VOLUME 1

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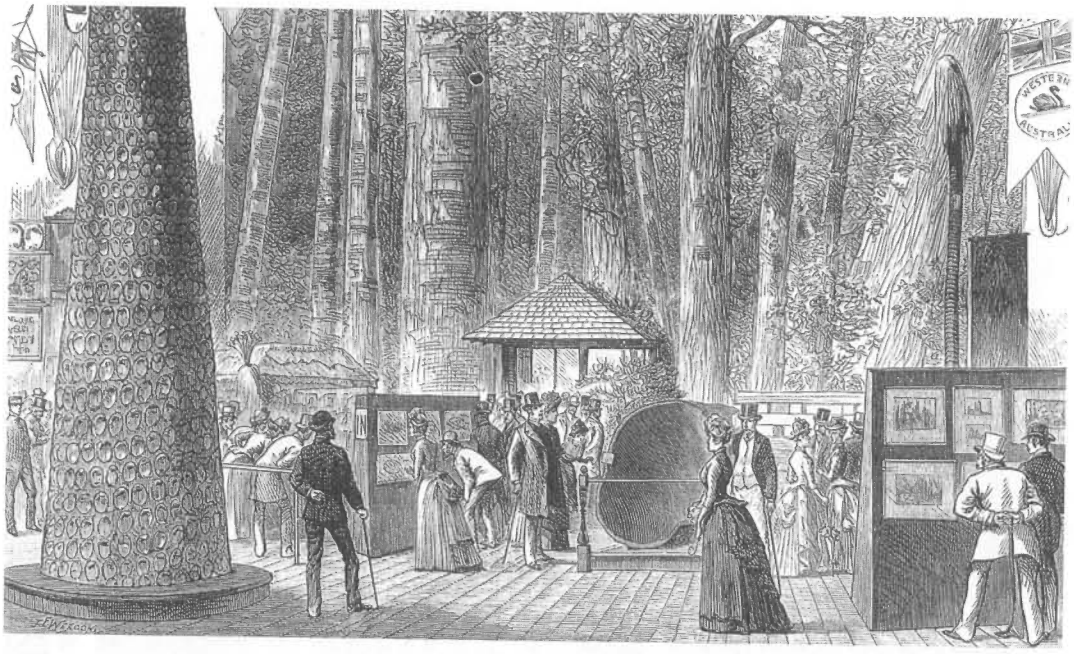


FIG. 33. Western Australia's court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, with a panorama of giant karri and jarrah trees, towering over a log of real jarrah (right) and a pearl-shell trophy (left foreground). (*Illustrated London News*, 18 Sept. 1886)

Following the example of the celebrated Lily House built at Chatsworth in 1839, public glasshouses filled with exotic plants became a sure crowd-pleaser in late 19th-century England and had many imitations in the colonies. Queensland was not alone in its use of conservatories at exhibitions, for several British colonies had conservatories at London in 1886 and more conservatories appeared at Melbourne in 1888-89. New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand all had conservatories (or 'ferneries') at both the London and Melbourne exhibitions. But Queensland's conservatories stood alone for the 'gaudy magnificence' of their tropical plants, arguably the most spectacular of all.

The limitations of Queensland's displays are shown by R.E.N. Twopeny's plans for his proposed Australasian exhibition in London, to advertise the antipodes as never before. This was to be no 'ordinary humdrum' event but 'a living representation of Australasian life, scenery, manners, industry and resources'. Twopeny proposed to 'reach the imagination' of exhibition-goers not only through their eyes and ears but also through their 'epigastric regions'. Besides showing the familiar Australian products, his exhibition was to include photographs, models, dioramas, panoramas, lantern slides, lectures and pamphlets, and in the adjoining refreshment rooms he planned to serve real 'Australasian lunches'. His dioramas were to include wax, life-size 'Australian types' to 'attract the wonder of the multitude' (the Englishman Twopeny looked at Australians with wonderous disdain). Such a 'plucky' exhibition, he argued, could not fail to attract all classes of the British public for it offered 'a hook for every fish',[168] but the colonies failed to rally behind his novel proposal.

The limitations of Queensland's displays are further shown by the more advanced display techniques of sister colonies. Victoria's court at Paris in 1878 was dominated by a monumental trophy with figures of gold miners, stockdrivers and Aboriginal people (Fig. 32). Later at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition both Victoria and South Australia had amazingly 'realistic' Aboriginal dioramas with skilfully modelled figures,[169] while Victoria and Western Australia had large panoramas (Fig. 33). At the Launceston exhibition of 1891-92 New South Wales triumphed with a cyclorama of Broken Hill, described as 'one of the *pieces de resistance*' of the whole event.[170] However, Australia's most

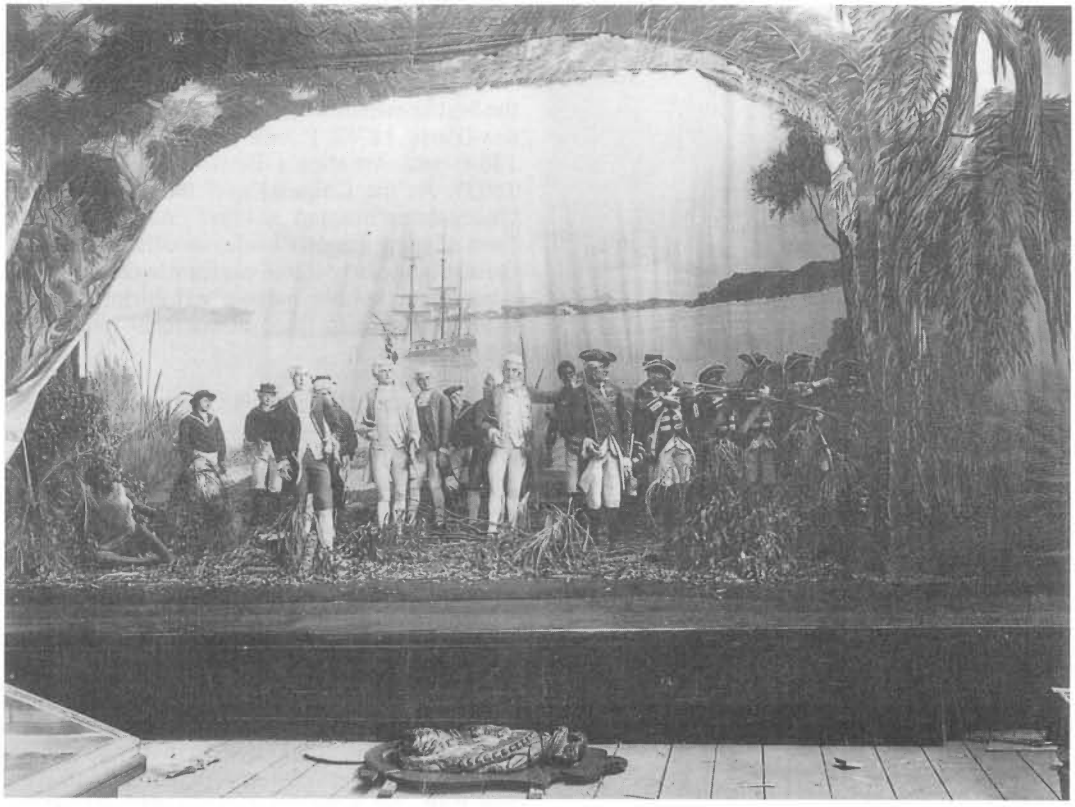


FIG. 34. The huge tableau of Captain Cook's landing shown by New South Wales at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. The figures were modelled by James White, while the backdrop was painted by the equally noted scenic artist, Carl Frederick Vennemark. (La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria)

adventurous displays of the 19th century were shown at Melbourne's centennial exhibition of 1888-89 where New South Wales, 'the mother colony' (whose centenary was being celebrated), won due attention with its spectacular exhibits. Here the New South Wales court gave visitors the thrill of walking into a replica of the Jenolan Caves created in painted cork and plaster and enlarged by an 'ingenious arrangement of mirrors'. The highlight of the court was a huge tableau of Captain Cook's landing at Botany Bay, with 22 life-sized wax figures modelled by the noted Australian sculptor James White, an Aboriginal gunyah, bush vegetation and a panoramic backdrop, all mounted on a stage with a proscenium (Fig. 34). Significantly, this tableau was supervised by the exhibition organiser Jules Joubert (later the General Manager of the Queensland International Exhibition), and South Australia's 'bush' diorama shown at Melbourne in 1880-81, mentioned above, was the work of Twopeny.

Without the skills of professionals like these, Queensland's displays were comparatively amateurish. There were no such people among its government-appointed exhibition commissioners and officials, and local artists were rarely engaged for exhibition work. A recommendation to engage the Brisbane artist Joseph Augustus Clarke to design Queensland's trophies for Philadelphia was rejected by the government[171] and the local artist-taxidermist Anthony Alder was engaged only for less important work mounting animal specimens and replicating gold nuggets, fruit and fish. Alder had trained in London and was well capable of creating competent dioramas, as he later did for the Queensland Museum. (He was appointed to the museum staff in 1907.) Moreover, the local sculptor James Laurence Watts, who modelled the much-admired Champion's vinegar and Colman's mustard trophies for the merchants' displays in the Queensland International Exhibition (Fig. 35), was never

FIG. 35 The Champion's vinegar trophy by James Laurence Watts at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. The life-sized equestrian figure was commissioned by the Brisbane merchants Webster and Company, who also commissioned the Colman's mustard trophy at the exhibition. (*Queenslander*, 19 June 1897)

engaged for government exhibition work. So Queensland's most adventurous exhibiting took place later, early this century, when the Chief Protector of Aborigines showed tableaux vivants (an advance on static dioramas) at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibitions to promote the government's segregationist policy.

Though generally unadventurous in its display techniques, Queensland was willing on occasion to 'play the showman' with sensational exhibits. Aboriginal mummies, live lungfish and gigantic logs and reptile skins appealed to a fascination with the ugly and curious, while such 'working exhibits' as gold batteries and mercury fountains satisfied a demand for stunts (and attested to technological progress). Indeed the 'absolutely unique' mercury fountain first shown in 1899 at the Greater Britain Exhibition (Figs 79, 83) is Queensland's contribution to the assortment of 'novelties' devised especially for exhibitions,[172] the best known of which are Spain's house of bottles (Paris, 1878), France's Eiffel Tower (Paris, 1889) and America's Ferris wheel (Chicago, 1893). At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Queensland boasted another 'novelty' in the form of a live dingo. Besides its official exhibits, Queensland also offered performances by 'wild' Aboriginal people among exhibition amusements. I return to these sensational exhibits in later chapters.

Only once did Queensland market food at exhibitions. Along with its sister colonies, Queensland took part in the Australian Wine Bar and the Colonial Market at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. At this market Queensland sold about 30,000 pounds of tinned meat, and smaller quantities of frozen meat, preserved fruit, wine, turtle and bêche-de-mer soups and even potted dugong.[173] Queensland also sent fresh fruit to the Sydney and Melbourne events, and frozen meat and dairy produce to the cold storage chamber at the Greater Britain Exhibition, but these were intended to be admired rather than sold. Other Australian colonies were more active marketers of food at exhibitions, particularly of wine and fruit, but none opened a café until at the Wembley exhibition, where an Australian café proved very popular.

The handling of exhibits was often clumsy, again reflecting Queensland's lack of professional expertise. Defective packing caused serious damages to exhibits consigned to Vienna in 1873 and Paris in 1878, and returned from Melbourne in 1881 and 1889 and London in 1899. At both Vienna and Paris, many exhibits were damaged enough to necessitate their withdrawal from display. Nehemiah Bartley later complained of the 'annihilation' of some of his minerals collection lent for the Paris exhibition.[174] Among the damaged exhibits returned from Melbourne in 1881 were shells and mounted birds lent by the Brisbane naturalist Elizabeth Coxen (widow of the former exhibition commissioner Charles Coxen) and material lent by the Queensland Museum. In addition, some show cases returned from Melbourne smashed beyond repair.[175] In 1889 the Imperial Institute in London complained that Queensland's mineral collection lent for the recent Melbourne exhibition had been repacked in such a 'careless and imperfect manner' that many specimens were now 'useless'.[176]

Reports of damage suggest that heavy objects, such as minerals, were left loose in cases during transit instead of being individually packed and secured, causing breakages of glass and more fragile objects. In August 1888 shipping agents reported that the cases of excess exhibits arrived back from the Melbourne exhibition with their 'contents jingling'.[177] In 1900 the Brisbane artist Oscar Fristrom complained that one of his pastel drawings returned from the Greater Britain Exhibition 'seriously damaged' due to 'careless' repacking.[178] Worse still, the Brisbane tanner Ludwig Schoenheimer complained that his leather exhibits had not returned at all, nor had any proceeds from their sale.[179]

Most of these damages and losses were caused in Melbourne and London even though custodians from the colony were present to supervise repacking. But these custodians had little experience in exhibitions, apart from James Brand who was an attendant on four occasions from 1879 to 1889, and Harry Courtenay Luck who was secretary to the commissioners in 1886 and 1888-89 and Assistant Representative in charge of the agricultural exhibits in 1899 (see Appendix 2). Luck's applications for involvement in other exhibitions were politely turned down, as were applications by a professional British exhibition organiser, H.B. Hardt. After his involvement as a British agent in exhibitions at Paris and Philadelphia, Hardt supervised New South Wales' court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, represented British firms at the Adelaide exhibition of 1887-88, and in early 1888 organised Sydney's so-called Centenary Universal Exhibition (its answer to Melbourne's much larger centennial event). He might have been a most useful asset to Queensland.

Here I have shown that Queensland's displays at exhibitions were dominated by economic concerns rather than a desire to represent colonial life more comprehensively. Exhibition commissioners, the selectors of exhibits, were drawn from the colony's ruling economic elite and their exhibits reflected the varying needs for British investment. The lack of professional expertise among exhibition commissioners and officials made the presentation and handling of exhibits unadventurous and clumsy by world or even Australian standards. But Queensland's exhibits, whether arranged neatly in cases or piled in 'bulk', were always distinctive and never dull or 'shoppy'. The 'progressive' young colony could be relied upon to put on 'a good show'.[180] And in the annals of world exhibiting Queensland will be remembered for its pioneering use of photography and for adding the mercury fountain to the 'novelties' devised especially for exhibitions.

CHAPTER 3

'THE BOUNTIES OF NATURE'

Queensland was represented at exhibitions as a resource-rich frontier, a place where nature had 'bestowed her gifts' most bountifully. Surveying Queensland's court at Sydney in 1879-80 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reporter concluded: 'A stranger might be forgiven if he left with the impression that that favoured land was blest with nearly everything, and everything of the best'.[181] Queensland could boast not only a 'harvest-field' of land resources, but also a wondrous off-shore resource in the Great Barrier Reef, the world's largest system of coral reefs. In this chapter I focus on the flora and fauna exhibits[182] which so greatly contributed to the image of a 'resourceful' colony. Underpinning these exhibits were the notions that natural resources were 'inexhaustible' and that colonists had a right and a duty to exploit them. Indeed the ability to mobilise the earth's resources and transform its environment was central to the 19th-century gauge of human progress and was used to justify European colonisation. This exploitative view of nature was part of a Christian inheritance which taught that God, having created man, gave him dominion over all living things. In his study of the 'taming' of the Australian environment Geoffrey Bolton has portrayed the devastation wrought by European settlement, by which natural resources were ruthlessly exploited for economic gain.[183] Queensland was no exception to this pattern of settlement, only the devastation occurred later than in the southern colonies and some would argue that it continues.

Queensland's flora and fauna exhibits also reflect the interest in natural history so keen in the 19th century. Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* published in 1859 — the same year that Queensland became a separate colony — brought evolutionary theory to the forefront of scientific debate and heralded the beginning of the golden age of taxonomy (the scientific naming of plants and animals). Australia, long isolated from other continents, offered an intriguing and unique array of plants and animals, some related to species long extinct elsewhere. Queensland, with its vast territory still not fully 'explored', was a rich field

FIG. 36. Walter Hill, the first Director of Brisbane's Botanic Gardens and Government Botanist. Before his forced retirement in 1881, he served as a commissioner for six international exhibitions and as an exhibitor at many intercolonial exhibitions. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

for investigation, as evidenced by a stream of 'scientific visitors' during the 19th century. The natural wonders of Queensland are summed up by the explorer-journalist Archibald Meston in a grandiloquent 'pen picture':

> ... Land of weird fauna ... bridging the chasm between us and the Mesozoic. Wondrous flora, older than pines and palms ... Land of the Coral Barrier, of coral-girdled green islands, of jungle-covered tropical mountains ... Land of vast forests of a thousand timbers ... Land that shows a diversity and beauty of scenery surpassed by no other on the face of the earth ...[184]

Interest in natural history was not slow to develop in the colony. The year 1859 also marked the foundation of its first scientific society, the Queensland Philosophical Society, which in turn led to the establishment of the Queensland Museum in 1862 and an herbarium (originally part of the museum) in 1874. In addition to these major collecting institutions, the colony could boast a series of schools of arts and naturalists' clubs, some of which had natural history collections. Many of the colonists who contributed to these public collections also contributed to exhibitions.

Exhibits of flora formed the 'bulk' of Queensland's early contributions to exhibitions. At London's Great Exhibition of 1851 the Moreton Bay district was represented by 'a log of wood from the interior of Wide Bay', sent by the local land commissioner. For the Paris event of 1855 Charles Moore, the Director of Sydney's Botanic Gardens, was commissioned to collect timber from the Moreton and Wide Bay districts. Later Moore reported that he had 'scarcely even penetrated' the dense rainforests of the north to find his 92 samples.[185] Queensland's timber resources were better known by the time of the London exhibition of 1862 where timber took up 'nearly half' of Queensland's exhibition funds and filled a whole side of its court.[186] Most prominent were 130 samples of timber collected and catalogued by Walter Hill (Fig. 36), the Director of Brisbane's Botanic Gardens and Government Botanist, and an exhibition commissioner.[187] Hill also collected native barks, gums, canes and fibres suited to such 'useful ends' as tanning agents, dyes, medicines, walking sticks, paper and rope. Similar exhibits were collected from the Rockhampton district by the French emigré Anthelme Thozet of 'Muellerville', North Rockhampton, an experimental gardener and a botanical collector for Ferdinand Mueller of Victoria. Hill and Thozet again sent large botanical collections to the Paris exhibition of 1867 (where, as I have noted in Chapter 1, Thozet's exhibits were confused with Hill's), while the exhibition commissioner Matthew Henry Marsh sent two logs of myall wood. Here at Paris, where timber filled both sides of Queensland's court, visitors were assured that the colony's timber wealth was 'scarcely to be estimated'.[188] Already the forests of southern Queensland were being rapidly cleared, opening new land for pastoral and agricultural settlement and providing for the colony's growing needs for timber. By 1867 timber exports to the southern colonies were also growing, having increased sevenfold since separation.

Among the 'numerous' timber exhibits shown at the London exhibitions of 1871-74 were 72 samples from the Rockhampton district collected by another experimental gardener and collector for Mueller, the Irish-born Patrick Adams O'Shanesy of the Dawson Road. This collection was, wrote O'Shanesy, only a fraction of Rockhampton's 'inexhaustible' supply of about 200 species of timber 'available for every purpose'.[189] Also shown at these events was an 'extraordinary' collection of Queensland gums and a series of drugs made from ironbark gum by the

Brisbane medical practitioner and naturalist Dr Joseph Bancroft (best known for his research on filariasis). For the London exhibition of 1873 Walter Hill, again an exhibition commissioner, sent another 224 bulk samples of timber (trunks and limbs of trees) which were stacked on shelves at the entrance to Queensland's annexe while polished samples were stacked inside. Commenting on the timber shown at Vienna the same year, Hill claimed that Queensland had more timber species than any other Australian colony and 'perhaps more than could be found within a similar extent of country in any other part of the world'. Hence, he lamented, good timber was being 'neglected or used only as firewood'. Hill added a plea for a forest conservancy system in Queensland, for 'indiscriminate destruction' had already made some species of forest trees 'almost ... extinct'.[190] Hill's plea was probably one of the sections of Queensland's catalogue which the government found 'objectionable',[191] contributing to the growing friction between the government and the outspoken Hill. His plea went unheeded, as did the findings of a parliamentary committee appointed in 1875 to report on the colony's forests.

Hill's exhibits were shown again at Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878, along with a large collection of native fibres from the Brisbane experimental gardener Alexander Macpherson. Macpherson's collection included Queensland hemp (*Sida retusa*), a 'much despised' weed that could be used for making paper and textiles. Also shown at Philadelphia was a fine collection of botanical specimens prepared by the Brisbane botanist Frederick Manson Bailey (Fig. 37), the keeper of Queensland's herbarium and later to be the colony's leading botanical exhibitor.[192] At Paris in 1878 the Brisbane pharmacist Lachlan Carmichael contributed a collection of essential oils and tinctures to mark the 'experimental' beginnings of Queensland's eucalyptus oil industry, for already colonists were recognising the household uses of the eucalyptus.

More extensive exhibits of flora were shown at the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81, reflecting the push to turn nature's riches to profit regardless of environmental costs. Walter Hill showed 260 samples of timber and collections of barks and gums, again with a plea for forest conservancy.[193] To illustrate the 'endless variety' and beauty of Queensland timbers the government sent two ornamental stands containing 275 turned and polished egg cups and drops

FIG. 37. Frederick Manson Bailey, a contributor to many exhibitions from 1876 and Colonial Botanist of Queensland from 1881 until his death in 1915. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

and a timber trophy (or 'tree'), an octagonal structure of polished panels crowned by a bird's nest fern. The government also sent much larger exhibits: a double saloon railway carriage, 33 feet 6 inches long, made at the Ipswich Railway Workshops (Fig. 55), and a Whitechapel cart made by the Brisbane agricultural implement maker and coachbuilder, Alexander McLean. These, reported Executive Commissioner Gresley Lukin, were admired for their 'excellent workmanship' as much as for their timbers,[194] and the railway carriage was sought out by weary exhibition-goers anxious to test its seats of purple morocco. Regrettably, the carriage, unlike the other exhibits, was shown only at the Sydney exhibition.

Besides these government exhibits, some fine examples of local furniture were collected to highlight Queensland timbers, including an inlaid table and jewel case, a desk, bookcase and two chests of drawers from the well-known Brisbane cabinetmaker Peter Thomle. His rival firms of T.P. Hardy and J. and J. Hislop supplied whole suites of furniture, while John W. Carey supplied a trophy of curtain rods and fretwork and also display cases. In addition, the Rockhampton

FIG. 38. From the transept in front of Queensland's court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80. The diverse group of trophies are (left to right): cereals, fibres (in the shape of a Chinese pagoda), wool, tin (foreground), pearl-shell, timber, sugar and copper. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales)

district sent two collections of local timbers and the Brisbane sawmiller William Pettigrew sent mantelpieces and a trophy of mouldings — so completing the finest collection of joinery and furniture ever shown by the colony and contributing to the allegations of Executive Commissioner Lukin's extravagance as most of the collection was commissioned (initially for the Sydney exhibition) at considerable expense. A huge log of a kauri pine from Noosa was also shown, proof of the district's 'great storehouse' of softwoods now being exported to the south in 'large' quantities. Despite the clearances of recent years, exhibition propaganda asserted that the softwood forests of southern Queensland were still 'far from exhausted'.[195]

The exhibits at Sydney and Melbourne in 1879-81 were not only timber. F.M. Bailey sent his so-called *Herbarium of Queensland* of some 700 species of plants mounted in four bound volumes. Illustrating the pastoral capabilities of the colony was an enormous collection of native pasture grasses, grass seeds and fodder plants from the Queensland Acclimatisation Society, the Brisbane Botanic Gardens and Alexander Macpherson. This collection also included 55 varieties grown by Edward Way, the Director of Queen's Park, Toowoomba, where the government was undertaking experiments to combat the already alarming extinction of native grasses on the Darling Downs due to overstocking. More fibres and oils were shown by Macpherson and Carmichael (Fig. 38), and the Government Analyst Karl Theodor Staiger (who had taken up Dr Bancroft's pioneering experiments in native medicines) showed a collection of medicinal barks and oils. Further, the indefatigable Walter Hill and the Acclimatisation Society kept up a supply of live plants for Queensland's courts and for the horticultural shows held during the two exhibitions (see also Chapter 6). At Sydney they filled the balcony outside Queensland's court with greenery (Fig. 39), while at Melbourne they supplied the pineapples, staghorn and elkhorn ferns and macrozamia plants used to decorate the

court (Fig. 21). But Hill and the Acclimatisation Society were hardly rewarded for their pains, for Hill was forced to retire from his post in 1881 and the society lost its government grant in 1879, in a bid to silence critics of the colony's uncontrolled timber destruction.

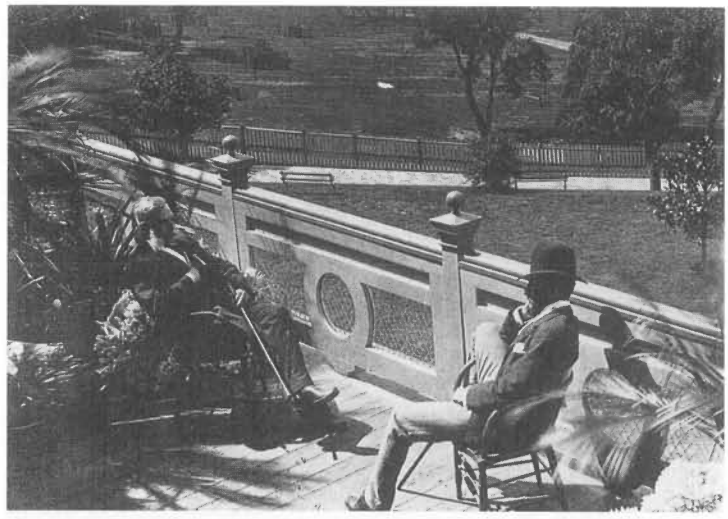


FIG. 39. The balcony outside Queensland's court at the Sydney exhibition, with its tropical plants and harbour view. Not surprisingly, the balcony became 'a place of frequent resort'. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales)

At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 Queensland boasted the largest and most varied timber collection yet shown by an Australian colony, declared 'remarkably important' by the exhibition's experts.[196] This collection was brought from all over the colony under the direction of F.M. Bailey, now the Colonial Botanist and an exhibition commissioner. Prepared by the joiner Carl Madsen of the Brisbane sawmillers Pettigrew and Son, the collection comprised 427 samples of native timbers, each shown in the form of rough planks, polished book-shaped blocks and veneers.[197] Exhibition propaganda claimed that these samples, representing only a third of the known timbers of the colony, were proof of 'great future commercial results'.[198] Native timbers were used for the 'handsome' furniture and fittings in Queensland's court and to disguise its office as a timber stand. Also in the court were an obelisk of 2,000 pieces of timber assembled by the Mackay cabinetmaker John Brown and two huge logs of cedar cut from the Blackall Range by the local farmer Isaac Burgess (Fig. 53). These logs, reported the *British Australasian* newspaper, were 'one of the sights of the Exhibition'.[199] They certainly impressed a group of Yorkshire farm labourers who were marched through Queensland's court just before embarking for the colony as immigrants. 'The soil that grow them fellows will grow something for us', one of the men remarked.[200]

Collections from previous exhibitors were also shown: fibres and oils from Macpherson and Staiger, and gums, barks, grasses and dried ferns from Bancroft and Bailey. Describing the commercial uses of these exhibits were Bancroft's *A Contribution to Pharmacy from Queensland* and Bailey's *The Flora of Queensland*, published in 1886 especially for the exhibition. More of nature's riches were shown in the mineral water tapped from the Helidon natural springs by the newly-established Helidon Spa Water Company, henceforth one of the colony's keenest exhibitors. Most popular with exhibition-goers, however, was Queensland's 'very pretty' conservatory which occupied the entire eastern side of its court (Fig. 40). Filled with live plants obtained from the colony and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, the conservatory was a tropical wonderland. Among its 'artistically arranged' contents were orchids, palms, tree ferns, staghorn ferns, bird's-nest ferns and 'grotesquely shaped' elkhorn ferns.

Timber exhibits crowded Queensland's court at Melbourne in 1888-89, reflecting its growing timber exports to the southern colonies. Again an exhibition commissioner, Bailey expanded his 1886 collection to 538 samples, again prepared by Pettigrew's sawmill and shown as planks, book-shaped blocks and veneers. This, reportedly the most varied and valuable timber collection yet shown by a British colony,[201] was accompanied by a 'full descriptive' catalogue compiled by Bailey, again an exhibition commissioner.[202] But the impact of Bailey's collection was limited by the lack of space in Queensland's court, which necessitated showing the veneers high on the south wall where, complained the

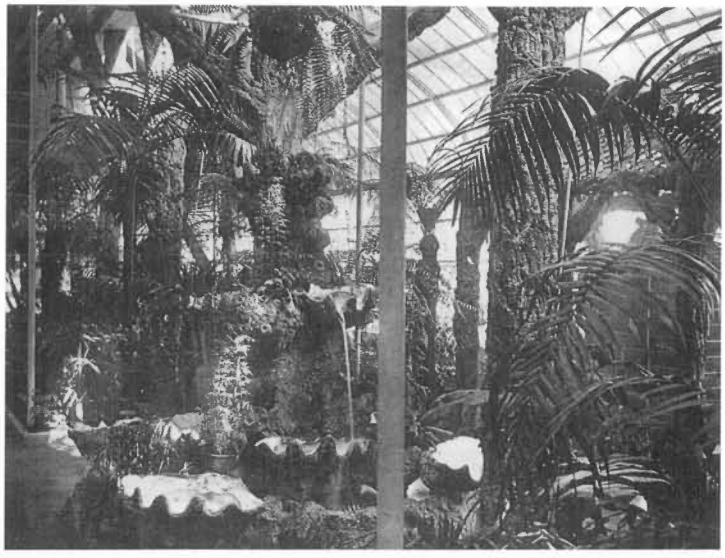


FIG. 40. Queensland's 'very pretty' conservatory at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, with its clam-shell fountain in the foreground. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Argus reporter, they could hardly be seen without opera glasses.[203] The fittings of the court were of bunya pine, as was a table made by John Hucker of Ipswich from a 14-year-old tree, showing the rapid growth of this the most 'useful' of Queensland's softwood timbers. Timber from the tablelands behind Cairns was also shown, proof of an 'inexhaustible source of revenue'[204] only waiting to be tapped by the Cairns-Herberton railway then under construction. The Cairns exhibits included a log of cedar which had come over the Barron Falls in recent floods. This was a lucky survivor of Queensland's 'biggest [timber] scandal' when, before the opening of the railway, millions of feet of cedar were 'freshed' over the falls to be smashed to matchwood below.[205] (It is estimated that over 10 million feet of cedar were lost in this appalling speculation by Burns, Philp and Company.)

Also crammed into the court were samples of joinery and fretwork from sawmillers all over the colony, and more collections of native oils, barks, gums and grasses. Prepared and catalogued by Bailey, the grasses comprised 162 kinds, a number never before equalled at an Australian exhibition.[206] In addition there were more fibres from Macpherson and 20 paintings of Queensland flora by the noted Melbourne artist Ellis Rowan, resulting from her recent visit to the north (Figs 17, 41). But Queensland's 'trump card' at the exhibition was its well-attended conservatory (Fig. 42), located in a courtyard between the main building and the annexes and occupying 2,000 square feet. The conservatory was a triumph for its organiser, F.M. Bailey, who prepared and catalogued its contents,[207] with the assistance of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens and the Acclimatisation Society, and personally supervised its installation. Here visitors could see the largest and most varied collection of economic and ornamental plants, both native and exotic, yet shown by the colony, all 'festooned and beautified' with its abundant ferns. Not surprisingly, Queensland won gold medals

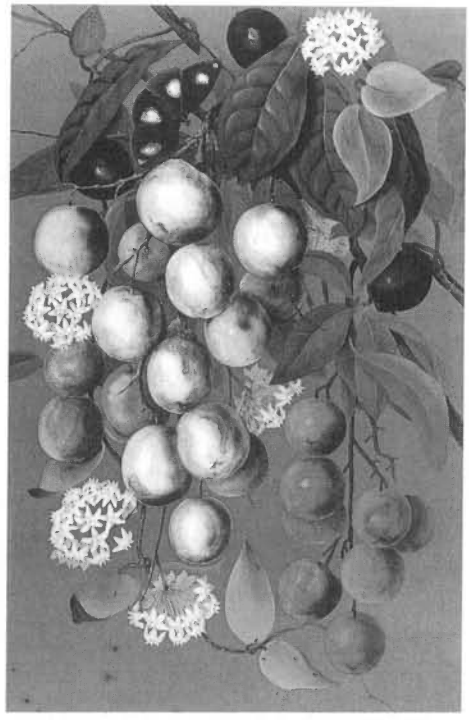


FIG. 41. Ellis Rowan's painting of *Hoya nicholsoniae*, painted at the Johnstone River in 1887 and shown at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. This painting is now in the collection of the Queensland Museum.

FIG. 42. Queensland's conservatory at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. Its display of tropical plants included spectacular tree ferns from the Hambledon Plantation of Cairns and (reaching the roof) a pawpaw tree. (National Library of Australia)

for its spectacular show in the conservatory, and for its timbers, oils, gums and grasses, and Ellis Rowan won a gold medal for her paintings.

Though Queensland did not participate officially in the Chicago exhibition of 1893, the Rockhampton pharmacist Thomas Ingham sent his own exhibit, to be shown in the British section (Fig. 43). This was a trophy from his Queensland Eucalyptus Oil Company established in 1891 to extract oils from the citron-scented *Eucalyptus citriodora* native to central Queensland. The trophy well showed how the forests could be 'useful', for already the company was operating two distilleries: one at Inghamstown which consumed 3 tons of leaves a day and another at Wallaroo which depended on some 300 Aboriginal people to maintain its supply of leaves (proving that the 'dusky sons of the forest' too could be 'useful'). The centrepiece of the trophy was a large excrescence found growing on a eucalyptus tree, around which were arranged 'characteristic Australian' animals, including: a cassowary, an emu, kangaroos, wallabies, koalas, possums, gliders and even a snake. Also part of the trophy were 60 gallons of eucalyptus oil, transformed by a fountain into a fragrant spray.[208] Ingham visited the exhibition and in August 1893 represented the Pharmaceutical Society of Queensland at Chicago's International Congress of Pharmacists. Ingham's trophy was not the only Queensland exhibit at Chicago. In the New South Wales pavilion Ellis Rowan showed another collection of paintings of Queensland flora, resulting from her more recent visits to the north in 1891 and 1892, and won another gold medal.

At the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897 the botanical exhibits shown in the agricultural court mostly came from F.M. Bailey's Museum of Economic Botany in Brisbane (established in 1890 from his exhibition collections). Now his timber collection was expanded to some 600 samples, acquainting Queenslanders with the 'vast range' of ornamental timbers lying at their 'very door'.[209] Bailey also showed more economic plants, and on a revolving screen were more native grasses grown in his own experimental plot in the nearby Acclimatisation Society's gardens (Fig. 89). Other exhibits included (the now deceased) Macpherson's fibres, supplemented with new samples from the Kamerunga State Nursery, more oils, barks and gums. Collections of timbers from the Cairns and Herberton districts foretold the destruction of Australia's last untouched domain of the red cedar. Among the Cairns Chamber of Commerce's exhibits was a 6-ton log of red cedar cut from a tree that had produced 80 feet of 'marketable' logs (Fig. 44). This log, too large to fit into the agricultural court, had to be shown in the exhibition's machinery section.

More spectacular was the large bush-house which connected the main Exhibition Building to the annexes (Fig. 45). Filled with live plants from the Acclimatisation Society's gardens, the bush-house was laid out by the society's curator William Soutter, who also laid out the exhibition's gardens. The *Queenslander* reporter declared the bush-house 'one of the most charming spots in Queensland':

> ... a perfect dream of greenery, an enchanted bower of ferns, palms and orchids, so artistically arranged, so tastefully interwoven, that one can hardly credit that it was erected by human hands

FIG. 43. The Queensland Eucalyptus Oil Company's trophy for the Chicago exhibition of 1893, which included a coat of arms, a cassowary, an emu, two kangaroos, a koala with baby, two possums and two gliders. Also sent to Chicago as part of this trophy were two rock wallabies, a black swan, a snake, birds, Aboriginal artefacts and 60 gallons of eucalyptus oil. (Queensland State Archives, PRE/137, 1892/13109, reproduced courtesy of the Dept of the Premier and Cabinet)

> in the space of a few short weeks. It is Nature made perfect.

Here, claimed the exhibition guide, Queenslanders could gain 'a more vivid idea than ever before' of the 'unequalled luxuriance' of their scrubs.[210] Covering the walls and pillars of the bush-house were more than 3,000 staghorn, bird's-nest and elkhorn ferns collected from the Blackall Range, while filling its rockeries were some 9,550 potted plants and 'many thousands' of other plants. Located in a corner of the bush-house was the 'octagon' (or 'bark hut'), an octagonal structure designed by the exhibition's architect Leslie Gordon Corrie to show the beauty and versatility of native barks and timbers. The bush-house won a gold medal at the exhibition and was generally acclaimed as one of its best attractions.

Botanical exhibits were overwhelmed by minerals in Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899. At one end of the court, however, was the previously-shown log of red cedar from Cairns, giving Londoners 'a faint idea' of the colony's timber resources. Beside this log were carvings by Thomas Blumson and William Edward Ockelford of Brisbane, showing how these resources could be 'worked up' into fine furniture.[211] Illustrating the pastoral capabilities of the colony was another collection of 153 native grasses prepared by F.M. Bailey and described in a catalogue published especially for the exhibition.[212] This collection won Bailey a gold medal. More of nature's riches were shown by Hugh Byard's eucalyptus oil exhibit. Regrettably, a plan to make Queensland's offices at the exhibition from colonial cedar had to be abandoned for want of time and the Imperial Institute declined to lend its collection of Queensland timbers.

Timber was better represented at the Glasgow exhibition of 1901, but here, again, Queensland's court was mostly a display of minerals. About 500 samples of timber were shown, along with some 'splendid' paintings of the Queensland bush by the Brisbane artists Richard Randall and Walter Jenner. By now it was apparent that Queensland's timber resources were not so 'inexhaustible', for softwoods already had to be imported and the cedar industry was virtually defunct. Moreover, the 'barren wilderness of rock and sand' where forests once stood told of serious environmental degradation.[213] This

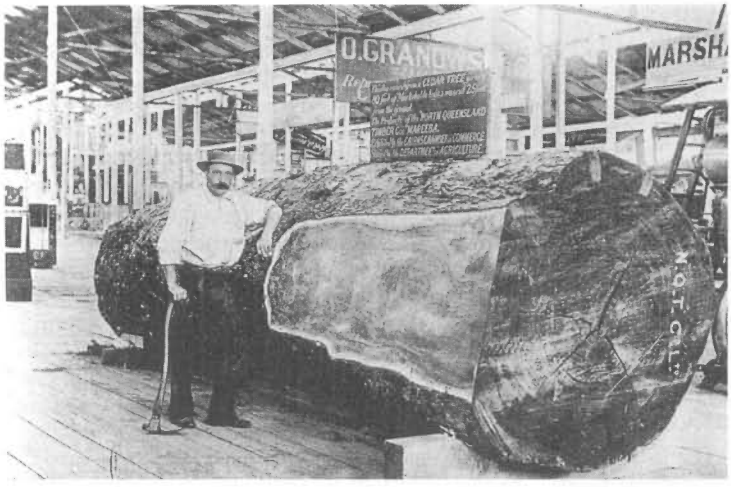


FIG. 44. The huge cedar log shown by the Cairns Chamber of Commerce at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. (*Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Aug. 1897)

situation did not begin to reverse until 1905 when Queensland's first Director of Forests was appointed. But government land policy continued to favour agricultural and pastoral settlement over forest preservation, and it was not until the 1930s that timber licensing and re-afforestation were better administered in Queensland.

Besides the exhibits of flora described above, the exhibits of fauna provide further evidence of destruction. As early as the Paris event of 1855, Queensland's dugong (or sea cow) was featured at exhibitions. Prized for its oil (a 'superior' medicine to cod liver oil), its flesh (for bacon and lard), its skin (for glue and 'tough leather') and even its bones and tusks (for 'good second-rate ivory'), colonists soon found that 'every part' of the dugong could be turned to profit.[214] So intensively was the dugong 'fished' off southern Queensland that by the early 1860s its fate was already 'sealed'. Queensland's pioneer exhibitor of dugong oil was the Brisbane medical practitioner Dr William Hobbs, proprietor of the St Helena dugong oil factory and a commissioner for the exhibitions of 1862 and 1867. At the succeeding Philadelphia and Paris events John Lionel Ching of the Hervey Bay fishery showed not only dozens of bottles of dugong oil but also dugong skeletons, skulls, tusks, teeth, leather and a dugong calf in spirits. Later whole mounted dugongs, up to nine feet long, became 'conspicuous' among Queensland's exhibits (Fig. 53), until the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. Already by then the dugong had become too scarce in the south to maintain its commercial profitbility, though it was still 'fished' into the 1890s further north at Repulse Bay, near Mackay.

More tempting to 19th-century epicures were Queensland's bêche-de-mer and turtles. From as early as the 1820s the bêche-de-mer (or trepang) was collected in north Queensland waters for export to China where it was regarded as a delicacy. The dried bêche-de-mer so prized by the Chinese won little favour at exhibitions, being likened to 'mouldy over-kept bananas'.[215] On the other hand Queensland's bêche-de-mer and turtle soup exhibits were highly acclaimed and, as

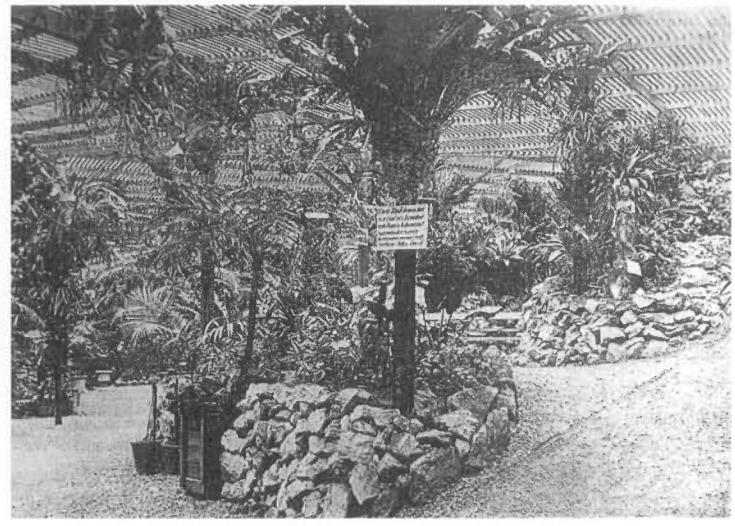


FIG. 45. The bush-house at the Queensland International Exhibition, called 'Nature made perfect'. (*Queenslander*, 19 June 1897)

FIG. 46. Queensland's pearl-shell trophy at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. Beyond are the wool exhibits. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

noted in Chapter 2, secured sales at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Later Queensland's turtle soup exhibits at the Greater Britain Exhibition won instant acclaim when they were all consumed at a banquet for the opening of its court! Queensland's main exhibitor of bêche-de-mer and turtle soups was its best known supplier of preserved delicacies, Brainard Skinner of Brisbane, and, following his death in 1896, his widow Catherine Skinner. Turtles were also featured at exhibitions as tortoise-shell, tinned 'jelly' (recommended for invalids) and as mounted specimens. Mounted turtles were shown at Sydney and Melbourne in 1879-81 and at London in 1886 (Fig. 87), while two live turtles were shown at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, one in the aquarium and the other in the western lake. The harvesting of the green turtle continued until 1950 when turtles became totally protected in Queensland waters.

Countless exhibits of shells, corals and sponges also record the harvesting of the sea's riches. Most valuable was the pearl-shell to be found in the waters of the Torres Strait, promising 'a veritable *jeweller's shop*' of wealth. From the 1860s pearl-shell was harvested for export to London for button manufacture and 'divers artistic uses'. At the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81 Queensland showed trophies of 2 tons of pearl-shells (Fig. 21) and admonished visitors to dismiss any 'tales' of the exhaustibility of its shell stocks.[216] These 'tales' had some substance, however, for soon afterwards the *Pearl-shell and Bêche-de-mer Fisheries Act of 1881* was passed to regulate the rapidly growing pearl-shell industry. The value of shell exports had reached almost £70,000 annually by 1886 when Queensland showed its next pearl-shell trophy at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (Fig. 46). This kiosk-type trophy was covered in crimson plush decorated with hundreds of pearl-shells, while inside the kiosk was a case containing pearls, painted pearl-shells and pearl-shells made into 'novel' table ornaments.

FIG. 47. Queensland's pearl-shell trophy at the Glasgow exhibition of 1901. The trophy looked its best under the coloured electric lamps that illuminated the Queensland court. (*British Australasian*, 8 Aug. 1901)

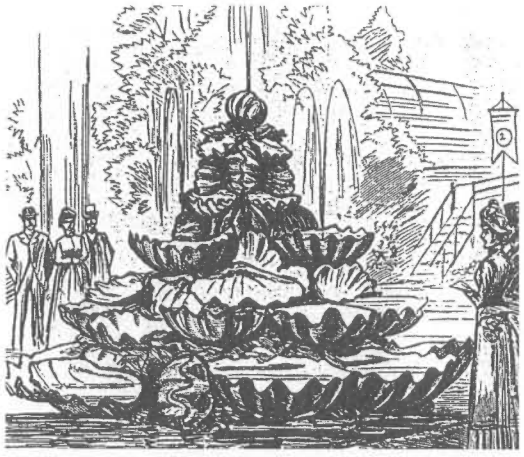


FIG. 48. One of the spectacular clam-shell fountains in the water-basin adjoining Queensland's court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. (*Illustrated London News*, 28 Aug. 1886)

Most conspicuous of Queensland's trophies at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 was a 'marine' trophy from Burns, Philp and Company of Thursday Island, the colony's largest exporter of pearl-shell. This trophy, made of 6 tons of pearl-shells piled nearly 20 feet high on a base of clams and corals, won a silver medal. More intensive harvesting by the schooner system (of large fleets with a mother schooner) led to such rapid decline in shell stocks that Queensland's 'Pearl King' James Clark had to move his fleet north to the Dutch-controlled waters of Aru in 1905. Meanwhile at the Queensland International Exhibition Clark put on a show of 'priceless' pearls (Fig. 94) and a 'grotto' made of 4 tons of pearl-shells. Finally at Glasgow in 1901 Queensland showed its grandest-ever pearl-shell trophy (Fig. 47), another kiosk festooned with white nautilus and green-tipped snail shells as well as gleaming pearl-shells, all illuminated in rainbow colours. 'No illustration can satisfactorily convey an idea of the scene', raved the *Scots Pictorial*.[217] Of course, exhibition-goers were unaware that Queensland's pearl-shell stocks were now so depleted that the trochus shell would soon become the mainstay of its shell exports.

Other shells and corals were collected, but more for decoration than export. In 1893 William Saville-Kent, Queensland's first Commissioner of Fisheries, wrote that 'large quantities' of shells and corals from the Great Barrier Reef were 'orthodox adornment' for Australia's 'innumerable' oyster saloons and that many of the more ornamental varieties found a ready market for household decoration.[218] Clam-shells (*Tridacna gigas*) were used to decorate the floor of Queensland's court at Melbourne in 1880-81. Giant clams were used later at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition to 'guard' the entrance to Queensland's court and to make a spectacular fountain in its conservatory (Fig. 40). More of these fountains were built in the adjoining water-basin (Fig. 48). Made from 375 pairs of 'monster' shells (each pair weighing up to 700 pounds) collected off Cooktown and shipped to London at great effort and expense, these fountains were a sensation with the London public. As a Queensland official reported:

> To see these clam-shells set out virtually by the hundred, in the basin adjoining the court, was a veritable revelation to visitors. Their fitness for garden decoration was at once recognised.[219]

On his visit to Queensland's court the Prince of Wales was so impressed by the clams that he took off 'a few' for around his fish ponds at Sandringham.

