

## Introduction



*Figure IN.1: A Sunshine Coast reflection.<sup>1</sup>*

A reflection can be a number of things. It can be an image or a representation; a ‘fixing of the thoughts on something’; or, a vision which can ‘serve to give a particular aspect or impression’ of an object or an idea.<sup>2</sup> A reflection is never a static, unchanging representation but an image which varies because of outside influences. Memorials, basically static objects, provide a basis for reflections which alter through time and according to the viewpoint of the observer. In answering the question ‘how can we understand the past from the vantage point of the present?’, the varied reflections developed from individual memorials can present a range of aspects which help to link the present with the past that each one commemorates.<sup>3</sup> A collection of these reflections would be likely to show similarities – similar reflections from different memorials erected within a certain period of time and/or similar reflections from memorials within a geographic boundary, such as a region. This thesis will investigate the history of Queensland’s Sunshine Coast Region from the time of early European incursion until 2008, as reflected by the memorials of the region.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Coolum Creek reflection’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 30 August 2011, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials collection’, collection of photographs taken by Frances Windolf, 1988-2012.

<sup>2</sup> *Macquarie Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, Macquarie University, NSW, 2005, p. 1191.

<sup>3</sup> This question has been described by Australian historian Anne Curthoys as ‘A perennially troubling issue for historians’; Anne Curthoys, ‘Harry Potter and historical consciousness: reflections on history and fiction’, *History Australia*, vol. 8, no. 1, April 2011, p. 11.

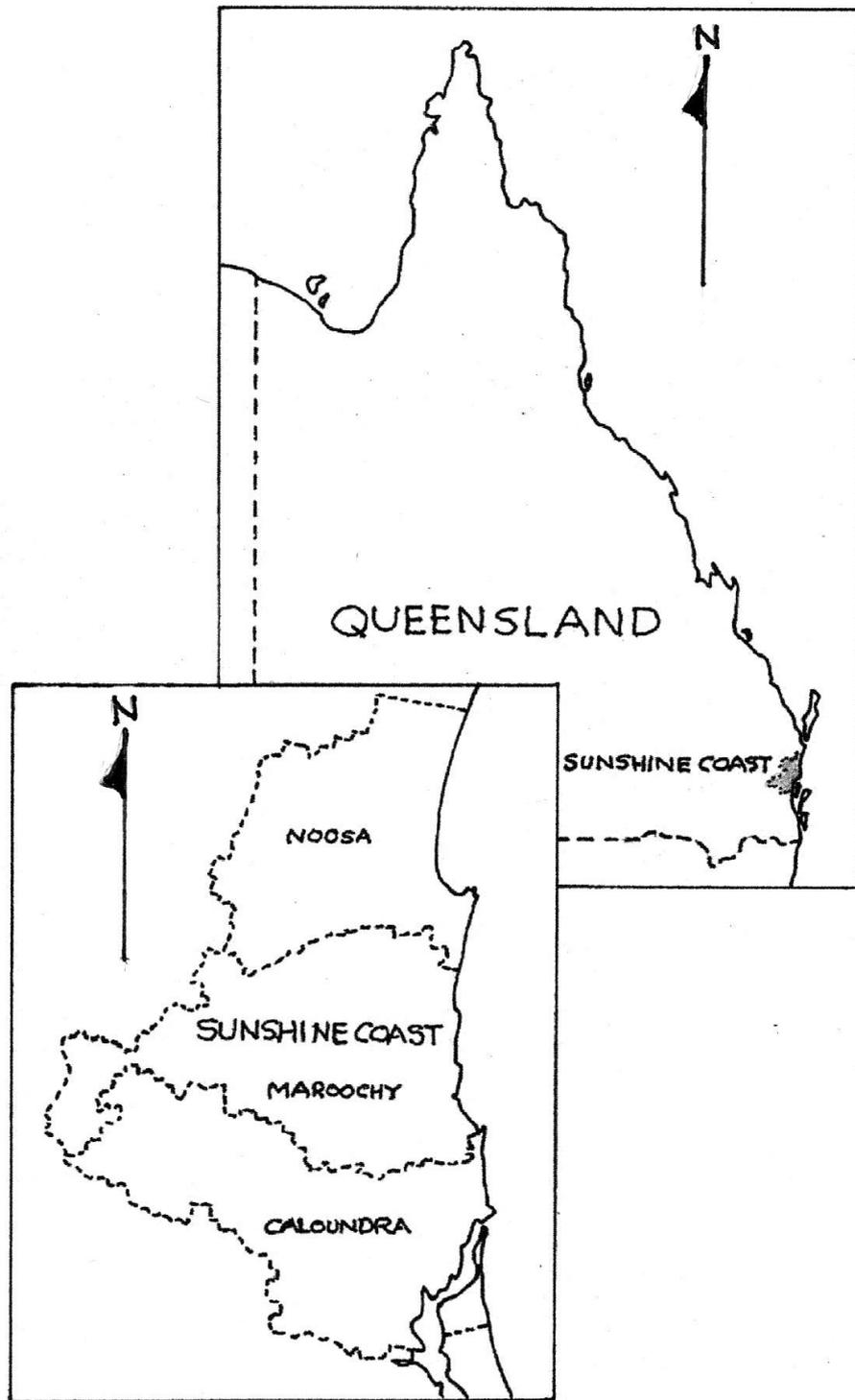


Figure IN.2 : Location of Sunshine Coast Region.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> 'Location of Sunshine Coast Region', maps drawn by John Windolf, 2012.

As a migrant to Queensland's Sunshine Coast some twenty-eight years ago, I found that it was reflections of the history of the area presented by local memorials which led me into a search for further knowledge. As time went on I realised that for most people in my work and social circles, including, but certainly not exclusively, the several thousands of secondary students for whom I was teacher-librarian, the message reflected in these memorials was much more immediate and did not include a rich historical background. After my retirement I pursued studies towards a Graduate Diploma in Local, Family and Applied History at the University of New England, which led me to consider aspects of the study of public memorialisation of which I had little previous awareness. As part of this awareness I realised that the history of the Sunshine Coast Region was reflected by its public memorials, not in a static manner, but in a manner which progressively portrayed the lives of the people who have built the region during its short European history.

From this awareness arose a number of questions which have led to this thesis. These encompassed several aspects, the first being the locality of my study, which had to have defined geographical limits. As the establishment of the new Sunshine Coast Region coincided with the start of my investigation, this area was a suitable basis for delineation. Other questions involved the types of memorials, and the number of these which could be studied in detail. The main aspect of the study was the on-going relationship between the history of the area and the memorials used as case studies. After much investigation of these aspects and much deliberation I chose the title 'Permanent reflections? Public memorialisation in Queensland's Sunshine Coast Region'.

The Sunshine Coast Region officially came into being on 15 March 2008, as a result of state-wide amalgamation of groups of shires by the Queensland government.<sup>5</sup> The new region, comprising the former shires of Noosa, Maroochy

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<sup>5</sup> Queensland Government, *Local Government Reform Implementation Act 2007*, <[http://www.strongercouncils.qld.gov.au/portals/0/Reformdocuments/LGR\\_Implementation\\_Act\\_2007.pdf](http://www.strongercouncils.qld.gov.au/portals/0/Reformdocuments/LGR_Implementation_Act_2007.pdf)>, accessed 12 March 2008.

and Caloundra City (originally Landsborough Shire) now encompasses an area of some three thousand square kilometres ranging approximately one hundred kilometres northwards from its southern boundary (which lies some fifty kilometres north of Brisbane) and up to fifty kilometres inland from the coast to the western edge of the Blackall Ranges. European settlement within the region did not begin until the 1850s, and development was slow for many decades after that, but the Sunshine Coast is now the fourth largest conurbation in Queensland, with a population of more than 335,000.<sup>6</sup>

In this thesis a memorial is defined as a constructed or devised object which preserves the public memory of an individual or group of persons or animals, or of an event of local or wider significance. A monument is a particular form of memorial object, defined as ‘a pillar, statue or the like’, but other forms of memorial objects, including gates, murals and signage are also included.<sup>7</sup> There are a multitude of memorials within the boundaries of the Sunshine Coast Region, if we include all the eleven lookouts and seventy-plus parks named after people, the more than 1250 streets and roads which bear surnames or full names of residents and former residents, the unknown number of personal grave markers in the twenty-two Sunshine Coast cemeteries, and roadside markers erected by those whose loved ones have been killed nearby.<sup>8</sup> It is not possible in a work such as this to consider all of these memorial types, so virtually all lookouts, parks, bridges, streets and roads have been excluded, even if named ‘to preserve the public memory of an individual or group’, because these have not been constructed specifically as memorials, but have been named in commemoration as an adjunct to the original intent. There is, however, one exception to this. A road sign pointing to Murdering Creek Road, which

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<sup>6</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘Regional population growth, Australia, 2010-2011 – population growth in southeast Queensland’, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/3218.0~2010-11~Main+Features~Queensland?OpenDocument#PARALINK6>, accessed 16 June 2012.

<sup>7</sup> *Macquarie Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, pp. 894, 928.

<sup>8</sup> These figures have been calculated from lists of lookouts, parks, roads, streets and other thoroughfares listed in the Sunshine Coast section of a reputable street directory. See *UBD CityLink Refidex South East Queensland Street Directory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Brisbane, 2009, pp. 494, 495-496, 497-515.

commemorates 'an event of local or wider significance' generally considered as memorialised by this road and which is not memorialised elsewhere, has been included as an informal memorial.<sup>9</sup> Grave markers in cemeteries and roadside markers erected by family and friends, which also aim 'to preserve the public memory of an individual or group', have been excluded because of the sheer number of them within the Sunshine Coast Region. William Landsborough's nineteenth-century grave site, situated on his property *Loch Lamerough* rather than in a cemetery, became a public site through usage, so is included.

A further decision was made that all selected memorials extant on the Sunshine Coast should be freely accessible to the public at all times. The term 'extant' is important as two early, informal memorials included — the *Queen of the Colonies* pandanus tree, and William Landsborough's grave — are no longer to be seen within the Sunshine Coast region, although a remnant of the pandanus tree is on display in the Royal Queensland Historical Society museum in Brisbane. The problem of accessibility is relevant to the many World War I honour boards which were erected in schools, halls and other buildings around the Sunshine Coast Region. These are not included as they are only accessible at limited times, and often to a limited audience. A memorial to zoo-keeper and media personality Steve Irwin, which stands in the grounds of Australia Zoo at Beerwah, has been excluded because of its limited accessibility, and also because it is not 'freely accessible' as it is necessary to purchase a ticket to enter the area.

The selection of memorials to be used as case studies came after consultation with the Queensland Museum's Sunshine Coast development officer; with the librarian in charge of the Nambour Heritage Library; with a number of local historians and members of historical societies within the region; from books such as Trevor and Shirley McIvor's *Salute the Brave*; from members of the public as diverse as teachers, shopkeepers and the driver of a mechanical street sweeper;

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<sup>9</sup> In 2004-2005, more Heritage Library enquiries were made about the history behind the name 'Murdering Creek Road' than enquiries about any other aspect of history in Maroochy Shire: Caroline Foxon, librarian, Heritage Library, Nambour Branch of Maroochy Libraries, (now a branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries), pers. comm., May 2005.

and from my own and my husband's personal knowledge of local memorials.<sup>10</sup> Each local township was visited and monuments and memorials across the region were documented and photographed.<sup>11</sup> Public awareness and/or the popularity of individual memorials were not criteria for selection, but the availability of background information about these memorials was a consideration, in order to provide as much knowledge as possible about each case study. This has led to the inclusion of most of the better-known memorials across the region, although some memorials which have become less well-known over time are also included.

In selecting the specific memorials to be used as case studies, the location of memorials within the Sunshine Coast Region had some place in the selection. The area of the study was defined by the boundaries of the region, as set in March 2008, and within this area an attempt was made to ensure that memorials from all three former local government authority areas which were amalgamated into the Sunshine Coast Region — Caloundra City, Maroochy Shire and Noosa Shire — were included evenly across the study where possible. A wide range of case studies were selected from areas from north to south of the region, but memorials could not be as evenly selected from east to west, because the greater majority of memorials investigated were situated in the most populous section of the region, the coastal strip, and not in the hinterland. For this reason, while case studies were chosen to represent a range of locations across the region where possible, their location was a secondary criterion for selection.

Initially, the subject of each memorial seemed paramount in organising this thesis. Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton had used fourteen subjects in categorising their 'Places of the heart' study. These were: Indigenous Community; Community Role; Individual Community Role; Migrant

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<sup>10</sup> Shirley McIvor and Trevor McIvor, *Salute the Brave: A Pictorial Record of Queensland War Memorials*, Toowoomba Qld, 1994.

<sup>11</sup> An Excel database listing 150 of these memorials is included as an Appendix with this thesis. In printed copies of the thesis the database is attached as a CD.

Community; Natural Disaster; Civic Disaster; Sudden Death; Violation; Disease; Personal Memorials; Lost Places (Time); Lost Places (State); Animal; and 'Other'.<sup>12</sup> Chilla Bulbeck had used eight subjects in her 'National register of unusual monuments': Aborigines; Pioneers; Ethnic Groups; Local Heroes; Workers; Catastrophes; Brave Deeds; and Service People.<sup>13</sup> Comparison of these two works led to me devising a personal scheme of classification for the Sunshine Coast memorials undergoing preliminary investigation for this work. My initial classification subjects for the Sunshine Coast study included two groups of war memorials, those erected pre-1960, and those erected post-1960, as well as thirteen other categories: First Europeans; Indigenous/European Relations; Shipwreck; Pioneers; Ethnic Groups; Occupation-specific Memorials; Local Heroes; Civil Disasters; Sudden Death; Lost Places; and Other Memorials. However, although these categories formed a basis for one aspect of the choice of case studies, not all were included in the final group selected. This was largely because the number of case studies had to be limited to twenty because of the length of the thesis, and to include too many categories would have limited comparison within each subject.

Altogether I visited more than 160 Sunshine Coast memorials, photographed them, noted their details and recorded their GPS locations. An appendix to this thesis provides an Excel database which details information on 150 of these memorials, which includes representative memorials from all fifteen of my initial categories. However, in 2010 a privately funded website named Monument Australia developed an excellent online database of memorials erected across Australia with the aim of documenting all monuments and memorials in Australian States and Territories which have

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, 'Places of the Heart: memorials, public history and the State in Australia since 1960', *Public History Review*, vol. 15, 2008, pp. 1-29.

<sup>13</sup> Chilla Bulbeck, 'The National Register of Unusual Monuments', *Heritage Australia*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1991, pp. 21-24.

been ‘erected by public desire to commemorate people or events’.<sup>14</sup> After deliberation I finally divided my database into the categories and sub-categories defined on the Monument Australia website, so that eventually this information may be passed on for wider use. In doing this, I realised that two Sunshine Coast memorials — the *La Balsa* memorial which is one of the case studies and the *Tasman Trespasser* memorial which is included in the appendix — did not fit any of the sub-categories in the Monument Australia database. I broached this with the Monument Australia committee, who subsequently added the new sub-category of ‘People — Adventure’.<sup>15</sup>

Another aspect which I considered during the selection of case studies was that of the chronology of Sunshine Coast memorials. Two different aspects of chronology were considered: firstly the chronology of the person, persons or incident which were the subjects of each memorial under investigation, and secondly the date of the erection of memorials. These two chronological aspects rarely coincided in the examples considered, as formal Sunshine Coast memorials erected prior to 1960 were limited almost exclusively to World War I memorials, and although this began to change in the late 1950s, newer memorials tended to commemorate people and incidents from the past. Many Sunshine Coast non-war memorials considered were erected several decades after the event commemorated, some up to 160 years later. Both types of chronology appeared to be of some value, but not initially suitable as a basis for selection or comparison of case studies. However, when the chronology of erection was balanced against the chronology of the European occupation of the region, it was found that the chronology of erection and the chronology of major developmental change within the region were contiguous. When case studies were grouped into five chronological

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<sup>14</sup> The Monument Australia website is run by applied historian Kent Watson and ‘a small friendly group of [his] family individuals’, with outside contributors as well. By November 2012 it contained 19,815 entries under the categories of Conflict, Culture, Disaster, Government, Landscape, People and Technology; <<http://monumentaaustralia.org.au>>, 1 November 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Frances Windolf, email to Kent Watson, Monument Australia, 13 April 2012; Kent Watson, Monument Australia, email to Frances Windolf, 23 April 2012.

eras: the years of initial settlement in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries; the period from World War One until the mid-twentieth century; the 1960s and 1970s; the 1980s and 1990s; and the first decade of the twenty-first century, they serendipitously divided into groups that were similar in subject, in construction methods and in purpose. Each of these periods has been included as a separate chapter, with two chapters being allocated to different aspects of memorialisation in the region during the 1980s and 1990s. Wider reading showed that the memorialisation trends from the 1960s and 1970s onward followed similar trends in memorialisation across the world.<sup>16</sup> For this reason the format chosen for this study has been based on a combination of the chronology of erection of memorials combined with chronological periods of development within the Sunshine Coast region.

The number of case studies was eventually limited to twenty, considered a large enough number for a wide range of subjects, chronology, location and identity, but small enough to enable detailed assessment. A further decision was made to include only four war memorials in this number, three World War I memorials, and one commemorating a World War II incident. Two case studies reflect Indigenous inhabitants and their relations with settlers; two record visits to the region by individual Europeans before settlement; and one commemorates a nineteenth-century Australian explorer who later came to live in the region. Three case studies reflect maritime incidents, two of which involved shipwrecks and one presenting two different memorials concerning the same incident where passengers and crew of an immigrant ship were marooned. Some memorials reflect other maritime influences on the Sunshine Coast and some reflect a rich heritage of those who have worked within the region, in fields such as timber-getting, farming, fishing and tourism. Those

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<sup>16</sup> Pierre Nora, 'The reasons for the current upsurge in history', *Europaische Review*, Vienna, 2002, in 'Tr@nsit online 22/2002', <[http://iwm.at/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=285&Itemid=463](http://iwm.at/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=285&Itemid=463)>, accessed 29 June 2008; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, 1985; David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, 1998; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, New York, 1991.

memorials which were rejected were almost always excluded because there were other similar memorials already on the list.

### **Memorials included as case studies in this thesis**

#### Early Days (informal memorials)

The Mill Point sawmill site; explorer William Landsborough's grave site at Golden Beach; and the site at Moffat Beach where men from the *Queen of the Colonies* were stranded.

#### War and Remembrance

Montville World War One memorial gates; the Tewantin 'digger' memorial; and the Woombye war memorial.

#### Development and Identity

The original Matthew Flinders memorial at Beerburrum; the SS *Dicky* memorial at Dicky Beach; the AHS *Centaur* memorial at Caloundra; and the footprints of the *La Balsa* crew at Buddina.

#### Nostalgia and Community

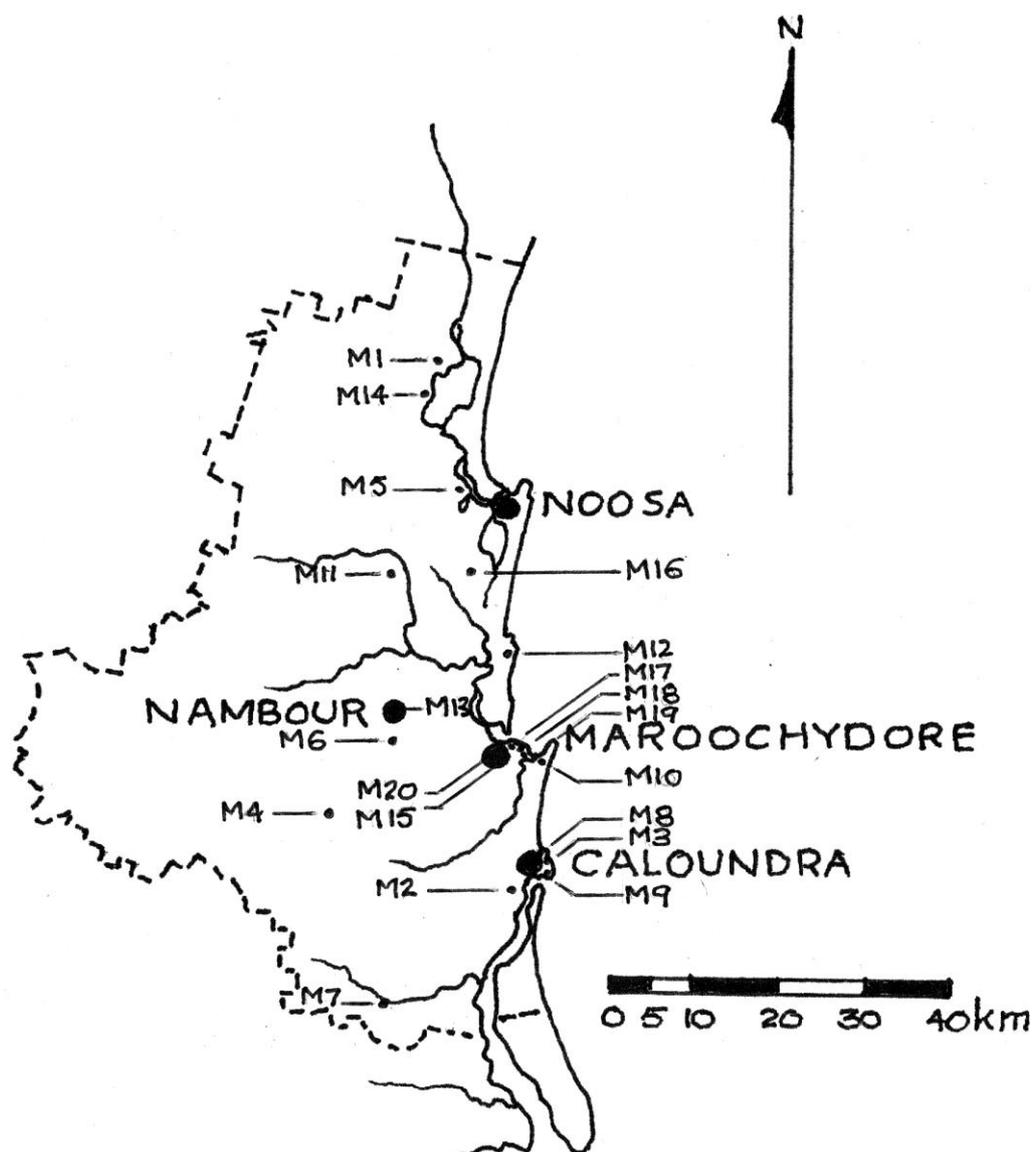
The Tree Feller statue at Eumundi; a community sign near the wreck of the brig *Kirkdale* at Yaroomba; and the community Sugar Industry mural in Nambour.

#### Indigenous Awareness

The Eliza Fraser memorial at Boreen Point; the One Earth, One Spirit mural in Cotton Tree Park; and the Murdering Creek road sign at Peregrian Springs — an informal memorial.

#### Commemoration and Commercialism

The HMAS *Brisbane* memorial at Alexandra Headland; the Steve Irwin statue at Mooloolaba; the 'Fisherman' memorial commemorating fishermen lost at sea, at Mooloolaba; and the 'Sense of Place' sculpture, Maroochydore.



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| 1. Mill Point site, Elanda Point               | 2. Landsborough grave site, Golden Beach    |
| 3. Queen of the Colonies site, Moffat Beach    | 4. WWI Memorial Gates, Montville            |
| 5. 'Digger' memorial, Tewantin                 | 6. Woombye war memorial, Woombye            |
| 7. Matthew Flinders memorial, Beerburrum       | 8. SS Dicky memorial, Dicky Beach           |
| 9. AHS Centaur memorial, Caloundra             | 10. La Balsa footprints, Point Cartwright   |
| 11. Timber Getters memorial, Eumundi           | 12. Kirkdale sign, Yaroomba                 |
| 13. Sugar industry mural, Nambour              | 14. Eliza Fraser memorial, Boreen Point     |
| 15. One Earth One Spirit mural, Maroochydore   | 16. Murdering Creek sign, Peregian Springs  |
| 17. HMAS Brisbane memorial, Alexandra Headland | 18. Steve Irwin statue, Mooloolaba          |
| 19. 'Fisherman' memorial, Mooloolaba           | 20. 'Sense of Place' sculpture, Cotton Tree |

Figure IN.3: Location of featured Sunshine Coast memorial sites.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> 'Location of featured Sunshine Coast memorial sites, map by John Windolf, 2012.

To find how the reflections of individual memorials have changed with the passing of time, qualitative research was carried out through using archival records of Sunshine Coast and Brisbane newspapers, online and at Sunshine Coast Libraries Heritage Library and Oxley Library, Queensland State Library; archival notes and photographs held in collections in the Fryer Library, University of Queensland and in the photographic library of the Sunshine Coast Libraries; a number of local histories; and communication with people who had been involved with these memorials and/or their descendants. Photographs of unveilings of memorials and other gatherings at memorials over time also allowed opportunity for qualitative assessment of contemporary attitudes to those memorials at the time photographs were taken.

Modern interpretations of messages presented by individual memorials were frequently garnered through informal conversations at memorial sites. I discovered that residents and visitors viewing memorials at the same time as I was often began informal conversations about them. If this occurred, I introduced myself, spoke of my affiliation and the reasons for my interest in the memorial, and asked permission to quickly record relevant comments in a notebook, along with the name of the speaker, but did not formally interview anyone. Notes, transcribed to computerised records, remain on file, as do the initial notebooks. As I have been active in Sunshine Coast local history circles for some years, a number of local history aficionados, long-term residents, sculptors and other people concerned with local memorials proffered information, sometimes in social conversation, sometimes by contacting me after hearing of the study from others. Records of these communications were transcribed in a similar manner, and are kept on file at my home, where they will be available to others interested in the subject. Informal conversations such as this had significance in that they provided an insight into the ways in which people viewed individual Sunshine Coast memorials, often from a viewpoint different to my own, thus leading me to consider other aspects of the reflections presented by these memorials. However, informal comments also have some drawbacks, as

they are limited by the speakers – there is no guarantee that a range of views can be presented, and there is little chance for depth of conversation such as could be found in a formal interview.

Quantitative research was not deemed suitable for this investigation, as each individual memorial provided different chances for contacts with the public, many of which were unsuitable for quantitative surveys. However, in my capacity as an occasional voluntary University of the Third Age (U3A) lecturer, I conducted a coincidental survey of some seventy active elderly Sunshine Coast residents, in four different areas of the region, which provided an interesting insight into the extent of migration into the region, attitudes to Sunshine Coast memorials in general and awareness of specific memorials within the region. Sunshine Coast U3A gave permission for the results of this informal survey to be used.<sup>18</sup> This research was also considered in qualitative form, as an example of the attitudes of this group.

