed and streamlined these forests, so that more trees grew more quickly at the expense of old trees, ugly trees and general biodiversity, though less visibly than in the neatly ordered rows of exotic pine plantations. Even there, perpetual attention was required to thwart fire and regrowth. These profound and accelerating changes to forest composition attracted an entirely different, though not always peaceful vision for forests: their ecological conservation.

6 Politics of Conservation: 1960s to the present

This chapter examines the growth of the environmental conservation vision and the ways in which it impacted the Fraser Coast. The environmental movement's origins lie in the United States, fed by wilderness ideals as well as observable environmental degradation, such as that which prompted Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, and inspired the growth of Environmental History as a distinct field of historical inquiry.[1] The environmentalist vision for forests and other environments was an intensification of previous conservation efforts, more publicly visible and politically active than the utilitarian mode of the conservation conversations impelling forest reservation at the turn of the century, which was discussed in Chapter Three. The environmentalist movement soon reached Australia, with the Victorian Little Desert campaign of 1968-69 an early appearance.[2] Campaigners for protection of the Little Desert, and successive campaigns for the preservation of various environmental features, such as Lake Pedder in Tasmania in 1972, targeted state politicians, as well as using the court system to object to development applications. This politically active style of environmentalism appeared concurrently in Queensland, where campaigns against sand mining escalated in 1969, at Cooloola on the southern boundary of the Fraser Coast. Queensland's unicameral Legislative Assembly, led by conservative Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen from 1968 to 1983, was particularly hostile towards environmentalists. Initially, in Queensland and Australia, political pressure had limited impact, so environmentalist strategies for pressuring legislators to protect various environmental features shifted and changed.

Drew Hutton and Libby Connors' A *History of the Australian Environmental Movement* identified the 1970s as a period when the methods of the movement became considerably more militant in response to political

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[1] Carson, *Silent Spring*; Worster and Crosby, *The Ends of the Earth*; William Cronon, 'The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: WW Norton and Company, 1995), 69–91.
[2] Libby Robin, *Defending the Little Desert: The Rise of Ecological Consciousness in Australia* (Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1998).

reluctance to prioritise environment over economy.[3] This increasing militancy could be seen in the use of direct action, or the conservationist actions which Tim Bonyhady classified as "outside the formal decision-making structures of government".[4] The term includes various methods of disruption to economic processes, including union strike action in the Sydney Green Bans of the 1970s, as well as tactics to impede machinery access to various forests. This chapter examines direct action in the form of occupation and sabotage, tactics which in part were instigated by former Vietnam War protesters.[5] While occupation and occasional sabotage of development sites was conducted, others continued to engage with the formal decision-making structures of government. Further layers of political responsibility and concern for environments were also added in 1972, with the Commonwealth's endorsement of the World Heritage Convention, which allowed for federal intervention in state environmental management, including the Queensland government's management of K'gari. By 1982, the environmental movement combined official and unofficial methods of political persuasion at local, state, federal, and even international scales successfully, at Terania Creek in New South Wales and the Franklin River in Tasmania, and the Daintree in North Queensland.[6] Whilst the majority of these campaigns took place in the continent's south-east corner, they served to inspire, inform and occasionally even people the campaigns that took place in Queensland.

This chapter argues that in Queensland the growth of the environmental conservation movement worked to mobilise stakeholders from outside the locations of concern to implement new visions for forest use and management. In Queensland, forests, especially rainforests, were often the focus of these campaigns. Economic extraction was deemed incompatible with wilderness,

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[3] Hutton and Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*, 125.
[4] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 132.
[5] Watson, *Fighting over the Forests*; Hutton and Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*.
[6] Watson, *Fighting over the Forests*; Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*; Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia*.

and the schism between economic and environmental/conservation visions deepened over time. Direct action, often by visiting environmentalists, bought the combatants into close association within the disputed places, significantly heightening tensions on the ground and in the political arena. Attempts to bridge this divide had limited success at the intergovernmental level, as the Federal Government attempted to direct Queensland's forest use in compliance with international ideals of environmental management, as well as party political philosophies. Finding a cooperative approach between legislative interests and levels of government relied on the forests of the Fraser Coast to carry the load displaced from other, more aesthetically desirable areas, whilst also itself supporting increases to areas under conservation. In order to secure compliance from the forest users and managers displaced, Queensland's Labor government privatised commercial forestry, and provided compensation to the timber processors and graziers to reduce their forest use. Legislation supporting the conservation vision has had varying levels of success in changing the forests, as the existing users navigate legislative complexity and the forests themselves comply to varying degrees.

6.1 Conservation vs. Conservatives

6.1.1 Bureaucratic Process and Urban Concern

The increasing range of stakeholders concerned about forests became sharply apparent in conservation campaigns against sand mining at Cooloola. The expansion of this industry prompted and revealed numerous competing interests in the lands holding valuable mineral sands. Mining company Cugden Rutile applied for a lease between Toolara pine plantation and the coastline at Cooloola in 1963. The application prompted objections from locals, emerging conservation organisations, and even the Departments of Agriculture and Forestry.[7] Cugden Rutile withdrew its application, but was not entirely daunted. Despite the application's failure Dr Arthur Harrold, the founder and Secretary of conservation organisation the Noosa Parks Association did not lower his guard.

[7] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 6.

His focus was predominantly on saving the forests that grew on the sand dunes, as "[f]or many years the Cooloola State Forest has existed as one of nature's wonderlands" for which "[t]here is only one logical form of land use for the area, and that is as a National Park."[8] The Caloundra Branch of the Wildlife Preservation Society also issued postcards for residents to fill in (shown in Figure 12) and send to the Premier, insisting the area be declared a National Park.[9] This facilitation encouraged a wider range of people to register the value they saw in the area, including its recreational opportunities for Brisbane residents.[10] When Cugden Rutile and Queensland Titanium sought to extend their operations in the area again in January 1970, they met even more concerted resistance. Conservationists argued in the Mining Warden's court that the area should be reserved for National Park, not only because of its outstanding natural features, "but also because of the dearth of other parks close to Brisbane."[11] The mining warden did not agree, and approved the mining applications.

[8] Dr A.G. Harrold, 'The Fight to Save Cooloola', *Noosa News*, 12 December 1968, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article260439020.
[9] 'Save Cooloola', *Noosa News*, 7 November 1969; R Turner, 'Cooloola National Park - Another Perspective on the Bjelke-Petersen Government', *The Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland* 120 (2016): 47–51, https://doi.org/10.3316/informit.749999856063878.
[10] Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland: From 1915 to the 1980s*, 347.
[11] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 8.

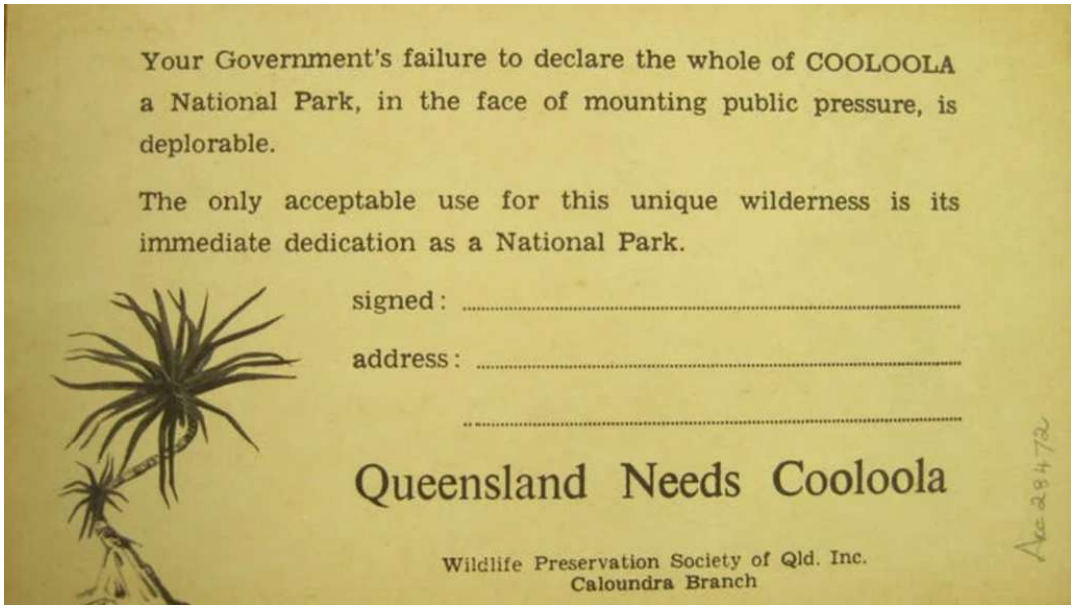


Figure 12 Image showing the Cooloola campaign postcard, 1969. Source: Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland (WPSQ), Sunshine Coast & Hinterland Inc, P.O. Box 275 Caloundra Q 4551. Reproduced by permission of WPSQ.

The post cards combined with media attention to escalate the issue beyond the Mining Warden's Court. Cooloola's Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), Mike Ahern, took a tour of the Noosa River on 10 January 1970, guided by Dr Harrold and associates. The forests and sand dunes impressed Ahern enough to acknowledge that "the Sunshine Coast needed a substantial area such as the Cooloola area to be preserved as a National Park."[12] According to Bonyhady, Cabinet would have authorised the Mining Warden's decision had not Ahern subsequently "persuaded Bjelke-Petersen that the issue was so controversial it should be resolved by the joint government parties".[13] Ahern was likely influenced by his tour of the area. Driving the issue beyond Cabinet also worked to destabilise the Premier. The joint government parties did not consider the issue until August, and conservationists used the extra time to increase publicity: through the media and by distributing petitions in Liberal seats in Brisbane. The public's response prompted the joint government parties to reject the mining application. Bjelke-Petersen's position on mining, at Cooloola and in relation to Comalco shares, contributed to a leadership challenge in October of that year.[14] He only narrowly survived the challenge, and was forced to make concessions on mining. In November, Cabinet rejected the mining applications.[15] Though Bjelke-Petersen later embraced the resulting Cooloola national park, Bonyhady and Toyne suggest that the forced acquiescence on this area made the Premier more determined to oppose conservation in favour of development.[16]

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[12] 'National Park Views Solidify', *Noosa News*, 16 January 1970, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article260435001.
[13] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 8.
[14] Doug Hunt, 'Writing Political History: Joh Bjelke-Petersen and the 1970 Leadership Challenge', *Queensland History Journal* 20, no. 10 (2009): 470–94; Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*; Turner, 'Cooloola National Park - Another Perspective on the Bjelke-Petersen Government'.
[15] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 9 suggests it was December, but the decision was reported in; 'Cabinet's Decision on Mining Angers', *Canberra Times*, 11 November 1970, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article110437941.
[16] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*; Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia*; Turner, 'Cooloola National Park - Another Perspective on the Bjelke-Petersen Government'.

Successful political pressure on the state government regarding Cooloola did not extend to success on K'gari. John Sinclair, a resident of Maryborough, closely scrutinised events at Cooloola, and worked to bring about similar results on the island to protect the beaches, the perched lakes, and the forests. Murphyores and Queensland Titanium had obtained mining leases there prior to the Bjelke-Petersen government's investiture. Though Sinclair objected to these existing leases, it was attempts to extend them in 1971, following the Cooloola dispute, that prompted the formation of the Fraser Island Defender's Organisation (FIDO), with Sinclair as president. [17] FIDO adopted the Cooloola campaign tactics of filing objections with the Mining Wardens Court, and providing pre-printed protest forms, enabling people all over Australia to easily lodge their concerns about the issue.[18] Murphyores, by then in partnership with the US company Dillingham, discarded its applications for less valuable sites in the north of the island when challenged. Despite FIDO's objections, the mining warden approved the rest of the application, as did Bjelke-Petersen before the Warden's decision was even submitted. In an attempt to placate the conservation movement, just over 60 000 acres of the heathlands in the north were declared National Park. It was not enough.[19] FIDO continued objecting to the mining operations through the mining warden's court, as Queensland Titanium began actively mining their lease. The mining warden continued to find in favour of the mining companies, and published his reasons for doing so when Queensland Titanium successfully applied for a new lease in 1974. FIDO were then able to challenge the warden's decision in the Supreme Court. The court upheld the decision, though it admitted the mining case was weak.

Many Maryborough residents favoured the expansion of sand mining. A public meeting at City Hall had endorsed the State Government's encouragement of the mining, and protested the notion of the island being

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[17] 'About FIDO – Fraser Island Defenders Organisation', Fraser Island Defenders Organisation, n.d., https://fido.org.au/about-fido/; Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland: From 1915 to the 1980s*.
[18] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*.
[19] Bonyhady, 11.

gazetted national park in July 1974.[20] State and local approbation of mining did not dissuade Sinclair. He escalated the dispute to the High Court, who found that that the warden had not correctly considered the 'public interest' in finding against FIDO's evidence. Despite this judgement, the state government continued to support sand mining, as did many of the citizens of Maryborough. As a Department of Education employee, Sinclair was refused leave, and suffered several forced transfers. In addition, he became involved in defamation cases against the Premier and the mining companies. In Maryborough, his children's bike tyres were slashed and Sinclair's Scout troop were booed when he led them out at the local show.[21] The economic benefits of sand mining were viewed locally, and at the state level, as being of much more importance than the ecological values of the island.

Despite the High Court win, sand mining continued until the Federal Government became involved. The Whitlam government passed the Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act in 1974, requiring ministers to consider the environment in their decision making. Rex Connor, Minister for Minerals and Energy, subverted the intent of this act in the days between its approval and its commencement, by approving export licences for Dillingham-Murphyores, despite their lack of environmental impact statement. Environment Minister Moss Cass then invoked the new Act for the first time, to order an inquiry into sand mining in April 1975.[22] FIDO and many others made submissions to this inquiry. The Queensland government and Dillingham-Murphyores did not.[23] Their boycott did not help their cause. Though the Whitlam government was dismissed prior to the report's submission, its emphasis on the wilderness values of the island, and its recommendation that,

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[20] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 134.
[21] Bonyhady, 14, 16.
[22] Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland: From 1915 to the 1980s*; Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*; Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia*.
[23] 'About FIDO – Fraser Island Defenders Organisation'; Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia*.

"Fraser Island is worthy of being recorded as part of the National Estate" impressed the new Liberal Government.[24] Sand mining concerns were directed to cease operations by the end of 1976, and, the report recommended ten million dollars be directed towards the region in compensation for the loss of sand mining income. Local concern for ecological values was limited; conservationists worked to draw in and shape the visions of urbanised citizens, in Brisbane and Canberra, to shift land use legislation and displace state and local economic visions for the Great Sandy Region.

6.1.2 Direct Action and International Concern

Queensland's forests themselves gained more environmentalist attention during the 1980s. Bjelke-Petersen's forced acquiescence on mining the Great Sandy region worked to increase his hostility towards the aims of the conservation movement, again spurring localised environmentalists to seek succour from ever higher levels of governance by increasing the range and distribution of stakeholders. In the Daintree, the escalation partly took the form of direct action. The area had been declared national park in 1981, and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) included Queensland's Rainforests (and the Great Sandy Region) in their *Indicative Inventory of Natural Sites of World Heritage Quality* in 1982.[25] In 1983 the Bjelke-Petersen government approved the construction of a road through the Daintree, which environmentalists viewed as 'vandalism'.[26] Tensions were also heightened by the government's lack of a coherent or significant reason for building the road.[27] The economic impetus, to facilitate developer George Quaid's access to a new housing development, was

[24] John Hookey and Arthur B. Hicks, 'Fraser Island Environmental Inquiry', Parliamentary Paper (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1976).
[25] Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, 'The World's Greatest Natural Areas: An Indicative Inventory of Natural Sites of World Heritage Quality' (IUCN, Switzerland, 1982); 'A Chronology of the Protection and Management of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area (WTQWHA)' (Wet Tropics Management Authority, January 2007), https://www.wettropics.gov.au/site/user-assets/docs/chronology.pdf.
[26] Rachel Sanderson, 'The Battle for the Daintree', *National Library of Australia News* 14, no. 10 (1 July 2004): 7.
[27] David Holden, 'No Hippies or Greenies in Gondwanaland', *Index on Censorship* 18, no. 6–7 (July 1989): 30, https://doi.org/10.1080/03064228908534666.

the likely reason. Quaid had already cleared a rudimentary road through the rainforest in 1968, which had been gazetted as a road in 1970 and re-cleared in 1976 and 1979.[28] Environmentalist opposition began in earnest when the Bjelke-Petersen government authorised construction of a sealed road (in conjunction with Quaid and the Douglas Shire Council) through the national park. Beginning 30 November 1983, and led by the Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group, protestors buried themselves in the bulldozers' path, sat in trees and climbed machinery to prevent construction. Construction, and direct action were suspended by the wet season, resuming on 6 August 1984. The road was completed and opened two months later.