Queensland's corals could also impress, like its 'fair show' of red and white corals at London in 1872 (Fig. 8). Queensland's main exhibitor of corals was the Bowen coral dealer Eliza Heron, who won awards at the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions. Fish exhibits were not so impressive, except for the flowers and glass shades made of barramundi scales shown by Lucy Isabel de Jersey of Brisbane from 1879 until her death in 1890. For the fisheries court at Melbourne in 1888-89 the Queensland Museum supplied an award-winning collection of 88 'food' fish. For the Greater Britain and Glasgow exhibitions the Brisbane artist-taxidermist Anthony Alder supplied coloured casts of Queensland fish.

Likewise the vast quantities of marsupial skins (often 'furred') shown at exhibitions record the harvesting of the land fauna. Colonists saw native marsupials as destructive 'vermin' to be exterminated so grasses could be saved for stock. Moreover, marsupials could be 'useful' for their skins, for eating and for the popular Australian 'sport' of kangaroo hunting. A 'great attraction' of Queensland's court at Philadelphia were the skins of 12 kangaroos, 22 wallabies and 5 wallaroos, all from T.B. Stephens' Ekibin Tannery. Possum rugs also made fine exhibits, as at Vienna in 1873 where both emu and possum rugs were

FIG. 49. Looking back on Queensland's fur trophy at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. In the foreground are corals, New Guinea 'curios' and a model of the Poole Island Freezing Works. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

'capitally displayed'.[220] At Sydney and Melbourne in 1879-81 whole screens were draped with marsupial skins and rugs (Fig. 85), proof of the efficacy of Queensland's *Marsupials Destruction Act of 1877* which encouraged unprecedented slaughter of native animals by the payment of government bounties for their scalps.

At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Queensland had so many skins that most had to be shown outside its court, hung on the walls of the exhibition's electric lighting shed. In the court itself were a fur trophy crowned by a mounted kangaroo (Fig. 49) and a collection of 'useful articles' prepared by the Brisbane furrier and taxidermist Louis Wittgenstein. These included possum muffs and foot-warmers (with possum heads attached), possum and wallaby rugs and mats (with both heads and claws attached) and possum capes, coats, caps and gloves — which won scant praise for they were no longer fashionable in London. Also at this event the South Toolburra selector George Wickham showed kangaroo sinews 'applicable as sutures in surgical operations'. Later at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 Wittgenstein showed more furs and skins as part of his exhibit of his new 'lightning' process of fellmongering, wool-scouring and tanning. Here, also, the Queensland Museum showed a mounted kangaroo and a series of rare mammals from the north-eastern coast, including the recently-discovered tree kangaroo. By 1899, when marsupial skins were shown again at the Greater Britain Exhibition, the government had paid bounties on over 12 million scalps in the 20 years since the passing of the *Marsupials Destruction Act*. The destruction of marsupials continued even after a comprehensive *Animals and Birds Act* was passed in 1921.

Most hated of all fauna was the dingo, the enemy of both man and beast. No encouragement was needed for its slaughter, indeed the

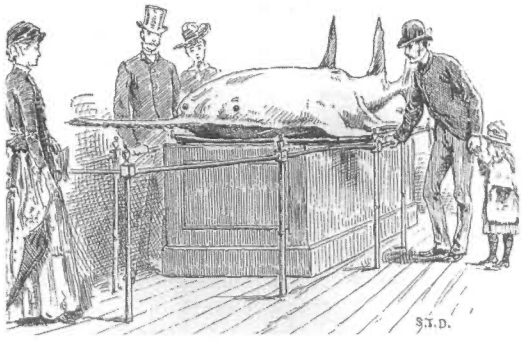


FIG. 50. Queensland's 'formidable' swordfish was an object of great curiosity at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (*Illustrated London News*, 28 Aug. 1886)

'wholesale destruction' of the dingo was sometimes blamed for an over-population of marsupials. The dingo was shown at exhibitions mostly as skins, proving how a 'destructive animal' could be 'utilised in a most acceptable way to the settler'.[221] In addition, mounted dingoes were shown at the Colonial and Indian and Queensland International exhibitions. At the former Queensland also had its live dingo mentioned in Chapter 2, presumably one of the live animals from the colonies kept in a special section of the exhibition's grounds. Hated reptiles could also be 'useful' to the colonist, and what better proof than the goanna oil 'used by the bushmen for sprains, etc.' shown at London in 1862.[222]

Some animals were shown more as curiosities than as useful or profitable commodities. Queensland had its 'fair share' of Australia's animal curiosities, wrote the exhibition propagandist Price Fletcher. In Queensland, he continued:

> The immigrant, whether he be a scientific scholar or simply an observer, will find a constant book of novelty open for inspection. It is this charm of novelty which makes this Austral land such a paradise to the lover of nature.[223]

First of these curiosities to be shown at exhibitions were the 'quaint' mounted echidna and platypus sent to London in 1862 by the Warwick pastoralist J. Wildash. Other curiosities sent later to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition included a 'formidable' swordfish from Moreton Bay (Fig. 50), the skin of a crocodile 'with skull and jaw intact' from Mackay, and the skin of a 21-foot 'carpet snake', the largest yet found in the colony, from Cooktown.[224] Also at this event Queensland's infamous crocodiles (then mistakenly

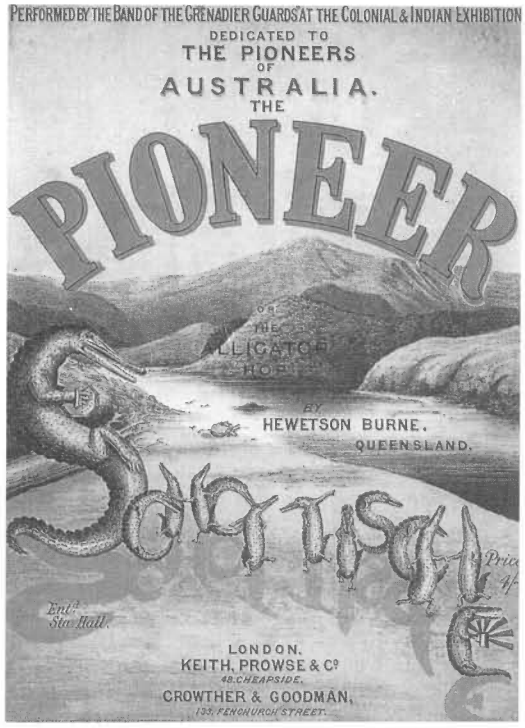


FIG. 51. From the music celebrating Queensland's infamous crocodiles, performed by the Grenadier Guards at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

called 'alligators') were celebrated in music in *The Pioneer Schottische or the Alligator Hop*, composed by Hewetson Burne of Queensland and performed by the band of the Grenadier Guards (Fig. 51). Another crocodile from Mackay, this time mounted, was sent to Melbourne in 1888-89.

Emu eggs were another colonial curiosity, both in their natural form or crafted by silversmiths into curious ornaments and utilities. Among Queensland's most admired exhibits at the London exhibition of 1872 were a series of emu eggs mounted in silver as 'beautiful table ornaments': a claret jug, cup, mug, sugar basin, goblet and inkstand.[225] At Melbourne in 1888-89 Queensland had emu eggs mounted 'in an endless variety of ways',[226] while at the Greater Britain Exhibition O.J. Parker of London (possibly a former colonist) showed a prize-winning platypus rug. Fortunately for the platypus, the weight of such rugs made them less desirable than possum rugs.

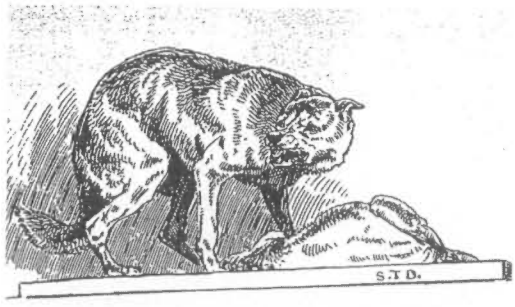


FIG. 52. Anthony Alder's group of a dingo killing a kangaroo, shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (*Illustrated London News*, 28 Aug. 1886)

Also curious were the animal groups commissioned for exhibitions from skilled taxidermists and reflecting the Victorian taste for melodrama. For the Sydney and Melbourne events of 1879-81 the versatile Alder prepared a series of groups which the *Argus* reporter found 'serio-comic in a high degree'.[227] These were: *No Laughing Matter* depicting a death struggle between three 'laughing' kookaburras and a carpet snake; *In Extremis* and *The Successful Piscator* depicting more struggles between a koala, a fish and eagles; and *A Surprise at the Mid-day Camp* depicting some startled wallabies. So disappointed was Alder when his masterwork *No Laughing Matter* failed to win a First Order of Merit at the Sydney exhibition that he lodged an official complaint.[228] For an anonymous correspondent to the *Brisbane Courier* Alder's groups were 'unsurpassed for taste and effect by the performance of any taxidermist whatever':

> To arrange a group of showily-coloured birds in a glass case is within the capacity of any taxidermist, but ... to bring vividly before the dwellers in cities glimpses of wild suffering and enjoyment, as Mr Alder has done, is to elevate a mechanical acquirement into a fine art.[229]

Alder showed more of his artistry at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, in groups of a dingo standing 'ferociously triumphant' over a young kangaroo (Fig. 52) and of an eagle killing a wallaby. Also for this event the famous London taxidermist and wildlife publisher Rowland Ward prepared a whole 'forest scene' of Queensland fauna (Fig. 53), depicting a tree snake and other reptiles 'glaring unpleasantly' at a choice assortment of birds. Also included in this the grandest of Queensland's animal groups were an emu, a cassowary, a platypus (said to be the 'last link' between mammal and bird), an echidna and a series of marsupials. The 'grotesqueness' and 'curious shapes' of these animals made Queensland's group an object of great curiosity.[230] Some observers judged it 'not a mean rival' to Ward's better known Indian jungle scene also prepared for this exhibition[231] and shown again at London's Empire of India Exhibition of 1895-96.

Most curious of all was Queensland's lungfish (*Neoceratodus forsteri*) found in the Mary and Burnett rivers. First described in 1870, the lungfish aroused much interest in the scientific world as the sole survivor of a Mesozoic order of animals thought to be intermediate between the fish and the lizard and previously known only from fossil teeth.[232] The lungfish also aroused popular interest as a curious 'amphibian' for, in addition to its fish-like gills, it has a lung which enables it to breathe air. The lungfish made its exhibition debut in Queensland's courts at Paris in 1878 and at Sydney and Melbourne in 1879-81. At Sydney it was shown first as a preserved specimen from the Queensland Museum, complete with 'preserved lung and contents of stomach'. Then in October 1879, soon after the exhibition opened, two live specimens were shipped south by George W. Roebuck, the government sheep inspector at Maryborough, at the urging of Queensland's commissioners. These fish were shown in a tank of water beside which was placed a patch of grass so they could demonstrate the efficiency of their lungs, making for an exhibit of 'entirely unique interest'.[233] It seems the fish did not survive, for only the preserved specimen was sent on to Melbourne in 1880. More live specimens were shown at Melbourne's later event of 1888-89. The lungfish reappeared at the Queensland International and Glasgow exhibitions as plaster casts made by Anthony Alder, who also made casts for the British Museum and for Queensland's court at the Imperial Institute.

Some animals were shown for their decorative qualities. Mounted birds of rich and varied plumage were an attraction of Queensland's courts from 1862 when the British zoologist E. Ward wrote that its 'numerous' bird collection (including six lyrebirds) called for much 'admiration'.[234] For the Paris exhibition of 1867 the local committee at Bowen sent no less than 55 birds and a collection of local insects. For London's event of 1872 Richard Daintree planned to 'work up' some of the more richly-plumaged birds into the 'bird jewellery' then fashionable in England.[235]

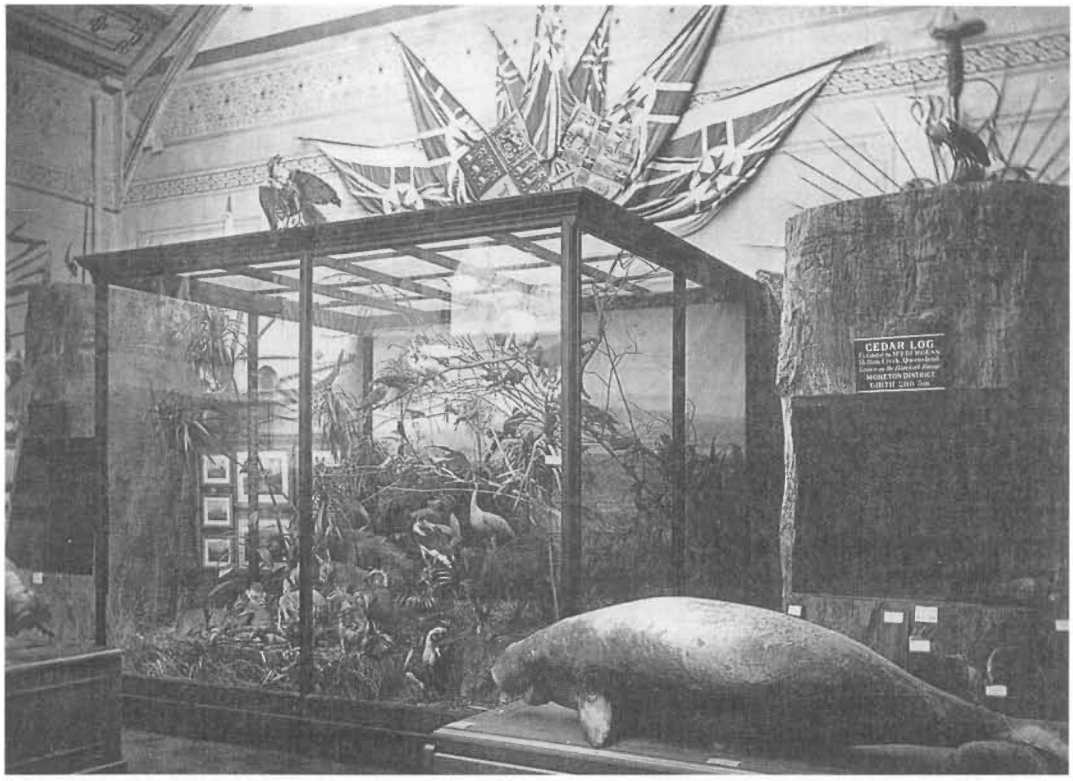


FIG. 53. Queensland's 'forest scene' (left) at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, prepared by Rowland Ward. On the right are a mounted dugong and a log of cedar from the Blackall Range. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Though bird plumage became increasingly fashionable throughout the Western world in later years, Queensland made no more gestures to the plumage trade at exhibitions. In Queensland, it seems, birds were more 'useful' for shooting, eating and exhibiting than for their plumage. So active was the shooting that the *Native Birds Protection Act of 1877* was passed to control the slaughter of birds in the settled areas of the colony, but the act did not attempt to control shooting for museum and other exhibits.[236] For the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81 the telegraph worker Tom A. Gulliver of Thornborough sent 95 birds from the Norman River,[237] and the Brisbane naturalist Elizabeth Coxen sent a fine series of rifle birds, bower birds and regent birds, some mounted by her late husband, the ornithologist (and former exhibition commissioner and Queensland Museum founder) Charles Coxen (Fig. 54). At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Queensland could boast a whole aviary of about 60 live birds and at least 200 dead specimens. These were surpassed by its aviary of about 250 live birds at Melbourne in 1888-89,[238] and its many mounted specimens which included an emu and a cassowary. Another 'fine specimen' of a cassowary was shown in the Cairns district exhibit at the Queensland International Exhibition.

Equally decorative were the collections of butterflies, moths and beetles which showed the 'truly multitudinous' variety of insect life in the colony.[239] Some 'gorgeous' butterflies added colour to Queensland's annexe at London in 1873. At the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81 the well-known Brisbane naturalist and pioneer entomologist, Silvester Diggles, showed prize-winning collections of butterflies and beetles. Here also the Rockhampton school teacher G.L. Pilcher, a member of the Rockhampton School of Arts, contributed six cases of entomological specimens from central Queensland. At London in 1886 the Cooktown

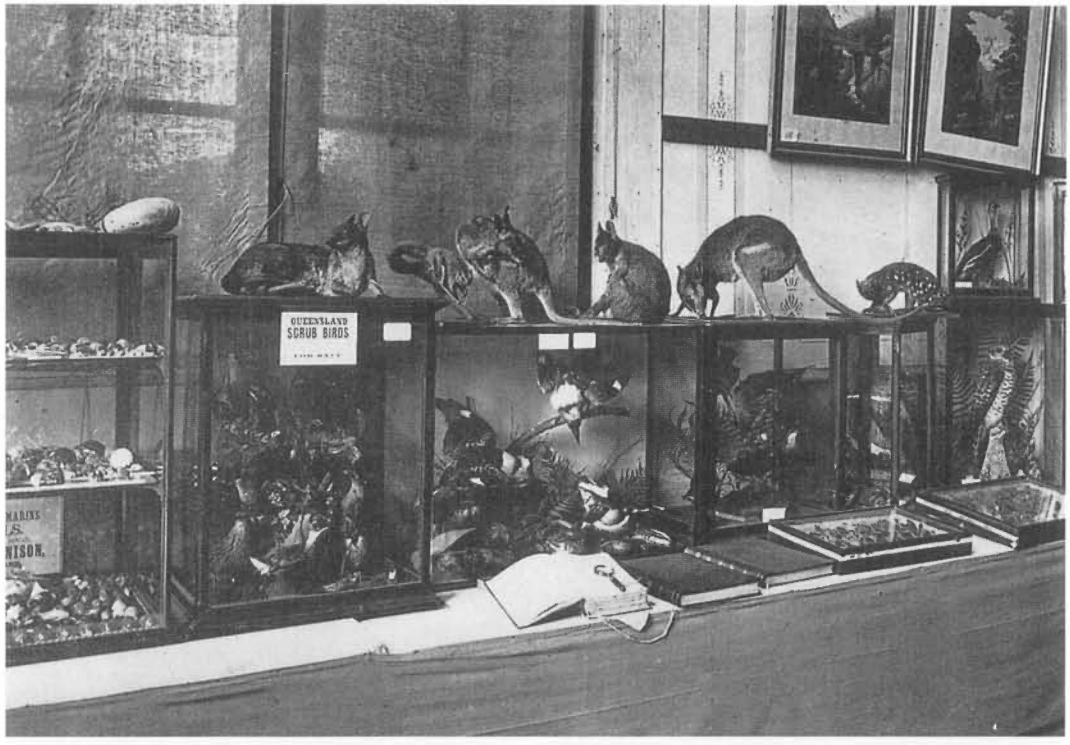


FIG. 54. Mounted specimens in Queensland's court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80. Most of the birds were from Elizabeth Coxen, while the 'wild animals' above were from the Queensland Museum. (Mitchell Library, State library of New South Wales)

agent James C. Baird showed a case of specimens from the north.

Here I have shown how Queensland's natural resources were recklessly exploited for economic gain and other 'useful ends', on the premise that they were both 'inexhaustible' and exploitable. By the turn of the century it was apparent that these resources were not so inexhaustible, though effective conservation action was not taken in Queensland until well into this century. Some of the flora and fauna exhibits, such as timber and pearl-shells, signified considerable export profits, but the flora exhibits signified more than just profits. Since in the 19th century luxuriant forests were (mistakenly) thought to indicate highly fertile soils, Queensland's timber exhibits were seen as proof of its great potential for agricultural production. Likewise its native grass exhibits were proof of its great pastoral capabilities. By contrast many of Queensland's fauna exhibits had no purpose other than to excite interest in its 'grotesque' and 'curious' forms of animal life. In all, the flora and fauna exhibits conveyed an image of a 'progressive' colony capable of exploiting its vast natural resources to the full.

CHAPTER 4

'FINE SPECIMENS' OF ABORIGINES

International exhibitions surveyed the world's civilisation and pointed to the future of mankind in an era of imperial expansion. By presenting visitors with material evidence of human progress, exhibitions facilitated comparison of nations and races, giving visible reality to prevailing theory about race, culture and the evolution of mankind. Exhibits were presented so as to emphasise the 'great differences' between races — their 'degrees of barbarism' and of 'civilisation'.[240] From the late 1880s, exhibits came to include live people, adding a new dimension of 'living ethnology' which soon became indistinguishable from 'freak shows' and circus entertainment. In this chapter I examine how

Queensland represented its indigenous people at exhibitions, both in official exhibits and in amusements. I show that these people were used in exhibitions as hapless players in a game of power, politics, greed and indifference. This reflected a world view, endorsed at the highest level in the colony, that Australian Aboriginal people were one of the most, if not *the* most primitive race of mankind.

As I have previously noted, the racial underpinnings of overseas exhibitions have been well documented. Indeed notions of racial superiority and inferiority were so entrenched in early 20th-century exhibitions that even the layout and colour scheme of Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition (1901) signified the onward march of — white — American civilisation. Mackenzie has pointed to the tendency of British exhibitions to seek out recently conquered peoples in order to make their appearance topical: 'Yesterday's enemies, the perpetrators of yesterday's "barbarism", became today's exhibits ... but now set on the path to civilisation'.[241]

Prevailing scientific theory provided exhibitions with a framework for classifying the world's races on an evolutionary scale, a task that preoccupied the new discipline of anthropology in the late 19th century. It was inevitable that Darwin's theory of natural selection should be linked to the theme of progress. In 1850 Herbert Spencer had built on the Malthusian doctrine of human progress through struggle to coin the phrase 'survival of the fittest'. Also in 1850, the Scottish anatomist Robert Knox had published *The Races of Man* which claimed race as the sole determinant of human history. The concept of evolutionary struggle was seized on by white imperialists to justify the conquest and supplanting of indigenous peoples. Science lent authority to this new ideology of race, which asserted that moral and intellectual traits were biologically determined, and confused culture and physical characteristics. 'Race' acquired an all-inclusive meaning and became, as Douglas Lorimer puts it, 'the most significant determinant of men's past, present and future'.[242] By the 1860s, 'anthropology and racial determinism had become almost synonyms'. Marvin Harris continues: 'Within anthropology, the only issue was whether the 'inferior' races could legitimately aspire to improvement'.[243] In the ensuing discourse of race, anthropologists used language, anthropometry, material culture, social structure or ritual to classify races on a scale which confirmed the power relations of colonist and colonised. In 1870 Max Müller in the *Anthropological Review* proposed a sevenfold classification which left little doubt about the losers and winners in the 'struggle for survival': the Australian Aborigine was placed on the bottom; with the New Guinea native, Melanesian and Polynesian on the next two levels above; and the European type at the top of the scale.[244] Conflicting racial theories based on Biblical interpretation agreed with the evolutionary theories on one point: that the Australian Aborigine was in a state of degradation or 'decay', as proposed in a pamphlet written for the Chicago exhibition,[245] and hence was doomed to perish.

In deconstructing the assumptions of the past, scholars have argued that the 'primitive society' defined by 19th-century theorists is more a reflection of Victorian mores than of empirical observation — a voyeuristic world of cannibalism, fetishism and sexual deviance stereotyped as the other end of the scale from Christian civilisation. Savagery unknown to 'civilisation' became a familiar catchcry for ethnological displays at exhibitions, where the dividing line between science and entertainment was as thin as the conflation of cultural and biological concepts. Since 19th-century theorists came from the respectable ranks of society, their perceptions of race were shaped by the values of their mainly upper middle-class background, which also distanced them from the lower orders of their own society. From this position of cultural dominance, 'inferior' races were objectified and analysed: 'What is often called the black soul is a white man's artefact', writes Fanon.[246] The artefacts produced by 'primitive society' became 'curios' or 'curiosities' and were generally displayed in a decontextualised jumble, except at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, where an evolutionary display and classification system drew parallels between Australian Aboriginal culture and that of prehistoric Britons.

Nineteenth-century theorists saw the decline of coloured races before the advance of European colonists as evidence of the application of Darwinian principles to mankind, and as justification for aggressive collecting by imperial museums. The view that Australian Aboriginal people represented the lowest type of humanity and, in the evolutionary scheme, were doomed to perish, made them and their artefacts objects of great curiosity. Queensland's remote frontiers, where these people could be found in their 'uncivilised'

state, became a hunting-ground for collectors of exhibits for circuses, exhibitions and museums. By 1852, even before Darwinian theory was applied to humans, an Aboriginal man from Queensland had appeared in a circus in Europe and Aboriginal performers became common in Australian circuses.[247] Robert Bogdan and others have shown how 'natives' were publicly exhibited throughout the 19th century along with other culturally strange people such as freaks and monsters, and how oddity and savagery were exaggerated in the quest for the exotic.[248]

Implicit in this ethnocentric view of Australian Aboriginal people was the assumption that they were 'deformed' and 'ugly', not the 'Noble Savages' seen by 18th-century travellers. This aversion often took on the character of a moral judgement. The artist Ellis Rowan 'shivered' with excitement as she observed instances of 'cannibalism', superstition, mutilation, brutality and genocide among the 'wild' people of north Queensland. To Rowan, they were 'a wretched-looking, misshapen and repulsive race'.[249] In 'To a Black Gin', published in 1890, the Queensland poet Brunton Stephens wrote:

> Thou art not beautiful, I tell thee plainly,
> Oh! thou ungainliest of things ungainly;
> Who thinks thee less than hideous dotes insanely...
>
> Thy skull development mine eye displeases;
> Thou wilt not suffer much from brain diseases;
> Thy facial angle forty-five degrees is ...
>
> Eve's daughter! With that skull! and that complexion?
> What principle of 'Natural Selection'
> Gave thee with Eve the remotest connection?[250]

The significance of this virulent poem becomes apparent when one considers that at the time Stephens was a senior clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office, the government agency charged with the oversight of the colony's indigenous people. Hence it is not surprising that they were either overlooked at exhibitions or used to reaffirm an unquestioning faith in white superiority.

Since Aboriginal people signified the very antithesis of progress, they were stereotyped in exhibitions as a foil to 'Australian progress', measured by how much colonists were transforming a land once roamed by primitives incapable of exploiting its resources. In 1879 visitors to Sydney's exhibition witnessed the coming of age of 'a vast continent only reclaimed from desolation, solitude and barbarism within the memories of our fathers', while an exhibition guide described our Aboriginal 'predecessors' as having 'no history worth mentioning' and being 'much nicer to read of than to see'.[251] Exhibits, rhetoric and, occasionally, amusements, drew stark contrasts between 'the shudd'ring savage' and the 'progressive' colonist, and between 'the primeval forest' and the burgeoning Australian cities.[252] South Australia's 'bush scene' at the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 showed the 'progress' brought by the colonist to 'the desert of civilisation',[253] while its Aboriginal diorama at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition confirmed that 'no progress could have been made in a thousand years, without the advent of the colonist'.[254] Queensland's commissioners for this event planned to illustrate the progressive development of their colony by showing an Aboriginal mia-mia and a colonist's bark hut side-by-side with photographs of the 'more pretentious private and public edifices'. The mia-mia was eventually shown only in miniature, in Blackman's model of a stockyard, but it served the same purpose:

> It [the model] consists of three portions — a stockyard with all necessary adjuncts, to denote civilised life; a bark humpy, with its rather primitive surroundings, representing semi-civilised life; and a completely equipped blacks' camp, to furnish the idea of the uncivilised.[255]

Aboriginal people were edited out of Melbourne's exhibitions of 1880-81 and 1888-89. The latter, which aimed to forge 'an Australian character' from the centennial celebrations, provides an insight into the emerging national ethos. The official exhibition rhetoric made no reference to Australia's convict origins and dismissed Aboriginal culture as 'barbarism' unworthy of recognition. By contrast, Maoris were accorded an official place in New Zealand events. The report of the New Zealand Exhibition of 1865 insisted that its exhibits 'would have been incomplete' without a large section on Maori culture.[256] Most Australian exhibitions, including the Queensland International Exhibition, did not include a special section or even a class for Aboriginal artefacts, which meant that — if shown at all — they were generally subsumed by their European counterparts in such classes as 'Weapons', 'Basketry' or 'Education and science'. Aboriginal people fared no better in overseas events for which Queensland's commissioners were able to devise their own classification systems for their exhibits (usually predetermined by host countries): at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Aboriginal artefacts were linked with natural history in a joint category of exotica,

while at the Greater Britain Exhibition artefacts were simply eliminated.

Aboriginal people were not a prominent feature of Queensland's courts until the Sydney exhibition. Private collectors had sent small numbers of Aboriginal 'curios' to earlier events, but their minor role is explained by Angus Mackay in an essay written for Queensland's display at Paris in 1878: 'The native weapons are sent as matters of curiosity only, neither the natives nor their weapons being of much moment to the colonists'.[257] Queensland's displays at London, Vienna and Philadelphia in the 1870s had life-sized photographs of Aboriginal people (Fig. 8), which were said to present 'a picture of the lowest surviving human race'.[258] By the time of Philadelphia, the Queensland Aborigine was already reported to be 'fast sharing the fate of the American Indian' and in 1885 the commissioners for the Colonial and Indian exhibition complained that artefacts had become difficult to obtain.[259] These are the only passing references in exhibition propaganda to the extermination brought by violence, disease, opium, alcohol and neglect which reduced the colony's Aboriginal population from a conservatively estimated 100,000 to 200,000 at the time of the first European contact to some 25,000 by the end of the century, a more rapid decline than occurred in other sparsely-settled Australian colonies.

The Sydney exhibition of 1879-80 was exceptional among Australian exhibitions in including an ethnological court (Fig. 55) among its official exhibits and also Fijian 'cannibal' dancers and 'strangely-attired' Maoris among its amusements. The impetus for the court seems to have come from the Australian Museum, Sydney, and from Dr (later Sir) James Hector, the Executive Commissioner for New Zealand and Director of the Colonial Museum of New Zealand, Wellington. The court had a shaky beginning, for when Hector arrived from New Zealand in August 1879 with his ethnological collection, he was advised that 'the scheme for their exhibition had been abandoned'.[260] With undertakings of loans from other colonies and the Australian Museum, the court proceeded and eventually opened on the Prince of Wales' Birthday holiday on 10 November, almost two months after the start of the exhibition. Billed as the most comprehensive collection of South Pacific ethnology yet assembled, the 5,200 exhibits grouped by race provided ample 'points of comparison' between the region's indigenous peoples. The exhibits included skulls and skeletons, poisoned spears and arrows, the charred remains of a cannibal feast, and 'grotesque' carvings. The official conclusion drawn from such comparison fitted the racial theory of the day: the Maori was 'in every way superior', the virile and warlike New Guinea native was next in progression, the Australian Aborigine was headed for extinction.[261] Aboriginal, New Guinea and Polynesian artefacts were loaned to the ethnological court by the Queensland Museum and the Colonial Secretary, A.H. Palmer,[262] both later awarded bronze medals for their contributions. The court appealed to a macabre fascination for objects never before seen by 'civilised' eyes and, in the case of the Aborigine, fast disappearing. The obvious popularity of this court, located in the eastern transept directly above the Queensland court, no doubt provided inspiration for the additions made to the latter in the exhibition's final months.

In January 1880 a pair of mummified figures from Stephen Island in the Torres Strait were put on prominent display in the Queensland court. These were on loan from Colonial Secretary Palmer and had recently been shown in his Brisbane office, having been taken in December 1879 by the government schooner, the *Pearl*, during patrol duties in the north.[263] Mockingly dubbed 'distinguished Queenslanders' when they arrived in Sydney, these mummies were said to present 'a striking contrast to the products of art and industry by which they are surrounded'.[264] A report from the *Sydney Morning Herald* continues:

> The 'posthumous man' has a mate of the softer, frailer, weaker — or whatever adjective may best suit mortality in this desiccated condition — let us say, more diminutive sex, and the two stood erect, side by side ... They are not, however, very exhilarating spectacles, and struck us as rather a painful satire on humanity ... Happily, embalming is not a custom of our race ... Better, surely, to resolve into primal elements than to stand grinning through future cycles for the edification of the curious.[265]

In February 1880 a third mummified figure, 'the Aboriginal Cheops', was added to Queensland's court, on loan from another private collector, Ferdinand Sachs, a Townsville banker and pastoralist. This mummy was reputedly the remains of Naada, a so-called 'King' of the Trinity Bay tribes of north Queensland, who were reported to be still 'much distressed' by the theft which had occurred in August 1876 at the hands of an exploring expedition led by Sachs.[266] Accounts of the expedition show

FIG. 55. The Queensland court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80, with the ethnological court above and Queensland's timber trophy (left) and railway carriage in the foreground. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

that the mummy had been taken from a tree platform, which was only an initial stage in a mourning process before its burial.[267] Hence removal of the mummy denied the spirit of the dead its passage to the ancestral world, constituting a brutal cultural affront to the Trinity Bay people who were yet to be taught the benefits of 'civilisation'.

Along with other Aboriginal and New Guinea 'curios' and 'curiosities', all three mummies were sent on to the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81, where the grisly spectacle proved a cultural affront to Europeans. The *Argus* reported:

> ... these specimens are decidedly more curious than pleasing. The dried-up flesh of a dingy red colour, the open staring eyes, the desiccated rigidity of the limbs and bodies ... form a picture that fills one with vague awe, and brings strange and remote ideas and associations into the mind ...

Melbourne's *Age* confirmed that these 'curious looking creatures' were 'one of the sights of the Exhibition'.[268] Aboriginal exhibits were not a prominent feature of Queensland's courts thereafter.

At later exhibitions, when Queensland could boast a new attraction, a neighbouring colony,[269] attention shifted to New Guinea and the productions of its indigenous people. Their higher place on the racial scale allowed them to escape the derision directed at Australian Aboriginal people in exhibitions. New Guinea artefacts, admittedly 'rude' by Western standards, were conceded to have 'a certain amount of barbarous, artistic taste in their manufacture'.[270] A large collection of New Guinea ethnology, including models of native villages and boats, filled a section of Queensland's court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (Fig. 56). The level of civilisation represented here was of topical interest in London

FIG. 56. The New Guinea exhibits in Queensland's court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

while the Australian colonies urged Britain to establish sovereignty over southern New Guinea and argued over the sharing of administrative costs. The *Times* reporter commented that native artefacts were all New Guinea had to show and that 'it remains to be seen whether the country will ever get beyond this stage' of backwardness.[271] At Melbourne's event of 1888-89 the New Guinea exhibits were shown in a separate minor court, due to the lack of space in Queensland's court. Here the artefacts were supplemented by photographs taken by the well-known Melbourne photographer John William Lindt on an expedition to new Guinea in 1885. The New Guinea Commissioner, John Douglas, and the Queensland Museum were later awarded gold medals for their New Guinea exhibits.

Significantly, Queensland's substantial population of Melanesians were never featured at exhibitions. Their presence in increasing numbers as indentured labourers from 1863 prompted humanitarians in Britain and Australia to question whether Queensland was perpetuating 'a system of slavery' already morally and economically moribund in 'enlightened' Western society. Hence the Melanesian question got no airing at exhibitions, though it was a burning issue for the northern separationists who tried to publicise their cause at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

Attention again focussed on Aboriginal people during the 1890s when Queensland established a reputation throughout Australia, and beyond, for exhibiting live specimens. The catalyst for this move into the sphere of popular entertainment, modelled on the American circus and stage, was the Chicago exhibition, which received worldwide publicity from 1891. Chicago's ethnological displays were to surpass the native encampments at Paris in 1889, which had popularised 'living ethnology' at international exhibitions. The Chicago officials canvassed all quarters of the globe for exhibits, live and otherwise, to form a hierarchy of races underpinned, as

Robert Rydell has shown, by the same theory evident in Sydney's ethnological court and likewise supported by government officials and museums.[272] New South Wales assembled a large collection of Aboriginal and Pacific Island artefacts for display in the Anthropological Building, which was to house 'Anthropological Laboratories' where skulls, skeletons and preserved and dissected brains of the world's races would trace the 'advances from savagery to civilisation'. In November 1892 the Queensland Government declined to cooperate in a proposal to send Aboriginal people as part of a Pacific contingent.[273] But this, and the fact that Queensland had already withdrawn from official participation at Chicago, did not stop private entrepreneurs from attempting to send live exhibits from the colony.

In July 1892 a troupe of eight Aboriginal people (probably six men and two women) sailed from Townsville for Chicago in the 'especial care' of a showman and agent for the American Barnum and Bailey Circus, Robert Alexander Cunningham. The Townsville chemist Joseph George Atkinson agreed to pay a bond of £500 to the government to guarantee the safe return of the people within three years.[274] Given Cunningham's notoriety, the government's trust was misplaced. Earlier, in 1883, he had 'with much difficulty' taken another troupe of nine Aboriginal people from north Queensland to tour North America and Europe, and only three were alive when he had abandoned them later in New York.[275] According to Archibald Meston, a competitor in the showman stakes, Cunningham's 1892 troupe were 'ordinary tame town blacks' and were poorly equipped with the boomerangs, etc. needed for their performances. Meston stated that he himself would not have bothered with such poor specimens.[276] The troupe travelled to the southern colonies and New Zealand on the way to Chicago, where they performed on the Midway Plaisance, the exhibition's popular amusement area, alongside other 'exotic' peoples and Carl Hagenbeck's Wild Animals.

That was only the beginning of an extensive tour which took the troupe through circuses, theatres and museums. They were part of Barnum and Bailey's 'Great Ethnological Congress of Savage and Barbarous Tribes', the feature of the circus' 1893-95 season. Four of the troupe died and another left before they departed America. The remainder reportedly went to Germany and Sweden under contract to two other showmen after Cunningham had 'left' them.[277] The Queensland

FIG. 57. Archibald Meston, who flaunted his strength by always carrying a walking stick weighted with lead. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Government had quite forgotten about the troupe by May 1896 when an Ingham grazier, James Cassady, inquired after them (some had come from his Mungalla property).[278] By then the guarantor Atkinson had just died and Cunningham could not be contacted. In September 1898 two of the troupe, the sole survivors, landed at the London Docks, having absconded from their last employer in Germany. They 'spoke in anything but kindly terms' of Cunningham whom, they said, was living in grand style in America having made 'plenty of money ... at their expense'. The Agent-General and former Colonial Secretary, Sir Horace Tozer, arranged their repatriation to Queensland and they landed at Townsville in late November.[279]

Another commercial venture to send live exhibits to the Chicago exhibition was more ambitious and extensively planned and claimed

scientific credibility. The organisers were Archibald Meston (Fig. 57), a self-appointed specialist in Australian ethnology, and Brabazon Harry Purcell, a Brisbane financial and stock and station agent.[280] Following an agreement made on 16 November 1891, the partners borrowed money 'all over the place'[281] and travelled throughout Queensland to recruit 'wild' Aboriginal people and collect artefacts, Meston concentrating on the Russell River area and the coast north to Cooktown and Purcell undertaking a nine-month expedition in the west and north-west and over the border into the Northern Territory.[282] The rounding-up and drilling of their show exhibits raised the wider question of the 'improvement' and 'preservation' of a pitiful and vulnerable race. Meston saw an opportunity for aggrandisement in a life-long career as the colony's Aboriginal 'expert'. From this time, he challenged the government to address the degraded condition of the people he saw on his travels, and had lost patience by September 1893 when he wrote to Colonial Secretary Tozer:

> This question of the aboriginals is not to be indefinitely postponed. If you decide to do nothing, it will come before the colony in a shape that will not be pleasant for Queenslanders to contemplate ... Hesitation in the face of a work that has been crying to Heaven for half a century seems a fatal kind of weakness...[283]

On 14 November 1892, following his exhibit-hunting expedition, Purcell also challenged Tozer to extend 'a helping hand' to the colony's Aboriginal people:

> Should things be allowed to go on as they are five years will wipe out the whole of the blacks in Western Queensland ... I am certain you cannot possibly conceive the frightful condition of these people...[284]

Ironically, while expressing their humanitarian concerns, Meston and Purcell were discredited by their unscrupulous dealings with the Aboriginal people. Meston, who had boasted publicly on more than one occasion that each notch on his rifle signified 'a dead nigger',[285] was soon regarded with suspicion in the north. John T. Embley, a government surveyor from the Gulf country, reported:

> When men like Meston come amongst the blacks they do a great deal of harm by taking their weapons and giving little or nothing in exchange ... I have lately seen a number of natives with whom Meston had come in contact. Their general ... opinion was 'He no good'.[286]

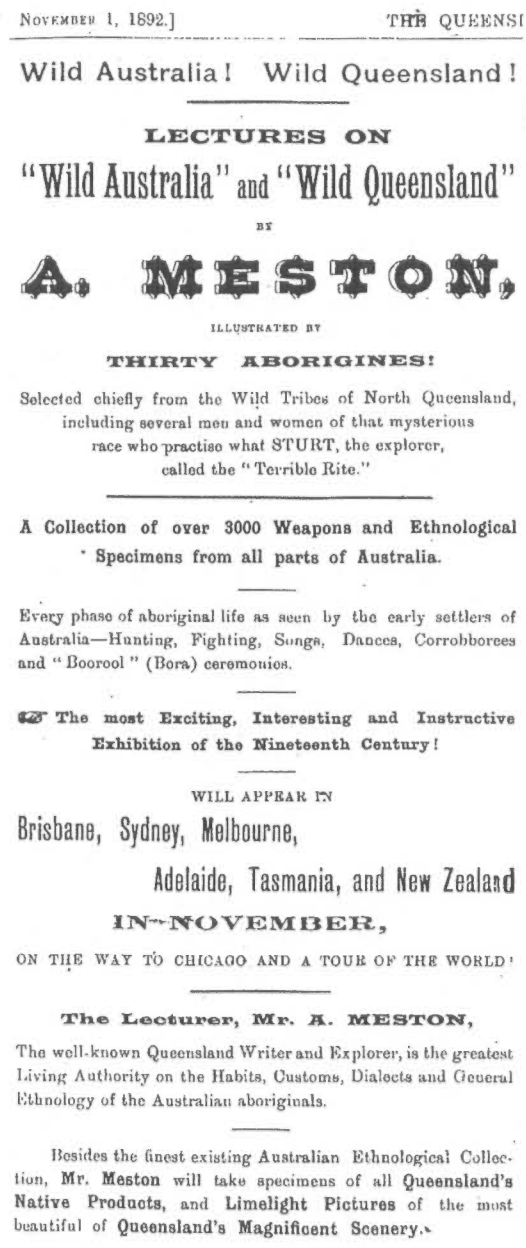
In July 1892 Purcell's activities in the Georgina River district brought allegations of brutality and forcible abduction from the police magistrate at Boulia. As well as rounding up 32 people (26 men and 6 women), the partners collected over 3,000 artefacts for their Chicago troupe. Adopting the scientific jargon of the time, they claimed to be recording the vanishing culture of 'a doomed race', but they were careful to select only spectacular exhibits: fine specimens over 6 feet tall, some 'darkies of rank', and representatives of tribes noted for 'cannibalism', narcotism or strange sexual rites. In the western desert Purcell captured some Wahkis, the tribe who practised sub-incision of males (known as 'Sturt's Terrible Rite' or 'Micka-making'); and in the Cloncurry area he captured some Kalkadoons reputed as fierce 'cannibals' and the 'strangest of all the races of the earth'. Purcell also managed to abduct five Prince of Wales Islanders, including 'a sable King and Queen' and their child. The troupe were to be hawked around scientific societies besides places of public entertainment. Meston, a member of the Royal Society of Queensland, lectured to the society on 10 September 1892 on 'Native Weapons', while on the following 11 November his partner Purcell lectured on 'Pituri and Pituri Blacks' of the Georgina River area.

Meston's Wild Australia Show, as it was billed, opened at Her Majesty's Opera House, Brisbane, on 5 December 1892 as the premiere of an Australasian and world tour, including the Chicago exhibition, to dispel the world's ignorance about Queensland[287] (Figs 58-60). In the show Meston illustrated his ethnological lectures with his live exhibits who performed 'every phase of savage life ... such as seen when white men first entered the colony', against a backdrop of the Bellenden-Ker mountains (a reminder of Meston's well-known expedition to the mountains in 1889) painted by the scenic artist Carl Frederick Vennemark. After a week the show moved to the Breakfast Creek Sportsgrounds and later to the Exhibition Grounds, where the corroborees and boomerang and spear throwing could be seen to better effect and more tableaux vivants and 'pyrotechnic effects' were added. By popular demand, the show continued in Brisbane until 21 December. Two days later the troupe left for Sydney, without any bond or agreement being settled with the government, Meston declaring just as they sailed from Brisbane: 'The Government won't interfere with me as I know too much

about the way they have treated the blacks of this country'.[288]

The first Sydney season of the Wild Australia Show was from 26 December at the Bondi Aquarium and later at the Sydney School of Arts. By now the troupe were reduced to 27 people and equipped with fewer artefacts. Sydney audiences were not so enthusiastic and the *Daily Telegraph* panned the show as 'merely an indiscriminate assortment of blackfellows ... having no proper supervision, and run purely as a speculation'.[289] The subsequent Melbourne season from 26 January 1893 was under contract to the Australian Natives' Association, who broke the contract on 29 January on the grounds of having been misled by Meston as to the scale of the show. Realising that the venture would no longer return the profits he expected, Meston then withdrew and 'bolted' northwards, leaving Purcell with the outstanding debts and the care and sustenance of the troupe. Purcell accused Meston of callous contempt while Meston accused Purcell of 'misappropriating' the remaining artefacts and scenery. At short notice, Purcell stood in for Meston to lecture on Queensland ethnology to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia's Victorian branch on 3 and 15 February, illustrating his lectures with live exhibits and highlighting the 'bora' initiation he had supposedly endured on his travels in Queensland.[290] In late February the Victorian police reported that the troupe were left destitute in Fitzroy.[291] Later Purcell and the troupe embarked on a tour of Victoria before returning to Sydney by June to perform at Her Majesty's Theatre. Early in June Purcell lectured on Aboriginal rites and customs to the Royal Geographical Society's New South Wales branch, again describing the brutal sexual rites he had observed in Queensland.[292] On 21 June he directed a performance by the troupe in Sydney's Domain for the edification of the New South Wales Governor. By 1 July the troupe had run out of engagements and Purcell was no longer able to sustain them.

It was only then that he abandoned all hopes of reaching Chicago and cabled the Queensland Government for help. The Colonial Secretary, Horace Tozer, agreed to repatriate the troupe at government expense, but declined to act on Meston's demands that Purcell be charged with larceny and brutality. Tozer hoped that the fate of this troupe would be 'an object lesson' for future attempts to abduct Aboriginal people from Queensland. One of the abducted Prince of Wales



NOVEMBER 1, 1892.] THE QUEENSL

Wild Australia! Wild Queensland!

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Besides the finest existing Australian Ethnological Collection, Mr. Meston will take specimens of all Queensland's Native Products, and Limelight Pictures of the most beautiful of Queensland's Magnificent Scenery.