The detailed illustrated list of Sunshine Coast memorials which appears as a database in the appendix will be put online on the Sunshine Coast Libraries website for public access. These details will also be provided to Monument Australia, so that any entries which have not already been garnered by this organisation may be utilised by them.

My first formal excursions into a study of memorialisation were literary and wide-ranging. Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* and Lowenthal's discussion of the place of all types of heritage led to other international studies, and particularly to some Australian studies.<sup>19</sup> These included Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton's 'Places of the heart', which considered non-war memorials erected in Australia after 1960; Chilla Bulbeck's 'National register of unusual [i.e. non-war] monuments'; Lianne Gibson and Joanne Besley's *Monumental*

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<sup>18</sup> Permission given by Ted Webber, 'Society and the Humanities' organiser, Sunshine Coast University of the Third Age, June 2009.

<sup>19</sup> Nora, 'The upsurge in history'; Lowenthal, *The Past*; Lowenthal, *Heritage Crusade*.

*Queensland*; as well as two war memorial specific works, Ken Inglis' Australia-wide study *Sacred Places* and Shirley and Trevor McIvor's Queensland reference *Salute the Brave*.<sup>20</sup> Each of these works is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Towards the end of my research and writing, in 2012, another Australian study of memorials was published. This was *Places of the Heart: Memorials in Australia*, by Paul Ashton, Paula Hamilton and Rose Searby, which provided me with a valuable counterpoise, enabling me to consider my Sunshine Coast case studies against case studies elsewhere in Australia.<sup>21</sup> One aspect of this consideration was to review my definition of Sunshine Coast memorials as places of commemoration of any person or event, whether or not it included death, as Ashton, Hamilton and Searby's definition of the term 'memorials' was 'one particular means by which those who live on commemorate the dead'.<sup>22</sup> Many Sunshine Coast memorials commemorate the dead but others commemorate events in, and aspects of, the history of the region which did not involve death or where those commemorated may still be alive.

Readings for this thesis have not been limited to researching specific case studies, but to a much broader study of the influences on the reflections presented by memorials across Queensland, Australia and the world. Basically, these influences may be divided into four concepts: time; place; form; and identity. These readings were not limited to the field of history, but also included many works written by social geographers, architects, artists and others, in relevant related fields.

Studies of time within this conceptual framework included not only chronological time but also aspects of change through time, and change of

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<sup>20</sup> Ashton and Hamilton, 'Places of the heart', pp. 1-29; Bulbeck, 'Unusual monuments', pp. 21-24; Lisanne Gibson and Joanne Besley, *Monumental Queensland: Signposts on a Cultural Landscape*, St Lucia, Qld 2001; McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*; K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Carlton South Vic., 1998.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Ashton, Paula Hamilton and Rose Searby, *Places of the Heart: Memorials in Australia*, North Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

memory. Readings in this field began with consideration of translations and summaries of Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, which argued that memory and history appear 'to be in fundamental opposition', with history being an intellectual representation of the past and memory continuing to evolve only through remembrance and forgetting.<sup>23</sup> A later article by Nora, in 2002, apportioned greater value to memory, recognising a 'world-wide upsurge in memory' which had occurred in the last quarter of the twentieth century, as a result of the acceleration of history and of its democratisation.<sup>24</sup> This article alerted me to the fact that this sentiment had reached as far as the Sunshine Coast, where the 'sense of belonging [and] collective consciousness' described by Nora as part of a 'tidal wave of memorial concerns' in the 1980s and 1990s was apparent during the same period.<sup>25</sup>

David Lowenthal also wrote of the changes in awareness of a more democratic form of history during the 1980s and 1990s. In his 1985 work, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Lowenthal carried Nora's concepts into the field of remembrance through heritage structures and monuments as places of memory, considering that in a time of massive change, people cling to familiar experienced vestiges of the past.<sup>26</sup> By 1998, however, Lowenthal considered that the concept of the past as 'a foreign and exotic place where people did things differently' had been relegated to formal history, while the ordinary person viewed the past from a more domestic perspective where it was treasured as 'our own possession'.<sup>27</sup> In 1985 he observed that commemoration through monuments had recently begun to alter from 'exhortations to imitate the virtues they commemorated' to a method of simply recalling 'how life used to be'.<sup>28</sup> By 1998 he considered that the development of a personal awareness of history by

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<sup>23</sup> Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire', translated by Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, no. 26, 1989, pp. 7-26; see also Hue-Tam Ho Tai, 'Remembered realms: Pierre Nora and French national memory', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 106, no. 3, June 2001, pp. 906-922.

<sup>24</sup> Nora, 'The upsurge in history'.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past*, p. 399.

<sup>27</sup> Lowenthal, *Heritage Crusade*, p. xv.

<sup>28</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past*, p. 322.

the general populace had led to a form of commemoration whereby monuments and heritage objects had become a way of enshrining symbols of identity, and commented that in Australia 'worship of the past [had become] one of the great secular religions'.<sup>29</sup> As with Nora's writings, Lowenthal led me to compare the chronology of change in historical awareness within the Sunshine Coast region with changes in other countries.

This subject led me to books by Michael Kammen, a professor of American cultural history whose works included valuable readings on the place of heritage in the democratisation of history, and of the connection between collective memory and national identity during the latter decades of the twentieth century. Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, written in 1991, looked back over changes in the public awareness of American history during the previous decade, and investigated similar concepts to those put forward by Nora and Lowenthal.<sup>30</sup> Kammen's 1997 review of historical perspectives on American culture, *In the Past Lane*, included a study of rising American interest in what he described as 'the heritage syndrome'.<sup>31</sup> Unlike Lowenthal, however, Kammen was critical of the value of the heritage boom, which he described as 'both warping and whitewashing a fenced-off past'. Despite this, he conceded that a redeeming value was that heritage could lead to the popularisation of history, and thus to history's democratisation.<sup>32</sup>

Three other works proved particularly useful as background material when examining relationships between memory and memorial sites. *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, edited by Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, presented a wide range of insights into ways in which aspects of

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<sup>29</sup> Lowenthal, *Heritage Crusade*, p.1; Graeme Davison, 'The meanings of 'heritage'', in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville (eds), *A Heritage Handbook*, Sydney, 1991, p. 12, cited in Lowenthal, *Heritage Crusade*, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Kammen, *In the Past Lane: Historical Perspectives on American Culture*, New York, 1997.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 222.

history have been remembered in Australia during that century.<sup>33</sup> This collection proved to be of particular interest when considering the importance of collective memory, both as a basis for cohesion and as a source of conflict; in the articulation of memory as ‘overwhelmingly social and certainly historically specific’ terms; and in discussing the commodification of history.<sup>34</sup> Another collection, *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, edited by Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, considered several aspects of public memorialisation including memorialisation through monuments, through sites and through place names in discussing contestation over meanings of the past.<sup>35</sup> One chapter in this collection which proved very relevant to this thesis was Paula Hamilton’s ‘Sale of the century? Memorial and historical consciousness in Australia’, in which she contended that the retreat from formal learning of history in Australia had led to the shaping of historical understanding through a ‘memorial framework’.<sup>36</sup> Paula Hamilton also considered ‘the shifting ground between memory and history’ which had resulted from political and cultural changes in latter twentieth century Australia in ‘Memory studies and cultural history’, a chapter in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White’s collection *Cultural History in Australia*.<sup>37</sup>

A further aspect of the concepts of time and memory is that of forgetting, and in this field, too, some relevant background information in regard to memory and monuments was sourced. Susanne Kuchler, who stated in *The Art of Forgetting* that ‘a culture without monuments appears to us like a ship lost to the sea – unable to navigate and correct mistaken judgement’, considered that although monuments might suffer from the accidental grafting of memories

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<sup>33</sup> Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Melbourne, 1994.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2; Chris Healy, ‘Histories and collecting: museums, objects and memories’, in Darian-Smith and Hamilton (eds), *Memory and History*, p. 36; Annette Hamilton, ‘Skeletons of Empire: Australians and the Burma-Thailand railway’, in Darian-Smith and Hamilton (eds), *Memory and History*, p. 92.

<sup>35</sup> Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (eds), *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, London, 2003.

<sup>36</sup> Paula Hamilton, ‘Sale of the century? Memorial and historical consciousness in Australia’, in Hodgkin and Radstone (eds), *Contested Pasts*, 2003, pp. 136-138.

<sup>37</sup> Paula Hamilton, ‘Memory studies and cultural history’ in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (eds), *Cultural History in Australia*, 2003, pp. 81-97.

upon them they nevertheless help to recall the absent into the present.<sup>38</sup> *Monuments and Memory*, edited by art historians Robert Nelson and Margaret Nolin, contained a wide-ranging study of the changes of attitudes towards monuments during the twentieth century and the differing memories inherent within monuments which physically change form through the passage of time or through changes wrought by those who would change their messages.<sup>39</sup>

Place, when relevant to memorialisation within the Sunshine Coast region, is considered as a tri-fold concept, as defined by political geographer John Andrew.<sup>40</sup> Andrew's concept defined place as a physical location; as a locale or a material setting wherein people construct their lives; and as a sense of place, formed by the subjective and emotional attachment people have to that place. Studies in this area of the research included Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, which investigated commonalities between places, identity and memory, together with links between monuments and place.<sup>41</sup> Hayden, Professor of Architecture at Yale University, also lectures in urban history, and *The Power of Place* increased my awareness of relationships between monuments, identity and place from the perspective of the development of history within a region. Philosopher J.E. Malpas' work, *Place and Experience: a Philosophical Topology* considered the relationship between location and a sense of the past, and with it the binding of memory to place.<sup>42</sup> This provided me with a different perspective, which was less geographical and considerably thought-provoking regarding the development of memories relevant to memorialisation. Tony Hiss' *The*

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<sup>38</sup> Susanne Küchler, 'The place of memory', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds), *The Art of Forgetting*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 53, 64.

<sup>39</sup> Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (eds), *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, Chicago, 2003; Jaś Elsner, 'Iconoclasm and the preservation of memory', in Nelson and Olin (eds), *Monuments and Memory*, pp. 209-231; Ruth B. Phillips, 'Settler monuments, indigenous memory: dis-membering and re-membering Canadian art history', in Nelson and Olin (eds), *Monuments and Memory*, pp. 281-304.

<sup>40</sup> John Andrew, *The United States in the World Economy*, Cambridge, 1987, cited in Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2004, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995.

<sup>42</sup> J. E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*, Cambridge, 1999.

*Experience of Place*, while considering individual personal change as ‘the places around us’ change, was less useful overall, containing references to specific American localities rather than theoretical discussion.<sup>43</sup> Edward Said’s 2002 article, ‘Invention, memory and place’ in *Landscape and Power*, which was largely concerned with conquest and power — particularly in regard to Israel and Palestine — was valuable in its proposal that the study of human space comes from the overlapping of geography and memory.<sup>44</sup> This was relevant to a regional study of the Sunshine Coast where the development of new memories by those who had moved to the area linked with the existing geography and historical development of the region.

Journal articles considering the concept of place have proved to be even more pertinent to this study. Of particular interest were three papers by geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, published between 1975 and 2003.<sup>45</sup> The earliest of these, ‘Place: an experiential perspective’, while defining place as ‘location’, ‘a unique artifact’, and ‘a center of meaning constructed by experience’, was also useful in its discussion of neighbourhoods and regions, as was the proposal that: ‘A work of sculptural art ... creates place materially as well as in the imagination’.<sup>46</sup> The relevance of Tuan’s ‘Language and the making of place’ came through his investigation of perception of places through language and the meanings apportioned to those places through language, in a way which deepened my understanding of monuments and the places where they stand.<sup>47</sup> Another of Tuan’s articles, ‘The significance of the artifact’, not only considered place, but also time, memory and identity, and

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<sup>43</sup> Tony Hiss, *The Experience of Place*, New York, 1991.

<sup>44</sup> Edward W. Said, ‘Invention, memory and place’, in W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Chicago, 2002, pp. 241-259.

<sup>45</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, ‘Place: an experiential perspective’, *The Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, April 1975, pp. 151-165; Yi-Fu Tuan, ‘Language and the making of place: a narrative-descriptive approach’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 18, no. 4, December 1991, pp. 684-696; Yi-Fu Tuan, ‘On human geography’, *Daedalus*, vol. 132, no. 2, Spring, 2003, pp. 134-137.

<sup>46</sup> Tuan, ‘Place’, pp. 151, 152, 157-159, 161.

<sup>47</sup> Tuan, ‘Language and the making of place’, pp. 684-696.

this, too was extremely relevant to my research as all of these concepts were included in my studies of Sunshine Coast memorials.<sup>48</sup>

In view of the fact that formal regionality was a new concept for the Sunshine Coast, and that informal recognition of the Sunshine Coast as a region had only begun in the late 1950s, the consideration of regions as a particular type of place was important to this study.<sup>49</sup> Readings in this area included Susan Armitage's article 'Rewriting regional history' which took the concept of regionalism back to its basics in thought-provoking fashion.<sup>50</sup> In considering the subject from both gender-based and ethnological viewpoints, Armitage reviewed definitions of American Western regionalism which included Donald Worster's belief that the concept was 'first and foremost one of an evolving human ecology' and Patricia Limerick's opinion that it was unified by 'the intersection of ethnic diversity with property allocation'.<sup>51</sup> From such definitions, Armitage developed a 'concept of region as a place within which to explore the conflict and adaptation of diverse groups *before* reaching conclusions about commonality'.<sup>52</sup> I found this work thought provoking and, although many points it proposed were not immediately relevant to the Sunshine Coast, it enabled me to view the Sunshine Coast region with a degree of distance. Another thought-provoking work was Sulevi Riukulehto's paper, 'The concept of region in regional history', presented at a Regional Studies Association conference in 2010, which also investigated a wide range of definitions of regionalism and regional history.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, 'The significance of the artifact', *The Geographical Review*, vol. 70, no. 4, October 1980, pp. 462-472.

<sup>49</sup> See Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia since 1870*, Carlton South, Vic., 2000, p. 144.

<sup>50</sup> Susan H. Armitage, 'From the inside out: rewriting regional history', *Frontier: A Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. XXII, no. 3, September 2001, pp. 32-47.

<sup>51</sup> Donald Worster, 'New West, true West: portrait of a changing region', *Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1987, p. 149, cited in Armitage, 'From the inside out', p. 33; Patricia Nelson Limerick, 'Region and reason', in Edward L. Ayers *et al.*, (eds), *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*, Baltimore, 1996, p. 88, cited in Armitage, 'From the inside out', 2001, p. 33.

<sup>52</sup> Armitage, 'From the inside out', p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> Sulevi Riukulehto, 'The concept of region in regional history', paper presented at the Regional Studies Association Annual International Conference, Pécs, Hungary, 24 May – 26 May 2010,

These were of great interest, although Riukulehto's rather broken English detracted from the quality of his work.<sup>54</sup> While these works came from outside Australia, Maurice French's article in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* not only summarised the history of writings about regionalism and regional histories in Australia but considered the need for the 'old regionalism' of the 1960s and 1970s to develop a broader, more 'functionalist' approach in the twenty-first century.<sup>55</sup>

The physical form of Sunshine Coast memorials tends to be very different now to the form of memorials in previous decades and, while this has links with the study of power, the messages presented by differences in form go further than this. A number of specific Queensland and Australia-wide references, including Gibson and Besley's *Monumental Queensland*, the McIvor's *Salute the Brave* and Inglis' *Sacred Places* were valuable sources, and are discussed later in this chapter.<sup>56</sup> Marina Warner's *Monuments and Maidens* discussed in detail the subject of messages presented through allegory and metaphor in form.<sup>57</sup> Journal articles about specific memorials such as Albert Grundlingh's study of the Voortrekker monument in South Africa and Peter Seixas' and Penney Clarke's study of student responses to the controversial historical murals in the British Columbia Parliament building on Vancouver Island in Canada were valuable in developing my understanding of the field of form.<sup>58</sup> All of these works assisted my study in small ways, providing me

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<http://www.regional-studies-assoc.ac.uk/events/2010/may-pecs/papers/Riukulehto1.pdf>, accessed 7 June 2010.

<sup>54</sup> For example, phrases such as 'There certainly is a plenty of exceptions and untypicalities such as semi-independent in-betweens ...', which are difficult to follow, in Riukulehto, 'The concept of region'.

<sup>55</sup> Maurice French, 'Regionalism', in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre (eds) *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, Melbourne, 1998, pp. 548-549.

<sup>56</sup> Gibson and Besley, *Monumental Queensland*; McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*; Inglis, *Sacred Places*.

<sup>57</sup> Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*, London, 1985.

<sup>58</sup> Albert Grundlingh, 'A cultural conundrum? Old monuments and new regimes: The Voortrekker monument as symbol of Afrikaner power in postapartheid South Africa', *Radical History Review*, iss. 81, 2001, pp. 95-112; Peter Seixas and Penney Clarke, 'Murals as monuments: Students' ideas about depictions of civilisation in British Columbia', *American Journal of Education*, iss. 110, 2004, pp. 146-171.

with an almost sub-conscious body of information which I used when viewing and comparing Sunshine Coast memorials.

As the identity of the Sunshine Coast population has altered through the passage of time, so too have the reflections presented by its memorials. This is, of course, a phenomenon which has been studied in many other places as well, both within Australia and overseas, and sources of information have varied widely. Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave*, initially published in 1980, discussed changing concepts of identity in America and elsewhere from the 1960s, when he thought that community identity might be destroyed by the development of the Electronic Era.<sup>59</sup> Hugh McKay's *Reinventing Australia*, published some thirteen years later, similarly described an Age of Redefinition, a period starting in the 1970s, when 'hardly an institution or a convention of Australian life [had] not been subject either to serious challenge or to radical change'.<sup>60</sup> Mackay concluded that this had led Australians to develop a 'sense of a cultural identity which [had] been long missing from the Australian consciousness'.<sup>61</sup> However, the cultural identity of Australians as described by Mackay was very different to that which Australian demographer Bernard Salt recorded in *The Big Picture: Life, Work and Relationships in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, published in 2006.<sup>62</sup> All three of these works proved useful in providing historical context for this thesis, with sections of Salt's *The Big Picture* being specifically relevant to the Sunshine Coast.

Aspects of Australian identity have included studies of Indigenous identities. Kate Rigby's suggestion in the collection *Changing Places: Re-imagining Australia* that the claiming by non-Indigenous Australians of the Indigenous Dreaming could be seen as 'but a new twist of the coloniser's knife' led me to further

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<sup>59</sup> Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, New York, 1981.

<sup>60</sup> Hugh Mackay, *Reinventing Australia: The Mind and Mood of Australia in the 90s*, Pymble NSW, 1993, p.17.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>62</sup> Bernard Salt, *The Big Picture: Life, Work and Relationships in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Prahran Vic., 2006.

thoughtful consideration and investigation of these Australian identities.<sup>63</sup> In *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation*, Ken Gelder and Jane Jacobs proposed a theory that non-Indigenous Australians have automatically developed an identity which includes both innocence (by being 'out of place') and guilt (by being 'in place'), and that these disparate identities affect attitudes to modern Indigenous memorials as well as to Indigenous memorial sites.<sup>64</sup> Chilla Bulbeck's 'Aborigines, memorials and the history of the frontier', which discussed in detail the different Indigenous identities reflected by Australian memorials – pre-invasion; as friend or enemy of the white man; resisting; dispossessed or isolated – concluded that: 'Aboriginal people have not been given a significant voice in either rewriting white monuments, or in determining the meanings of their own'.<sup>65</sup> All of these views were of interest, but Bulbeck's detailed and very readable study was particularly pertinent to my thesis because of the formal and informal Indigenous memorials discussed in Chapter 5.

Another aspect of the reading for this thesis was a two-pronged study concerning Australian local and regional histories. Writings about the history of the Sunshine Coast were first investigated, and an effort was made to read every available history dealing with areas within the boundaries of the Sunshine Coast Region. The second direction concerned the reviewing of a number of local histories concerning other areas of Queensland and Australia, as a study of style and to provide a standard against which the Sunshine Coast works could be evaluated. A further group of readings included works which were not local and regional histories, but were subject-specific to types of memorials in Queensland and across a wider Australian spectrum.

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<sup>63</sup> Kate Rigby, 'Tuning into spirit of place', in John Cameron (ed.), *Changing Places: Re-imagining Australia*, Double Bay NSW, 2003, pp. 107-115.

<sup>64</sup> Ken Gelder and Jane M. Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation*, Carlton Vic., 1998.

<sup>65</sup> Chilla Bulbeck, 'Aborigines, memorials and the history of the frontier', in John Rickard and Peter Spearritt (eds), *Packaging the Past? Public Histories*, special edition of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 96, 1991, pp. 168-178.

The divided nature of the pre-2008 Sunshine Coast region meant that most histories of the region before this date focussed only on individual shires. One of the first of these, published in 1965-66, was a series of three lengthy articles written by John Oxley librarian E. G. Heap, in the John Oxley Library periodical *Queensland Heritage*. Entitled 'In the wake of the raftsmen: a survey of early settlement in the Maroochy District up to the passing of Macalister's Act (1868)', these articles provide a detailed collection of information about Maroochy settlement in the 1850s and 1860s, including useful maps of the stations.<sup>66</sup> Heap's study was limited in area, but extremely detailed and intensively researched. It continues to provide a firm basis for historical study within the area of Maroochy Shire and the Sunshine Coast region in general nearly half a century after it was written.

Although Graeme Davison has said that the 'municipal' histories which provided 'a miniature version of [national] settlement narratives' were popular across Australia from the inter-war years onwards, it was not until 1990 that Maroochy Shire contracted professional historian Helen Gregory to record the shire's history for its centenary, the first such record within the Sunshine Coast region.<sup>67</sup> The resultant *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire* presented a chronological record of the shire which is well documented, if overly crowded by close-crammed facts.<sup>68</sup> Gregory worked with many Maroochy residents, local historians and historical societies and accessed local and state libraries and archives to produce a manuscript which was then reviewed by a strong committee of experts in aspects of the material collected, and which 'highlights features which have made Maroochy different from other parts of Queensland'.<sup>69</sup> This work provided information about many different aspects of

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<sup>66</sup> E.G. Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen: a survey of early settlement in the Maroochy District up to the passing of Macalister's Act (1868)', *Queensland Heritage*, vol. I, nos. 3-5, Brisbane, 1965-1966.

<sup>67</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, St Leonards NSW, 2000, pp. 204-205.

<sup>68</sup> Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire*, Nambour Qld, 1991.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. iv-v.

life in Maroochy Shire, and I found it invaluable as a guide to subjects which merited further detailed research.

Gary McKay's history of Caloundra City and the former Landsborough Shire, *Times of Change: A History of Caloundra*, published in 2007, just before the amalgamation of the Sunshine Coast region, is visually attractive but much less comprehensive than the Maroochy history.<sup>70</sup> This volume is also arranged chronologically, but includes a number of highlighted special sections featuring individuals, families, townships, occurrences and other information. It is well indexed and provides a lengthy list of sources. McKay, too, was advised by a local committee, but the manuscript appears to have been inadequately proof-read or reviewed as there are several incorrect dates.<sup>71</sup> Other factual errors about incidents and places are also apparent.<sup>72</sup> These errors minimise the value of the volume as a record of the history of Caloundra and the Landsborough Shire.

Noosa Shire never published a formal shire history but Nancy Cato received acclaim in 1979 for *The Noosa Story*, a local history which centred upon Noosa itself, rather than Noosa Shire, and was strongly biased towards conservation issues, as was Michael Gloster's 1997 book, *The Shaping of Noosa*.<sup>73</sup> Since that time three more wide-ranging books about the Noosa region have been published: Rod Adams' *Noosa and Gubbi Gubbi: The Land, the People, the Conflict* in 2000; *Noosa Horizons: A History: Timber, Tradition and Tourism*, in 2004; and Denise

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<sup>70</sup> Gary McKay, *Times of Change: A History of Caloundra*, Caloundra, Qld, 2007.

<sup>71</sup> For example, dating of the removal of the propeller from the S.S. *Dicky* as 1968, while the memorial bearing that propeller was unveiled in 1963, in McKay, *Times of Change*, pp. 66, 156.

<sup>72</sup> For example, details regarding the *Queen of the Colonies* pandanus tree show discrepancies – McKay reports that 'The stump of the tree ... is currently held in Newstead House in Brisbane', however, the named tree-part is held in the museum of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Commissariat Building, Brisbane, while a 'painting of the tree done in 1929 by the artist W. K. Bryning' is at Newstead House: McKay, *Times of Change*, p. 28; Frances Windolf, personal reminiscence 12 August 2006; Gwen Trundle, 'The early days of Caloundra', unpublished manuscript held at Kawana Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries, p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> Nancy Cato, *The Noosa Story: A Study in Unplanned Development*, Milton, Qld, 1979; Michael Gloster, *The Shaping of Noosa*, Noosa Heads Qld, 1997.

Edwards' *Country and Coast: A History of the Development of Noosa Shire* in 2001.<sup>74</sup> This last title, a low-budget self-published volume, is well researched and well detailed, providing a wealth of factual information about Noosa Shire activities, agriculture and development. Adams' two books, however, while more visually attractive, are much less reliable and are difficult to use because he tended to include interesting facts from areas outside the former Noosa Shire and the Sunshine Coast region as examples.<sup>75</sup> Even Adams' use of the terms such as 'Noosa' for a locality is at times confusing, as, by his own admission, he used the same term for the township, the hinterland and 'even the territories belonging to the Gubbi Gubbi at large'.<sup>76</sup>

During the 1970s and 1980s several histories loosely covering the entire Sunshine Coast region and adjacent areas were published. Notable amongst these were four collections of random local information by amateur historian Stan Tutt which had considerable contemporary value, making newer residents aware of some of the region's history.<sup>77</sup> Each of Tutt's volumes contained a large number of 'stories and photographs', from one paragraph to two pages long, written in a conversational, non-academic manner without indexing or references to sources.<sup>78</sup> The works exhibited many historical inconsistencies, but were important in their era as they helped to engender pride in the previously

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<sup>74</sup> R. J. L. Adams, *Noosa and Gubbi Gubbi: The Land, the People, the Conflict*, Tewantin Qld, 2000; R. J. L. Adams, *Noosa Horizons: A History: Timber, Tradition and Tourism*, Broadwater Qld, 2004; Denise Edwards, *Country and Coast: A History of the Development of the Noosa Shire*, Noosa Heads Qld, 2001.