The protest shifted significantly in the second phase. Historian Rachel Sanderson, in examining the letters of key organiser Antony Toohey, described the first phase of the protest "as a local affair, the second was swollen by interstate supports. Instead of the relatively friendly country cops who were present initially, the 'dog squad' was sent up from … 'the dark alleys of Brisbane'"[29] and removed the protestors. The delay also facilitated involvement of a wider range of interests in rainforest protection, including more protestors and the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC). The AHC commissioned biochemists Aila Keto and Keith Scott (also of the Australian Rainforest Conservation Society) to assess the area in January 1984.[30] Their report concluded that the Daintree exceeded Heritage criteria, and promoted Heritage listing. At the Federal level, and despite Keto and Scott's report, the environment minister refused to overrule the state government.[31] Refusal to intervene was likely populist in motivation: Labor believed they would lose the

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[28] Colin Sale, Graeme Wilson, and Ben Friedman, *Our Changing World: The Vanishing Natural Ecosystems*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Melbourne, Australia: Longman Cheshire Pty Limited, 1993), 48; Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia*, 69; Hutton and Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*, 172.
[29] Sanderson, 'The Battle for the Daintree', 7–9.
[30] 'A Chronology of the Protection and Management of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area (WTQWHA)', 15.
[31] 'A Chronology of the Protection and Management of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area (WTQWHA)', 1; Toyne, *The Reluctant Nation: Environment, Law and Politics in Australia*, 71.

1984 election if the Daintree was protected.[32] Further, Bjelke-Petersen would entertain no obstructions to economic development, evidenced in his approval for specialist police to attend the Daintree, and his Environment Minister's vociferous public statements that "no hippy, no greeny, no environmentalist will stop the road from happening".[33] Without Federal intervention, the road went ahead. However, the campaign for protection continued.

Eventual protection of the Daintree was assisted by shifts in the domestic political landscape and increasing international pressure. The Fitzgerald Inquiry into Queensland corruption began in May1987, ahead of the federal electoral cycle. The Federal Labor Government was now less concerned about Bjelke-Petersen, and announced in June it would nominate the Daintree for World Heritage listing. It was returned in July. By December, Bjelke-Petersen had resigned his Premiership in disgrace. New state leader Mike Ahern had less concern for the Daintree than he had for his local Cooloola, and approved a state government protest delegation to the World Heritage Convention to dispute the listing.[34] The report handed to the State Cabinet afterwards celebrated the deputation's efforts in delaying official listing, due in part to the lack of agreement between State and Commonwealth. Geoff Muntz (author of the report) gloated "If the bout were fought according to [Federal Environment Minister] Richardson's rules we won by a knockout".[35] However this jubilation was misplaced. Despite the Queensland government's recalcitrance, and a further delegation to Brazil in December, UNESCO added the Daintree to the World Heritage list in December. The next year, the Queensland Nationals were replaced by the first Queensland Labor government in 32 years. The campaign to protect the Daintree illustrated the increasing interest of the international

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[32] Hutton and Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*, 174.
[33] Holden, 'No Hippies or Greenies in Gondwanaland'.
[34] Queensland Cabinet, 'Cabinet Minute 53984: Department of Environment, Conservation and Tourism - Official Delegation to Meeting of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee', 11 April 1988, ITM2999922, Queensland State Archives - Cabinet Minutes.
[35] Secretary Queensland Cabinet, 'Cabinet Minute 54549: Department of Environment, Conservation and Tourism Paris Delegation - World Heritage Listing', 20 June 1988, ITM3000487, Queensland State Archives - Cabinet Minutes.

community in the forests of Australia, particularly its rainforests. It also revealed the heightening tensions between the visions of environmentalists, and those who placed greater value on the economic development of Queensland than protection of its forests.

K'gari, in addition to its mineral sands, also contained forests of value to various competing interests. The 1976 sand mining inquiry had commented on State forestry's management of the island's vegetation favourably, in that:

> the visual integrity of Fraser Island has not been adversely affected by the carefully controlled logging operations. It seems likely that most visitors to the island – apart from experienced botanists, ecologists or foresters – would be unaware that its timber resources have in fact been exploited for over a hundred years.[36]

Though state-based management was outside the Inquiry's terms of reference, the report supported extension of national park on the island, as a means to remove not only sand mining, but also logging. Its actual recommendations were to the federal government and recommended rescinding mineral export licences, compensating the local community, and placing the island on the National Estate register. The sand mining was blocked at the federal level, and the island became the first place listed on the National Heritage Register. The state government increased the 120 000-acre park gazetted in 1971 by over 7 500 acres in 1979.[37] Yet most of the island's forests remained under the State Forest designation, providing almost 40 per cent of Maryborough sawmills' timber.[38] Locally, forestry had a greater economic impact than sand mining, and was thus of even greater concern to Maryborough's citizens. Nevertheless, Sinclair's sand mining fight, and the report's conclusions on the island's heritage values attracted international attention, with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) indicating the island's potential World Heritage

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[36] Hookey and Hicks, 'Fraser Island Environmental Inquiry'.
[37] Queensland Government, 'Executive Council Minutes 5200 - Addition to National Park on Fraser Island', 19 December 1979, ITM2699095, Queensland State Archives - Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection/ Environment and Heritage); Allan Shillig and Larry Shillig, *The Last Fraser Island Puntmen (1965 - 1992)* (Maryborough Qld: Allan Shillig, 2019).
[38] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*, 165.

value in 1982.[39] The escalating tensions between international, federal, state and local visions for the island contributed, in part, to the demise of the Bjelke-Petersen government.

The new state Labor government attempted to appease these competing visions with another inquiry into the island's use and management. New Premier Wayne Goss appointed Tony Fitzgerald, whose 1989 crime and misconduct commission precipitated Bjelke-Petersen's downfall, to investigate the sustainability of logging on the island. Goss acknowledged that, "the Fraser inquiry probably would not work without a commissioner of this calibre", signalling the intensity of the conflicting visions. The inquiry began in April 1990, and heightened tensions as protestors from out of state and overseas arrived. Allan Shillig, who transported cut timber to the mainland for processing before and during the inquiry remembered, "A group of protestors were brought in, including several from overseas, who spoke poor English."[40] Shillig claimed that protestors blocked access, embedded metal spikes in trees, and fixed themselves with glue and chains to machinery. He and his contemporaries were further aggravated by what they saw as a lack of knowledge about the local environment: "they came out with all sorts of nonsense that was nothing to do with Fraser Island. We had one tell us we had made satinay extinct on the island when he was sitting under a large satinay tree".[41] Forestry worker Ron Dreger also believed the protesters were illegitimate, and received unfair support:

> When they were protesting over there about the logging, those green people, that was all a big front. That wasn't fair dinkum. The police used to deliver their unemployment benefits every fortnight to 'em … they were paid by some of the big firms, like Dick Smith and that hey".[42]

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[39] IUCN, 'Resolution 18.71 Fraser Island, Australia', in *18th General Assembly Proceedings* (Perth, Australia: International Union for Conservation of Nature, 1990).
[40] Shillig and Shillig, *The Last Fraser Island Puntmen (1965 - 1992)*, 74.
[41] Shillig and Shillig, 80.
[42] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.

In this, he agreed with Shillig that the police presence was to protect the protestors, though protestors reported that the police were harassing them.[43] Further, Commissioner Fitzgerald was appointed to the Commonwealth's Heritage Commission in October of that year, though Goss assured parliament that the conflict of interest between the commissioner's state and federal roles was manageable.[44] The international community's concern over the island was also signalled, in a more official capacity, by an IUCN resolution at the end of that year. Resolution 18.71, from the first Australian conference of this organisation, called upon both federal and state governments to better protect the island by "immediately halting logging operations and other threats to the island's integrity, and to accelerate the processes to proceed with nomination under the World's Heritage Convention."[45] This Fitzgerald inquiry cast the competing visions for forest use, and the wide range of stakeholders who held these visions, into sharp relief. It also escalated tensions as the international, federal, state and local stakeholders came face to face, in the disputed forests.

Goss' election promises to increase the conservation estate were facilitated by Fitzgerald's findings. The report, *Commission of inquiry into the conservation, management and use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region* recommended World Heritage listing of the entire island, and that "logging of any timber other than blackbutt be prohibited" in all except regrowth areas.[46] The report also recommended that the management committee "direct future development away from Fraser Island to the mainland" displacing industry to those forests.[47] Goss lauded Fitzgerald's recommendations as "the most comprehensive set of documents ever prepared on Fraser Island and the

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[43] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 133.
[44] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 8 November 1990, Queensland Parliament Website, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Dates/Sitting-Date?date=1990-11-08.
[45] IUCN, 'Resolution 18.71 Fraser Island, Australia'.
[46] G E Fitzgerald, 'Commission of Inquiry into the Conservation, Management and Use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region' (Brisbane Qld: Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1991), LH 352.94232 COMM, Fraser Coast Libraries.
[47] Fitzgerald, 101.

Great Sandy Region, or on any environmental issue in Queensland".[48] And he implemented Fitzgerald's recommendations, declaring that, as the available blackbutt stands were not economically viable, all logging would cease by the end of the year. Despite the opposition of Maryborough's mayor, MLA, timber companies and other forest workers, as discussed below, the whole island was added to the World Heritage List by December 1992.[49] Though forest users and environmentalists could not compromise on their visions, they agreed that this Fitzgerald Inquiry was a wasteful political tactic designed to distance the government from the controversy of choosing between conservation and use.[50] Goss had the power, the impetus and the mandate to stop logging on the island without the trouble and expense of a lengthy inquiry, and the associated heightening of tensions on the Fraser Coast.

6.2 Federal direction and state variation

6.2.1 Federal Direction

In light of these and other forest fights around the country, the Commonwealth government tried to find a cooperative approach to forest use, that would satisfy not only international conservation commitments, but would also acknowledge the economic development goals of the States. In 1992 the Labor Commonwealth Government introduced the Regional Forest Agreement (RFA) process in an attempt to reach a cooperative agreement between international, federal, state and local stakeholders on forest use and management.[51] The Labor Prime Minister, Paul Keating, announced the RFAs through the *National*

[48] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 22 May 1991, Queensland Parliament Website, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Dates/Sitting-Date?date=1991-05-22; 'The Honourable Gerald Edward (Tony) Fitzgerald AC | Supreme Court Library Queensland', Supreme Court Library Queensland, n.d., https://www.sclqld.org.au/collections/explore-the-law/judicial-profiles/fitzgerald%20-120579.
[49] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:645.
[50] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 131; Shillig and Shillig, *The Last Fraser Island Puntmen (1965 - 1992)*, 82.
[51] Paul Keating, 'National Forest Policy Statement: A New Focus for Australia's Forests' (Commonwealth Government, 1995), https://www.agriculture.gov.au/sites/default/files/sitecollectiondocuments/forestry/australias-forest-policies/nat_nfps.pdf.

Forest Policy Statement (NFPS). [52] The NFPS prioritised ecology over economy, with conservation as the first objective, followed by wood production and the development of the various industries engaged in forest use. The RFAs would ostensibly allow "the Commonwealth and a State Government to reach agreement on the long-term management and use of forests".[53] The agreements were intended to be a cooperative approach to forest use and management, that would prioritise conservation, but would also provide for longer term economic security for forest harvesters and other users. The States were to draft the Agreements, with the Commonwealth's support. by this stage, Queensland had moved on from the conservative Bjelke-Petersen era, with its resolute pursuit of economic development. In 1989, the state elected its first Labor government since 1957. Labor premier Goss supported the initial NFPS, along with most of the other states. Labor remained in government in Queensland until 1996, as the initial planning and research for RFA implementation began. The NFPS, and the concept of the RFAs, received bipartisan support, though it appears that the two major parties had different ideas about the substance of the agreements.

To create an RFA, State and Commonwealth agreed to share research into a region's forest estate by conducting a Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA). However, shifting political alignments at both levels of government impacted Queensland's process. Once the CRA was underway, the governments' political alignments changed again. In Queensland, the Labor Premier who agreed to the Labor generated NFPS, Goss, lost the February 1996 election to the Nationals' Rob Borbidge. The Commonwealth Government turned conservative at the same time, with John Howard's Liberal-National coalition winning the March 1996 election. Conservative leaders Borbidge and

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[52] Keating, 6–13.
[53] CRA Unit South East Queensland RFA, 'Towards a South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement: Directions Report' (Department of Natural Resources, 14 May 1999), 4, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20020413232618/http://www.rfa.gov.au/rfa/qld/se/index.html, Trove; Wayne Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', Research Bulletin (Brisbane: Queensland Parliamentary Library: Research Publications and Resources Section, July 2000), 10.

Howard signed Queensland's Scoping Agreement to initiate the CRA by April 1998.[54] The plan, conceived, and agreed to by Labor, was then to be enacted by Liberal/National governments. Borbidge assumed native forest logging was to continue, in line with his Commonwealth colleagues. Labor's Peter Beattie did not. The 1998 Queensland election meant Borbidge was replaced by Beattie within three months of initiating the CRA. The agreement would now be between governments of opposing political alignments. Borbidge, and succeeding leader of the Queensland Nationals, Lawrence Springborg continued to support the maintenance of native forest logging through the 2001 and 2004 state elections, and lost both to Labor's Beattie. Beattie, as Premier, insisted that environmentalists and timber interests work together to produce an agreement.[55] Native woodchip exporters, though present and vocal on forestry matters in southern states, were not represented in Queensland. The industry had not developed here.

6.2.2 Variations

Queensland also differed from the Commonwealth in its interpretation of some key Commonwealth generated data. The **J**oint **A**ustralia and **N**ew Zealand Environment and Conservation Council and Ministerial Council on Forestry, Fisheries and Aquaculture NFPS **I**mplementation **S**ub-Committee (JANIS) generated criteria for forest reservation from Canberra, under Howard, in 1997. The *Nationally Agreed Criteria for the Establishment of a Comprehensive, Adequate and Representative Reserve System for Forests in Australia* included biodiversity, old-growth and wilderness.[56] To increase forest reservation in Queensland, the JANIS definition for 'old-growth' had to be amended because the southern-generated definition "neither adequately described the ecological

[54] South East Queensland RFA, 'Towards a South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement: Directions Report', 9.
[55] Ajani, *The Forest Wars*.
[56] Australia and New Zealand Environment and Conservation Council and Ministerial Council on Forestry, Fisheries and Aquaculture, 'Nationally Agreed Criteria for the Establishment of a Comprehensive, Adequate and Representative Reserve System for Forests in Australia' (Canberra, Australia: Joint ANZECC / MCFFA NFPS Implementation Sub-committee, 1997), 9, https://www.awe.gov.au/agriculture-land/forestry/policies/rfa/about/protecting-environment.

processes of the dry forest nor adequately captured the impacts of disturbances on such forests".[57] Instead, Queensland's definition emphasised ecological integrity and included natural disturbance regimes, reflecting the wide spectrum of trees within the forests; including regrowth, mature and 'old growth' ages. Forests that had been selectively harvested could be included, but not those that had supported grazing, or had regularly received anthropogenic fire.[58] Wilderness definitions were not explicitly altered, but some licence was taken with "essentially undisturbed land"[59] and "distance from European development".[60] Queensland's CRA identified ten wilderness areas: one was the national park in the north of K'gari. This is an interesting conclusion, at odds with Butchulla history and Native Title Claims, and with historic K'gari timber harvesting and processing by Maryborough sawmills.[61] Definition alteration suggests reserve extension in Queensland may have been minimal if strict definitions of 'old-growth' and 'wilderness' had remained. The CRA process highlighted the ways in which Queensland forests varied from pre-existing definitions, developed in other places. Global, and even national definitions were not applicable or helpful in increasing reservation of the state's forests.

Queensland also placed greater emphasis on plantation extension than the federal Australian Bureau of Agriculture and Resource Economics (ABARE). A report to inform the CRA process produced by ABARE, *Forest plantations on cleared agricultural land in Australia: a regional economic analysis* found over eight million acres of cleared agricultural land in Queensland with timber

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[57] Queensland RFA Steering Committee and Department of Natural Resources, 'Old Growth Forest in South-East Queensland' (Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Government, November 1998), 13.
[58] 'South-East Queensland Comprehensive Regional Assessment' (Indooroopilly, Queensland: Commonwealth and Queensland Regional Forest Agreement Steering Committee, 1999), 7–9.
[59] Australia and New Zealand Environment and Conservation Council and Ministerial Council on Forestry, Fisheries and Aquaculture, 'Nationally Agreed Criteria for the Establishment of a Comprehensive, Adequate and Representative Reserve System for Forests in Australia', 16.
[60] Keating, 'National Forest Policy Statement: A New Focus for Australia's Forests'.
[61] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995; Matthews.

plantation potential.[62] However, the report's authors judged that almost 3.5 million acres of that were unsuitable for pine processing, and existing cleared agricultural land in Queensland was more valuable as agricultural land than pine plantation.[63] The ABARES report suggested that plantation extension on reclaimed agricultural land was unlikely. Yet Queensland's final CRA report designated 6.7 million acres as potentially suitable for pine plantation establishment, approximately three million acres more than ABARE's revised figure, prioritising plantation over other uses.[64] It was another instance where federal and state direction diverged.