FIG. 58. An advertisement for Meston's Wild Australia show. (*Queensland Punch*, 1 Nov. 1892)

Islanders, Tarbucket, also learnt his lesson, for he stalked Meston when he next came north, protesting: '... I don't think he much good, that fellow owe me fifteen pounds, no pay it'.[293] Purcell seems to have left Brisbane at this stage and died in obscurity in 1904. Meston, despite press

FIG. 59. From Meston's photographs, probably the Wild Australia troupe. (Queensland Museum)

publicity about the stranding of the troupe and the tabling of relevant correspondence in Parliament, emerged unscathed and his status as an Aboriginal 'expert' enhanced. George Hislop, a respected colonist from Wyalla on the Bloomfield River, later reminded readers of the *Queenslander* about the Wild Australia fiasco, but Meston retorted that 'public interest has long since vanished'.[294]

Meston's experiment in abducting and drilling show exhibits can be seen as a rehearsal of his future scenario for Queensland's Aboriginal people. This was shaped, William Thorpe argues, by an amalgam of authoritarianism, a 'worship of force', agrarianism and phobias about racial intermixing.[295] Just before the Wild Australia Show premiered in Brisbane, the *Courier* remarked:

> It was not to be supposed that savages gathered as these have been from districts separated by many hundreds of miles, speaking dialects and practising customs which rendered them as strange to each other as they are to the white man, could be brought at once to act in concert. They are now well acquainted with each other and what is required of them ...[296]

Meston later revealed that the drilling process had taken three months.[297] The success of the drilling must have given Meston, renowned for his own physical strength, substance for his theory that 'physical power' appealed to Aboriginal people 'as to other savage races'.[298] The troupe were drilled to perform stereotyped acts of 'barbarism' which confirmed their cultural distance from Western civilisation. They enacted their losing struggle with the colonist in tableaux vivants of Australian pioneer life, which included attacks on a swagman's camp ('Realistic and bloody deeds!'), the massacre of the innocent victim ('A Terrible Death'), the tracking of the savage murderer ('The Black Tracker and his use!') and the resultant punishment ('"Dispersing" and what it means!').[299] The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* reported that in the tableaux the troupe 'showed quite a histrionic aptitude' and that the episode of the massacred swagman 'was worthy of the best efforts of the melodramatic school'.[300] Meston, already proclaiming that removing Aboriginal people from the evils of civilisation was the only means of arresting the extermination process, used his troupe to demonstrate the superiority of tribal people over semi-civilised town-dwellers: 'There are no tame demoralised blacks in Meston's party. They are all healthy athletic true Myalls ...'.[301] The Wild Australia Show embodied the notions of control and racial purity and the arrogant disregard for tribal culture that would underscore his future proposals to solve the 'Aboriginal problem'.

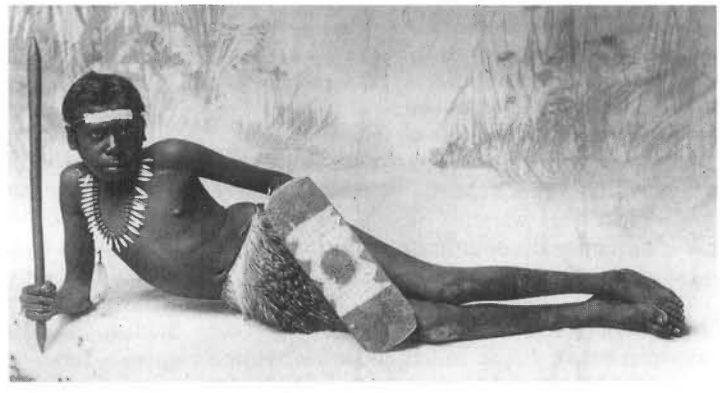

FIG. 60. Canando from western Queensland, possibly one of the Wild Australia troupe. (Queensland Museum)

Though bizarre by today's standards, Meston's show would have been readily acceptable among the 'ethnological' entertainments at its intended destination, the Chicago exhibition. At its premiere, the show was likened to the Wild West shows that had toured Australia in the wake of 'Buffalo Bill' Cody's famous re-enactments of the American frontier.[302] In 1890-91 a former partner of Cody's, 'Dr' Frank Carver, had toured the southern colonies with his Wild America troupe of buck-jump riders, lassoers and American Indian dancers. Meston and Purcell could have seen Wild West shows in Brisbane in 1891, the year they planned their show: Harmston's American and Continental Circus came in February, and Wirth's Wild West Show and Hippodrome in February and June-July. The lasso throwing and riding stunts that were central to these shows could have inspired the feats performed by Meston's troupe, and they also featured tableaux of frontier violence, though the losers were Indians who attacked stage coaches instead of swagmen's camps. In April 1892, possibly when Meston and his partner were on their exhibit-hunting expeditions, Brisbane was visited by Sells Bros' Circus, a much grander spectacle from America, which would have left a lasting impression. Among its troupe of 295 persons were freaks and 'exotics', including Japanese jugglers and Arab warriors who 'gave a remarkable entertainment not unlike a wild corroboree' and staged mock battles.

FIG. 61. Meston and his 'Black battalion' welcoming Lord Lamington, to Brisbane in 1896. (*Queenslander*, 11 Apr. 1896)

More familiar throughout Queensland were American-based black minstrel shows, which reached the height of their popularity in Australia in the late 19th century and set a derogatory stereotype for black performers. The well-known Charles B. Hicks' American Coloured Minstrels played in Brisbane in 1890-91. Minstrel shows undoubtedly gave Meston's show its burlesque and comic features and could have influenced his own role as an interlocutor figure. Perhaps more crucial in stirring his dreams of Chicago was the visit to Brisbane in December 1891 of Henry M. Stanley, 'The Man who Found Livingstone', who gave a series of lectures on his 'hair-breadth 'scapes' in Central Africa. An explorer and adventurer, bringer of civilisation, writer, now world celebrity — here was a man to inspire Meston!

In 1894, within recent memory of the Wild Australia fiasco, Colonial Secretary Tozer commissioned Meston to advise the government on the future of Queensland's Aboriginal people, and was soon to oversee 'abductions' on a scale unprecedented in Australia. Meston's reports of 1895 and 1896 became the basis of the *Aborigines Protection Act of 1897* which established a series of reserves where Aboriginal people would be removed eventually en masse from all over the colony to protect them, it was claimed, from the evils of civilisation. Whereas earlier historiography accepted that this segregation process was motivated by white 'humanitarian' concern, Raymond Evans argues that the reserve system was a mechanism for keeping Aboriginal people at a safe distance from whites, unless they could be pressed into cheap labour, and for exerting rigorous control. Evans proves that widespread fears of contamination, both hygienic and eugenic, prompted Meston's brutal abductions to these reserves.[303]

Meston, while touring the colony in his advisory role, continued to lecture on ethnology and exhibit Aboriginal people, for his ambitions as a showman were not squashed by his unsuccessful bid to perform at Chicago. His powerful physique, measured gait and proud bearing made him a picturesque figure; as a contemporary observed: 'he has the heart of a frog hidden under the plumage of a peacock'.[304] Meston also had a keen sense of the histrionic; he was, indeed, a born showman. His finest hour in the business came on 9 April 1896 when, resplendent as a Scottish chieftain (he was proud of his Scottish ancestry), he rode on horseback at the head of a 'stalwart' band of Aboriginal men who welcomed the new Governor, Lord Lamington, to Brisbane (Fig. 61). This was the prelude to more performances a year later at the Queensland International Exhibition.

Meston was the obvious choice to organise Aboriginal amusements for the local exhibition, following a request from its directors to the (now) Home Secretary, Horace Tozer. Meston's exhibits, 'Thirty Chosen Warriors' (men only), performed near the close of the exhibition, from 2 to 7 August 1897 (Fig. 62), providing a 'most profitable' attraction and a striking contrast to the imperial pageantry recently seen in Brisbane for Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. The warriors began with a march past to show their weapons and ended with a football match 'to show what these Aboriginals really can do'. Each day they gave

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AT NIGHT GRAND CORROBBOREES AND WAR DANCES, FIRE BOOMERANGS, AND SCENIC EFFECTS!

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H. C. WOOD,
Secretary.

FIG. 62. An advertisement for Aboriginal performances at the Queensland International Exhibition. (*Brisbane Courier*, 28 July 1897)

demonstrations of boomerang and spear throwing, running and mock combats, and staged corroborees and tableaux vivants: 'there was some fine posturing and a notable barbaric picturesqueness of effect'.[305] Some of the evening performances had to be moved from the ring into the annexes and concert hall due to the cold weather, for the warriors were clad only in feathers and paint. By this time Meston himself was taking a more active role in the performances, matching his strength against that of his warriors (Fig. 64) for he prided himself on being able to throw a boomerang or a spear with equal skill.

FIG. 63. Windandera, from Fraser Island, c.1900, one of Meston's performers. (Queensland Museum)

These performances, billed as 'rare and valuable lessons in ethnology' for school children, offered a more specific lesson for exhibition visitors. Most of the warriors were carefully chosen from the Fraser Island Aboriginal Reserve, established in February 1897 by Tozer on Meston's advice as a 'permanent precedent' for the reserves to be sanctioned in December that year under the new legislation. The sight of such 'fine specimens' convinced at least one visitor of the efficacy of the reserves system:

> Only five months ago these men were ... in an utterly demoralised and hopeless condition, under the influence of drink and opium. What they are today the public may see by visiting the Exhibition. Sir Horace deserves hearty congratulations on the success of his humanitarian method.[306]

FIG. 64. Archibald Meston the performer. (Queensland Museum)

Visitors were, however, denied access to less impressive specimens who would have provided some insight into the deprivations of the reserves, and just as the exhibition opened Meston ensured that all Aboriginal people 'rambling around Brisbane ... in a more or less demoralised condition' would be despatched to reserves.[307] Nor were native artefacts represented in the exhibition's displays, apart from the 'magnificent trophies' of New Guinea weapons which decorated the 'octagon'.

Following his appointment in January 1898 as Queensland's Southern Protector of Aborigines, Meston continued to exhibit chosen specimens to enhance his status. By February 1900, when the Fraser Island Reserve was handed over to the Anglican Board of Missions, it was apparent that the reserve system was not arresting the decline of the colony's Aboriginal population. Many of Meston's exhibition warriors were already at rest in 'two very full cemeteries',[308] the victims of

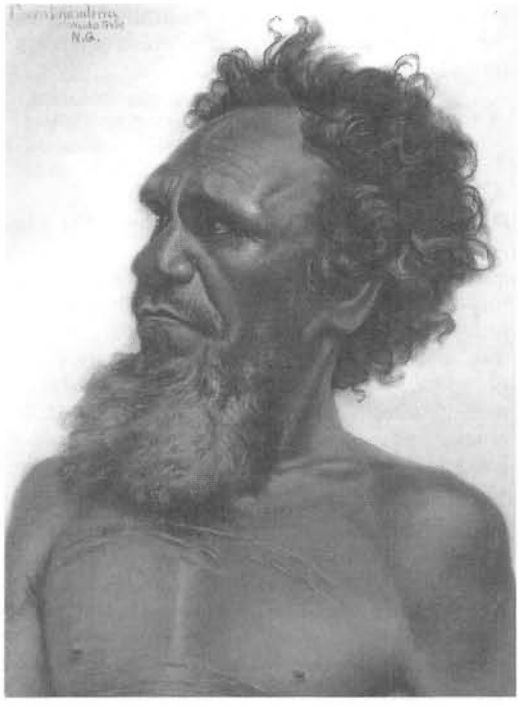

FIG. 65. Oscar Fristrom's portrait of *Coantajanderra*, from the Wooka tribe, shown at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899 and now in the collection of the Queensland Museum.

hookworm infestation, and the remainder would be forcibly transported north to Yarrabah Mission, near Cairns, when the Fraser Island settlement was finally closed in 1904. From 1898 Queensland's Aboriginal reserves functioned more overtly as correctional and custodial institutions, where the regimented and demoralised inmates lacked basic sanitation, medical care and adequate diet. In his recent study of the Barrambah Aboriginal settlement, Thomas Blake has shown that the reserve system accelerated the destruction of Aboriginal society and contributed to higher rates of mortality. The reserves, Raymond Evans concludes, 'removed the drama of destruction to a remote stage, where it might be played out, unadvertised, in virtually closed houses'.[309] The Queensland *Aborigines Protection Act* became the model for similar legislation in Western Australia (1905), the Northern Territory (1910), South Australia (1911), and a cornerstone of Queensland Aboriginal welfare almost to the present.

Meston held his position as Southern Protector until December 1903, during which time he organised Aboriginal displays for the Australian federation celebrations. In January 1901, 25 Queensland Aboriginal people took part in a re-enactment of Captain Cook's landing at Botany Bay, Sydney. Later, in May 1901, when the Duke and Duchess of York visited Brisbane, they were greeted by another 'Mestonian triumph', an 'Aboriginal Arch' spanning George Street, with 60 people who 'howled and corroborated ... with all their might' as the royals drove beneath. Meanwhile, on the other side of the globe, Aboriginal people were absent from Queensland's display at the Glasgow exhibition which opened also in May. Here and at the Greater Britain Exhibition, where the main purpose was to attract British mining investment, Aboriginal people were unwanted, though at the latter a series of portraits by the Brisbane artist Oscar Fristrom served as tragic reminders of 'a doomed race' (Fig. 65). Fristrom had also sent Aboriginal portraits to Melbourne's event of 1888-89. These were the most compassionate representations of Queensland's indigenous people to be seen at international exhibitions.

This chapter has pointed to an assumption of exhibition organisers that 'natives' were to be studied and assessed like other objects on display, while the exhibitions themselves testified to the advanced civilisation of Western man. The latter's superior position on the evolutionary scale was confirmed by his wonderous exhibits. The march of progress was made more apparent by showing striking contrasts between Western civilisation and 'barbarism'. Moreover, glimpses of barbarism added spectacle, amusement and/or profits to exhibitions. My study suggests that Queensland had more to gain by focussing on its Aboriginal inhabitants at Australian events, where visitors could congratulate themselves on their success as colonists and bringers of civilisation. In Europe, and especially Great Britain, derogatory exhibits might have brought moral condemnation, which was to be avoided when Queensland was looking for population and capital. The representation of Aboriginal people at exhibitions provides a telling insight into race relations in colonial Queensland, where a venture to exhibit these people for profit and amusement led to official reform that became a model for institutionalisation at a national level.

CHAPTER 5

'A MOUNTAIN OF GOLD'

Colonial displays at international exhibitions, with their collections of minerals, offered insights into future conquests of science and technology over the natural environment. Minerals suggested new opportunities for exploiting the outposts of empire: 'the Earth holds things yet undiscovered, which may become most useful to man', wrote the mineralogist Robert Hunt in his guide to the industrial exhibits at London's exhibition of 1862.[310] The elements of the earth could be transformed by human ingenuity into the machines and fuels so essential for industry: 'Without our coal and without our iron, where would have been our machinery?', asked Henry Mayhew as he surveyed the machinery at the Great Exhibition.[311] Hence displays of minerals and mining technology ranked next to machinery as evidence of advanced civilisation. The organisers of the Greater Britain Exhibition, in showing the mineral wealth of the colonies and the advanced technology involved in extracting that wealth, pronounced mining 'the most important industry in the world'.[312]

In this chapter I examine how Queensland represented its mineral resources, and particularly its gold wealth, at exhibitions, and offer new insights into the rise of mining as a major export industry and the mainstay of the north. I show that mineral and mining exhibits were dominant from the 1870s, and by the end of the century Queensland's contributions to exhibitions were essentially large collections of minerals. This reflected a growing demand for capital to exploit the colony's quartz reefs once the alluvial gold deposits were quickly worked out, requiring costly machinery and sustained and systematic operations. Moreover, the refractory ores mined on a number of goldfields kept much of the gold 'locked up' unless with the aid of 'high-class chemistry and metallurgical skill'.[313] These conditions favoured the development of a heavily capitalised and company controlled mining industry in Queensland. By contrast, the alluvial gold deposits of the southern colonies were more easily exploited, and less remote.

Also underpinning Queensland's displays of mineral wealth was the notion that gold determined the course of history. Following the rushes to Victoria and New South Wales from 1851, gold was said to be 'the greatest inducement' to populating and developing Australia.[314] So said the editor of the *British Australasian* in a feature on mining in Queensland:

> ... as in the case of the other Australian colonies, it was the discovery of gold which gave life and dash to the progress of Queensland, attracted population to its vast areas, and generally made business 'hum'.[315]

For Queensland's exhibition propagandist Alexander Boyd, gold was a 'magic word'.[316] As the historian Geoffrey Blainey adds, in the 19th century gold had a magnetism scarcely imagined today, for winning gold was like 'a gigantic lottery' that offered most people their only chance of riches. Further, gold had an intrinsic attraction to a generation used to handling gold as currency.[317] Hence gold — and 'dummy' gold — had an irresistible attraction at exhibitions.

At the London exhibition of 1862 Queensland's mineral exhibits were 'quite insignificant', according to John George Knight of Victoria. These coal and copper exhibits could not compete with Victoria's gilded obelisk representing its spectacular gold production since 1851,[318] the first of the obelisks (or 'goldometers') that became a standard feature of Australian displays at exhibitions. Attempting to keep up with Victoria at the Paris event of 1867, Queensland spent £589/3/- on gold nuggets from the Canoona, Calliope, Talgai, Star River (Burdekin) and Peak Downs diggings, compared with only £68/14/- on all other exhibits. The gold was consigned in an iron safe and displayed in a casket of colonial woods, which together with insurance cost an additional £92/7/3.[319] Ironically, it was not the gold but a fine block of malachite from the Peak Downs copper mine that attracted attention and received an Honourable Mention. In mid-October 1867, just before the exhibition closed, news broke of Queensland's first major gold strike at Gympie. Henceforth gold was to rule the fortunes of Queensland, just as it had already brightened the prospects of the southern colonies.

The forecast of payable gold in the north prompted the establishment of an organised geological survey of the colony in 1868 when an experienced geologist from Victoria, Richard Daintree, was appointed the first Government Geologist for Northern Queensland. From the outset the survey's emphasis was on the search for gold, and Daintree was despatched to report first on the Cape River goldfields and later on the Gilbert Ranges, Peak Downs and Rockhampton districts. In 1870, while extending his survey to

FIG. 66. Richard Daintree's view of the Overlander reef, Ravenswood, probably shown at the London exhibition of 1871. (Queensland Museum)

Ravenswood, Mount Wyatt, Cloncurry and the Bowen River coalfield, he amassed a collection of rocks, fossils and minerals which he intended for display at the forthcoming London exhibition of 1871. An avid and enterprising photographer, Daintree also made a collection of photographs 'illustrative of the geological features' of the colony and of life on its remote mining camps (Fig. 66). William Henry Walsh, the parliamentary member for Maryborough and a firm defender of Daintree and the survey, quickly foresaw the potential of these photographs as a medium for propaganda 'to people at a distance' from Queensland:

> Views of the scenes on the goldfields were the right kind of information to practical diggers, to capitalists who invested in mining undertakings — to give them a proper idea of the nature of the goldfield to which it was sought to attract their attention.[320]

In November 1870 the government commissioned Daintree to accompany his collections of specimens and photographs to London, to be shown at the exhibition of 1871 alongside about 650 ounces (or £2,200 worth) of gold nuggets and auriferous quartz, some on loan from private colonists. Directing that £1,000 be spent on nuggets from Gympie, Walsh, now Minister for Public Works, specified that they be 'extremely showy' so that the 'display of gold ... may be as attractive as possible'.[321] Later as commissioner for Queensland's exhibits in London, Daintree arranged for a night-time security guard to watch over the gold which, he reported in June 1871, 'attracts great attention'. Convinced of Queensland's vast mineral wealth only waiting to be exploited, he added:

> Having now completed the arrangements for the exhibits in my charge, it is my intention to draw the attention of English mining capital in our direction...[322]

For Daintree, formerly a partner in a pastoral property in the Kennedy district of the sparsely-settled north, the opening-up of new mining centres offered 'the best inducement' for the pastoral and agricultural industries through the expansion of local markets for their produce. Further, he saw the future of the colony in terms of the capabilities of its varied land formations and predicted a flow of British capital into the colony 'as soon as

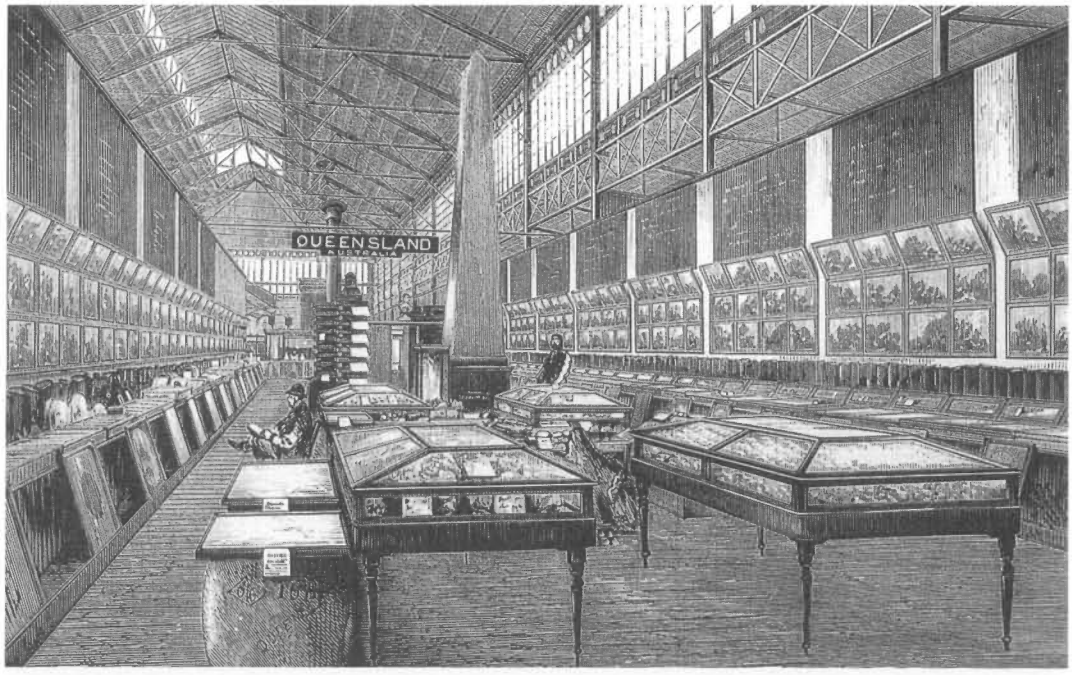

FIG. 67. The Queensland court at the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876, with Richard Daintree's photographs (ranged on the walls) and a gilded obelisk (centre) representing the colony's gold output. (*Australasian Sketcher*, 5 Aug. 1876)

the character of her soil and the abundance of her minerals were understood'.[323] It was logical that Daintree, as Queensland's Agent-General in London from 1872, should adopt a strictly 'geological' arrangement for his more comprehensive displays of the colony's resources at London's succeeding exhibitions of 1872-74 and at Vienna in 1873 and Philadelphia in 1876 (Fig. 67). At these exhibitions, and also at Paris in 1878, Queensland's courts were divided into sections for the different geological formations, each represented by Daintree's 'geological' photographs and, in cases beneath the photographs, his mineral specimens and also typical products (Daintree's mineral specimens sank in the wreck of the *Queen of the Thames* off South Africa in 1871, but were mostly retrieved and shown in exhibitions from 1872 to 1878.)

Each year until his early retirement (due to ill health) in January 1876, Daintree obtained more negatives from Queensland to make a more comprehensive photographic record of its industries and major towns. These negatives were enlarged by the autotype process and hand-coloured in oils in London (one critic found them 'a little too florid')[324] and at Daintree's instigation were later circulated around exhibitions and museums in multiple series. At succeeding events Daintree's mineral specimens were likewise augmented by more specimens from the colony to show its more recent mineral strikes which included: tin at Stanthorpe in 1872; and gold at Charters Towers in 1872, the Palmer in 1873 and the Hodgkinson in 1876. The exhibitions from 1872 also showed Daintree's geological map of Queensland, the first such map to be attempted, indicating no fewer than 21 goldfields.[325] Daintree received an Honourable Mention for his map at the Vienna exhibition.

Other regular exhibits of the 1870s were coal and coke from the West Moreton coalfield and copper from Cloncurry, Mount Perry and Peak Downs, the latter exhibits resulting from a copper boom that ended in the mid-1870s with a fall in world copper prices. At Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878 the colony showed its first smelted ingots: copper ingots from the Mount Perry and Peak Downs mines, and tin ingots from Stanthorpe and the Bulimba Tin Smelting Company. But Queensland's most spectacular exhibits at

Philadelphia and Paris were glittering obelisks. The 22-foot-high obelisk at Philadelphia was designed by the Colonial Architect F.D.G. Stanley to represent Queensland's gold output since 1867. An exhibition guidebook explained:

> If it had been solid, as some wonder-stricken visitors imagined, it would have weighed over 65 tons, and its value would have been more than $35,000,000. But it was only a gilded show.[326]

Later at Paris a gilded obelisk was the centrepiece of Queensland's 'grand' trophy set up by the engineer W. Henry Ashwell in the western dome of the Palais du Champ-de-Mars. Piled around the base of the obelisk were timbers, bales of wool, copper and tin ingots, and tinned meats 'as silent witnesses of the colony's great and increasing industries'.[327]

A more extensive minerals collection of some 200 items (some being multiple items) was assembled for the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80 with the assistance of local committees in Gympie, Rockhampton and Maytown and of the gold wardens for the Charters Towers, Palmer and Etheridge fields. The collection also comprised loans from the Queensland Museum, including fossils and gemstones, and from the Brisbane mineralogist, Nehemiah Bartley. The pick of Bartley's large and varied collection from all over the world were his so-called 'sun chips' of 'reef gold in every form of occurrence'. In April 1880 the Queensland Government purchased Bartley's entire collection to show again at Melbourne,[328] along with the other Sydney exhibits which included: tin and copper ingots; ores, quartz and tailings from the Charters Towers, Palmer and Etheridge goldfields; coal from the West Moreton and Burrum coalfields; building stones from the Rockhampton district; and cinnabar from Kilkivan. From its discovery in 1873, cinnabar from Kilkivan was often shown at exhibitions and admired for its deep red colour (Bartley likened it to 'frozen red currant jelly'), and for the Sydney exhibition a pamphlet was published especially to attract investment to Kilkivan.[329] Also shown were valuable gold specimens from Gympie, Charters Towers and the Palmer. The specimens on loan from the Nicholls and London Extended Gold Mining Companies of Gympie were eventually returned 'mixed up with other stones' and greatly 'deficient' in quantity, resulting in protracted insurance claims by the companies for their losses.[330]

Again, Queensland's most spectacular exhibits at Sydney and Melbourne were gilded obelisks, which were not updated for their second showing. The largest was a 33-foot-high obelisk also designed by F.D.G. Stanley, representing the 3,244,777 ounces of gold produced by Queensland to 1879 and supported on a base of 30 tons of quartz from Gympie. The second obelisk, contributed by the residents of Maytown, represented the 946,716 ounces of gold produced by the Palmer to 1879. By this time, however, obelisks were becoming 'a somewhat stale device', and the *Argus* reporter hoped to see 'no more pyramids and obelisks' after the Melbourne event[331] where Victoria and New Zealand represented their gold production by rhombic dodecahedrons and octahedrons. (Queensland's grandest obelisks were yet to come.) Queensland received the highest category of award (the First Degree of Merit Special) for its 'general collection of ores' at the Sydney exhibition and 25 awards for minerals at the Melbourne exhibition, achieving 'first place' among the minerals exhibitors at Melbourne.[332]

By the mid-1880s Queensland could boast that its leading goldfield, Charters Towers, was second only to Bendigo as a consistent producer of gold, that its latest find, Mount Morgan, held 'unparalleled' riches, and that the newly-worked tin and silver lodes of the Herberton district held great promise. Queensland's mine owners were convinced that an influx of outside capital was now required to increase minerals exploration and production, in particular to fund deep reefing at Charters Towers. So a massive promotional exercise for Queensland's mining industry was planned for London's Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, including what was claimed as the finest minerals collection yet shown by an Australian colony.[333] Assembled by the mineralogist (and later mineralogical lecturer) Arthur Walter Clarke[334] with the assistance of local committees in Charters Towers, Herberton, and Stanthorpe, this collection was intended to show the colony's vast and varied mineral wealth in 'imposing ... bulk'.[335] It comprised over 1,407 specimens of ores and quartz, together with their country (or associated) rocks, arranged systematically by districts and then mines. Lending scientific validity to this collection were a *Handbook of Queensland Geology* by the young Scottish-trained geologist, Robert Logan Jack (Fig. 68), and his first geological map of Queensland, which were published in 1886 especially for the exhibition. Logan Jack, appointed Geologist for Northern Queensland in 1876 and Government Geologist for the whole colony in 1879, had resumed a

FIG. 68. Robert Logan Jack in 1877, before he became Government Geologist for entire Queensland. (*Northmost Australia*)

systematic geological survey of the colony where Richard Daintree had left off, espousing the principle that 'economic importance' should guide his travels.[336] For two decades Jack's geological reports and maps were the basis of exhibition propaganda for the mining industry and eventually he became the colony's leading exhibitor.

Queensland's court at London was dominated by a gold trophy designed and erected by J.N. Longden, the mining engineer engaged to oversee the gold exhibits[337] (Figs 69, 97). The 21-foot-high trophy was surmounted by the frustrum of a pyramid gilded to represent the 4,840,564 ounces of gold so far produced by the colony, yielding an average of over 1½ ounces of gold per ton of stone, the highest average of any gold-producing country in the world. The base of the trophy was divided into compartments containing quartz from the principal goldfields: Charters Towers, Ravenswood, the Palmer, Gympie, Mount Morgan, Norton and the Etheridge. The Charters Towers quartz included the 'handsome specimens' found by Hugh Mosman when he discovered the goldfield in 1872. Close by the gold trophy, in a glass case on a pedestal, was a 'magnificent' cake of retorted gold from the field's richest claim, the Day Dawn Block and Wyndham Mine. This cake, weighing 1,707 ounces, represented a fortnight's yield from the mine. Exhibited by the Bank of Australasia, the cake had been shown in Victoria's court, but was removed to the Queensland court on Agent-General Garrick's application to the bank.

Also among the exhibits from 'go-ahead Charters Towers' were photographs and plans of its mines, and a pamphlet published by the local committee especially for distribution in the court.[338] Local mining magnates, including Thomas Mills, John McDonald and Hugh Mosman, were present in London during the exhibition to promote Charters Towers mines and to relay the latest cabled reports of their rich crushings and dividends. Other attractions of the court included private exhibits of western Queensland opals from Herbert William Bond of Toowoomba, and of tin and silver ores and tin ingots from John Moffat and Company of Irvinebank, developer of the colony's largest tinfields. To add bulk spectacle to the court a block of copper ore weighing almost 2 tons, from the Cloncurry district, was retrieved from the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow.

Queensland's most successful exhibit, however, was a full-sized gold battery which during the course of the exhibition crushed and treated some 200 tons of ore sent from the principal fields in the colony (Figs 25, 70). Though Victoria had shown a model working gold battery at the 1862 exhibition, batteries were still a novelty in London in 1885 when the Agent-General, James Garrick, proposed that a battery would be 'a great attraction' for Queensland at the forthcoming exhibition. Recognising that 'machinery in motion ... is very attractive to the public,[339] Garrick saw an opportunity to show London investors how Queensland could transform its quartz with capital and advanced technology. Once his proposal was 'unanimously affirmed' by Queensland's exhibition commissioners, a five-head stamp battery, including copper plates and a concentrator, was manufactured to government order by John Walker and Company of Maryborough. Determined that its exhibit should be 'unique',

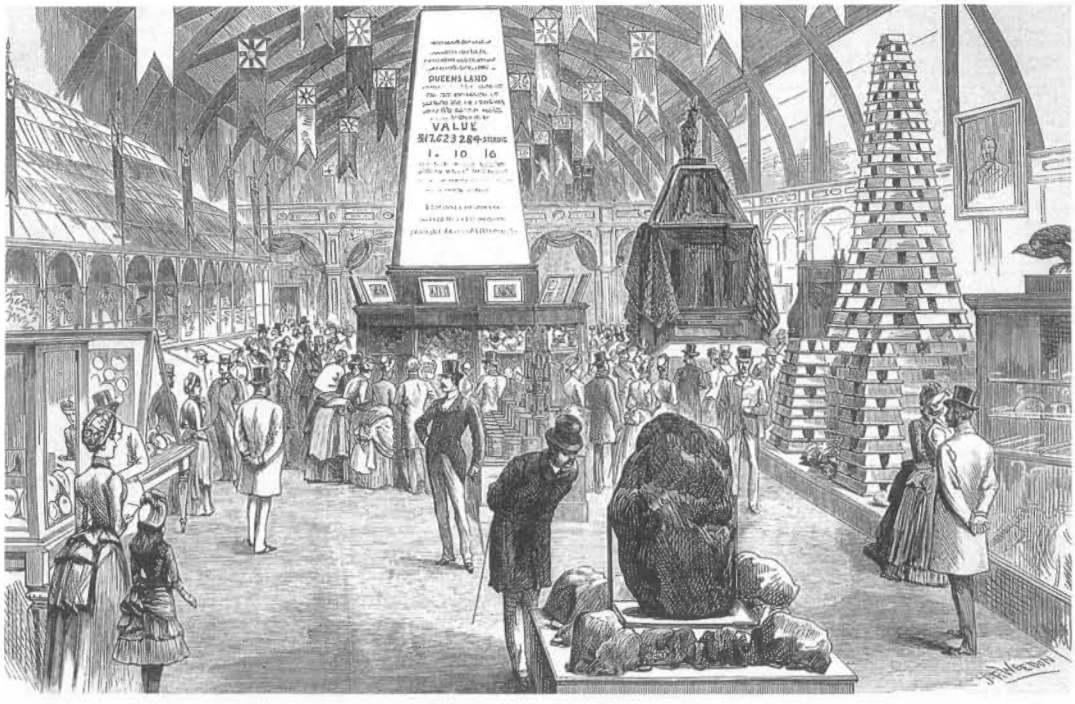

FIG. 69. The Queensland court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, with the gold trophy (centre), John Moffat and Company's tin trophy (right), copper ore from Cloncurry (foreground) and the conservatory on the left. (*Illustrated London News*, 28 Aug. 1886)

Queensland was unwilling to negotiate an alternative proposal for a joint Australian display of quartz crushing at the exhibition.[340] Here the battery was erected under engineer Longden's supervision in the South Promenade (at some distance from Queensland's court) in a pioneer hut supplied with motive power, running water and massive foundations of colonial ironbark. Grinding and amalgamating pans were manufactured in England to Longden's specifications, and added to the battery along with the necessary counter shafting, pulleys and belting to drive the pans. To complete the battery 'in every respect', a cleaning-up table, gold scales, retort with condenser, crucibles, etc. were added. Demonstrating the whole process of crushing bulk quartz to produce glittering bars of gold, Queensland's exhibit was an immediate sensation, through the noise reportedly 'caused quite a "scare" among timid people'.[341] Investors took keen interest in the results of the crushings, which yielded a rich average of from 2 to well over 3 ounces of gold to the ton. The Queensland-designed and made battery, the outcome of 30 years' experience of behalf of the manufacturers and erector, was acclaimed by British engineers for its design and strength.[342] It was run on two occasions for gatherings of London's Institution of Mechanical Engineers: indeed it was a quintessential symbol of colonial progress.

Visitors who could stand the noise within Queensland's pioneer hut could also see the old method of alluvial gold washing demonstrated by a 'practical' miner from the colony, Henry Aldridge (Fig. 71). His demonstrations were such an attraction that 'scuffles or mild fights' frequently broke out at the barrier between visitors jostling for a good view. Official exhibition reports support Garrick's claim that Queensland's gold battery and miner were 'amongst the leading features of the Exhibition',[343] their only competitor being the Cape Colony's diamond washing and cutting display, but its machinery and noise level were far less arresting and did not warrant a special enclosure. In all, the exhibition's experts proclaimed Queensland's mineral exhibits 'of a most interesting character' and 'a wonderful stimulant to faith' in the future of the colony.[344]

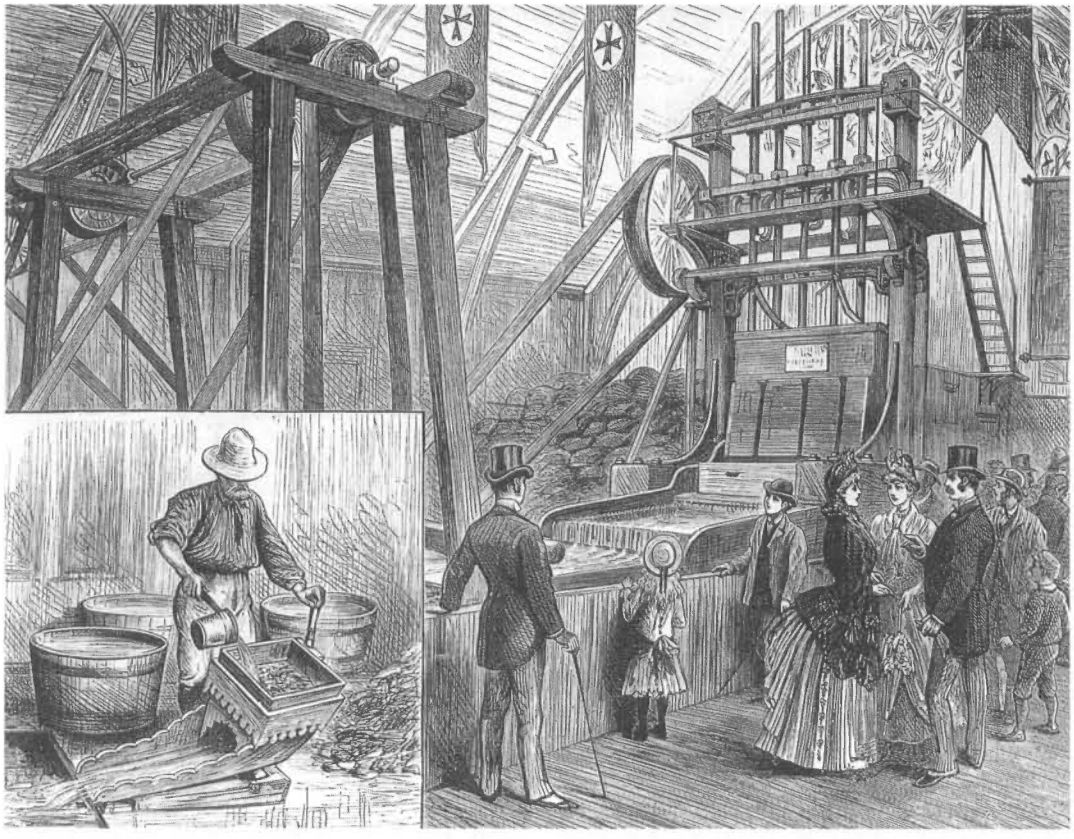

FIG. 70. Queensland's stamp battery and (inset) alluvial gold washing at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (*Illustrated London News*, 28 Aug. 1886)

Unlike the 'dazzling' nuggets and 'gaudy' triumphal arch shown by Victoria at the exhibition, Queensland's exhibits represented wealth won by 'serious' enterprise, not luck, and were not just gilded replicas. Further, Queensland and its 'clever' Agent-General were hailed as singularly 'astute' in promoting the mining industry so effectively.[345] These accolades would have been accompanied by many medals had the exhibition made awards.

Before the exhibition closed, Queensland gold mines began to be sold on the London Stock Exchange. In August 1886 Charters Towers' renowned Day Dawn Block and Wyndham Mine, of which Thomas Mills was the major shareholder, was floated for nearly £500,000. Then followed a Queensland gold mining boom which became 'the speculative event of the year'[346] at the hands of professional company promoters and 'premium-hunters'. But as speculation increased, so did doubts about the integrity of some of the companies being floated. On 28 October Premier Griffith cabled Agent-General Garrick to warn British investors that some companies were 'not altogether *bona fide*'. In particular, Griffith was alarmed by the Mount Morgan West Gold Mining Company masquerading in London as the original Mount Morgan Company which, to add to investors' confusion, had been registered in Brisbane as recently as 1 October 1886.[347] Griffith saw 'a great danger' that such 'bogus speculations', mere prospecting ventures founded on the performance of neighbouring mines, could destroy confidence in the colony as a field for investment. Though the Premier's warning caused some indignation in north Queensland, it was generally well received in London.[348]

FIG. 71. Henry Aldridge, an experienced miner from Gympie and Charters Towers, washing gold from alluvial earth by means of a cradle, dipper and puddling tubs at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (*Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*)

Regrettably, it did not stop the Mount Morgan West Company from being formed in late October with capital of £200,000. The company's prospectus drew on a geological report by Logan Jack postulating that Mount Morgan was a freak of nature — a thermal spring which in tertiary times had deposited rich auriferous material at the apex, but little, if any, in the surrounding overflow area.[349] The prospectus fraudulently implied that the company's 14-acre property (actually at the north-west base of the mount, at the edge of the overflow) lay within the rich apex deposit which, it added, 'may be truly called a mountain of gold'. The prospectus went on to claim that specimens of this auriferous deposit, yielding no less than 7 ounces of gold to the ton, were on show in the Queensland court at the exhibition. On 3 November Agent-General Garrick responded publicly that these specimens were from the original Mount Morgan claim (covering the apex deposit), not the company's property. At this time Garrick suspended engineer Longden for his 'prominent part' in the formation of the company as a director.

The company's prospects dimmed in April 1887 when a shareholder won a legal action for return of his money on the ground of the 'misrepresentation' contained in the prospectus. After other shareholders had followed suit, the company was reconstructed in London in August 1887 as the Mount Morgan Extended Gold Mining Company, which likewise failed to meet its shareholders' expectations for no payable gold was ever found. The 'Rockhampton swindle', as the company was called in Queensland, also left Henry Aldridge a broken man. After his successful demonstrations at the exhibition he accepted the management of the Mount Morgan West Mine, only to find that the mine was almost non-existent apart from the costly machinery ordered by a local director, Robert Ballard, in return for 'a big commission'. Ballard later sacked Aldridge after swindling him on a second mining venture.[350] Despite such unfortunate consequences of the boom that followed the 1886 exhibition, it is estimated that at this time some £6.4 million was subscribed by British investors for mining operations in Queensland (see Chapter 8).

At the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 Queensland made another bold show of its 'practically inexhaustible' mineral wealth, epitomised by its increased gold production while that of its sister colonies had declined. Besides borrowing back from London the mineral collection shown in 1886 and later stored for the Imperial Institute, Queensland's commissioners planned to represent the colony's more recent goldfields, including Croydon and Eidsvold. In January 1888, soon after Queensland's late decision to participate officially at Melbourne, the mining surveyor Thomas O'Connor was despatched to collect from the northern districts. Local committees in Charters Towers, Gympie and Herberton assisted in amassing a collection of 18,546 exhibits, more than could be displayed in the cramped Queensland court and many remained in their packing cases, unopened. Logan Jack's pamphlet *The Mineral Wealth of Queensland* was published for the exhibition to explain not only the exhibits but also the 'localities where minerals still await the attention of miners and capitalists'.[351] Following the 1886 policy of showing minerals 'in bulk', the

commissioners collected more quartz from the principal goldfields to make two huge trophies.

The Herberton district secured 'a singularly prominent position' at the exhibition due to the efforts of its local committee who published a pamphlet for distribution in the court[352] and funded a local commissioner, the mine owner and mining assayer Henry Hammond, to accompany the district's exhibits. Again John Moffat and Company of Irvinebank contributed a large tin and silver trophy, which won a silver medal. The Queensland commissioners, the Herberton committee and the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company won gold medals for their respective exhibits, though the latter were conspicuously mean with their contributions to this and the next exhibition. The famous 'mountain of gold' needed no publicity.

FIG. 72. The mining court at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897, viewed from the entrance to the adjoining fine arts court. Behind the gilded columns and gold from Charters Towers (in the foreground) is the Etheridge district exhibit. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

The full impact of the Melbourne exhibits was yet to come, for after the exhibition most of the collection (what did not have to be returned to London for the Imperial Institute) was stored in the Queensland Museum for a future showing. Regrettably, this was not to be in 1890 at London's International Exhibition of Mining and Metallurgy where New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia had courts. Because of a major depression and drought in 1888-89, Queensland was only unofficially represented at this exhibition, much to the disappointment of a Charters Towers committee who sent a collection of 337 exhibits.[353] This, the first exhibition of its kind, set grandiose expectations for future display of the world's mineral wealth. New South Wales' contribution, occupying some 15,000 square feet, was by far the largest minerals show yet made by an Australian colony or, it was claimed, 'by any Government'.[354]

New South Wales' example, repeated in another vast minerals show at Chicago, may have served as inspiration for Queensland's mining court at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. The acknowledged 'hub' of the exhibition, the court was the government's main contribution to the event and formed its grand entrance, being located just beyond the turnstiles and occupying 7,500 square feet in the main hall of the Exhibition Building at Bowen Park. The court was a triumph for the Government Geologist Robert Logan Jack, who had been appointed its organiser at short notice. Amazingly, the 2,040 multiple exhibits were collected in the 10 weeks prior to the opening, apart from the exhibits

previously shown at Melbourne in 1888-89. This was achieved with the assistance of gold wardens and mineral land commissioners throughout the colony, the Coen Progress Association, and a Charters Towers committee who published a pamphlet especially for the exhibition and sought half a ton of ores from each of the local mines.[355] In addition, special collectors were engaged for particular districts: the Maryborough agent F.G. Simpson for Gympie and Eidsvold; Walter Evan Cameron, of the Queensland Geological Survey, for Charters Towers; F.H. Howard for Croydon and the Etheridge; and the local mining agent John M. Holloway and teacher William D. Nash for Herberton. Besides compiling a catalogue of exhibits, issued in a second edition to include the late arrivals from remote fields, Jack personally supervised the arrangement of the court and displayed his numerous geological reports and maps as scientific propaganda.[356]

FIG. 73. Obelisks for (right to left) the Coen, Eidsvold, Etheridge, Gympie, Rockhampton and Clermont goldfields at the Queensland International Exhibition. In the background is the Herberton district exhibit, while in the foreground are jardinieres supplied by James Campbell and Sons' Albion pottery for the exhibition. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Towering over the court were two gilded Doric columns 35 feet high, designed especially for the exhibition by Thomas Pye, the Chief Draftsman of the Public Works Department, to represent the 11,198,600 ounces of gold so far produced by the colony, placing Queensland second only to Victoria as Australia's great gold producer. Leading up to these columns was an avenue of 12 gilded obelisks also designed by Pye and individually scaled to represent the output of the colony's principal goldfields, from Charters Towers (Australia's most productive goldfield in 1891-96) at 3,584,278 ounces to the new Coen field at 19,307 ounces (Figs 72-74). On the partition which divided the court from the adjacent fine arts court, a colossal map of Queensland, measuring 40 feet by 29 feet, offered a bird's-eye view of the colony's mineral and agricultural districts and of civilisation's advance by way of railways, telegraphs and artesian bores[357] (Fig. 93). The various mineral districts were each represented, for the first time, by district stands which flanked the side avenues of the court (Fig. 75). Here visitors were dazzled by trophies of ore and quartz, pyramids of ingots, precious specimens in glass cases and 'bulk samples ... dotted promiscuous-like about the floor'.[358]

Queensland's mineral wealth was at last shown in its full glory, in both actual bulk and gilded replica, and seats were provided so that visitors could contemplate over £50,000 worth of exhibits in comfort. The most valuable exhibits were three cakes of retorted gold from Charters Towers and Gympie, including a 'trifling' cake

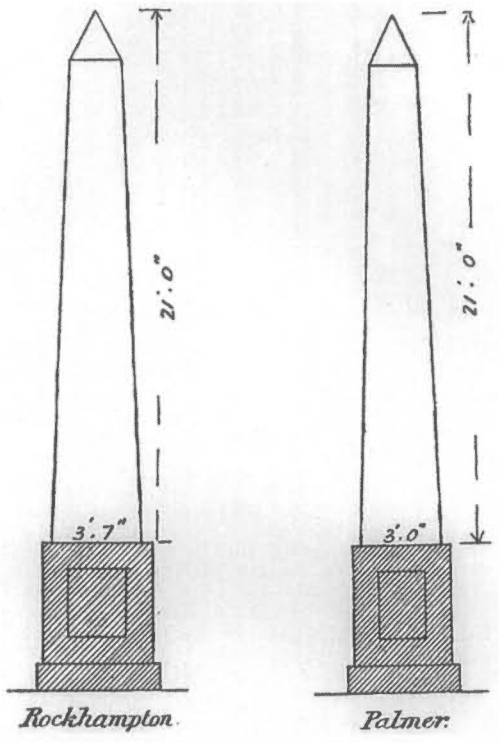

FIG. 74. Some of Thomas Pye's drawings for the gilded obelisks at the Queensland International Exhibition. (*Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Mining Court, Queensland International Exhibition, 1897*)

weighing 2,679 ounces from Gympie's Columbia and Smithfield Mine, the result of its crushings for April 1897, and a large private collection of gold specimens from the Charters Towers magnate E.H.T. Plant. These precious exhibits were guarded by detectives, day and night. The diversity of the colony's past and present mineral wealth was shown by: copper from Mount Perry, Cloncurry and Chillagoe; tin from Stanthorpe, Herberton, Watsonville and Irvinebank; silver from Montalbion; bismuth from Biggenden; cinnabar from Kilkivan; opals and gemstones from the west; and, ranged along the colonnade outside the court, coal and coke from the West Moreton and Burrum coalfields. These were but a sampling of the finds made within living memory. Attesting to competence in metallurgy and mining technology were products from the Queensland Smelting Company's works at Aldershot, near Maryborough, which treated refractory ores, a model of the Mount Morgan chlorination works sent by the former manager George Henry Irvine, and photographs of the famous mine in operation. Having installed in 1888 the world's largest chlorination works (for the treatment of tailings), Mount Morgan developed chlorination to its highest efficiency and won acclaim for efficient mine management. Also on display were diamond drill cores from the bore at Golden Gate, Charters Towers, and a sectional view of the bore. By now Charters Towers had become a field of deep reefing, its rich Brilliant reef being worked by mines over 2,500 feet underground.