<sup>75</sup> For example, Adams uses details of Dungidau habits (from more than 100 km away) to describe Gubbi Gubbi life, and includes a lengthy section devoted to Captain Patrick Logan, commandant of the Moreton Bay convict settlement, despite Logan's lack of contact with, or influence on, the Sunshine Coast area: Adams, *Noosa and Gubbi Gubbi*, pp. 55, 59, 61, 84-87.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>77</sup> Stan Tutt, *Caboolture Country: Stories of the Area Once Controlled by the Caboolture Divisional Board: Shires of Pine Rivers, Caboolture, Kilcoy, Landsborough and Maroochy, City of Redcliffe*, Caboolture Qld, 1973; Stan Tutt, *Pioneer Days: Stories and Photographs of European Settlement between the Pine and the Noosa Rivers*, Queensland, Caboolture Qld, 1974; Stan Tutt, *By Many Campfires: Stories and Photographs of European Settlement between the Pine and the Noosa Rivers*, Queensland, Caboolture Qld, 1977; Stan Tutt, *From Spear and Musket: Stories of the Area once Controlled by the Caboolture Divisional Board: Shires of Pine Rivers, Caboolture, Kilcoy, Maroochy and Landsborough, City of Redcliffe*, Caboolture Qld, 1979.

<sup>78</sup> 'Stories and photographs' is how Tutt described his work, in the full titles of two of his books. See: Tutt, *Pioneer Days*, and Tutt, *By Many Campfires*.

unpublished heritage of the Sunshine Coast region.<sup>79</sup> Their value to today's researcher is largely as a signpost towards areas which might be worth further research, and it is necessary to cross-check information. Hector Holthouse followed Tutt in 1982, with a slim sixty-four page volume, self-described as the 'first history ... written to cover the whole of Queensland's Sunshine Coast tourist area'.<sup>80</sup> Chronological in form, the book is indexed but without attribution of sources, and uses chapter headings such as 'The black man's way' and 'Poisoned flour' which are now very outdated.<sup>81</sup> Most information appears well researched but the inclusion of irrelevant details from outside the region, used without explanation to sensationalise more prosaic Sunshine Coast facts, is confusing.<sup>82</sup>

These unsophisticated, imprecise Sunshine Coast regional histories are notably different from some other regional histories. *Wilderness to Wealth*, written in 1950 about the South Burnett region which adjoins the Sunshine Coast on the west, is an example of Davison's 'Patriarchal history', an unquestioning chronicle of the achievements of generations of European residents.<sup>83</sup> Described by the authors as a 'Saga of the Shires', this 430 page volume is divided into three sections: general history of the shires; economic history; and church history, and is very dated in style as well as racist in tone. Beginning with the first European pioneers, references to the local Aborigines include 'the dread of

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<sup>79</sup> Stan Tutt was so popular that when he died aged ninety-seven, more than thirty years after his books were published, a special public memorial service was held on the Sunshine Coast to honour his work, representing 'a way of life that is long gone and unknown to the present generation'. See: Nicole Fuge, 'Service to remember Stan Tutt', *Sunshine Coast Daily*, 10 August 2011, <<http://sunshinecoastdaily.com.au/story/2011/08/10/stans-remarkable-legacy/>>, accessed 13 August 2011.

<sup>80</sup> Hector Holthouse, *Illustrated History of the Sunshine Coast*, Frenchs Forest NSW, 1982. The description appears on the back cover of this volume.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13, 18-21.

<sup>82</sup> For example, Holthouse includes a discussion of the activities of a convict known as 'Bribie the Basket-Maker' in Brisbane (who had no known contact with the Sunshine Coast) and describes the killing of some sixty Aborigines with poisoned flour, an activity which is documented as having occurred at Kilcoy Station in the Brisbane Valley in 1841. See Holthouse, *History of the Sunshine Coast*, pp. 16-17, 21, and J.J. Knight, 'In the early days: one way of quieting the blacks', *Brisbane Courier*, 21 March 1892, p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> J. E. Murphy and E. W. Easton, *Wilderness to Wealth: Being a History of the Shires of Nanango, Kingaroy, Wondai, Murgon, Kilkivan and the Upper Yarraman Portion of the Rosalie Shire, 1850-1950*, Fortitude Valley Qld, 1950; Davison, *Use and Abuse*, pp.202-205.

massacre by the blacks', and a two-page vignette about Cherbourg Aboriginal settlement includes phrases such as 'the descendants of Australia's very first families are, as a race, headed all too tragically swiftly down the sunset trail'.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, early shepherds are described as 'Chinese, Germans and Indian coolies'.<sup>85</sup> Each shire's entry includes long lists of names of people involved in organisations, local firms, banks and other businesses, but lack of indexing makes it almost impossible to access these without reading entire sections.

Brian Lloyd's *Rutherglen: A History of Town and District*, a shire history written in 1985, followed the same pattern of European settlement, commercial development and organisations, listing dates and names, with a single page of reference to the Bangerang people who 'accepted early incursions into their lands with evident docility'.<sup>86</sup> This work shows more sophistication than *Wilderness to Wealth*, with detailed referencing and index. An even more meticulously detailed district history was Reg Butler's *The Quiet Waters By*, which recorded the history of the Mount Pleasant district of South Australia.<sup>87</sup> While still following the pattern of patriarchal shire histories, this 784 page work began with geology, acknowledged that Aborigines had resided there for at least 1500 years, identified local flora and fauna, and devoted nearly 300 appendix pages to lists of land grants, allotment sales, councillors, school principals, etc. and details of hundreds of local families, with another fifty-five pages to bibliography, chapter sources and indexing. The work is full of facts, but would appear to be attractive to only a limited local audience. Each of these three books presented regional histories in an all-encompassing style which contrasted strongly with this thesis, viewing the history of the Sunshine Coast region through its memorials, and the contradistinction was valuable in the conceptual design of my study, leading me to write in a much less didactic manner.

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<sup>84</sup> Murphy and Easton, *Wilderness to Wealth*, pp. 25, 276-278.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>86</sup> Brian Lloyd, *Rutherglen: A History of Town and District*, Wangaratta Vic., 1985, pp. 1-2.

<sup>87</sup> Reg Butler, *The Quiet Waters By: The Mount Pleasant District 1843-1993*, Mount Pleasant SA, 1993.

*High Lean Country: Land, People and Memory in New England* a history of Australia's New England region published in 2006 provided a strong contrast to these earlier works, demonstrating that a modern regional history can be comprehensive and very readable.<sup>88</sup> Edited by Alan Atkinson, Andrew Piper, Iain Davidson and J.S. Ryan under the aegis of the Heritage Futures Research Centre at the University of New England, this is a scholarly work documenting subjects such as exploration, settlement, politics, churches, education and the arts in a manner described as 'no mere compilation of data', but including 'fresh identification of patterns, changes and inter-relations'. The volume is divided into three sections; 'Physical Environment', covering geology, weather and wildlife; 'First Peoples', a section which ranges from archaeology and settlement history to contemporary Indigenous life, and 'Newcomers', which includes aspects of European exploration and life within the region. Each chapter of *High Lean Country* was written by a specialist in the field and all these individual aspects of New England history appear to provide accurate, well-researched information about the region.<sup>89</sup>

The comprehensive style of *High Lean Country* is very different to that of Matthew Higgins' more recent volume, *Rugged Beyond Imagination: Stories from an Australian Mountain Region*, which 'paints a vivid picture' of the Namadgi-Tidbinbilla region of the Australian Capital Territory and the Snowy Mountains in a relaxed, non-academic manner.<sup>90</sup> This popular history brings the region to colourful life with words and pictures, encompassing a range of aspects from original and surviving Indigenous presence through settlement, surveying, dam building, sports, wildlife and weather, in a format which incorporates ordinary people's memories. Indexing, endnotes and bibliography make the volume usable as well as informative, but while *Rugged Beyond Imagination* was of interest to me, it is basically a popular work rather than an academic resource.

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<sup>88</sup> Alan Atkinson, Andrew Piper, Iain Davidson and J. S. Ryan (eds), *High Lean Country: Land, People and Memory in New England*, Crows Nest NSW, 2006.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Matthew Higgins, *Rugged Beyond Imagination: Stories from an Australian Mountain Region*, Canberra, 2009. The suggestion that *Rugged Beyond Imagination* 'paints a vivid picture' of the region comes from notes on the back cover of the book.

Two subject-specific books covering memorials across Queensland have been of great value to this study. The first of these is Gibson and Besley's *Monumental Queensland*, which describes itself as 'a unique collection of stories about the rich diversity of outdoor cultural objects across our state'.<sup>91</sup> This collection is excellently referenced, providing not only the background of the 221 'cultural objects' discussed, but also their locations, artists, dates and heritage status. Objects were not chosen for aesthetic reasons, but for their identity within Queensland culture and for their ongoing value.<sup>92</sup> Each chapter encompasses a range of memorials within a subject, such as governance, war, frontier life, and leisure, discussing the subject within Queensland history and culture, and the relevance and styles of memorials within that subject. Four of the memorials included in this thesis are also discussed in *Monumental Queensland*, but are approached in a very different manner. Gibson and Besley's detailed, wide-ranging approach is an excellent starting-point for any study of Queensland memorials.

The McIvor's *Salute the Brave*, a meticulous photographic listing of all war memorials erected in Queensland, has also been of great value.<sup>93</sup> Unlike *Sacred Places*, Inglis' valuable Australia-wide study of war memorials, *Salute the Brave* is not a lengthy academic study, but a list of all Queensland war memorials, accompanied by a number of chapters on specific topics such as 'Boer War memorials', 'Memorial gates and parks' and 'Group tributes'.<sup>94</sup> The detailed information in this work has provided a worthwhile starting-point for my research into the war memorials within the Sunshine Coast region. Another resource which has been of great value is the research collection of Judith McKay's study of Queensland war memorials, taken as part of national research for Inglis' work, which is held in the Fryer Library at the University of

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<sup>91</sup> Gibson and Besley, *Monumental Queensland*, p. v.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>93</sup> McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*.

<sup>94</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*; McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*, pp. 183-185, 202-218, 234-241.

Queensland.<sup>95</sup> Of the twenty-five boxes of detailed field notes, correspondence and miscellaneous information in this collection, boxes 18, 19 and 21, containing records of research conducted in 1984 in Landsborough, Maroochy and Noosa Shires, have been of particular value. These three boxes included primary material such as letters, and secondary sources such as newspaper clippings which McKay had collected while researching the war memorials at Montville, Tewantin and Woombye, and which were unavailable from any other source.

This thesis investigates the history of the Sunshine Coast Region through a selection of memorials within the region. Maurice French has suggested that regional Australian histories have, since the 1960s and 1970s, developed from an 'old regionalism' merely 'preserving the past' or focussing on the socio-economic history of the region.<sup>96</sup> This was the case with many of the local and regional histories used in research for this thesis. Preservation of the past appeared to be the sole basis for Tutt's works from the 1970s, which included the Sunshine Coast region with adjoining shires, and also Holthouse's 1982 *History of the Sunshine Coast*.<sup>97</sup> Heap's articles on early settlement in the Maroochy Shire to 1868, written in 1965-1966; Gregory's 1991 history of Maroochy Shire; Edwards' 2001 history of development in the Noosa Shire and McKay's 2007 Caloundra Shire history all followed the 'old regionalism' model, as did some regional histories from other areas – such as Lloyd's 1985 history of the Rutherglen area and Murphy and Easton's 1993 history of the South Burnett region – focussing on the socio-economic history of those regions.<sup>98</sup> While these works presented basic facts about the areas they discussed, they did not fit within the guidelines which G. C. Bolton suggested in 1979 that 'The purpose of regional history ... [is] ... to reflect national and world events in the region while identifying its own

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<sup>95</sup> Judith McKay, 'Research material for a National Estate study of war memorials in Queensland', Judith McKay collection, UQFL208, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, St Lucia Qld.

<sup>96</sup> French, 'Regional History', pp. 548-549

<sup>97</sup> Tutt, *Caboverture Country*; Tutt, *Pioneer Days*; Tutt, *By Many Campfires*; Stan Tutt, *From Spear and Musket*; Holthouse, *History of the Sunshine Coast*.

<sup>98</sup> Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen'; Gregory, *Making Maroochy*; Edwards, *Country and Coast*; McKay, *Times of Change*; Lloyd, *Rutherglen*; Murphy and Easton, *Wilderness to Wealth*.

unique contribution to ‘sense of place’’.<sup>99</sup> *High Lean Country*, a multi-faceted history of New England edited by Atkinson, Piper, Davidson and Ryan, published in 2006, achieved this purpose, as did Higgins’ 2009 vivid history of the Namadgi-Tidbinbilla region, *Rugged Beyond Imagination*, and these works demonstrated the way in which my study should proceed, in a spirit of ‘new regionalism’.<sup>100</sup>

My thesis, although covering the region of the Sunshine Coast, was to be based around a particular facet of the area’s history – the way in which that history has been documented and reflected by the region’s memorials. For this reason my research extended into many other fields than just regional history. The study of memorialisation in Australia was not prominent until the 1990s but has grown in importance since Chilla Bulbeck established a firm foundation with journal articles investigating Australian monuments in 1991 and 1992.<sup>101</sup> War memorials were one type of memorial which attracted public interest, and Shirley and Trevor McIvor assiduously recorded details and photographs of every Queensland war memorial in *Salute the Brave* in 1994, although this work simply presented physical memorials rather than considering their historical or sociological relevance.<sup>102</sup> The first comprehensive book linking Australian memorialisation, in the shape of war memorials, with the social history of Australia, was Ken Inglis’ *Sacred Places* in 1998, which continues as an example of excellence in the field.<sup>103</sup> It was not until 2008 that the first wide-ranging study of relationships between Australian memorials and history, Ashton and Hamilton’s ‘Places of the Heart: memorials, public history and the State in Australia since 1960’, was published, presenting a solid basis on which other

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<sup>99</sup> G.C. Bolton, cited in French, ‘Regional History’, pp. 548-549.

<sup>100</sup> Atkinson, Piper, Davidson and Ryan (eds), *High Lean Country*; Higgins, *Rugged Beyond Imagination*.

<sup>101</sup> Bulbeck, ‘National register of unusual monuments’, pp. 21-24; Chilla Bulbeck, ‘Australian History set in concrete? The influence of the New Histories on Australian memorial construction’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 28, 199, pp. 3-16; Chilla Bulbeck, ‘Women of substance: the depiction of women in Australian monuments’, *Hecate*, vol. 18, no. 8, 1992, pp. 88-109.

<sup>102</sup> McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*.

<sup>103</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*.

studies in the field could be established.<sup>104</sup> However, there is still much room in the historiography of memorialisation in Australia for regional treatment of the subject, as this has been a neglected field.

The memorials within a region such as the Sunshine Coast may commemorate an individual or mark a local incident, a way of life or participation in a national or international occurrence. Designed to withstand the elements, these memorials are not – as many think – just static and unchanging statements, but reflections of the ongoing history of the region. These reflections may originally have been of people and circumstances at the time when the memorials were erected, but they may also be of circumstances and people who have viewed those memorials since that time. Memorials also reflect changing aspects of place, aspects of memory and aspects of identity. This is what this thesis will present- a study of how the history of the Sunshine Coast region has been documented and evidenced by the memorials erected within the region, and how these memorials have reflected that history.

Following this introduction, the main body of this thesis will comprise six chapters discussing the twenty case studies. 'Early Days', which appears as Chapter One of the thesis, investigates the early years of European settlement through three informal memorials. Chapter Two, 'War and Remembrance' investigates the erection of the first formal memorials on the Sunshine Coast, following World War I, and the reflections cast by three of these memorials. Chapter Three, entitled 'Development and Identity', covers the period from the 1950s to the 1970s when the identity of the area as a coastal region began to develop and many new memorials were erected. Memorials erected during the 1980s and 1990s are investigated in Chapters Four and Five under the headings 'Nostalgia and Community' and 'Indigenous Awareness'. Chapter Four includes memorials presenting nostalgic reflections of an earlier way of life within the Sunshine Coast region, and the communities which worked to memorialise

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<sup>104</sup> Ashton and Hamilton, 'Places of the Heart'.

them. Chapter Five investigates two formal memorials and one informal memorial presenting very different views of the interaction between Indigenous residents of the Sunshine Coast region and those who came later. Chapter Six, entitled 'Commemoration and Commercialism', concerns a short period, the eight years leading up to the termination of the three shires which had formed the informal Sunshine Coast area, and their amalgamation into the official Sunshine Coast Region, and is followed by the conclusion.

## Chapter 1: Early Days

In 1891, while unveiling a Sydney statue, Sir Henry Parkes reminisced that in the USA, 'every spare space, every park, and every pleasure ground is adorned with statues of their public men'.<sup>1</sup> This was not the case in the Australian colonies at this time, with more recently-settled areas having fewer monumental memorials which tended to be located in cities rather than in country areas. However, none of these memorials were located within the Sunshine Coast region, where small, sparse settlements were first linked by railway in 1891 – the year in which Parkes made his comparison between the USA and the Australian colonies – and it was not until 1921 that the first formal monumental memorials were erected in the Sunshine Coast area. The Sunshine Coast did, however, have some informal memorials. This chapter considers three of these memorials and locates them – along with the absence of formal memorials – in the context of the early European history of the area and in contrast to formal memorials established elsewhere during this period. It also illustrates how these informal memorials link to significant features of the region's history and, as well how their form and significance has changed over time.

In comparison to other areas of Australia – and specifically Queensland – in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the early Sunshine Coast region had no populous or wealthy centres, and no known memorials. Slower settlement and growth in the region compared to that in other areas of South East Queensland was largely caused by a prison and an area of native trees. The prison was the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement which operated at Brisbane Town from 1824 until 1842. Free settler access was proscribed within fifty miles of the penal colony and as the only easy access to the Sunshine Coast region was through the proscribed area there was no settlement in the region at this time.<sup>2</sup> The closure of the penal settlement in 1842 meant that settlers could move into

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Parkes, cited in 'The Lang memorial: unveiling the statue', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1891, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, Melbourne, 2007, p. 51.

almost all of the South East Queensland area, but for those who might have been interested in the future Sunshine Coast region there was another problem.

In much of the Sunshine Coast area a distinctive species of pine tree, with extremely large edible cones, grew. This was *Araucaria bidwillii*, the Bunya pine, which was not only an Indigenous food source but also a culturally-important species which attracted 'Aborigines from considerable distances ... for the purpose of eating the fruit'.<sup>3</sup> The New South Wales governor, Governor Gipps, had visited the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement shortly before it closed in 1842, and after hearing of the cultural implications of Bunya pines had issued a proclamation that no licences should be granted for occupation of land 'within the said District in which the Bunya or Banyan tree is found', or for cutting timber within that area.<sup>4</sup> The proclaimed area encompassed much of today's Sunshine Coast region, thus delaying general settlement for another two decades, although there were a few exceptions during the latter part of this period.

Despite the 'Bunya proclamation', some half-dozen European settlers were permitted to take up scattered leases in the Sunshine Coast region in the 1850s.<sup>5</sup> These settlers were pastoralists, not squatters, because they held their runs under pastoral licences. Their runs were leased for eight years at a cost of about £10 a year, but most were forfeited well short of the eight-year period, re-leased and forfeited again, sometimes several times, so that there was no long-lasting presence of established families, as found in other areas.<sup>6</sup> E. G. Heap, in his study of early settlement in the Maroochy district, suggested that this was caused by

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<sup>3</sup> *NSW Government Gazette*, 19 April 1842, proclamation, reproduced in E.G. Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen: a survey of early settlement in the Maroochy district up to the passing of Macalister's Act (1868)', Part 1, in *Queensland Heritage*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 1965, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 15; 'Occupation of Crown land prior to 1856', New South Wales Government, State Records NSW – Archives in Brief 22, <[http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/archives\\_in\\_brief\\_22\\_1933.asp](http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/archives_in_brief_22_1933.asp)>, accessed 19 September 2008; Queensland State Archives Series ID 13924 'Run registers', <<http://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/Search/SeriesDetails.aspx?SeriesId=13924>>, accessed 19 September 2008.

three major problems — persistent interference with cattle by the local Aborigines, who were ‘not dangerous [but] quite numerous and vigorous’; the ‘almost impenetrable scrub and vines’ which deterred ‘all but the most resolute of cattlemen’; and stringent economic conditions and poor markets which led many to financial ruin.<sup>7</sup>

Soon after the December 1859 proclamation of Queensland as a separate colony, the *Unoccupied Crown Lands Occupation Act, 1860* repealed the bunya proclamation and opened up the Sunshine Coast for pastoralists and timber-getters on licence. This was followed by the *Alienation of Crown Lands Act, 1868* — or ‘Macalister’s Act’ as it became known — which was considered a ‘godsend’ to struggling self-employed timber-getters, giving them the chance to buy cheap land where they could raise cattle and grow food.<sup>8</sup> ‘Macalister’s Act’ changed the nature of the Sunshine Coast population by bringing in farmers as well as timber-getters, giving them an opportunity to select between 40 and 640 acres of agricultural land for fifteen shillings an acre — payable over ten years — which could be converted to freehold upon full payment.<sup>9</sup> In the Maroochy shire area 113 selections were taken up between 1868 and 1876, and another 238 under the 1876 *Land Act*, which opened up even more land for farming.<sup>10</sup> However, there were many problems for selectors across the Sunshine Coast because elevated land was often heavily timbered and lower land was sandy, lacking in nutrients and prone to flooding.<sup>11</sup> Transport of goods to and from the region was limited to that drawn by horses or bullocks, or small coastal steamers operating between Brisbane and the coastal rivers of Maroochy, Mooloolah and Noosa, where access was frequently hampered by sandbars at the entrances. Travel within the

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<sup>7</sup> E. G. Heap, ‘In the wake of the raftsmen’, Part 1, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Heap, ‘In the wake of the raftsmen’, Part II’, pp. 14, 15, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Queensland State Archives ‘Land selected prior to 1884’, p. 3, <<http://www.archives.qld.gov.au/research/index/landsearch.asp>>, accessed 22 September 2008.

<sup>10</sup> Fred Fink, ‘The pioneer selectors of the Maroochy Shire, being a complete list of selections within the boundaries of the present day Shire of Maroochy’, unpublished manuscript, 1988, held at Heritage Library, Nambour Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries.

<sup>11</sup> Elaine Brown, *Cooloola Coast: Noosa to Fraser Island*, St Lucia Qld, 2000, p. 175; Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire*, Nambour Qld, 1991, pp. 30-31.

Sunshine Coast region was difficult, with swamps, bogs and streams limiting access, and by 1876, traffic through the Sunshine Coast was still limited to 'a few horsemen per week' and a bi-weekly Cobb & Co. Coach service.<sup>12</sup> Isolation from markets and lack of reliable means to deliver produce to market quickly and safely meant that many selectors were impoverished and a number of early selections had failed by the mid-1880s.<sup>13</sup> The area was sparsely populated, as shown by a petition to the Queensland government in 1885, requesting that a railway line be built from Brisbane to Gympie, which reported that a total of 430 men lived in the Maroochy and Durundur districts, which encompassed three-quarters of the region.<sup>14</sup>

After the North Coast railway line – which extended to Gympie, north of the Sunshine Coast area – was built at the start of the 1890s, population increased in the area, and small townships grew up along the route of the railway line. The 1901 census recorded that Nambour, the largest town in the region, had 370 residents and six other centres had populations of between one and two hundred.<sup>15</sup> However, the Sunshine Coast region still lacked large centres of population and the wealth found in some other areas, and no formal memorials were erected within the region until after World War I.

Elsewhere in Australia, a number of memorials were erected during the nineteenth century to commemorate notable incidents and persons, funded through public subscription or by residents of more affluent areas. Ken Inglis briefly investigated colonial monuments within Australia erected before 1900 in *Sacred Places*, his study of Australian war memorials. One example, which commemorated three policemen killed by Ned Kelly's gang, was 'Erected by

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<sup>12</sup> Anonymous letter in *The Week*, 8 July 1876, cited in M. J. Gaylard, 'Economic development in the Maroochy district until 1915', thesis submitted to the University of Queensland for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History, 1967, p. 15, held in Local Studies collection, Maroochy Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries.

<sup>13</sup> Gaylard, 'Economic development', p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> 'Brisbane and Gympie railway', petition, *Brisbane Courier*, 2 May 1885, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Pugh's Official Almanac, Directory and Gazetteer*, Brisbane, 1904.

subscription from the inhabitants of Victoria and New South Wales' in 1880.<sup>16</sup> Another was an obelisk erected in the gold-mining town of Ballarat in 1884 to commemorate the conflict between miners and soldiers at the Eureka Stockade in 1854.<sup>17</sup> Other colonial monuments discussed in *Sacred Places* commemorate shipwrecked sailors, explorers and aborigines, but most of these appear to have been located in cemeteries rather than in other public areas.<sup>18</sup> Many commemorative memorials in public places across Australia were in the form of monumental statues. Inglis contended that by 1900 statues had been erected to honour 'between twenty and thirty people'.<sup>19</sup> He listed eight statues in Sydney, five in Melbourne, two in Hobart and one in Adelaide, as well as five in Ballarat, Victoria and one in Newcastle, New South Wales, but noted that there were none in Brisbane or Perth, and that only one woman — Queen Victoria — had been memorialised in such monumental form to that date.<sup>20</sup> There appears to be no comprehensive listing of nineteenth-century Australian statues, however, and it is unknown how many memorials in other forms existed.<sup>21</sup>

In Queensland two impressive nineteenth-century memorials — without statues — were erected at Cooktown, in far-north Queensland during the 1880s. The first of these, erected in 1886, commemorates pioneer heroine Mary Watson; the other, erected in 1887, commemorates Captain James Cook, whose ship *Endeavour* was repaired there in 1770.<sup>22</sup> While memorials were not common in country areas, Queensland public memorials erected outside Brisbane before World War I were largely in districts enriched by mining or agricultural and pastoral industries. The late-nineteenth century importance and wealth of

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<sup>16</sup> This monument stands in the main street of Mansfield, Victoria. Frances Windolf, personal reminiscence, 29 July 2011; K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Carlton South Vic., 1998, pp. 20-21.

<sup>17</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 18-19; Anne Beggs Sunter, 'Remembering Eureka', *Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies*, vol. 70, 2001, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 20-26.

<sup>19</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 26.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Inglis states that '[E]xcept in the capital cities [statues] await a thorough count'. See Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> Lisanne Gibson and Joanne Besley, *Monumental Queensland: Signposts on a Cultural Landscape*, St Lucia Qld, 2001, pp. 55, 82; Hector Holthouse, *River of Gold: The Wild Days of the Palmer River Gold Rush*, Sydney, 1994.