Informed by these revisions of Commonwealth generated information, the final CRA found that Queensland had approximately 8.6 million acres of forested land remaining. About 744 000 acres could classify as 'old growth', approximately eight per cent of the existing forests. Of that, 297 000 acres were already in reserve, 119 000 were in use in state forests, and 329 000 were in other locations, including private freehold. The report also obliquely recommended at least 198 000 acres of wilderness area reservation, in reference to the ten locations identified, and wilderness reserve criteria requiring an area greater than 20 000 acres in size. Plantations, predominantly softwood, occupied about 432 000 of those forested acres.[65] The report supported the expansion of the native softwood industry, as the harvest of native hardwood in the region had been in decline since the 1980s anyway.[66] From these research results, an RFA for south-east Queensland could be developed.

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[62] Kevin Burns, David Walker, and Allan Hansard, 'Forest Plantations on Cleared Agricultural Land in Australia: A Regional Economic Analysis', Research Report (Canberra, Australia: Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics, 1999) in ; Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements'.
[63] Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', 20–21.
[64] 'South-East Queensland Comprehensive Regional Assessment', 95.
[65] 'South-East Queensland Comprehensive Regional Assessment', 85–88.
[66] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.

Queensland's draft RFA reflected unusual cooperation between ecological and economic interests to increase reservation for conservation. The Queensland Timber Board's Chief Executive Officer, Rod McInnes, was ready to negotiate: members of the timber industry were exhausted from the earlier rainforest fights. The other head of the Steering Committee was President of the Australian Rainforest Conservation Society and biochemist Aila Keto. This Steering Committee also included representatives from the Department for Prime Minister and Cabinet, agricultural interests, and some First Nations groups. It was one of only two in Australia that foregrounded non-governmental membership.[67] The negotiations were heated at times, as economy and ecology wrangled for the forests of Queensland, however, in September 1999 "the State Government, the Australian Rainforest Conservation Society, the Queensland Conservation Council, the Wilderness Society, and the Queensland Timber Board" announced their draft RFA. [68] Conservation groups, such as the Wilderness Society, proclaimed *Towards a South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement* was "light years ahead of those in other States".[69] The recommendations gave seven scenarios for future forest use, on a continuum of increasing forest reservation and decreasing native forest harvest.[70] In the three scenarios recommending the phase out of native forest use, a transition to plantations was proposed to maintain viability of the economic timber interests. Within these plans, native forest use would be phased out over twenty-five years; to give new plantations time to come on-line. Economic, ecological and even cultural interest groups had cooperated in Queensland to propose discontinuation of native forest use, while ensuring that the timber industry maintained viability.

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[67] Catherine Mobbs, 'National Forest Policy and Regional Forest Agreements', in *Managing Australia's Environment* (New South Wales, Australia: The Federation Press, 2003), 99. The other was just over the border in Upper North East New South Wales, though their overall process was different, and included native wood chip export.
[68] Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', 11.
[69] Jarred, 12.
[70] South East Queensland RFA, 'Towards a South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement: Directions Report', 54.

Though Queensland's proposed RFA increased conservation reservation over time, shifts in political alignment and policy saw the Commonwealth fail to approve Queensland's proposal. Howard's Liberal/National Coalition ignored the NFPS intent, that emphasised conservation, and rebuffed Queensland's proposal because it "did not provide for future logging in areas of native forests making it fundamentally different from the arrangements that the Commonwealth had with other States."[71] The experiences of the southern states influenced the Commonwealth Government's decision, where the export of native wood chip had been lucrative.[72] The Commonwealth Minister for Forestry and Conservation, Wilson Tuckey, also criticised the agreement , claiming it did not stack up to expert ecologists' review, likely in reference to the amended JANIS criteria.[73] The RFAs were intended to be between "the Commonwealth and a State Government to reach agreement on the long-term management and use of forests".[74] However the shifting political alignments of the Commonwealth and State governments prevented this level of agreement on forest management and use.

6.2.3 Implementation

Queensland, having achieved agreement between economic and ecological interests on the future of the forests, legislated, despite the Commonwealth Government's lack of support. The RFA became the South East Queensland Forest Agreement (SEQFA), and informed the new legislation. Queensland's majority Labor parliament passed the *Nature Conservation and Other Legislation Amendment Act* in 2000, to enable the necessary forest management changes.[75] The Act formalised a commitment for the conversion of

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[71] Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', 15; Ajani, *The Forest Wars*, 143.
[72] Tim Dodd, 'Parliament House Protesters Unite in Unlikely Alliance', *Australian Financial Review*, 3 February 1995, sec. politics, https://www.afr.com/politics/parliament-house-protesters-unite-in-unlikely-alliance-19950203-k6a8b; Ajani, *The Forest Wars*.
[73] Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', 16.
[74] South East Queensland RFA, 'Towards a South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement: Directions Report', 4; Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', 10.
[75] Jarred, 'Regional Forest Agreements', 22; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Amend the Nature Conservation Act 1992, and for Other Purposes', 44/2000 § (2000), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-2000-044.

just over one million acres of forest (60% of that remaining) to conservation reservation immediately (even larger than indicated by the CRA), and facilitated a substantial increase in hard- and soft-wood plantations, reflecting almost the maximum conservation end of their scenario continuum. Closer inspection and negotiation with relevant First Nations stakeholders was required before the correct conservation category to identified land parcels would be assigned. The RFA legislation reflected the concerns of international, federal, state and regional stakeholders. It also added a new layer of management to Queensland's forests, by legislating cooperation between economic uses on one side of the fence, and ecological uses on the other. Ecological uses, as represented by National Park declaration, are explored in Chapter 7. The next section here examines how the politics of conservation shifted the entrenched economic visions in the Fraser Coast's forests.

6.3 Economic visions overlaid

6.3.1 Forestry Privatisation

State Forestry's presence on the Fraser Coast had been in decline since the 1989 change in government, and that decline accelerated after the SEQFA, as the environmentalist vision expanded. As part of the sweeping changes introduced by the Goss government, Forestry was demoted from its own department back to a 1920s-style Forestry Service, under control of the Department of Primary Industries (DPI), indicating a shift in its importance and its apparent focus.[76] Ed Casey, Goss' minister for Primary Industries, halted clearing for plantation expansion, and directed amalgamation of Forestry with water, agriculture and other primary industries.[77] The Department's Corporate Plan, from 1992, outlined the strategies for the Forestry program to meet the wider DPI goal to "develop and manage the State's water, forest and fisheries

[76] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 22.
[77] Thies and Dreger, Interview with Retired Forestry Workers.

resources to meet commercial and social obligations".[78] For forestry this meant a greater focus on commercialisation, while also demonstrating sustainability; somewhat conflicting aims.

Corporatisation and expanded commercialisation by the service led to privatisation, rather than expanded government control of the timber producing forests. In 2006, the Beattie Labor government split the management of plantations and native forests.[79] The management of the exotic plantations was to be conducted by a new commercial entity, Forestry Plantations Queensland (FPQ). The native hardwoods were to continue under government management, to whit the Department of Natural Resources, Mines and Water. Two thirds of the existing service staff were to transfer to FPQ, while one third were to go with the hardwood, reflecting the greater commercial value and viability of the exotic plantations.[80] Within two years, Aila Keto and Rod McInnes, joint architects of the SEQFA, issued a joint statement condemning FPQ's profiteering at the expense of the surviving sawmills as undermining the spirit and intent of the historic agreement.[81] Plantation operations were further privatised two years later, in 2010, with the government sale of a 99-year lease for timber production to Hancock Timber Resource Group (HQ Plantations) for

[78] Department of Primary Industries, 'Forestry Act - Queensland - Proposed Amendments - Regulations State Forest Parks - Toolara and Tuan - Corporate Plan 1992 - 1996', 1992, 5, ITM1430861, Queensland State Archives - General Correspondence (Forestry Regional Offices).
[79] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Establish Forestry Plantations Queensland to Manage, under the Forestry Act 1959, State Forests That Are Plantation Forests, Including Selling Particular Forest Products from Those Forests, and to Own and Use Other Property for Plantation-Related Purposes, and to Amend Various Acts', 16/2006 § (2006), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-2006-016.
[80] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 20 April 2006, Queensland Parliament Website, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Dates/Sitting-Date?date=2006-04-20.
[81] Aila Keto and Rod McInnes, 'Historic Forest Agreements At Risk' (Timber Queensland, 7 October 2008), http://www.timberqueensland.com.au/News/Media-Releases-2008.aspx.

$603 million.[82] Privatisation allowed the government to disconnect from Forestry issues and distance itself from plantation controversy.

Commercialisation and privatisation also saw the complete abandonment of hardwood plantations, minimal as they were. A review commissioned by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries in 2015 concluded "The volume, quality, location and timing of the projected hardwood plantation estate mean that this resource will not directly replace the native forest resource as currently sourced from State land."[83] The Department cited this report as the reason for abandoning attempts to establish hardwood plantations, and recognised climate variability, pests and disease as inhibiting factors.[84] Interview participant and long term pastoralist who wished to remain anonymous suggested that the attempted spotted-gum plantation bordering his property failed because the trees planted there were sourced from Rockhampton, rather than locally, and many were not suitable for processing.[85] The SEQFA had suggested that hardwood plantations would ensure timber supply for processors. On the Fraser Coast, and more broadly, this became another failed vision for the forests. Yet, privatisation of plantation timber supply allowed the government to distance itself from the turmoil incited by the economic use of forests. The native state-owned forests, under the control of the Department of Natural Resources, Mines and Water from 2006, were to be converted to National Park, as discussed in the next chapter, and were to be managed at considerably less cost for their ecological values, rather than their economic ones. Many of these

[82] AAP, 'Qld Govt Sells Forestry Asset', *Brisbane Times*, 18 May 2010, sec. Queensland, https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/qld-govt-sells-forestry-asset-20100518-vahn.html; Timber Queensland Association, 'Plantation Development: Size, Type and Location', Timber Queensland, 2021, https://www.timberqueensland.com.au/Growing/Size-type-location.aspx.
[83] GHD Pty Ltd and Stephen Walker, 'The Hardwood Plantation Program in Southern Queensland: A Summary of the Current and Future Plantation Estate, Its Wood Flow and Product Potential, and the Potential Role This Resource Could Play in a Future Queensland Timber Processing Sector in the Period 2025 - 49' (Canberra, Australia: Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, June 2015).
[84] 'Hardwood Plantation Program', Queensland Government Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, 8 June 2020, https://www.daf.qld.gov.au/business-priorities/forestry/native-timber-action-plan/hardwood-plantation-program.
[85] Anonymous, Interview with Pastoralist.

forests had been managed at varying levels within Forestry's treatment program, discussed in the previous chapter, and were now to be overlaid with a different style of management, less invasive and much cheaper.

6.3.2 Timber Compensation

The application of environmentalist visions for K'gari necessitated economic loss for Maryborough, officially acknowledged by the Goss government with a compensation program. Following Fitzgerald's report, the Hyne company made ominous predictions about the viability of their company, despite their expansion into processing the Tuan plantation, discussed in the previous chapter. Warren Hyne, Managing Director, claimed that implementation of the recommendations would trigger a 75 per cent decrease in their operations. Further, Chris Hyne, Manager of Business and Development, announced 26 retrenchments by Christmas, with 14 to follow by the end of 1992.[86] Neither they, nor forestry historian Peter Taylor, mentioned the compensation package recommended in the report.[87] Bonyhady did, suggesting that Maryborough was overcompensated, and actual retrenchments were less than half those predicted by the Forestry Service, or by Fitzgerald himself.[88] The sawmill was supported through the shift with extensions to its plantation and native hardwood allocations on the mainland.[89] This included government support to purchase Boral's timber milling business in Urangan.[90] Most timber workers on K'gari transferred to the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Some relocated to the Tuan plantation, though some existing Tuan employees were made redundant, in order to make room for the K'gari workers.[91] Maryborough in general received almost $40 million in compensation, some of which funded timber worker redundancies, while some was used to promote the city's history,

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[86] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:645.
[87] Taylor, *Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland*.
[88] Bonyhady, *Places Worth Keeping: Conservationists, Politics and Law*, 139.
[89] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 2:645.
[90] Secretary Queensland Cabinet, 'Cabinet Minute 01535: The Phasing Out of Logging on Fraser Island and Its Estimated Effect on Employment', 16 September 1991, ITM408572, Queensland State Archives - Cabinet Minutes.
[91] Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*.

including the Wharf Street Heritage precinct, the Bond Store restoration, and the establishment of the Maryborough Family Heritage Institute.[92] Those involved in the timber industry mourned the loss of the K'gari resource and berated the government publicly, though the generous compensation package and the forests of the mainland ameliorated their disappointment.

The conservation vision spread further across the mainland following the SEQFA. The timber industry was exhausted from the Daintree and K'gari conflicts, and had become more amendable to compromise.[93] The SEQFA envisioned that the logging pushed from K'gari into the mainland's native state forests, was to cease by 2024.[94] To achieve this goal, Boral once again shrank while Hyne expanded, with Rod McInnes explaining on Radio National, "Boral were about 40 per cent of the Crown saw log volume in South East Queensland. So having Boral happily moved on with a large cheque in their pocket it meant that the remaining volume could be spread" across other mills in the area.[95] Generous compensation was again the government's chosen tool in implementing this expanded vision of what the Fraser Coast's forests should be. Boral received its large cheque, as did Hyne's, which sold the hardwood portion of its operations to the government in June 2006. Hyne's continued to process hardwood until September 2007, when Dale and Meyer's sawmills purchased the operations.[96] The government sold the mills for considerably less than it had paid, partially in acknowledgement of the limitations inherent in the 2024 goal to cease logging native forests. In 2019, the failure of the hardwood plantations

[92] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 243; Queensland Cabinet, 'Cabinet Minute 01534: Overview of Queensland Government Response to the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Conservation, Management and Use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region', 16 September 1991, ITM408571, Queensland State Archives - Cabinet Minutes.
[93] Ajani, *The Forest Wars*, 140.
[94] C.A. McAlpine, A. Peterson, and P. Norman, 'The South East Queensland Forests Agreement: Lessons for Biodiversity Conservation', *Pacific Conservation Biology* 11, no. 1 (2005): 6.
[95] 'South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement', *RN Earthbeat* (ABC Radio National, 16 October 1999), https://www.abc.net.au/listen/radionational/archived/earthbeat/south-east-queensland-regional-forest-agreement/3646006 The transcript of this interview gives his last name as 'McGuinness', but as it also cites 'Aisla Keeto', it was determined to be a misspelling.
[96] James Hyne, 'Dates and Documents', 25 February 2021.

saw the Palaszczuk government extend logging of native forests not yet converted to national park, until 2026, as the SEQFA is "updated to recognise new unexpected challenges facing the industry".[97] In light of the continuing spread of the environmentalist vision, in 2023 Raymond 'Curly' Tatnell, Director of Dale and Meyers since 2005, was optimistic that native forests could and would continue to supply timber, but that uncertainty of supply also prohibited processing improvements to more efficiently process the regrown and regrowing hardwoods.[98] Due to the 'unexpected' failure of the hardwood plantations, if the hardwood processing industry is to continue, it will require access to the native timber resource.

6.3.3 Forest Grazing

Cattle grazing in state forests was also within the scope of the CRA, though information about the ways in which this practice had impacted forests as less readily available than information on the growth and impacts of Forestry and sawmilling. Leases in state forests for grazing purposes had been formalised by a Labor government from 1934, as discussed in Chapter Four. These Forest Grazing Leases, with terms as long as 30 years, were primarily issued by the Lands Department, though monitoring them was Forestry's responsibility. The 1959 Forestry Act introduced Stock Grazing Permits (SGPs), with terms limited to seven years, to be issued and monitored by Forestry. Lands was still able to issue lengthier leases in State Forests as well, with a name shift to 'special leases' and with the Conservator's approval.[99] Control of these leases changed again in 1994, reflecting political reshuffling and departmental shifting, so that DPI Forestry controlled SGPs and the Department of Natural Resources

[97] Annastacia Palaszczuk and Mark Furner, 'Palaszczuk Government Takes Action to Support Timber Industry Jobs', Queensland Government, Ministerial Media Statements, 4 November 2019, https://statements.qld.gov.au/statements/88797.
[98] Tatnell, Interview with DTM Timber Director.
[99] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Provide for Forest Reservations, the Management, Silvicultural Treatment and Protection of State Forests, and the Sale and Disposal of Forest Products and Quarry Material, the Property of the Crown on State Forests, Timber Reserves and on Other Lands; to Make Provision for the Management of National Parks and Scenic Areas; and for Other Purposes.', 8 Eliz II 58 § (1959), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1959-058.

controlled the 'special' or now re-named Term Leases.[100] This was the state of affairs, with two different departments officially monitoring cattle in state forests, when the CRA was conducted.