Undoubtedly the mining court impressed exhibition-goers, especially Queenslanders: it was said to make them 'draw themselves to their full height and feel proud of their country' or even 'flap their wings and crow'.[359] Since mineral exhibits had been 'entirely absent ... or very poorly represented' in Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibitions and in most country exhibitions, the court gave colonists their first opportunity to survey the resources touted as the key to the colony's future progress.[360] Near the close of the exhibition the Brisbane artist-taxidermist Anthony Alder was commissioned by Logan Jack to make gilded replicas of the most spectacular exhibits — the cakes of gold, nuggets and ingots — for display in his Geological Museum in (central) Brisbane. More debatable was whether the mining court made any impression on the British investors who by then had turned their attention to the rich new goldfields of Western Australia. In May 1897 the *Queenslander* urged:

> Could that display but be transported to England as it stands Queensland would need no further advertisement of its advantages as a field for mining investment.[361]

At the close of the exhibition, a Royal Commission on mining in Queensland recommended that the exhibits be retained for showing in London, then the world's centre for mining investment. But Logan Jack and the government already had plans to send the exhibits to Paris in 1900 for the exhibition of the century, and soon a second overseas showing was in the offing when the newly-formed Australasian Chamber of Mines proposed an international mining exhibition for London in 1899. Many mine owners donated their 1897 exhibits to the government for the coming events. Their enthusiasm was such that exhibits were still 'pouring in' a year later when Jack resisted any attempts at 'frittering

FIG. 75. A side avenue in the mining court at the Queensland International Exhibition, with the district exhibits of Stanthorpe, Herberton and the Etheridge. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

away' the valuable collection.[362] In November 1898 Queensland eventually withdrew from the Paris exhibition over its 'wholly insufficient' allocation of space within the British colonial section and the impracticability of mounting an alternative 'Gold Court' within the exhibition proper. In fact most of the British colonies withdrew from the Paris exhibition at this point, faced with the inadequate space granted to them by the French authorities and the excessive cost of having to erect their own pavilion in the Trocadéro Gardens.

Thereafter all hopes were pinned on a grand show of the colony's resources at the Greater Britain Exhibition, to be held in London in 1899 and incorporating the earlier proposed mining exhibition. Logan Jack, appointed in October 1898 to represent the colony at the exhibition and oversee its exhibits, advised the government to secure 20,000 square feet for the minerals alone (over three times the size of the 1897 mining court) so that Queensland could again 'forcibly impress' British investors with its mineral wealth.[363] The minerals collection, eventually comprising some 2,421 collective exhibits, was augmented by the efforts of Charters Towers and Gympie committees, gold wardens, and, again, the Herberton auctioneer John M. Holloway; by extensive loans from the Queensland Museum and the Imperial Institute; and by recycling the remnants of the Melbourne 1888-89 exhibits. After soliciting more exhibits and information from mines throughout the colony and preparing the third (1899) edition of his geological map of Queensland especially for the exhibition, Jack departed for London in December 1898 to oversee the installation of the most ambitious display ever made by the colony.

At the Greater Britain Exhibition mineral exhibits took up two-thirds of Queensland's court, largely repeating the 1897 example on a grander scale. The two parts of the court were divided by a 30-foot-wide gateway replicating London's well-known old Temple Bar, built to scale and gilded to represent the 12,924,632 ounces of gold so far produced by the colony, now placing Queensland third to Western Australia and Victoria among Australia's gold producers. At the other end of the court was the colossal map of Queensland first prepared for the 1897 exhibition. Along a central avenue were 12 gilded obelisks and Ionic and Corinthian columns, individually scaled to represent the output of the principal goldfields, again ranging from Charters Towers to Coen (Fig. 76). Above the cornice the walls of the court were decorated with shields bearing the names of the colony's 64 proclaimed goldfields, while lower on the walls were photographs of mines and geological maps from all over the colony. Along the sides of the court the various mineral districts were again represented by a series of stands, with their bulk exhibits piled high on tables (Fig. 77). Here the colony's mineral wealth

FIG. 76. Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899, with Corinthian columns representing the output of the Eidsvold and Coen goldfields. (*British Australasian*, 17 Aug. 1899)

was shown in its grandest-ever bulk to demonstrate the geological features of each district and to prove, in Jack's words, 'that in Queensland mining on a wholesale scale is not only a possibility but a fact'.[364]

The colony's principal mines each sent one or two tons of ores. Mount Morgan, hailed as 'the greatest gold mine of the world', sent an unprecedented 7 tons, and the new Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company, boasting nine groups of mines with ore deposits 'many times the value of ... Rio Tinto and most of the great ... copper mines of the world', sent a 'magnificent show' of 33 exhibits weighing 40 tons.[365] And there was no shortage of tin, copper and lead ingots, thanks to John Moffat and the Irvinebank Mining Company, and the Queensland Smelting Company of Aldershot. To add to the 'impression of vastness' the huge block of copper ore from Cloncurry, previously shown in 1886, was again retrieved from Glasgow's Kelvingrove Museum. The sheer volume of the exhibits presented so much labour for Logan Jack and his staff that the court was not properly set up before the exhibition opened on 8 May 1899. Bringing such bulk from the antipodes was an achievement in itself, as Jack explained:

> We come from the ends of the earth, and everything ... is brought under difficulties of transport and of time ... Every ton of mining produce which is represented here, valuable as it may be, has perhaps cost ... considerably more than its value to bring ...[366]

Queensland's bulk rock exhibits distinguished its court from the other minerals displays at the exhibition, notably the international mining section in the Ducal Hall which included some Western Australian exhibits and the Victorian court which was devoted more to agricultural and pastoral exhibits.

But the court contained more than just bulk, for the gold exhibits alone were valued at over £50,000. Among these were three cakes of retorted gold from Charters Towers, Gympie and Croydon. The largest, weighing 5,913 ounces and valued at £20,697, was from Charters Towers' Brilliant Mine and was claimed to be 'the largest lump' of gold yet seen in England. Many visitors could not believe what they were seeing![367] Close by these real cakes were Anthony Alder's convincing replicas of the cakes shown in 1897 (Fig. 78). The Brisbane manufacturing jewellers, Flavelle, Roberts and Sankey, sent a large collection of Queensland jewellery and gemstones valued at £3,500, while the Queensland Smelting Company contributed a case of granulated fine silver. Maintaining constant vigilance over these treasures were an army of attendants, including constables and detectives, and an

FIG. 77. Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition, with an 'instructive series' of bulk exhibits from Pikedale, Texas, Stanthorpe, Mount Perry and Leyburn, and a trophy of ingots from the Queensland Smelting Company. In the background is a colossal map of Queensland. (*British Australasian*, 17 Aug. 1899)

'ingenious' system of burglar alarms. The court also showed evidence of the colony's progress in metallurgy and mining techology, for which the Charters Towers field was noted. A model of the cyanide works at the Brilliant Block Mine foretold the widespread application of the cyanide process (for the treatment of tailings) which gave the colony a record gold yield in 1899. As an official report for the year concluded:

> Mining in Queensland is fast assuming the proportions of a great industry, with infinite possibilities of expansion ... mining now depends for success less on the abnormal richness of the ore deposits than on the perfection attained in the methods observed in their extraction and treatment ... by a natural process of evolution the digger and the small mine owner are giving place to the mining engineer and the metallurgist.[368]

Queensland's greatest triumph of technology was a mercury fountain (Fig. 79), strategically located in the centre of the court in the thoroughfare leading to the Empress Theatre where the Savage South Africa Show ('the Greatest Show in London') played to packed audiences. Designed especially for the exhibition by the British engineer Charles Bright as a 'novel' variation on a water fountain, the mercury fountain proved a 'never-failing attraction' to visitors. The *British Australasian* rated it not only 'the great "draw" of the court' but also 'the greatest novelty in the Exhibition'.[369] Containing some 4 tons of mercury kept in circulation by an electric motor, the fountain was a symbol of colonial progress for it

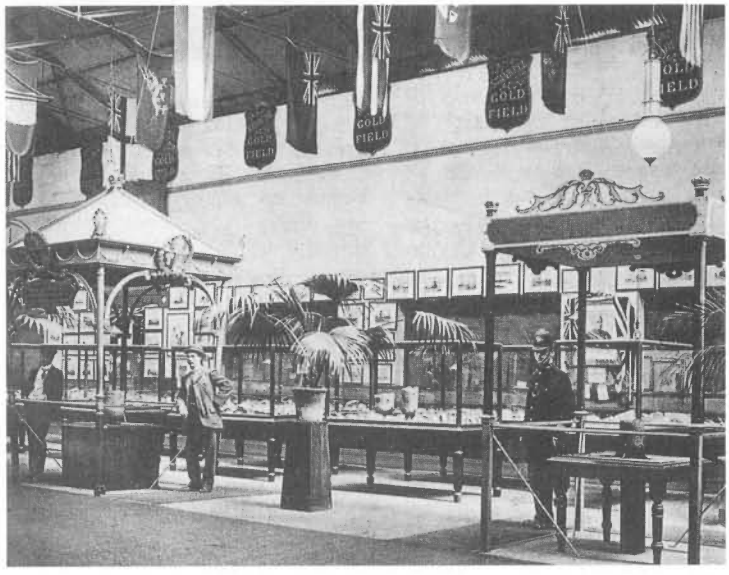

FIG. 78. Cakes of retorted gold 'of fabulous value' in Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition. The cakes were from the Brilliant Mine, Charters Towers (left), and the Scottish Gympie Mine, Gympie (right). Behind them are Anthony Alder's gilded replicas (centre). (*British Australasian*, 17 Aug. 1899)

showed that Queensland could convert its cinnabar deposits into the liquid metal so much needed on the goldfields for gold extraction. (By today's standards, however, the fountain was more a potentially lethal menace than a triumph, now that the dangers of mercury poisoning are better understood.) Upon Logan Jack's initiative Queensland mounted another symbol of progress at the exhibition — a gold battery which crushed and treated ore from the colony. It was housed in a special enclosure near the Ferris wheel in the Elysia amusement area. Since this was but one of several batteries worked at the exhibition and had been supplied by a British rather than colonial manufacturer,[370] it caused none of the sensation achieved in 1886.

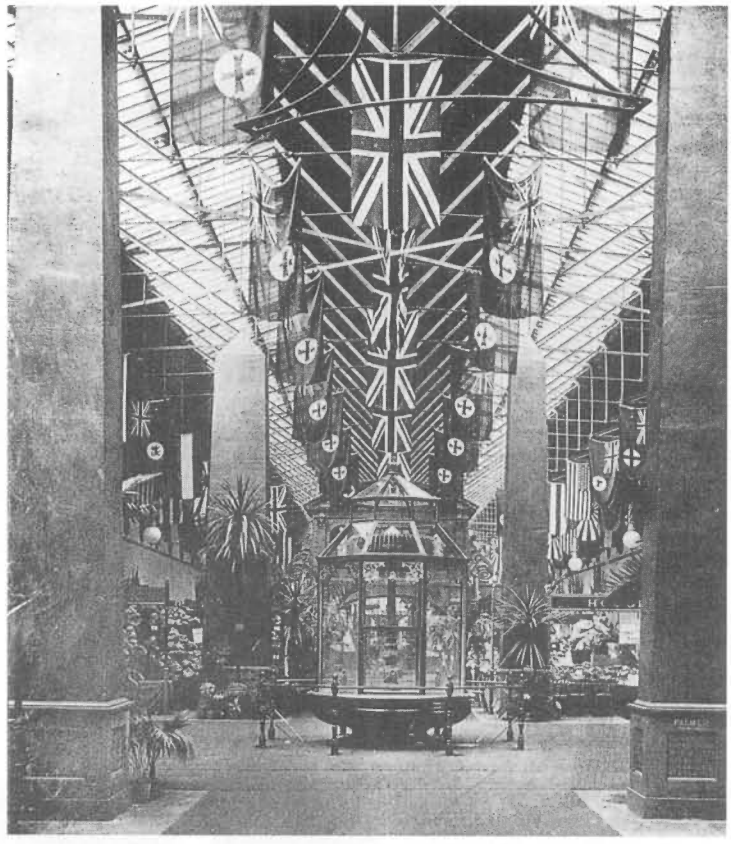

FIG. 79. From the crossroads of Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition where the 'novel' mercury fountain (centre) was located and obelisks for the colony's four most productive goldfields: Charters Towers, Gympie, Rockhampton district and the Palmer. Beyond the fountain is the Temple Bar gateway which divided the court. (*British Australasian*, 17 Aug. 1899)

The exhibits were backed up by a wealth of scientific and practical information, including the latest government geological reports and propaganda compiled especially for distribution in the court by Charles Schaefer Rutlidge, who ran its information bureau.[371] Some 200,000 publications were distributed during the exhibition, including 30,000 mining pamphlets.[372] Among the staff tending the exhibits and answering visitors' enquiries were George William Cornish, a mining engineer, and Percy F. Russell, a geologist. In addition, the court was served by eight of the colony's leading mining men who were appointed overseas exhibition commissioners: William Smyth, William Knox D'Arcy, Thomas Skarratt Hall, John McDonald, Thomas Mills, Ross Robinson, William Henry Couldery and George Henry Irvine (see Appendix 3) — apart from the Agent-General, Sir Horace Tozer, himself a mining investor and a former Gympie solicitor specialising in mining law.[373] It is little wonder that the Queensland court won official acclaim, receiving 40 gold medals for the minerals exhibits alone. The *British Australasian* reporter raved:

> No such collection of gold quartz has ever been on show in London from any part of the world ... To company promoters the exhibition of this mining wealth will prove a perfect godsend ...

A prominent member of London's Stock Exchange confirmed that this was 'the finest' minerals show to be seen in the city for years.[374]

Meanwhile back in Queensland there were jubilant expectations of another mining boom as had followed the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Late in 1898 the *North Queensland Herald* had even warned its readers with mines to 'dispose of' to be on the ready, having noted with glee that Logan Jack was not preparing 'a zoological

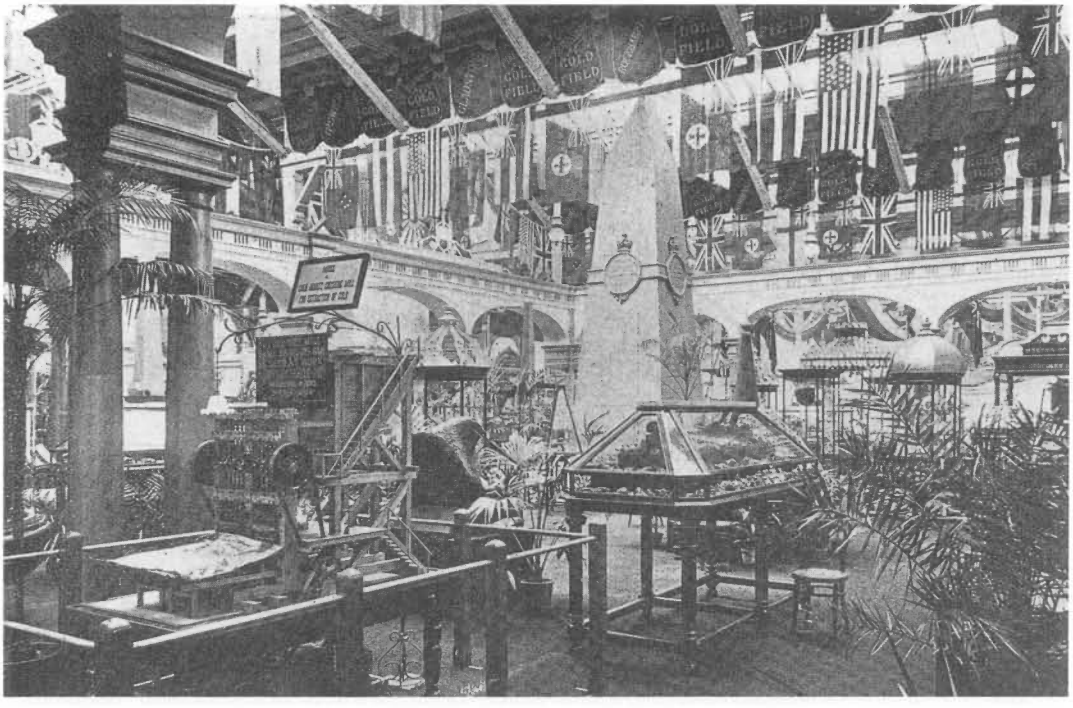

FIG. 80. Queensland's 'court of the golden columns' at the Glasgow exhibition of 1901. In the foreground is a working model of a gold battery and in the centre is a gilded obelisk representing the colony's total gold yield of 14,837,049 ounces. (*British Australasian*, 8 Aug. 1901)

collection' for the forthcoming event![375] But British investors failed to respond on this occasion, apart from continuing to take up shares in the 'biggest' and best-advertised mining undertaking to be attempted in the colony, the Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company, floated in 1898 and actively promoted in London during the exhibition. Investors found Queensland's mining laws discouraging, despite the introduction of new legislation which gave security of tenure to mining leases and relaxed labour conditions. In an editorial on the *Queensland Mining Act of 1898* the *Australian Mining Standard* wrote:

> Queensland law is the most restrictive of all the colonies. The effect is seen in the fact that of all the prominent gold producers Queensland attracts the least foreign capital, and in view of its representation at the Greater Britain Exhibition it seems odd that on one hand so much trouble should be taken by the Government to induce investment, while on the other there is so great a reluctance to take full advantage of the means by which the inducement can be rendered most effective.[376]

Logan Jack's sudden resignation from his exhibition duties in September 1899, to take up exploratory work in China, did not add to investors' confidence in Queensland.[377] So only Western Australia won advantage from the suspension of capital to South African mines following the outbreak of the Boer War.

Before the exhibition closed, Queensland decided to take part in the forthcoming Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, the largest exhibition to be held in Great Britain and favoured because of the 'large amount' of Glasgow capital already invested in the colony. The London mineral exhibits, reduced to about one-tenth of their bulk by selective crushing and donations to museums throughout Britain, were retained for another showing in the second city of the Empire. Queensland's court at Glasgow, occupying 6,100 square feet in the large Industrial Hall, was almost entirely a display of minerals and was solely funded by the Department of Mines (Figs 80-83). Enclosed by an arcade with gilded columns, the court was dominated by a 24-foot-high gilded obelisk

FIG. 81. From the centre of Queensland's court at the Glasgow exhibition. The octagonal case on the left contains smelted tin 'in fantastic shapes', with tin ore piled around the base. The centre case contains Anthony Alder's replicas of cakes of retorted gold. (*British Australasian*, 8 Aug. 1901)

representing the 14,837,049 ounces of gold so far produced by the colony. Piled around the base of the obelisk were bulk samples of quartz from the principal goldfields, while shields bearing the names of the 70 proclaimed goldfields were hung in rows over the court. Also conspicuous were four obelisks of tin, copper, silver and lead, each supported on a base of ingots. The Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company sent more exhibits, and yet again the huge block of copper ore from Cloncurry was retrieved from the Glasgow Museum.

The reduced volume enabled most of the mineral exhibits to be shown in glass cases instead of the bulk piles previously shown at London. The most valuable exhibits were four bars of gold from Mount Morgan, Charters Towers and Croydon. The two bars from Charters Towers' Day Dawn Block and Wyndham Mine were 'prettily displayed' on a velvet stand and located alongside two iron and wood bars of similar size. Visitors were invited to test the comparative weights of all four bars, but precautions were taken that they should 'not be lifted in a burglarious sense'.[378] The 1-pound bar from Croydon was a gift from its miners to Major-General Baden-Powell of South African fame 'in recognition of the brave defence of Mafeking' during the recent hostilities. Reassuring Glasgow industrialists and investors of Queensland's competence in the mining business were the previously-shown models of the Mount Morgan chlorination works and the Charters Towers cyanide works. In addition, there were two working models made in Britain especially for the exhibition, a model 10-head gold battery which was worked throughout the exhibition, and a 'speciality' devised by the engineer George William Cornish, the assistant manager of the court. This was a 15-foot-high model poppet head, gilded, and equipped with small cages holding electric lights. To visitors' delight, the illuminated cages were driven up and down the mine shaft by motor power 'as if in actual practice'.[379]

But Queensland's most spectacular exhibit at Glasgow was the now 'famous' mercury fountain (Fig. 83) located at the east end of the court, its 65 streams of liquid silver now transformed

FIG. 82. Cases of gold nuggets and specimens in Queensland's court at the Glasgow exhibition. (*British Australasian*, 8 Aug. 1901)

into liquid rainbows by the addition of coloured electric lamps. To add to the spectacle some heavy axe heads were floated on the mercury in the basin of the fountain, a Biblical allusion that was not lost on Glaswegians.[380] The fountain caused even more amazement than it had done at London and was featured in the Scottish press. Another attraction of the court was an opal cutting and polishing display. To accompany the exhibits, a special edition of the *Queensland Government Mining Journal* was published for distribution in the court, a 66-page 'flying survey' of the mineral fields in 'a territory ... embarrassed with the multitude of its mineral deposits' and appealing for capital to develop those deposits.[381]

Regrettably, the splendid show at Glasgow was jeopardised by events back home which brought discredit to Queensland as a field for investment. Late in 1900 a scandal involving a falsified prospectus for the North Chillagoe Mines Company had caused London's influential *Mining Journal* to refer to 'disgracefully shady' dealings in Queensland and to caution investors 'not to place too much confidence in reports bearing the impress of the [Queensland] Mines Department'. This scandal was soon followed by rumours that the Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company's ore reserves had been grossly over-estimated, causing heavy selling of its shares in London early in 1901. In July public confidence in the company collapsed and in December the company itself collapsed, its huge smelters being closed down within four months of commencing operations. The gravity of the collapse was summed up by the *Australian Mining Standard*:

> ... there have been many unpleasant developments in connection with Australian mining enterprises, but never before has a company spent over half a million sterling in railway and wharf construction, ... smelters, etc., and collapsed without testing the paying possibilities of the property ... The effect upon Australian mining interests must therefore be most serious, and especially will it act as a set back to the mineral development of Northern Queensland.[382]

More immediately, the Chillagoe collapse proved a setback to the promotional effort at Glasgow, having loomed when the exhibition opened in May and eventuated soon after it closed in November. Queensland's notoriety ensured that Western Australia, which also had an official court at the exhibition, continued to monopolise the flow of British capital to Australian mines. Further, the recent British victory in South Africa not only restored the flow of capital to its mines but unleashed a rush of migration from all over the Empire, including Australia.

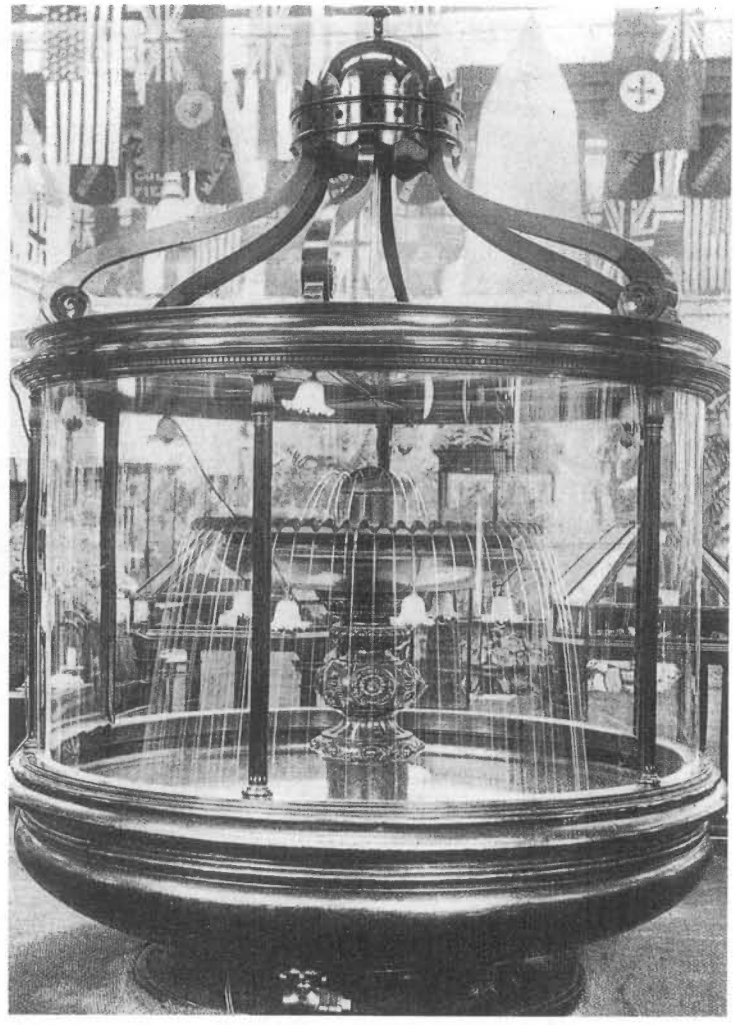

FIG. 83. Queensland's 'famous' mercury fountain in its Glasgow guise complete with coloured lamps. (*British Australasian*, 8 Aug. 1901)

In this chapter I have traced the increasing dominance of the mining industry over colonial Queensland's contributions to international exhibitions, reflecting the growing demand for capital to exploit the vast and varied mineral resources of the colony. Following the economic difficulties of the early 1890s Queensland's 'unlimited' mineral resources were seen as the key to future progress, capable of saving the colony from the worst times of depression. From the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, an increasingly large proportion of the colony's exhibition effort and expenditure was concentrated on mineral and mining exhibits. 'Novelties', such as working quartz batteries and mercury fountains, were devised to attract visitors' attention to the abundant mineral wealth on show in the Queensland courts, or, as an official put it, to make the courts 'hum'.[383] These and other visible proofs of the colony's advanced mining technology were intended to reassure investors that the capital directed to Queensland would not be wasted. Since the colony sent few arts or manufactures to exhibitions, its colonists depended on the mineral and mining exhibits to show the advanced civilisation that enabled them to exploit the riches of the earth.

CHAPTER 6

'FIELDS WITH PLENTY'

Exhibition propaganda asserted that 'almost the whole' of Queensland could be put to productive use — no small assertion given the vastness of its territory (over 11 times the size of England and Wales). Queensland's catalogue for the Sydney exhibition went so far as to dismiss 'the persistent myth' of an interior desert.[384] Here in

Queensland, it was said, colonists could grow rich by 'utilising the tropical fecundity of the soil'.[385] Moreover, Queensland could boast that its vast territory and climatic differences enabled its colonists to cultivate a greater variety of products than could be produced in the southern colonies, ranging from temperate to tropical. In his *Queensland, Australia* Richard Daintree wrote that: '... Queensland, while successfully competing with the Mauritius in sugars, and with the States in cottons, can venture as a rival with Southern Europe in cereals, roots, and fruits'.[386] Other exhibition propagandists held that Queensland's capabilities of producing 'any known agricultural product of the earth' were almost without limit. 'In short', concluded Harry Courtenay Luck in his *Sketch* for the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, 'Queensland may be described as very little short of an earthly paradise for the farmer'.[387]

In this chapter I examine the agricultural and pastoral exhibits that served to illustrate the productive potential of the colony. I trace the increasing importance of agricultural exhibits as successive governments sought to achieve closer settlement by redistributing land from pastoral to agricultural usage. This urge towards closer settlement was based on boundless faith in the agricultural potential of the colony and the belief that cultivation made the most profitable use of land. Also central to the 'agrarian myth' so widely accepted in colonial Queensland were romanticised notions of rural life (seen as morally and physically superior to town life) and of a countryside dotted with small selections worked by white yeomen farmers (in preference to large estates owned by pastoralists or planter-capitalists and dependent on cheap coloured labour). As the historian Duncan Waterson adds, the vision of a Darling Downs — Queensland's richest land — transformed by sturdy yeomen farmers from a sheepwalk to a granary represented 'the very vanguard of Progress' to the colony's 'liberal' legislators of the late 19th century.[388]

European settlement brought an endless variety of foreign plants and animals to Queensland, intended to 'improve' on the native species for which, as I have shown in Chapter 3, there was little respect. Most active in introducing and distributing plants of economic value in the early years of the colony were Walter Hill of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens and Lewis Adolphus Bernays, the energetic vice-president and secretary of the Queensland Acclimatisation Society.[389] Both kept up a 'vigorous exchange' with the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, the botanical clearing house for the British Empire, and with other botanic gardens throughout the world. Also active in advancing agricultural and pastoral interests in the colony were its many agricultural, horticultural and pastoral societies, numbering some 121 by the turn of the century. Among the first of these were the societies founded in the 1860s at Toowoomba, Warwick, Ipswich and Springsure, followed in 1875 by the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland which aimed to serve the whole colony. These societies, organisers of the colony's series of annual agricultural exhibitions, enabled Queenslanders to view the progress of their rural industries and gave most their only experience of exhibitions.[390]

Queensland's earliest agricultural exhibits were tropical products acclimatised soon after European settlement. At London's Great Exhibition of 1851 the Moreton Bay district was represented by a small quantity of cotton (in addition to the previously-mentioned sample of timber). This cotton, woven in India into fine muslin, was shown by the well-known Manchester cotton-spinner, Sir Thomas Bazley, a Royal Commissioner for the exhibition and an advocate of an Australian cotton-growing industry. More muslin made from Moreton Bay cotton won 'general admiration' at the Paris exhibition of 1855,[391] along with two boxes of cotton from Moreton Bay's main cotton-grower, Ambrose Eldridge (a member of the local sub-committee for the exhibition), and an 'improved' cotton gin made by the Brisbane carpenter David Fernando Longland. Among the other tropical products shown at Paris were rosella jam and fibre from the Brisbane gardener David Caldwell, and samples of arrowroot, tobacco and cayenne pepper. The pastoralists of Moreton Bay were conspicuously 'neglectful' of these events,[392] yet wool was the mainstay of Moreton Bay and already pastoralists had spread their flocks over the Darling Downs and north and west into the Burnett and Maranoa districts. Only one pastoralist, Arthur McArthur of Goomburra on the Darling Downs, showed any wool at Paris.

At the London exhibition of 1862 the young colony of Queensland presented itself as 'the future cotton-field of England', an alternative supplier in the wake of the American Civil War which had cut Britain's cotton supply and paralysed its cotton industry. Cotton-growing in the

colony had received official encouragement in 1861 with the introduction of land-order bonuses for successful growers. Exhibition propaganda asserted that the Queensland cotton-field was capable, with the necessary labour and capital, of maintaining a supply 'equal to any demand'.[393] The government sent a 400-pound bale of cotton to the exhibition, and Sir Thomas Bazley of Manchester sent two dresses made from Queensland cotton and wool. Nineteen other exhibitors sent cotton from districts as far apart as Brisbane and the Upper Dawson valley, proving the vastness of the potential Queensland cotton-field. These cotton exhibits 'excited more interest than perhaps any other in the Exhibition' and won six medals and four Honourable Mentions, though they failed to win the support of London investors.[394] Also shown was sugar-cane from two of the colony's pioneer sugar-growers, Walter Hill of Brisbane's Botanic Gardens and Louis Hope of Ormiston Plantation, Cleveland. Besides his exhibits of flora noted in Chapter 3, Hill was an active exhibitor of tropical cultivated products, some of which he had introduced to the colony. Again, Queensland's wool exhibits were meagre, as the best were lost on their way to the exhibition.

By the time of the Paris exhibition of 1867 Queensland had 8,149 acres under cotton, though the end of war in America had overcome the world shortage of cotton. Cotton was Queensland's 'best exhibit' at Paris, according to the *Argus* reporter,[395] and won Queensland's only gold medal at the exhibition. This went to the Sydney pastoralist and investor Captain Robert Towns, owner of the Townsvale Plantation on the Logan River and importer in 1863 of Queensland's first indentured labourers from the Pacific Islands. Sugar exhibits were now more numerous, coming from the Albert, Logan, Brisbane and Caboolture districts where sugar-growing was already well established. In 1864 the government had introduced liberal land concessions to sugar-growers and sugar was predicted to become one of the colony's 'principal sources of prosperity'. Prosperity was also envisaged from the cereal exhibits from the Darling Downs, 'The Garden of Australia', where farmers were starting to compete with pastoralists for land.[396] More tropical products were shown by Walter Hill, now joined by another keen exhibitor of such products, the Ipswich solicitor Charles Frederick Chubb. Again, Queensland's pastoralists were neglectful of this exhibition, initially providing no wool for the Brisbane preview of the Paris exhibits. Eventually they sent nine wool exhibits to Paris, the 'most prominent' coming from Archer and Company of Gracemere, near Rockhampton. These exhibits were used in the spectacular colonnade of wool bales that formed the entrance to the Australian courts at Paris (Fig. 18). In addition, the exhibition commissioner Arthur Hodgson sent cloth woven in England from his Eton Vale wool. Also shown were samples of Liebig's beef extract from its pioneer manufacturer in Australia, Robert Tooth, a Sydney investor and pastoralist and later an exhibition commissioner. Tooth was a partner in Tooth and Cran's meat preserving works at Yengarie, near Maryborough, established in 1865 to exploit the Liebig process.[397]

At the London and Vienna exhibitions of the early 1870s sugar replaced cotton as Queensland's main agricultural exhibit, with 28 samples of sugar being shown at London in 1872. Cotton-growing was declining with the withdrawal of government bonuses, whereas sugar-growing was now an 'established industry' in coastal districts extending from the Logan to the Herbert Rivers and boasting some 14,000 acres under cultivation. The progress of the sugar industry had 'never before been equalled in the history of industrial advancement', declared Queensland's catalogue for the Vienna exhibition.[398] Queensland's sugars won five medals and five Honourable Mentions at Vienna. Regrettably, Walter Hill's new collection of 'vegetable products' for London — the fruit of five years' labour — was destroyed in the wreck of the *Young Australia* off Brisbane in June 1872, and the cereal exhibits were destroyed by weevils in transit. However, the silk exhibits survived to win the Brisbane architect-entrepreneur William Coote a medal for the best colonial silk shown at London in 1873.[399] Again the wool exhibits were meagre, reflecting the decline in Queensland's sheep flocks following the financial crisis of 1866 and its associated drought (lasting until 1868) which brought many pioneer pastoralists to ruin. The wool exhibits at both London and Vienna were overshadowed by Queensland's first trophies of tinned meats, marking the beginnings of its tinned meat exports. These trophies, erected by the recently-established Central Queensland Meat Preserving Company of Rockhampton, also marked the rise of Queensland's cattle industry for in recent years cattle had increased as sheep numbers declined. Cattle soon replaced sheep in the coastal districts and by the

end of the 1870s cattle also dominated the north-west (the Gulf country) and the far west of the colony.

At Philadelphia in 1876 wool was more prominent among Queensland's exhibits, at last assuming its place as Queensland's main export commodity. Indeed all the Australian colonies made grand shows of wool at the Philadelphia exhibition, in a bid to increase wool exports to the United States. Queensland showed 26 fleeces from its principal Darling Downs flocks and a 'sample case' of assorted wools. These were collected by Patrick Robertson Gordon (Fig. 84), the colony's Chief Inspector of Stock and an exhibition commissioner, and henceforth the colony's leading exhibitor of wool.[400] Gordon chose to send fleeces instead of (the usual) bales and to show the fleeces in glass cases along with 'practical' information on the sheep and the pastures. Queensland's fleeces impressed the *Australian Town and Country Journal* reporter at the exhibition, who wrote that they could be inspected 'with even more effectiveness than if they were on the backs of the sheep'.[401] Wool was Queensland's most successful exhibit at Philadelphia, winning 11 awards and proving that high-quality wool could be grown in the northern colony.

Queensland's sugars were also successful at the Phildelphia exhibition, winning four awards despite the recent ravages of rust on the sugar crop. Some of the sugars came from Tooth and Cran's 'gigantic' sugar works established in c.1872 at Yengarie, the largest and most modern in the colony. Queensland's cotton won only one award at Philadelphia, for cotton-growing had continued to decline (confined now to the West Moreton district) and the cotton crop had 'failed utterly' in the recent drought. More disappointingly, Queensland's 48 bottles of wine from Warwick and Warrill Creek won no awards. Most of this wine came from the German settler Jacob Kircher of the Assmanshausen Vineyard, Sandy Creek, Warwick, one of the colony's keenest wine exhibitors.[402]

For the Paris exhibition of 1878 Queensland planned another show of pastoral wealth in the form of a wool trophy representing a giant golden fleece.[403] But a drought the previous year limited the supply of wool, so the trophy was replaced by a gilded obelisk with a few bales of wool at the base. Again the wool came from the Darling Downs, the main exhibitor being Donald Gunn senior of Pikedale who won a gold medal. More

FIG. 84. Patrick Robertson Gordon, the Chief Inspector of Stock and a founder of the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland. Before his retirement in 1904, Gordon served as a commissioner for seven international exhibitions and for the Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870. (*Queensland Punch*, 1 Sept. 1883)

conspicuous were the sugars arranged at the entrance to Queensland's court, comprising some 91 samples from the colony's sugar-growing districts. By now Queensland had 16,584 acres under sugar, and sugar offered 'a boundless field' for future wealth.[404] Also shown in the court were: more cereals from the Darling Downs, tropical products from Walter Hill and other colonists, and tinned meats from Queensland's latest meat-exporting companies, G. Whitehead and Company of Rockhampton and the Hogarth Meat Preserving Company of Oakey Creek on the Darling Downs.[405] And another 34 bottles of wine were shown, for this exhibition was 'an opportune moment' for publicising

FIG. 85. Queensland's court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80, with (left to right): leather trunks and skins, and wool, cereals and fibres trophies. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Queensland's wine-producing capabilities, following the recent destruction of European vineyards by the disease phylloxera.

More extensive exhibits were sent to the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81. At Sydney, Queensland showed its first wool trophy, a five-tiered rack of fleeces (Fig. 85), while other fleeces were shown in a specially-made glass column which Executive Commissioner Lukin's critics considered a 'ridiculous' extravagance and more suited to rum than wool.[406] Now the wool came from the west — the Maranoa, Warrego and Mitchell districts — as well as the Darling Downs, proving the productive potential of Queensland's vast inland plains. By now half the colony's sheep were concentrated in these districts, and Queensland's commissioners made a concerted effort to ensure that wool from the west was represented in the Sydney exhibition. 'There is no country in Australia better fitted for pastoral purposes', wrote the exhibition propagandist Carl Fielberg in praise of Queensland's west.[407] From the 'famous' Glengallan stud on the Darling Downs came four prize rams' heads mounted by the Brisbane artist-taxidermist Anthony Alder as well as 'magnificent specimens' of fine merino wool. But these were only half of Queensland's wool exhibits at the Sydney exhibition, for its stud flocks took part in the international sheep and wool shows held during the exhibition, winning some of the major awards at the Sheep Show which opened in late September 1879. Queensland sent fewer wool exhibits to Melbourne's succeeding exhibition and, it seems, did not take part in Melbourne's International Wool Show of January 1881.[408] Other pastoral products shown at Sydney and Melbourne

included tinned meats from Brainard Skinner — 'the meat preserver, and everything-else preserver, of Brisbane' — and from G. Whitehead and Company of Rockhampton. The latter hosted a 'substantial luncheon' at the Sydney exhibition to promote its products, judged the best of all the preserved meats in the exhibition.

Queensland's agricultural exhibits at these events were also extensive, showing the great variety of its products. Sugar was now the colony's third export earner (after wool and gold) and promised an 'almost illimitable' field for expansion along the coastal lands of the north.[409] The largest of the sugar exhibits was a tall trophy in the shape of a cone, made of sugar-cane from the St Helena Penal Establishment in Moreton Bay (Fig. 86). Encircling the base of the trophy were glass boxes containing sugars in all stages of manufacture, from the coarsest and darkest brown to the finest white. Most of the sugars came from the district of Mackay, the colony's 'Sugaropolis', which already accounted for 40% of Queensland's sugar-growing area since sugar had been introduced in 1865. Queensland's sugars won the premier place at Melbourne, winning seven First Orders of Merit and out-doing the sugars from Mauritius. Queensland's maize was also successful at Melbourne, winning another seven First Orders of Merit. Queensland's wheat, on the other hand, was in short supply at Melbourne, as rust had destroyed most of the recent wheat crop. Other exhibits at Sydney and Melbourne included: rice from the 'well-known experimentalist' Alexander Macpherson (also known for his fibre exhibits, mentioned in Chapter 3), 'a ton' of arrowroot from Lahey and Sons of Pimpama, cotton from Ipswich, and jams and preserved fruit from Brainard Skinner.

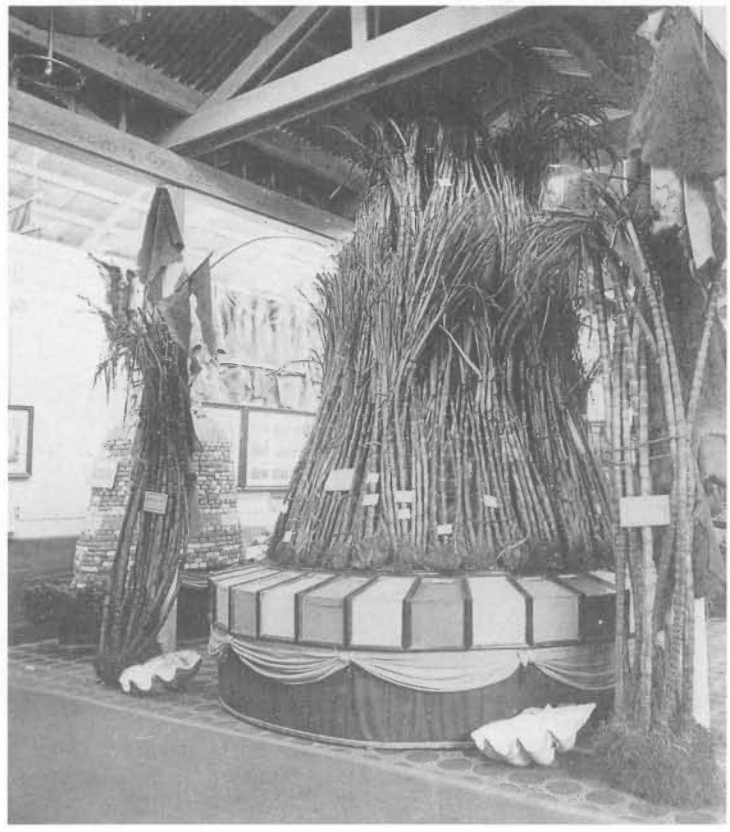

FIG. 86. Queensland's 'handsome' sugar trophy at the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81. (La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria)

More spectacular, however, were the 'magnificent' collections of tropical products and plants despatched to the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81 by Walter Hill and the Queensland Acclimatisation Society to illustrate their plant acclimatisation work in the colony. Hill and the Acclimatisation Society sent large consignments to the various horticultural shows held during the exhibitions, and both were awarded gold medals for their contributions to Sydney's International Agricultural Show of March 1880. Here Hill's collection of about 350 'healthy looking economic plants' acclimatised from many parts of the world was praised as the largest collection of its kind yet exhibited in New South Wales.[410] And Queensland's tropical fruit won the day at the 'grand' Fruit Show held in February 1881 during the Melbourne exhibition.[411]

FIG. 87. Queensland's sugars (left, foreground) and wools (right) at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. William Allan's black fleeces can be seen in the case on the far right. In the middle distance are a trophy of tinned meats (right) and Charles Hardy's trophy of preserves (left). (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

The years immediately following the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions saw sugar and pastoral booms in Queensland, bringing a new wave of settlement to the far north and the west. Besides a 'perfect spasm' of sugar investment in the Mackay district, new sugar districts were opened on the Johnstone and Burdekin rivers and from Cairns north to Cooktown, and from 1880 the Victoria Sugar Company and the Colonial Sugar Refining Company began their extensive operations in Queensland. At the same time an influx of capital from Victoria brought unprecedented growth to the pastoral industry, so that during the 1880s Queensland's sheep flocks reached their widest geographical expansion and Queensland became Australia's second largest wool producer (after New South Wales). Wheat production, on the other hand, failed to expand because of the continuing rust problem, while maize was taking over from wheat on the coastal scrub lands. Here, claimed the exhibition official Harry Courtenay Luck, the soil had to be 'merely tickled with the hoe' to yield rich harvests of maize.[412] Agriculture in Queensland was further boosted by the passing of the *Land Act of 1884* (known as the Dutton Act) which resumed land from pastoral runs and enabled colonists with little capital, especially immigrants, to take up small selections of crown land on lease. This Act, designed to break the pastoral monopoly of land and promote closer settlement, had already increased the colony's total area of cultivated land from 157,243 acres in 1883 to 209,561 acres in 1886. By 1886, however, the sugar boom had ended with the uncertainty of a cheap coloured labour supply following recent legislation by the Griffith Liberal government prohibiting Melanesian labour in Queensland after 1890. Also, world sugar prices had fallen due to competition from European bounty-fed beet sugar.