Cooktown — which was established after the discovery of gold at the Palmer River in 1873 — has continued to be reflected by its tall stone monuments throughout its decline and its regrowth into today's significant tourist town.<sup>23</sup> Cairns, the populous, financially-successful port of access to other late-nineteenth century north-Queensland goldfields, erected an ornate drinking fountain in 1903 to memorialise a popular local doctor.<sup>24</sup> In 1901, Roma, centre of the rich south-west Queensland grazing and wheat-growing area named 'Mount Abundance' by explorer Thomas Mitchell, erected a drinking fountain to commemorate Australia's federation and benefit its 2,000 residents.<sup>25</sup> In 1902, the wealthy agricultural centre of Warwick with 3,500 citizens, erected an imposing 'marble statue, carved in Italy' to memorialise a former resident and Queensland premier T. J. Byrnes.<sup>26</sup> When these memorials were erected, each centre had a combination of a large population and considerable wealth.

Within the area of the Sunshine Coast, where there were no formal memorials erected until after World War I, informal memorials — sites publicly memorialised through visitation rather than by a physical monumental marker — became popular places to visit during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Each of these sites was in proximity to an area where tourists visited. One, which was located up-river from Tewantin at the northern end of the Sunshine Coast — a coastal village which became a holiday destination for gold-miners and associated businessmen from Gympie, some sixty kilometres to the north — was a lonely site where five men were killed in a timber mill accident. The other two informal memorials — one at a site where a group of men from a passenger ship were stranded on a beach for nearly a fortnight, and the other the

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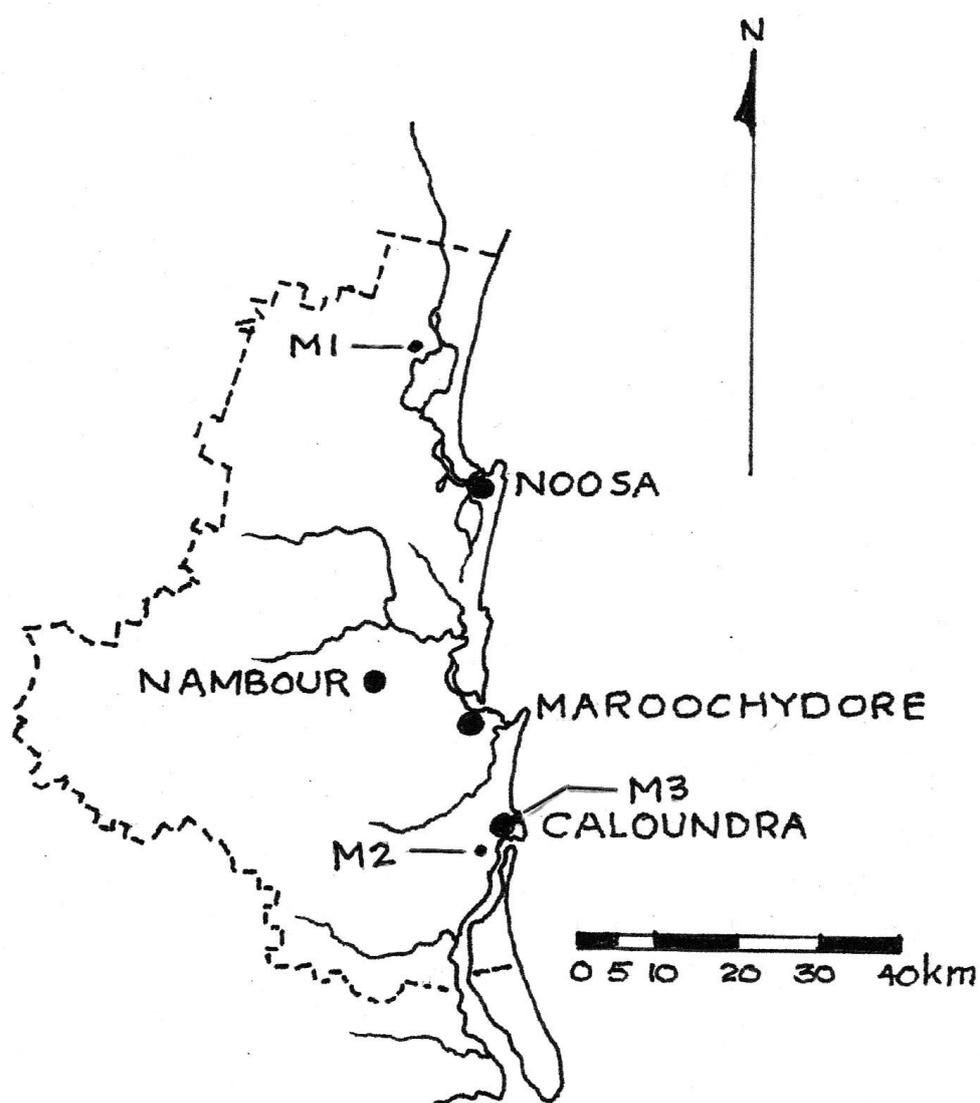
<sup>23</sup> Cooktown's population of 1593 residents in 1881 and 2630 in 1891 receded to only 508 residents in 1933 and 429 in 1961, and in 2006 was still only 1336: See Centre for the Government of Queensland, University of Queensland, *Queensland Places*, 'Cooktown', <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 9 February 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Gibson and Besley, *Monumental Queensland*, pp. 140-142; Cairns' population was 3,357 by 1901. See: *Queensland Places* 'Cairns', <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 9 February 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Gibson and Besley, *Monumental Queensland*, p. 37; *Queensland Places* 'Roma', <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 9 February 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Gibson and Besley, *Monumental Queensland*, pp. 26-27; *Queensland Places* 'Warwick', <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 9 February 2012.

grave site of a well-known explorer — were situated near Caloundra in the south of the region, which became a destination for wealthy Brisbane holiday-makers, initially by steamer and — after the railway line opened in 1891 — by train. These sites are indicative of significant aspects of the region's history during this period.



1. Mill Point site, Elanda Point
2. Landsborough grave site, Golden Beach
3. *Queen of the Colonies* site, Moffat Beach

Figure 1.1: Location of the informal Sunshine Coast memorials in Chapter 1.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> 'Location of the informal Sunshine Coast memorials in Chapter 2', map by John Windolf, 2012.

The informal memorial that developed at Mill Point marked the role which timber-getting played in the northern area of the Sunshine Coast region. This area held large stands of cedar, beech and other timbers valued in Victorian-era homes, and was accessed via a long, roundabout route – originally used by early cattlemen – from Brisbane to Kilcoy, across the ranges to Kenilworth and thence to the coast.<sup>28</sup> In 1870 A.F. Luya and Company (later known as McGhie, Luya and Company) set up a settlement on the shore of Lake Cootharaba, where the valuable timber was milled, then taken by boat some fifteen kilometres down the Noosa River to the coastal village of Tewantin and onwards by sea to Brisbane. This settlement, now known as Mill Point, became a memorial site because of an industrial accident.

Only three years after the settlement was established a boiler exploded at the sawmill, killing five men. However, although news of the tragedy reached as far as the Melbourne *Argus*, the only memorials to the incident were four individual graves in a newly-constructed cemetery near the site, and one in Gympie.<sup>29</sup> The mill closed in 1892, a year after the opening of the Brisbane-Gympie railway line which made Noosa and Tewantin more accessible to tourists, but the mill site remained a place of interest for tourists who travelled to Lake Cootharaba.<sup>30</sup> By the 1920s the cemetery erected at the site was surrounded by a dairy farm and was in such poor condition that only eleven of the markers identifying the grave sites of four of the blast victims and the thirty-nine others who died at Mill Point remained.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Brown, *Cooloola Coast*, pp. 135-136; Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', Part 1, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> 'Fatal boiler explosion', *Argus*, Melbourne, 9 August 1873, p.1; 'Five killed in explosion at Cootharaba sawmill', *Gympie Times*, 16 August 1955; University of Queensland, 'Mill Point Archaeological Project Field Season Report 2005', <[www.vislab.uq.edu.au/research/e\\_archaeology/mill\\_point.html](http://www.vislab.uq.edu.au/research/e_archaeology/mill_point.html)>, accessed 22 June 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Harry C. Perry, 'Noosa: an angler's paradise', *The Queenslander*, Brisbane, 20 February 1915, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Queensland Department of Environment and Resource Management', Queensland Heritage Register, 'Mill point settlement site' <[www.epa.qld.gov.au/chims/placeDetail.html?siteid=16043](http://www.epa.qld.gov.au/chims/placeDetail.html?siteid=16043)>, accessed 22 June 2010.



Figure 1.2: The modern memorial stone and an old boiler at Mill Point.<sup>32</sup>

The establishment of Cooloola National Park in 1975 brought renewed interest in the ‘human history’ of the Mill Point area but the only evidence of the blast seemed to be the presence of a rusting boiler, a replacement for the one which had exploded.<sup>33</sup> In 1993 the National Trust of Queensland erected a stone memorial at the Mill Point cemetery site, listing the names of all those who were buried at Mill Point during the township’s existence, but no individual memorial commemorating the blast victims has been erected.<sup>34</sup> Interpretive panels now record the history of Mill Point village, but while the new memorial and panels now document and provide visitors with evidence of the existence of the sawmill and the social history of the area, reflections presented by the site are varied. These reflections include a sense of distance at the time when the nearest township could only be reached by boat journey of some fifteen kilometres, and an awareness of mortality fed by the rusting boiler and the names of those who

<sup>32</sup> ‘Mill Point cemetery stone inscription’, and ‘Mill Point later boiler’, photographs by Frances Windolf, 22 June 2010, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>33</sup> Brown, *Cooloola Coast*, p. 95.

<sup>34</sup> Noosawiki, ‘Mill Point’, <<http://www.noosawiki.net/tikiwiki/tiki-index.php?page=Mill+Point>>, accessed 5 March 2008.

lie buried at the site, as featured in Judith Wright's poem 'The graves at Mill Point'.<sup>35</sup>

During the late 1880s and 1890s, another site – this time located at the southern end of the Sunshine Coast region, some five kilometres south of the town of Caloundra – also became an informal memorial. This site was on grazing land which had been bought in 1882 by the Australian explorer, William Landsborough, who had become famous through his search for Burke and Wills in 1861, and was the first explorer to traverse Australia from north to south, with money presented to him by the Queensland government for his efforts.<sup>36</sup> Landsborough tried to run sheep on the property, but as with many other Sunshine Coast pastoral and agricultural pursuits, this was not successful because of poor soils and excessively wet conditions.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, when Landsborough died at his property, 'Loch Lamerough', in 1886, weather conditions were such that his body could not be transported to Brisbane for burial and he had to be interred in a grave on a slope not far from his homestead.<sup>38</sup> Landsborough's grave became a site visited by those who wished to remember him and commemorate his exploits.

A 1907 Brisbane *Courier* article entitled 'Caloundra: a popular health resort' suggested that 'the grave of Landsborough, the explorer, fenced in with a paling fence' was a site which would 'always be attractive to visitors'. However, in 1913, Landsborough's remains were reinterred in the Toowong Cemetery in Brisbane, a site considered a 'recognition of the honour due' to him.<sup>39</sup> At that time, when the *Queenslander* reported the removal and reinterment of the remains, it suggested that his initial grave site would remain of historic interest

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<sup>35</sup> 'This is where the world ends; The world ends today' is the way that Judith Wright expresses Mill Point reflections of distance and mortality. See Judith Wright, 'The graves at Mill Point', in Leonie Kramer, ed., *My Country: Australian Poetry and Short Stories, Two Hundred Years*, Dee Why West, vol. 2, p. 136.

<sup>36</sup> Gwen Trundle, 'Landsborough, William (1825-1886)', 'Australian Dictionary of Biography', <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/landsborough-william-3984>>, accessed 28 October 2011.

<sup>37</sup> Laurie Kavanagh, 'Quiet achiever deserves recognition', *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 21 January 1993, p. 20.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> 'Tribute to an explorer', *Brisbane Courier*, 14 June 1913, p. 4.

to visitors, stating that: 'Many visitors to Caloundra [would] remember the grave on a bushland knoll'.<sup>40</sup> Some decades later Gwen Trundle, Landsborough's biographer, recalled her first visit to the original grave site in 1915, and the way in which the site was cared for by a local resident:

Landsborough's grave, in 1915, was surrounded by a high picket fence which was devotedly attended to by Councillor Allan King of Grand Central Guest House, King's Beach.<sup>41</sup>

It seems possible that the guest house proprietor saw the site's touristic value even though all that was left was a fence, which remained until 1941 when it was superseded by a road built to Military Jetty to provide troop access to Bribie Island.<sup>42</sup> A memorial cairn erected on the site by the Main Roads Commission in the late 1940s bore a plaque which seems to have documented Landsborough's life in a way that was appreciated by those who viewed it, as a local historian described this memorial as an 'eloquent stone'.<sup>43</sup> Susanne Kuchler has compared monuments with a tourist site, which is 'brought to life for the brevity of our encounter with it'.<sup>44</sup> The early Landsborough grave, and then the fenced area around the former grave site, provided evidence that a man of importance to Australia's history of exploration had lived and died at that place.

The obelisk erected at the grave site in the 1940s was succeeded in 2004 by an insignificant marker in the shopping centre built around the former site of Landsborough's grave. Under another small plaque celebrating the opening of the shopping centre is a plaque which tells of Landsborough's life and makes the

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<sup>40</sup> 'Caloundra: a popular health resort', *Brisbane Courier*, 12 October 1907, p. 33; 'Tribute to an Explorer', *Queenslander*, 21 June 1913, p. 28.

<sup>41</sup> Gwen Trundle, 'William Landsborough', *Caloundra Weekly*, undated newspaper cutting c. 1963-1965, in 'Landsborough, William', collection of newspaper articles and letters, [no file number], held at Kawana Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries.

<sup>42</sup> Queensland Main Roads Commission, *The History of the Queensland Main Roads Commission During World War II, 1939-1945*, Brisbane, undated, unpaginated, copy held at Kawana Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries.

<sup>43</sup> 'The eloquent stone', quoted in Stan Tutt, 'Landsborough: a man of action', undated newspaper cutting, held in 'Landsborough, William' collection.

<sup>44</sup> Susanne Kuchler, 'The place of memory', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Kuchler (eds), *The Art of Forgetting*, Oxford, p. 62.

statement that: ‘He was Australia’s most successful explorer’, but the stone bearing the plaque is less than twenty-five centimetres high and the reflection of the site appears to have faded into insignificance. I had read of the site in McKay’s history of Caloundra, *Times of Change*, but when my husband and I tried to visit it we unsuccessfully sought directions from fifteen people, including long-term Golden Beach residents, shoppers and shopkeepers within fifteen metres of the site, before almost literally stumbling upon it.<sup>45</sup>



Figure 1.3: Memorials to Landsborough, erected in the late 1940s and in 2004.<sup>46</sup>

The third informal memorial popularised in the Sunshine Coast region was also situated near Caloundra. This site, commemorating an incident concerning the immigrant ship *Queen of the Colonies*, became a place of interest to tourists visiting the area after Caloundra was gazetted in 1883. Anthony Alder built a hotel in Caloundra in 1885 and two guesthouses followed in 1888 and 1889, all catering to ‘well-to-do’ visitors from Brisbane.<sup>47</sup> At first these visitors travelled by steamer from Brisbane to Caloundra, but from 1891 trains on the new railway line from Brisbane to Gympie stopped at the township of Landsborough and visitors then travelled to Caloundra by road. Many of these visitors found their way to a site two kilometres north of Caloundra, on a headland above today’s

<sup>45</sup> Gary McKay, *Times of Change: A History of Caloundra*, Caloundra Qld, 2007, p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> ‘The eloquent stone’, photograph, in Tutt, ‘Landsborough: a man of action’.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 64, 66.

Moffat Beach, where an inscribed pandanus tree stood. The tree bore the words ‘Queen of the Colonies’, the name of a ship bound for Brisbane which dropped anchor in April 1863 so that thirteen men could take the body of Mrs Barnfield, a female passenger, to be buried on Moreton Island some twenty kilometres southeast of Caloundra. As the men returned to the ship a storm blew up and the *Queen of the Colonies* had to flee to deeper waters, leaving the ship’s boat and its passengers behind. The mourners remained stranded on the beach for nearly a fortnight before all but one were rescued, the dead woman’s husband having drowned near the beach during their ordeal.<sup>48</sup>

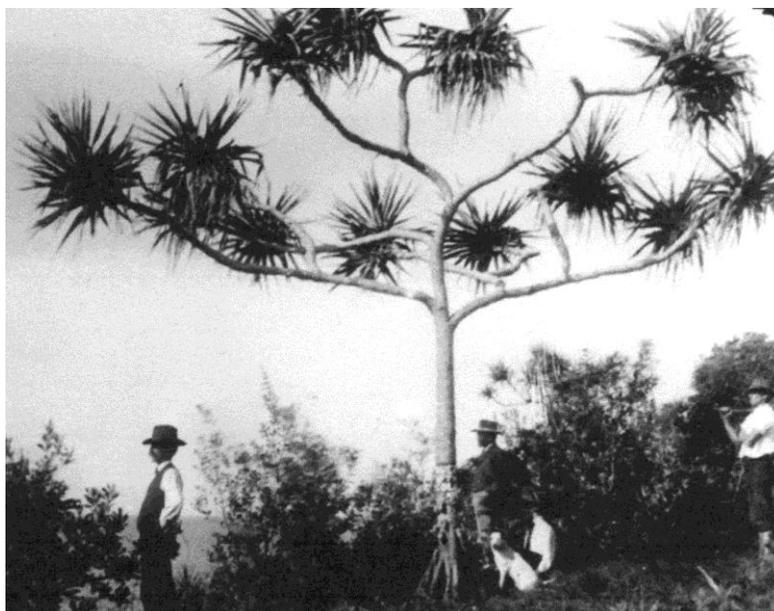


Figure 1.4: The *Queen of the Colonies* pandanus tree on Moffat Headland, c. 1920.<sup>49</sup>

The carved pandanus tree became an attraction for visitors and a focus for remembrance of the *Queen of the Colonies* incident, perhaps partially because Mrs Alder, the Caloundra publican’s wife, was said to have been a passenger on that eventful voyage.<sup>50</sup> It remained as an informal memorial for more than seventy-

<sup>48</sup> ‘Recovery of the missing boat’s crew and passengers of the *Queen of the Colonies*’, *Brisbane Courier*, 21 April 1863, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Queen of the Colonies pandanus tree, ca 1920’, photograph in Sunshine Coast Regional Council, Sunshine Coast Libraries ‘Picture Sunshine Coast’, photographic collection, <<https://sunshinecoast.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/MSGTRN/PIC/BSEARCH>>, accessed 23 October 2009.

<sup>50</sup> Dr Richards, lecturer at the University of Queensland, letter to Mr Stewart headed ‘Queen of the Colonies Tree’, written while staying at Rooke’s Family Hotel, Caloundra, 10 January

five years. One visitor, Mr W. R. G. Hill, the son of Captain F. W. Hill — a passenger who took Protestant church services during the voyage and who read the burial service over Mrs Barnfield — wrote to the Editor of the *Brisbane Courier* in September 1915, stating that he had been ‘deeply moved’ by a recent viewing of the tree.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 1.5: The inscription on the Queen of the Colonies pandanus tree, 1920.<sup>52</sup>

It is uncertain when, or by whom, the name of the ship was carved on the tree. One suggestion is that ten year-old Ewen Maddock carved it with an axe in the 1880s.<sup>53</sup> However, although there is no mention of the tree in contemporary newspaper articles about the stranding, it is possible that the carving was effected in 1863 by the stranded party, as a marker before they attempted to walk

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1917, copy held in ‘Queen of the Colonies collection’, collection of newspaper articles and letters, [no file number], held at Kawana Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries.

<sup>51</sup> Henry John Ford, passenger on the *Queen of the Colonies*, reproduced diary entries, 11 January 1863 and 6 April 1863, in ‘Diary of Henry John Ford: recounting the voyage of the Queen of the Colonies 1863’, unpublished manuscript, copy held in ‘Queen of the Colonies’ collection; W. R. G. Hill, son of a passenger on the *Queen of the Colonies*, ‘After fifty years’, letter to the Editor, *Brisbane Courier*, 1 September 1915.

<sup>52</sup> ‘Queen of the Colonies pandanus tree, Moffat Head, 1920’, ‘Picture Sunshine Coast’, photographic collection, <<https://sunshinecoast.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/MSGTRN/PIC/BSEARCH>>, accessed 28 April 2010.

<sup>53</sup> McKay, *Times of Change*, p. 28.

to Brisbane but became 'entangled in a deep swamp' and had to return to the site.<sup>54</sup> A 1907 newspaper article, extolling the delights of Caloundra as a resort, suggested that when the rescue party was searching for the castaways:

... close to where the township now stands [they] found, newly carved on a pandanus tree, the name of the ship.<sup>55</sup>

In 1917 a lecturer in geology at the University of Queensland who was holidaying at Caloundra became concerned for the safety of the unprotected pandanus tree in the face of frequent visitation. In a letter to an influential acquaintance he asked for assistance to protect it from vandals, citing a recent visitor who had sought a loan of an axe so that he could take the relic home with him.<sup>56</sup> Apparently the plea was successful, for Landsborough Shire Council soon fenced the area, maintaining it until the tree 'succumbed to old age' in 1949.<sup>57</sup> A council-sponsored sign erected beside the tree 'many years' before 1949, stated that 'One of the sailors carved the name 'Queen of the Colonies' on the pandanus tree. This led to their rescue.'<sup>58</sup> This statement on the sign was repeated on the plaque of a formal memorial erected near the site in 1963.<sup>59</sup> The new memorial, a large block-shaped concrete monument surmounted by a truncated pandanus tree made of concrete, was donated by descendants of those who had travelled on the *Queen of the Colonies* on its troubled 1863 voyage to celebrate the centenary of the incident.

We do not know when the first documentation of the incident appeared at the *Queen of the Colonies* site, on a sign erected beside the pandanus tree. It appears to

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<sup>54</sup> William Durrant, passenger on the *Queen of the Colonies*, 'Narrative by one of the three missing men of the ship *Queen of the Colonies*', *Hobart Mercury*, 18 May 1863, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> 'Caloundra: a popular health resort', *Brisbane Courier*, 12 October 1907, p. 33.

<sup>56</sup> Dr Richards, letter to Mr Stewart, 1917.

<sup>57</sup> Note signed 'A.M.', on Landsborough Shire Council letterhead, partially typed, partially hand written, dated 12 December 1949, copy held in '*Queen of the Colonies*' collection.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> '*Queen of the Colonies* plaque', photograph by Frances Windolf, 28 April 2010, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

have been after 1917, and was certainly ‘many years’ before 1949.<sup>60</sup> During the eighty years from the gazettal of Caloundra until the centenary of the *Queen of the Colonies* incident, the reflection of the pandanus tree at the site appeared to be one which impressed people with the drama of the event, and moved some who considered it a memorial to those who underwent the ordeal.



Figure 1.6: The *Queen of the Colonies* memorial erected in 1963.<sup>61</sup>

The formal *Queen of the Colonies* memorial which was erected on Moffat Headland in 1963 bore a plaque providing detailed documentation of the burial which led to the stranding, and the long wait until rescue by a search party from Brisbane. This memorial, however, has presented a wide range of reflections. Initially, it would seem that the memorial marked the site physically, recalled the original pandanus tree through a small concrete replica surmounting the monument, and bore a plaque which recounted the story and showed a degree of pride in the captain of the ship — the plaque states that it was ‘presented by the descendants of Capt. Robert Cairncross’. This statement also bears another reflection, that the memorial was not paid for by Landsborough Shire, or citizens of Caloundra or Moffat Beach, but by people who were most likely from outside

<sup>60</sup> Dr Richards, letter to Mr Stewart; Note signed ‘A.M.’.

<sup>61</sup> ‘*Queen of the Colonies* memorial’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 13 July 2009, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

the Sunshine Coast region. However, in the twenty-first century when readers tend to expect short sharp messages as presented in the media and in advertising, rather than many-worded plaques, the messages reflected have changed yet again. The memorial still bears the replica pandanus tree, but in 2009 I overheard a young man earnestly informing his girlfriend that the *Queen of the Colonies* monument represented the dieback of local pandanus trees, and a few minutes later two teenagers commented that they 'loved' the memorial, because it was a good place for their boyfriends, surfing at the base of the cliff, to be able to locate them, although they could not tell me what it represented as they had 'never bothered to read it'.<sup>62</sup>

David Lowenthal stated in 1985 that 'our grandparents ... thought that viewing a shrine where a hero fought would elevate the visitor's character and excite his patriotism'.<sup>63</sup> Each of the three sites discussed in this chapter could be considered to have become informal memorials for this reason, even though (or perhaps — in a developing region such as the Sunshine Coast — because) the 'fight' was one against the elements. The timber millers at Mill Point died in what we would today consider to be an industrial accident, but the lonely situation in which they were killed has lent the incident an air of a battle between man and nature. William Landsborough's gravesite was commemorated as an informal memorial not because he was a land-owner battling difficult conditions, but because of his commendable efforts in seeking Burke and Wills, and the fact that he, too, fought against the elements and suffered privation as he traversed the Australian continent from North to South. The group of men who were stranded at Moffatt Beach when the *Queen of the Colonies* fled in the face of a storm fought starvation and the elements as they sheltered on a lonely beach, and tried to find their way back to civilisation but were beaten by the cruel terrain. The sites near Caloundra could both be considered to have provided inspiration to 'elevate the visitor's character' by emulating the behaviour of the subjects of these informal memorials. Whilst the

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<sup>62</sup> Personal communications noted by Frances Windolf, 13 July 2009.

<sup>63</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 408.

victims of the Mill Point blast did not have the chance to fight their fate, their hard-working lifestyle in a distant country setting could be considered an example of patriotic behavior. Graeme Davison described this type of history as 'the standard form of history in new nations'.<sup>64</sup> It was appropriate, however, that in a region where Denise Edwards's reflection that 'often the landholders were impecunious' rang true in most areas, that informal memorials — not expensive formal monuments or statues — memorialised the 'admiration of the character and ... gratitude' of those to whom early residents and visitors paid homage.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, St Leonards, NSW, 2000, p. 11.