Neither the Department of Primary Industries nor that of Natural Resources seems to have collected data on how many cattle were actually in the forests, assuming lease holders were complying with the stocking rates in their leases. The lack of accurate data, and the complication of two different governing bodies, contributed to contradictions between CRA reports. George Antony's "Forest Grazing" found that both types of leases were operating in 49 per cent of south-east Queensland's state forests and timber reserves.[101] Judith Powell's "People and Trees" gave the figure as 70 percent, based on a personal communication with a Department of Natural Resources employee.[102] This discrepancy is reflective of variances between official vision and forest reality. Antony's report, with a tighter focus than Powell's, even specified, "While DPI–Forestry still collects licensed carrying capacity information on SGPs, there currently exists no data on the actual extent to which the forest is utilised for grazing."[103] Further, Antony declared, "most of the available Australian literature is from the southern states and this largely concerns sheep."[104] The dearth of data led to Antony proposing a tentative figure of state forest grazing's economic value as $16.5 million over the proposed 25-year SEQFA span. Despite this marginal and uncertain economic value of approximately $660 000 per year, grazing leases were allowed to continue, including in forests that were declared national parks, though these could only continue until the expiration of

[100] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to the Administration and Management of Non-Freehold Land and Deeds of Grant in Trust and the Creation of Freehold Land, and for Related Purposes', 81/1994 § (1994), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1994-081.
[101] George Antony et al., 'Forest Grazing', Queensland CRA/RFA Steering Committee (Indooroopilly, Queensland: Queensland Government, 1998), ix.
[102] Powell, 'People and Trees: A Thematic History of South East Queensland with Particular Reference to Forested Areas, 1823-1997', 80.
[103] Antony et al., 'Forest Grazing', 5. Emphasis in original.
[104] Antony et al., 12.

their lease, or three years.[105] Land's Special, or Term Leases were also still allowed in state forests, though they were less likely to be approved than SGPs were by the DPI, illustrating the continuing gap in the foci of the separate departments.[106] One reason for the continuation of these leases in the remaining state forests was outlined by Antony: "Landcare issues, such as feral animal control, weed control and wildfire hazards, may become more significant on bordering freehold land if grazier management of crown forests is reduced."[107] Some of the state forests being grazed were converted to national park, including parts of the Doongul State Forest, renamed Wongi in 2006, but not all. In 2024, graziers were still able to obtain seven-year SGPs in state forests, and other areas that have not yet been converted, and cattle still inhabit these forests, sanctioned and unsanctioned. The official continuation of these leases represents the continuing political influence of the pastoral sector on the use and management of public forests.

Spreading forest conservation visions and supportive legislation were not limited to crown land, but also impacted the ways in which private forests could be used and managed. Adjacent to the SEQFA, the Beattie government extended forest conservation principles to freehold land, with the Vegetation Management Act (VMA) in 1999.[108] This Act was assented to in December, with the majority of its provisions to come into effect the following September. Legal scholars Jo Kehoe and Henry Boer found that this window was seized by freehold landowners, and forest clearing increased dramatically during this

[105] Queensland Government, An Act to amend the Nature Conservation Act 1992, and for other purposes.
[106] Department of Environment, Science and Innovation, 'Operational Policy: Stock Grazing in State Forests' (Queensland Government, 2020), https://www.des.qld.gov.au/our-department/policies.
[107] Antony et al., 'Forest Grazing'.
[108] Queensland Government, 'An Act about the Management of Vegetation on Freehold Land', 90/1999 § (1999), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1999-090.

time.[109] Labor premier Beattie assured landowners there would be compensation for the encroachment on their private property rights, though in 2004 Liberal Prime Minister Howard, as with the abortive RFA, again refused to fund the Queensland government's ambition to conserve its native forests. This was in spite of the 1999 Act and its subsequent amendments significantly contributing towards Australia's international Kyoto Protocol obligations.[110] Again, Beattie legislated his government's forest visions in spite of the Commonwealth's rejection, with a 2004 amendment guaranteeing compensation for landholders. This compensation was to be funded entirely by the Queensland government through a range of measures requiring significant amounts of paperwork and other efforts by landholders to actually access.[111] The complexities in accessing compensation, as well as in compliance were acknowledged with further funding to support landholders from 2007, as well as modification of other compensation packages to provide assistance in completing the applications for assistance.[112] In 2012, the conservative Newman state government worked to weaken the VMA, enabling greater private forest clearing, though the provisions removed were reinstated when Labor again took power three years later.[113] These different approaches to forest management further highlighted the instability of the legislation. As the SEQFA comes to expiry, and its sister legislation the VMA has changed and changed again, becoming increasingly more complex along the way, the forests

[109] Jo Kehoe, 'Land Clearing in Queensland', *Environmental and Planning Law Journal* 23, no. 2 (2006); Jo Kehoe, 'Environmental Law Making in Queensland: The Vegetation Management Act 1999 (Qld)', *Environmental and Planning Law Journal* 26, no. 5 (2009); Henry Boer, 'Deliberate Disproportionate Policy Outcomes and Regulating Deforestation in Queensland, Australia', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 3 July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8500.12593.
[110] Kehoe, 'Environmental Law Making in Queensland: The Vegetation Management Act 1999 (Qld)', 403.
[111] Kehoe, 'Land Clearing in Queensland'; Kehoe, 'Environmental Law Making in Queensland: The Vegetation Management Act 1999 (Qld)'; Queensland Government, 'An Act to Amend Legislation about Vegetation Management, and for Other Purposes', 1/2004 § (2004), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-2004-001.
[112] Kehoe, 'Environmental Law Making in Queensland: The Vegetation Management Act 1999 (Qld)'.
[113] Boer, 'Deliberate Disproportionate Policy Outcomes and Regulating Deforestation in Queensland, Australia'.

that are left continue to be subject to the pressures of uncertainty and the vagaries of political will. Further, the categories of vegetation management that underpin the VMA impel private landholders to continue intensive clearing, as trees 15 years or older can lead to land being reclassified as containing 'high-value' regrowth, thus officially shifting how the land can be used in the future.[114] It adds to a sense of urgency amongst some landholders to get the trees out before they no longer can.[115] The VMA, as a vehicle for forest conservation, has further complicated and shifted forest composition on the Fraser Coast, though not always in terms of the types of protection it aims for.

6.4 Conclusion

It is a constitutional quirk of Australian forest management that the states manage their environments, while the Commonwealth deals with international matters. With the growth of the environmentalist movement generally, international pressure to protect and conserve rare forests created tensions between the Commonwealth government making the agreements and Queensland, as well as the other states, attempting (or resisting) implementation. Conservative governments in Australia have generally been less likely to approve conservation visions, or support them through legislation. The more progressive Labor party, particularly in Queensland, has attempted to institute cooperative approaches, with sometimes generous compensation to the previous layers of forest managers to encourage cessation of extractive visions. Unsurprisingly, cooperative approaches become more difficult to obtain when the Commonwealth is held by one party, and the State by another. Over time too, the environmentalist vision shifted from rare forests and rainforests to

[114] Queensland Department of Environment, Science and Innovation, 'High Value Regrowth 2021 - Queensland', Text, Open Data Portal, 20 May 2024, https://www.data.qld.gov.au/dataset/high-value-regrowth-2021-queensland.
[115] Alex Treacy, 'We'd Be Finished If Not for Hardwood Harvest: Graziers', *The Courier Mail*, 10 August 2019, sec. Central and North Burnett, https://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/central-and-north-burnett/wed-be-finished-if-not-for-hardwood-harvest-graziers/news-story/6a2b37a90d7416837e8a16d3b00f36fb includes interviews with Trevor and Shona Rockemer, and Slack's Sawmill employee Scott Pershouse, who commented on 'panic-clearing'. Tatnell, Interview with DTM Timber Director.

all forests, including those that are less rare and less aesthetically pleasing, such as the scrubby dry sclerophyll bush of the Fraser Coast. The encroachment of this vision for forests has worked to overlay the management of the previous economic visions enacted in these forests, in some sections more vigorously than others, depending upon their relative value to the interested parties and the relative strength of the guiding legislation. Where management based on economic intent was removed, the forests thrived, though their species composition had shifted considerably.

7 The Growth of National Parks 1880s – Present

This chapter uses the growth of two of the older parks on the Fraser Coast, Fairlies Knob and the Burrum River to illustrate the ways in which the national park vision has shifted over time, and the ways in which these designated forests have responded. These two parks are representative of the Burrum River watershed. Both were harvested of their viable timber, and hosted cattle before becoming National Parks: the modern forests were shaped by the economic visions. Fairlies Knob is a granite offshoot of the Clifton and Seaview Ranges with a peak of approximately 260 metres above sea level. These granitic outcrops are a result of the prehistoric sinking of the Maryborough Basin, described in Chapter One. Even with an extension in 2010, this park remains very small in 2023, only 740 acres.[1] The name was originally a possessive, Fairlie's, alluding to the closest pastoralist, though the apostrophe was lost over time. Its northern and eastern boundary are shared with Wongi National Park and State Forest (formerly the Doongul timber reserve, discussed throughout this thesis). To the south and west of the park are pastoral lands. Duckinwilla and Doongul Creeks rise on the eastern side of Fairlies Knob, and are tributaries of the Burrum River.

The Burrum River National Park was also formed on land that was deemed economically worthless after it was logged. The river itself, fed from Fairlies Knob, is dammed at Lake Lenthall, and is arrested by two low-level weirs further downstream, before it drains into Hervey Bay. The Park here grew from the south bank of the river mouth. Some of the most extensive middens in Australia are located in the vicinity, but do not have official protection. Settler colonists attempted agriculture and pastoralism in the area, and the national park proper grew from a timber reserve. Aside from the millable cypress pine, the area is predominantly wallum, with a highly biodiverse floral and faunal

[1] 'Fairlies Knob National Park Management Statement' (Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 2013), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents.

composition. It also contains mangrove forests. From its beginning as a reserve for timber extraction, the Burrum River National Park grew incrementally until merging with the other parks across the river in 1999 to form a reserve of 64 383 acres.[2] Fairlies and Burrum reflect the ways in which the national park vision has shifted over time.

This chapter argues that the visions signified by the appellation 'national park' have shifted considerably over time and space, influencing changes in forest composition. The growth of the concept has primarily been attributed to spreading ideals of reserving particularly scenic areas perceived as wilderness in the USA. Though the appellation continued, the intent of national parks shifted as it was adopted by other nations, and again following the world wars, reflecting the growing ecological concerns that bolstered wilderness preservation ideals. With the formation of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1948 came attempts to produce a standardised definition outlining the criteria for a reserve to be recognised as a national park. Application of this official vision of national parks in Queensland has been inconsistent, as conception and management has been influenced by competing visions for forest uses, political priorities, bureaucratic obfuscation and individual forest composition. A lack of alignment between distant vision and local processes has also led to marginalisation of many of Queensland's parks in terms of recognition and management priorities, where parks compliant with political and tourist visions receive far more attention than others, with small 'insignificant' parks neglected. Political convenience and wilderness aspirations have worked to reshape those forests shrouded in the national park vision, though some of them have continued to contest those visions by growing in unexpected, and unwanted ways.

[2] Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 'Burrum Coast National Park Management Statement 2013' (Queensland Government, 22 November 2013), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents.

7.1 Scenic Parks

7.1.1 Implementing the vision

The growth of the national park concept internationally saw it applied to all sorts of different nature reservations in various countries. Melissa Harper and Richard White have examined the differences in the ways the term was initially applied in the US, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, finding some similarities but also significant differences in the ways these countries enacted visions for public nature reserves.[3] They argued that the US experience, particularly symbolised by Yellowstone National Park, had less influence in Australia initially though it became more pervasive over time. Warwick Frost, together with C. Michael Hall and Jennifer Laing, have also argued that Yellowstone's particular influence was minimal, though the concept was readily adopted elsewhere with varying degrees of compliance to what they have outlined as the Yellowstone model.[4] This model includes the nomenclature 'national', monumentalism, tourism, national government and permanency. Yellowstone's (and Banff's and Tongariro's) reservation involved a significant geological feature, were created and maintained by national governments and were far removed from urban centres. Australia's first national park, near Sydney, was none of these. It was unspectacular, though pleasant bush land, close to the city and intended for the health of the urban (rich and poor) population.[5] At 18 000 acres, neither was it particularly large, especially when compared to Yellowstone, Yosemite and even Banff, all in excess of one million acres, though it was bigger than Tongariro. Libby Robin argued that it was these factors, in the 1970s, that worked against international recognition of Sydney's National Park as the first in the world to bear the title national, in favour of Yellowstone, though its initial designation did not officially include the title 'national park'.[6] A further factor that

[3] Harper and White, 'How National Were the First National Parks? Comparative Perspectives from the British Settler Societies'.
[4] Warwick Frost and C. Michael Hall, 'Reinterpreting the Creation Myth: Yellowstone National Park', in *Tourism and National Parks* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 16–29; Frost and Laing, 'From Yellowstone to Australia and New Zealand'.
[5] Harper and White, 'How National Were the First National Parks? Comparative Perspectives from the British Settler Societies', 59; Robin, 'Being First'.
[6] Robin, 'Being First'.

differentiated the Australian national park vision was its implementation at state rather than federal level after Federation in 1901.The early implementation of the national park vision in Australia was more influenced by local factors than by adherence to the US model, although the term, the relationship with tourism ambitions, and the permanency of the reservation were adopted in Australia.

Initial application of the national park vision in Queensland was shaped by local circumstances, including political resistance to nature reserves. The name was first used legislatively in Queensland in 1908, in relation to 324 acres at Witches Falls, a popular tourist location near the Gold Coast, at Tambourine Mountain.[7] This park set a pattern for Queensland's early parks, which were predominantly precipitous rainforested areas, with waterfalls and/or attractive views associated with recreational values. This could be seen in the 135-acre Cunningham's Gap, the 216-acre Fairy Bower at Rockhampton, the 270-acre Millstream Falls and the 100-acre Fairlie's Knob all gazetted within the next two years. The second park declared, to protect the culturally significant Bunya forests, was unusual at 22 000 acres. Smaller parks were less controversial than larger ones, as Frost illustrated in refuting Alfred Runte's 'worthless lands' argument.[8] Frost used Lamington National Park, declared in 1915 and covering 47 000 acres, to show the economic and conservation values in conflict over the declaration of protection for those forests, and the political hesitancy in declaring such a large reserve. Frost noted the declaration of Bunya was less controversial than that of Lamington, despite several "attempts by timber and grazing interests to have large parts excised" from it as well.[9] Queensland's initial small, 'monumentalist' parks did not challenge Runte's worthless lands thesis. They lacked priority within government bureaucracy: in 1908, the Forest Service was seriously understaffed, working within a government department that prioritised land alienation over conservation. Recommendations for

[7] Frederic John Napier, 'The Brisbane Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park: County of Ward, Parish of Tamborine', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 28 March 1908.
[8] Frost, 'Tourism, Rainforests and Worthless Lands'.
[9] Frost, 501.

reservation were more likely to be successful if they related to areas that had been opened by selective logging, or other forest uses. Small size, general precipitousness, and historical timber extraction worked to make the economic value of these parks negligible. National park declaration prior to the 1950s required the approval of the Departments of Lands and Mines, and foresters often included the proposed area's worthlessness alongside scenic and recreational justifications. Over time, and with more staff, forest rangers began to emphasise the attractiveness of areas envisaged as potential parks, though low economic potential remained a guiding factor. Queensland was not alone in its use of the national park appellation for reservations that only marginally fit the patterns set by the US. National parks everywhere were as unique as the governing bodies that created them and the environments they protected. In this way, forests again have not conformed with people's generalised and imagined visions for them.

7.1.2 Fairlie's Knob

Fairlies Knob was the first national park on the Fraser Coast, and fitted the pattern of Queensland's application of national park reservation. Prior to the 1906 Act that enabled national park declaration, the less precipitous western side of Fairlies Knob was used for plantation of economically valuable native species. James Fairlie Junior, partner in his father's Maryborough joinery and sawmill, leased 640 acres in 1883, with an eastern boundary that included part of the elevation. His selection map showed the land as 'Extremely Rugged', with "Dense Pine Scrub'. Fairlie described the land as "of no value for either agricultural or grazing purposes, as it is the side of a stoney hill" but he was optimistic about plantation prospects. Local historian Norm Buettel suggested that Fairlie was motivated by concern that timber supplies be maintained for the family business.[10] By 1889, with some support from the government, Fairlie had "195 acres of brushwood cleared in the scrub … 100 acres cleared of underwood + planted with cedar and silky oak + Kauri plants and other plants …

[10] Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*, 55.