FIG. 88. Queensland's cereals trophy (left, foreground) at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 Queensland put on its largest-yet show of wool, despite the severe drought of the previous year which had caused widespread stock losses and adversely affected the quality of the woolclip. P.R. Gordon, again an exhibition commissioner, urged pastoralists that 'what we lack in quality must be made up in quantity'.[413] The 'quantity' came from 18 flocks from the Darling Downs and the Warrego, Mitchell, North Gregory and Burke districts, with Glengallan alone supplying 36 fleeces. The wools filled two long display cases which ran down the centre of Queensland's upper court, with each fleece shown in a separate compartment (Fig. 46). 'Particularly noticed' among these were the black merino fleeces from William Allan's Braeside stud of Warwick, which had attracted record prices at the recent London wool sales.[414] More pastoral wealth was shown in two 'novel' trophies of tinned meats which ornamented the doorways leading to the adjacent Canadian court (Fig. 87). These trophies were erected by the Hogarth Meat Preserving Company of Oakey Creek and the Central Queensland Meat Export Company of Rockhampton[415] — the same companies that, along with Brainard Skinner, supplied a 'splendid assortment' of tinned meats for the exhibition's Colonial Market. Marking the experimental beginnings of Queensland's frozen meat exports (begun in 1884) was a model of the freezing works recently opened at Poole Island, off Bowen, and now seeking more capital from London investors following damage in a cyclone (Fig. 49). This model was made by the works' chief carpenter, Arthur John Vagg, and took him a year to make. Explaining the rich potential of these exhibits was P.R. Gordon's essay *The Pastoral Industry in Queensland*, published in 1886 especially for the exhibition.

The recent drought also affected Queensland's agricultural exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, limiting the cereals to one trophy (Figs 88, 97). The sugar exhibits were more extensive, filling more long display cases in the upper court. Among the 29 exhibitors of sugar were plantations in the new sugar districts of Cairns and the Johnstone and Burdekin rivers. But the exhibition's experts pronounced these sugars 'unsuited to the English market' because of their dull and 'greyish' appearance[416] — unwelcome news indeed for Queensland's already depressed sugar industry. Likewise Queensland's wines won scant praise, though a small quantity was sold at the exhibition's Colonial Market. By now there were no cotton exhibits, as cotton-growing in Queensland was virtually defunct. Queensland's other tropical products attracted no special attention, apart from a trophy of 29 kinds of tropical jams, jellies, chutneys and pickles (some 'decidedly novel') from Charles Hardy of Eight Mile Plains, Brisbane. Accompanying these agricultural exhibits were more essays published for the exhibition, offering

'practical' advice on all aspects of farming from selecting land to marketing.[417]

Queensland's late decision to participate officially in the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 prevented its commissioners securing wool from the 1887 clip. Only a few wool exhibits were shown in Queensland's court, but commissioner P.R. Gordon ensured that Queensland was represented at the exhibition's two Wool Shows of December 1888 and January 1889, accompanying his exhibits to Melbourne. At the latter show Queensland had some 12 exhibits, which came from the Darling Downs and the Warrego, Mitchell and Burke districts. But it seems that Queensland's wool won no awards at the exhibition, apart from gaining fourth place in the 'International Grand Championship'. More successful were the tinned meats shown in another large trophy in Queensland's court, which won a gold medal for the Central Queensland Meat Export Company and a silver medal for Brainard Skinner. 'Looking out' poignantly over these exhibits was the mounted head of a 4-year-old bullock,[418] presumably again the work of Anthony Alder. At this exhibition Queensland could boast that its pastoral capabilities were 'further brightened' by the recent discovery of artesian water. The government's three artesian bores sunk since 1887 at Barcaldine and Blackall had confirmed a 'seemingly unlimited' supply of underground water capable of transforming the western desert to rich productivity.[419]

Queensland put on a 'fair' show of sugar at the Melbourne exhibition, despite the continuing depression in the sugar industry with a still uncertain labour supply and still lower world prices. Sixteen plantations sent sugars to the exhibition, a sampling of Queensland's sugar exports to Victoria now totalling about 40,000 tons annually despite the depression. These sugars were shown in various stages of manufacture, filling a series of bags, boxes and glass jars in the cramped Queensland court. Again Queensland's sugars won the premier place at Melbourne, though there was reportedly 'little or no competition' from Mauritius and other sugar-producing countries. Here the huge Hambledon Plantation of Cairns lived up to its reputation for 'signal success' by winning all the five gold medals awarded to Queensland's sugars.[420] Of the other tropical products shown, none had the appeal of the 'luscious' tropical fruit despatched regularly at 'great difficulty and ... expense' to Queensland's conservatory at the exhibition (Fig. 42): pineapples, bananas, coconuts, mangoes and other fruits.[421] (Queensland's bananas were already well known in Melbourne through their export to the south from 1885.) Completing the show of fruit in the conservatory were pawpaw, coffee and tea trees, some 47 samples of dried and preserved fruit from all over the colony, and more of Skinner's jams and preserved fruit. Also at this exhibition Queensland made a large show of wines, which won two silver medals. Its cereals, however, could not compete with those of the southern colonies.

The decade after the Melbourne exhibition brought profound changes in Queensland's agricultural and pastoral industries, with new government initiatives to increase production. Agriculture progressed as the Department of Agriculture (recently established, in 1887) introduced scientific farming methods and new plant varieties, and as land laws continued to promote closer settlement. A Royal Commission was appointed in November 1888 to recommend measures to revive the sugar industry. As a result, the smaller and less efficient mills were gradually superseded by central (or cooperative) mills erected with government support under the provisions of the *Sugar Works Guarantee Act of 1893*. This gave Queensland's sugar industry a firmer economic basis, separating the growing of sugar from manufacture, and encouraging small farms worked by white labour to take over from the large plantations worked by coloured labour. Wool production, on the other hand, declined with a fall in world wool prices from 1892, highlighting the need for more diversified exports. To promote these exports the *Meat and Dairy Produce Encouragement Act of 1893* was passed, resulting in the establishment of large meatworks in Queensland's coastal cities and cooperative dairy factories in country districts.[422]

The time was ripe for the colony to make its grandest-ever show of agricultural and pastoral wealth at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. Here an agricultural court was organised by the Queensland Department of Agriculture under the direction of its Under Secretary, Peter McLean. The court, occupying some 4,725 square feet in the exhibition's annexes, was the second largest in the exhibition, second only to the mining court. Adorning the entrance to the court was Queensland's coat of arms made of tinted maize grains and cobs on a shield of white popcorn, a worthy tribute to the colony's main agricultural crop[423] (Fig. 89).

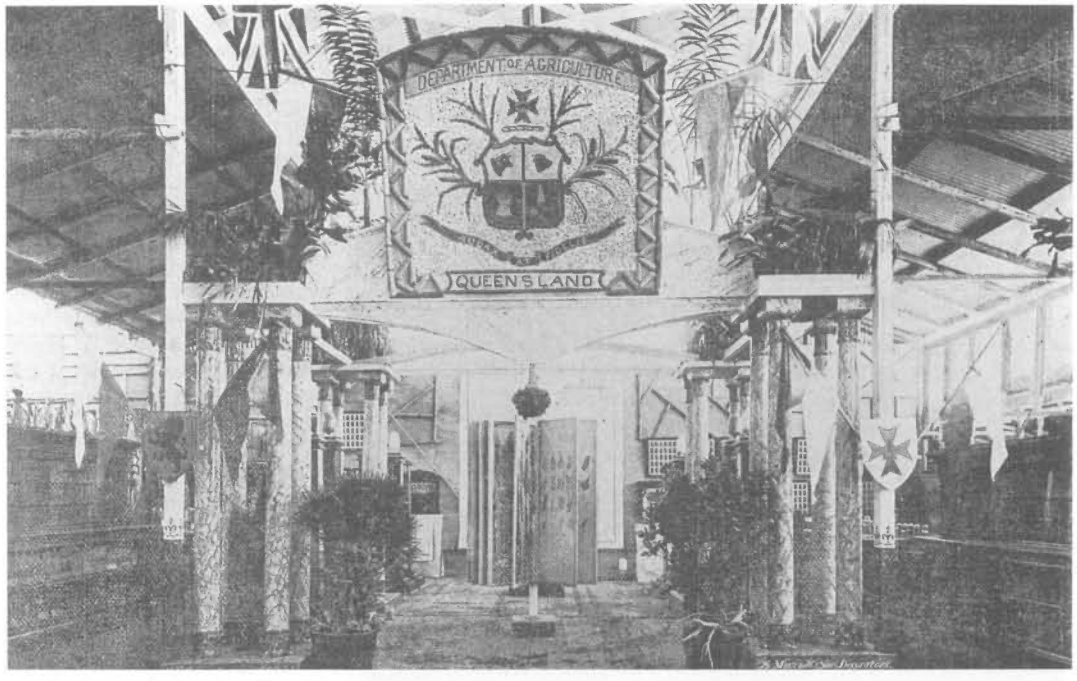

FIG. 89. The entrance to the agricultural court at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897, with its coat of arms made of maize and popcorn. In the centre of the court is a revolving screen with F.M. Bailey's collection of native grasses. (*Queensland Agricultural Journal*, July 1897)

Leading into the court was an avenue of marbled columns and glass columns, the latter containing soils from the colony's various agricultural districts, from the volcanic soil of Toowoomba to scrub soil of the Johnstone River (Fig. 90). 'A more instructive object lesson could not have been presented to the farmer', enthused the *Queensland Agricultural Journal*.[424] On the walls of the court were photographs of agricultural and pastoral subjects taken by the Department of Agriculture's first artist-photographer, Frederick Wills, and a large map of Queensland showing the various agricultural districts and their products. Exhibits from all over the colony filled the court's 21 bays.

Among the 'ubiquitous maize' exhibits was a collection of stalks in cob from the Queensland Agricultural College at Gatton opened earlier in 1897, the first of its many contributions to exhibitions. The sugar exhibits were also numerous, filling a whole bay and including fine displays of sugar-cane from the Kamerunga and Mackay State Nurseries where new varieties were being tested[425] (Fig. 91). Also shown in this bay were canes grown in districts extending from Childers to Mossman, and a trophy of manufactured sugars, syrups and treacles from Queensland's most modern sugar refinery, the Colonial Sugar Refinery of Brisbane (built in 1892-93). Some of the large assortment of products filling the other bays of the court were: wheat from the Darling Downs, including new rust-proof varieties; arrowroot from the Logan district; coffee, rice and coconuts from Cairns; hay, potatoes and millet from the Lockyer district; and wine and honey from southern Queensland. In addition, cotton made a brief come back at this exhibition, in the form of a trophy of cotton goods from the Queensland Cotton Manufacturing Company of Ipswich, set up recently to revive cotton-growing in the West Moreton district.[426] In all, these exhibits attracted such interest that soon the Department of Agriculture could report: 'Excepting the Mining Court, no part of the Exhibition ... has received more commendation' than the agricultural court.[427]

Fruit was featured at the Queensland International Exhibition, reflecting the rising importance of fruit-growing in the colony, now boasting over

FIG. 90. Glass columns containing soil samples from Mackay and the Johnstone River in the agricultural court at the Queensland International Exhibition. (*Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Oct. 1897)

16,116 acres under cultivation. Among the most admired exhibits in the agricultural court were the 'wonderfully natural' wax models of Queensland fruit made by Anthony Alder for the Department of Agriculture, hailed as 'marvels' of artistry as much as 'object lessons' in fruit culture. These models numbered well over 200 and represented fruit ranging from the apple of temperate climes to the kola nut of the equator.[428] Also shown in the court were yet more of Skinner's jams and preserved fruit (by now 'too well known ... to need any commendation')[429] and the products of a more recent competitor, the Toowoomba fruit canners and winemakers Roessler Brothers. More fruit was shown in the large Fruit Show held in the exhibition's annexes from 19 to 24 June 1897 as part of Brisbane's Third Conference of Australasian Fruitgrowers. Bringing together fresh, preserved and dried fruit from Queensland and other colonies, this show was reportedly the 'most comprehensive' of its kind yet held in Australasia.[430] Here Queensland won most of the awards for citrus fruit, as well as excelling in tropical fruit.

Dairying was also featured at the exhibition, celebrating its 'phenomenal progress' in recent years which now made Queensland self-sufficient in dairy products. 'Completing' the Warwick district exhibits in the agricultural court was a large trophy of cheese and rennet from the Yangan Cheese Factory, the first important cheese factory to be built in the colony (in 1893). Also shown in a bay of the court was one of the government's travelling dairies (Fig. 92) that had so largely contributed to the progress of dairying in Queensland in recent years. In 1889 the Department of Agriculture had begun instructing farmers in modern methods of butter and cheese-making and milk testing by means of these dairies, equipped with the latest in mechanical cream separators, pasteurisers, milk and cream testers, coolers, etc. The first of the dairies had been shown at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition of 1889,[431] and they had ended their travels to agricultural societies throughout the colony by the time dairy no. 2 was set up at the international exhibition. Operated here under the supervision of John Mahon, the department's Dairy Instructor, the dairy treated over 100 gallons of milk a day to produce butter and cheese for sale. Though no longer a novelty for many Queenslanders, the dairy proved a popular attraction.[432]

FIG. 91. Sugar exhibits in the agricultural court at the Queensland International Exhibition. In the centre is the sugar trophy from Brisbane's Colonial Sugar Refinery. (*Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Aug. 1897)

These grand displays of agricultural wealth at the Queensland International Exhibition were matched by displays of pastoral wealth. Among the local trade displays were trophies of wool from the Graziers' Butchering Company and the New Zealand Mercantile Agency Company of Brisbane, and of tinned meats from one of Queensland's (and Australia's) largest meat-exporting companies, the Queensland Meat Export and Agency Company of Brisbane and Townsville.[433] In addition, there was a trophy of woollen goods from the Queensland Woollen Manufacturing Company of Ipswich. More popular with exhibition-goers, however, were the Wolseley shearing machine demonstrations held from 12 May in the exhibition's machinery section, in which a 'practical' shearer stood on a platform shearing a 'good supply' of sheep. These demonstrations were provided by the local agent for the shearing machine, Claude Musson and Company. But the shearing machine, like the travelling dairy, was no longer a novelty, as it had been demonstrated in August 1887 at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition and also at Toowoomba, and was already in widespread use. Strangely, the exhibition had no display of frozen meat, though this was now a major export item. 'Surely at a gathering like this a freezing or chilling plant should have been exhibited', complained the *Queenslander* reporter at the lack of refrigerated exhibits.[434] Even Sydney's international exhibition of almost two decades earlier had included a cold storage chamber.

More pastoral exhibits were shown in the exhibition's final week, from 11 to 14 August, when Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition was held in conjunction with the international event. (The agricultural exhibition was managed, as usual, by the National Association, and not by the Queensland International Exhibition Company.) Outstanding among its livestock exhibits were the dairy cattle and sheep, Brisbane's largest-yet displays in these classes, in which the Glengallan stud carried off most of the sheep awards. Another feature of the agricultural exhibition was

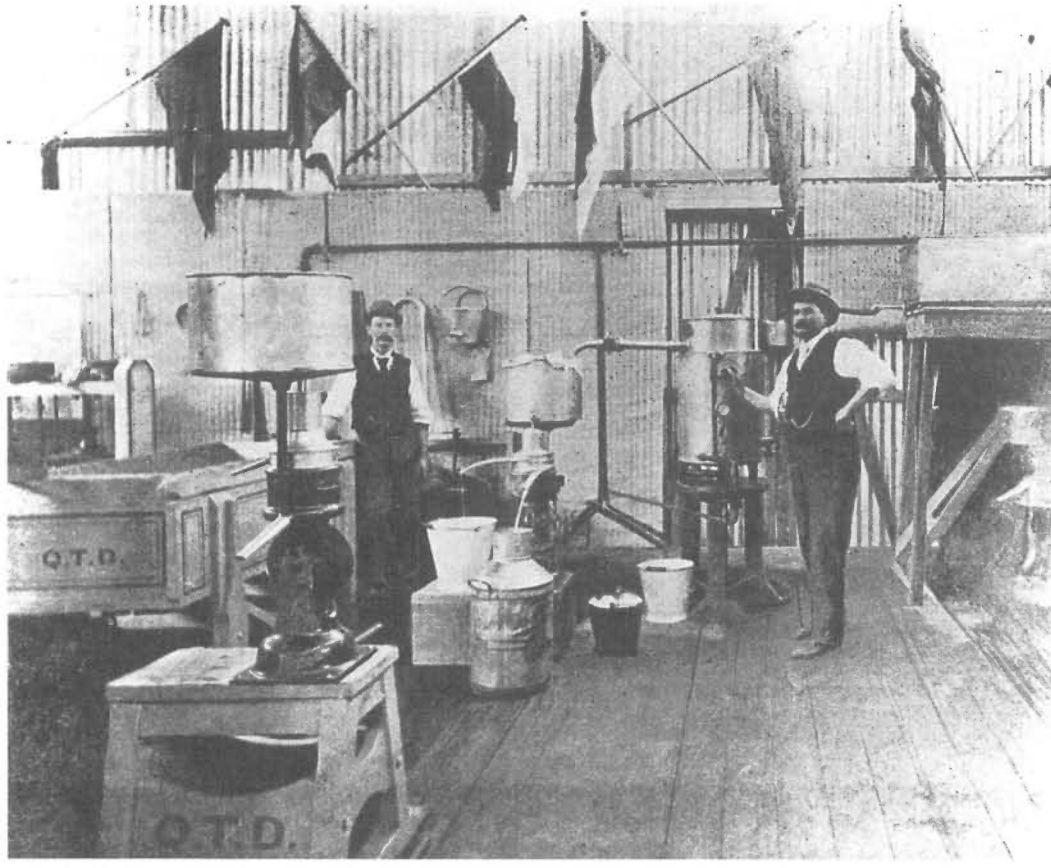

FIG. 92. Travelling dairy no. 2 at the Queensland International Exhibition. The Dairy Instructor, John Mahon, is on the right. (*Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Aug. 1897)

a collection of 'Wools of the World' prepared by the southern woolbrokers Goldsborough, Mort and Company, showing the noted clips of Australia alongside those of Europe, Asia and America. The exhibition had other educational offerings for stockbreeders. On 12 and 13 August in the exhibition's stockyard the Director of Queensland's Stock Institute, Charles Pound, demonstrated inoculation for tick fever, the scourge of the cattle industry since 1891 when the cattle tick had been introduced to Queensland from over the Northern Territory border. Also, on 12 August in the exhibition's concert hall the Government Meterologist Clement Wragge gave an illustrated lecture on 'Meterology and its relation to stockbreeders'. The agricultural exhibition brought the Queensland International Exhibition its only good attendances, causing the *Queenslander* to remark:

> The fact is that Queenslanders as a whole do not care for exhibitions without livestock. They have been in the habit all their lives of connecting the annual show chiefly with agriculture and grazing, and it is hard to draw them for anything else. In this case they simply waited for the agricultural show.[435]

The colony made a less spectacular show of its agricultural and pastoral wealth at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899 where, as noted in the previous chapter, minerals took up two-thirds of Queensland's court. The remainder of the court (over 7,600 square feet) was organised by the long-time exhibition official, Harry Courtenay Luck, who was appointed by the Department of Agriculture in December 1898 (almost a year after Robert Logan Jack's appointment) to collect the agricultural, pastoral and industrial exhibits. The 'disproportion' of government effort and expenditure on the mineral exhibits

caused no little friction between the Departments of Agriculture and Mines, and the general feeling was that Queensland's agricultural resources were 'but very inadequately represented' at the exhibition,[436] especially in comparison with the grand show of agricultural resources in Victoria's court. (Victoria was the only other Australian colony to participate officially at the exhibition.) The Department of Agriculture was not able to carry out its plan to make another coat of arms of maize for this exhibition and, as noted in Chapter 2, its first cinematographic films were not ready in time to be shown. Instead, the department sent more of Frederick Wills' agricultural and pastoral photographs and 'about a hundred' lantern slides complete with a 'lecturette' on each slide.

Most conspicuous of the exhibits in the non-minerals section of Queensland's court were two 'kiosks' filled with tinned meats from the Central Queensland Meat Export Company of Rockhampton and the Queensland Meat Export and Agency Company, both of which were awarded gold medals for their contributions. These and other Queensland meat companies kept up a 'continuous' supply of frozen meat for display in the exhibition's cold storage chamber, located in a separate building in the Elysia amusement area. Fitted with the latest in refrigerating plant,[437] the chamber celebrated the advent of marine refrigeration which had enabled the Australasian colonies to quadruple their meat exports to Britain within the last decade. Here in the miraculous chamber, shared with Victoria and New Zealand, exhibition-goers could see the perishable produce of far-distant colonies 'fresh and dainty enough to please the most fastidious'.[438] By 1899 Queensland was Australia's largest frozen meat exporter, with some 30 meatworks producing annual exports worth £1,278,720. (Meat was now Queensland's third export earner, after wool and gold.) Among Queensland's commissioners for this exhibition were two pioneers of the frozen meat trade, the shipping magnates Sir Edwin Sandys Dawes and Andrew McIlwraith. Queensland also showed butter and cheese in the exhibition's cold storage chamber, much of the supply maintained by the Queensland Agricultural College. And in Queensland's court was a trophy of butter boxes, representing its butter exports now reaching £49,429 annually since these exports began in 1895.

Queensland's wool exhibits at the Greater Britain Exhibition were less impressive. Most of the wool had to be purchased from woolbrokers because of the late start in collecting the non-mineral exhibits, and the wool was already affected by the great drought of the turn of the century that was soon to reduce Queensland's sheep and cattle numbers by more than half. The sugar and cereals exhibits were also drought affected, in fact most of the sugar-cane arrived so 'wretchedly poor and ... dried up' that it had to be discarded.[439] Moreover, the sugar exhibits had to be topped up by 'dummy' sugar bags as some of the sugars were destroyed by water in the hold of the *Duke of Argyll* on their way to London. Other agricultural produce shown at the exhibition included wheat sheaves from the Hermitage State Farm, near Warwick, established in 1897 to specialise in wheat breeding. Also shown were arrowroot from the Logan district, coffee and rice from Cairns and, for the first time, tobacco from Texas.[440] Again Queensland's wines won scant praise in London, though George Shelton Lambert of the Mount Walker Vineyards, Rosewood, managed to win a gold medal. The agricultural exhibits hardly warranted being sent back to Queensland at the close of exhibition. Instead, many were given to the emigration lecturer George Randall as campaign material to induce British farmers to emigrate (see Chapter 8).

By the time of the Glasgow exhibition of 1901 Queensland was in the grip of the drought, so severe that many of the meatworks and sugar mills were closed and seed wheat had to be imported from South Australia for the new season's plantings. Hence no agricultural exhibits were shown at Glasgow and the pastoral exhibits were confined to two cases of wool and a 'fine display' of tinned meats from Queensland's largest meat-exporting companies. The mineral exhibits overwhelmed all other exhibits, and the exhibition's *Official Guide* felt obliged to explain that Queensland had so many mineral exhibits that 'the agricultural specimens had to be reluctantly left behind'![441] (Significantly, the predominance of minerals over other exhibits was reversed early this century as agriculture rose in importance. Queensland's contributions to the Franco-British, Panama-Pacific and Wembley exhibitions were organised by the Department of Agriculture and Stock and were set up by its then artist-photographer, Henry William Mobsby.)

By the turn of the century it was apparent that Queensland was not such a 'paradise' for the farmer, or even for the pastoralist.[442] By the time

the great drought ended in 1902, sugar exports had fallen to £789,191 from a record £1,329,876 in 1898. But drought was not the only problem besetting Queensland's sugar industry then, for world sugar prices were still low due to competition from European sugar and the future of the industry now lay in free access to Australian markets after federation. Although the area under wheat had been increased by the repurchase of estates on the Darling Downs, by 1900 Queensland still could not produce a third of its wheat consumption and wheat-growing was proving both hazardous and uneconomic. Moreover, the crops so actively promoted in the Cairns district in the 1890s — coffee, rice, and tobacco — failed to develop into export industries, being unable to withstand competition from cheap labour countries. The pastoral industry, ever at the mercy of drought and other 'disasters', was particularly hard hit by the low prices, labour unrest, tick fever and finally the drought of the 1890s, resulting in many of Queensland's sheep and cattle stations passing into the hands of banks and pastoral finance companies. In the following decades only dairying lived up to its most optimistic predictions of the 19th century, becoming Queensland's largest rural industry by the late 1930s.

In this chapter I have plotted the progress of Queensland's agricultural and pastoral industries through their remarkable range of exhibits. These exhibits bore testimony to the productivity of the soil and the climate, and to the ability of colonists to increase productivity and profits by utilising the latest advances of science and technology. But the exhibits also reflect the trials and difficulties of establishing these industries in an alien and often hostile environment, and of coping with fluctuations in world prices for their export commodities — conditions over which colonists had no control. Moreover, the frequent loss and deterioration of exhibits highlights the risks of transporting these commodities (especially the more perishable) to the far-distant markets of London and Europe. Above all the agricultural and pastoral exhibits show the great optimism for the future of these industries in Queensland, seen as the very 'mainstay' of its prosperity[443] and the means of populating the colony with worthy yeomen farmers. This rural ideal has persisted in Queensland almost to the present.

CHAPTER 7

'THE MARCH OF CIVILISATION'

Other exhibits traced the advance of Western civilisation in Queensland as colonists sought to create a land more reminiscent of Europe — 'a new Britannia in another world'.[444] These exhibits included: maps, statistics, almanacs, plans, photographs, books, newspapers and educational exhibits. Though these were shown by most 'civilised' nations at exhibitions, some of Queensland's exhibits are worthy of special mention as they provide indisputable evidence of its commitment to progress. Underpinning these exhibits was an unquestioning faith in the supremacy of Western civilisation and in the civilising mission of the British race. British imperial expansion in the 19th century was justified in terms of its opening the world to the beneficent effects of British rule, trade, technology and Christianity. Progress in colonial outposts like Queensland was measured from the arrival of British rule.

In the colonial world, as in Europe, the railway became the premier symbol of civilisation's advance, signifying both the triumph of engineering skill and the ability to tap resources. 'There is no civilizer like the railway', declared H.H. Johnston, a British colonial official and proponent of his country's advance into West Africa.[445] And as Daniel Headrick writes of India's railways: 'Railroads are more than tracks and trains; they are a whole new way of life, the forerunners of a new civilization'.[446] Railway construction early assumed a high priority in Queensland where vast distances had to be traversed to extend settlement westwards and to bring productive wealth to markets. It was partly to finance railways that the Queensland Government began its large-scale borrowing in the 1860s, and by the time construction works slackened in the early 1890s railways accounted for most of the colony's public debt.

The rapid advance of the colony's railways was recorded at exhibitions in a series of illuminated maps prepared by the Queensland Railways Department and drawn by Giovanni Prosdocimi, a lithographic draftsman in the Chief Engineer's Branch in Brisbane. The first of these 'artistic' maps was shown in 1886 at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Measuring 12 feet by 10 feet, this map recorded not only the 1,555 miles of railways open, but also the 490 miles under construction and more miles planned for

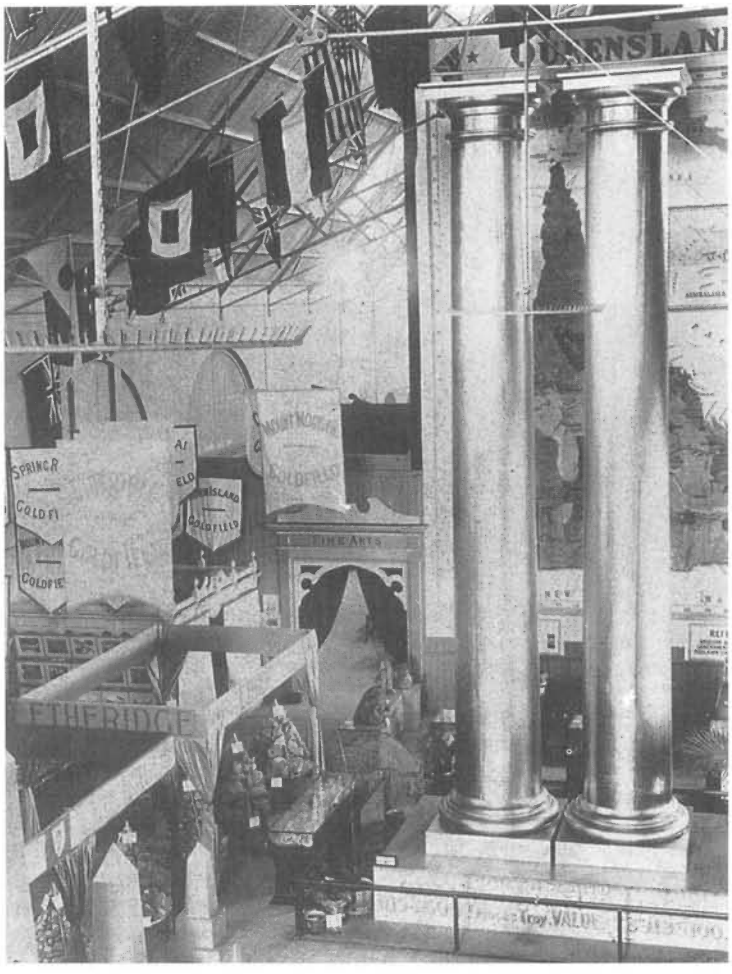

FIG. 93. The mining court at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. Behind the gilded columns is a colossal map of Queensland prepared for the exhibition by the Government Survey Office and showing the colony's railways, telegraphs and artesian bores. (Queensland State Archives, PD67, reproduced courtesy of the Dept of the Premier and Cabinet)

construction. Surrounding the map was an illuminated border 'even more interesting than the map itself' incorporating photographs of railway works (stations, bridges, tunnels, etc.) and providing statistical details of those works. Queensland's exhibition commissioners proposed also to send a railway carriage and a section of railway track to complete this grand show of railway 'development' at the London exhibition, but the proposal was rejected by the government as too costly. Another of Prosdocimi's much-admired maps was shown at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, along with a working model of a railway traffic and dump car. The map shown at the Queensland International Exhibition was the most spectacular of all. Measuring 14 feet by 11 feet, its illuminated border had groupings of birds and flowers as well as photographs of railway works and other 'picturesque spots'.[447] By the time the next map was shown in 1899 at the Greater Britain Exhibition, Queensland could boast 2,800 miles of railways open, representing Australia's third largest railway network — and a crippling drain on the Queensland revenue as these railways were unable to pay their way.

Following the discovery of artesian water in Queensland in 1887, maps and photographs also recorded the advance of artesian bores across the west. According to Agent-General Tozer:

> ... this discovery of a supply of artesian water was the commencement of a new era in Queensland's progress and Nature's compensation — through the art and ingenuity of man — for many of the difficulties and obstacles inseparable from the development of new territory under untried conditions.[448]

'The miracle of artesian waters', writes J.M. Powell in his study of water management in Queensland, 'caught the popular imagination and appeared to give the greatest hope for an assured future'.[449] Artesian water threw open some 88,300 square miles of semi-arid land for pastoral and agricultural production and promised colonists new security against the deprivations of droughts. 'We ... have played sad havoc with Nature. We laugh at droughts', gloated the *Queenslander* in 1897.[450] By the time of the Queensland International Exhibition that year the colony had 471 artesian bores, of which 317 were overflowing and delivering some 187 million gallons of water daily. The artesian 'era' was celebrated at the exhibition

in the colossal map prepared by the Government Survey Office, mentioned in Chapter 5, which loomed over the mining court (Fig. 93). Also in the mining court were a series of photographs of artesian bores shown by Queensland's Water Supply Department (Fig. 94). Further, as an exhibition 'novelty' Queensland's most famous artesian bore, at Charleville, was opened for public viewing on Mondays and Thursdays during the exhibition, and the Queensland Railways offered exhibition-goers special excursion fares to Charleville to see the bore. (The Charleville bore was famous for its enormous output of 3 million gallons of water daily.) Not surprisingly, more maps and photographs of artesian bores appeared later at the Greater Britain Exhibition, and the colossal map prepared for the Queensland International Exhibition was shown again (Fig. 77).

FIG. 94. The mining court at the Queensland International Exhibition. Above the cases containing pearls, gems and gold nuggets are photographs of artesian bores. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

The rapid advance of Western communications technology in Queensland was recorded at exhibitions in maps of its far-flung post and telegraph services. The development of the telegraph system from the mid-1860s did much to break down the isolation of north Queensland from Brisbane. By the time of the Paris exhibition of 1878 Queensland had some 4,708 miles of telegraph line linking 120 stations, and a decade later 8,772 miles of line linking 293 stations and now extending to the northmost tip of Cape York. In the words of Queensland's exhibition propagandist Alexander Boyd:

> The Great Silent Land is silent no longer. Distance is bridged over — space annihilated. There is no place so distant from the metropolis whence a telegram may not be sent; the post-office is everywhere — the mailman ubiquitous.[451]

Though not officially represented at Chicago in 1893, Queensland contributed to a display of the world's post and telegraph departments organised by the United States postal authorities. Queensland's exhibits included: postage stamps, telephone apparatus, photographs of post and telegraph offices and the travelling post office operated on the Queensland intercolonial express train, and a large map showing the colony's telegraph lines and postal facilities. The photographs were 'artistically retouched' in crayon by the Brisbane artist Oscar Fristrom. These exhibits, it was predicted, would 'compare favourably with anything of the kind in any part of the world' and the American authorities agreed.[452] Another collection of Queensland's postage stamps was shown later at the Greater Britain Exhibition by the exhibition official Harry Courtenay Luck.

Other exhibits recorded civilisation's advance. By the time of the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 Queensland could claim that its coast was the best lit in Australia, and as evidence the Queensland Harbours and Rivers Department showed prize-winning models of the Brisbane River and Cape Bowling Green lighthouses. Also at this event Queensland could boast Australia's most advanced meteorological service and what better proof than the large collection of meteorological instruments and weather maps and charts shown by the Government Meteorologist Clement Wragge. Already since his appointment in 1887 Wragge had expanded Queensland's observation network and was issuing intercolonial weather forecasts (much to the annoyance of his southern counterparts) in his bid to improve the science of forecasting throughout eastern Australia.[453] He set up another large meteorological exhibit at the

FIG. 95. Joseph Augustus Clarke's 'grand picture' of Brisbane, commissioned for the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 and now in the collection of the Queensland Museum.

Queensland International Exhibition, and sent more weather maps and charts to the Greater Britain Exhibition. Later Wragge visited the Paris exhibition of 1900 to take part in its International Meteorological Conference. His reputation was such that, but for his irascible temper, he might have become Australia's first Commonwealth meteorologist.

Further, Queensland could boast that its burgeoning towns were not unlike those of Europe and could rival those of its sister colonies. The growth of these towns was recorded at exhibitions by panoramic photographs and, occasionally, paintings. For Queensland's court at the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 the government commissioned the local artist and art teacher Joseph Augustus Clarke to paint a *View of Brisbane from Bowen Terrace* (Fig. 95). Clarke's 'grand picture', measuring 4½ by 12 feet, was painted in oils on canvas and framed in a splendid gilded frame. It is a panoramic view of the (then) town and its appurtenances of civilisation — its wharves, warehouses, factories, shops, churches, residences and public buildings, notably its grand Parliament House. Inspecting this painting at the exhibition, the *Argus* reporter was pleased to find that, except for the windmill, all other traces of Brisbane's convict past had been 'well nigh obliterated'.[454] Later, in the Entrance Hall of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Queensland showed two more paintings to record the rapid rise of Brisbane: one a view of 1839 and the other a (current) view of 1886, recording almost 50 years' progress since Brisbane had become a free settlement and the taint of convicts removed. These paintings, copied from illustrations sent from the colony, were by Gillow and Company, the London decorators responsible for most of the exhibition's decorative work.

The view of 1886 could have been mistaken for a view of London, according to the exhibition propagandist Alexander Boyd, who wrote:

> Many of the good folk at home have an idea that Queensland consists mainly of bush and blackfellows. If they could be suddenly transplanted to Brisbane on a Saturday evening they would be surprised to find how much it resembles London ... They would find the people no whit different from those they had left behind, except in the matter of independence and well-lined pockets. The Anglo-Australian race is merely a transplanted Anglo-Saxon race.[455]

Most Anglo-Saxon of all, wrote another propagandist, were the 'denizens' of Toowoomba whose cheeks were 'quite as rosy as their apples'.[456] Exhibition propaganda stressed the 'excellent' opportunities for footloose Anglo-Saxons to better themselves in the colony. All they needed was thrift and a propensity to work hard.[457] And 'no part' of the colony, it was held, was unsuited to the European constitution, as evidenced by the fine physique and athletic prowess of the young native-born.[458]

Also recording the progress of the colony's towns were plans and photographs of its grandest buildings. Among the many architectural plans shown by Queensland at London in 1886 and at Melbourne in 1888-89 were the former Colonial Architect F.D.G. Stanley's plans for the Queensland National Bank headquarters in Queen Street, 'without doubt the most imposing building ... in any part of the colony',[459] Richard Gailey's plans for Brisbane's first high-rise, the Courier Building, and Andrea Stombuco's plans for Brisbane's Opera House. But most of the

buildings featured at these exhibitions were government buildings designed by the Colonial Architect and his staff. For Melbourne the entire staff of the (then) Colonial Architect, George Connolly, spent two months making perspective views and plans of 35 of the colony's finest public buildings, from Brisbane's new Public Offices (later known as the Treasury Building) to Warwick's new Court House. These were shown in a large album, and also reproduced in a booklet printed especially for the event.[460] It was on 'reproductive works' like these that the colony's public debt had been contracted, pleaded propagandists repeatedly at exhibitions. These works, said Queensland's official propagandist in Britain, Maurice Hume Black, enhanced the value of the public estate and would reap 'untold benefits' in the future.[461]

Proving cultural progress in the rising generations were exhibits from the colony's schools, shining exemplars of the 'free, secular and compulsory' educational system set up under Queensland's *State Education Acts of 1860 and 1875*. Queensland first showed educational exhibits in any quantity at the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81, with 28 examples of school pupils' work shown alongside examples of new 'improved' school furniture, and plans and specifications for new school buildings designed for the tropics. The furniture and building exhibits came from the Building Branch of the Queensland Department of Public Instruction and were designed by its superintendent-architect, Robert Ferguson, recently appointed in 1879. Ferguson's designs, which set a new (and lasting) standard for school buildings in Queensland,[462] had been shown to much acclaim at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition of 1880 before they were sent on to the Melbourne event.[463] Here they received a Second Order of Merit and compared favourably with Victoria's school building exhibits. At London in 1886 and Melbourne in 1888-89 Queensland showed hundreds more examples of school pupils' work, coming from some 30 schools located from Warwick to Townsville. Explaining these exhibits was Rev. William Poole's essay *Education in Queensland*, published in 1886 especially for the London exhibition.

Queensland's most extensive educational exhibits, however, were shown at the Queensland International Exhibition where the government provided an educational court. Occupying some 2,000 square feet in the exhibition's annexes, the court was organised by the Inspector of State Schools for the South Moreton District, John Shirley, who appealed widely for his exhibits.[464] These came from more than 100 schools throughout the colony and included work from infants' and grammar schools, as well as primary schools, and a large exhibit from the Brisbane Technical College. In fact there were too many exhibits to be shown in the court until it was extended by two bays several weeks after the exhibition opened. One section of the court was devoted to teaching aids, such as models, wall charts and 'mechanical appliances', to prove that Queensland's school children were not taught by 'book theory' alone. On the walls of the court were photographs of some of the colony's 760 state schools, from remote bush 'provisional' schools to large city schools. The court should be a source of pride to all Queenslanders, declared the *Brisbane Courier* reporter at the exhibition.[465] Only a few educational exhibits were sent in 1899 to the Greater Britain Exhibition, including a map showing the distribution of the state schools. By now Queensland's literacy rate had reached over 70%, the third highest in Australia.

Also proving cultural progress were Queensland's exhibits of books and newspapers. One of the first book exhibits was the Brisbane naturalist Silvester Diggles' serial encyclopaedia *The Ornithology of Australia*, issued in 1865-70 and purchased for use at other exhibitions after its first showing at Paris in 1867. Other book exhibits included government publications handsomely printed and bound by successive government printers. For the Queensland International Exhibition the Government Printing Office mounted an impressive display of its publications, ranging from 'artistic' posters for the Queensland Railways to the prospectus of the Queensland Agricultural College. For the Greater Britain Exhibition the organiser of Queensland's information bureau, Charles Schaefer Rutlidge, published a new (London) edition of his popular *Guide to Queensland*[466] and lent his substantial reference library.

More prominent at exhibitions were Queensland's many exhibits of newspapers, which often had special exhibition features summarising the colony's recent progress. Newspapers were first shown in bulk at the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876, bound into two large volumes by the Government Printing Office. At later events regular issues were sent from almost every town and city in the colony — of some 70 different newspapers

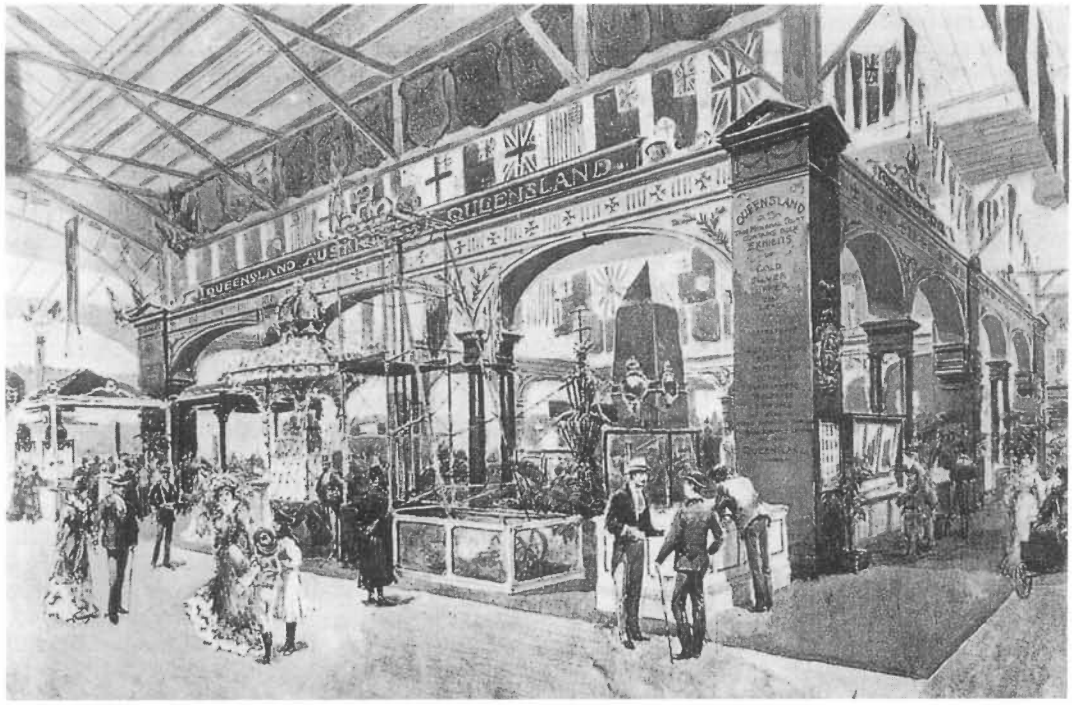

FIG. 96. Queensland's court at the Glasgow exhibition of 1901, described as 'one of the most attractive courts . . . within the Exhibition'. The stand on the far left is probably Queensland's 'news-distributing' stand. (Fryer Library, the University of Queensland)

to London in 1886, and 81 to Melbourne in 1888-89. Many more newspapers were sent to Queensland's courts at the Greater Britain and Glasgow exhibitions. The court at Glasgow had a 'news-distributing' stand (Fig. 96) where 'tons' of newspapers, journals, pamphlets and guide books were available for reading and (free) distribution. The *Glasgow Weekly Herald* found Queensland's newspapers striking evidence of the 'widespread influence of the British race', written, as they were, in the English language yet produced further away from Britain than any foreign country.[467]

Here I have shown how Queensland represented its place in the march of progress at exhibitions, through maps, photographs, newspapers, educational and other exhibits. These provided graphic evidence that its colonists were transforming 'a land by civilisation's step untrod' into a shining outpost of British civilisation, reminiscent of Britain and affording new opportunities for enterprising Britons. Queensland could boast that its 'rapid strides' in the march of progress were exceptional given the vastness of its territory and the sparseness of its European population (never more than ½ million throughout the colonial era). In 1886 the exhibition propagandist Alexander Boyd declared that the history of Queensland had

> with a few checks ... been one of continual progress — a progress which, taking into consideration the gloomy circumstances under which the colony was started ... may be said to have no parallel in the history of British colonisation.[468]

This rapid pace of development was achieved, however, at the price of a huge public debt.

CHAPTER 8

THE IMPACT: 'BENEFICIAL' OR 'USELESS'?

Exhibitions had their critics as well as their supporters. To some they were bewildering displays 'possessing little value or interest' and of 'somewhat problematical' benefit to Australia.[469] Others saw exhibitions as inspiring, a means of instructing the masses and improving public taste. A few optimists dreamt of exhibitions as

instruments of universal peace and brotherhood. Opinion in Queensland was also divided. Local critics held that exhibitions were just 'great bazaars',[470] while government officials like Richard Daintree claimed they did more to advertise the colony than 'any number' of pamphlets, books or lectures could do and were a most 'efficient' means of attracting capital and population.[471] In 1880, commenting on Queensland's displays at the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions, the Acting Governor, Sir Joshua Peter Bell, pronounced:

> Industries of all kinds, arts, sciences, and manufactures had been greatly advanced by these Exhibitions, and our progress was due more to them than to any other cause.[472]

In this chapter I attempt to sort fact from fiction by assessing the impact of exhibitions on the economy and culture of the colony. I conclude that their tangible benefits were few, their value being more as a general advertisement and a focus of local pride and identity. As such, their benefits were more long-term and difficult to quantify, and some are still with us today.

First I examine the role of exhibitions in attracting investment capital and population, in particular from Britain, since these were the main goals of Queensland's involvement in exhibitions.

IMPACT ON INVESTMENT. It is well known that the Australian colonies were major recipients of the British overseas investment that financed global economic development in the 19th century. In the 1860s the Queensland Government began large-scale borrowing in London to expedite public works (mainly railways) and immigration. This borrowing increased in the 1870s, then peaked in the 1880s when Australia became probably the leading field for British overseas investment, more than half of which was received as government loans. By the end of the decade Queensland was known as the 'plunger' among the Australian colonies, having run up the highest per capita public debt of any British colony. (In 1892 Archibald Meston wrote that Queensland was known to the outside world as 'an unbearably hot colony that breeds crocodiles and borrows money'.)[473] The total £15,061,000 borrowed by the government in the 1880s was obtained in yearly instalments that reached over £2,000,000 from 1885. Large-scale public borrowing continued until the banking crisis of 1893, though with increasing alarm at the 'reckless pace' at which the colony was pushing forward its progress. Thereafter while the attention of British investors turned to the rich new goldfields of Western Australia, Queensland was unable to fully restore its credit-worthiness and public borrowing was suspended early this century, having totalled only £5,989,000 in the years from 1894 to 1903.

But this rise and fall in British investment had little to do with the colony's participation in overseas exhibitions: nine of these preceded the boom of the 1880s, only one was during that boom, and two were just before investment plummeted in the new century. As Matthew Simon explains, British overseas investment was controlled by a complexity of factors, such as the credit ratings and profit prospects of foreign borrowers, the mood of investors, the state of the British money market, and alternative opportunities at home and abroad.[474] A.R. Hall, in his study of *The London Capital Market and Australia, 1870-1914*, shows that overseas investment was concentrated in particular areas for relatively short periods of time and alternated with surges of economic activity in Britain. In the late 1880s Australia was displaced by South America as a leading field for British investment, to be followed by South Africa (and Western Australian mines) in the 1890s and Canada in the 1900s. Hence exhibitions could be only a minor factor determining the flow of capital from Britain and their timing, over which Queensland had no control, was crucial to their possible impact.