<sup>65</sup> Denise Edwards, *Country and Coast: A History of the Development of the Noosa Shire*, Noosa Heads Qld, 2001, p. 36; Hercules Robinson, quoted in Davison, *Use and Abuse*, p. 39.

## Chapter 2: War and Remembrance

Australia's entrance into World War I brought with it a strong wave of volunteers and, as Ken Inglis observed, 'about half of all males aged eighteen to forty-five enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force'.<sup>1</sup> The first Australian World War I memorial was officially unveiled in Adelaide in September 1915, commemorating the assault on Gallipoli with the words 'Australasian soldiers Dardanelles April 25 1915'.<sup>2</sup> At the unveiling the Governor-General suggested that the names of Australia's soldiers would soon be engraved 'in every city and township in this continent, not merely in stone but in the hearts of their fellow countrymen and women'.<sup>3</sup> Of the 1455 World War I memorials erected in Australia only eleven, of varying types, were erected within the Noosa, Landsborough and Maroochy Shires.<sup>4</sup> Three of these memorials — those at Montville, Noosa and Woombye — are examined in this chapter.

From the outbreak of World War I Australian men volunteered to serve their country in large numbers – roughly 80,000 before the Gallipoli landing; 6000 in April 1915; 10,000 in May; more than 12,000 in June 1915, when recruiting drives began across the country.<sup>5</sup> Recruitment from the Sunshine Coast region was so strong that in October 1914 a newspaper article commented:

... if all towns in the Commonwealth contributed men in the same proportion that Nambour has already done, the force that will shortly be leaving Australia would total 100,000 men, instead of 20,000.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ken Inglis, 'Men, women and war memorials: Anzac Australia', *Daedalus*, vol. 116, no. 4, 1987, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Carlton South Vic., 1998, pp. 78-80.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson, Governor-General of Australia, in 'Wattle Day: memorial unveiled', *Adelaide Advertiser*, 8 September 1915, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 485.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> 'Floreat Namboura : Departure of the 4<sup>th</sup> Contingent', *Nambour Chronicle*, 23 October 1914, p. 5.

Although it seems extreme to suggest that Nambour proudly sent five times as many volunteers as other towns, it is a fact that approximately one fifth of the entire population of Maroochy Shire volunteered to serve in World War I, compared to just under a tenth of the population Australia wide.<sup>7</sup> Newspaper reports, such as this, show an evolving local/shire consciousness. For a developing area, comparisons with other towns and regions of Australia could be considered as examples of growing group awareness as the area strove to develop its own identity. Inglis suggested that 'territorial jealousy could also turn fund-raising into a competition'.<sup>8</sup> This was evident within the Sunshine Coast region, as residents of Maroochy, Noosa and Landsborough shires supported fundraising for the national effort. Maroochy Shire, disappointed to be runner-up in a 1914 Queensland-wide competition to be first to collect £1000 for the Queensland Patriotic Fund, suggested that perhaps residents might follow a Noosa Shire example, whereby residents were donating 'one day's pay, or cream, or other income per month'.<sup>9</sup> Within the Maroochy Shire resentment was shown when Eudlo and Palmwoods townships elected to forward their contributions individually rather than as part of the shire contribution, and it was declared that 'they have deprived their own district ... of the high honour of being the first shire to send £1000 to the Patriotic fund'.<sup>10</sup>

David Lowenthal stated that people go to memorial sites 'to share recall of the familiar, communal recollection enhancing personal reminiscence', but the

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<sup>7</sup> Maroochy Shire, with around 5000 residents at the 1911 census, recorded 1159 names of World War I volunteers on memorials and honour boards within the shire. Some of these names were repeated at two sites, but an examination of photographs of all Maroochy Shire honour boards and memorials which Caroline Foxon and I carried out showed that, despite such duplications, more than 1000 men from the shire were listed as volunteers – approximately 20% of the Maroochy Shire population. See: Bill Sawrey, '1914-1918 volunteers', in 'Maroochy Shire ex-service & memorials register', unpublished manuscript with photographs by Ted Robinson, (c.1988), held by Heritage Library, Nambour Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries. From the total Australian population of 4,489,545 at the 1911 census, 9.28% (416,809 men) enlisted between 1914 and 1918: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Australian historical population statistics', <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nsf/detailsPage/3015.0.65.0012006?OpenDocument>>, accessed 5 August 2010; Australian War Memorial, 'First World War 1914-1918', <<http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/ww1.asp>>, accessed 5 August 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 129.

<sup>9</sup> 'An upbraiding appeal', *Nambour Chronicle*, 23 October 1914, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

developing Sunshine Coast region had had little ‘communal recollection’ to be shared because of its recent, rapid growth.<sup>11</sup> During World War I, opportunities for Sunshine Coast residents to modestly build communal recollections came through honour boards in halls and schools. Elsewhere in Australia honour boards began to appear even before the Gallipoli campaign, but the first recorded Sunshine Coast honour boards were unveiled at Caloundra, Woombye and Mapleton in June and July 1916.<sup>12</sup> By June 1917 some districts, such as Woombye, had erected a second board because the war ‘had gone on too long’ and there were more volunteers than could be accommodated on one board – in one case this included a father and his six sons.<sup>13</sup> At Glenview, a small one-teacher school in a relatively poor Sunshine Coast farming area, a photograph of the honour board at nearby Mooloolah was proudly given a place on the classroom wall, as they could not afford an expensive timber board.<sup>14</sup> The proliferation of honour boards Australia-wide was due partly to limits placed on construction of more expensive memorials by the *Australian War Precautions Act* of October 1916, which declared that any appeal for a ‘monument or memorial costing more than £25’ had to be approved by the relevant state War Council.<sup>15</sup> Although few Australian memorials had been erected before this limit was set the Australian public, mourning the loss of some sixty thousand Australians in battlefields on the other side of the world, largely thought that ‘a public display of commemoration and collective mourning’ was vital, as monuments became substitutes for far-away graves of loved ones which few families would ever be able to visit.<sup>16</sup> The repeal of the £25 limit in January 1919 led to the erection of 1455 World War I memorials across Australia.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, 1985, p.8.

<sup>12</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 106; ‘Woombye’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 11 June 1916, p. 7; ‘Caloundra’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 30 June 1916, p. 6; ‘Opening of Mapleton Hall and unveiling of Honour Board’, advertisement, *Nambour Chronicle*, 30 June 1916, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Landsborough Honour Board unveiled’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 23 February 1917, p. 7; ‘Noosa Shire Honour Board’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 14 September 1917, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Glenview’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 21 December 1917, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Commonwealth Statutory Rules, 1917, cited in Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> Pat Jalland, *Changing Ways of Death in Twentieth-Century Australia: War, Medicine and the Funeral Business*, Sydney, 2006, pp. 77, 96.

<sup>17</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 122, 499.

The form of Australian memorials varied greatly. The most common form was the obelisk which proliferated everywhere but Queensland, where 'digger' memorials were more numerous. Sixty-one 'digger' memorials were erected across the state, with two on the Sunshine Coast.<sup>18</sup> Other World War I memorials included parks, memorial gates, halls, hospitals, and avenues of trees, as well as 'stones, cairns, sculptures, fountains, rotundas, separate clocks and special flagpoles'.<sup>19</sup> Sunshine Coast memorials included: a hospital at Maleny; avenues of trees at Beerburrum, Eumundi and Montville; a gate and adjoining fences at Montville; a park in Nambour; and halls in Cooroy and Palmwoods. These were chosen by committees who serendipitously fulfilled conditions enumerated in December 1918 by the Maroochy Shire Fallen Soldiers' Memorial committee chairman that a proposed memorial should be lasting, useful, suitable, and not too costly to maintain.<sup>20</sup>

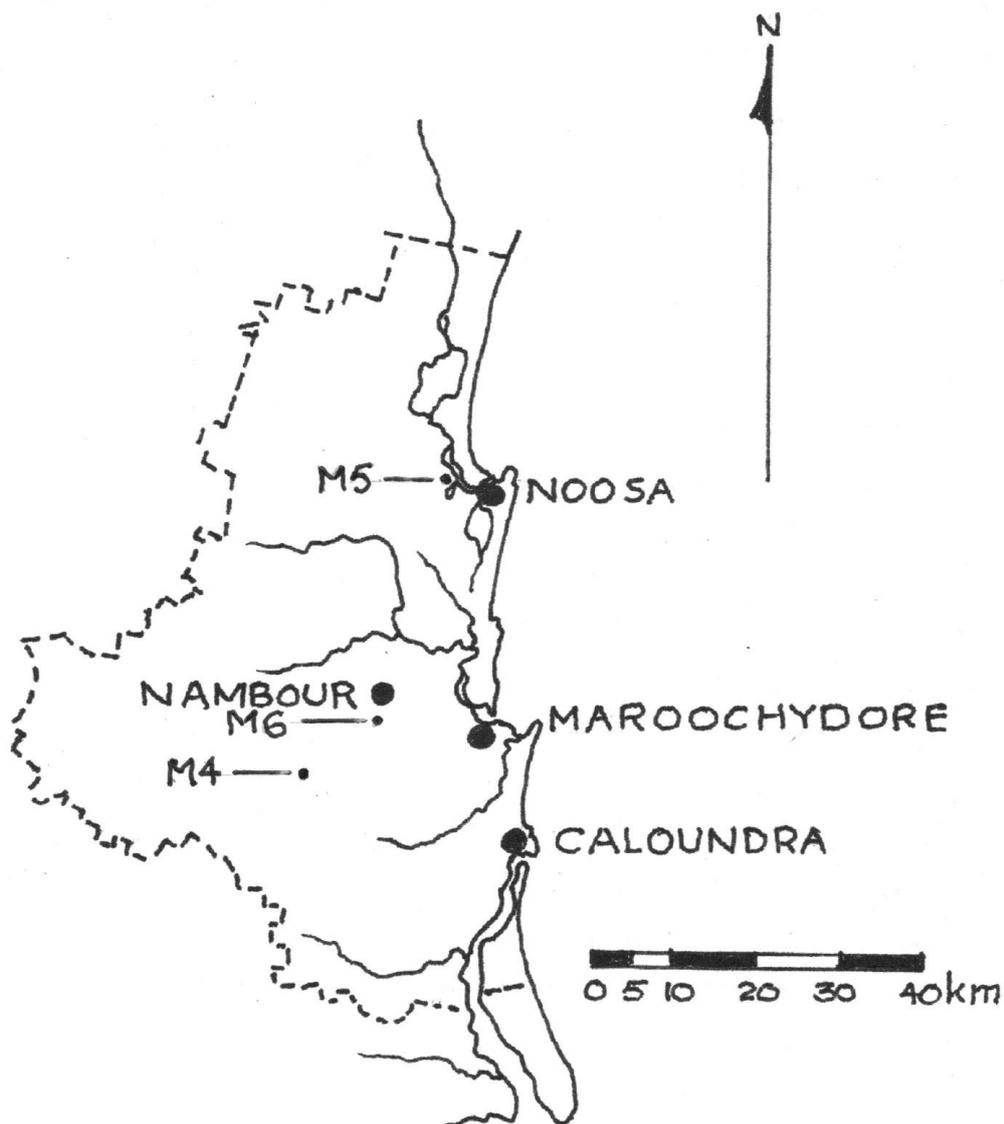
Across Australia, war memorials acted as a place of remembrance for those mourning loved ones who would never return, as well as reflecting pride in men who had represented the local region. Most World War I memorials on the Sunshine Coast have been lasting places of remembrance, although, like other Australian war memorials, their usefulness, suitability and maintenance have varied by degree throughout the years, and the reflections they present have changed with time. Some Sunshine Coast monuments have been moved: at Yandina from a street into a park; and at Tewantin, from a park into a street. Trees have died and been replaced, halls have been outgrown, and Maleny's Soldiers' Memorial Hospital lost its roof in a storm, caught fire, moved to a new building, but still continues to serve its community.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162, 499; Shirley McIvor and Trevor McIvor, *Salute the Brave: A Pictorial Record of Queensland War Memorials*, Toowoomba Qld, 1994, p. 163.

<sup>19</sup> McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*, p. 220; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 154 – 178.

<sup>20</sup> 'Fallen Soldiers Memorial committee', *Nambour Chronicle*, 6 December 1918, p. 2.



4. WWI Memorial Gate, Montville      5. 'Digger' memorial, Tewantin  
 6. Woombye war memorial, Woombye

*Figure 2.1: Location of memorials in Chapter 2.<sup>21</sup>*

All eleven Sunshine Coast World War I memorials are important within their towns and within the region, but only three have been chosen for discussion in this section. These have been selected for the manner in which they reflect this period of Sunshine Coast history and their representation of different parts of the region. Tewantin, adjacent to the seaside resort town of Noosa Heads — an area which has undergone huge population change — has a traditional 'digger'

<sup>21</sup> 'Location of memorials in Chapter 2', map drawn by John Windolf, 2012.

monument. Woombye has an impressive wreath-topped 'truncated column' monument which dominates the small country town in which it stands. In the southern hinterland, Montville's memorial gate — said to be unique within Australia — has become a focus for visitors to this popular tourist village in the rural Sunshine Coast hinterland.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 2.2: The memorial gate at Montville.<sup>23</sup>

The memorial gate at Montville, which stands in front of the original 1903 Montville School of Arts, was unveiled on 11 November 1921. Formed of a single wrought iron gate with sandstone pillars and side fences, the memorial was built by the stonemason W. Scott for A. L. Petrie. The Montville Patriotic Committee, formed in November 1919, paid £180 for the gate, including transport and erection.<sup>24</sup> The left-hand, western pillar of the gate bears an inscription that it was erected by Montville residents 'in appreciation of those who enlisted' and

<sup>22</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 185.

<sup>23</sup> 'Montville gate and hall', photograph by Frances Windolf, 13 March 2008, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

<sup>24</sup> A. L. Petrie stated that the gate and fence cost £145 10 shillings before transport costs: A. L. Petrie, letterbook, 29 September 1921, cited in Judith McKay, 'Montville gate', National Survey of War Memorials survey form, 27 November 1986, held in Judith McKay collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL208, Box 19; Australian Heritage, Register of the National Estate, 'Montville memorial gate, trees and hall' report, 29 January 2007, <<http://www.aussieheritage.com.au/listings/qld.Montville/MontvilleWarMemorialGateTreesandHall/1192>>, accessed 1 March 2008.

the names of the district's six 'Fallen' soldiers. On the right are listed thirty-three 'Enlistments' and, unusually, the names of six local volunteers who tried to enlist but were refused.<sup>25</sup>

The unveiling of the gate at Montville on Armistice Day 1921 was notable in regard of several aspects of honouring, celebration and politics. The *Nambour Chronicle* account of the ceremony reported that the gate had been erected 'in honour of those residents who enlisted in the Great War' — not 'those who fought', 'those who gave their lives', or other such commonly used phrases, possibly because the 'Rejects' who had tried unsuccessfully to enlist were named on the pillars of the gate.<sup>26</sup> The unveiling was carried out by the Shire Chairman, Mr W. H. Harvey, the father of one of the 'Enlistments' from Montville, who correctly predicted that the gate would be 'more appreciated in years to come than at the present'.<sup>27</sup>



Figure 2.3: Montville School of Arts Hall and Memorial Gate, c. 1921-1922.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Daniel and Charles Vining were refused on medical grounds; Thomas and John Smith were refused as they had four brothers already serving, and two still at school. See Bill Simpson, 'Pride and rejection', *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, June 2003, incompletely-dated unpaginated newspaper cutting held by Gillie Warren, Montville, Qld.

<sup>26</sup> 'Memorial gates unveiled', *Nambour Chronicle*, 18 November 1921, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> 'Montville: Patriotic concert', *Nambour Chronicle*, 22 September 1916, p. 4; 'Memorial gates unveiled', *Nambour Chronicle*, 18 November 1921.

<sup>28</sup> 'Montville School of Arts Hall and Memorial Gate', photograph, Sunshine Coast Libraries 'Picture Sunshine Coast', photographic collection, <<https://sunshinecoast.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/MSGTRN/PIC/BSEARCH>>, accessed 28 April 2008.

Pat Jalland has suggested that the Australian public, mourning the loss of some sixty thousand Australians on distant battlefields, largely thought that memorials would offer a vital 'public display of commemoration and collective mourning'.<sup>29</sup> She considered that for those who honoured and celebrated men who had died for their country, mourning the dead could be seen as 'disparaging the heroic sacrifice'; while to others, particularly returned soldiers, many of those who had died had done so in futile sacrifice, and celebration was wrong.<sup>30</sup> Despite these sentiments, the unveiling of the memorial gate at Montville was followed by a great celebration on the nearby town common, which raised almost £55, sufficient to complete their payment.<sup>31</sup> There is no record of the feelings of families of those men listed on a pillar as 'Fallen', but it is possible that their sentiments regarding this merry-making were very different to those of people participating in the subsequent races, stalls and coconut shies on the green; ice creams, lollies and soft drinks; the opening of a nearby practice wicket for the Cricket Club; tea in the hall; and a fund-raising concert.<sup>32</sup>

The Montville memorial gate continues to reflect only the service of men who enlisted, or tried to enlist, in World War I. This has 'led to much argument' in the community in recent years, as some think that it should also list the names of residents who fought in World War II and subsequent conflicts.<sup>33</sup> Almost all Montville Village Association members are said to agree that further names should be displayed but the design of the gate leaves little room for this. A cenotaph, situated between the gate and the hall, has been suggested, but the space is narrow, and this could compromise the relationship between the gate and the School of Arts Hall, and so the matter remains unresolved.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Jalland, *Changing Ways of Death*, pp. 77, 96.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> 'Montville', *Brisbane Courier*, 18 November 1921, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> 'Memorial gates unveiled', *Nambour Chronicle*, 18 November 1921, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Syd Kirkby, local resident, Kondalilla, Qld, pers. comm., 25 April 2008.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

Although the Montville gate reflects only the efforts of World War I volunteers, on Anzac Day citizens remember Australian service in all wars at a dawn service outside the gate. In ‘Gallipoli and Australian national identity’, Joan Beaumont suggested that, following World War II, ‘the memory of war evolved to meet changing social and political contexts in a way we do not fully understand’, and that by the 1960s and 1970s ‘the mythic status of Anzac came under serious challenge’.<sup>35</sup> This was the case in Montville where Anzac Day services, which were first held in 1930, ceased in 1964 and were not held again until the mid-1990s.<sup>36</sup> In twenty-first-century Australia, where Anzac Day observance ‘soars to new heights every year’, dawn services held at memorials have become an increasingly important part of Anzac Day commemoration.<sup>37</sup> In 2008, I joined more than two hundred people who attended a dawn service beside the Montville memorial gate.



Figure 2.4: Dawn Service, Montville, Anzac Day 2008.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Joan Beaumont, ‘Gallipoli and Australian national identity’, in Neil Garnham and Keith Jeffery (eds), *Culture, Place and Identity*, Dublin, 2005, p. 143.

<sup>36</sup> ‘A meeting of residents was held ...’, anonymous manuscript celebrating the centenary of the Montville School of Arts hall, c. 2003, copy in my possession.

<sup>37</sup> Martin Crotty, ‘Soldier on cautiously’, p. 20 of ‘etc’, supplement to *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 8-9 November 2008.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Dawn Service, Montville, Anzac Day 2008’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 25 April 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

K. S. Inglis and Jock Phillips, reflecting upon Australian and New Zealand war memorials, contended that war memorials ‘represented an important stage in the creation of national myths’ in both nations, where historical roots were lacking for Anglo-European settlers, their permanency providing ‘judgement about national achievement and historical events’.<sup>39</sup> Inglis and Phillips included Anzac Day and its rituals as part of this importance, describing Anzac Day as ‘the closest thing either country possessed to a ceremony of nationalism’.<sup>40</sup> Richard White suggested that these occasions powerfully affect the building of group identity through social memory – ‘the sense of sharing in past events even when the individuals were not participants or even witnesses to them’.<sup>41</sup> However, commemorations such as Anzac Day are not considered by some people as reflections of the past but as forms of ‘invented tradition’, described by Hobsbawm and Ranger as a formalised and ritualised activity characterised by reference to the past and repetitious activity.<sup>42</sup> My attendance at Anzac Day services at six different Sunshine Coast war memorials during the last four years has shown me that there is a strong leaning towards White’s view of this commemoration, with large crowds of attendees – uniting in a ‘sense of sharing’ – taking part in dawn services and those held later in the day.<sup>43</sup>

The sharing of the reflections provided by war memorials at Anzac Day commemorations is a notable feature within the Sunshine Coast region, where the population has increased more than five-fold within a generation, and few people have familial links to those named on memorials.<sup>44</sup> Sunshine Coast

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<sup>39</sup> K. S. Inglis and Jock Phillips, ‘War memorials in Australia and New Zealand: a comparative survey’, in John Rickard and Peter Spearritt (eds), *Packaging the Past? Public Histories*, special edition of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 96, p. 179.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 186; See also Chris McGillion, ‘Lesson of faith on Anzac Day’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1999, p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Richard White, ‘National days and the national past in Australia’, *Australian Cultural History*, no. 23, 2003, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 1-4.

<sup>43</sup> I have attended services at Alexandra Headland, Caloundra, Coolum, Montville, Tewantin and Woombye between 2008 and 2012.

<sup>44</sup> The population of the Sunshine Coast regional area was 62,673 at the 1976 census and 295,100 at the 2006 census and is now more than 335,000. Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘Regional population growth, Australia, 2010-2011 – population growth in southeast

residents wishing to remember those who have served Australia in a wide range of conflicts come together at both World War I memorials and newer monuments, which provide a physical focus for group commemoration despite the fact that their familial links may be far distant. I experienced one example of this at Montville, where the woman next to me commented, 'My husband's father, who came from Sydney, was killed in New Guinea, so we come to the Dawn Service [at Montville] — it's a good time for all the locals to get together'.<sup>45</sup> In another indication of the mixture of private sentiment and burgeoning group identity experienced by many participants, young parents Blake and Rebecca Fisher — who had recently moved to Montville from interstate — told me that they intended to visit their new local memorial every Anzac Day. Rebecca declared that: 'We want our son to grow up with it as a tradition — we'll take him every year'.<sup>46</sup>

While the Montville memorial gate may reflect growing Anzac Day commemoration across Australia, a growing local sense of identity and an awareness of tradition, it also presents an individual reflection of the past which draws attention from far and wide. During World War I, would-be volunteers who were rejected for medical, familial or other reasons often suffered in a society which 'divided the adult male population into soldiers and shirkers'.<sup>47</sup> The Australian government issued 'Volunteer Medically Unfit' badges to those whose health precluded their acceptance, and 'Volunteer Home Service Badges' to those whose service was required in Australia, in an attempt to justify the honour of those who had been rejected, but war memorials which listed all those local men who had been accepted for enlistment inevitably highlighted those who had not served.<sup>48</sup> Inglis, in his study of Australian war memorials, was of the opinion that the Montville memorial gate is possibly the only one which

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Queensland', <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/3218.0~2010-11~Main+Features~Queensland?OpenDocument#PARALINK6>>, accessed 16 June 2012.

<sup>45</sup> Pam Harper, Montville resident, pers. comm., 25 April 2008.

<sup>46</sup> Rebecca Fisher, Mapleton resident, pers. comm., 25 April 2008.

<sup>47</sup> W. K. Hancock, *Country and Calling*, London, 1954, p. 64.

<sup>48</sup> Ryan Fairweather, customer service officer, Australian Government, Department of Defence, Defence Support Group, Directorate of Honours and Awards, email to Frances Windolf, 28 May 2008; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 2001, pp. 182-185.

commemorated 'Rejects' — the six local men who had volunteered for service in World War I, but who had not been accepted for a range of reasons.<sup>49</sup>

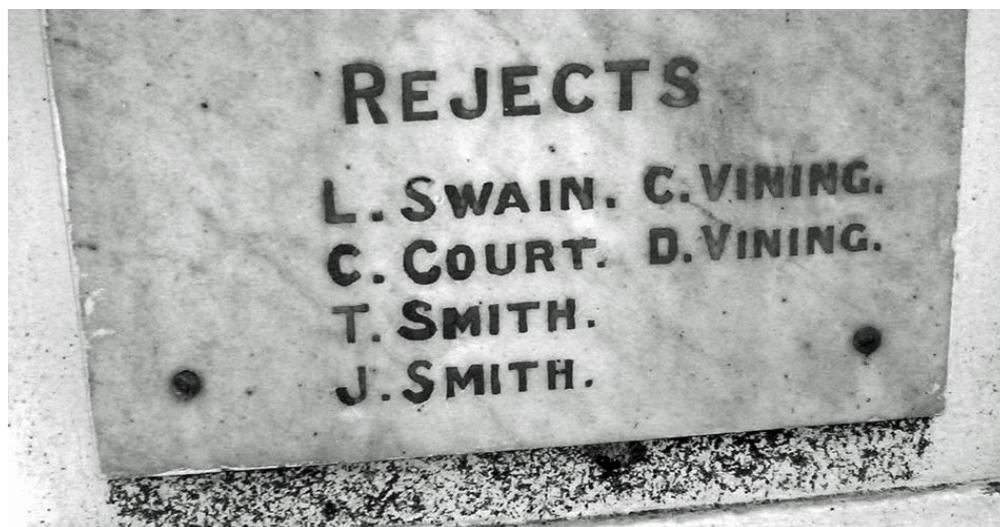


Figure 2.5: Right pillar of the Montville gate, listing 'Rejects'.<sup>50</sup>

Although there is no evidence of general opinion in the Montville district when the unveiling of the Montville gate on Armistice Day 1921 revealed the list of 'Rejects' on the right-hand pillar, it is known that the 'Rejects' were not included in the entertainments which celebrated the return of those who had served. In January 1919 and June 1920 the Montville School of Arts hosted crowded social evenings where returned men were welcomed home and presented with gold medals.<sup>51</sup> In December 1919, nearly two years before the unveiling of the memorial, twenty-five returned soldiers from the Montville/Flaxton district were treated to a weekend at the beach in appreciation of their service, travelling by private car and then boat, but a newspaper report of the trip made no mention of the names of those who were listed as 'rejects'.<sup>52</sup> However, the Montville memorial has since been said to have given those rejected 'a salute for their willingness to enlist and serve their country', rather

<sup>49</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 185.