3 acres of scrub cleared".[11] This report indicates attempts to establish Fairlie's vision of timber plantation; however, they were unsuccessful. In 1902, a bushfire destroyed the planation as well as surrounding areas, including an estimated 3 million super feet of hoop and kauri pine.[12] It is unclear how much of Fairlie's budding plantation the fire destroyed, and how much had already failed prior to the fire. Forest Inspector L.G. Board's report in the *Chronicle* indicated that Fairlie's kauri "did well for a few years, then died back", along with the cedar.[13] Later histories, such as Tony Matthews', Buettel's and Dick Eckert's suggest the planted cedar and kauri were 'flourishing' prior to the fire.[14] Board acknowledged the vigorous growth of Fairlie's bunya pines, planted around the homestead, which survived. Board commented, "it would be a wise proceeding to experiment with the planting of this hardy and valuable timber".[15] Further, he waived size limits for Fairlie's harvest of the damaged trees, including the native hoop pine on his selection, and likely that across the border in what would soon be declared national park. Board's report indicates a focus on the economic potential of the land to produce timber, though he also commented on the "glorious view" from the south-east corner of the portion, likely the Knob itself.

The first official description of the eastern side, a precipitous 100-acre parcel, emphasised the aesthetic and recreational values while finding little economic potential. Forest ranger Gilbert Burnett recommended the prominence's reservation in 1910:

> This is an elevation which commands an unobstructed view of the country lying between it and the Pacific Ocean … It is forest land, the soil, poor and stony. The ascent is fairly steep, but when timber was being removed from these parts

[11] Lands Department, 'Selection File: Fairlie, James', 8 April 1868, ITM53829, Queensland State Archives - Selection Files.
[12] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995, 1:364.
[13] 'Forest Conservancy', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 1 June 1903, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148203846.
[14] Matthews, *River of Dreams: A History of Maryborough and District*, 1995; Buettel, *A History of Maryborough Queensland 1842-1997*; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*.
[15] 'Forest Conservancy'.

> a few years ago Bullock teams were constantly passing up and down the mountain … I consider it should be reserved as a beauty spot for public resort.[16]

Burnett foregrounded the value of the view and suggested the area had no further economic worth with 'poor stony' soil and millable timber exhausted by the time of his inspection. He gave no attention to the value of the remnant vine scrub, suggesting the view was beautiful rather than the vegetation. Further, as a relatively new government entity, Forestry was more concerned with reserving and accessing timber that was more economically viable than that on the precipitous Fairlies Knob. The block was gazetted National Park on 20 August 1910 and named Fairlie's Knob, despite Fairlie leasing the western rather than the eastern side. Perhaps because of this possessive apostrophe, Eckert thought that Fairlie had donated the land, though no other records indicate that Fairlie held any more than the western side of the prominence from which Burnett obtained his view.[17] The park appears to have then been ignored by official interests for the next 49 years. The forested area to the east, Doongul, received more attention, as portions there shifted back and forth between Lands and Forestry interests. Reports in the *Chronicle* from the 1930s suggest that Fairlie was cutting hoop pine in the national park, to supplement the cedar, kauri and beech he now had to import for his joinery.[18] As part of the increased record keeping instigated by Forestry's independence in 1959, the state bureaucrats found the management files of the Park were 'missing', and requested the files for Fairlies Knob, minus the apostrophe, from Maryborough's senior clerk. They had nothing either.[19] The deficiency of historical documentation on this park may also be due to the file being held under the

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[16] Gilbert Burnett, 'Fairlie's Knob on Sea View Range on East Boundary of Portion 1508 Parish of Doongul - Recommended for Reservation', 12 February 1910, ITM863983, Queensland State Archives - National Park Reserve Files Doongul.
[17] Lands Department, 'Selection File: Fairlie, James'; Eckert, *A History of Forestry and Timber Maryborough/ Fraser Island*, 7.
[18] 'Golden Wedding', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 20 December 1932, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148859243; 'Milling Operations Cease at Fairlie's', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 5 October 1938, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article152159795.
[19] Bill Marshall and Spencer Camp, 'NPR 336 Doongul Fairlies Knob', 10 March 1959, ITM863983, Queensland State Archives - National Park Reserve Files Doongul.

name Doongul, rather than Fairlie's or Fairlies Knob. Other than the view, Fairlies Knob appeared to have little to attract official attention.

7.1.3 Burrum River

The Burrum River National Park received more bureaucratic attention than Fairlies, partly due to the Burrum's proximity to population centres, with intermingling and conflicting visions of what this park should be. The management history of Burrum was further complicated by its gradual accretion of land, as small holdings failed and were absorbed, and responsibility for the park's management shifted across state government departments. Forestry was responsible for the initial reservation, in this later case for its potential timber value rather than its scenic beauty. In 1937, Maryborough Forester F. Chippendall recommended a 1435-acre portion "be made a State Forest. These areas contain the best stand of mature and young cypress pine in the district." He supported this level of reservation as a "fair quantity of Cypress has been illegally removed during past years", due to being unselected Crown Land at the time.[20] The Lands Department was only willing to go as far as a Timber Reserve, duly gazetted in 1937.[21] Only 150 acres of the pine was harvested, from the southwest corner around portion 99 and the gazetted road.[22] Following timber harvest, the area received little attention from Lands, until drafting of the 1959 Forestry Act and a new wave of management

From the independence accorded Forestry with the 1959 Forestry Act, Burrum's more attractive vegetative biodiversity received greater attention than Fairlies had. In 1958, just prior to the passing of the Forestry Act, National

[20] F Chippendall, 'Proposed Reserve of Cypress Pine - Parish of Walsh', 24 November 1936, ITM2951787, Queensland State Archives- Land Tenure/National Parks/ Burrum River National Park - Maryborough - N/P -.
[21] G.W. Watson, 'The Maryborough Land Agent's District. Reserve for Timber. County of Cook, Parish of Walsh', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 10 April 1937.
[22] A. Anderson, 'Proposed Wallum National Park' (Maryborough Qld: Department of Forestry, 24 April 1967), ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.

Parks Ranger Gresty was instructed to inspect the timber reserve for its potential as a National Park.[23] He described the area as comprising:

> extensive sand flats of Wallum, with belts of woodland and hardwood forest; also occasional narrow strips of rain forest species in moist situations... timber species including Sand Cypress and Kauri Pine, Southern Silver Ash and Hardwoods.[24]

He concurred with Chippendall's earlier recommendation that the timber reserve be declared state forest. Of the land to the north and east, he emphasised the floral biodiversity:

> Wallum flats and marshes, some light open forests with Teatree, Swamp Box, Rain tree, Cockatoo Apple, Black Kurrajong and Casuarina species, Native Quinine, Swizzle, Alphitonia and, in places, heavy bracken and reed undergrowth … wild flower species, many in full bloom at date of inspection and including Boronia, Leptospermum, Sowerbaya, Hakea, Hibbertea, Petrophylla, Liliaceae, Pimela; also [unclear], Pultenea and other Leguminosae.[25]

Gresty's fulsome description shows a shift in what forestry officials valued in this forest, from millable soft wood to vegetative biodiversity, especially wild flowers. Access to the Burrum River portion for recreational pursuits was also considered at length, and Gresty endorsed National Park declaration of 1664 acres that would share the northern and western boundaries of the Timber Reserve to "preserve for posterity a wilderness area of useful extent and convenient location." Having served as a timber reserve, and likely feeding the wandering cattle from the river side portions, the area had seen European use and management from the 1870s.[26] The banks of the Burrum are also replete with First Nations middens, including one of the largest in Australia,[27] indicating a very long history of First Nations use of the area. Neither of these land uses was mentioned in Gresty's report. He did however

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[23] Department of Lands Secretary, 'Suggested National Park - Burrum Heads Reserve 823 Walsh and Vacant Land. Parish of Walsh.', 19 December 1958, ITM2951787, Queensland State Archives - Opening Lands for Prospecting Files.
[24] Gresty, 'Suggested National Park - Burrum Heads - Reserve 823 and Vacant Crown Lands - Parish of Walsh' (Maryborough: Department of Forestry, 22 October 1959), ITM2951787, Queensland State Archives - Opening Lands for Prospecting Files.
[25] Gresty.
[26] Johnson, *Along the Banks of the Burrum*.
[27] Tim Thornton and Sol Thornton to Cindi Davey, 'Friends of the Burrum River System', WAV, 7 January 2022.

recommend that not only National Park be declared, but also a Fauna Reserve, for "protecting the wildlife against indiscriminate shooting".[28] When Gresty's recommendation was distributed to other departments for their approval, the Fauna Reserve was vetoed by the Department of Agriculture, which had conducted a survey in 1956 finding there were already far too many fauna reserves "[depriving] the community of reasonable sporting facilities with the result that the law is often disregarded".[29] However Lands were more sympathetic, and 1,410 acres of vacant Crown Land was gazetted National Park on 23 July 1960.[30] National Park protections should also have included the animals therein, however Gresty was outraged by the Department of Agriculture's response. Two months after Forestry was moved from Lands to Agriculture, Gresty insisted "the whole of a State could be a sanctuary with the exception of certain defined areas … instead of as present" and that the only people acting illegally in these sanctuaries were "teenage louts, irresponsible anti-social types".[31] Gresty's outrage related to the lack of protection given to the foreshore and Burrum banks, yet his memo made no mention of the now 2845-acre national park/timber reserve that resulted from his report. The State Forest appellation he had sought was declined, perhaps because the timber reserve still had some alienation potential.

Pastoralists still on the boundaries continued to value the reserved area, as did developers requiring waterfront access. In 1965, J.J. Walker, who ran cattle on two portions between the park and the river, applied for a grazing lease within the park boundaries, due to his holdings containing insufficient

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[28] Department of Forestry Secretary, 'To the Department of Agriculture and Stock', 17 November 1959, ITM2951787, Queensland State Archives - Land Tenure/National Parks/ Burrum River National Park - Maryborough - N/P -.
[29] W. Webster Department of Agriculture and Department of Forestry, 'Land Tenure/ National Parks/ Burrum River National Park - Maryborough - N/P - The Fauna Conservation Act of 1952', 15 December 1959, ITM2951787, Queensland State Archives - Opening Lands for Prospecting Files.
[30] Alan J. Mansfield, 'A Proclamation: National Park', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 23 July 1960, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[31] Gresty, 'The Fauna Conservation Act of 1952', 31 August 1960, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.

pasture for his stock.[32] His application was rejected.[33] It is likely he was seeking to formalise his existing economic use of the land. Drought relief supplied the justification for a fence and cattle grid built across a track that facilitated access to the freeholds between the boundaries of the park and the Burrum River.[34] This access track, though not the grid, was the source of further trouble to Forestry, when resort developers showed interest in the freeholds between the northern park boundary and the river.[35] The existence of the road and the developer's interest seemed to come as a surprise to the Department.[36] According to an internal summary of the situation, the Service's attempts to access Commonwealth funds to extend the national park estate would be in jeopardy if any development were to go ahead.[37] The developer's interest was stymied by the passage of the National Parks and Wildlife Act in May, which created the role of Director, with entomologist Geoffrey Saunders the first appointee.[38] With this power, the Service was able to reject the proposed development. The July memo reported that legally, and "on paper" the Crown had provided access to the portions, with an esplanade road gazetted, though not constructed. Further, "the portions … are of interest for future acquisition as National Park, and have been included in submissions to the Commonwealth for financial assistance. Any granting of improved access could jeopardise

[32] J.J. Walker, 'Stock Grazing Permit', 8 December 1965, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[33] A.R. Trist, 'Grazing on National Parks', 25 January 1966, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[34] Department of Forestry Secretary, 'Memo: Further to Your B/C of 19/8/70 Reference 1/19', 11 January 1971, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[35] Roy Murtagh, 'Re: Burrum River National Park', 18 April 1975, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[36] Department of Forestry Secretary, 'Memo - Re: Request by C. and N. Whitby for Permission to Improve a Track through National Park 914 to Freehold Portions 1V, 24V and 25V, Parish of Walsh', 13 February 1975, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[37] M.J. Harris, 'Memo: Re: Request for Road Access through Burrum Head National Park', 18 July 1975, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[38] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Provide for the Appointment of a Director of National Parks and Wildlife and His Powers, Authorities, Functions and Duties and for Matters Incidental Thereto', 20/1975 § (1975), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1975-020; P. S. Sattler, 'Five Million Hectares: An Historical Account of the Expansion of Queensland's National Parks, 1975 - 2000', *The Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland* 119 (1 January 2014): 53–62, https://doi.org/10.3316/ielapa.488784232460833.

these proposals as well as assist in their biological and physical degrade".[39] This response illustrates attempts to balance the tensions between State and Commonwealth in regards to funding the growth of the national park estate, as well as the tensions between the visions of the national park's neighbours. A further development for the park was requested by the Burrum Council in October 1975, proposing portion 99 on the southern boundary become reservation for a rubbish dump.[40] Saunders rejected this request, probably more politely than it deserved: "It would be contrary to the purpose of a National Park for it to be used for rubbish disposal." Burrum Councillor Bushnell protested in the local press "that National Park land was not used for anything anyway."[41] Certainly, there was none of the development for tourism that would signal the economic worth of the area.

Further to interests of cattle and development access, tourism and archaeological interests had differing visions for what this park should be. The Maryborough District Promotion Bureau (MDPB) requested development of the park in 1970, with "walking paths, tree identifications, access roads and other facilities which will improve the area as a tourist park."[42] They saw the features of the park as a potential source of tourism, and local economic gain. The district forester was "not sure that it would be wise to encourage all and sundry visitors to this park ... without resident staff there would be no control."[43] Forestry did not have the funds to facilitate this level of control, nor the funds to conduct the developments desired by the MDPB. Following continued agitation from these boosters, Forestry dispatched research biologist Henry Curtis to

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[39] Harris, 'Memo: Re: Request for Road Access through Burrum Head National Park'.
[40] G.W. Saunders, 'Request for Reserve for Rubbish Disposal', 10 March 1976, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[41] The newspaper clippings were provided to the Service in a letter from John Sinclair, 'Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland Inc.', 2 April 1976, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park. He did not name their source, though it was likely the Maryborough Chronicle.
[42] E.R. Jurss and Maryborough and District Promotion Bureau, 'National Park Development', 20 July 1970, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[43] Annotated on the letter from Jurss and Maryborough and District Promotion Bureau by A.G.W. Anderson, District Forester, on 19 Sep 1970.

inspect the area. Curtis agreed with the MDPB that the park had potential for development, but he was also cognisant of the Agency's lack of funds. His report concurred with the district forester that development was unadvisable, because "it would not appeal to all people & it would be unwise to encourage visitation unless we have resident staff." [44] The MDPB, changed to the Maryborough-Hervey Bay & District Development Board in 1972, continued their agitation, later writing "Southerners appear to expect that our parks are as highly developed as those in Southern States".[45] These letters reveal a desire to emulate other parks to align with tourist visions, while Forestry remained recalcitrant about facilitating access, ostensibly due to a lack of funds, but also from the desire to maintain control of the area. John Sinclair, on behalf of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, made similar requests to the MDPB regarding informative and directive signage.[46] However, Sinclair had greater concerns about extensive middens identified by his organisation on the banks of the Burrum.[47] Here, Sinclair wanted national park protection to extend to protection for archaeological and cultural factors, though in this too, he was unsuccessful. The Burrum River Park continued to grow as these people negotiated their visions for them; of timber, cattle, tourism, and culture.