The flow of capital from sister colonies, also, was not determined by participation in Australian exhibitions. There is little evidence to link Queensland's sugar and pastoral booms of the early 1880s, which brought an influx of new capital and capitalists from the south, with the recent Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions. Moreover, speculation in the Queensland mining ventures that most excited investors from Victoria — the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company and the Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company — was not motivated by exhibitions. The reluctance of the Mount Morgan Company to contribute specimens to exhibitions confirms that the constant demand for its shares did not depend on advertising.

Queensland officials often reported interest by investors in their displays. At the London exhibition of 1872, Richard Daintree was so overwhelmed by investors' enquiries about the colony's latest mineral discoveries that he published a report from Christopher D'Oyly H. Aplin, the late Government Geologist for Southern Queensland, in the London *Times*.[475] Many other instances can be cited of investors' enquiries at exhibitions, but only one, the Colonial and

FIG. 97. Queensland's court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, with 'pyramid upon pyramid' of mineral wealth and the cereals trophy (centre). (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Indian, brought a substantial influx of capital to Queensland. At this time the factors determining the flow of capital were in Queensland's favour, and investors had lost faith in the untested 'El Dorados' of South America and the still unremunerative mines of India. Contemporaries agreed (with satisfaction) that the mining boom that began in late 1886 was a direct outcome of Queensland's strategically planned show of mineral wealth at the exhibition (Fig. 97). Such 'judicious advertising' had attracted about £1 million to the mining industry by the beginning of 1887, its first major influx of capital, and prospects for the industry never looked brighter. Queensland was the only Australian colony to enjoy a mining boom at the close of the exhibition. In his illuminating study of this boom, A.L. Lougheed estimates that from 1886 to 1890 nearly 50 mining companies were registered and floated in Britain to operate in Queensland, costing British investors some £6.4 million (not all of which reached Queensland).[476] These companies mostly operated gold mines, but some were involved in silver, tin, copper, coal and opal mines, or in gold-extracting works. The Charters Towers goldfield, so prominently featured at the exhibition, was the major recipient of the British capital which transferred ownership of many of its mines from small cooperative groups of working miners and local businessmen to London-based companies. The Etheridge goldfield received an influx of over £1 million at this time, while the Ravenswood, Palmer, Gympie and Mount Morgan fields received lesser amounts.

Regrettably, the benefits of the boom were limited, for most of the British mining companies were over-capitalised (that is, lacking working funds, having purchased their mines at inflated prices), were inexpertly but extravagantly managed, and aimed more for quick dividends than for developing their mines. Further, some companies, such as the notorious Mount Morgan West Gold Mining Company, purchased properties that were virtually worthless. Diane Menghetti writes that 'the advantages of British capital must have seemed small indeed to the workers of

Charters Towers' whose working conditions actually deteriorated under the British companies, despite the introduction of improved machinery. The transfer of ownership to these companies coincided with the era of deep reefing and with higher accident rates, lower wages, and hence worker discontent. The future of the Charters Towers lay with the Brilliant reef, the richest ore shoot ever discovered there, which was not affected by the 1886-87 boom.[477] The short-lived British companies on the Etheridge goldfield were renowned for the vast quantities of costly crushing machinery they brought to relatively unproductive mines. Some of this machinery was never assembled and still rusts in splendid isolation. (Geoffrey Bolton calls the Etheridge 'a museum of the various ways in which a London mining company could lose money'.)[478]

Lougheed concludes that, despite the failure of three-quarters of the British companies by the mid-1890s, the £3.9 million they paid for the local properties financed new colonial mining ventures. In addition, the British gold-extracting companies introduced the advanced technology that augmented Queensland's gold output at the end of the century.[479] For instance, the McArthur-Forrest cyanide process was developed by the British-owned Cassell Gold Extracting Company and tested at its Ravenswood works before being widely used from 1892. Also, the British-owned Queensland Smelting Company treated refractory ores from most of the colony's mineral fields from 1889 to 1911. The British investment that flowed into Queensland in 1886-87 was not confined to mining. On his return from London in August 1886 the Townsville merchant and separationist, William Aplin, declared that the newly-formed North Queensland Mortgage and Agency Company was 'an indirect result of the great show which North Queensland made at the Exhibition'.[480]

But the boom that followed the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was not repeated. By the time of the Greater Britain Exhibition, British investors had already sustained considerable losses from the 1886-87 mining boom and the 1893 banking crisis. In 1900, commenting on Queensland's future prospects for mining investment, Philip Mennell, the visiting editor of the *British Australasian* newspaper warned:

> Capital is, as you know, conservative, and there is an old adage which applies, 'Once bitten twice shy'... Mining is like any other business; people do not go into it for fun, but to make money — a lot of it if possible ...[481]

During the Glasgow exhibition, investors' doubts were confirmed by the Chillagoe scandals, which led to yet more losses.

IMPACT ON IMMIGRATION. Soon after separation Queensland established a vigorous immigration policy which brought some 241,740 people to the colony from Britain and Europe between 1860 and 1900, contributing to a twenty-fold population increase quite unmatched by any other Australian colony. This movement of population largely parallels the course of British overseas investment during the 19th century, reaching its peak in the mid-1880s then similarly declining in the 1890s. Studies of Australian immigration conclude that, though economic and political conditions in Europe were significant in determining the outflow of population, conditions within Australia were even more significant.[482] Colonial governments had constantly to modify their immigration policies in response to local financial and seasonal downturns which, as I have noted in Chapter 1, were part of life in Queensland. Hence exhibitions could be only a minor factor determining the movement of immigrants, as with the movement of capital. Indeed more often than not, the numbers of immigrants declined in the years immediately following the overseas exhibitions in which Queensland took part, including the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, despite its on-site emigration office and another such office opened in 1886 in central London to assist Britain's surplus population to move to the colonies.

More significantly, the social composition of Queensland's immigrants shows that, as a group, they were unlikely to have been influenced by — or even to have visited — exhibitions. In her comprehensive study of Queensland immigration in the 19th century, Helen Woolcock estimates that 85% of these immigrants were government-assisted, either with free or subsidised passages, while many of the full-payers during the years 1861-78 and 1887-94 were rewarded with land grants.[483] Queensland (like Western Australia) continued assisted immigration throughout the period 1860 to 1919, whereas the other Australian colonies had abandoned assisted immigration by the late 1880s. In other words, Queensland's immigrants were attracted by more substantial lures than exhibitions. F.K. Crowley observes that Queensland bid much higher for its immigrants than the other Australian colonies, paying an average of £19/3/- for every immigrant recruited between 1860 and 1919.

FIG. 98. George Randall, Queensland's Emigration Agent and Lecturer in Great Britain, from a drawing by his son. During the Boer War the Brisbane *Telegraph* wrote that even General Roberts was not attacking the enemy with the 'determination and directness' of Randall's recruiting 'assaults' on British farming communities. (*British Australasian*, 24 Feb. 1898)

Moreover, the majority of these immigrants were drawn from the working classes.[484] Of the categorised immigrants, over 95% travelled steerage rather than as cabin passengers and many came from rural areas remote from where exhibitions were held, such as Devon, Cornwall, Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire in England, Clare and Tipperary in Ireland, north-eastern Scotland, and Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia on the Continent.[485] The Continental emigrants, the poorest of all, were the least likely to have visited exhibitions. Though exhibitions offered concession (or 'shilling') days for workers and cheap rail fares for country visitors, it is obvious that workers and especially country workers were less likely to visit exhibitions than the metropolitan middle and wealthier classes for whom, it was said, London's annual exhibitions became 'a fashionable lounge'.[486]

It is equally obvious that exhibitions had a negative impact on some visitors. Charles Dickens was overwhelmed by his two visits to the Great Exhibition of 1851: 'I find I am "used up" by the Exhibition ... so many things bewildered me ...', he wrote.[487] Dickens' experience was shared by at least some of the working-class people who managed to attend exhibitions. The *Practical Mechanic's Journal Record of the Great Exhibition 1862* noted:

> ... the expression of vacant bewilderment of the vast majority of those who wandered about the Exhibition, like sheep without a shepherd, dazed and confounded by innumerable objects ... To thousands thus the Exhibition has been a dazzling, but meaningless phantasmagoria.[488]

Mrs Martha Brown, a scarcely literate English visitor to the Paris exhibition of 1867, found that she could take in only a day at a time: '... the tower of Babylond ... couldn't 'ave been nothink to that Exhibition, as it is a reg'lar confusion of everythink ...'.[489] Later at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80, the Brisbane *Telegraph* reported that the 'first impression' on new visitors was 'one of bewilderment'.[490] Further, Tallis's contemporary record of the Great Exhibition laments the physical discomforts endured by working-class visitors who travelled from the country on a day's excursion — discomforts enough to negate their entire experience of the event.[491]

More effective in attracting new colonists to Queensland were its emigration lecturers and agents in Britain, the most successful of whom were Henry Jordan in the 1860s and George Randall (Fig. 98) intermittently from 1881 until his recall in 1902. Queensland became 'the emigration colony of Australia' by the 1880s when its official lecturers perfected a scheme, begun by Jordan, of travelling throughout Great Britain and Ireland to lecture, advertise, distribute literature and secure the support of local agents. Unlike exhibitions intended for mass audiences, the emigration lecturers could target specific audiences and concentrated their efforts in agricultural districts to attract the farmers and farm labourers needed in the colony increasingly from the mid-1880s to counter the oversupply of urban labourers and to settle on the newly-opened agricultural lands. Moreover, George Randall cunningly concentrated his visits to agricultural districts during slack periods in the farming year, at times of general unemployment and poor harvests.[492]

Though the Agent-General Richard Daintree and others had used photographs (and later lantern slides) to illustrate their emigration lectures, George Randall was the first to mount displays of Queensland produce at agricultural exhibitions in

QUEENSLAND, EASTERN **AUSTRALIA.**

A Coming Country.

A Land of Wheat, Wool, Wine & Gold.

Freehold Farms for Farmers,

Free Passages for Farm Labourers.

WEALTH AND INDEPENDENCE

For all classes of Willing Workers by Emigrating to Queensland.

Assistance toward actual money cost of Passage is now being granted by the Agent-General of the above Colony to

Farmers, Dairymen, Market Gardeners, Orchardists,

And others desirous of obtaining Freehold Farms of Rich Agricultural Land in this favoured part of Australia. Freehold Farms, of from 80 to 640 acres, may be selected for 2/6 per acre, payment extending over 10 years. Large quantities of the Choicest Land in the Colony now being thrown open to Selection.

Farm Labourers (Single Men 17 to 35, Married up to 45), and Single Women (Domestic Servants, 17 to 35), may obtain

FREE PASSAGES

By Steamers of the Queensland Royal Mail Line, via Suez Canal, sailing monthly

G. Randall, Esq.

Queensland Government Lecturer, accompanied by the Local Agent, will hold a PUBLIC MEETING, and be in attendance at the following places from 6 to 10 p.m. Meetings to commence at 7.30.

PINCHBECK BARS,	Club Room, Rose & Crown,	Tues., Mch.	7
FLEET,	,, Bull Inn,	Wed., ,,	8
WHAPLODE DROVE,	,, Black Horse Inn,	Thurs. ,,	9
FOSDYKE,	,, New Inn,	Fri. ,,	10
WESTON,	,, Plough Inn;	Sat. ,,	11

To answer inquiries, see applicants personally, and issue the necessary forms.

Do not miss this opportunity of getting reliable information about this great Australian Colony, or the chance of a Free Passage. Any persons desirous of information respecting Queensland should not fail to see Mr. Randall during the present visit, as he will not be in this district again for some months.

Farm Men are most wanted in the Colony; other classes may go in excess of demand, but Genuine Country Farm Men never. Letters home from men of this class, who went from this district as a result of Mr. Randall's work, and a number of friends and relatives who have followed, prove most conclusively their uniform satisfaction and success, and that their reasonable expectations have been more than realised in the country of their choice.

Splendid chance for a few industrious sober men to get to a Country where there is plenty of Work the whole year round. Good Wages, and every prospect of obtaining a Freehold Home and Independence for old age.

N.B.—Will readers kindly make this above opportunity and arrangements known in odd places and villages in their locality? Write, or come and see—

GEO. HALL & SON, Auctioneers, SPALDING.

FIG. 99. An example of the propaganda distributed by George Randall in Britain. (Queensland State Archives, PRE/A23, 1899/3908, reproduced courtesy of the Dept of the Premier and Cabinet)

Britain. Inspired by the initiative of Canada in touring sophisticated display vans to these exhibitions, Randall mounted rival stands to 'kidnap colonists' (as his critics held) to Queensland instead. Queensland was, he boasted, 'the only Australasian Colony having the enterprise and public spiritedness to do this'. Randall reported that his first stand, at Warwick's Royal Agricultural Show of 1892, was 'a splendid means of advertising the colony' to British farmers.[493] Besides samples of agricultural produce and wax models of fruit supplied by the Queensland Department of Agriculture, his exhibits included maps, photographs of farms and artesian bores and a painting of the Barron Falls by his son, the artist Richard Randall. (When challenged by exhibition visitors about Queensland's 'dry', he pointed to the bores on one hand and the waterfall on the other, then referred them to a map of the colony's varying rainfall, and 'took the doubters by surprise!').[494]

But Queensland's most successful experiment in recruiting at an exhibition was the inspiration of another emigration agent, August Larsen, also targeting a specific audience — in this case, women. Larsen mounted Queensland's stall at London's Women's International Exhibition of 1900 where he recruited most of the 417 'girls' he despatched to the colony within 10 months to meet its chronic shortage of domestic labour.[495] There were other examples of new colonists being attracted at exhibitions. The young De Burgh Fitzpatrick Persse, later a well-known pastoralist, parliamentarian and a commissioner for Queensland at Melbourne's centennial exhibition, was 'inspired' to emigrate from his native Galway, Ireland, by Queensland's display at the London exhibition of 1862. He was reportedly one of 'many' emigrants attracted at this event.[496] Later at the Greater Britain Exhibition Queensland officials claimed that their exhibits had caused 'a number' of visitors to emigrate,[497] but statistics show no great increase at this time. Though the exhibition could have induced some to emigrate, maybe years after the event, some other cause deterred others.

IMPACT ON TRADE. Nor were exhibitions any more effective in boosting Queensland's trade. The years immediately following exhibitions brought no increases in exports that cannot be explained by other factors such as bumper seasons or new minerals discoveries, and there were large increases in some export commodities in years quite unrelated to exhibitions. Conversely, the Queensland International Exhibition brought no great increases in imports. Ironically, exports slumped after the colony's grandest-ever display, at the Greater Britain Exhibition, due to its worst-ever drought which lasted until 1902. Of course the ability of exhibitions to directly influence trade depended on a free-trade world which, though the guiding principle behind the Great Exhibition of 1851, was not a reality in succeeding decades, even within the British Empire. High tariffs prevented the Australian colonies from increasing their wool exports to the United States as a result of their spectacular wool displays at the Philadelphia exhibition. Queensland

had hoped to start a direct wool trade with the United States after this event. Likewise, Victoria's protectionist policies minimised the export gains that Queensland could make from participating in Melbourne exhibitions. Victoria's high tariff on Queensland sugar was a contentious issue at the time of the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. Even the mother country, while espousing the benefits of a free-trade empire, was not an open market for colonial produce by the 1890s because of its trade treaties with Continental countries, also a contentious issue for Queensland.

Further, it can be argued that international exhibitions were ineffective stimulants to trade since their exhibits, even if displayed in some meaningful order, were rarely accompanied by information on prices and suppliers.[498] The English mathematician and pamphleteer Charles Babbage, in his pamphlet on how to run the Great Exhibition, stressed that it would have no commercial value unless price tags were shown on the exhibits,[499] but his advice went unheeded for fear that the exhibition would become a 'bazaar'. In 1872 Richard Daintree urged Queensland exhibitors to provide 'commercial' information so that their exhibits could bring 'commercial results'.[500] (Results were, of course, out of the question if exhibits were not even obtainable locally, as was the case with the much-admired clam-shells shown at London in 1886.) Later, in 1888, the *Argus* reporter lamented the lack of commercial information accompanying Queensland's timber exhibits at Melbourne. For Archibald Meston some of these exhibits were 'only ... curiosities' and were 'of no service' in attracting the attention of timber merchants. What these merchants needed, argued Meston, was not so much 'Mr Bailey's ... scientific botanical information' on the timbers, but 'practical' information on their uses, suppliers, supply and accessibility.[501] It was by providing such information, together with its stores of sample collections, that London's Imperial Institute was to be 'something much more important than a glorified show'. But soon it too became just a show: 'nobody can discover how to turn the commodities shown in the glass cases into the stream of actual business', complained the *Queenslander* newspaper.[502]

More business resulted from the stands of Queensland products mounted from 1893 by the emigration lecturer George Randall at the annual bakers', grocers' and dairy trade shows held in the Agricultural Hall at Islington, London (Fig. 100). These stands were unashamedly 'commercial' in intent and reportedly attracted much interest among British merchants. And for the reopening of London's Alexandra Palace in 1898 Randall mounted a stand of Queensland products retrieved from the stores of the Imperial Institute, achieving 'one of the best hits at advertising' yet carried out by the colony.[503] Queensland's displays at agricultural and trade exhibitions in Britain were continued until World War 1.

The relative indifference of Queensland's pastoralists to exhibitions (not all those appointed as commissioners were even exhibitors) confirms that their fortunes did not depend on these events. Though wool remained Queensland's main export earner throughout the 19th century, wool never dominated its displays at international exhibitions and was mostly overshadowed by minerals. As an exhibition official remarked, Queensland's wool had secured its market in London well before the advent of exhibitions.[504] Pastoralists were not the only exporters to stand aloof from exhibitions, for some of Queensland's meat and dairy companies could see 'no advantage' in sending their products to the Greater Britain Exhibition.[505]

CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC IMPACT. Queensland seldom took advantage of the latest advances in science and technology on show at exhibitions, though most Western nations sent official observers to exhibitions. On only two occasions, at Philadelphia in 1876 and the International Health Exhibition in 1884, did Queensland appoint commissioners specifically to report on exhibits and overseas developments of interest to the colony. Significantly, on both occasions the commissioners lacked professional expertise in the subjects they reported on, so their reports lacked scientific validity and were generally ignored. In 1875 there were repeated calls for the Australian colonies to bring back information on American agricultural technology from the Philadelphia exhibition, for colonists saw the experience of the American frontier as particularly applicable to antipodean conditions. In September 1875 the Queensland Government took up the offer of Angus Mackay, a local journalist and writer on agriculture, to proceed to Philadelphia as a special exhibition commissioner. This followed Mackay's lobbying, as editor of the *Queenslander*, for the colony to 'learn, as well as exhibit' at Philadelphia.[506] Apart from overseeing Queensland's exhibits, Mackay was detailed to spend eight months in the United States reporting on agricultural machinery, including

FIG. 100. George Randall's stand at the annual Dairy Show held in the Agricultural Hall, Islington, in October 1893. Randall later reported that this stand, where he distributed over 7,000 leaflets on *Dairying in Queensland*, was 'from every point of view a success'. (Fryer Library, the University of Queensland)

the fine display in the exhibition, and touring California and grain and sugar-producing districts to observe recent advances in agriculture and low-cost railways and bridges. Later his tour was extended to include reports on Chicago's modern abattoirs and the central sugar mill system operating in the French West Indies.

Mackay, an industrious if not expert observer, produced a series of lengthy reports.[507] His observations on railways and bridges were promptly refuted by Queensland's leading railway engineers, but subsequent claims that his 'wonderful expedition' was 'a gigantic swindle' that had produced 'no tangible result'[508] were more politically motivated than justified. (The claims were made in 1879 after Mackay, appointed by the previous government, entered Parliment as a member of the Liberal Opposition.) While in America, Mackay purchased labour-saving machines and implements, and obtained information on other useful machines beyond the reach of his £500 government allocation for the purpose. This collection, intended to develop 'much mechanical ingenuity' among his fellow colonists, was shown at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition of 1877 and publicised in an illustrated catalogue before being sold at auction later that year.[509] Mackay's tour also introduced American creole sugar-cane to Queensland, but his reports on the central mill system brought no response from the government until 1885 when the depression in the sugar industry prompted the planning of trial central mills (erected at Racecourse and North Eton, Mackay). Their subsequent failure ensured that the central mill system was not adopted until years later, with the passing of the *Sugar Works Guarantee Act of 1893*, by which time Mackay had left Queensland and his reports had been forgotten.

In April 1884 Queensland appointed John Douglas, a former Premier and man of letters then visiting London, as a commissioner to report on the International Health Exhibition. His report touched on subjects of vital concern to industrial

civilisation, sanitation and water supply, and urged the colony to obtain the exhibition's literature which, he predicted, would have 'a more extended influence than the exhibition itself'.[510] The exhibition's 19 volumes of literature were later deposited in the Queensland Parliamentary Library, and were probably rarely consulted as the library was (and still is) for the use of politicians, not technical experts. In 1891 the Queensland Parliament received a report on London's recent International Exhibition of Mining and Metallurgy by C.A. Heussler, a mining engineer of Brisbane,[511] but the colony was not officially represented at this exhibition and Heussler did not have commissioner status. While only tentatively interested in practical exhibits, Queensland was even less interested in the cultural advances on show at exhibitions. An offer made by the Brisbane medical practitioner, parliamentarian and later Queensland Museum trustee, Dr Kevin Izod O'Doherty, to report on aspects of French culture at the Paris exhibition of 1878 hit a bureaucratic brick wall.

So it was left to individual colonists to bring back cultural stimulation from the world's greatest exhibitions, but such distant travel was beyond the means of all but a privileged few. More colonists would have experienced these exhibitions vicariously through theatrical reenactments, such as the 'sceneoscopic exhibition' of the recent Chicago exhibition that toured Queensland in 1895. But these were really only travelogues and offered no cultural benefits. And the relatively few (less than 45% of the colony's population) who attended the local imitation of these events, the Queensland International Exhibition,[512] saw little more than they had already seen at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibitions (apart from the spectacular mining court and bush-house) since these exhibitions had always included southern exhibits and consumer goods imported by local merchants. The only technological innovations popularised by the Queensland International Exhibition were the Wolseley shearing machine, the mechanical cream separator and the milk pasteuriser, but as I have previously noted, these were hardly new to the colony. Moreover, the European art (mostly old master copies from the Berlin Association of Lady Artists) shown in the fine arts court of the Queensland International Exhibition was decidedly 'amateurish' beside the best of the Australian works. Hence international exhibitions had little impact on public taste and consumer demands in Queensland — much less, in fact, than the department stores that opened in the major towns from the 1880s — and little impact on local technology.

Queensland seldom took advantage of exhibitions to form permanent museum collections or to promote scientific interests in the colony. Indeed former exhibits found their way to public collections in Queensland more by default than plan, and in the scramble for exhibits that invariably followed exhibitions it seems that Queensland gave away more than it received. British, American and European museums and other collecting institutions benefited greatly from the samples of Queensland's raw products that were distributed after the exhibitions in London, Vienna and Philadelphia.[513] Commissioner Angus Mackay considered that Queensland's participation at Philadelphia would have been 'incomplete' without such 'mementos ... being left in institutions where the public can see them'.[514] Large collections of Queensland plants were given to Sydney's and Melbourne's Botanic Gardens after the exhibitions there on the understanding that 'suitable exchanges' would be received, but Walter Hill of Brisbane's Botanic Gardens complained that the exchanges were not always forthcoming. In November 1880 Hill reported that the resources of Brisbane's gardens had been so 'greatly strained ... by the continuous demands made upon it to provide plants ... for a succession of International Exhibitions' that the main purpose of the gardens, to acclimatise new plants, was being neglected.[515] After the Philadelphia exhibition, the United States Department of Agriculture gave a 'fine' collection of about 600 North American plants to the Queensland Herbarium in exchange for Queensland plants. But the herbarium made few other gains from exhibitions, though it now holds the remnants of F.M. Bailey's exhibition collection of timber, which was transferred in 1968 from the former Museum of Economic Botany.

Other collecting institutions in Queensland fared little better from exhibitions, though as I have previously noted Richard Daintree ensured that his photographs were placed in local museums as a stimulus to 'technological education in the colony'.[516] The Queensland Museum now holds two series of 'Daintree' photographs, but it seems that the photographs despatched elsewhere have been lost. At the beginning of the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 the Queensland Museum received plaster casts of the muses *Polyhymia* and *Euterpe* as gifts from Professor Francis

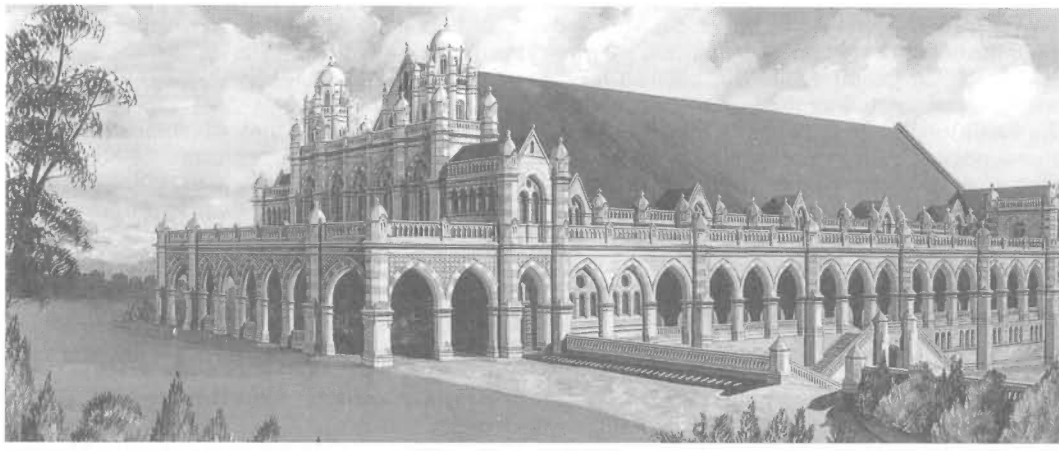

FIG. 101. The architect G.H.M. Addison's perspective of Brisbane's second Exhibition Building, erected in 1891 for the National Association and later used for the Queensland International Exhibition. (Queensland Art Gallery)

Reuleaux, the Chief Commissioner for the German Empire at the exhibition. These muses, copies of antiquities held in Berlin, have also been lost. The museum made its best gains from exhibitions after Melbourne's event of 1888-89 due to the involvement of its Curator, Charles de Vis, as an exhibition commissioner and as a cataloguer of the mineral exhibits. De Vis took advantage of the return of exhibits to induce their owners to make donations to the museum. Many 'interesting' mineral exhibits were acquired, including a collection of tin and silver ores from John Moffat and Company of Irvinebank and the bulk of the exhibits from the New Guinea court (now known as the MacGregor Collection).

However the museum could not persuade the government to participate in London's International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 and Inventions Exhibition of 1885, despite its offer to send a collection of local fish to the former and to barter this for an exchange collection of British fish, and the museum made no direct gains from the Queensland International Exhibition. (By contrast, Melbourne's intercolonial exhibition of 1866-67 and Sydney's international exhibition of 1879-80 led to the establishment of permanent museums in those cities; that is, what are now the National Museum of Victoria and the Powerhouse Museum.) But eventually the Queensland Museum inherited the remnants of F.M. Bailey's exhibition collection of economic plants when this was transferred from the Queensland Herbarium in 1977. Later, in 1979, the museum also acquired the remnants of the government's exhibition collection of minerals along with other contents of the defunct Geological Museum.

As international exhibitions became recurring events in the world's major cities, it became customary to plan at least one permanent structure among the exhibition buildings. Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Launceston were left with sizeable exhibition buildings after their respective events; that is, until a fire destroyed Sydney's building in 1882. Brisbane, however, was left with less substantial assets from the Queensland International Exhibition, since it was housed in the National Association's existing (second) Exhibition Building at Bowen Park, erected in 1891 (Fig. 101), and in 'temporary' iron annexes acquired from the recent Hobart exhibition. These annexes became a permanent addition to Brisbane's Exhibition Grounds after their purchase by the Queensland Government in June 1897 in an effort to keep the Queensland International Exhibition Company solvent. Following repairs and alterations made in 1899, the annexes remained in use well into this century, providing necessary accommodation for Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibitions once the Exhibition Building was taken over by the government in December 1897 in consequence of the National Association's indebtedness to the state. In the meantime the building was used for Brisbane's annual exhibition of 1898, the mining court from the Queensland International Exhibition still installed there awaiting its overseas showing.

The international exhibition's bush-house and gardens also survived till the 1898 exhibition and were later taken over (albeit depleted) by the Queensland Museum when the museum moved into the Exhibition Building in 1899. The Queensland International Exhibition gave Brisbane no other permanent amenities, unlike its European and American counterparts which left parks, sports stadiums, railway stations, even mass housing, in addition to grand exhibition buildings.

To conclude, exhibitions brought few tangible benefits to Queensland, except for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition which brought an influx of mining and other investment. In general, exhibitions had little impact on the flow of capital and immigrants into the colony, and little impact on trade. Moreover, exhibitions brought few cultural benefits and no substantial legacy in buildings or public collections. But despite the dubious benefits of exhibitions, colonists agreed they were 'a first-class advertisement' for Queensland and enhanced its image as a 'progressive' young colony.[517] Besides, the involvement of so many colonists in preparing exhibits for successive exhibitions must have helped to shape their own image of their adopted land. I cite the following case in point. In 1892 Queensland needed a coat of arms to stand beside those of the other Australian colonies at the Imperial Institute, London, in time for its opening the following year. In his instructions to the imperial College of Heralds for a grant of arms, the Premier Sir Samuel Griffith wrote that 'the escutcheon should, I think, embody references to the four great industries of Queensland, grazing, wheat, sugar and quartz-mining'.[518] The arms finally granted in April 1893 (Fig. 102) represented mining thus:

> ... the sinister Base on a Mount, a pile of Quartz, issuant therefrom a Gold Pyramid, in front of the Mount, a Spade surmounted by a Pick saltireirise all proper.[519]

The 'Gold Pyramid' is, of course, one of the gilded obelisks (or 'goldometers') that towered over Queensland's displays at exhibitions, hence our involvement in exhibitions remains emblazoned on the state coat of arms.

FIG. 102. The Queensland coat of arms granted in April 1893. (Queensland State Archives, COL/123, 1893/12429, reproduced by courtesy of the Dept of the Premier and Cabinet)

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A: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Scattered in libraries in Brisbane, interstate and overseas I have found catalogues for all but a few of the Queensland courts. The missing catalogues are for London's exhibitions of 1871-74, notably 'a neat little ... catalogue of objects exhibited in the Queensland Annexe' published for the 1872 event, and Horace Tozer's *Popular Description of the Queensland Court and Catalogue of Exhibits* published in pamplet form in at least two editions for the Glasgow exhibition of 1901. For the Philadelphia exhibition, the Queensland catalogue survives in the joint catalogue of the British section, though it was intended to issue the Queensland catalogue also 'as a separate pamphlet'.

Published catalogues are not always infallible guides to what was actually shown and generally omit Queensland's contributions to the various horticultural and wool shows held during the Australian exhibitions. Queensland's catalogue for the Vienna exhibition omits many exhibits as it was printed in Brisbane before the last shipment of exhibits was despatched. Curiously, Queensland's catalogue for the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 entirely omits the wool exhibits. On the other hand, many of Queensland's exhibits for the later Melbourne exhibition were not shown due to the lack of space in its court. Often special 'attractions', such as the Aboriginal mummies brought to Sydney in 1880, were added during the course of exhibitions, and can be identified only from press reports and correspondence. For the several exhibitions which have both separate Queensland catalogues as well as colonial catalogues incorporated in British or general catalogues, there are discrepancies between the two versions. Catalogues usually fail to quantify collective exhibits. For this reason, and the deficiencies noted above, I was not able to add the total number of exhibits in each court to the data given in Appendix 2, nor to quantify the different classes of exhibits, with due precision. The sizes of courts and their costs are more reliable indicators of the extent of Queensland's involvement in particular exhibitions.

Official correspondence and pictorial records of exhibitions also vary. No files were created by the Queensland Colonial Secretary's Office for the earlier exhibitions, so their correspondence is dispersed. Large files date from 1877 when self-indexing correspondence registers were introduced. Agent-General's despatches also contain exhibition material and I am ever grateful to Sir James Garrick for the volumes of press clippings he despatched on the Colonial and Indian Exhibition — probably some of the world's best press coverage of the event. A considerable volume of exhibition circulars and correspondence was published in *Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly*. Some of the Queensland courts are recorded in splendid albums of photographs, while others are illustrated only in contemporary newspapers. I have been unable to find any pictorial records of the courts at London in 1862, Vienna in 1873 and Paris in 1878, which limits a comprehensive assessment of display techniques. There is a paucity of correspondence and pictorial records for the Queensland International Exhibition due to its limited government involvement and possibly, in the latter case, its limited popularity.

Propaganda pamphlets distributed in Queensland courts (outlining emigration regulations, land selection, etc.) were generally regarded as ephemeral and not collected with official exhibition correspondence, though they were sometimes listed in official catalogues.

B: INDIVIDUAL EXHIBITIONS

International exhibitions produced a volume of publications and the titles of many of these are similar. To avoid confusion, this major part of the bibliography is arranged by exhibitions, incorporating both contemporary records and later studies. Propaganda pamplets published especially for exhibitions and distributed in Queensland courts are included under relevant exhibitions. Archival files are cited only where a substantial amount of correspondence on an exhibition is held therein.

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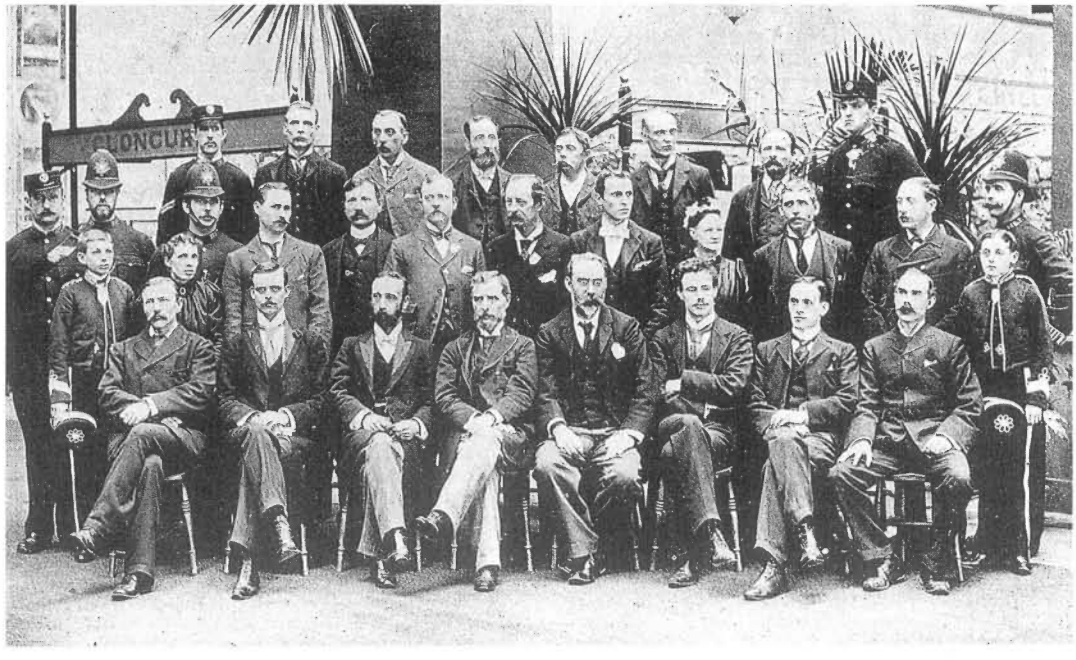

FIG. 103. The staff of Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899. Seated in the front row are: Percy Russell (far left); Charles Schaefer Rutlidge, Logan Jack and Harry Courtenay Luck (third, fourth and fifth from the left, respectively); and George Cornish (second from the right). (*British Australasian*, 17 Aug. 1899)

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 15 Jan. 1870, p. 12. This weekly, published in Sydney, was read throughout Australia and had regular reports on exhibitions.
2. H.W. Sweny, 'Exhibitions: their origin and progress', in *Philadelphia International Exhibition, 1876. Official Catalogue of the British Section. Part 1* (London: George E. Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 35.
3. Esther, 1: 4.
4. This followed Queensland's unsuccessful attempt to hold an international exhibition in 1880, and a call by the *Queensland Figaro* newspaper (17 Mar. 1883) for an international exhibition in 1884 to mark Queensland's first quarter of a century.
5. P. Campbell, *The Melbourne International Great Exhibition of 1881: Its Career, Close and Lessons* (Melbourne: the author, 1881), p. 11.
6. G.C. Bolton, *Richard Daintree: A Photographic Memoir* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1965); I.G. Sanker, *Queensland in the 1860s: The Photography of Richard Daintree* (Brisbane: Queensland Museum, 1977); P. Quartermaine, 'International exhibitions and emigration: the photographic enterprise of Richard Daintree, Agent-General for Queensland 1872-76', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no.13, Nov. 1983, pp. 40-55.
7. M. Rothenberg & P. Hoffenberg, 'Australia at the 1876 Exhibition in Philadelphia', *Historical Records of Australian Science*, vol.8, no.2, 1990, pp. 55-61; J. McKay, 'J.A. Clarke's "grand picture" of Brisbane', *Australiana*, vol.10, no.4, Nov. 1988, pp. 119-21.
8. A.L. Lougheed, *British Company Formation and Queensland Mining Industry 1886-1890* (St Lucia: Dept of Economics, University of Queensland, 1982), pp. 1-2; G. Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), pp. 101-2; D. Menghetti, 'The gold mines of Charters Towers', in K.H. Kennedy (ed.), *Readings in North Queensland Mining History*, vol.2 (Townsville: James Cook University, 1982), pp. 79-80; P.J. Skerman, A.E. Fisher & P.L. Lloyd, *Guiding Queensland Agriculture 1877-1987* (Brisbane: Dept of Primary Industries, 1988), pp. 105-8, 167, 187.
9. P. Schlencker, The National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland, 1875-1900, BA Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1973.
10. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 13 Mar. 1875, p. 415.
11. G. Berry (Vic. Agent-General), at a meeting of executive commissioners for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 22 June 1886, QSA, COL/A526, 1887/9253.
12. *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-1889* (Melbourne: Sands & McDougall, 1890), p. 273.
13. R.W. Rydell, 'The literature of international exhibitions', in *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1992), p. 10.
14. J.E. Findling & K.D. Pelle (eds), *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1900).
15. G.C. Levey, 'Exhibition', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), vol.10, pp. 67-71; S.G. Mellor, entry for George Collins Levey, *ADB*, vol.5, pp. 81-82.
16. J. Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions* (London: Studio Vista, 1977).
17. Among the studies on the representation of non-whites are: R.W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); A.E.S. Coombes, '"For God and for England": contributions to an image of Africa in the first decade of the 20th century', *Art History*, vol.8, no.4, Dec. 1985, pp. 453-66; Z. Celik & L. Kinney, 'Ethnography and exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles', *Assemblage*, no.13, Dec. 1990, pp. 35-59; C.M. Hinsley, 'The world as marketplace: commodification of the exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893', in I. Karp & S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp. 344-65.
18. Among the studies on women are: D.R. Jamieson, 'Women's rights at the world's fair, 1893', *Illinois Quarterly*, vol.37, 1974, pp. 5-20; J.M. Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy Press, 1981); F.K. Pohl, 'Historical reality or utopian ideal? The woman's building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893', *International Journal of Women's Studies*, vol.5, no.4, Sept./Oct. 1982, pp. 289-311. There are yet no studies on the role of women in Australian exhibitions.
19. For example, T. Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1990).
20. For example: E.S. Ferguson, 'Technical museums and international exhibitions', *Technology and Culture*, vol.6, no.1, Winter 1965, pp. 30-46; R.H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late 19th-Century France* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 66-78; S.A. Davis, '"Fine cloths on the altar": the com-

modification of late 19th-century France', *Art Journal*, vol.48, no.1, Spring 1989, pp. 85-89; N. Harris, 'Museums, merchandising, and popular taste: the struggle for influence', in his *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 56-81.

21. P. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The 'Expositions Universelles', Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

22. Rydell, 'The literature of international exhibitions', p. 10. Among the studies on colonies at exhibitions are: D. Newell, 'Canada at world's fairs', *Canadian Collector*, vol.11, 1976, pp. 11-15; W. Schneider, ' Colonies at the 1900 world fair', *History Today*, vol.31, May 1981, pp. 31-36; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, ch. 3; C.A. Breckenridge, 'The aesthetics and politics of colonial collecting: India at world fairs', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol.31, Apr. 1989, pp. 195-216.

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24. This is with the exception of an article on the display of natural history exhibits: G. Reekie, 'Expositions, exhibits and today's museums', *Natural History*, vol.73, June/July 1964, pp.20-29.

25. R.D. Altick, *The Shows of London: A Panoramic History of Exhibitions, 1600-1862* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978); M. Colligan, Canvas and wax: images of information in Australian panoramas and waxworks, with particular reference to Melbourne 1849-1920, PhD thesis, Monash University, 1987.

26. Among the recent Australian studies are: L. Young, 'Let them see how like England we can be': an account of the Sydney International Exhibition 1879, MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1983; R. Holden, 'Sydney International Exhibition of 1879', *Art and Australia*, vol.7, no.3, Mar. 1980, pp. 280-82; J. Parris & A.G.L. Shaw, 'The Melbourne International Exhibition 1880-1881', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol.51, Nov. 1980, pp. 237-54; N. Etherington, 'The Exhibitionists of 1887', *Gadrian*, 1986, pp. 111-18; C. McKeough & N. Etherington, 'Jubilee 50', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no.12, 1984, pp. 3-21; D. Dugan, 'Victoria's largest exhibition', *RHSV Journal*, vol.54, no.3, Sept. 1983, pp. 1-11; P. Mercer, 'The Tasmanian International Exhibition, 1894-95: an ephemeral event, or a lasting legacy?', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, vol.28, no.1, Mar. 1981, pp. 17-41; L. Stevenson, 'The Coolgardie International Exhibition, 1899', *Studies in Western Australian History*, no.10, Apr. 1989, pp. 100-6.

27. G. Davison, 'Centennial celebrations', in G. Davison, J.W. McCarty & A. McLeary (eds), *Australians 1888* (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, 1987), pp. 1-29; 'Exhibitions', *Australian Cultural History*, no.2, 1982/83, pp. 5-21; and 'Festivals of nationhood: the international exhibitions', in S.L. Goldberg & F.B. Smith (eds), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 158-77.

28. V. Rigg, 'Curators of the colonial idea: the museum and the exhibition as agents of bourgeois ideology in 19th-century New South Wales', *Public History Review*, vol.3, 1994, pp. 188-203.

29. R. Aitken, 'Celebrating gold', *Historic Environment*, vol.8, nos 3-4, 1991, pp. 31-35.

30. R. Lawson, in *Brisbane in the 1890s: A Study of an Australian Urban Society* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1973), makes only a two-line reference to the Queensland International Exhibition (p. 292). However, its financial failure is outlined by P. Schlencker in his thesis on the National Association (pp. 180-85), and its fine art exhibits are listed by J.K. Brown & M. Maynard in *Fine Art Exhibitions in Brisbane 1884-1916* (St Lucia: Fryer Library, University of Queensland, 1980).

Chapter 1

31. *British Australasian*, 11 May 1899, p. 709. This weekly, published in London, was a chronicle of Australians and Australian events in Britain and was much read by Australians abroad.

32. H. Tozer to Chief Sec., 2 Dec. 1901, QSA, PRE/A118, 1902/2044, in-letter 02/276.

33. I have included the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 in this study because, although held just after the time of federation, Queensland's participation was agreed beforehand. I have also included the British imperial exhibitions, which are generally regarded as international exhibitions because the British Empire encompassed so much of the globe. Besides, Queensland sent its grandest displays to these exhibitions.

34. *British Australasian*, 2 Nov. 1899, p. 1675.

35. However, Findling & Pelle's *Historical Dictionary*, in its appendix D listing of lesser known exhibitions (pp. 395-402), includes exhibitions which I would dispute are international exhibitions. Many of the Australian exhibitions listed are in fact intercolonial exhibitions. Allwood's *The Great Exhibitions*, on the other hand, is overly selective and lists only 39 world exhibitions from 1859 to 1901 (pp. 180-82). Because of

the lack of reliable data, I am unable to compare Queensland's preferred exhibitions with world activity except for Australian exhibitions.

36. M.H. Marsh [? to Col. Sec.], 22 Nov. 1862, QSA, COL/A59, 1864/2725, in-letter 63/397.
37. *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 8 Aug. 1901, p. 9.
38. L. Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, Conflict and Compromise in the late 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
39. Address by Prince of Wales, 30 Mar. 1885, *V&P of the QLA*, 3rd Session 9th Parliament, 1885, p. 1121.
40. Mackenzie, ch. 4. The exhibitions at Wembley in 1924-25 and Glasgow in 1938 were the largest of all the British imperial exhibitions, and included displays from the Commonwealth of Australia.
41. G.F. Pardon, *A Guide to the International Exhibition* (London: Routledge, Warne & Routledge, 1862), p. 58.
42. *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 Oct. 1854, p. 2.
43. The Australian colonies were well represented at the London exhibition of 1862. Victoria's display, reflecting its new gold wealth, was the most 'extensive and varied' yet shown in Europe by a British colony.
44. R. Daintree to Col. Sec., 21 Sept. 1872, QSA, COL/A172, 1872/1996.
45. *The Times*, 30 Aug. 1873, p. 9.
46. *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition of 1876. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament* (London: George E. Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1877), vol.1, p.xxiii.
47. *Australasian Sketcher*, 5 Aug. 1876, p. 70; Commissioner for American Exhibition, Boston, to A.H. Palmer, 5 June 1883, QSA, COL/A365, 1883/3603.
48. A. Hodgson papers, Australian Joint Copying Project, reel M790, 'The Paris Exhibition. 1878', pp. 247, 261.
49. R.E.N. Twopeny, *A Proposal for Holding an Australasian Exhibition in London* (Sydney: Gibbs, Shallard & Co., 1883), p. 4; J.M. Ward, entry for R.E.N. Twopeny, *ADB*, vol.6, pp. 316-17.
50. *Illustrated London News*, 26 Oct. 1872, p. 406, and 12 Apr. 1873, p. 338.
51. *QPD*, vol.3, 1866, p. 79.
52. G.C. Bolton, entry for Richard Daintree, *ADB*, vol.4, pp. 1-2.
53. Queensland's annexe cost £600 and was eventually demolished in 1881. See correspondence on the annexe, QSA, COL/84A, 1881/637, and WOR/A49, 1872/1691.
54. E.C. Booth, *Australia Illustrated* (London: Virtue & Co., 1873-76), vol.6, p. 174; *Australasian Sketcher*, 17 May 1873, p. 19. The other Australian colonies did not participate in all these exhibitions. Victoria, for instance, took part only in the 1873 exhibition.
55. R. Daintree to Minister for Works, 17 Mar. 1872, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 6th Parliament, 1872, p. 1500.
56. R. Daintree, *Queensland, Australia. Its Territory, Climate and Products. Agricultural, Pastoral and Mineral, etc. With Emigration Regulations* (London: G. Street, [1873]), which was sold cheaply at the London exhibitions. This undated publication is often dated 1872, but it repeatedly cites events of 1873.
57. R. Daintree to Minister for Works, 4 Oct. 1871, *V&P of the QLA*, 1st Session 6th Parliament, 1872, p. 755; R. Daintree to W.B. Clarke, 16 Mar. 1872, Rev. W.B. Clarke letters, ML MSS 139/36X, Mitchell Library.
58. J.F. Garrick to Col. Sec., 9 Apr. 1885, *V&P of the QLA*, 3rd Session 9th Parliament, 1885, p. 1116. The previous Agent-General, Thomas Archer, had already warned that the colonies were expected to 'reserve themselves' for this exhibition (T. Archer to Col. Sec., 21 Dec. 1883, QSA, COL/87, 1884/852).
59. Report by J.F. Garrick on Colonial and Indian Exhibition, *V&P of the QLA*, 5th Session 9th Parliament, 1887, p. 1127; Agent-General's report for 1886, *ibid*, p. 576.
60. *Greater Britain Exhibition Earl's Court London, 1899. Catalogue of Exhibits in the Queensland Court* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., [1899]), prefatory note, p. 3.
61. *The Greater Britain Exhibition, 1899 Earl's Court, S.W. Guide* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1899), p. 87.
62. *QPD*, vol.85, 1900, p. 1093; H.C. Luck to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 26 May 1899, QSA, AGS/N52, in-letter 99/4689.
63. *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 14 Oct. 1886, p. 3.
64. The expenditure on the Colonial and Indian Exhibition is not officially recorded. I have deduced this sum mainly from evidence in the exhibition file, QSA, COL/A474, 1886/5771. In addition, Queensland contributed £2,000 to the exhibition's guarantee fund, which was not eventually called upon.
65. *British Australasian*, 13 Apr. 1899, p. 547.
66. *QPD*, vol.83, 1899, p. 1403. This sum was in addition to the £34,140 worth of gold and other exhibits and fittings sold after the exhibition. It still falls short of the £36,000 spent by New South Wales on the Chicago exhibition of 1893 or the £30,000 spent by Western Australia on the Paris event of 1900.
67. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 Apr. 1880, p. 3.