<sup>50</sup> 'Montville Reject list', photograph by Frances Windolf, 2008, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

<sup>51</sup> 'Appreciation of soldiers', *Brisbane Courier*, 9 January 1919, p. 8; 'Appreciation of soldiers', *Brisbane Courier*, 8 June 1920, p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> 'Appreciation of soldiers', *Brisbane Courier*, 23 December 1919, p. 7.

than them 'being disgraced by being publicly identified' because of their inability to serve.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 2.6: Heritage Trail sign beside the Montville memorial gate.<sup>54</sup>

In the twenty-first century the term 'Reject' has become a slang term for a person considered 'in some way unacceptable to the rest of the community' and 'despised by a particular group'.<sup>55</sup> The importance of slang is difficult to measure, despite efforts made over several decades. In 1978, Dumas and Lighter described slang as a term to which a 'linguistically sensitive audience' will react 'in a certain way'. They considered that 'this reaction, which cannot be measured, is the ultimate identifying characteristic of true slang'.<sup>56</sup> Thomas Cooper, in 2001, suggested that slang 'defines the generations and is a marker of time'.<sup>57</sup> After experiencing the astonished derision of tourists who follow the

<sup>53</sup> Leo Walsh, curator, Victoria Barracks Historical Society museum, Brisbane, cited in Bill Simpson, 'Pride and Rejection', *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, June 2003, partially dated, unpaginated newspaper cutting held by Gillie Warren, Montville.

<sup>54</sup> 'Montville heritage sign', photograph by Frances Windolf, 2008, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

<sup>55</sup> *Macquarie Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, Macquarie University, NSW, 2005, p. 1196.

<sup>56</sup> Bethany K. Dumas and Jonathon Lighter, 'Is Slang a word for linguists?', *American Speech*, vol. 53, no. 1, 1978, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas C. Cooper, 'Does it suck? or Is it for the birds?: Native speaker judgement of slang expressions', *American Speech*, vol. 76, no. 1, 2001, p. 76.

Montville Heritage Trail at the term 'Rejects' being listed on a Montville gate pillar, and similar astounded comment from almost everyone to whom I have mentioned the use of the term on this memorial, casually or while presenting University of the Third Age lectures, I investigated popular-language dictionaries on the internet. While definitions of the noun 'reject' were generally similar to 'unacceptable person', I was surprised by synonyms in popular use in 2012, which ranged from 'untouchable', 'castoff', and 'pariah' to 'uncool person' and the unsavoury terms 'jerk' and 'asshole'.<sup>58</sup>

Although the Montville memorial gate documents the names of the local men who served or tried to serve in World War I, and provides evidence that those who were refused service were still respected in the community, the singular use of the term 'Rejects' separates the Montville memorial gate from all other war memorials in Australia. The anomaly of 'Rejects' — now considered as a socially unacceptable group — being listed on a roll of honour such as the plaques on the gate pillars has caused the reflection of this memorial to alter. In less than a century the Montville gate has changed from a place where local World War I volunteers were proudly remembered to that of a tourist site where the popular twenty-first-century concept of a 'reject' evokes ironic laughter and derision. In this way, the Montville gate exemplifies how reflections of a memorial can change, not through any variation of the form or language of that memorial, but through changes in language and social expectations within the populace. These changes are particularly notable when one considers that the memorial also reflects an unwillingness to change, through the lack of acknowledgement — in the form of names or plaques commemorating additional conflicts — on this memorial or any other monument in the Montville area, that Montville men, and possibly Montville women, have served in any of the other conflicts in which Australia has been represented.

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<sup>58</sup> 'Free Meriam-Webster Dictionary', <[http://www.meriam-webster.com/thesaurus/reject\[noun\]](http://www.meriam-webster.com/thesaurus/reject[noun])>, accessed 25 February 2012; 'The Online Slang Dictionary', <<http://onlineslangdictionary.com/meaning-definition-of/reject>>, accessed 25 February 2012.

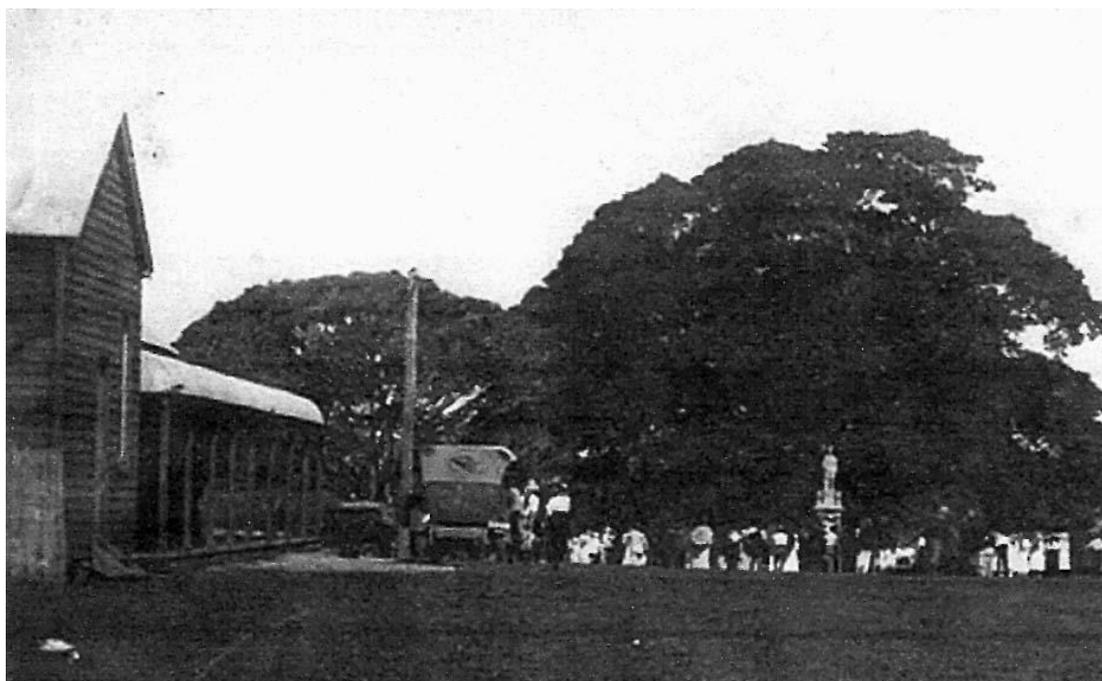


Figure 2.7: Anzac Day 1922, opening of the Tewantin RSL Memorial in the park.<sup>59</sup>

Tewantin was one of the earliest townships in the Sunshine Coast region, a river port used by goldminers from Gympie and timbermen sending logs to Brisbane. With a 1921 population of just 281, Tewantin worked with hinterland Cooroy, fifteen kilometres westwards, to raise money for ‘digger’ memorials in both townships.<sup>60</sup> The Tewantin committee ordered a life-sized sculpture of a Light Horseman on a sandstone pedestal decorated with urns, crossed flags and acanthus pilasters from the firm of well-known Brisbane stonemason A. L. Petrie to commemorate the service of thirty local ‘enlistments’ and six ‘fallen’ men, at a cost of £264.<sup>61</sup> After being delivered from Brisbane by boat the memorial was placed in a park beside the river and near the business district, and was officially unveiled on Anzac Day 1922.

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<sup>59</sup> ‘Anzac Day, opening of the Tewantin RSL Memorial in the park, Gooloi St, Tewantin’, photograph, ‘Picture Sunshine Coast’ photographic collection, <<https://sunshinecoast.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/MSGTRN/PIC/BSEARCH>>, accessed 29 April 2008.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Sports at Tewantin’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 8 April 1921, p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> A. L. Petrie, letter book, 23 December 1921, cited in Judith McKay, ‘Tewantin & District digger memorial’, National Survey of War Memorials survey form, 20 November 1986, held in Judith McKay collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL208, Box 21.

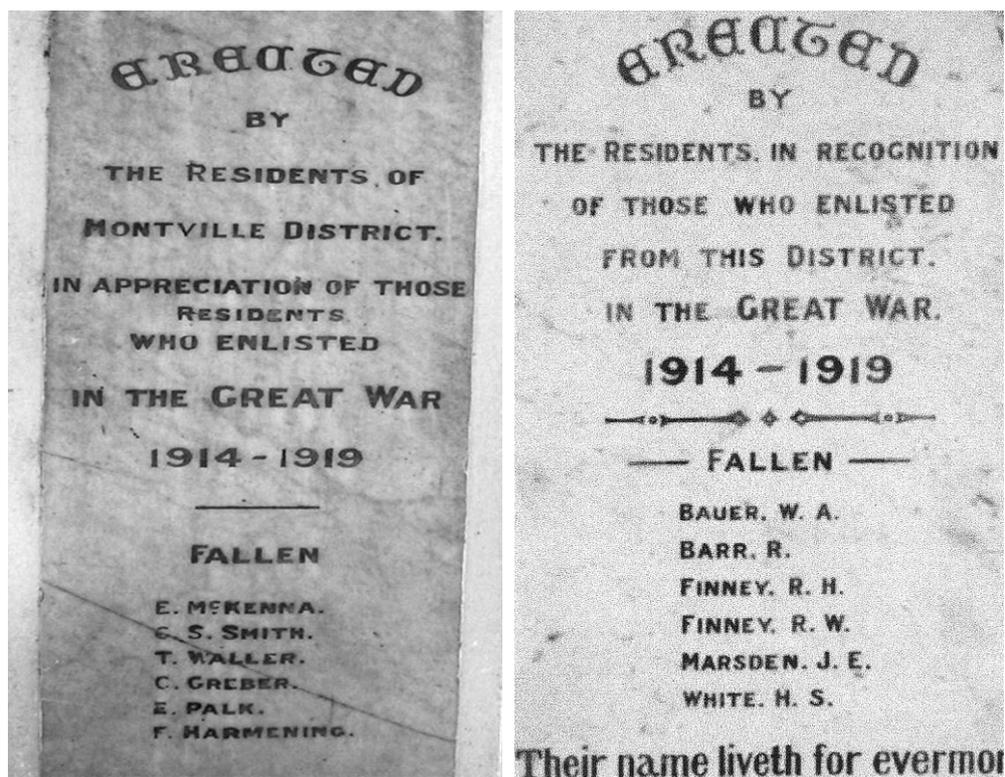


Figure 2.8: Dedication panels of Montville and Tewantin war memorials.<sup>62</sup>

The dedication on the memorial at Tewantin is similar to that on the memorial at Montville and both are worthy of note when considering the way in which the memorials document the history of their districts for a twenty-first century audience. Both these memorials state that they were ‘erected by the residents’ of the district – ‘in appreciation’ in Montville’s case, ‘in recognition’ at Tewantin – of those who enlisted in the Great War. Both give the dates of this conflict as 1914-1919. This is confusing to today’s visitors to the memorials, with one visitor asking me, ‘Why did they put the wrong date on?’.<sup>63</sup> However, as Inglis explained, although the most common dating for Great War memorials was 1914-1918, sometimes 1914-1919 was used, not ‘ending the war at the Armistice’, but ‘continuing it until the peace treaty was signed’.<sup>64</sup> The memorial at Cooroy is the only other Sunshine Coast memorial to have 1914-1919 as its dates. Both Montville and Tewantin memorials list the ‘Fallen’ but the Tewantin

<sup>62</sup> ‘Montville pillar left’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 13 March 2008 and ‘Tewantin memorial front plate’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 27 May 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>63</sup> Tynan Ellis, visitor to Tewantin, Ipswich, Qld., pers. comm., 17 March 2008.

<sup>64</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 190.

monument also displays the popular words 'Their name liveth for evermore', a biblical phrase proposed for the Stone of Remembrance in Imperial War Graves cemeteries, which perpetuates the reflected message of the memorial that those who were killed should be remembered with honour always.<sup>65</sup> The documentation on the Tewanin memorial has altered several times since its erection. The original monument, which recorded the names of World War I combatants on lead-lettered marble plates on three sides, now reflects a much wider field of local service in wars. After World War II a fourth plate was added, commemorating those who served in that war and in 1987 a small metal plate was added, commemorating those who had served in South East Asia.<sup>66</sup>



Figure 2.9: The original Tewanin war memorial.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>66</sup> McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*, p. 139.

<sup>67</sup> 'Tewanin War Memorial', undated photograph, 'Picture Sunshine Coast' photographic collection, <<https://sunshinecoast.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/MSGTRN/PIC/BSEARCH>>, accessed 29 October 2010.

The physical appearance of the Tewantin memorial has also been altered several times. In 1986, when Judith McKay surveyed the monument for the National Survey of War Memorials, the four original urns which stood near the feet of the ‘digger’ had been removed. The monument was suffering from rising damp and starting to crumble, especially at the base, which was nearly covered by soil and grass. Most strikingly, the sandstone memorial and its ‘digger’ had been painted in what McKay described as ‘semi-realistic colours’, with the bandolier, the puttees on the legs and the urn bases highlighted in brown and the flags painted in full colour detail.<sup>68</sup> McKay had warned of the danger of damage to painted memorials in a guide to the conservation of war memorials published in 1984, explaining that the painted covering caused the underlying stone to sweat and decay.<sup>69</sup>



Figure 2.10: The Tewantin war memorial c. 1993 and in 2008.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> McKay, ‘Tewantin & District digger memorial’.

<sup>69</sup> Judith McKay and Richard Allom, *Lest We Forget: A Guide to the Conservation of War Memorials*, Brisbane, 1984, p.23.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Tewantin’, photograph by Trevor McIvor, c. 1993, in McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*, p. 139; ‘Tewantin memorial’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 25 April 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

Further damage to the memorial at Tewantin occurred in November 1991, when the monument was vandalised and the figure's right hand and rifle were thrown into the Noosa River. The damage occurred at the start of 'Schoolies Week', and it was assumed to have 'been done in a drunken stupor' by students.<sup>71</sup> The necessary repairs, which Judith McKay later described as including 'a phony replacement [of the rifle] with a bayonet' were estimated to cost \$1200.<sup>72</sup> Inglis has suggested that in such cases of vandalism it is 'not easy to distinguish between mischief and purposive iconoclasm'.<sup>73</sup> John Stephens, in his investigation of a war memorial in the Perth suburb of Victoria Park, suggested that in the case of a similar incident:

There is no direct explanation for the vandalism to the statue ... the damage to the memorial does not appear to have been politically motivated and was probably the result of boredom ...<sup>74</sup>

A more telling example of the way in which the reflection of a memorial can change over time came in a newspaper report where the president of the local RSL proudly suggested that the Light Horseman had been 'cast from photographs of a Tewantin resident who had served in the Light Horse in World War I'.<sup>75</sup> This is a misconception, for only two Queensland 'digger' memorials bore cast metallic figures, and Tewantin's Light Horseman was sculpted from Helidon sandstone.<sup>76</sup> In an area where the population has increased hugely since the memorial's erection, it is revealing that this mistake was made by someone so closely connected to the memorial, although this can be explained, as the

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<sup>71</sup> Peter Trundle, 'Tewantin hunt for soldier statue vandals', *Brisbane Courier Mail*, 20 November 1991, unpaginated newspaper cutting, held in Judith McKay collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL208, Box 21. 'Schoolies Week' is the week after senior students leave school, traditionally celebrated in Queensland with a week-long coastal vacation filled with much partying and large amounts of alcohol.

<sup>72</sup> McKay, 'Tewantin & District digger memorial'.

<sup>73</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 248.

<sup>74</sup> John Stephens, 'Memory, commemoration and the meaning of a suburban war memorial', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 12, 2007, p. 251.

<sup>75</sup> Greg Smith, President of Tewantin-Noosa Returned Services League, cited in Trundle, 'Tewantin hunt for statue vandals'.

<sup>76</sup> Cast metal 'digger' figures may be found at Dalby and at the Ipswich Railway Workshops. See McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*, pp.163-164; McKay, 'Tewantin & District digger memorial'.

president was a relative newcomer to the district and the Tewanin RSL branch does not keep written historical records.<sup>77</sup> Pierre Nora referred to the loss of experiential memory as ‘an increasingly rapid slippage of the present into the historical past’, which he described as:

... the difference between real memory ... and history, which is how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organize the past.<sup>78</sup>

This type of mistake is not uncommon, declared Hodgkin and Radstone in *Contested Pasts*. They described ‘memory’ and ‘truth’ as ‘unstable and destabilizing terms’, and went on to state:

To privilege memory as a tool of truth ... we must assume a direct correspondence between the experience and how it is remembered ... statements made by memorials are complex and multifaceted; the meanings assigned to and derived from them cannot be guaranteed.<sup>79</sup>

In 2001 the Tewanin memorial experienced a much more dramatic change than its vandalism. This was the relocation of the memorial from the RSL Memorial Park on the bank of the Noosa River to a newly-constructed shared-usage mall nearby. Australian war memorials, as discussed by John Stephens, are not ‘embedded in place’.<sup>80</sup> Although they have their roots in collective memory of far-distant events and places, aspects of memory and heritage that are associated with their placement and their relocation can create tension because

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<sup>77</sup> The population of Tewanin in 1921 was 282, that of Noosa Heads and Noosaville in 1911 was 87. In 2001 the three centres had a joint population of 19,051. See ‘Tewanin’ and ‘Noosa Heads and Noosaville’, *Queensland Places*, Centre for the Government of Queensland, University of Queensland, <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 16 May 2010; Ken Bridges, past-president of Noosa-Tewanin RSL, pers. comm., 17 August 2010.

<sup>78</sup> Pierre Nora, ‘Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, translated by Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, no. 26, 1989, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>79</sup> Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (eds), *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, London, 2003, pp. 2, 13.

<sup>80</sup> John Stephens, ‘Community meaning and heritage of Western Australian war memorials’, <[http://research.humanities.curtin.edu.au/centres/gallipoli/pdf/Community\\_meaning\\_John\\_Stephens.pdf](http://research.humanities.curtin.edu.au/centres/gallipoli/pdf/Community_meaning_John_Stephens.pdf)>, accessed 16 August 2010.

members of the group see different degrees of importance in the specifics of the group memory. Many towns in other areas of Australia have experienced community conflict when relocations were proposed, with ‘huge public outcry’ and protests ranging from ‘passionate’ to ‘belligerent’.<sup>81</sup>



Figure 2.11: The Tewanin war memorial is now a feature of a pedestrian mall.<sup>82</sup>

The relocation of Tewanin’s monument was relatively well-received by the people of Tewanin and Noosa, the two main towns which the memorial represents.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps this acceptance reflects the identity of the memorial within a community in constant flux, where group identity centred on pride in Anzac Day celebrations rather than familial links to the monument or a specific location for the memorial.<sup>84</sup> The Noosa-Tewanin area is also known for being home to

<sup>81</sup> Bruce McKean, ‘Memorials get a \$50,000 facelift’, *Mackay Daily Mercury*, 11 August 2010; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 416-420.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Tewanin memorial Anzac Day 2008’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 25 April 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>83</sup> Ken Bridges, past-president of Noosa-Tewanin RSL, pers. comm., 17 August 2010.

<sup>84</sup> At the 2006 census 53.3% of the population of Noosa and 50.4% of the population of Tewanin had lived at their address for less than five years, and 21.9% of Noosa residents and 18.6% of Tewanin residents had lived at their address for less than one year; Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘National Regional Profile: Noosa (S) – Noosa-Noosaville, Population/People’, <http://www.census.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/309055752Population/People12002-2006?OpenDocument>, accessed 17 August 2010; Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘National Regional Profile: Noosa (S) – Tewanin, Population/People’, <http://www.census.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/309055752Population/People12002-2006?OpenDocument>, accessed 17 August 2010.

'beautiful people', and Tewantin in the late-twentieth century was less than glamorous, reminiscent of Nancy Cato's description of Noosa a decade before: 'a disaster area with haphazard parking and a landscape of concrete and power poles'.<sup>85</sup> The re-routing of the main road through the town centre and the establishment of a mall made attractive by the refurbished memorial, surrounded by native plants and rosemary, gave Tewantin a 'new heart' which increased pride in the area.<sup>86</sup>

In 2008, as in other years, there were two services held beside the Tewantin 'digger' memorial on Anzac Day. At dawn, some two thousand attendees formed a precursor to crowds at the main ceremony held later in the day which was attended by more than four thousand people.<sup>87</sup> The total attendance at the memorial totalled twenty times the total population of Tewantin in 1921. Returned servicemen and members of twenty-nine local organisations and schools marched and/or placed wreaths, bands played, flags flew and dozens of white doves were released as a prayer for peace. Nowhere in the ceremony was there mention of 'the enemy' or of foreign armies. Several people within my hearing range made comments such as: 'Isn't there a great turnout?'; 'Anzac Day's always a great celebration up here,' (presumably in comparison with the southern states from whence many Sunshine Coast residents have relocated); and 'I love Anzac Day here, it makes you feel all warm and fuzzy'.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Nancy Cato, *The Noosa Story: A Study in Unplanned Development*, Milton Qld, 1979, p. 109. Phrases such as 'lie in the sun among the beautiful people' and 'Here in Oz there's only one equivalent enclave that's of interest to Brisbane's beautiful people: Noosa, baby!' appear in Noosa advertising on the internet. See 'Noosa activities', Queensland Travel, <<http://www.qldtravel.com.au/noosa/noosa-activities.html>>, accessed 27 February 2012; Taste 'Noosa', <<http://www.taste.com.au/mag-media/2/0/269.pdf>>, accessed 27 February 2012. 'Beautiful people' are defined by the Free Meriam-Webster Dictionary as 'wealthy or famous people whose lifestyle is usually expensive and well-publicized'; see 'Free Meriam-Webster Dictionary', <<http://www.meriam-webster.com/dictionary/beautiful%20people>>, accessed 24 May 2012.

<sup>86</sup> Bob Abbott, Mayor of Noosa Shire, pers. comm., 17 August 2001. As Coolool State High School teacher representative at the Noosa Junior Shire Council I kept notes of this meeting and clearly remember my discussion with Bob Abbott at lunch afterwards.

<sup>87</sup> Nicola Kerkenezov, 'Peace doves fly into clear skies', *Sunshine Coast Daily*, 26 April 2008, p. 13.

<sup>88</sup> Notes kept by Frances Windolf of comments overheard at Tewantin, 25 April 2008.

At the centre of the crowd, the monument served as a focus for this upswelling of sentiment. For some it represented the importance of Anzac Day; a serving Naval Officer, home from duty in Iraq, said: 'I grew up here, and I like to spend Anzac Day here if I can — the monument draws your attention — it's not big, but it focuses your attention on those who fought in earlier conflicts' and a weeping SAS soldier wordlessly left a beret at the foot of the memorial.<sup>89</sup> A fifteen-year-old naval cadet commented, 'Guarding the monument is cool — it seems important to everyone, not just the old men, but even the kids', and a childishy-scrawled note placed with a few wilting flowers was worded: 'Thank you for everything great and wise soljers'.<sup>90</sup> For others the monument seemed a more personal place, where people linked with family members who had died many years after serving their country.



Figure 2.12: Ways of remembering, Tewantin war memorial, Anzac Day 2008.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Neil McLaurin, naval officer, Doonan, pers. comm., 25 April 2008.

<sup>90</sup> Corey Wilenski, Naval Cadet, Noosaville, pers. comm., 25 April 2008; 'Thank you for everything', photograph by Frances Windolf, 2008, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

<sup>91</sup> 'Happy Birthday, Pa'; 'A family man'; 'SAS beret'; and 'Thank you for everything', photographs by Frances Windolf, 25 April 2008, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

The names on these messages — one showing pride by listing a forebear's military history in detail, and another with more personal messages wishing 'Pa' a happy birthday and telling him of a great-grandson he never met — were not listed on the monument, and another message mentioned that the family had come from southern New South Wales. In these cases the memorial appeared to act as a *de facto* place of remembrance, much as memorials had in earlier times for families whose loved ones lay in overseas graves. Susanne Küchler, in 'The place of memory', discussed how monuments:

... allude to the accidental fashion in which memories are grafted on them. The monument ... is fast becoming a 'dialogical space' that facilitates the finding of memories that are personal and contextual'.<sup>92</sup>

The crowds who attend Anzac Day services at Tewantin reflect a wide remembrance for which this memorial provides a central focus. The memorial could now be considered as generally documenting war service by all Australians, not only service in various conflicts by those from the Noosa-Tewantin district who are documented on its plaques, but also the service of personnel from across Australia whose families have relocated to the Sunshine Coast. Messages left on the memorial show that it commemorates those who died in war, those who returned but have since succumbed to old age and/or ill health, and others who have served, whether or not their names are evidenced on the memorial. The changed reflection of the memorial from a place of purely local remembrance to a much broader one mirrors the population growth and social changes which have occurred in the Noosa-Tewantin district since the 'digger' monument was erected ninety years ago. The personal sentiments expressed by those who leave flowers, notes and other objects reflect changes in commemoration in other places across Australia — even at Melbourne's Shrine of

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<sup>92</sup> Susanne Küchler, 'The place of memory', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds), *The Art of Forgetting*, Oxford, 1999, p. 62.

Remembrance and at the Sydney Cenotaph — which Inglis described as ‘gestures by bereaved people ... [who are] ... mourning victims of war after war’.<sup>93</sup>

The Tewanin memorial has seen many physical changes. Some of these changed its appearance, as the original sandstone was altered to a painted portrayal of original uniform colours and then to today’s shining white image. Some changes have been in position, from quiet memorial park to a more obvious position in a mall. There have even been changes in its structure, through the removal of the original urns and the vandalism of the ‘digger’s’ rifle. However, the memorial continues to evidence its importance within the Noosa-Tewanin community as a central point around which sentiment and remembrance can flourish.

Forty-five kilometres south-west of Tewanin, beside the railway line which shaped the Sunshine Coast, stands Woombye, a ‘thriving little township surrounded by what were once pineapple farms [but] today are acreage properties and gated communities’.<sup>94</sup> Woombye’s impressive war memorial consists of a tall truncated column topped by a floral wreath, supported by four carved pillars on a sandstone base. It stands in a white-fenced, tree-surrounded Memorial Park entered through a wrought iron archway.

Unusually, the unveiling and dedication of the Woombye war memorial took part in two sessions more than two weeks apart. On Thursday 18 June 1925, ‘some five hundred persons’ braved ‘most unpleasant’ weather conditions to watch the Queensland Governor, Sir Matthew Nathan pull aside a ‘veiling of flags’ to exhibit the face of the memorial.<sup>95</sup> On Sunday 5 July 1925, three hundred persons attended a dedication service at the memorial — again draped with flags

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<sup>93</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 472.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Woombye’, <<http://woombye.com.au/history.htm>>, accessed 21 February 2012.

<sup>95</sup> ‘War memorial unveiled yesterday’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 19 June 1925, p. 9.