7.2 International Parks

7.2.1 Defining National Parks

In response to the growth of environmental consciousness discussed in the previous chapter, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), in conjunction with the UN, was formed with its first congress in 1948. This predominantly European organisation foregrounded national parks as the apogee of nature conservation from its inception. The proceedings' introduction

[44] H.S. Curtis, 'Burrum River National Park Request for Development', 5 January 1971, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[45] E.R. Jurss, 'Ref N.P. 914 Walsh', 6 September 1972, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[46] John Sinclair, 'Ref: R 278 Hercules "A"; N.P. 914 Walsh', 28 June 1974, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[47] John Sinclair, 'Aboriginal Middens', 21 May 1974, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.

began with acknowledgement of naturalist Paul Sarasin, the instigator of the Swiss National Park. The minutes of the IUCN's successive conferences show how this organisation, especially the Commission for National Parks and other Protected Areas (CNPPA), developed an internationally informed definition for not only the national park concept, but also definitions and management guidelines for other categories of nature reserve. The IUCN was faced with a difficult task in determining generic definitions to adequately reflect international conservation efforts as enacted through the national park concept. In order to collect data on how countries were enacting the vision, the IUCN petitioned the UN to create a list of the world's national parks.[48] The secretary-general then invited governments to submit their national parks and other protected areas for consideration. The submissions were compiled by the IUCN's International Commission of National Parks, with reference to definitions included in earlier UN nature preservation and protection conventions.[49] A list was duly constructed by 1961, providing an aspirational goal for countries creating national parks, to meet the criteria to be included on the list.[50] The list was then used to inform an official definition, which was approved by the IUCN in 1969:

> a National Park is a relatively large area 1) where one or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation, where plant and animal species, geomorphological sites and habitats are of special scientific, educative and recreative interest or which contains a natural landscape of great beauty and 2) where the highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or to eliminate as soon as possible exploitation or occupation in the whole area and to enforce effectively the respect of ecological, geomorphological or aesthetic features which have led to its establishment and 3) where visitors are allowed to enter, under special conditions, for inspirational, educative, cultural and recreative purposes.[51]

This idealistic definition did not fit the Australian context in several ways, especially in regards to the long history of First Nations management. Rhys

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[48] IUCN, *IUCN Sixth General Assembly Proceedings* (Athens, 1958), 181.
[49] These include the *Convention Relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in their Natural State* 1933, and the *Convention on Nature Protection and Wild Life Preservation in the Western Hemisphere* 1940, in Secretary-General, 'List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves' (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 15 February 1961), 3.
[50] Secretary-General, 'List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves'.
[51] IUCN, *IUCN Tenth General Assembly 1969*, vol. II Proceedings and Summary of Business (New Delhi: IUCN and UNESCO, 1970).

Jones' reflections on the possible extent of Aboriginal fire-stick farming was published three months prior to the IUCN's acceptance of the above definition.[52] Australian parks further failed to meet the criteria as they were not managed by the highest authority in the land, being constitutionally the domain of the states rather than the federal government. And many of them were small. The specific objections to the definition of the Australian contingent to the IUCN were not recorded in the official minutes. Neither were those of the UK, India and Canada, which also dissented. However, after a plea from the chairman of the CNPPA, the Resolution was passed: "35 were in favour, 3 against, with 2 Abstentions."[53] The official definition did not suit everyone. It was accepted in the interests of international cooperation, rather than for its environmental responsiveness per se.

While the IUCN was drafting their definition, the Burrum River Park was enlarged, due to a combination of ecological diversity and economic worthlessness. Though the National Parks Association of Queensland (NPAQ) appeared not to have sent delegates to the IUCN conferences, they lobbied the state government for national park extension. In January 1967 a representative wrote to the Minister for Conservation and Local Government, that they had "been searching for a suitable area for recommendation … as a wallum National Park".[54] One of their members inspected Burrum River, which had "a most peculiar shape, but [did] contain a very good selection of wallum wildflowers". The timber reserve "appears to contain little or no commercial timber", and the portions that did were "obviously unsuited for grazing and dairying purposes". The letter emphasised the worthlessness of the areas bordering the national park to justify extension. Forestry concurred. The district forester, A.G.W. Anderson, inspected the proposed additions and found the littoral portions to be "mainly useless wallum, salt lakes, and tea tree patches … the cypress and

[52] Rhys Jones, 'Fire-Stick Farming', *Australian Natural History* 16, no. 7 (September 1969): 224–28.
[53] IUCN, *IUCN Tenth General Assembly 1969*, II Proceedings and Summary of Business:22.
[54] J.K. Jarrott and National Parks Association of Queensland, 'Proposed Wallum National Park', 20 January 1967, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.

ironbark on Portion 1363 would not be economical to harvest. No present value can be envisaged for this area".[55] The timber reserve was now "of no importance to the Forestry Department for timber production … [only] between 5% and 10% of the timber Reserve can be considered of use. This is too small to consider exclusion from the main area", reflecting the growing wilderness ethos of considering excision of an area that had been logged in the past, as well as continuing the focus on the economic worthlessness of the remnant vegetation. Anderson closed with further notes about the area's uselessness to forestry:

> the isolation from normally worked stands of timber preclude its use for forestry purposes; the low yield makes management costs greater than timber value; protection is impossible. It is recommended that the approx. 4,000 acres be reserved for National Park.

With these assurances, Forestry duly consulted with Mines and Lands.[56] On their agreement as to the 'worthlessness' of the area, the reserve was extended in May 1969 to make a 3 998-acre National Park, one month prior to the IUCN's ratification of an official definition.[57] New layers of visions were overlaying the Burrum River reserve.

The IUCN further refined its definition of a national park, cognisant of the complexity of defining an established global phenomenon. The IUCN's Commission on National Parks expanded its brief to include all protected areas, then worked to provide a standardised classification system that would specify the purpose and management requirements of various types of protected areas. The CNPPA debated protected area categories at the 1972 general assembly and further at the Yellowstone world congress. In 1973, Ray Dasmannn, IUCN

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[55] Anderson, 'Proposed Wallum National Park'.
[56] E.K. Healy, 'Mines: No Objection', 2 November 1967, 70, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park; Department of Lands, 'Re: Your Reference 70/156 Maryborough', 23 December 1968, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[57] CH Curtis, 'Order in Council', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 10 May 1969; IUCN, 'Definition of National Parks' (IUCN, 1969), https://portals.iucn.org/library/resrec/search?field_resrec_all_codes_value=&field_resrec_all_titles_value=National+Park&field_resrec_type_value=All&field_resrec_year_value%5B%5D=1969&field_resrec_status_value=All&items_per_page=100, IUCN.

ecologist, presented an occasional paper that outlined the results of these discussions. He acknowledged that numerical based identifiers for the protected area categories led to an unintended hierarchy, "so that a 'IV D.' area, for example, would be considered very low indeed, and no nation would care to be accused of harboring one."[58] Nevertheless, the expediency of a numbering system was retained and Dasmann outlined four groups of protected area, including Anthropological, Historical/ Archaeological, Natural, and Multiple-Use areas. Protected natural areas were listed third, perhaps in an attempt to avoid the hierarchy effect. This category included Strict and Managed Natural Areas, and Wilderness. Still, in order "To qualify as a national park, therefore, in the IUCN sense, an area may consist of various combinations of zones", but should be combined with a wilderness zone.[59] Dasmann also clarified the size qualification, as a minimum of 2471 acres, though small islands (such as those in the Great Barrier Reef) were exempt from this criterion. The limitation on size was meant to ensure sufficient space for mobile fauna, as well as to keep the official UN list of National Parks down to a manageable size.[60] While these discussions about how to define national parks and other protected areas were taking place, many of Queensland's national parks remained under 500 acres, including the 100-acre Fairlies Knob. The Burrum's amalgamation with the timber reserve in 1969 made it large enough to meet the size requirement, even if that amalgamation made it harder for the park to claim to be undeveloped. To align with the international community's visions, Queensland's existing parks had to change.

7.2.2 Other conservation

As the characteristics of what could be called a national park narrowed, the conservation system in Queensland became more complex. The conservative government led by Joh Bjelke-Petersen (1968-87), less interested in

[58] Ray F. Dasmann, 'Classification and Use of Protected Natural and Cultural Areas', IUCN Occasional Paper No. 4 (Morges, Switzerland: IUCN, 1973), 6.
[59] Dasmann, 16.
[60] Dasmann, 16.

conservation reservation than rural economic development, was nevertheless cognisant of the demands of the growing conservation movement, as discussed in the previous chapter. Loathe to surrender large expanses of undeveloped land to conservation, and vexed by the Cooloola and K'gari campaigns, the Bjelke-Petersen government amended the Lands Act in 1973 to introduce a new type of conservation reserve, intentionally outside the developing international vision of national parks.[61] The appellation Environmental Parks would cover areas that "may not meet the standards of size, national significance and low level of disturbance normally required for a national park".[62] Carolyn Skerman's examination of this legislation found the "concept was introduced to provide a convenient category to allow the Land Administration Commission to dispose of reserves and other Crown land no longer wanted for their original purpose".[63] 'Other crown land' indicated the controversy that triggered the legislation, when a former sewerage treatment reserve in Burleigh Heads became a conservation focus for local residents and the Wildlife Preservation Society. Burleigh Knoll was formally designated an Environmental Park on 3 November 1973.[64] The new designation was helpful in other ways, as it allowed for "stock routes, camping and water reserves, and timber reserves which were no longer wanted for their original purpose".[65] It also allowed the government to continue the pattern of creating conservation reservation on worthless lands. In further keeping with the divergence from international definitions represented by the environmental park concept, the reserves were generally designated to the local authorities to manage, under

[61] Queensland Government, 'An Act to Amend the Land Act 1962-1971 and Other Acts in Certain Particulars', 41/1973 § (1973), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1973-041.
[62] A Chenoweth, 'Environmental Parks of Queensland' (Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1978).
[63] Carolyn E. Skerman, 'The Initiation and Implementation of the Environmental Park Concept in Queensland' (Honours (Geography), St Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland, 1979), 175.
[64] 'Burleigh Knoll Regional Park Management Statement' (Department of National Parks, Sport and Racing, 2015), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents.
[65] Skerman, 'The Initiation and Implementation of the Environmental Park Concept in Queensland', 25.

state control. It was this state control that contributed to the 'indifference' Skerman identified when interviewing various local authorities:

> The frustration involved in negotiating with the state government department has generally been avoided. For instance, it could take two or three months to arrange to clear rubbish from a park and to receive a refund for the expenditure incurred. Further, there is unwillingness to co-operate with or play a subordinate role to the state government administrators … the local authority has no intention of 'playing second fiddle'.[66]

Any management that required expense was avoided, because of the difficulties in dealing with state government bureaucracy.

The members of the local authorities Skerman interviewed, as well as those on the Fraser Coast, expressed limited commitment to conservation. This lack of commitment was illustrated by the Burrum Council's attempt to establish a rubbish dump in that national park. The politics of management were further impacted by generally limited funding for conservation reservation and management. When responsibility for the parks was transferred to the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service (QNPWS), "the Service [was] unable to manage adequately the parks already gazetted. At present [1979] there are only seven Wildlife Rangers to cover the whole state".[67] QNPWS did not have the resources to manage the existing national parks, let alone the environmental ones that were supposedly under the care of local authorities. Official disconnect from the actual parks was further illustrated in a promotional brochure produced by the QNPWS in 1978, which claimed that Beelbi Creek, near the Burrum River, was the first environmental park, though Skerman showed it was the Burleigh Knoll which initiated the legislation in 1973. Burleigh was gazetted 3 November 1973 and Beelbi in 1975, according to more recent QPWS publications.[68] Environmental parks were further devalued with the 1992 Nature Conservation Act, which expunged the term 'environmental park', replaced in the legislation with 'protected area' and on the ground with the

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[66] Skerman, 121.
[67] Skerman, 14.
[68] 'Burleigh Knoll Regional Park Management Statement'; Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 'Beelbi Creek Regional Park Management Statement', 2015, https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents.

appellation ‘conservation park’ instead.[69] These parks have been neglected on the ground and in the literature as they do not conform to expectations of national parks. That apparent failure has led to their marginalisation.

Despite official lack of interest in environmental parks, they comprise an additional layer of conservation vision within the Fraser Coast’s forests, further complexifying their mosaic composition. At least nine of these Parks were reserved across the Fraser Coast, totalling almost 700 acres. They predominantly protected islands associated with the Mary River. There were also several that shared borders with economic concerns. Three of these were declared in 1975, 20 acres at Beelbi Creek, three acres at Howard and 40 acres at Granville.[70] Beelbi Creek is approximately 12 kilometres from the Burrum River National Park, though separated by grazing land and other forested freeholds. It was officially designated a Conservation Park in 1994, under the 1992 Nature Conservation Act. The Granville Park is located to the north of the Tuan pine plantation and shares boundaries with several cane farms. It was considered of less worth than Beelbi in 1994, receiving the official designation Regional rather than Conservation. While these two reserves have their own management statements, Howard does not. Combined with a larger camping and water reserve to the north-east, it continues to protect endangered vegetation, though its current tenure is unclear on Fraser Coast Regional Council maps.[71] The designation of the Marianna Park, the fourth one included in the QNPWS brochure, is even less clear. This reserve, approximately 20 acres 15 kilometres west of Maryborough, was named after the much larger

[69] Queensland Government, ‘An Act to Provide for the Conservation of Nature’, 20/1992 § (1992), https://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/view/html/asmade/act-1992-020.
[70] Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, ‘Beelbi Creek Regional Park Management Statement’; Department of Mapping and Surveying, *Town of Howard, Parish of Burrum* (Brisbane, March 1977); Department of National Parks, Sport and Racing, ‘Granville Regional Park Management Statement’ (Queensland Government, 2015), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents; Chenoweth, ‘Environmental Parks of Queensland’.
[71] Department of Environment and Science, ‘Howard Remnant 2021 Regional Ecosystems | Longitude: 152.5582 Latitude: -25.3284’, 2024, https://apps.des.qld.gov.au/map-request/re-broad-veg-group/; ‘Fraser Coast Regional Council Online Mapping System | Simple Address/ Lotplan Search’, 2024, https://mapping.frasercoast.qld.gov.au/.

Marianna sheep and cattle run. A 1971 map shows a small camping and water reserve at this location.[72] A creek runs through this reserve, variously named Twenty Mile Creek, Graham's Creek and Mariana Creek, illustrating the official lack of consistency and attention to this reserve and the creek that it protects.[73] Its isolation and size contribute to its neglect in official records, as does the confusion over names, including Marianna/Mariana. It is assumed that Mariana and Howard were officially renamed under the 1992 Act, though whether as Conservation or Regional Reserve is unclear. The 14-acre Eel Creek Reserve, declared the same year as the brochure's publication and thus not included in it, was situated southwest of Brooweena and was another conversion of a former camping/water reserve.[74] This park was adjacent to Boompa State Forest, and was considered ecologically valuable enough to be included in the absorption of this larger forest into the Mount Walsh National Park as a result of the SEQFA conversion process in 2006.[75] Those that have not achieved national park status still act as oases for forest types rated 'Of Concern', and in the case of Howard, 'Endangered', according to the Department of Environment and Science, as well as hosting vegetation that is not yet of concern.[76] The Environmental Parks, intentionally working outside the narrowing international definition of what had formerly been a very broad concept, have largely been

[72] Department of Lands Survey Office, *Parish of Dunmora, County of Lennox*, April 1971, April 1971, Parish Maps, Maryborough District Family History Society.
[73] 'Google Maps', 2024, https://www.google.com.au/maps/@-25.5417655,152.5405621 labels it Twenty Mile, ; 'Fraser Coast Regional Council Online Mapping System | Simple Address/ Lotplan Search' labels it Grahams Creek. The sign placed before the bridge on the Maryborough-Biggenden Road reads Mariana Creek.
[74] Queensland Government, 'Executive Council Minutes 4498 - Reservation of Land for Environmental Park Purposes Near Boompa', 23 November 1978, ITM2698975, Queensland State Archives - Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection/ Environment and Heritage).
[75] Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 'Mount Walsh National Park Management Statement 2013' (Queensland Government, 2013), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/plans-strategies/planning-documents.
[76] Department of Environment and Science, 'Marianna Remnant 2021 Regional Ecosystems | Longitude: 152.537 Latitude: -25.542', 2024, https://apps.des.qld.gov.au/map-request/re-broad-veg-group/; Department of Environment and Science, 'Howard Remnant 2021 Regional Ecosystems | Longitude: 152.5582 Latitude: -25.3284'; Department of Environment and Science, 'Granville Remnant 2021 Regional Ecosystems | Longitude: 152.7661 Latitude: -25.5279', 2024, https://apps.des.qld.gov.au/map-request/re-broad-veg-group/; Department of Environment and Science, 'Marianna Remnant 2021 Regional Ecosystems | Longitude: 152.537 Latitude: -25.542'.

ignored, both on paper and on the ground. Their shifting designation, and poor reputation has contributed to their marginalisation, yet they continue to offer protection to patches of the Fraser Coast's forests.

7.2.3 Wilderness Emphasis

Despite the problems with 'wilderness' the concept's importance within national park and protected area ideology persisted as the CNPAA drafted and redrafted their definitions. Dasmann showed the wilderness emphasis in his 1973 paper, though the wilderness category was dropped from the version presented to the full Assembly in 1978.[77] The 1978 version, produced by the Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature streamlined the conservation categories into three groups. In Group A, Scientific/ Strict Nature Reserves were rated Category I, with National Parks second. Group B included resource reserves and anthropological reserves, both defined by people's use of them. Though this version was "provisional and consultative", it was influential.[78] In response to the myriad concerns raised in relation to this draft, the CNPPA continued revisions from 1984.[79] The complexity of this task was reflected in the six years it took the Committee to report to the full Assembly, in Perth in 1990.[80] The reworked and streamlined categories brought the wilderness focus back to Category I, while anthropological reserves were subsumed under the sixth and last category, Managed Resource Protected Area. Finding favour at the Assembly, the new categories were finetuned at the Fourth World Congress on National Parks, in February 1992, then approved by the IUCN at Buenos Aires in January 1994.[81] These new categories were:

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[77] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, 'Categories, Objectives and Criteria for Protected Areas' (Morges, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, August 1978); Adrian Phillips, 'The History of the International System of Protected Area Management Categories', *Parks: Protected Areas Programme* 14, no. 3 (2004).
[78] Phillips, 'The History of the International System of Protected Area Management Categories'.
[79] Phillips; N Dudley, ed., *Guidelines for Applying Protected Area Management Categories* (Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 2008).
[80] Phillips, 'The History of the International System of Protected Area Management Categories'.
[81] Phillips, 9; Dudley, *Guidelines for Applying Protected Area Management Categories*, 4.