68. W.L. Thorpe, A social history of colonial Queensland: towards a Marxist analysis, PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1986, pp. 303-12.
69. Under Col. Sec., to Director-General of World's Columbian Exposition, 8 Apr. 1892, QSA, COL/G72, out-letter 92/2009, p. 532.
70. This ratio of British-born commissioners excludes those (17 of a total 163) of unknown birth and compares with Queensland's overall population which at federation was 91% of British extraction.
71. The phenomenon of the returned colonist is studied by K.S. Inglis in 'Going home: Australians in England, 1870-1900', in D. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Home or Away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia. Visible Immigrants: 3 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1992), pp. 105-30.*
72. D. Carment, entry for William Knox D'Arcy, *ADB*, vol.8, pp. 207-9. D'Arcy later became chairman of the London board of the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Co.
73. B.A. Knox, entry for Robert George Wyndham Herbert, *ADB*, vol.4, pp. 382-85. In 1867 Herbert was temporarily appointed a financial agent of Queensland in England.
74. D.B. Waterson, entry for Arthur Hodgson, *ADB*, vol.4, pp. 405-6; J.C.H. Gill, 'Arthur Hodgson: the centaur who left his sheep', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol.14, no.2, May 1990, pp. 41-60.
75. *Boomerang*, 7 June 1890, p. 5, and 11 June 1890, p. 5. In April that year Hodgson read a paper at the Royal Colonial Institute (published in *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. 21, 1889-90, pp. 242-66) in which he inveighed against Australian secession. The *Boomerang*, a Brisbane weekly founded by the labour leader William Lane in 1887, was addressed to a working-class readership.
76. The earlier proposals for a colonial museum were: in 1874 after London's annual series of exhibitions; in 1876 after the Philadelphia exhibition; and in 1878 after the recent Paris exhibition.
77. *The Times*, 13 Jan. 1887, p. 7.
78. *Boomerang*, 16 Mar. 1889, p. 5.
79. *QPD*, vol.53, 1887, pp. 2019-20. Queensland's contribution was a share of the £20,000 which the Australasian colonies agreed to contribute to the institute's foundation.
80. *Boomerang*, 10 Dec. 1887, p. 3.
81. *QPD*, vol.85, 1900, p. 1093.
82. H. Tozer to Chief Sec., 13 Aug. 1903, QSA, AGS/N59, 1903/11026. See papers relating to Imperial Institute, QSA, A/6319 and A/6320; and COL/A526, 1887/9253.
83. Mackenzie, ch. 5; K. Bradley, 'The Imperial Institute', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol.105, no. 5013, Sept. 1957, pp. 871-87.
84. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Aug. 1855, p. 2, cited in Young; *Argus*, 11 July 1867, in MSF12900, La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria.
85. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 27 July 1878, p. 169; A. Mackay to Col. Sec., 17 Apr. 1876, *V&P of the QLA*, 3rd Session 7th Parliament, 1876, p. 1091.
86. *British Australasian*, 7 Oct. 1886, pp. 910-11; press clippings in QSA, COL/99, 1886/9008, COL/99A, 1886/9661, and COL/102, 1887/3497.
87. H.T. Wood, entry for Francis Philip Cunliffe-Owen, *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1895), vol.42, pp. 406-7. This was the only setback in Cunliffe-Owen's long career in exhibitions and museums.
88. *Argus*, 30 Nov. 1888, p. 8; Col. Sec., to T. MacDonald-Paterson, 6 Dec. 1888, QSA, COL/A567, 1888/10687.
89. Qld commissioners to Col. Sec. A.H. Palmer, 18 Sept. 1879, QSA, COL/A295, 1880/3630.
90. *QPD*, vol.30, 1879, pp. 1508, 1684; H.J. Gibbney, entry for Gresley Lukin, *ABD*, vol.5, pp. 108-9. One of Lukin's main parliamentary critics, Charles Lumley Hill, was then engaged in a legal action against Lukin's newspaper, the *Brisbane Courier*.
91. Correspondence between the government and Gresley Lukin, *V&P of the QLA*, 3rd Session 8th Parliament, 1880, pp. 1389-90; *Brisbane Courier*, 8 Apr. 1880, p. 3.
92. Auditor-General to Col. Treasurer, 8 Apr. 1880, QSA, COL/A295, 1880/3603, in-letter 80/2013.
93. G. Layton (National Assoc. sec.) to Col. Sec., 9 Sept. 1878, COL/A264, 1878/3336.
94. *Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-89. The Official Catalogue of the Exhibits, with Introductory Notices of the Countries Exhibiting* (Melbourne: M.L. Hutchinson, 1888), vol.1, p. iii.
95. D. Gillies (Vic. Premier) to Qld Premier, 8 Aug. 1887, QSA, COL/A525, 1887/9084, in-letter 87/6349; *QPD*, vol.53, 1887, pp. 1729-30.
96. *Queenslander*, 8 Sept. 1888, p. 436; *Boomerang*, 25 Aug. 1888, p. 12. The *Queenslander* was a weekly published by the Brisbane Newspaper Co., publisher also of the daily the *Brisbane Courier*. More conservative than the *Boomerang*, the *Queenslander* had a readership throughout the colony and especially in the country.
97. Australian Industrial Exhibition file, QSA, AGS/P4, 1900/8074.
98. *Queensland Punch*, 1 Oct. 1880, p. 4.
99. The one exception was Richard Daintree's proposal for a united Australian court at London's annual exhibitions.
100. J. Jardine (exhibition commissioner from Rockhampton) to Under Col. Sec., 11 Apr. 1870, QSA, COL/A140, 1870/1131; Executive Council minute, 17 May 1870, QSA, COL/A151, 1870/3464.
101. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 13 Mar. 1875, p. 415; *Brisbane Courier*, 3 Mar. 1875, p. 2.

102. *Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876. (Melbourne, 1875). Official Record* (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Co., 1875), introduction, p. 11.
103. A. Renwick (NSW Executive Commissioner) to S.W. Griffith, 20 Jan. 1892, QSA, PRE/137; *Report of the Executive Commissioner for New South Wales to the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1894), p. 417.
104. L. McDonald, *Rockhampton: A History of City and District* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), pp. 404-5; A. Hodgson to editor, *Rockhampton Bulletin*, 26 July 1869, in QSA, COL/A140, 1870/1131.
105. Correspondence on Townsville pamphlet, QSA, COL/98, 1886/7225; *V&P of the QLA*, 4th Session 9th Parliament, 1886, p. 933-34; G.C. Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away: A History of North Queensland to 1920* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970), p. 184.
106. J. Joubert, *Shavings and Scrapes from Many Parts* (Dunedin: J. Wilkie & Co., 1890), pp. 90, 226-28; M. Rutledge, entry for Jules Joubert, *ADB*, vol.9, pp. 493-94.
107. Besides the directors listed in Appendix 3, the major shareholders of the Queensland International Exhibition Co. included the printing firms of W.H. Wendt and Co., and Pole, Outridge and Co., the architect L.G. Corrie and the former Agent-General Sir James Garrick. See the company's share register in QSA, Registrar of Companies Office, Brisbane: struck-off company files, file A/21648, for 1895-1912.
108. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 May 1897, p. 5.
109. *Queenslander*, 19 June 1897, p. 1344.
110. J. Joubert to H. Tozer, 21 May 1896, QSA, COL/A806, 1896/7513.
111. *North Queensland Register*, 28 Nov. 1898, p. 3.
112. Queensland had its own displays within the Australian buildings at the former exhibitions. The Wembley exhibition marked a change in policy, whereby the Commonwealth and State Governments cooperated in organising the Australian display on a federal basis.

Chapter 2

113. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 14.
114. Marginal comment from S.W. Griffith, 13 Jan. 1892, QSA, PRE/137, 1891/14072.
115. *Australasian Sketcher*, 5 Aug. 1876, p. 70; *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 14 Oct. 1886, p. 2.
116. *Queensland Guardian*, 30 Oct. 1861, p. 2.
117. *Globe*, n.d., in QSA, COL/81A, 1878/4014; *Catalogue of the Queensland Court, International Exhibition, Sydney, 1879. With Short Essay Descriptive of the Colony of Queensland* (Brisbane: R.S. Hews & Co., 1879), p. 24.
118. *Queensland Punch*, 1 Apr. 1885, p. 93; *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Apr. 1886, p. 3.
119. W.O. Hodgkinson & A.S. Cowley (proposed commissioners) to Premier, 18 Mar. 1892, QSA, PRE/137.
120. *British Australasian*, 20 June 1901, p. 1054.
121. Qld commissioners to Col. Sec., 25 Jan. 1876, QSA, COL/A234, 1877/717, in-letter 76/290.
122. A. Morgan to Premier, 22 Feb. 1899, QSA, PRE/A17, 1899/1326.
123. M. Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989).
124. The Queen's journal, cited in C.R. Fay, *Palace of Industry: A Study of the Great Exhibition and its Fruits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 57.
125. H. Earle, *The Commerce and Industries of Queensland*, p. 3, in P. Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: Its Resources and Institutions. Essays; Prepared by the authority of the Executive Commissioners in Queensland...* (Brisbane: James C. Beal, Government Printer, 1886).
126. Bolton, *Richard Daintree: A Photographic Memoir*, p. 21.
127. *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition*, p. 675.
128. *Australasian Sketcher*, 4 Oct. 1873, p. 119; *Illustrated Australian News*, 7 Nov. 1873, p. 186.
129. R.E.N. Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, 1883 (Penguin Colonial Facsimiles, 1973), pp. 246-47, referring to Australian exhibitions; N. Bartley, *Opals and Agates* (Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch, 1892), pp. 250-51, 262-63.
130. *Queenslander*, 9 Apr. 1881, p. 463; *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 14 Oct. 1886, p. 2.
131. *Telegraph*, 1 Aug. 1873, p. 3, republished from *The Times*; Sanker, p. 70.
132. Daintree, *Queensland, Australia*, p. 92.
133. Blackman's model was acquired by the Queensland Museum in 1887. See D. Clarke, 'Frederick Archibald Blackman (1835-1906): pioneer, pastoralist and novelist, *Royal Society of Queensland Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6, May 1997, pp. 237-48.
134. This is with the exception of a few handicraft exhibits shown in Queensland's courts at the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions and at London in 1886.
135. Mrs B.M.H. Palmer (President of Board of Lady Managers) to Qld Governor, 23 Mar. 1892, QSA, PRE/137, 1892/6471.
136. Under Col. Sec. to Agent-General, 19 Oct. 1892, QSA, COL/N21, out-letter 92/239, pp. 355-56.
137. Queensland's reports, sent by an 'anonymous lady', were incorporated into Mrs Cashel Hoey's paper on 'Philanthropic work of women in British colonies and the east', in Baroness Burdett-Coutts (ed.), *Women's Mission: Papers on the*

Philanthropic Work of Women. Prepared for the British Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1893), pp. 342-49.

138. K. Saunders & K. Spearritt, 'Is there life after birth? Childbirth, death and danger for settler women in colonial Queensland', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no.29, June 1991, p. 64.

139. Letter to editor, *Queenslander*, 28 Sept. 1895, p. 605.

140. Agent-General H. Tozer to Chief Sec., 25 Jan. 1901, QSA, PRE/A88, 1901/2342; and 10 Feb. 1901, PRE/A88, 1901/3109.

141. Daintree, *Queensland, Australia*, pp. 13-14.

142. *Brisbane Courier*, 27 May 1897, p. 6; *Evening Observer*, 3 July 1897, p. 5; *Queenslander*, 19 June 1897, p. 1344.

143. *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Apr. 1886, p. 2.

144. *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1880), p. 266.

145. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 27 Aug. 1867, p. 3, republished from *Argus*.

146. Daintree's plan for Queensland's court at the Philadelphia exhibition is reproduced in *Official Catalogue of the British Section. Part 1*, after p. 336.

147. Agent-General's report for 1872, *V&P of the QLA*, 3rd Session 6th Parliament, 1873, p. 998.

148. *Graphic*, 11 Oct. 1873, p. 338; *Telegraph*, 1 Aug. 1873, p. 3, republished from London's *Evening Standard*.

149. List of exhibition awards to British colonies, QSA, COL/80, 1877/203.

150. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol.10, 1878-79, p. 33.

151. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 Sept. 1879, p. 3.

152. *Sydney Mail*, 8 Nov. 1879, p. 797.

153. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 2 Oct. 1880, p. 4.

154. *Queenslander*, 9 Apr. 1881, p. 463.

155. For the 1886 court the decorator was Mr Haylock, reputedly the Duke of Westminster's decorator. For the 1888-89 court the decorators were Smith and Johnson, a Melbourne firm of architects, but their contribution was confined to the facade.

156. *Boomerang*, 11 Aug. 1888, p. 11.

157. *British Australasian*, 11 Apr. 1901, p. 609.

158. R. Daintree to Col. Sec., 28 May 1875, QSA, COL/78A, 1875/1939.

159. G. King to Melbourne Exhibition Vice Executive Commissioner, 26 Apr. 1880, QSA, COL/A293, 1880/2517; King to Col. Sec., 20 Aug. 1880, COL/A299, 1880/5086, in-letter 80/4626.

160. H. Marshall (local committee sec.) to Chief Sec., 7 Dec. 1891, QSA, PRE/137, 1891/14072.

161. H. Tozer to Chief Sec., 16 Sept. 1898, QSA, PRE/A41, 1899/10484, in-letter 98/2490.

162. I use the term diorama in its modern meaning, viz., a realistic but static scene reproduced with three-dimensional figures arranged against a painted backdrop. Panoramas were large illusionistic paintings, sometimes moving.

163. *Boomerang*, 17 Aug. 1889, p. 8. Wax figures were more popular than plaster figures because of their translucent quality, not unlike human skin.

164. *Sydney Mail*, 8 Nov. 1879, p. 797.

165. Queensland's short-lived experiment in cinematography is studied by Chris Long & Pat Laughren in 'Australia's first films: facts and fables. Part 6: surprising survivals from colonial Queensland', *Cinema Papers*, no.96, Dec. 1993, pp. 32-37, 59-61.

166. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 14.

167. Report by W.F. Liddell (superintendent of Qld court) on Colonial and Indian Exhibition, *V&P of the QLA*, 5th Session 9th Parliament, 1887, p. 1131.

168. Twopeny, *A Proposal for Holding an Australasian Exhibition*, pp. 4-7.

169. South Australia's Aboriginal diorama included figures modelled by the Adelaide sculptor August Saupe. Later the Queensland Museum purchased casts of these figures for a similar diorama which opened in 1914. The wax figures in Victoria's Aboriginal diorama, and also in its 1878 trophy, were modelled by the Melbourne wax modeller Maximillian Ludwig Kreitmayer.

170. *Official Record of the Tasmanian International Exhibition, held at Launceston, 1891-92* (Launceston: Exhibition Commissioners, 1893), p. 43. Cycloramas were cylindrical panoramas viewed from a central platform, a predecessor of movie films.

171. Report by Philadelphia sub-committee of National Agricultural and Industrial Assoc. of Queensland, 8 June 1875, QSA, COL/A234, 1877/717, in-letter 75/1619.

172. *Scots Pictorial*, 15 Oct. 1901, p. 318.

173. *Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. To the Right Hon. Henry Matthews* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1887), pp. 249, 296.

174. Correspondence with N. Bartley, QSA, COL/A275, 1879/5 and 1879/1295.

175. Correspondence on damaged exhibits, QSA, COL/A318, 1881/3413.

176. Correspondence with Imperial Institute, QSA, COL/A593, 1889/8837.

177. J.P. Bichard (asst sec. to Qld commissioners) to Col. Sec., 13 Aug. 1888, QSA, COL/A562, 1888/9230, in-letter 88/7289.

178. T. Neilson (Fristrom's solicitor) to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 8 Mar. 1900, QSA, AGS/N52, in-letter 1900/1913.

179. L.F. Schoenheimer to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 4 Jan. 1901, QSA, AGS/N52, in-letter 1901/115.

180. *British Australasian*, 7 Mar. 1901, p. 417.

Chapter 3

181. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 Sept. 1879, p. 3.
182. I deal with introduced or 'acclimatised' plants and animals in Chapter 6.
183. G.C. Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: Australians Make Their Environment 1788-1980* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984).
184. A. Meston, 'Forest and stream', *Brisbane Courier*, 1 Jan. 1901, p. 17. Meston is further discussed in Chapter 4.
185. *Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855. Catalogue of the British Section* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1855), p. 123. The samples collected by Charles Moore from the northern districts and by William Macarthur from the southern districts comprised the first scientifically documented collection of New South Wales timbers.
186. M.H. Marsh to Col. Sec., 20 Oct. 1862, QSA, COL/A59, 1864/2725, in-letter 62/3051.
187. Entry for Walter Hill in H.J. Gibbney & A. G. Smith (comp.), *A Biographical Register 1788-1939: Notes from the Name Index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1987), vol.1, p. 331; *Queenslander*, 13 Feb. 1904, p. 27. After the 1862 exhibition most of the British colonial timbers, including the polished samples from Hill's collection, were given to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, London, from where they were borrowed for later exhibitions.
188. *Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867. Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of Queensland* (London: Edward Stanford, 1867), p. 5.
189. Catalogue of O'Shanesy's collection, QSA, COL/A153, 1871/505. Later, at O'Shanesy's request, the collection was given to the Royal Society of Dublin.
190. *International Exhibition of Vienna, 1873. Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of Queensland* (Brisbane: James C. Beal, Government Printer, 1873), pp. 23-24; W. Hill's report on colonial timber, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 7th Parliament, 1875, pp. 1286-91.
191. P.R. Gordon (for Qld commissioners) to Col. Sec., 9 Apr. 1873, QSA, COL/A171, 1872/1559, in-letter 73/248.
192. E.N. Marks, entry for Frederick Manson Bailey, *ADB*, vol.3, pp. 73-74; C.T. White, 'F.M. Bailey: his life and work', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, vol.61, no.8, 1950, pp. 105-14. Bailey's Philadelphia collection was given to the United States Department of Agriculture after the exhibition.
193. *Catalogue of the Queensland Court, International Exhibition, Sydney, 1879*, pp. 39-40. By this time Hill had charge of Queensland's forest reserves.
194. G. Lukin to Col. Sec., 22 Sept. 1879, QSA, COL/A295, 1880/3603.
195. 'Queensland, Its Resources and Prospects', p. 9, in *Catalogue of the Queensland Court, International Exhibition, Sydney, 1879*; Timber, p. 2, in *Sydney International Exhibition of 1879. The Queensland Court. Rise and Progress of Queensland Industries* (Brisbane: J.H. Reynolds).
196. *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Apr. 1886, p. 2; T. Laslett, 'Timber', in H. Trueman Wood (ed.), *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. Reports on the Colonial Sections of the Exhibition* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1887), p. 424.
197. Bailey kept a duplicate of this timber collection for use in later exhibitions, while the collection sent to London was later given to the Imperial Institute.
198. Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: Its Resources and Institutions*, preface, p. iv.
199. *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 14 Oct. 1886, p. 2.
200. *Grimsby News*, 12 Nov. 1886, in QSA, COL/101, 1887/2700.
201. Colonial Botanist's report for 1888-89, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 10th Parliament, 1889, p. 453.
202. F.M. Bailey, *Queensland Woods* (Brisbane: Warwick & Sapsford, 1888).
203. *Brisbane Courier*, 25 Aug. 1888, p. 5, republished from *Argus*.
204. *Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888. Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Court*, p. 8.
205. E.S. Hancock, 'The Queensland timber industry: early history and development', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol.9, no.1, Aug. 1970, p. 172; Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away*, pp. 164-65.
206. F.M. Bailey, *A Few Queensland Grasses* (Brisbane: Warwick & Sapsford, 1888); Colonial Botanist's report for 1888-89, p. 453.
207. F.M. Bailey, *A Sketch of the Economic Plants of Queensland* (Brisbane: James C. Beal, Government Printer, 1888).
208. J. Bradbury (agent) to Under Col. Sec., 18 July 1892, QSA, PRE/137, 1892/8697; *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Jan. 1893, p. 6, 16 Jan. 1893, p. 3, and 22 Aug. 1893, p. 7.
209. *Ibid*, 26 June 1897, p. 5.
210. *Queenslander*, 19 June 1897, p. 1344; C.S. Rutlidge, *Guide to Queensland and the International Exhibition, 1897* (Brisbane: W.H. Wendt & Co., 1897), p. 193.
211. *Greater Britain Exhibition Earl's Court London, 1899. Catalogue of Exhibits in the Queensland Court*, p. 8.

212. F.M. Bailey, *Descriptive Catalogue of Queensland Grasses. Greater Britain Exhibition Earl's Court, London, S.W. 1899. Queensland Court* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., [1899]).

213. A.J. Boyd, 'Forest conservancy', *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, vol.1, part 6, Dec. 1897, p. 479.

214. *Sydney Mail*, 8 Nov. 1879, p. 797.

215. *Ibid.*

216. *Pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer*, in *Sydney International Exhibition of 1879. The Queensland Court. Rise and Progress of Queensland Industries* (Brisbane: J.H. Reynolds).

217. *Scots Pictorial*, 15 Oct. 1901, p. 323. After the Glasgow exhibition the pearl-shell trophy was moved to Queensland's court at the Imperial Institute.

218. W. Saville-Kent, *The Great Barrier Reef of Australia; Its Products and Potentialities* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1893), p. 4.

219. Report by Liddell on Colonial and Indian Exhibition, p. 1130.

220. *Telegraph*, 27 Oct. 1873, p. 3, republished from *Home News*.

221. *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879*, p. 266.

222. *International Exhibition, 1862. Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of Queensland* (London: Petter & Galpin, 1862), p. 48.

223. P. Fletcher, *A Popular Sketch of the Natural History of Queensland*, p. 3, in Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: Its Resources and Institutions*.

224. This 'carpet snake' was more likely an amethystine python.

225. *Morning Post*, 15 May 1872, in QSA, WOR/A53, 1872/2805.

226. *Popular Guide to the Centennial Exhibition, with which is incorporated the Stranger's Guide to Melbourne* (Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1888), pp. 117-18.

227. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 14.

228. G. Layton (sec. to Qld commissioners) to Sydney exhibition sec., 5 Apr. 1880, National Agricultural and Industrial Assoc. of Queensland letterbook, OM.AB/8/4, JOL, out-letter p. 204. Alder did win a First Degree of Merit at the exhibition for another of his animal groups.

229. Letter to editor, *Brisbane Courier*, 25 Apr. 1881, p. 3.

230. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 23 Oct. 1886, p. 860.

231. *Maryborough Chronicle*, 30 Aug. 1886, p. 3, republished from *Morning Post*; *Brisbane Courier*, 17 Aug. 1886, p. 5. Later, from 1927, Rowland Ward's firm supplied several large mammals for the Queensland Museum.

232. The lungfish (or 'Burnett Salmon') was first described in 1870 by Gerard Krefft, Curator of the Australian Museum, Sydney.

233. G. Layton to G. Roebuck, 4 Mar. and 9 Apr. 1879, National Assoc. letterbook, OM.AB/8/2, JOL, out-letters pp. 85 and 204; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 Sept. 1879, p. 6.

234. E. Ward (jnr), *The Zoological Collections, Animals, Birds, Reptiles, Fish, Insects, etc., in the British Colonial Courts of the International Exhibition* (London: W. Kent & Co., 1862), p. 28.

235. R. Daintree to Minister for Works, 17 Mar. 1872, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 6th Parliament, 1872, p. 1499.

236. For example, the Scottish naturalist James Whitelaw Craig visited Australia in 1874-76 and shot over 800 birds among other fauna, which he later gave to the Paisley Museum. Most of his shooting was in Queensland and is recorded in his *Diary of a Naturalist, Being the Record of Three Years' Work Collecting Specimens in the South of France and Australia 1873-1877* (Paisley: J. & R. Parlane, 1908).

237. Several years earlier Gulliver had donated a collection of birds to the Queensland Museum.

238. The aviaries were erected in Queensland's conservatories at these exhibitions.

239. *Telegraph*, 1 Aug. 1873, p. 3, republished from *Evening Standard*.

Chapter 4

240. *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865. Reports and Awards of the Jurors* (Dunedin: Mills, Dick & Co., 1866), p. 322.

241. Mackenzie, p. 114.

242. D.A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978), p. 14.

243. M. Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), p. 101.

244. M. Müller, cited in C. Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 12.

245. J. Fraser, *The Aborigines of New South Wales*, published by authority of the NSW Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition (Sydney: Government Printer, 1892), p. 90.

246. F. Fanon, cited in D.T. Golberg (ed.), *Anatomy of Racism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), p. 187.

247. *Moreton Bay Courier*, 31 July 1852, p. 2; M. St Leon, *Spangles and Sawdust: The Circus in Australia* (Melbourne: Greenhouse Publications, 1983), p. 70.

248. R. Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), ch. 7; Altick, chs 20 and 21; W. Schneider, 'Race and empire: the rise of popular ethnography in the late 19th century', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol.11, no.1, Summer 1977, pp. 98-109.

249. E. Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland and New Zealand* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1898), pp. 82, 126.
250. *Queensland Punch*, 1 Oct. 1890, p. 124.
251. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Sept. 1879, p. 3; *Gibbs, Shallard & Co.'s Illustrated Guide to the International Exhibition and Sydney, its Suburbs, and to Places of Resort in New South Wales.* Issued under the sanction of the Executive Commissioners (Sydney: Gibbs, Shallard & Co., 1879), p. 2.
252. 'The centennial cantata', in *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition*, p. 194-95.
253. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 14.
254. *Illustrated London News*, 29 May 1886, p. 586.
255. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 Mar. 1886, p. 2.
256. *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865. Reports and Awards of the Jurors*, p. 320.
257. A. Mackay, 'Queensland as it is', in *Queensland, Australia. The Exhibits and Exhibitors, and Description of the Colony* (Brisbane: James C. Beal, Government Printer, 1878), p. 37.
258. *Vienna World's Exhibition Gazette*, 26 July 1873, in QSA, COL/77, 1874/140.
259. *Philadelphia International Exhibition, 1876. Official Catalogue of the British Section. Part 1*, p. 384; *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Court*, preface, p. 3.
260. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 30 Aug. 1879, p. 402.
261. *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879*, pp. 144, 162.
262. I. Johnson, entry for Arthur Hunter Palmer, *ADB*, vol.5, pp. 390-92. Earlier Palmer had managed the New England properties of Henry Dangar, including Myall Creek station, scene of a massacre of Aboriginal people in 1837 shortly before Palmer's appointment. Later as Colonial Secretary he declined to take action on massacres inflicted by Native Police. Ironically, he was also a collector of ethnology and in 1882-98 a trustee of the Queensland Museum.
263. Sometime before 1896 Palmer donated these mummies to the Queensland Museum. See *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum*, vol.1, 1912, plate 2.
264. G. Layton to Under Col. Sec., 23 Jan. 1880, QSA, COL/A295, 1880/3603, in-letter 80/469; *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879*, p. 264.
265. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 Jan. 1880, p. 2.
266. *Ibid*, 10 Feb. 1880, p. 5. This mummy also came later to the Queensland Museum and is reproduced in *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum*, vol.1, 1912, plate 5.
267. Sachs' expedition, which was attempting to discover a road from Trinity Bay to the Hodgkinson goldfield, is recorded in *Queenslander*, 23 Sept. 1876, pp. 12-13, and in D. Jones, *Trinity Phoenix: A History of Cairns and District* (Cairns: Cairns and District Centenary Committee, 1976), pp. 63-66.
268. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 14; *Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880-1881. Official Record*, p. cx1v.
269. Southern New Guinea was made a British protectorate in 1884 and finally annexed in 1888, its Administrator responsible to the Governor of Queensland.
270. *Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888. British New Guinea. Ethnographical Collection and Samples of Raw Products ...* (Melbourne: J.W. Lindt, [1888]), p. 7.
271. *Brisbane Courier*, 13 Dec. 1886, p. 3, republished from *The Times*.
272. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, ch. 2.
273. Polynesian Commission agent to Col. Sec., 25 Oct. 1892, QSA, COL/A714, 1892/13108; marginal comment from Col. Sec. S.W. Griffith: 'I am not prepared to take any action in the matter'.
274. *North Queensland Herald*, 27 July 1892, p. 12; Under Col. Sec. to Roberts and Roberts (solicitors), 3 Aug. 1892, QSA, COL/G75, out-letter 92/4477, p. 478.
275. 'Exhibition of Natives of Queensland. By Mr R.A. Cunningham', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol.17, Apr. 1887, pp. 83-84. Cunningham wrote an (abridged) account of the troupe as a pamphlet published in London in 1884: *History of R.A. Cunningham's Australian Aborigine Tattooed Cannibal Black Trackers, and Boomerang Throwers, Consisting of Two Tribes, Male and Female.*
276. Press clipping, n.d., in A. Meston papers, OM64-17, JOL, box 2, item 5.
277. *British Australasian*, 22 Sept. 1898, p. 1749; *North Queensland Herald*, 19 Dec. 1898, p. 27.
278. Under Col. Sec. to A.S. Cowley, 11 Aug. 1896, QSA, COL/G110, out-letter 96/11761, p. 477.
279. Cunningham's troupes are studied by R. Poignant in 'Captive Aboriginal lives: Billy, Jenny, Little Toby and their companions', in K. Darian-Smith, R. Poignant & K. Schaffer, *Captured Lives: Australian Captivity Narratives* (London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, 1993), pp. 35-57.
280. S.E. Stephens, entry for Archibald Meston, *ADB*, vol.5, pp. 243-44. Purcell is now unknown in Queensland as an ethnologist.
281. Other financiers were: the Brisbane parliamentarian and brewer Patrick Perkins; Thomas Miller/?Milne and J.R. Webster, whose identities cannot be established; and Meston's brother-in-law, Alfred Shaw of Sydney.
282. *North Queensland Herald*, 8 June 1892, p. 8; *Northern Mining Register*, 8 June 1892, p. 35.

283. A. Meston to Col. Sec., 11 Sept. 1893, QSA, COL/A801, 1895/15056, cited in R. Evans, K. Saunders & K. Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland* (Sydney: Australia & New Zealand Book Co., 1975), pp. 389-90.
284. B.H. Purcell to Col. Sec., 14 Nov. 1892, QSA, COL/A717, 1892/14199, cited as above, pp. 386-88.
285. *Queensland Punch*, 1 Aug. 1890, p. 86; *QPD*, vol.59, 1889, pp. 2251-52.
286. J.T. Embley to Commissioner of Police, 3 Aug. 1897, QSA, COL/140.
287. A. Meston, letter to editor, *Brisbane Courier*, 5 Apr. 1892, p. 6.
288. The whole saga of the Wild Australia Show is recorded in QSA, COL/A752, file 1893/12837.
289. *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Jan. 1893, p. 6, citing *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 9 Jan. 1893, p. 4.
290. Purcell's lecture of 3 Feb. 1893 was published as 'The Aborigines of Australia', *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Victorian Branch*, vol.11, June 1894, pp. 17-21.
291. F.A. Hagenauer (sec. to Vic. Aborigines' Protection Board) to G. Hislop, 8 Aug. 1895, published in *Queenslander*, 7 Sept. 1895, p. 451.
292. Purcell's lecture of June 1893 was published as 'Rites and customs of Australian Aborigines', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol.25, 1893, pp. 286-89.
293. J.T. Embley to Commissioner of Police, 3 Aug. 1897, QSA, COL/140.
294. Letters to editor, *Queenslander*, 29 June 1895, p. 1226, 6 July 1895, p. 21, 7 Sept. 1895, p. 451, and 14 Sept. 1895, p. 503.
295. W. Thorpe, 'Archibald Meston and Aboriginal legislation in colonial Queensland', *Historical Studies*, vol. 21, no. 82, Apr. 1984, pp. 52-67.
296. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 Nov. 1892, p. 4.
297. *Ibid*, 11 Jan. 1893, p. 6.
298. A. Meston, *Queensland Aboriginals. Proposed System for their Improvement and Preservation* (Brisbane: Government Printer, 1895), p. 30.
299. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 Dec. 1892, p. 2, and 21 Dec. 1892, p. 2.
300. *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 6 Jan. 1893, in A. Meston papers, box 2, item 5.
301. *Queensland Punch*, 1 Nov. 1892, p. 146.
302. *Ibid*, 1 Jan. 1893, p. 16.
303. R. Evans, *'A Permanent Precedent': Dispossession, Social Control and the Fraser Island Reserve and Mission, 1897-1904* (St Lucia: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Unit, University of Queensland, 1991), pp. 12-18.
304. Press clipping, June 1902, in QSA, Southern Protector of Aboriginals Office: batch files, A/58929, 1902/8655.
305. *Brisbane Courier*, 28 July - 9 Aug. 1897.
306. *Ibid*, 31 July 1897, p. 4, and 3 Aug. 1897, p. 7.
307. A. Meston to Under Home Sec., 11 May 1897, QSA, COL/143, 1897/6112.
308. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 Sept. 1905 and 2 Oct. 1905, cited in Evans, *'A Permanent Precedent'*, p. 26.
309. T.W. Blake, A dumping ground: Barambah Aboriginal Settlement 1900-40, PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1991; Evans, *'A Permanent Precedent'*, p. 27.

Chapter 5

310. Cited in J.G. Knight (comp.), *The Australasian Colonies at the International Exhibition, London, 1862. Extracts from the Reports of the Jurors and Other Information taken from Official Sources* (Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer, 1865), p. 7.
311. H. Mayhew & G. Cruikshank, *1851: or, the Adventures of Mr and Mrs Sandboys and Family who Came up to London to 'Enjoy Themselves', and to See the Great Exhibition* (London: David Bogue, 1851), p. 138.
312. *Official Catalogue of the Greater Britain Exhibition Earl's Court, London 1899* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., [1899]), p. 281.
313. Bartley, *Opals and Agates*, p. 185; D. Menghetti, 'Extraction practices and technology on the Charters Towers goldfield', *North Australia Research Bulletin*, no. 8, Sept. 1982, pp. 6-12.
314. *QPD*, vol.9, 1869, p. 366.
315. P. Mennell (ed.), 'Golden Queensland', *British Australasian*, 24 Feb. 1898, p. 405.
316. A.J. Boyd, *Queensland: An Introductory Essay*, p. 5, in Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: Its Resources and Institutions*.
317. Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended*, p. 38.
318. Knight (comp.), *The Australasian Colonies*, p. 39. Knight, a Melbourne architect and secretary to Victoria's commissioners at the 1862 exhibition, designed Victoria's obelisk. The obelisk, an ancient Egyptian symbol of victory, had been used at international exhibitions since 1851 to represent mineral wealth.
319. M.C. O'Connell to Col. Sec., 20 Feb. 1866, QSA, COL/A76, 1866/591; *QPD*, 1866, vol.3, pp. 78-79; Paris exhibition expenditure, *V & P of the QLA*, 1st Session 3rd Parliament, 1867, p. 1217.
320. *QPD*, 1869, vol.9, p. 359.
321. W.H. Walsh to J. Bligh (mineral land commissioner), 27 Dec. 1870, QSA, WOR/A39, 1871/2559.
322. R. Daintree to W. H. Walsh, 8 June 1871, QSA, WOR/A39, 1871/2559.
323. *Australasian Sketcher*, 17 May 1873, p. 19; *The Times*, 17 June 1872, p. 6.
324. *Sydney Mail*, 1879, cited in J. Kerr (ed.), *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 188.

325. This 'sketch map' is reproduced in Daintree's *Notes on the Geology of the Colony of Queensland* (London: Geological Society, 1872).
326. J.S. Ingram, *The Centennial Exposition Described and Illustrated* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros, 1876), p. 424.
327. Hodgson, 'The Paris Exhibition. 1878', p. 249.
328. Bartley, *Opals and Agates*, pp. 220-22; correspondence on N. Bartley's collection, QSA, COL/A330, 1882/150.
329. *Queensland Quicksilver Mines, Kilkivan, Queensland* (Sydney: Gibbs, Shallard & Co., [1879]), bound in pamphlets 042/P63A, Mitchell Library.
330. Correspondence on gold specimens, QSA, COL/A352, 1883/161.
331. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 2 Oct. 1880, pp. 4, 6.
332. G. Layton to Col. Sec., 15 Mar. 1881, QSA, COL/A309, 1881/1156. These awards are not expressed in medals since the Sydney exhibition gave uniform medals and the Melbourne exhibition did not give gold medals for raw materials.
333. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 Mar. 1886, p. 2.
334. From April 1886 to 1889 Clarke was the Queensland Government's first travelling mineralogical lecturer. Later he was a mining assayer in Charters Towers and was honorary secretary of the Charters Towers committee who sent exhibits to London's International Exhibition of Mining and Metallurgy of 1890.
335. *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Apr. 1886, p. 2; *Queensland Figaro*, 20 June 1885, p. 787.
336. D. Hill, 'Robert Logan Jack: a memorial address', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, vol. 58, no. 7, 1946, pp. 113-24. Logan Jack was not responsible for exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition apart from a collection of fossils and the first (1886) edition of his map, drawn by the draftsman Gustav von Wehrs on a scale of 16 miles to the inch.
337. Longden practised as a mining engineer and architect in Charters Towers from 1879 to 1882, and more recently was mining engineer to John Walker and Co. of Maryborough.
338. *Charters Towers Goldfield, Queensland: Its Rise and Progress* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1886).
339. J. Fenwick & P.R. Gordon to Col. Sec., 18 Nov. 1885, QSA, COL/A444, 1885/8679; J.F. Garrick to Chief Sec., 23 Dec. 1890, COL/114, 1891/5800, in-letter 91/1176.
340. Correspondence on the battery, QSA, COL/A445, 1885/8888.
341. *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Nov. 1886, p. 3; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 23 Oct. 1886, p. 860.
342. W. Anderson, 'Machinery', in Wood (ed.), *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. Reports on the Colonial Sections*, pp. 487-88, which has an excellent description of the battery; H. Louis, *A Handbook of Gold Milling* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894), pp. 215-16. The battery was sold in London after the exhibition.
343. J.F. Garrick to Chief Sec., 10 Sept. 1886, QSA, COL/99, 1886/8199; C. Le Neve Foster, 'Mining industries', in Wood (ed.), *Reports on the Colonial Sections*, pp. 28-29.
344. J.R. Gregory, 'Minerals and gems', in Wood (ed.), *Reports on the Colonial Sections*, p. 68; *British Australasian*, 27 May 1886, pp. 480-82.
345. *Evening News*, 22 Mar. 1886, in QSA, COL/97A, 1886/4969; *Mining Journal*, 8 May 1886, in COL/97A, 1886/5499.
346. A.R. Hall, *The London Capital Market and Australia 1870-1914* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1963), p. 158.
347. From 1882 the original Mount Morgan claim had been worked with some secrecy by a syndicate who formed the new company in 1886 to defend their claim against jumpers.
348. *QPD*, vol.50, 1886, pp. 1454, 1496-97; correspondence on gold mines, QSA, COL/99A, 1886/10079; press clippings in COL/99A, 1886/10111 and 1886/10037.
349. Report on Mount Morgan gold deposits, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 9th Parliament, 1884, pp. 305-9. Though Logan Jack's thermal spring theory was soon refuted, his estimation of Mount Morgan's extraordinary wealth has stood the test of time.
350. McDonald, pp. 301-3; J. Kerr, *Mount Morgan: Gold, Copper and Oil* (Brisbane: J.D. & R.S. Kerr, 1982), pp. 42-44.
351. R.L. Jack, *The Mineral Wealth of Queensland* (Brisbane: Warwick & Sapsford, 1888), introduction.
352. *The Mineral, Timber and Agricultural Resources of the Walsh and Tinaroo Mining District, Herberton, Queensland* (Melbourne: Exhibition Committee, Herberton, 1888).
353. *Catalogue of the Minerals, Rocks and Gold-bearing Quartz, exhibited by the Local Committee, Charters Towers Goldfield, North Queensland. Mining and Metallurgical Exhibition, Crystal Palace, London, 1890* (Charles Dickens & Evans, Crystal Palace Press).
354. *Australian Mining Standard*, 17 Sept. 1890, p. 15.
355. *Queensland International Exhibition, 1897. The Charters Towers Gold Field, with Notes on the Yield of the Various Mines. Compiled for the Charters Towers Exhibition Committee* (Brisbane: Edmund Gregory, Government Printer, 1897).
356. R.L. Jack, *Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Mining Court, Queensland International Exhibition, 1897* (Brisbane: Edmund Gregory, Government Printer, 1897), pp. 5-12, 61.
357. The map, drawn by the draftsmen-artists Charles Edmunds and John Sloper Nightingale on a scale of 4 miles to the inch, was provided by the

Government Survey Office and was based on the second (1892) edition of Logan Jack's geological map of Queensland.

358. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 May 1897, p. 6; *Queenslander*, 21 Aug. 1897, p. 371.
359. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 May 1897, p. 6; *Queenslander*, 7 Aug. 1897, p. 269.
360. *Queensland Government Mining Journal*, 14 July 1900, pp. 41-42; Schlencker, p. 25.
361. *Queenslander*, 22 May 1897, supplement p. 1.
362. R.L. Jack to Under Sec. for Mines, 14 May 1898, QSA, PRE/A18, 1899/1701, in-letter 98/6771.
363. The complex negotiations over the various exhibitions are outlined in Geological Survey's report for 1898, *V&P of the QLA*, 1st Session 13th Parliament, 1899, p. 619.
364. Report by R.L. Jack on Greater Britain Exhibition, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 13th Parliament, 1899, p. 499.
365. *Greater Britain Exhibition Earl's Court London, 1899. Catalogue of Exhibits in the Queensland Court*, p. 5.
366. *British Australasian*, 1 June 1899, p. 809.
367. *Manchester Guardian*, 10 May 1899, in QSA, AGS/N52; *British Australasian*, 18 May 1899, p. 737.
368. Dept of Mines report for 1899, *V&P of the QLA*, 3rd Session 13th Parliament, 1900, p. 161. From the 1880s until the early 20th century Australia was recognised as a world leader in metallurgy.
369. *British Australasian*, 18 May 1899, p. 737. The fountain was made by H. Young and Co. of the Eccleston Iron Works, Pimlico, London.
370. Queensland's gold battery was made by Edward Chester and Co. of Renfrew, Scotland.
371. C.S. Rutlidge, *Some Queensland Goldfields. A Brief Historical and Statistical Account of the Twelve Leading Fields, and Memoranda Respecting the Gold-Mining Industry of Queensland* (London: Lake & Sison, 1899). Rutlidge also compiled a pamphlet on Queensland's new mining laws.
372. *British Australasian*, 2 Nov. 1899, p. 1676; *QPD*, vol.83, 1899, p. 1403.
373. J.C.H. Gill, entry for Horace Tozer, *ADB*, vol.12, p. 250; *Queensland Government Mining Journal*, 14 July 1900, frontispiece.
374. *British Australasian*, 11 May 1899, p. 709; *Australian Mining Standard*, 28 Sept. 1899, pp. 249-50.
375. *North Queensland Herald*, 14 Nov. 1898, p. 46.
376. *Australian Mining Standard*, 18 May 1899, p. 391.
377. Logan Jack, honoured by the University of Glasgow with an Honorary LL.D. in 1899, took up a consultancy to an English company to explore the metalliferous deposits of Szechuan. By 1901, when appointed a Queensland commissioner for the Glasgow exhibition, he was a consultanting geologist in London.
378. *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 8 Aug. 1901, p. 4.
379. *Ibid*, 11 Apr. 1901, p. 609. These models were also made by Edward Chester and Co.
380. The Biblical precedent, a miracle performed by the prophet Elisha, is in II Kings, 6: 1-7.
381. *Queensland Government Mining Journal. Special Issue for the Glasgow International Exhibition* (Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch, 1901), pp. 3, 66.
382. Cited in K.H. Kennedy, 'J.S. Reid and the Chillagoe Company', in Kennedy (ed.), *Readings in North Queensland Mining History*, vol.2 (1982), p. 240. The company underwent several reconstructions until most of its assets were taken over by the Queensland Government in 1918. The Chillagoe losses, eventually totalling £5,200,000, were mainly British money.
383. *British Australasian*, 11 Apr. 1901, p. 609.

Chapter 6

384. 'Queensland, Its Resources and Prospects', p. 2, in *Catalogue of the Queensland Court, International Exhibition, Sydney, 1879.*
385. 'Queensland', in *Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880. The Official Catalogue of the Exhibits, with Introductory Notices of the Countries Exhibiting* (Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1880), p. 88.
386. Daintree, *Queensland, Australia*, p. 14.
387. Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: Its Resources and Institutions*, preface, p. iv; H.C. Luck (comp.), *Queensland: A Sketch* (Melbourne: Kemp & Boyce, [1888]), pp. 39-40.
388. D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper: A History of the Darling Downs 1859-1893* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1968), pp. 67, 103-10.
389. C. Lack, entry for Lewis Adolphus Bernays, *ADB*, vol.3, p. 149. Bernays was an exhibition commissioner on three occasions in the 1870s and was author of *Cultural Industries for Queensland: Papers on the Cultivation of Useful Plants Suited to the Climate of Queensland* (Brisbane: James C. Beal, Government Printer, 1883).
390. For the early history of Queensland's agricultural and pastoral societies, see Schlencker, pp. 14-63. These societies received government subsidies from 1867.
391. E.D.S. Ogilvie, *Diary of Travels in Three Quarters of the Globe by an Australian Settler* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1856), vol.2, p. 381.
392. *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 Oct. 1854, p. 2.
393. *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor; Containing about Three Hundred Illustrations ... of All the Principal Objects in the International Exhibition of 1862* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1862), p.

49; *International Exhibition, 1862. Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of Queensland*, introduction, p. vii.