— singing hymns and listening to speeches from the Maroochy Shire Chairman and three ministers of religion.<sup>96</sup>



Figure 2.13: The Woombye war memorial and the Memorial Park arch.<sup>97</sup>

The erection of such a fine war memorial at Woombye reflected the importance of war service in the community. It provided evidence to the community that this is a site which memorialised the citizens who served and provided a place to mourn those who died. At least sixty-six men from Woombye, which had a 1914 population of 400 in the township and 2,500 in the wider district, fought in World War I, and the memorial documents forty-five World War I names listed as ‘Our Returned’ and twenty-one World War I names of those who ‘Died That We Might Live’.<sup>98</sup> However, interest in dedicating a World War I memorial in Woombye was not limited to the men who had left from Woombye to serve in the war, and their families. Fifteen other returned soldiers became Woombye citizens shortly after the war when ninety-six hectares

<sup>96</sup> ‘Dedication Service: Woombye War Memorial’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 10 July 1925, p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Woombye war memorial’ and ‘Woombye Memorial Park arch’, photographs by Frances Windolf, 5 November 2011, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>98</sup> *Pugh’s Official Almanac, Directory and Gazetteer*, Brisbane, 1914, p. 1085.

of Woombye land was thrown open as pineapple and citrus farms for soldier settlement.<sup>99</sup> Many of these men joined the new Woombye R.S.S.I.L.A. branch, which petitioned the Lands Department to grant land at the end of Blackall Terrace as a site for a Soldiers' Memorial.<sup>100</sup> This request was granted in December 1920, but it was to be another four-and-a-half years before the memorial was erected, a delay which reflected serious financial problems within the Woombye district.<sup>101</sup>

The year 1920 was one in which pineapples grew extremely well at Woombye, but also at the 20,000 hectare soldier settlement area at Beerburrum, fifty kilometres closer to Brisbane. Beerburrum pineapples, which went straight to the new State Cannery in Brisbane, brought 6/- a case but pineapples from Woombye soldier settlers were declined and Woombye fruit growers resorted to establishing a pulping plant at the local showground pavilion.<sup>102</sup> In 1921, Woombye hosted a conference for delegates representing R.S.S.I.L.A. sub-branches in Queensland fruit-growing districts 'to devise ways and means for the better distribution of fruit and produce grown by soldier settlers', but another glut in 1922 lowered pineapple prices to 2/6 a case, while Woombye citrus crops also suffered 'the ravages of insect pests'.<sup>103</sup> In late 1922 Frank Nicklin, a soldier settler from nearby Palmwoods who later became Premier of Queensland, 'summed up the position of his fellow soldier settlers when he advocated foregoing harvesting to reduce additional expense'.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Murray Johnson, 'Honour denied: a study of soldier settlement in Queensland, 1916-1929', thesis submitted in the Department of History, University of Queensland, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2002, p. 308.

<sup>100</sup> R.S.S.I.L.A. was the acronym commonly used for the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, formed in 1916; A. H. Brookes, Maroochy Shire Clerk, to The Under Secretary Lands Department, letter, 15 October 1920, copy in my possession.

<sup>101</sup> *Queensland Government Gazette*, 'Permanent closure of road', vol. CXV, 11 December 1920, p. 2106.

<sup>102</sup> 'Pineapple glut: serious position for growers', *Brisbane Courier*, 4 March 1920, p. 7; Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire*, Nambour Qld, 1991, p. 77.

<sup>103</sup> 'R.S.S.I.L.A. soldier fruit growers conference at Woombye', *Brisbane Courier*, 18 June 1921, p. 7; 'Pine crop: a serious glut', *Brisbane Courier*, 21 February 1922, p. 7; Johnson 'Honour denied', p. 308.

<sup>104</sup> Johnson, 'Honour denied', p. 310.

One result of these adverse financial conditions was that by 1923 the population of Woombye township was 25% less than in 1914.<sup>105</sup> Beerburrum suffered even more, with approximately two hundred men, women and children leaving the settlement in the year to June 1923 and others following.<sup>106</sup> Murray Johnson reported, however, that ‘the mass exodus from Beerburrum in 1925 actually enhanced the position of their counterparts in the satellite settlement of Woombye’ by allowing them to ‘dispose of their crop at satisfactory prices’.<sup>107</sup> Perhaps because of increased income to all Woombye fruit growers, this was the year that the Woombye Soldiers Memorial Committee commissioned their war memorial. Fashioned by A. L. Petrie, and costing £121/5/2, the price of the memorial was less than half that of the Tewantin memorial and four-fifths of that of the Montville gate.<sup>108</sup>



*Figure 2.14: An early photograph of the Woombye Memorial Park.<sup>109</sup>*

<sup>105</sup> *Pugh's Official Almanac*, 1925, p.562.

<sup>106</sup> Johnson, ‘Honour denied’, p. 312.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>108</sup> A. L. Petrie, letterbook, 29 July 1925, cited in Judith McKay, ‘Woombye memorial’, National Survey of War Memorials survey form, 4 December 1986, held in Judith McKay collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL208, Box 19; Petrie, letterbook, 23 December 1921, in McKay, ‘Tewantin & District digger memorial’; Petrie, letterbook, 29 September 1921, in McKay, ‘Montville gate’.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Woombye Memorial Park looking SE’, photograph in ‘Bronwyn Young collection’.

The Woombye memorial continued to reflect the dedication of citizens after its unveiling. Working bees were held in Memorial Square ‘for the purpose of making it more attractive’ from October 1925, the month when women who had ‘interested themselves in Red Cross work’ during the war formed the Woombye Committee of the Soldiers Memorial Funds ‘for the purpose of raising funds to erect a suitable gate at the Memorial Park’.<sup>110</sup> The fully-paid-for wrought-iron gates were erected in April/May 1926.<sup>111</sup> The park, now fringed by large trees and providing comfortable benches, continues to make this area an inviting space for quiet contemplation.



Figure 2.15: The 2/14<sup>th</sup> Light Horse A Squadron Headquarters Troop (Woombye).<sup>112</sup>

The Woombye Troop of the Second Light Horse Brigade had also gathered together to train in October 1925, with the intention of rallying ‘those interested in the preservation of this grand old militia, whose members’ deeds in the great

<sup>110</sup> ‘Woombye: Memorial Square’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 16 October 1925, p. 6; ‘Woombye: Memorial Ladies’ Committee’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 30 October 1925, p. 9.

<sup>111</sup> ‘Woombye: Memorial gates’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 16 April 1926, p. 1; ‘Woombye: Memorial gates’, *Nambour Chronicle*, 14 May 1926, p. 4.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Woombye 2/14<sup>th</sup> Light Horse A Squadron, 1940’, held in ‘Bronwyn Young collection’.

war [*sic*] are legion'.<sup>113</sup> Of the sixty-six names on the World War I plaques of the Woombye memorial, at least seventeen are marked by 'LH' (for Light Horse) in the Australian 'Nominal Roll' for World War I.<sup>114</sup> Between the two World Wars the 2/14 Light Horse Regiment, A Squadron Headquarters Troop (Woombye), flourished under the leadership of Lt Hugh Moorhouse, and many of its members fought with honour in World War II.<sup>115</sup> The names of these Light Horsemen, along with those of other members of the community who served in World War II, were documented on a lower set of plaques on the Woombye memorial which was unveiled by the Queensland Premier, Frank Nicklin, on Anzac Day 1958.<sup>116</sup> Twelve of the 105 World War II names were of those who had been 'Killed in Action' and ten were of women. Another plaque, added in time for Anzac Day 1994, commemorates all those who have served in other campaigns after 1945.<sup>117</sup>

In 1932 a Brisbane journalist predicted that 'with the passing of a very few years' Woombye would 'become a suburb' of Nambour, only eight kilometres away.<sup>118</sup> This has never happened, and a strong community spirit has continued in the town.<sup>119</sup> Community spirit was evidenced in 1927/1928 when a meeting was held to see whether the Maroochy Shire Council should take over control of the Woombye war memorial, but a local committee was formed as the controlling entity instead.<sup>120</sup> Although the Woombye Memorial Park, surveyed and gazetted as a Soldiers' memorial in 1921, can only be used 'for the purpose for which it was originally gazetted' and cannot be used for markets, Carols by Candlelight, fêtes or other non-memorial activities, it is still an important feature of the

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<sup>113</sup> 'Woombye: Light Horse', *Nambour Chronicle*, 16 October 1925, p. 6.

<sup>114</sup> Australian War Memorial, 'First World War Nominal Roll', <[http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/nominal\\_rolls/first\\_world\\_war/](http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/nominal_rolls/first_world_war/)>, accessed 6 March 2012.

<sup>115</sup> Bronwyn Young, daughter of Lieutenant (later Major) H. Moorhouse, pers. com., 5 March 2012.

<sup>116</sup> 'Woombye remembers', *Brisbane Telegraph*, 25 April 1958, unpaginated newspaper article held in Judith McKay collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, UQFL208, Box 19.

<sup>117</sup> McIvor and McIvor, *Salute the Brave*, p. 158.

<sup>118</sup> 'Caravan tales: Woombye', *The Queenslander*, Brisbane, 2 June 1932, p. 4.

<sup>119</sup> Young, pers. comm., 5 March 2012.

<sup>120</sup> 'Maroochy Shire Council', *Nambour Chronicle*, 23 December 1927, p. 10; 'Maroochy Shire Council', *Nambour Chronicle*, 22 June 1928, p. 7.

Woombye townscape and of its community.<sup>121</sup> The Woombye RSL branch ceased to function in 1993 but on Anzac Day the Woombye community contributes towards the continuation of remembrance by gathering around the memorial. A lone Light Horseman appears as dawn approaches; the Boy Scouts and Salvation Army officers take part; and the Bowls Club opens its doors for a community breakfast.<sup>122</sup> The Woombye war memorial remains a reverential focal point for its community.



Figure 2.16: Dawn Service, Woombye, Anzac Day 2012.<sup>123</sup>

The war memorials at Montville, Tewantin and Woombye, all constructed within the seven years following World War I, are typical of their time. All three were raised through the efforts of local residents who worked and saved to build a monument which would honour men from the surrounding districts who volunteered to serve in that war, those who came home and those whose bodies lay in foreign graves. However, each memorial reflects different attitudes to remembrance and presents different aspects of life in their district, both before their erection and since that time.

<sup>121</sup> Young, pers. com., 5 March 2012.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> 'Woombye dawn service 2012 F', 'Woombye dawn service 2012 J' and 'Woombye dawn service 2012 A', photographs by Frances Windolf, 25 April 2012, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

The Montville memorial gate, beside the village green, presents a calm unchanging atmosphere, very different to the busy tourist-oriented shopping precinct across the road. This is appreciated by those visitors whose 'motivation ... is the desire to enjoy the peace and quiet of an uncrowded destination ... and to experience local culture and heritage'.<sup>124</sup> The gate has not changed physically in ninety years and still carries only the names of World War I volunteers, not those from other conflicts. The documentation provided by these names continues to provide evidence that some men from the community tried to enlist but were not found suitable for service, and this is of importance because no other Australian memorial is known to carry such documentation. However, a changed reflection attracts visitors on the Montville Heritage Trail as the term 'Rejects' on one pillar of the gate, initially intended to record the names of those who wished to serve but were rejected, is now considered as portraying 'rejects' as 'losers', a very different concept. Anzac Day commemoration beside the Montville gate, which began in 1930 and continued until 1964 but then ceased until the mid-1990s when Dawn Services were re-instigated at the site, also reflect changes.<sup>125</sup> These services, which attract a crowd of around two hundred people, commemorate those who have served in all the conflicts in which Australia has been involved.

Tewantin's 'Digger' memorial, which documents service in World War II and conflicts in South East Asia and the Middle East as well as in World War I, reflects other changes. Physical changes in the monument's appearance and position reflect Tewantin's change from small riverside town to large residential area and major tourist destination. The commemoration of Anzac Day at the memorial now includes a greatly-increased local population which gathers to remember family members from across Australia as well as local people who served. These celebrations attract a crowd of around two thousand at the Dawn Service and double that at the main service, which features bands, flowers and

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<sup>124</sup> Caloundra Tourism, 'Sunshine Coast Hinterland Visitor Survey', September 2008, <[http://www.caloundratourism.com.au/docs/visitor\\_survey\\_sep\\_2008\\_report.pdf](http://www.caloundratourism.com.au/docs/visitor_survey_sep_2008_report.pdf)>, accessed 25 February 2012.

<sup>125</sup> 'A meeting of residents was held ...', anonymous manuscript, c. 2003, copy held by Gillie Warren, Montville, Qld.

doves amidst much pomp and ceremony. They indicate that Tewantin is now a vibrant hub for people from across the nation and no longer an out-of-the-way backwater, but at the heart of so much vibrant activity stands the memorial bearing a figure which symbolises all Australians who have served their nation.

Woombye's war memorial continues to reflect the community spirit which led to the erection of a striking memorial despite harsh economic conditions. Traditions such as the presence of Light Horse representatives at ceremonies held at the memorial still continue after more than eighty years. Although the population has grown and the uses of rural land have altered, the memorial still stands at the centre of a friendly country town, reflecting the rural history of the Sunshine Coast and reminding newcomers of a strong history of service to the nation by country residents.

These three memorials, together with the other World War I memorials erected on the Sunshine Coast, were the last public memorials of any sort erected in the region until after World War II. As well as documenting service of Sunshine Coast residents for their country, these memorials also provide a focus for continued remembrance by Sunshine Coast residents today. They not only reflect the era in which they were erected, but also reflect changes which have taken place during nearly a century of Sunshine Coast growth through those who attend ceremonies of remembrance or who visit the memorials at other times, and through physical changes to these memorials.

### Chapter 3 : Development and Identity

In World War II's aftermath the coastal section of the Sunshine Coast region, long ignored because of inaccessibility and unsuitability for farming, is said to have resembled a 'sleeping giant ... waking from the torpor of the depression and the restrictions of war'.<sup>1</sup> While the total population of the region increased by 314% between the 1954 and 1981 censuses, residential density in coastal areas increased even more dramatically. In this twenty-seven year period the population of coastal Cooloolooma grew from 190 to 2954, an increase of 1550%; Maroochydore/Mooloolaba grew by 714%; and Noosa/Tewantin grew by 564% while hinterland Nambour only grew by 185%.<sup>2</sup> Much of this was 'retirement migration' whereby retirees, mainly from interstate, took up crown land released to developers by the Queensland government in return for the construction of a road along the coast, parallel to the Bruce Highway some twenty kilometres inland, in 1961 and 1962.<sup>3</sup>

The mobility made available by increased ownership of cars and caravans also brought tourists to the area, particularly from Victoria and New South Wales, and many of these people over-wintered for several months and returned year after year.<sup>4</sup> In addition Brisbane residents, whose previous visits to the 'North Coast' had been limited to summer holidays by travel difficulties, found that their new mobility and better roads made it possible for them to visit more often. Many shorter-term visitors bought land and erected 'fibro' holiday homes,

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<sup>1</sup> Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire*, Nambour Qld, 1991, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Frances Windolf, 'Sunshine Coast population – census figures to 2006', unpublished manuscript compiled from *Queensland Places*, Centre for the Government of Queensland, University of Queensland, <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 16 May 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Ian Burnley and Peter Murphy, *Sea Change: Movement from Metropolitan to Arcadian Australia*, Sydney, 2004, pp. 12, 35; Peter Sharpe, *Up Rose an Emu: The Development of Noosa's Peregian Beach, Marcus Beach, Sunshine Beach*, [Peregian Beach Qld], 2009, pp. 20-31.

<sup>4</sup> Stella Lees and June Senyard, *The 1950s: How Australia Became a Modern Society, and Everyone got a House and Car*, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 18, 141; Robert Longhurst, *The Road Well Travelled: RACQs First 100 Years*, Caringbah NSW, 2006, p. 146; Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia since 1870*, Carlton South Vic., 2000, p. 144.

becoming part-time residents whose allegiance was now shared between the coast and their city homes.<sup>5</sup>

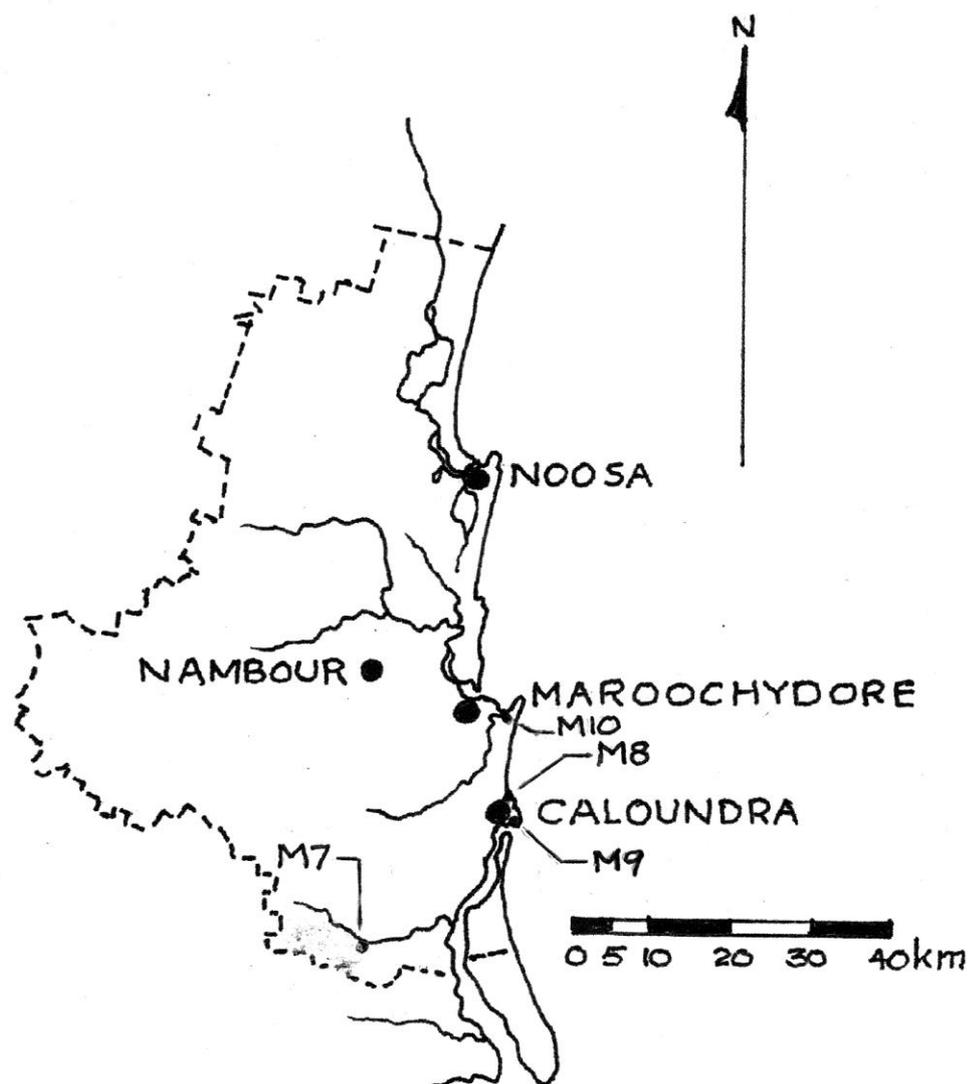
New interest in the coastal region where European occupation had been relatively sparse and poorly recorded led to the investigation and marking of the sites of previous historic incidents along the coast and along the route from Brisbane to the coast. The identity of the North Coast region became less focused on hinterland agriculture and increasingly on the maritime fringe. With this new focus came a number of new memorials recording aspects of Sunshine Coast maritime history, all of which were erected in the 1960s and 1970s. These five maritime monuments varied greatly in form. A wooden arch was built at Beerburrum to commemorate a visit by Matthew Flinders to the area. A large stone cairn bearing the propellor of the S.S. *Dicky* recalled the wrecking of that vessel at Dicky Beach. The 1963 *Queen of the Colonies* memorial discussed in Chapter One was erected at Moffat Headland, where an engraved pandanus tree had informally marked the site where a group from the *Queen of the Colonies* had been stranded a century before. In Caloundra a monument was erected to commemorate those who died in the sinking of the Australian Hospital Ship *Centaur* during World War II. The journey of the *La Balsa* raft from Ecuador to the Sunshine Coast inspired a park and markers at Buddina where the raft had landed. All of these maritime memorials marked places where incidents happened, commemorating 'the struggle to subdue the continent ... [by which] the new nation defined itself' in a manner which Graeme Davison suggested was more geographical than historical.<sup>6</sup> As with much triumphant 'pioneer history', establishing what Davison called 'the genealogy of communities', in recording each incident as a 'first' and relating much of the minutiae of each one, these memorials also recorded the details of those people and organisations involved with marking the site of each occurrence.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Bob Bazeley, purchaser of land in original Point Arkwright subdivision, pers. comm., 6 July 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, St Leonards NSW, 2000, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 199-202.



7. Matthew Flinders memorial, Beerburrum  
 9. AHS *Centaur* memorial, Caloundra

8. SS *Dicky* memorial, Dicky Beach  
 10. *La Balsa* footprints, Point Cartwright

Figure 3.1: Location of memorials in Chapter 3.<sup>8</sup>

It is notable that in the early 1960s the maritime memorials erected within the Sunshine Coast region were largely financed by groups from outside the region, while those erected in the late 1960s and 1970s were financed locally. This would appear to be because the burgeoning population of the coastal strip brought increasing wealth to the area, but comments made to me by early residents seem

<sup>8</sup> 'Location of memorials in Chapter 3', map by John Windolf, 2012.

to indicate that many newcomers adopted sites important in the European history of the Sunshine Coast as part of their culture as they developed a sense of place relevant to their new area of residence. In this they appear to have followed David Russell's adage that 'No place is a 'place' until things that have happened in it are remembered as being important to our cultural life'.<sup>9</sup> David Harvey suggested that developing a sense of place is 'an active moment in the passage from memory to hope, from past to future'.<sup>10</sup> Each of the four case studies investigated in this chapter reflects an awareness of place by those who experienced the coastal strip in the two decades after the coastal road was built and the maritime identity of the Sunshine Coast became established. However, each case study also reflects a different situation in following decades.

The first Sunshine Coast maritime memorial was situated about halfway between Brisbane and the newly-popular coastal areas, beside the Bruce Highway at Beerburrum on land cleared by the Main Roads Department for a rest area.<sup>11</sup> Matthew Flinders, accompanied by two sailors and Bongaree, a Sydney Aborigine, had camped overnight on this site on 26 July 1799 on a two-day exploration which was the first incursion by Europeans into the Sunshine Coast region. Flinders' party had left the *Norfolk*, moored in the Pumicestone Channel, to investigate a series of peaks which Cook had noted as the 'Glasshouses' in 1770. After travelling nine miles inland by ship's boat and by foot they climbed a 'round sloping mount' – now Mt Beerburrum – then continued northwards until stopped by approaching darkness. Next morning they attempted to climb a 'flat-topped Peak' – Mt Tibrogargan – but found the cliffs too steep to climb, and returned to the *Norfolk*.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> David Russell, 'A psychological perspective on place', in Cameron, John (ed) *Changing Places: Re-Imagining Australia*. Double Bay, NSW, 2003, p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*, Malden, Massachusetts, 1996, p. 309.

<sup>11</sup> Queensland, Department of Environment Resource Management, 'North Coast roadside rest areas', 2006, <<http://www.epa.qld.gov.au/chims/placeDetail.html?siteId=30336>>, accessed 25 May 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Matthew Flinders, transcript of journal manuscript, reproduced as 'Matthew Flinders – a journey in the Norfolk sloop by Flinders, 1799', <<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsId=395200&itemId=823213>>, accessed 17 February 2008.



Figure 3.2: Unveiling of the Matthew Flinders memorial, Beerburrum, 27 July 1963.<sup>13</sup>

On 27 July 1963 the Royal Historical Society of Queensland (RHSQ) commemorated the 164<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Flinders' expedition by unveiling a monument at Flinders' campsite. This was not a formal nineteenth-century monument, such as the sophisticated statue of Flinders in Melbourne, designed to engender patriotic zeal by extolling the virtues of explorers and to lead people to 'meditate on the worthy deeds of their predecessors, and ... strive to emulate them', but a simple plaque mounted on a frame made of local logs in a bush setting.<sup>14</sup>

In documenting the location beside Tibrogargan Creek with the memorial the RHSQ gave the Matthew Flinders rest area 'explicit recognition', to be acknowledged as a specific place of worth by people from the immediate locality and those travelling to other areas within the three contiguous shires of the

<sup>13</sup> 'Sir Raphael and Lady Cilento, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> from right (under Flinders Memorial Sign)', photograph, held in Sir Raphael Cilento Collection, Box 41, Photograph 11, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld.

<sup>14</sup> Clem Lack, 'In the footsteps of Flinders: memorial to great navigator unveiled', *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, vol. VII, 1963, pp. 35, 37, 44; C. R. Long, *The Aim and Method in History and Civics*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1909, p.19, cited in Davison, *Use and Abuse*, pp. 43-44.

Sunshine Coast region and beyond.<sup>15</sup> Although the monument's reflection was strongest within its own locality this recognition alerted people from the whole Sunshine Coast region to the fact that the region was first visited by Europeans in the eighteenth century, and that this first-recorded European visitation was by a well-respected mariner important in Australian maritime history.<sup>16</sup> Officially 'an amenity for road travelers at a place of great historic interest to Queensland', one former weekend resident described the Matthew Flinders memorial site as 'the place where we and our friends felt that we'd left the city and arrived on the Sunshine Coast ... he was a sailor ... and we were nearly at the beach.'<sup>17</sup>

Comments such as this demonstrate an awareness of regional identity, said by Kent Ryden to be the factor by which residents 'define their surroundings and separate them from the rest of the geographical world'.<sup>18</sup> The development of regional consciousness through awareness and shared feelings stemming from that awareness have been described by geographer Yi-Fu Tuan thus:

Regional consciousness begins as shared inchoate feelings. Shared feelings may develop spontaneously into, or can be deliberately made into, shared lore and a shared body of explicit knowledge.<sup>19</sup>

Anssi Paasi has observed that it is difficult to elucidate what regional identity consists of, and how it affects collective action.<sup>20</sup> American researchers Williams and Roggenbuck measured attachment to place by non-permanent residents and visitors and concluded that 'individuals assign importance to places ... [to] help

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<sup>15</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Place: an experiential perspective', *The Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, April 1975, p. 153.

<sup>16</sup> John Pearn, Chairman, Matthew Flinders Bicentenary Committee Queensland, pers. comm., 4 September 2008.