> I Strict Nature Reserve/Wilderness Area: Protected area managed mainly for science or wilderness protection;
> II National Park: Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation;
> III Natural Monument: Protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features;
> IV Habitat Species Management Area: Protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention;
> V Protected Landscape/Seascape: Protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation;
> VI Managed Resource Protected Area: Protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems[82]

Wilderness was no longer just an influential concept; it was now codified as the best type of conservation reservation. The influence of the USA remained even clearer in the third category, but the intensified importance of wilderness pushed Australia's environment further away from compliance with these international visions. During the 1994 vote, a proposed clause that would have allowed the definition to apply more readily to the Australian context read "these categories do not preclude acknowledgment of customary access and use".[83] It was not approved. In the same year Tim Flannery identified links between Australia's legislative recognition of Native Title and the trouble with IUCN's wilderness vision, declaring "*terra nullius* … is alive and well in the minds of those who promote such a concept of wilderness".[84] As well as silencing the role of Australian indigenous peoples in managing their environment, the IUCN's rejection of culturally managed lands as relevant to the aspirational purposes of the protected area categories silenced indigenous peoples in the other settler-colonial societies globally. In promoting high ecological ideals, the IUCN contested lived experiences of land use and reservation. The IUCN's vision could not apply to the forests of the Fraser Coast, with their long history of First Nations shaping, or the later European attempts to shape these forests for timber and cattle. However, international pressure resulted in federal pressure

[82] Hugh Synge, ed., *IUCN 19th General Assembly: Proceedings* (Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1994).
[83] Synge, 32.
[84] Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*, 379.

as the Commonwealth agreed to uphold these international principles, compelling the states to comply.

7.3 Political Parks

7.3.1 Shifting political visions

While the IUCN was reconsidering their definitions, changes were occurring in the political landscape of Queensland. The conservative Bjelke-Petersen government fell in 1989, as discussed in the previous chapter. Amongst the other campaign promises made by new Labor premier Wayne Goss was a commitment to double the national park estate. Official recognition of national park declaration in the Executive Council Minutes from this era show that from 1990 to 1992, 112 national parks were either created or extended. Under the previous government, 112 new or extended parks were gazetted from 1980 to 1989.[85] Part of this extension, was the vast expansion of national park on K'gari in February 1992, following its World Heritage listing. In May 1992, three months after the World Congress on National Parks amended its protected area categories, the Goss government passed the Nature Conservation Act.[86] This Act was a response to both the electorate's swing against the conservative Bjelke-Petersen government, and international pressure to increase the protected area estate through national park declaration.

This significant increase in park lands, and attempted compliance with international standards, was supported by a considerable increase in funding. Between 1989 and 1992, the Goss government spent $11 000 000 on 36 separate extensions to the national park estate.[87] In 1992 alone three large

[85] 'Series: Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection / Environment and Heritage)', 1992 (1945-2009 1978, S20889, Queensland State Archives, https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/series/S20889.
[86] Queensland Government, An Act to provide for the conservation of nature.
[87] Queensland Legislative Assembly, 'Parliamentary Debates [Hansard]', 5 May 1992, Queensland Parliament Website, https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Dates/Sitting-Date?date=1992-05-05.

pastoral properties were converted to National Park, at an expense of $7.2 million dollars. Particularly controversial was the purchase from Janet Holmes à Court of a former grazing property at Diamantina in western Queensland for $3.7 million.[88] The property, just over one million acres, had been used as grazing land for many years prior to the sale. Holmes à Court was not the only pastoralist in 1992 to profit from the expansion of national park tenure, with $1.55 million paid for a property near Barcaldine and $1.953 million for a property near Undara.[89] These figures are in stark contrast to the spending on acquisition by the Bjelke-Petersen government, who in the comparative period used above (1980 to 1989), spent under one million dollars.[90] Goss' acquisitions suggested that expansion, and compliance with international visions, relied on a loose interpretation of the emphasis on wilderness, which was traded against meeting the IUCN's size requirements. This flurry of spending did not reach the Fraser Coast's pastoral forests, at this stage, they were apparently more valuable as they were: timber repositories lightly stocked with cattle.

The emphasis on expansion through acquisition was not followed by similar commitments to the management of the burgeoning national park estate. Sporadic but well publicised large allocations for acquisition mask the ongoing costs associated with maintaining ecological integrity. Operational budgets for the service have increasingly become a tangled thicket of shifting priorities and bureaucratic obfuscation. One of the many barriers to tracing budgetary allocations over this time lies in the nature of the bureaucratic systems that implement national park legislation. Management of national parks was

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[88] Queensland Government, 'Executive Council Minutes 1453 - Acquisition of Diamantina Lakes Pastoral Development Holding', 25 June 1992, ITM2700396, Queensland State Archives - Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection/ Environment and Heritage); Sattler, 'Five Million Hectares', 71.
[89] Queensland Government, 'Executive Council Minutes 1452 - Acquisition of Shirley Grazing Homestead Perpetual Lease', 25 June 1992, ITM2700395, Queensland State Archives - Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection/ Environment and Heritage); Queensland Government, 'Executive Council Minutes 1874 - Acquisition of Mt Rosey Pastoral Holding', 13 August 1992, ITM2700412, Queensland State Archives - Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection/ Environment and Heritage).
[90] 'Series: Executive Council Minutes (Environmental Protection / Environment and Heritage)'.

conducted by the QNPWS from the 1975 establishing Act, which shifted responsibility from Forestry to the Lands Department. Since then, the service has shifted across numerous government departments. It was associated with Tourism and Recreation through the rest of the Bjelke-Petersen era, with Goss' reshuffling placing it under the auspices of Environment and Heritage.

The annual reports of the various departments that have housed the QNPWS rarely show disaggregated data for the service, more frequently reporting on the entire managing department's budget, which includes the operations of other government services. Further, under the Beattie Labor government in 1999, the Environmental Protection Agency assumed control of the now rebranded QPWS (removing the National appellation) and other environmental matters. The new department's annual report then stated "the Agency's budget has been prepared on an accrual basis. Direct comparisons with previous budget figures cannot be made".[91] Admonishments against comparisons again occurred in the shift from Environment and Resource Management to National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing under Campbell Newman's Liberal-National government.[92] This lack of clarity and consistency also impacts investigation of the Budget Capital allocations to national parks. Academic Paul Sattler, a former QNPWS ecologist with privileged access to service documentation, complained in 2014 about the unreliability of service budget data from 1994-95 onwards, as it "may include unspent funds that were carried forward and shown as expenditure again: this could result in double counting". However, he found the data reliable enough to conclude, "After the acquisition phase it was proposed that a significant level of funding should follow for park management: this also did not occur".[93] Advocacy group the NPAQ protested against declining national park funding, predominantly in terms of acquisition, with a 2020 report suggesting that "funding for new national parks

[91] Barry Carbon, 'Annual Report Environmental Protection Agency | Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service 1999-2000' (Brisbane: Queensland Government, 2000), 20.
[92] John Glaister, 'Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing 2012-13 Annual Report' (Queensland: Queensland Government, 18 September 2013), 8.
[93] Sattler, 'Five Million Hectares', 56, 60.

has in fact fallen by 65% over the past 7 years" in an unreferenced statement.[94] This same report called for a funding boost of over one hundred million dollars, half for new acquisitions, and half for ongoing management. Further, a study conducted by ecologists Bob Pressey and Ian Craigie, with the support of NPAQ and QPWS, agreed that the service "has experienced shrinking budgets for some years, leaving the PA [Protected Area] system highly resource constrained".[95] Despite QPWS support for the study, Pressey and Craigie also found budget data opaque and "often difficult to obtain systematically, being politically sensitive and obscured by internal financial systems".[96] However, they concluded that shrinking budgets had contributed to a culture of management that emphasised tourist experience over preserving ecological values. Indeed, the lowest funded management activity was monitoring biodiversity. The suggestion that Queensland parks are not only underfunded, but that funding efforts are concentrated on servicing tourism rather than maintaining ecological principles, goes some way towards explaining the lack of attention to Fairlies, Burrum River and the other reserves on the Fraser Coast.

Extension of the Burrum River National Park during the 1980s and early 1990s reflected the official shifts in conservation policy, though with considerably less expense than the acquisition of other former grazing lands. National Parks director Graham Saunders proposed an extension to the Burrum of 1310 acres in 1983, by extending the eastern boundary. Lands could see no potential in the area proposed, but Mines did, and refused the recommendation due to an existing authority to prospect between the park and the beachfront.[97] Following a change of government, in 1990 Saunders' successor Herb Bonney

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[94] 'Lost Opportunities for New National Parks in Queensland: How Funding New National Parks Will Benefit Queensland's Wildlife and Economy' (National Parks Association of Queensland, 24 February 2020), 3, https://npaq.org.au/current-issues/lost-opportunities-for-new-national-parks-in-queensland/.
[95] Ian D. Craigie and Robert L. Pressey, 'Fine-Grained Data and Models of Protected-Area Management Costs Reveal Cryptic Effects of Budget Shortfalls', *Biological Conservation* 272 (August 2022): 109589, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2022.109589.
[96] Craigie and Pressey, 2.
[97] G.W. Saunders, 'Proposed National Park Extension', 15 March 1983, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.

tried again. This time, the proposal covered a slightly smaller area of 970 acres, with which Lands concurred.[98] Mines was now less concerned with the area, though still took four months (and an official reminder) to approve the conversion.[99] Burrum River had already met the IUCN size requirement in 1969, perhaps contributing to the lack of urgency for this extension in relation to other national parks across the state. However, with Mines' approval, the Burrum River park was increased to almost 5000 acres.[100] This extension included another former pastoral property, was bisected by public road access to Burrum town, and contained a reserve for a sewage treatment plant on part of the land that Saunders excised after his 1983 proposal. In this, the Burrum Park extension also reflects poor application of wilderness ideology to Labor's national parks, and the government's commitment to the size criterion.

As conservation reservation grew across the state, more pressure was placed on the forests around Fairlies Knob. The small park itself continued to receive limited official attention from both the Bjelke-Petersen and Goss governments. The Bunya pines that remained from Fairlie's plantation continued to grow on the freehold, sheltering cattle and regenerating. The national park continued to be the domain of trees, 'stray' cattle, and timber cutters continuing their operations in the vicinity. Forestry also engaged in plantation establishment nearby, as discussed in Chapter Five. As the logging of K'gari came to a close, farmer, sawmiller and timber getter Norman Armstrong was engaged in cutting hoop pine from Fairlies Knob, ostensibly from the freehold rather than the national park.[101] While removing the economically viable trees, Armstrong built a shelter shed, with a large cement slab, roughly cut stringy bark poles and recycled tin. Due to later expansion of

[98] H. Bonney, 'Proposed Addition to Burrum River National Park', 23 January 1990, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives - Walsh-Burrum River National Park.
[99] N.M. Dawson, 'Re: Proposed Addition to Burrum River National Park', 20 March 1990, ITM2951787, Queensland State Archives - Land tenure/National Parks/ Burrum River National Park - Maryborough - N/P-.
[100] E.J. Bigby, 'Order in Council', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 14 July 1990.
[101] Glen Simpson and Lola Simpson, Personal Communication: Interview follow up, 8 February 2023.

the park, and the lack of official documentation regarding Fairlies Knob, it is unclear whether the shed was constructed on the freehold or the national park. It may actually straddle the border. However, Fairlies Knob was not expanded under Goss; it had to wait for the new millennium and a fresh wave of conservation legislation with the SEQFA's significant amendments to the Nature Conservation Act, discussed in the previous chapter. Under this act, almost 25 000 acres of the neighbouring Doongul State Forest was declared Wongi National Park.[102] Fairlies and Wongi parks are separate on paper, less so on the ground.

7.3.2 Managing Fraser Coast Parks

The 1992 Nature Conservation Act stipulated the management principles for all protected areas, revealing some alignment with international intent, though separating the National Park appellation from wilderness. Four different types of national park headed the list of protected area types, with Wilderness Areas near the bottom. Whether the hierarchy created by the list was intentional or not, National Parks were prioritised over other types of protected area, and included four types of national park: Scientific, general, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. The legislation's definition of a national park was simply any "area dedicated under this Act as a National Park" with similar definitions for the other types of national park (including national parks). It was a rather unsatisfactory explanation of what a national park was or should be.[103] The management principles set for National Parks generally were more suggestive of the government's intent: "(a) provide for the permanent preservation of the area's natural condition to the greatest possible extent; and (b) protect and present the area's cultural and natural resources and their values; and (c) ensure that the only use of the area is nature-based and ecologically sustainable." (a) and (b) were then specified as "the cardinal principles for the management of National Parks".[104] This management intent prioritised

[102] 'Wongi National Park Management Statement'.
[103] Queensland Government, An Act to provide for the conservation of nature, 17.
[104] Queensland Government, 25–26.

ecosystem protection, in alignment with international visions. Further, Part 7 of the Act detailed how this intent was to be expanded into individualised plans for all protected areas, those enabled by this act, and those that already existed. This part also specified that the plans should be reviewed every ten years. The initial Management Statements were slow to appear. Some were in place by 1998, though 2013 saw a rush of plans approved under the Liberal-National Newman government. Some of the earlier ones were reviewed in 2023, 25 years after their initial approval. The 2013 eruption of documentation included plans for the expanded Fairlies Knob and Burrum River.

The QPWS *Fairlies Knob National Park Management Statement 2013* described the park as "Araucarian microphyll to notophyll vine forest, as well as remnants of Eucalyptus and Corymbia open forests. The landscape comprises creek flats, hills and lowlands on granitic rocks" in a "remote, undeveloped setting." Its interpretation of district forester Burnett's 1910 report was "local recreational and scenic value as well as the preservation of a rainforest community," though Burnett never mentioned rainforest, or indeed anything else about the trees. The *Statement* includes the procurement of Fairlie's freehold, which expanded the park to 740 acres in 2010. It describes the freehold as:

> former grazing land that had been generally thinned, but remained relatively uncleared with small sections of hoop pine plantation. It currently supports significant sections of Araucaria forest and large areas of eucalypt/corymbia communities. Due to previous land use, the more recently gazetted section of the park had been cleared but is now regenerating naturally.[105]

Regenerating naturally indicates that Fairlie's is not actively managed. It also embraces the bunyas planted by Fairlie, hoop pine spillover from forestry, southern pine escapees from the exotic pine plantations, and other anthropogenically-supported flora. There is some acknowledgement of clearing for historical grazing activities, however the timber planting and harvesting history is ignored in favour of emphasising the ecological justifications for the park's reservation. Fire management focuses on total exclusion, to protect the

[105] 'Fairlies Knob National Park Management Statement'.

'natural regeneration' of vine scrub. The regeneration policy appears to favour the endangered vine scrub over the drier eucalypt/ corymbia open forest, which is less likely to regenerate under these management conditions. Pests and their management receive limited attention, with some floral and faunal pests reportedly targeted with unspecified biological agents or poison. The S*tatement* erroneously claims that Fairlies Knob was the third national park gazetted in Queensland. The six parks gazetted before Fairlies were predominantly small areas highlighting glamorous features.[106] Armstrong's shed is not mentioned in official documentation but has been visited often, with rubbish and graffiti layered onto the structure. These new layers suggest that people are periodically accessing the park for recreational purposes, though not always in the ways imagined in Brisbane, or by the IUCN. More in line with official visions, the local branch of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland has also conducted field trips to the park, finding the "botanising, birding and history" rewarding.[107] A data collection station has been added to the summit, maintained by the Department of Regional Development, Manufacturing and Water and the Bureau of Meteorology, though unacknowledged in the management statement.[108] The clearing for the collection station is full of

[106] In chronological order of gazettal: Napier, 'The Brisbane Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park: County of Ward, Parish of Tamborine'. Known as Witches Falls; Frederic John Napier, 'The Dalby and Nanango Land Agents' Districts. Reserve for National Park: Counties of Aubigny and Fitzroy, Parishes of Maida Hill, Haly and Tureen', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 1 August 1908. Beginning of the Bunya National Park; Frederic John Napier, 'The Warwick Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park: County of Merivale, Parish of Killarney', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 8 August 1908. This park encompassed a geological feature known as Blackfellow Knob, near Cunningham's Gap; Frederic John Napier, 'The Rockhampton Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park, Fairy Bower: County of Livingstone, Parish of Wiseman', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 26 September 1908; Arthur Morgan, 'The Herberton Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park, Millstream Falls: County of Cardwell, Parish of Ravenshoe', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 19 June 1909; Arthur Morgan, 'The Warwick Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park, Cunningham's Gap: County of Merivale, Parish of Gladfield', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 3 July 1909; William McGregor, 'The Maryborough Land Agent's District. Reserve for National Park, Fairlie's Knob: County of Lennox, Parish of Doongul', *Queensland Government Gazette*, 20 August 1910.

[107] Tim Thornton, Personal Communication: Fairlie's Knob WPSQ report by Frank Ekin, email, 15 July 2024.

[108] Australian Government, 'Queensland Flood Warning Stations Listing of Operating Agencies', Bureau of Meteorology, 5 January 2022, http://www.bom.gov.au/qld/flood/networks/owner_listing.shtml.

regenerating cycads, and the stumps of trees that were likely to impede weather data collection. Weeds, listed and unlisted, predominate along the tracks and encroach into the remnant vine scrub. Lantana is abundant, despite the *Statement's* assurance that this weed was being fought with biological agents and poison. Several apiarists keep portable beehives in clearings. There was also considerable evidence of cattle (for example, Figure 13). The scenic views recorded by Burnett were barely snatched glimpses while driving down the track that effectively separates Wongi National Park from Fairlies (for example, Figure 14), despite the stated intent to retain the scenic values. The shift towards managing national parks for their ecological characteristics works to minimise, though not erase, previous visions.



Figure 13 Photograph showing fresh cattle manure in Fairlies Knob National Park, January 2023. Source: Cindi Davey, 2023. CC BY 4.0



Figure 14 Photograph showing the view on the cleared road down from the Fairlies Knob summit, January 2023. Source: Cindi Davey, 2023. CC BY 4.0

The 2013 *Management Statement* for Burrum also conceals a complicated layering of visions, though here Burrum is minimised at the expense of the bigger parks across the river.[109] In this *Statement*, Burrum River National Park originates in 1999, with its consolidation with the much larger and more tourist accessible Woodgate and Kinkuna Parks across the Burrum River, and outside the Fraser Coast to encompass approximately 56 000 acres. Within the small section in the park's management plan entitled "Shared-history culture", the only reference to the cattle and timber extraction that occurred south of the river is that, "Large tracts of land between Booral and Burrum Heads were acquired for cattle grazing in the 1850s with timber getters attracted to the area to harvest pines in the 1860s."[110] The few sentences describing what was the Burrum River National Park are mostly concerned with threats to its "good condition", with a mention of its role in preserving coastal wallum. The park as a whole protects numerous plant and animal species of international significance. This official document also claims "little material evidence of Aboriginal use remains", despite Sinclair's 1974 requests for the extensive middens on the banks of the Burrum to be included in the National Park. The midden identified in Sinclair's 1974 letter remains unprotected. Tim Thornton, president of the Friends of the Burrum River, and active in several local conservationist groups, has described this midden as the biggest one he has seen in his extensive travels along the Queensland coastline. The Burrum Mary Regional Group (BMRG) had provided money to the owner of the freehold containing the midden to protect it from cattle. That money was used to construct a "fence straight across the bloody midden, and then he built a hut on top, because it's the highest ground down there. He built a hut, with a cement floor. Right on top of the midden. With the BMRG's money, of which I used to be the director!"[111] There is also limited acknowledgement of the presence of cattle within this park, despite what the illegal fence and grid, as well as the expressed intentions of neighbouring

[109] Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 'Burrum Coast National Park Management Statement 2013'.
[110] Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, 3.
[111] Thornton and Thornton to Davey, 'Friends of the Burrum River System', 7 January 2022.

pastoralists, indicated. Instead, “little physical evidence exists on the national park” of European uses either. There is no mention in either the archival file for Burrum River Park or the 2013 Management Statement of the impacts of Lenthall’s Dam, constructed upstream of the Burrum River in 1984, and raised in 2007.[112] In the section on hydrological impacts, Kinkuna and Woodgate are discussed, but not the Burrum River. This park continues to be threatened by the encroachment of human activity, with a village established on its southern boundary, and the Burrum Road sealed, as shown in Figure 15. Predominant vegetation around the southern border of the park includes, “Tee tree, wattle, swamp mahogany, yellow stringy[bark], blood wood, and lots of bracken fern”.[113] Access to the track that caused the Forestry Department such consternation in the early 1970s is, in 2023, blocked by bollards, but is marked as a walking track on the official map available from the Department of Environment, Science and Innovation.[114] The Burrum River National Park has an extensive and complex legislative framework, informed by six separate international agreements on flora and fauna. Consequently, its accumulative growth across the visions of First Nations, pastoralists, the timber industry, tourists, conservationists and even the international community has been virtually disregarded in the plan guiding its future.

[112] ‘Walsh - Burrum River National Park’, 1975 1936, ITM864309, Queensland State Archives; Department of National Parks, Recreation, Sport and Racing, ‘Burrum Coast National Park Management Statement 2013’.
[113] Narelle Davey and Greg Schilling, Personal Communication: Burrum National Park, 26 June 2023.
[114] Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service, ‘Burrum Coast National Park Map: Kinkuna, Woodgate, Burrum Heads and Buxton Sections’ (Queensland Government, October 2023), https://parks.des.qld.gov.au/management/resources/maps.



Figure 15 Photograph of the Burrum Road, looking west in 2023. Both sides of the road are designated National Park. On the right is the southern edge of the park, and the portion the now defunct Burrum Council envisioned as a rubbish dump. The sign in the middle right indicates a buried waste water pipe. Source: Narelle Davey and Greg Schilling, Personal Communication: Burrum National Park, 26 June 2023. Reproduced by their permission.

7.3.3 Negotiating management

The lack of official interest in these parks, a management best described as benign neglect, and government priorities that limit funding, feeds tension across the boundaries. Pastoral and forestry visions encroach national boundaries in several ways. Fairlies Knob/Wongi continues to support cattle with varying degrees of awareness and encouragement from their owners. Cattle are an unwanted hindrance to the national park vision, representing threats to ecological integrity as well as cultural values.[115] While this ecological threat is unpoliced it is likely to continue, muddying the national park vision. Other faunal pests common to Burrum and Fairlies include pigs and wild dogs, regarded with animosity within both national parks and pastoral visions.[116] Pastoralists attempting to control these pests are thwarted by the animals finding refuge in the national parks. QPWS intend to work cooperatively with neighbouring land holders to manage this joint threat, though are stymied by funding priorities.[117] Frustrated pastoralists are thus more likely to manage the problem themselves, across the boundaries.

Introduced flora has also invaded national parks, with lantana and some species of pastoral grass smothering natives, impeding native regeneration. Rat's tail grass, a mistaken attempt at pastoral improvement, is one particularly virulent example maligned by pastoralists and national parks alike. In addition, undesirable plants are freely shared across boundaries via various uncontrollable environmental vectors, requiring coordination across ecological and economic forest visions to manage and check their spread.[118] Despite the shared desire to control these plants, benign neglect of national park ecology encourages their spread, leading to frustration and diminishment of the national park vision, as well as intentional and unintentional plant poisoning across

[115] Thornton and Thornton to Davey, 'Friends of the Burrum River System', 7 January 2022.
[116] Anonymous and Anonymous, Interview with Former Forestry Worker turned Pastoralist, and his Wife; Bur and Bur, Interview with Pastoralists Also in the Management Statements, above.
[117] 'Fairlies Knob National Park Management Statement'; Bur and Bur, Interview with Pastoralists; Davey, Personal Communication: Clearing.
[118] Bur and Bur, Interview with Pastoralists; Tatnell, Interview with DTM Timber Director.

boundaries. Coordination and cooperation are also essential in managing fire risks: to fenced pastures, pine plantations and sensitive rainforests. Control of fire is envisioned in different ways by different managing authorities, creating delay and confusion in emergency response, further reshaping the biota of the parks and the pastoralists in unintended ways.[119] Attempts to implement bureaucratic visions continue to suffer similar issues to those discussed in Chapter Four, where official visions of what the forest should be conflict with the conditions on the ground, particularly where different visions unofficially overlap.

7.4 Conclusion

Visions associated with the label 'National Park' have shifted considerably across time and space. Shifts in international understandings of the concept have influenced conservation reservation legislation in Queensland to varying degrees, with more emphasis on public recreation than the ecological values prioritised by the international community, though, on paper, ecological values are prioritised. Conception and management of national parks at the state level has also been influenced by competing visions for forest use, political priorities, and bureaucratic obfuscation. These issues have compounded a misalignment between distant vision and local process. The misalignment facilitates marginalisation of those parks that are named national, but do not conform with the national park visions of tourists or governments, risking the ecological desirability of those parks. Aspirations for the growth of national parks have worked to reshape those forests so designated; forests have continued to contest those visions, by growing in unexpected and unwanted ways.

[119] Theurkoff et al., Interview with Dunmora Rural Fire Brigade.

8 Conclusion: Continuing Growth

8.1 Summary

This thesis has told a story of the historical layering of intent, interaction and forest responses occurring on the Fraser Coast. It has argued that today's forests are a product of negotiations between intent and response over time. It has used historical narrative, centralising the forests, with the story's structure following their rise, fall and regrowth to demonstrate how such negotiations played out. It is a more-than-human history, focused on the forests: their growth, and responses to human endeavours. It concludes that the forests of the Fraser Coast have grown in the schism between human intent and forest reality, fostered by conflict rather than cooperation, and have done so in many unintended and unrealised ways.

8.2 Conclusions

8.2.1 Crossing Boundaries

It is on the boundaries of various forest visions that management tensions are most visible, as forests rarely comply with human boundaries. The emplacement of forest boundaries predominantly reflects cultural values far more than entangled and shifting biotic margins. Human reification of boundaries, such as First Nations freeways, wooden and wire fences and map lines have worked to fragment forests, in the imagination though less so on the ground. This pattern is particularly evident in regards to cattle, which have roamed the forests successfully since well before closer settlement, and have bedevilled Forestry and conservation visions ever since, sometimes with their owner's connivance. It can also be seen within the Great Acceleration, where human boundaries came into sharper relief through the intensification of extractive visions, though native regrowth and other weeds continued to invade economic visions, and slash pine has spread far beyond its designated plantations. National park boundaries have become frontlines of negotiations between economic and ecological visions, further suggesting that visions for forests require maintenance, or else other visions, including those of plants and animals, will encroach.

Socio-cultural boundaries have repeatedly worked to conceal forest history. Imperial narratives with heroic discoverers worked to silence the environmental negotiations of the First Nations people who had constructed the forests, so that their management techniques were buried with the people and under the application of imperial visions. Further to this silencing, Tom Griffiths suggested the extent of intentional destruction of pioneering pastoral records to remove evidence of not only conflict, but also cooperation, especially during the 1990s conversations regarding native title.[1] The proliferation of bureaucratic governance has also worked to conceal forest interactions, both intentionally through fear of penalty and unintentionally through their complexity. The legislative forests of paper have worked to cover what **was** happening with what **should** have been happening, not always the same thing. Fear of penalty (financial, social, and cultural) for crossing socio-cultural boundaries on forest management has also contributed to concealment beneath the visions of environmentalism. Fear of retroactive litigation and censure have motivated intentional silencing of the management conducted under previous forest visions, unintentionally supported by generalisation and symbolic understandings. As forests respond to environmentalist intent, they do so in unexpected ways, because imagined boundaries have only inconsistently guided human behaviour in forests and the official story is not always the forests' story.

The increasing complexity of compliance has also compounded this schism between official vision and unofficial management. Forest users attempting to comply with the various levels of governance concerning the forests are stymied by not only the inadequacies of the official visions, as in initial colonisation, but also by the difficulties of navigating increasingly opaque and contradictory official processes. This pattern came into sharp relief with the addition of state forestry and local councils, whose visions of and for the forests contrasted with those of the pastoral visions being enacted. Users supposedly

[1] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 96.

enacting those visions have done so by adapting, if not completely ignoring official management directives, especially those informed by forests elsewhere, those built on forests of paper, and those with minimal local historical input. These tensions were particularly highlighted by attempts to control fire and ringbarking. This pattern can also be perceived in the spread of the environmentalist vision, which further increased the range and complexity of visions for forests, and where the tensions are especially visible on the boundaries of national parks. Forest users are expected to manage forests in line with myriad economic and ecological concerns. They do so to varying degrees; in line with their experiences of what the forests are, their will to engage with complex management prescriptions and paperwork, and their own composite understanding of the ways in which these visions can be enacted. Farmer and historian Eric Rolls suggested that the concealment of forest history was intentional.[2] This thesis contends that it has also been unintentional and incidental due to the fragmentation of forest management.

8.2.2 Continuing Growth

Forest composition on the Fraser Coast has changed repeatedly over time. On a geological time scale the dominant tree species have shifted in line with climatic oscillation. The management of First Nations people promoted open dry sclerophyll forest and containment of vine scrub. As closer settlement impelled more intensive uses of the forests, some were further opened by pastoralists clearing and burning to promote grass growth, a vision that reduced denser wetter vine scrubs even further. The biodiversity of these forests was then further significantly shifted under the visions of timber supply, where unsatisfactory forests were removed and replaced, while those with economic potential were extensively groomed to remove some trees whilst promoting others. However, the forests have continued to grow, undermining economic visions without frequent attention from specialised tools. Forest growth has also undermined environmentalist visions, in that what grows under this vision is not

[2] Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest*, 77.

the same as what was intended for protection. The vegetative composition of Fairlies Knob and Burrum River National Parks shows some of the ways in which this process has occurred. On K'gari too, forest composition is demonstrably shifting, with the native hardwoods encouraged by First Nations fire and Forestry 'treatment' failing to regenerate, as those forests shift from sclerophyll to rainforest.[3] The Fraser Coast's forests remain a mosaic with blurred boundaries, but the big picture has shifted continuously, and is likely to continue doing so.

The entanglement of economic and ecological visions is also highlighted by intentional tree growth. Timber visions, represented herein by HQ Plantations, Hyne Timber and DTM Timber emphasise the sustainability of their operations, their compliance with official environmental controls, and their commitment to tree growth.[4] First Nations visions too are reemerging in this space, where Butchulla elder Norm Barney is working closely with HQ to implement fire management, as well as relocating, propagating and selling native plants of concern for reforestation purposes.[5] The reemergence of these visions is supported by official recognition of Native Title, and another wave of renaming, including official acknowledgment of the name K'gari in 2023, 187 years after Eliza Fraser was shipwrecked on the island. Intentional tree growth on pastoral properties has also been encouraged by payments for carbon sequestration in avoided clearing projects, though the official process for receiving these payments requires a forest of paper, including historical

[3] Vithya Krishnan et al., 'Without Management Interventions, Endemic Wet-sclerophyll Forest Is Transitioning to Rainforest in World Heritage Listed K'gari (Fraser Island), Australia', *Ecology and Evolution* 9, no. 3 (15 January 2019): 1378–93, https://doi.org/10.1002/ece3.4853.
[4] HQ Plantations, 'Our History', 2024, https://www.hqplantations.com.au/our-plantations/history; Hyne Timber, 'Our History'; DTM Timber, 'Environment', last modified 2022, https://www.dtmtimber.com.au/environment/environment.html; Tatnell, Interview with DTM Timber Director. Unfortunately, interviews with representatives of Hyne and HQ were prevented by Covid lockdowns. .
[5] Raveneau, Interview with Korrawinga Botanist; Barney, Interview with Korrawinga Manager, Butchulla Elder.

evidence of the tree clearing to be avoided.[6] Where these visions overlap, forest growth and regrowth is encouraged.

The increasing value of remnant and regrowing forests demands further historical attention to inform future intent. Several visions marginalised in this thesis require the attention of a broader environmental history. Sugar and dairy farming have been minimised, partly because this is a forest history rather than a larger environmental history, and it focused more on how the forests of today have grown, rather than those that do not exist currently. Hydrological systems too have received limited attention throughout this thesis, though the local environmentalists are more focused on water than trees.[7] These visions have also impacted forests in a variety of ways, both official and unofficial, but did not fit within the boundaries of this PhD thesis. Yet the shifting boundaries of the Fraser Coast's forests have contained and been reshaped by these visions too. These forests, and many others, require greater historical attention because what the forests look like in the future depends on their past, whether people acknowledge that past or not. Greater cognisance of forests' pasts will facilitate more accurate planning and management for their futures.

[6] Bur and Bur, Interview with Pastoralists.
[7] Thornton and Thornton, Interview with Friends of the Burrum River System; Arthur and Scott, Interview with Wide Bay Burnett Environment Council.

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Appendix A

Australian Forestry History Society Conference Papers

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