<sup>17</sup> Sean O'Keeffe, 'The Great North Coast Road: the early development of the Bruce Highway and features of its cultural landscape', in *Journeys through Queensland History: Landscape, Place and Society*, St Lucia Qld, 2009, p. 69; Bev O'Rourke, owner of a Coolool holiday home 1968-1995, now a permanent resident, pers. comm., 23 January 2011.

<sup>18</sup> Kent C. Ryden, 'Writing the Midwest: history, literature and regional identity', *The Geographical Review*, vol. 89, no. 4, 1999, p. 514.

<sup>19</sup> Tuan, 'Place', p. 159.

<sup>20</sup> Anssi Paasi 'Region and place: regional identity in question', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2003, p. 477.

to identify themselves to others'. Kelly and Hosking similarly surveyed 961 respondents in the Margaret River-Augusta shire in Western Australia.<sup>21</sup> However, no such study has been carried out within the Sunshine Coast region, and so awareness of the identity of the region can only be measured through recollections and expressed attitudes.

The reflection cast by the Matthew Flinders memorial may have exerted some influence in building an awareness of part of the maritime identity of the Sunshine Coast region as the rest area experienced 'increasing demand and usage' during the 1970s, but this reflection had little permanence.<sup>22</sup> By the early 1980s heavy traffic on the Bruce Highway past the rest area made it almost impossible to stop or to slow down to view the aging timber monument.<sup>23</sup> The rest area was bypassed by a new Bruce Highway route in 1985, making stopping easier, but considerably reducing the number of passers-by.



Figure 3.3: The Matthew Flinders memorial March 2008.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Daniel R. Williams and Joseph W. Roggenbuck, 'Measuring place attachment: some preliminary results', 1989, <<http://www.fs.fed.us/rm/value/docs/nrpa89.pdf>>, accessed 23 January 2011; Gail Kelly and Karin Hosking, 'Nonpermanent residents, place attachment, and "Sea Change" communities', *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 40, no. 4, July 2008, pp. 575-594.

<sup>22</sup> Queensland Department of Environment and Resource Management, 'North Coast roadside rest areas', <<http://www.epa.qld.gov.au/chims/placeDetail.html?siteId=30336>>, accessed 17 January 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Frances Windolf, personal reminiscence.

<sup>24</sup> 'Matthew Flinders west', photograph by Frances Windolf, 9 March 2008, in 'Sunshine Coast memorials' collection.

As time and termites took their toll, the monument was altered from the original, rebuilt from different timbers without incised inscriptions on the side pillars and considerably lower than the earlier version, giving it much less visual importance. In August 2006 Queensland Transport announced that the rest area was to be impacted by a proposed duplication of the North Coast Rail Line, necessitating removal of the monument, which by now was painted bright blue with the top log bearing a 'Queensland Transport' sign dominating the historical message.<sup>25</sup> In May 2007 the plaque presenting the details of Flinders' visit to the area was stolen, and it was said that this was because, 'Few cared, and no-one took responsibility'.<sup>26</sup> A financial downturn in 2009 caused the railway duplication to be postponed but, although the termite-ridden monument remains, in seven visits totalling more than twenty hours I have never seen anyone walk across to view the monument despite dozens of people visiting public toilets a few metres away, and no-one I have spoken to at the site realizes that Flinders ever explored on land, merely recognising that he was a sailor. The memorial no longer appears to play a part in Sunshine Coast historical awareness, and its documentation of Flinders' visit has been transferred to another site some three kilometres distant. In 1999 a rock bearing a similar plaque was installed outside the Beerburrum State School to mark the bicentenary of Flinders visit to the area. This new memorial, set in a position viewed mainly by local residents, reflects a purely local identity.

Two other maritime monuments built within the Sunshine Coast region in the 1960s were, like the Matthew Flinders memorial, funded by groups from outside the Sunshine Coast region. The first of these was the *Queen of the Colonies* memorial, discussed in Chapter Two, which was erected by relatives of those involved in the April 1863 incident. The second monument, which commemorated the wrecking of the *SS Dicky*, was donated by the Queensland Women's Historical Association in 1963. It bears the propeller of the *SS Dicky*

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<sup>25</sup> Queensland Transport, 'Caboolture to Landsborough rail upgrade study: Beerburrum to Landsborough corridor report', <[http://www.transport.qld.gov.au/resources/file/ebabd3023549d69/Pdf\\_beeburrum\\_landsborough\\_corridor\\_executive\\_summary.pdf](http://www.transport.qld.gov.au/resources/file/ebabd3023549d69/Pdf_beeburrum_landsborough_corridor_executive_summary.pdf)>, accessed 1 March 2008.

<sup>26</sup> Gail Furnas, Community Liason Officer for Trackstar Alliance, pers. comm., 5 March 2008.

and a plaque which relates the details of the incident in great detail, and was unveiled on 24 November 1963.<sup>27</sup>



Figure 3.4: The unveiling of the S.S. Dicky memorial.<sup>28</sup>

The *Dicky*, a steam-propelled schooner built in Germany, was wrecked without injury or loss of life when it came ashore on a beach north of Caloundra during a major storm on 4 February 1893. The ship was consequently stripped of its engine, boiler and other contents by its owner but the iron hull and propeller remained, possibly because of the distance from any market for the low-value scrap metal.<sup>29</sup> The shell of the vessel has remained on the beach, slowly rusting, for nearly one hundred and twenty years, and both the beach and the suburb which has grown behind it have been named Dicky Beach in its honour.

<sup>27</sup> 'Premier unveils plaque', unpaginated newspaper article, *Caloundra Weekly*, 29 November 1963, copy held in 'SS *Dicky*', collection of newspaper articles and letters, [no file number], held at Kawana Branch of Sunshine Coast Libraries.

<sup>28</sup> 'Unveiling the S.S. Dicky monument, 24 November 1963', 'Picture Sunshine Coast' photographic collection, <<https://sunshinecoast.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/MSGTRN/PIC/BSEARCH>>, accessed 23 August 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Cosmos Coroneos, 'SS *Dicky* management plan', unpublished management plan prepared for Caloundra City Council by Cosmos Archaeology, Maroubra, NSW, 2008, p. 16.



Figure 3.5: The wreck of the SS *Dicky* remains.<sup>30</sup>

At the time of its erection the memorial was recognized by some as having a degree of importance in the way in which it documented part of the early maritime identity of the region, not only for residents, but for visitors from outside the local area. The construction of a coastal road from Caloundra to Noosa in the early 1960s led to a wider regional interest in the wreck and in its monument. One visitor, from Yaroomba some twenty-five kilometres to the north, who took advantage of the new road to make frequent visits to Dicky Beach recalled that: 'The *Dicky* seemed to represent the history of the Sunshine Coast ... We thought that the wreck would just rust away, but the marker would commemorate it for ever'.<sup>31</sup> In the twenty-first century, however, the rusty wreck remains as evidence while the propeller on the cairn is deteriorating, the cairn is cracking, and its location near a smelly public toilet has been described as 'inappropriate and unattractive', reflecting a very different image.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> 'Wreck of the SS *Dicky*', photograph by Keith Fleming, 15 August 2009.

<sup>31</sup> Bill Reed, owner of a Yaroomba holiday home in the 1960s, pers. comm., 25 January 2011.

<sup>32</sup> Coroneos, '*Dicky* management plan', p. 86.



Figure 3.6: The SS Dicky memorial, and a nearby shop window.<sup>33</sup>

Although the SS *Dicky* is considered ‘a much loved, even revered cultural landmark of the Sunshine Coast’ and continues to bolster regional awareness of the Sunshine Coast Region’s historic maritime links, the deteriorating monument and its unsuitable position have lessened its value.<sup>34</sup> The fish shop across the road, with its window depicting the wreck and its inside walls displaying old photos and documents concerning SS *Dicky*, evidences and memorializes the wreck in a much more appropriate manner for current Sunshine Coast residents.

In its early days the SS *Dicky* memorial, like the *Queen of the Colonies* monument, appears to have helped awareness of the maritime history of the Sunshine Coast. This historical awareness then helped to build coastal aspects of the regional identity of the area. By documenting the incidents involving the *Queen of the Colonies* and the SS *Dicky* and providing evidence of their locations, these memorials presented images of the maritime identity of the region to residents and to a wider audience, ‘constructing the region’ in a manner similar

<sup>33</sup> ‘Location of SS *Dicky* memorial’ and ‘SS *Dicky* advertisement, photographs by Frances Windolf, 14 May 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>34</sup> Coroneos, ‘*Dicky* management plan’, p. 50.

to that discussed by Cheryl Taylor in her study of the development of North Queensland regional identity through non-fiction and short fictional writings.<sup>35</sup> The importance of the maritime identity of the Sunshine Coast in constructing the identity of the region is not, however, limited to nineteenth century maritime incidents, but also includes incidents which occurred in the twentieth century.

One Sunshine Coast memorial which continues to strongly document an incident important to the maritime history of the region is the site dedicated to the Australian Hospital Ship *Centaur* which was sunk by a Japanese submarine off the coast on 14 May 1943. Surrounded by memorial plaques set on low plinths, each commemorating a different group involved in the tragedy, the monument relating the incident has had a chequered history. The publicity generated by the *Centaur* memorial, and more recently that involving the wreck of AHS *Centaur*, have fixed the incident firmly in the minds of Sunshine Coast residents.<sup>36</sup> The original *Centaur* monument, erected on a Caloundra headland by the local Rotary Club, was unveiled on 15 September 1968.<sup>37</sup> It is notable that this memorial, unlike earlier memorials discussed in this chapter, was erected by local residents, not an organisation from outside the area. As well as reflecting an improved financial situation in a town which almost tripled in size during the 1960s, it was also an indication of increased local interest in the history of the area.<sup>38</sup> The black-lettered marble plaque on the monument stated that the *Centaur* had been sunk 'at a position 30 miles east of Cape Moreton' and that 'of the 363 persons on board only 64 survived'.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Cheryl Taylor, 'Shaping a regional identity: literary non-fiction and short fiction in North Queensland', *Queensland Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2001, p. 44.

<sup>36</sup> A survey conducted as part of lectures I conducted for Sunshine Coast University of the Third Age in 2009 and 2010 showed that more people listed the *Centaur* memorial as the 'most important' memorial than the sum of all other memorials within the region.

<sup>37</sup> 'Centaur memorial unveiling Sunday', *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 13 September 1968, and 'Dedication', *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 16 September 1968, unpaginated newspaper cuttings held in 'AHS *Centaur* collection.

<sup>38</sup> Caloundra's population grew from 3657 in 1961 to 10602 in 1971. Windolf 'Sunshine Coast population', 2010; Erica Costigan, publicity officer, Caloundra *Centaur* committee, pers.comm., 16 May 2008.

<sup>39</sup> The original AHS *Centaur* memorial is now held in the Landsborough Historical Museum.



Figure 3.7: The original AHS *Centaur* memorial.<sup>40</sup>

In 1993, the original *Centaur* memorial was replaced by another monument at the request of the Australian government. This was because the legend on the original monument incorrectly documented the number of passengers. The new monument, which correctly stated that AHS *Centaur* carried 332 persons, of whom 64 survived, was hurriedly erected for the ‘Centaur day’ celebrations on 14 May 1993 — the same day that a much larger memorial was unveiled at Point Danger, some 150 kilometres south of Caloundra, on the Queensland-New South Wales border.<sup>41</sup> The Point Danger memorial suggested that the *Centaur* rested closer to the Gold Coast than to the Sunshine Coast, and the controversy over which memorial site was closer to the purported site of the *Centaur* wreckage was to serve as a factor in strengthening the regional identity of the Sunshine Coast region during the 1990s, with ‘ownership’ of the incident acting like the

<sup>40</sup> ‘Centaur monument 1968’, photograph by Erica Costigan, in ‘AHS *Centaur* collection’, collection of newspaper articles, letters and photographs, held by Erica Costigan, Golden Beach Qld.

<sup>41</sup> Costigan, pers.comm., 16 May 2008.

sentiments of football team supporters whose ‘community identity’ came through ‘ownership’ of their local team.<sup>42</sup>



Figure 3.8: AHS Centaur memorials at Caloundra (left) and Point Danger (right).<sup>43</sup>

Michael Keating has discussed three important elements of regional identity: a *cognitive* identity, whereby a region is distinguished by awareness of the limits of a region; an *instrumental* identity, whereby collective action is carried out by a region’s residents in pursuit of social, economic and political goals; and an *affective* identity which provides a framework for a common identity, particularly in competition with other identities.<sup>44</sup> It is this affective competitive identity which was fuelled by the location of dual *Centaur* memorials on the Sunshine and Gold Coasts. In 2008 and 2009 I talked with family members of those killed in the sinking as well as relatives of survivors after ‘Centaur Day’ commemorations at the Caloundra memorial. I found that almost everyone brought up the subject of the two memorials, showing allegiance to the Sunshine Coast memorial rather than to the one at Point Danger. The memorial appeared

<sup>42</sup> Stephen Alomes, ‘Australian Football as secular religion’, in Ian Craven (ed.), *Australian Popular Culture*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 60; Helen Milne, daughter of deceased *Centaur* survivor, pers. comm., 14 May 2009.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Centaur monument’, photograph by Frances Windolf 14 May 2008 and ‘Centaur Point Danger memorial’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 3 August 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>44</sup> Michael Keating, *The New Regionalism in Western Europe*, Cheltenham, England, 1998, p. 86.

to take the place of a grave marker for several of these people, with comments such as: 'I come here sometimes, so I can sit and look out to where the wreck must be', and 'The memorial at Point Danger never meant much to me, but this memorial gives me permission to grieve'.<sup>45</sup> I have visited the memorial at Point Danger but have not spoken to relatives of *Centaur* victims there. However, it would seem likely that they would have similar feelings about the personal value of the site and hold similar allegiance to their local memorial.

The geographic controversy regarding the location of the wreckage was concluded on 20 December 2009, when a team funded by the Australian and Queensland governments discovered the wreck at a depth of more than 2,000 metres at 27° 16.98S, 153° 59.22E, five nautical miles closer to the Caloundra monument than to the Point Danger memorial, a very slight difference. At the 2010 'Centaur Day' commemoration, many people expressed quiet satisfaction that they now knew where their loved ones lay, but there was no public comparison made between the two memorial sites, and no evidence that competition regarding the location of the wreck was relevant to Sunshine Coast regional identity in the twenty-first century. Geographer Anssi Paasi would consider this an example of a 'problematic' relationship between concepts of identity and of region, with individual and regional histories and personal and collective dimensions of unclear identities failing to coincide with each other.<sup>46</sup>

Queensland historian Joanna Besley contended that parochial memorials such as Caloundra's *Centaur* memorial enhance local historical consciousness while revealing national and regional identity so discreetly that monuments may become almost invisible within their location.<sup>47</sup> Besley's concern that this seeming-invisibility of established monuments might cause them to become

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<sup>45</sup> Joan Reik, daughter of *Centaur* victim, pers. comm., 14 May 2008; Milne, pers. comm., 14 May 2009.

<sup>46</sup> Anssi Paasi, 'Bounded spaces in the mobile world: deconstructing "regional identity"', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 2002, vol. 93, no. 2, pp. 139-140.

<sup>47</sup> Joanna Besley, 'At the intersection of history and memory: monuments in Queensland', *Limina*, vol. 11, 2005, pp. 35, 36, <<http://limina.arts.uwa.edu.au-data/page/90432/besley.pdf>>, accessed 9 January 2008.

meaningless or even irrelevant was echoed at Caloundra by Joan Reik whose father died on the *Centaur* but whose children ‘couldn’t care about any monument, not just this one’, as ‘they’re just lumps of stone to them’.<sup>48</sup>



Figure 3.9: Plaque marking the direction of AHS *Centaur* from Caloundra.<sup>49</sup>

While the controversy regarding the location of the *Centaur* and media attention regarding the finding of the wreck held the Caloundra *Centaur* memorial in public view until the end of 2009, I wondered whether the permanency of the reflection cast by the memorial’s message might also diminish with time. However, the memorial site now sports an extra plaque on a rock set directly in front of the monument, which indicates the location of the wreck. The documented evidence of the previously-unknown location now appears to attract new visitors to the site, and while visiting the memorial for about fifteen minutes in April 2012 I saw three groups of walkers — seven people — stop, read the plaque, point in the direction of the wreck and discuss the *Centaur* story.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Reik, pers. comm., 14 May 2008.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Centaur location of wreck plaque’, photograph by Frances Windolf, 26 April 2012, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

<sup>50</sup> Frances Windolf, personal reminiscence, 26 April 2012.

Another maritime memorial which was erected on the Sunshine Coast in the 1970s was unusual. This memorial commemorated the arrival on the Sunshine Coast of four adventurers aboard the *La Balsa* raft on 6 November 1970, after a 161 day, 13,700 kilometre, wind-and-current-driven journey across the Pacific from Ecuador. It comprises the footprints of the crew, recorded in concrete, and a sign bearing a facsimile of their signatures.



Figure 3.10: Information sign and footprints of the *La Balsa* crew at *La Balsa Park*.<sup>51</sup>

At the time of its inception the park and the memorial were a major factor in the development of local and shire identities, but the historical reflection of the area has diminished to such an extent that public awareness of the expedition has almost disappeared. Robert Musil wrote that ‘what strikes one most about monuments is that one doesn’t notice them. There is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments’ and this would certainly seem to apply to the *La Balsa*

<sup>51</sup> ‘*La Balsa* exploration board’, and ‘*La Balsa* footprints’, photographs by Frances Windolf, 16 April 2008, in ‘Sunshine Coast memorials’ collection.

memorial.<sup>52</sup> In 2008 I spoke to more than a dozen people in the park, only one of whom had any concept that it was linked with a maritime journey — but thought it was named for a yacht that sailed from Mexico — and none of whom had noted the sign and relic from the arrival of the raft which stood less than five metres away.<sup>53</sup>

The twenty-first century lack of awareness of the *La Balsa* expedition is particularly notable when one considers the intense attention which greeted the arrival of the raft and led to the marking of the site. As media crews from London, New York, and other world centres crowded the Mooloolaba Yacht Club to interview the adventurers, a local newspaper blazoned the headline ‘Mooloolaba will never be the same again!’.<sup>54</sup> Mooloolaba, a small Maroochy Shire township of holiday cottages, stood on the northern side of the Mooloolah River, where the raft anchored at the end of its epic journey, and Maroochy Shire pride was such that *La Balsa’s* crew were awarded the freedom of the shire, and paraded through the streets of Nambour, the shire centre, before 2,500 people.<sup>55</sup> The southern side of the river, which formed the border between Maroochy and Landsborough shires, was largely undeveloped. However, the raft was actually anchored on the southern side of the river, in Landsborough Shire and local pride led Landsborough Shire councillors to arrange for the footprints of the crew to be recorded in a patch of concrete in an area which later became a park.<sup>56</sup>

Not only was this celebration and commemoration of the ‘*La Balsa*’ another example of shires competing for importance in trying to establish district identity, the publicity resulting from the arrival of the raft established the name ‘Sunshine Coast’ on a wider platform, so that the phrase was no longer just a

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<sup>52</sup> Robert Musil, cited in Sanford Levinson, *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies*, London, 1998, p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Frances Windolf, personal reminiscence, 16 April 2008.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Mooloolaba will never be the same again!’, *Sunshine Coast Weekly Advertiser*, 12 November 1970, p. 1, held in ‘*La Balsa* Expedition 1970 collection’, University of the Sunshine Coast Library, Sippy Downs Qld.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Raft crew ride in triumph’, *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 7 November 1970, p. 1, held in ‘*La Balsa* Expedition 1970 collection’.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Footprints mark’, *Sunshine Coast Weekly Advertiser*, 12 November 1970, p. 1, held in ‘*La Balsa* Expedition 1970 collection’.

term used by real estate agents, but appeared in newspapers and magazines across Australia and the world.<sup>57</sup> This ‘narrative of identity’ served to establish a ‘symbolic shape’ for the Sunshine Coast region, establishing the area as a sunny, welcoming place that was worthy of note both nationally and internationally.<sup>58</sup> It could be argued that although the *La Balsa* memorial park no longer represents an important place of remembrance of an event of international endurance and historical importance, it still reflects an important step in the development of awareness of the Sunshine Coast outside of the region.

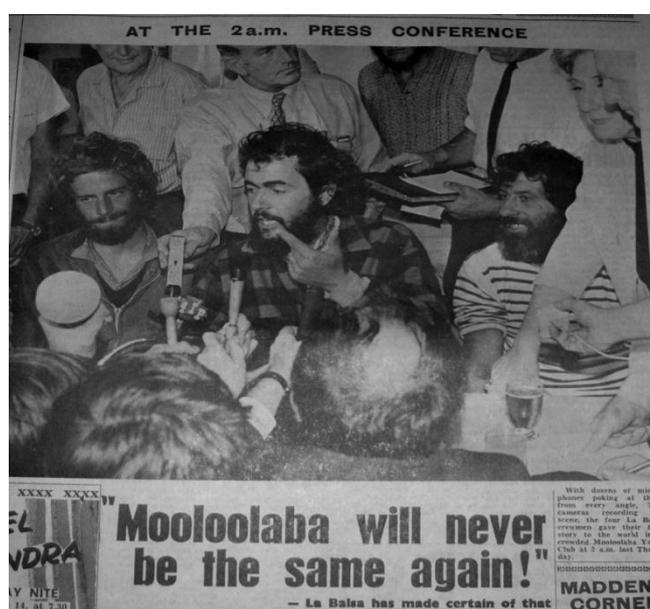


Figure 3.11: Newspaper photographs welcoming the *La Balsa* crew.<sup>59</sup>

There appears to be no evidence as to why the reflection of the memorial in the *La Balsa* memorial park has faded from public awareness. Initially I considered that it was because another expedition, named *Las Balsas*, was made to Australia in 1973. This expedition had three rafts, one of which was named *Mooloolaba* in honour of the original landing place, but the expedition ended in

<sup>57</sup> ‘Autographs and a key’, *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, 7 November 1970, p. 3, held in ‘*La Balsa* Expedition 1970 collection’; ‘Hut that crossed the ocean’, *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 25 November 1970, pp. 8-9, held in ‘*La Balsa* Expedition 1970 collection’.

<sup>58</sup> Paasi, ‘Bounded spaces’, p. 140.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Mooloolaba will never be the same again!’, photograph by Simon Whittle, *Sunshine Coast Weekly Advertiser*, 12 November 1970, p. 1, held in ‘*La Balsa* Expedition 1970 collection’.

Ballina NSW because of weather conditions.<sup>60</sup> One of the three rafts can still be seen in Ballina, in a museum built by the Ballina Shire Council, and I wondered if this impressive memorial had eclipsed the Sunshine Coast site. However, Gabriel Salas — a crewman on both expeditions — has commented that ‘35 years later, the *Aztlán* is still in Ballina but forgotten’.<sup>61</sup> I also considered whether today’s general lack of knowledge about the 1970 *La Balsa* landing might be due to the tremendous increase in the population of the two shires bordering the Mooloolah River since that time — the population of Landsborough Shire (later renamed Caloundra City) grew from 16,982 to 87,596 between the 1976 and 2006 censuses, and that of Maroochy Shire grew from 35,266 to 142,838 in the same period.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, Salas, in comparing visitation to the *Kon-Tiki* museum in Oslo with that to the *Las Balsas* museum in Ballina, asked:

Why does the *Kon-Tiki* Museum receive so many visitors and the Ballina Museum hardly any? ... Ballina has grown immensely since the raft arrived ... and so has the tourist industry, not only in Ballina, but also in nearby Byron Bay.<sup>63</sup>

Salas, conceding that ‘Ballina is not Oslo’, concluded that ‘the main problem is lack of publicity’.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps this is the problem on the Sunshine Coast, too? If this is so, there is a chance that a proposed documentary, to be filmed partly on the Sunshine Coast between July and September 2012, may inform the public of the importance of the *La Balsa* expedition and refresh the reflection of the simple memorial.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Gabriel Salas, ‘The Las Balsas expedition: a crewman reminisces’, in ‘Ballina information blog’, 20 November 2008, <<http://www.ballina.info/blog/2008/11/20/the-las-balsas-expedition-a-crewman-reminisces/>>, accessed 18 June 2012.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Queensland Places* ‘Landsborough and Landsborough Shire’, <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 18 June 2012; *Queensland Places* ‘Caloundra’, <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 18 June 2012; *Queensland Places* ‘Maroochy and Maroochy Shire’, <<http://queenslandplaces.com.au>>, accessed 18 June 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Salas, ‘Las Balsas expedition’, in ‘Ballina information blog’, 20 November 2008, <<http://www.ballina.info/blog/2008/11/20/the-las-balsas-expedition-a-crewman-reminisces/>>, accessed 18 June 2012.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Bill Hoffman, ‘Filmmaker seeks *La Balsa* witnesses’, *Sunshine Coast Daily*, 13 March 2013, p. 5.

These memorials — Matthew Flinders at Beerburrum, *SS Dicky* at Dicky Beach, the AHS *Centaur* memorial and *La Balsa* park, and also the formal *Queen of the Colonies* memorial mentioned in Chapter One — hold a very particular place in documenting Sunshine Coast history. They differed from the formal Sunshine Coast memorials erected before 1960, which were all war memorials commemorating general conflicts and documenting the efforts of local citizens who had participated in those conflicts. Notably, these new memorials were maritime memorials, which provided evidence of a new awareness of the coastal areas of the region, as opposed to the agricultural heartland through which the Bruce Highway and the railway to Cairns passed, and the fertile mountains of the Blackall Range which formed the region's western boundary. Before the 1960s each coastal village or township was separated from its neighbour by intervening swamps and rivers, but the opening of a coastal road from Caloundra to Noosa in 1962 enabled easy access and opened the coastal region to new permanent and semi-permanent residents as well as to tourists. The coastal identity reflected by these memorials remains in the memory of some of these new residents nearly fifty years later, as they describe their influence with comments such as '[The Matthew Flinders memorial site] was the place where we and our friends felt that we'd left the city and arrived on the Sunshine Coast ... we were nearly at the beach' and 'The *Dicky* seemed to represent the history of the Sunshine Coast.'<sup>66</sup>

During the early 1960s the Matthew Flinders memorial and the *SS Dicky* monument were funded from outside the Sunshine Coast region. However, the *Centaur* monument and the low-budget *La Balsa* memorial, erected in the late 1960s and early 1970s were funded by residents and by the Landsborough Shire Council, demonstrating not only a greater pool of available funds because of the increase in population, but also an awareness of the importance of such 'permanent reflections' in developing the identity of the region.

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<sup>66</sup> O'Rourke, pers. comm., 23 January 2011; Reed, pers. comm., 25 January 2011.