394. Knight (comp.), *The Australasian Colonies*, p. 65.
395. *Argus*, 19 Aug. 1867, p. 6.
396. *Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867. Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of Queensland*, pp. 9-11.
397. The German chemist Justus von Liebig invented this process for making beef extract in c.1863.
398. *International Exhibition of Vienna, 1873. Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of Queensland*, pp. 5, 10.
399. Entry for William Coote in D. Watson & J. McKay, *Queensland Architects of the 19th Century: A Biographical Dictionary* (Brisbane: Queensland Museum, 1994), pp. 41-42. Coote's attempt to promote sericulture in Queensland ended in financial disaster, as did later attempts at reviving the industry.
400. A.L. Clay, 'Patrick Robertson Gordon', *Australian Veterinary Journal*, vol.35, no.7, July 1959, pp. 318-22.
401. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 23 Sept. 1876, p. 494.
402. Queensland's wine exhibits were insignificant compared with those of the southern colonies. The pioneer exhibitors are recorded by John Moran in *In the Grip of the Grape: Establishing Queensland's Wine Industry* (Ashgrove: Preferential Publications, 1993).
403. A. MacAlister (Agent-General) to Sec. of State for the Colonies, n.d., QSA, COL/A274, 1879/1237, out-letter 78/1314.
404. *Paris Exhibition, 1878. Queensland, Australia. Handbook of the Colony, with Catalogue of Exhibits*, p. 58.
405. G. Whitehead and Co. took over Rockhampton's Lakes Creek meatworks (formerly operated by the Central Queensland Meat Preserving Co.) in 1877. The Hogarth Meat Preserving Co. was established in 1868 to operate the Darling Downs' first meatworks.
406. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 Apr. 1880, p. 3.
407. C.A. Fielberg, 'The Colony of Queensland', pp. 18-19, in *Catalogue of the Queensland Court. International Exhibition, Melbourne 1880.*
408. Queensland's catalogue for the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 omits wool exhibits; likewise, the catalogue of Melbourne's International Sheep Show has no Queensland exhibits.
409. *Catalogue of the Queensland Court, International Exhibition, Sydney, 1879*, p. 89; *Sugar*, p. 3, in *Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880. The Queensland Court. Rise and Progress of Queensland Industries* (Brisbane: J.H. Reynolds).
410. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Mar. 1880, p. 2; *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879*, p. 269.
411. *Queenslander*, 26 Feb. 1881, p. 278.
412. Luck (comp.), *Queensland: A Sketch*, p. 38.
413. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 Sept. 1885, p. 6.
414. Report by Garrick on Colonial and Indian Exhibition, p. 1126.
415. The Queensland Meat Export Co. was formed in 1880 to take over Rockhampton's Lakes Creek meatworks, eventually the largest in the Southern Hemisphere.
416. N. Lubbock, 'Sugar', in Wood (ed.), *Reports on the Colonial Sections*, pp. 186, 189.
417. P. Fletcher, *Agriculture in Queensland, Hints to Immigrants: A Practical Essay upon Bush-Life in Queensland* and *The Sugar Industry of Queensland*; T. Wright, *Horticulture*, in Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: Its Resources and Institutions*.
418. *Brisbane Courier*, 25 Aug. 1888, p. 5.
419. *Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888. Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Court*, p. 11.
420. Luck (comp.), *Queensland: A Sketch*, p. 35. The Hambledon Plantation, established in 1882 by the Melbourne biscuit manufacturer Thomas H. Swallow, was the largest in the Cairns district.
421. Report on centennial exhibition, *V & P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 10th Parliament, 1889, p. 509.
422. The early work of the Department of Agriculture is outlined by Skerman, Fisher & Lloyd in *Guiding Queensland Agriculture*, pp. 11-17.
423. Maize remained Queensland's main grain crop until the 1920s, but, being grown for local consumption only, it was rarely featured at exhibitions beyond Queensland.
424. *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, vol.1, part 2, Aug. 1897, p. 182.
425. The Kamerunga State Nursery, Cairns, and the Mackay State Nursery were established by the Department of Agriculture in 1889 to test and distribute tropical plants of economic value.
426. The Queensland Cotton Manufacturing Co. was formed in 1891 and ceased operations in 1897, leading to the second collapse of cotton-growing in Queensland.
427. Dept of Agriculture report for 1896-97, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 12th Parliament, 1897, p. 915.
428. *Ibid*, p. 914; *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, vol.1, part 2, Aug. 1897, p. 183. These models were later kept in the Agriculture Department's Museum of Economic Botany in Brisbane, while duplicates were sent to Britain for the use of Queensland's emigration agents and for the Imperial Institute.
429. *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, vol.1, part 2, Aug. 1897, pp. 181-82.
430. Dept of Agriculture report for 1896-97, pp. 903-4.
431. Working dairies were then in vogue as exhibition 'novelties', having been shown at Melbourne in 1888-89, Paris in 1889 and at Launceston in 1891-92.

432. P.J. Skerman, 'Queensland's travelling dairies', *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, vol.110, no. 4, July-Aug. 1984, pp. 215-19. Queensland's travelling dairies were modelled on Victoria's, seen at the above Melbourne exhibition by Queensland's Minister for Lands and Agriculture, Maurice Hume Black.
433. The Queensland Meat Export and Agency Co., floated in 1890, contributed to the great increase in Queensland's meat exports in the succeeding decade.
434. *Queenslander*, 19 June 1897, p. 1344.
435. *Ibid*, 28 Aug. 1897, p. 412.
436. P. McLean (agricultural adviser) to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 7 Dec. 1901, QSA, PRE/A118, 1902/2044, in-letter 01/12404.
437. The cold storage chamber was fitted with the De la Vergne system, supplied by L. Sterne and Co. of Glasgow and London.
438. *Official Catalogue of the Greater Britain Exhibition Earl's Court, London 1899*, p. 243.
439. H.C. Luck to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 12 Apr. and 18 May 1899, QSA, AGS/N52, in-letters 99/3455 and 99/4511.
440. Tobacco-growing was promoted by the Department of Agriculture in the 1890s, pending its establishing an experimental tobacco farm at Texas in 1900.
441. *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Official Guide* (Glasgow: Charles P. Watson, 1901), p. 38.
442. J.C.R. Camm, 'Agriculture in Queensland in the 1880s: optimism and reality', *Australia 1888*, no.5, Sept. 1980, pp. 131-50.
443. *Boomerang*, 17 Jan. 1891, p. 4.

Chapter 7

444. The words of the young W.C. Wentworth, 1823, cited in K.S. Inglis, *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1974), p. 41.
445. Cited in Adas, p. 229.
446. D.R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the 19th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 187.
447. This map was on a scale of 27 miles to the inch.
448. *British Australasian*, 19 Jan. 1899, p. 86.
449. J.M. Powell, *Plains of Promise Rivers of Destiny: Water Management and the Development of Queensland 1824-1990* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1991), p. 69.
450. *Queenslander*, 7 Aug. 1897, p. 269.
451. Boyd, *Queensland: An Introductory Essay*, p. 4.
452. *Brisbane Courier*, 21 Jan. 1893, p. 5, and 7 Apr. 1894, p. 4.
453. P.D. Wilson, entry for Clement Lindley Wragge, *ADB*, vol.12, pp. 576-77; *British Australasian*, 25 Oct. 1900, pp. 1506-7.
454. *Argus* exhibition supplement, 15 Oct. 1880, p. 30.
455. Boyd, *Queensland: An Introductory Essay*, p. 20.
456. *Philadelphia International Exhibition, 1876. Official Catalogue of the British Section. Part 1*, p. 366.
457. Boyd, *Queensland: An Introductory Essay*, p. 19.
458. Luck (comp.), *Queensland: A Sketch*, p. 6.
459. Watson & McKay, p. 168.
460. QSA, album of original drawings, PD81.1; *Government Buildings in Queensland* (Brisbane: James C. Beal, Government Printer, 1888).
461. M.H. Black, *The Resources and Prospects of Queensland. A lecture delivered to the Fellows of the Imperial Institute, 21 December 1893* (London: Lake & Sison, [1893]), p. 7.
462. Entry for Robert Ferguson in Watson & McKay, pp. 67-68.
463. *Telegraph*, 20 July 1880, pp. 3, 5.
464. Correspondence on educational court, QSA, A/15796.
465. *Brisbane Courier*, 26 June 1897, p. 5.
466. C.S. Rutlidge, *Guide to Queensland. Compiled from official and private records, with recognition of the Hon. Sir Horace Tozer* (London: Dean & Son, [1899]).
467. *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, Aug. 1901, in G. Randall's press clippings book, Fryer MSS 58/6, Fryer Library.
468. Boyd, *Queensland: An Introductory Essay*, pp. 4-5.

Chapter 8

469. Ogilvie, *Diary of Travels*, vol.2, p. 380; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 27 Mar. 1886, p. 642.
470. Report by John Douglas on International Health Exhibition, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 9th Parliament, 1884, p. 870.
471. R. Daintree to Col. Sec., 17 Apr. 1872, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 6th Parliament, 1872, p. 1503; words of Robert Herbert, *QPD*, vol.3, 1866, p. 79.
472. *Illustrated Sydney News*, 5 Aug. 1880, p. 2.
473. *Advertiser*, 17 May 1887, in QSA, COL/102A, 1887/4997; *Brisbane Courier*, 5 Apr. 1892, p. 6.
474. M. Simon, 'The pattern of new British portfolio foreign investment, 1865-1914', in A.R. Hall (ed.), *The Export of Capital from Britain 1870-1914* (London: Methuen & Co., 1968), p. 35.
475. R. Daintree to Col. Sec., 9 Aug. 1872, QSA, COL/A172, 1872/1778, in-letter 72/1569.
476. Lougheed, p. 3.
477. Menghetti, 'The gold mines of Charters Towers', pp. 95-97.
478. Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away*, p. 129.
479. Lougheed, pp. 32-34.
480. *Brisbane Courier*, 30 Aug. 1886, p. 2.
481. *British Australasian*, 6 Sept. 1900, p. 1271.

482. H.R. Woolcock, *Rights of Passage: Emigration to Australia in the 19th Century* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1986), pp. 25-29; F.K. Crowley, 'The British contribution to the Australian population: 1860-1919', *University Studies in History and Economics*, vol.2, no.2, July 1954, p. 75; J. Harrison, 'The people of Queensland, 1859-1900: where did the immigrants come from?', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol.13, no.6, May 1988, p. 190.

483. Woolcock, p. 33.

484. Crowley, pp. 64, 72, 76.

485. Harrison, pp. 192-97.

486. Letter to editor by J.R. Gough, *The Times*, 3 Oct. 1871, p. 3.

487. Cited in Fay, *Palace of Industry, 1851*, p. 73.

488. *The Practical Mechanic's Journal Record of the Great Exhibition 1862* (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1863), p. 587.

489. A. Sketchley, *Mrs Brown's Visit to the Paris Exhibition* (London: George Routledge & Sons, [1867]), p. 17.

490. *Telegraph*, 14 Nov. 1879, p. 2.

491. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851* (London: John Tallis & Co., [1852]), vol.3, pp. 50-51.

492. W.R. Johnston, 'The selling of Queensland: Henry Jordan and Welsh emigration', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol.14, no.9, Nov. 1991, pp. 379-92; J.C.R. Camm, 'The hunt for muscle and bone: emigration agents and their role in migration to Queensland during the 1880s', *Australian Historical Geography*, no.2, Feb. 1981, pp. 7-29.

493. G. Randall's report for Aug. 1892, QSA, COL/120, 1892/12817; Randall's report for Aug. 1899, QSA, PRE/A37, 1899/9066.

494. Randall's report for June 1892, QSA, COL/119, 1892/8768. Later, in 1901, Randall managed Queensland's court at the Glasgow exhibition.

495. Agent-General H. Tozer to Chief Sec., 10 Feb. 1901, QSA, PRE/A88, 1901/3109. These young female immigrants were lured with free passages and the promise of ready employment in the colony.

496. M.D. de B. Collins Persse, entry for De Burgh Fitzpatrick Persse, *ADB*, vol.5, pp. 436-37; *QPD*, vol.11, 1870, p. 240.

497. *British Australasian*, 2 Nov. 1899, p. 1676; report by H.C. Luck on Greater Britain Exhibition, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 13th Parliament, 1899, p. 788.

498. The Paris exhibition of 1855 was exceptional in instituting price tags and allowing on-site sales of exhibits.

499. C. Babbage, *The Exposition of 1851; or, Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England* (London: John Murray, 1851), pp. 76-97.

500. R. Daintree to Col. Sec., 21 Sept. 1872, QSA, COL/A172, 1872/1996; 30 Oct. 1872, COL/A174, 1872/2139.

501. *Brisbane Courier*, 25 Aug. 1888, p. 5, republished from *Argus*; *Queenslander*, 26 Aug. 1893, p. 400.

502. *Globe*, 5 Nov. 1886, in QSA, COL/99A, 1886/10037; *Queenslander*, 16 Nov. 1895, p. 923.

503. G. Randall's report for Apr. 1898, QSA, PRE/A8, 1898/325.

504. Report by Liddell on Colonial and Indian Exhibition, p. 1129.

505. For example, J.C. Hutton and Co. to H.C. Luck, 25 Nov. 1898, and North Queensland Meat Export Co. to H.C. Luck, 5 Dec. 1898, QSA, AGS/N52.

506. *Queenslander*, 21 Aug. 1875, p. 23; entry for Angus Mackay in D.B. Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860-1929* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), pp. 118-19.

507. Reports by A. Mackay on low-cost railways and bridges, abattoirs, sugar mills, etc., *V&P of the QLA*, 4th Session 7th Parliament, 1877, pp. 251-68, 1005-12, 1129-44.

508. *QPD*, vol.29, 1879, pp. 375-76, 839-47.

509. Correspondence on purchase and disposal of A. Mackay's collection of machines, *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 8th Parliament, 1879, pp. 1167-75; QSA, COL/A281, 1879/2762.

510. *V&P of the QLA*, 2nd Session 9th Parliament, 1884, pp. 869-84.

511. *V&P of the QLA*, 4th Session 10th Parliament, 1891, pp. 213-25.

512. This ratio is based on the exhibition's total 220,814 attendances which included multiple visits, and is less than a third of the ratios for the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions.

513. I have found no comparable evidence of such distributions after the Paris exhibitions.

514. A. Mackay to Col. Sec., 17 Nov. 1876, QSA, COL/A234, 1877/717, in-letter 77/142.

515. W. Hill to G. Layton (sec. to Qld commissioners), 16 Nov. 1880, QSA, COL/A302, 1880/6243; correspondence on exchange of plants, COL/A300, 1880/5635.

516. R. Daintree to Col. Sec., 6 Mar. 1874, QSA, COL/77, 1874/890.

517. *British Australasian* exhibition supplement, 14 Oct. 1886, p. 3; *British Australasian*, 2 Nov. 1899, p. 1675; H.C. Luck to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 26 May 1899, QSA, AGS/N52, in-letter 99/4689.

518. S.W. Griffith to Agent-General J.F. Garrick, 13 May 1892, QSA, COL/N21, out-letter 92/5479, pp. 177-79.

519. Royal warrant from Queen Victoria, 29 Apr. 1893, QSA, COL/123, 1893/12429.

APPENDIX 1

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN WHICH MORETON BAY AND QUEENSLAND WERE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE

There is no authoritative list of official names of exhibitions, nor are their publications reliable guides as names often changed during planning and popular names were adopted. Popular names are given in quotation marks.

Abbreviations. O = Queensland participated officially, with an official court and, in most cases, officially appointed commissioners; U = Queensland participated unofficially, with some exhibits, often despatched with government assistance, but not constituting a full court (in the exceptional case of the International Health Exhibition of 1884, Queensland appointed commissioners but did not send exhibits); D = Queensland declined to participate.

Year	Place	Exhibition	Participation
1851	London, England	Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations 'Crystal Palace'	U
1855	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	O
1862	London, England	International Exhibition	O
1865	Dublin, Ireland	International Exhibition	U
1865	Dunedin, New Zealand	New Zealand Exhibition	U
1865	Berlin, Prussia	Prussian Exhibition	U
1866	Bombay, India	International Exhibition	D
1867	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	O
1871-74	London, England	Annual International Exhibitions	O
1873	Vienna, Austria	Universal Exhibition	O
1874	Florence, Italy	International Horticultural Exhibition	D
1876	Philadelphia, USA	United States International Exhibition 'the Centennial'	O
1877	Amsterdam, Netherlands	International Horticultural Exhibition	D
1878	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	O
1879-80	Sydney, Australia	International Exhibition 'Garden Palace'	O
1880-81	Melbourne, Australia	International Exhibition	O
1881	London, England	International Wool Exhibition	D
1881	Neubrandenburg, Germany	International Exhibition of Sheep, Rams and Wethers	D
1882	Bordeaux, France	Universal Exhibition of Wine, Spirits, Liqueurs and Fermented Drinks	D
1883	Boston, USA	American Exhibition of Products, Arts and Manufactures of Foreign Nations	D
1883	London, England	International Fisheries Exhibition 'the Fisheries'	D
1883	Vienna, Austria	International Electric Exhibition	D
1883	Marseilles, France	International Horticultural Exhibition	D
1883	Amsterdam, Netherlands	Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition	D
1883-84	Calcutta, India	International Exhibition	U
1884	London, England	International Health Exhibition 'the Healtheries'	U
1884-85	New Orleans, USA	World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition	D

Year	Place	Exhibition	Participation
1885	London, England	International Inventions Exhibition 'the Inventories'	D
1885	Antwerp, Belgium	Exposition Internationale d'Anvers	U
1886	London, England	Colonial and Indian Exhibition 'the Colinderies'	O
1886	Edinburgh, Scotland	International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art	D
1887	Saltaire, England	International Exhibition of Art, Science and Industry	D
1887	Manchester, England	Royal Jubilee Exhibition	D
1887-88	Adelaide, Australia	Jubilee International Exhibition	U
1888	Glasgow, Scotland	International Exhibition	D
1888-89	Melbourne, Australia	Centennial International Exhibition	O
1889	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	D
1889-90	Dunedin, New Zealand	New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition	D
1890	London, England	International Exhibition of Mining and Metallurgy	U
1890	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Argentine International Cattle Show and Agricultural Exhibition	D
1891	Jamaica, West Indies	Jamaican Exhibition	D
1891-92	Launceston, Australia	Tasmanian International Exhibition	U
1893	Chicago, USA	World's Columbian Exposition	U
1894	Antwerp, Belgium	Exposition Internationale d'Anvers	U
1894	Milan, Italy	International Exhibition of Viticultural and Horticultural Machinery	D
1894-95	Hobart, Australia	Tasmanian International Exhibition	U
1895	Bordeaux, France	International Exhibition	D
1895	Atlanta, USA	Cotton States and International Exposition	D
1897	London, England	Imperial Victorian Exhibition 'Victorian Era'	U
1897	Brisbane, Australia	Queensland International Exhibition	O
1897	Hamburg, Germany	Horticultural Exhibition	D
1897	Brussels, Belgium	Exposition Internationale	D
1898	Turin, Italy	Exposizione Nazionale Italiana	U
1898	Omaha, USA	Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition	D
1899	London, England	Greater Britain Exhibition 'Earl's Court'	O
1899	Coolgardie, Australia	Western Australian International Mining and Industrial Exhibition	D
1900	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	D
1900	London, England	Women's International Exhibition	U
1900-01	Ballarat, Australia	Australian Industrial Exhibition	D
1901	Glasgow, Scotland	International Exhibition 'the Groveries'	O

APPENDIX 2

OFFICIAL PARTICIPATION BY MORETON BAY AND QUEENSLAND IN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

There are considerable discrepancies and omissions in contemporary records of expenditure, floor space and awards. Contemporary records also give conflicting dates and attendances for some exhibitions.

Queensland Government expenditure may or may not include purchase of gold and other valuable exhibits and fittings sold after the exhibitions. This uncertainty makes precise comparisons impossible.

Supervisors do not include all attendants, watchmen, etc. employed to oversee Queensland courts. The court at Melbourne in 1880-81, for instance, had eight attendants, while the courts at London in 1899 (Fig. 103) and Glasgow in 1901 had 'an enormous staff'.

Awards are for (Queensland) exhibitors only, and do not include 'service' medals or diplomas awarded to exhibition commissioners and officials. At the Philadelphia and Sydney exhibitions, award-winning exhibitors received uniform bronze medals. At Sydney degrees of merit were recorded on accompanying certificates – hence degrees of merit are given instead of medals. At Philadelphia degrees of merit were indicated by the wording of the jurors' reports – hence only the number of awards are given.

Qld Govt expenditure	**Floor space (sq. ft)**	**On-the-spot supervisors**	**Awards**
1855 PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE 15 May-15 Nov. Attendance: 5,162,330			
£200 (for Moreton Bay)	871 (entire NSW court)		(for Moreton Bay) 3 silver medals, 3 Honourable Mentions
1862 LONDON INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 1 May-1 Nov. Attendance: 6,211,103			
c.£2,300	1,462	P.L. Simmonds (British agent)	26 medals 20 Honourable Mentions
1867 PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE 1 Apr.-1 Nov. Attendance: 6,805,969			
£2,473 (incl. preliminary Melbourne exhibition)	450	P.L. Simmonds (British agent for all Australasian colonies) Arthur Hodgson (commissioner)	1 gold, 2 silver, 6 bronze medals 4 Honourable Mentions
1871-74 LONDON ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS 1 May-30 Sept. 1871, 27 Apr.-19 Oct. 1872, 14 Apr.-31 Oct. 1873, 6 Apr.-31 Oct. 1874 Attendances: 1,142,151 (1871) to 467,000 (1874)			
1871: c.£316 (excl. Daintree's salary) 1872: c.£700 1873: unknown 1874: c.£732	1871: c.360 1872-74: 1,500 (=Qld annexe)	Richard Daintree (special commissioner 1871, Agent-General and commissioner 1872-76) G. Phillips Bevan (supervisor 1872)	1873: 10 medals no awards made to exhibitors in other years
1873 VIENNA UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION 1 May-1 Nov. Attendance: 7,254,637			
£5,681 (incl. above London exhibitions) to Jan. 1874	1,813	G. Phillips Bevan (British agent for all Australian colonies)	3 progress, 13 merit medals 15 Honourable Mentions
1876 PHILADELPHIA INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 10 May-10 Nov. Attendance: 9,910,966			
£5,504	3,406	Angus Mackay (special commissioner) Sapper W. Crighton (of Royal Engineers) (asst)	61 awards
1878 PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE 1 May-10 Nov. Attendance: 16,032,725			
c.£3,650	1,440	W. Henry Ashwell (supervisor, also Qld Executive Engineer in London) Ernest A. Clare (attendant)	2 Diplomas of Honour 2 gold, 16 silver, 21 bronze medals 32 Honourable Mentions

1879-80 SYDNEY INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 17 Sept. 1879-20 Apr. 1880 Attendance: 1,117,536			
£8,777	8,000 (incl. adjoining balcony)	Gresley Lukin (Executive Commissioner) George E. Layton (secretary) R. Septimus Pryce (asst secretary) James Brand (attendant)	10 First Degree of Merit Special 57 First Degree of Merit 79 Highly Commended 60 Commended 37 Honourable Mentions
1880-81 MELBOURNE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 1 Oct. 1880-30 Apr. 1881. Attendance: 1,458,896			
£6,905	9,875 (intersected by three passage-ways)	George King (Executive Commissioner) George E. Layton (secretary) R. Septimus Pryce (asst secretary) James Brand (attendant)	17 silver, 18 bronze medals 9 Honourable Mentions
1886 COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION, LONDON 4 May-10 Nov. Attendance: 5,550,745			
c.£15,000	13,620: 11,970 in main court (incl. conservatory and fountains) 1,650 in South Promenade (gold battery)	James Francis Garrick (Agent-General and Executive Commissioner) William F. Liddell (superintendent) J.N. Longden (engineer) James Brand (attendant)	no awards made to exhibitors, but commemorative medals issued to all exhibitors and commissioners, incl. 291 to Qld
1888-89 MELBOURNE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 1 Aug. 1888-9 Mar. 1889 Attendance: 2,003,593			
£10,423 (excl. £224 on separate New Guinea court)	8,700: 5,150 in main court 2,000 in conservatory 850 in machinery court 700 in educational court	John Fenwick (joint Executive Commissioner) Harry Courtenay Luck (secretary) James Brand (attendant)	20 gold, 18 silver, 17 bronze medals awarded for: 78 First Order of Merit (10 with Special Mention) 59 Second Order of Merit 31 Third Order of Merit 27 Fourth Order of Merit
1897 QUEENSLAND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 5 May-14 Aug. Attendance: 220,814			
mining court unknown £500 on agricultural court £265 on educational court	7,500 in the mining court c.4,725 in agricultural court 2,000 in educational court	Jules Joubert (manager) Robert Logan Jack (mining court) Peter McLean (agricultural court) John Shirley (educational court)	awards, too numerous to list, are published in *Queenslander*, 7 Aug. 1897, pp. 287-89; and for the agricultural exhibition in *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Aug. 1897, p. 6
1899 GREATER BRITAIN EXHIBITION, LONDON 8 May-28 Oct. Attendance: c. 2,500,000			
£17,484 (excl. £34,140 on gold and other exhibits and fittings sold after the exhibition)	32,000: 30,000 in Queen's Palace 2,000 in Elysia (gold battery) also cold storage chamber in Elysia (shared with Victoria and New Zealand)	Sir Horace Tozer (Agent-General) Robert Logan Jack (representative) Harry Courtenay Luck (asst representative) Charles Schaefer Rutlidge (information bureau) George William Cornish (engineer) Percy F. Russell (geologist)	17 Diplomas of Honour 79 gold, 32 silver, 7 bronze medals
1901 GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 2 May-9 Nov. Attendance: 11,559,649			
£8,842	6,100	Richard Randall (manager); George William Cornish (asst manager)	no awards made to exhibitors

APPENDIX 3

MORETON BAY AND QUEENSLAND EXHIBITION COMMISSIONERS, DIRECTORS AND SECRETARIES

Titles, occupations and places of residence are current at the time of the particular exhibition. Total appointments made by the Queensland Government (excluding paid secretaries, the pre-separation era and the company-appointed directors of the Queensland International Exhibition) = 236. Total individuals appointed (often to successive exhibitions) = 163.

Abbreviations. For place of birth: B = Great Britain or Ireland; ?B = probably Great Britain or Ireland; A = Australia; BE = elsewhere, to British parents; E = elsewhere, to non-British parents. Others: U = unknown; MLA = member of the Legislative Assembly, MLC = member of the Legislative Council (these refer to Queensland unless otherwise noted); NAQ = member of the National Agricultural and Industrial Assoc. of Queensland (founded 1875); QAS = member of the Queensland Acclimatisation Society (founded 1862); QM = member of the board of trustees of the Queensland Museum (founded 1862); QPS = member of the Queensland Philosophical Society (founded 1859); RCI = Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute, London (founded 1868); RGS = member of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Queensland branch (founded 1885); RGSL = member of the Royal Geographical Society, London (founded 1830); RSQ = member of the Royal Society of Queensland (founded 1884).

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
1855 PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE				
NSW Commissioner representing Moreton Bay: Louis Hope	B	pastoralist, MLC, later cotton and sugar-grower	later RCI	Cleveland, Kilcoy
Local sub-committee: Henry Buckley	B	general and shipping agent		Brisbane
Ambrose Eldridge	B	pharmacist, journalist, cotton-grower		Brisbane
John Clements Wickham	B	Government Resident		Brisbane
Henry Stuart Russell	B	former pastoralist, MLC (NSW)		Brisbane
Dr William McTaggart Dorsey	B	medical practitioner, pastoralist		Ipswich
Robert Meston (secretary)	U	journalist		Brisbane
1862 LONDON INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local: Augustus Charles Gregory	B	Under Secretary for Lands and Surveyor-General	QPS	Brisbane
John James Galloway	B	gentleman, former surveyor, MLC		Brisbane
George Raff	B	merchant (of G. Raff and Co.), cotton and sugar-grower, MLA		Brisbane
Charles Coxen	B	pastoralist, naturalist, arrowroot-grower, MLA	QPS	Brisbane
Dr William Hobbs	B	medical practitioner, cotton-grower, dugong oil manufacturer, MLC		Brisbane
Walter Hill	B	Director of Botanic Gardens, Brisbane and Government Botanist	QPS	Brisbane

Thomas Dowse (secretary)	B	auctioneer and agent, Town Clerk from Jan. 1862		Brisbane
Overseas:				
Matthew Henry Marsh	B	former NSW and Qld pastoralist, British parliamentarian, former NSW commissioner for 1855 Paris exhibition	Fellow RGSL, National Colonial Emigration Society, later RCI	England
Arthur Hodgson	B	pastoralist, former MLA (NSW)	later RCI	Darling Downs
Alfred Robert Denison	B	British parliamentarian, former private secretary to NSW Governor, Qld cotton investor	National Colonial Emigration Society	England
Henry Jordan (hon. secretary)	B	Qld Emigration Commissioner, former MLA		England
1867 PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE				
Local:				
Maurice Charles O'Connell (chairman)	A	MLC, pastoralist, copper mine developer, former army officer	foundation president QAS, later NAQ	Brisbane
Arthur MacAlister	B	Premier, solicitor		Ipswich
Robert George Wyndham Herbert	B	MLA, Qld cotton and pastoral investor	QAS, later RCI	Brisbane (until Aug. 1866)
Joshua Peter Bell	B	pastoralist, MLA, later MLC	later RCI	Darling Downs
Gilbert Eliott	B	pastoralist, MLA, later MLC	QAS	Brisbane
Dr William Hobbs	B	medical practitioner, cotton-grower, dugong oil manufacturer, MLC	QAS	Brisbane
Robert Ramsay MacKenzie	B	pastoralist, MLA, Premier from Aug. 1867		Brisbane
John Douglas	B	MLA, former NSW MLA, former pastoralist	later RCI	Brisbane
Charles Coxen	B	pastoralist, naturalist, MLA	QPS, foundation vice-president QAS	Brisbane
George Raff	B	merchant, cotton and sugar-grower, MLA until June 1867	later NAQ	Brisbane
Augustus Charles Gregory	B	Surveyor-General	QPS, QAS	Brisbane
John Jardine	B	Magistrate, gold commissioner, pastoralist, former Government Resident at Somerset		Rockhamp-ton
John George MacDonald =? John Graham MacDonald	A	pastoralist, explorer		Central Qld
Walter Hill	B	Director of Botanic Gardens, Brisbane and Government Botanist	QPS, QAS	Brisbane
Charles Bernard Lyons (secretary)	U			Brisbane

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
Overseas:				
Matthew Henry Marsh (chairman)	B	former NSW and Qld pastoralist, British parliamentarian	Fellow RGSL, later RCI, National Colonial Emigration Society	England
Robert George Wyndham Herbert	B	public servant in British Board of Trade	later RCI	England
Sir Charles Nicholson	B	investor, company director, former MLC (NSW and Qld), former Qld pastoral investor	later a founder RCI	England
Alfred Robert Denison	B	British parliamentarian	National Colonial Emigration Society	England
Arthur Hodgson	B	pastoralist, MLA 1868-69	National Colonial Emigration Society, later RCI	Darling Downs
1871 LONDON ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local:				
Lewis Adolphus Bernays (chairman)	B	Clerk of Legislative Assembly, botanist	vice-president QAS, Fellow Linnaean Society of London, later RSQ and RGS	Brisbane
Charles Coxen	B	Land Commissioner for Moreton District, naturalist, former pastoralist, former MLA, Hon. Curator of Qld Museum	vice-president QPS and QAS	Brisbane
Walter Hill	B	Director of Botanic Gardens, Brisbane and Government Botanist	QPS, QAS	Brisbane
John Jardine	B	Magistrate, gold commissioner, pastoralist, former Government Resident at Somerset		Rockham-pton
William John Brown	B	Sub-Collector of Customs for Rockhampton	trustee Rockhampton School of Arts	Rockham-pton
Frederick Kilner	B	Sub-Collector of Customs and Harbour Master for Port Denison, magistrate		Bowen
Richard Symes Warry	B	merchant		Bowen
Richard Bingham Sheridan	B	Sub-Collector of Customs and Harbour Master for Maryborough, sugar-grower, later MLA	a founder Maryborough Botanic Gardens and School of Arts	Marybor-ough
James Edwin Brown	B	wine and spirit merchant		Marybor-ough
William Montgomerie Davidson	B	Land Commissioner for Wide Bay and Burnett Districts, and District Surveyor	later RCI and RGS	Marybor-ough
Overseas:				
John Douglas	B	Agent-General until Dec. 1870, former MLA, former pastoralist	later president North Brisbane School of Arts, later RCI	England

John Watts	B	former Qld farmer and pastoralist (partner of Arthur Hodgson), MLA		England
Arthur Hodgson	B	squire, former Qld pastoralist, former MLA, MLA (NSW and Qld)	later RCI	England
John Harris	B	merchant and shipping agent (of J. and G. Harris of Qld and London), later Qld tin mining investor		England
William Kirchner	U	emigration agent	later QAS	England
Richard Daintree (special)	B	geologist, former Government Geologist for Northern Qld, former Qld pastoralist and copper mine developer	Fellow Geological Society of London, later RCI	England, left Qld Feb. 1871
1872 and 1874 LONDON ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS				
Richard Daintree	B	Agent-General from Apr. 1872, took charge without assistance of local commissioners; also on British Colonial Sub-committee for 1874 exhibition	RCI (elected 1872)	
1873 VIENNA UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION and 1873 LONDON ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local:				
Walter Hill	B	Director of Botanic Gardens, Brisbane and Government Botanist	QPS, QAS	Brisbane
Karl Theodor Staiger	E	Government Analyst and Custodian of Qld Museum	QPS	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon	B	Chief Inspector of Stock		Brisbane
Overseas:				
Richard Daintree	B	Agent-General, geologist; also on British Colonial Committee for Vienna exhibition	RCI	England
Arthur Hodgson	B	squire, former Qld pastoralist	RCI (elected 1872)	England
William Kirchner (for Vienna exhibition)	U	Qld Emigration Agent for the Continent	later QAS	Germany
1876 PHILADELPHIA INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local:				
William Wellington Cairns (president)	B	Governor		Brisbane
John Douglas	B	MLA, Premier 1877, former pastoralist, former Agent-General	QM, NAQ, later RCI	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon	B	Chief Inspector of Stock	a founder NAQ	Brisbane
Karl Theodor Staiger	E	Government Analyst and Custodian of Qld Museum	QPS, NAQ	Brisbane
Walter Hill	B	Director of Botanic Gardens, Brisbane and Government Botanist	QPS, QAS	Brisbane

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
Septimus Webster (secretary)	U			Brisbane
Overseas:				
Richard Daintree	B	Agent-General until Jan. 1876, geologist	RCI	England
Angus Mackay (special)	B	journalist and writer on agriculture	NAQ	Brisbane
Robert Tooth (until Sept. 1876)	B	Qld investor and pastoralist, partner in Tooth and Cran's sugar and meat preserving works at Yengarie, partner in Peak Downs copper mine; also Sydney merchant and brewer		Sydney
Arthur MacAlister (extra, appointed June 1876)	B	Premier, solicitor		en route to appoint-ment as Agent-General
Patrick Alfred Jennings	B	NSW and Qld pastoralist, former MLC and MLA (NSW); also represented NSW and Tasmania at Philadelphia exhibition; later Executive Commissioner for Sydney exhibition of 1879-80 and NSW Premier		Deniliquin, NSW
1878 PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE				
Local: (from National Assoc. council)				
Arthur Hunter Palmer	B	pastoralist, MLA, Colonial Secretary, later Premier	NAQ, QAS, later QM	Brisbane
John Fenwick	B	stock and station agent, woolbroker	a founder and first secretary NAQ, QM, QAS, later RCI	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon	B	Chief Inspector of Stock	a founder of NAQ	Brisbane
Lewis Adolphus Bernays	B	Clerk of Legislative Assembly, botanist	vice-president QAS, QM, NAQ, Fellow Linnaean Society, later RSQ and RGS	Brisbane
Karl Theodor Staiger	E	Government Analyst and Custodian of Qld Museum	QPS, NAQ	Brisbane
Angus Mackay	B	journalist and writer on agriculture, later MLA	NAQ	Brisbane
George Edward Layton (secretary)	U	secretary of National Assoc.		Brisbane

Overseas: Arthur MacAlister (chairman)	B	Agent-General, former Premier		England
Sir William Wellington Cairns (special)	B	former Qld Governor		England
Edward O'Donnell MacDevitt	B	barrister, former MLA, recently Qld emigration lecturer in Ireland		Ireland
George Henry Thorn	A	gentleman, MLA, Premier 1876-77, former pastoralist		Ipswich
Robert Muter Stewart	B	merchant, manufacturer, MLA	later RCI	Brisbane, retired to England 1878
Arthur Hodgson	B	squire, former Qld pastoralist	RCI	England
William Hemmant	B	merchant (of Stewart and Hemmant), bank director (of Australian Joint Stock Bank), former MLA	former vice-president NAQ, RCI	England
Thomas Hamilton (secretary)	?B	secretary to Agent-General		England
1879-80 SYDNEY INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local: (from National Assoc. council) Gresley Lukin (Executive Commissioner, resigned Feb. 1880)	A	journalist, mining investor	a founder NAQ, QM	Brisbane
Angus Mackay	B	journalist and writer on agriculture, MLA	NAQ	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon	B	Chief Inspector of Stock	NAQ	Brisbane
John Fenwick	B	stock and station agent, woolbroker	NAQ, QM, QAS, later RCI	Brisbane
Lewis Adolphus Bernays	B	Clerk of Legislative Assembly, botanist	vice-president QAS, QM, NAQ, Fellow Linnaean Society, later RSQ and RGS	Brisbane
George Edward Layton (secretary)	U	secretary of National Assoc.		Brisbane
Hon. Commissioners: George King	BE	pastoralist, former MLA (NSW)		Darling Downs
John Walsh	U	general merchant and agent, MLA, former Mayor of Cooktown		Cooktown

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
Hugh Hamon Massie	B	former Under Secretary of Qld Colonial Secretary's Office		Sydney
Robert George Massie (brother of above)	B	agent and woolbroker, former Qld pastoralist, former MLC		Sydney
Henry Mort	B	pastoralist, company director, former MLA (NSW) for West Moreton; brother of T.S. Mort, developer of Peak Downs copper mine; also NSW exhibition commissioner		Sydney
George Morris Simpson	A	pastoralist, MLA	later RCI	Dalby
Charles Townsend Gedye	U	customs agent	later RCI	Sydney
Eliezer Levi Montefiore	E	businessman, artist and art patron	a founder of National Art Gallery of NSW	Sydney
William Frederick Lambert	B	pastoralist, MLC		Rockham-pton
Boyd Dunlop Morehead	A	stock and station agent, pastoralist, MLA	later RSQ, RGS and RCI	Brisbane
John Stevenson	B	pastoralist, company manager and director, MLA	later RSQ and RCI	Brisbane
Charles Lumley Hill	B	pastoralist, investor, MLA	later RCI	N. Gregory district
George Henry Davenport	B	pastoralist, MLA	NAQ	Darling Downs
Francis Tyssen Amhurst	B	sugar-grower, investor, MLA		Mackay
Albert Norton	A	pastoralist, MLA	later trustee RSQ, later QM	Port Curtis
Albrecht Feez	E	merchant, MLA, Mayor of Rockhampton, later Mount Morgan mining investor	Rockhampton School of Arts, later RCI	Rockham-pton
1880-81 MELBOURNE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local:				
George King (Executive Commissioner, until Dec. 1880)	BE	pastoralist, later MLC; from Dec. 1880 chaired Royal Commission into Hemmant's petition in London		Darling Downs
Augustus Charles Gregory (chairman)	B	former Surveyor-General	QM, former president QPS	Brisbane
from National Assoc. council:				
Robert D. Neilson	A	wholesale grocer and wine merchant	NAQ	Brisbane

George Grimes	B	sugar and arrowroot-grower, former MLA	NAQ	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon	B	Chief Inspector of Stock	NAQ	Brisbane
John Fenwick	B	stock and station agent, woolbroker	NAQ, QM, QAS, later RCI	Brisbane
John Scott	B	pastoralist, MLA, later MLC	NAQ	Brisbane
James Hamilton Scott	B	stock and station agent, pastoralist	NAQ	Brisbane
John Little	B	gentleman	NAQ	Brisbane
John Petrie	B	building contractor, first Mayor of Brisbane, magistrate	NAQ, later RGS	Brisbane
Gresley Lukin	A	journalist	NAQ, QM	Brisbane
Samuel Walker Griffith	B	barrister, MLA, later Premier	NAQ, later RSQ, later president RGS, RCI	Brisbane
George Edward Layton (secretary)	U	secretary of National Assoc.		Brisbane
Hon. Commissioners:				
William Baker Shaw	U	pastoralist, later founder of Gladstone meatworks		Gayndah
Hugh Hamon Massie	B	former Under Secretary of Qld Colonial Secretary's Office		Sydney
Robert George Massie (brother of above)	B	agent and woolbroker, former Qld pastoralist, former MLC		Sydney
Donald Smith Wallace (supervised after King's departure)	A	Qld pastoralist and mining investor, later MLA		Victoria
Frank Scarr (also supervised after King's departure)	A	stock and station agent, former Crown Lands Commissioner in Qld	RGS Victorian branch	Melbourne
Colonel Phillip Henry Scratchley, RE	U	army officer		Melbourne
John de Poix Tyrel	B	auctioneer and agent, tin mining investor, MLA		Stanthorpe
Henry Joseph Weld-Blundell	B	pastoralist, MLA	later RCI	Peak Downs
Charles Lumley Hill	B	pastoralist, investor, MLA	later RCI	N. Gregory district
George Morris Simpson	A	pastoralist, MLA	later RCI	Dalby
John Ferguson	B	builder and contractor, Mayor of Rockhampton, later Mount Morgan mining investor; chairman of Rockhampton's exhibition committee	later Central Qld separationist, later RCI and RGS	Rockhampton

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
James Taylor	B	pastoralist, investor, MLC		Toowoo-mba
James Watts Grimes	U	commission agent and auctioneer		Toowoo-mba
Charles Rome	B	pastoralist	later RCI	Blackall
Thomas Rome (brother of above)	B	pastoralist	NAQ, later RCI	Blackall
William Forrest	B	pastoralist, company director (later chairman Qld Meat Export and Agency Co.), later MLC	RCI	Qld
Charles Lloyd Williams	U	pastoralist		Charleville
Arthur Martin	U	auctioneer and valuer		Brisbane
Roger Hale Sheaffe	A	pastoralist, MLA, later mining investor		Brisbane
Harrie Smith =? Harry Thorneloe Smith	U	Qld Railways surveyor		?
Donald Gunn snr	B	pastoralist		Darling Downs
1884 INTERNATIONAL HEALTH EXHIBITION, LONDON				
Overseas:				
John Douglas	B	journalist, former Premier, later Government Resident at Thursday Island	president North Brisbane School of Arts, QM, NAQ, Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, RCI, RGS	Brisbane
William Hemmant	B	Acting Agent-General, merchant (of Stewart and Hemmant), bank director (of Australian Joint Stock Bank), former MLA	RCI	England
1886 COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION, LONDON				
Local:				
Augustus Charles Gregory (chairman)	B	former Surveyor-General, MLC	foundation president RSQ and RGS, QM	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon (joint hon. secretary)	B	Chief Inspector of Stock	NAQ, RSQ	Brisbane
John Fenwick (joint hon. secretary)	B	stock and station agent, woolbroker	NAQ, QM, QAS, later RCI	Brisbane
James Tolson	B	pastoralist	RSQ	Brisbane
Charles Walter de Vis	B	Curator of Qld Museum, zoologist, palaeontologist	RSQ, RGS	Brisbane
Frederick Manson Bailey	B	Colonial Botanist	RSQ, QAS, Fellow Linnaean Soc. of London	Brisbane

John Little	B	gentleman	NAQ	Brisbane
George Grimes	B	sugar and arrowroot-grower, former MLA	NAQ	Brisbane
Harry Courtenay Luck (secretary)	B	clerk and secretary	RSQ, RGS	Brisbane
Overseas:				
James Francis Garrick (Executive Commissioner)	A	Agent-General, minister without portfolio, MLC, former barrister, former MLA; a Royal Commissioner for the exhibition	RCI	England
Arthur Hodgson	B	squire, former Qld pastoralist; also a Royal Commissioner for the exhibition, and general secretary of its Reception Committee	Councillor RCI	England
Sir James Cockle	B	former Chief Justice of Qld, mathematician, astronomer	former president QPS, life member RSQ	England
William Hemmant	B	merchant, bank director (of Australian Joint Stock Bank), former MLA	RCI	England
William Henry Walsh	B	pastoralist, MLC	RCI	Brisbane, visited England 1885-86
Charles Shortt Dicken (hon. secretary)	BE	secretary to Agent-General, former police magistrate in Qld	RCI	England
Asst Commissioner for New Guinea exhibits: Hugh Hastings Romilly	B	Deputy Commissioner for British New Guinea, author, explorer	RGS	New Guinea
1888-89 MELBOURNE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Local:				
John Fenwick (joint Executive Commissioner)	B	stock and station agent, woolbroker	NAQ, QM, RSQ, RGS, QAS, later RCI	Brisbane
Thomas MacDonald-Paterson (joint Executive Commissioner until Dec. 1888)	B	solicitor, MLC	RGS	Brisbane
Francis Reid Murphy (joint Executive Commissioner)	A	pastoralist, MLA		Tambo
Frederick Manson Bailey	B	Colonial Botanist	RSQ, QAS, Fellow Linnaean Society	Brisbane
Patrick Robertson Gordon	B	Chief Inspector of Stock	NAQ, RSQ	Brisbane
Augustus Charles Gregory	B	former Surveyor-General, MLC	president RSQ, QM, RGS	Brisbane
George Grimes	B	sugar and arrowroot-grower, MLA	NAQ	Brisbane

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
John Little	B	gentleman	NAQ	Brisbane
James Tolson	B	pastoralist	RSQ	Brisbane
Charles Walter de Vis	B	Curator of Qld Museum, zoologist, palaeontologist	RSQ, RGS	Brisbane
Harry Courtenay Luck (secretary)	B	clerk and secretary	RSQ, RGS	Brisbane
James P. Bichard (asst secretary)				Brisbane
Hon. Commissioners: Frederick Arthur Brodie	A	pastoralist, commission agent		Normanton
John Robb Baxter-Bruce	B	solicitor, mining investor	QAS, later RCI	Brisbane
Charles Claudius Carter	B	former Officer in Charge of Pastoral Occupation Branch, Qld Public Lands Office	RCI	Melbourne
Richard Gardiner Casey	A	pastoralist, MLA, later Mount Morgan mining investor		Harrisville, Blackall
William Castles	B	auctioneer, arrowroot-grower, rum-maker	RGS	Logan-holme
Charles Frederick Chubb	B	solicitor		Ipswich
William Levi Davies	B	commission and mining agent		Charters Towers
Charles Francis Gardiner	U	auctioneer		Croydon
Edward Griffith (brother of Samuel Walker Griffith)	B	bank manager (of Royal Bank, Brisbane)		Brisbane
Arthur Edward Halloran	B	former Sheriff of Qld		Brisbane
Henry Hammond	U	mine owner and mining assayer		Watsonville
Stewart Williamson Hartley	B	newspaper proprietor, Mount Morgan mining investor	RSQ, RGS	Rockham-pton
Samuel Hattersley Ineson	U	commission and mining agent		Charters Towers
Isidor Siegfried Lissner	E	storekeeper, MLA, mining investor	separationist, Charters Towers School of Arts, RCI, RGS	Charters Towers
Robert Little (brother of John Little)	B	former Crown Solicitor	a founder of Qld Turf Club	Brisbane

John McDonald	B	storekeeper, mining investor	RCI	Charters Towers
Henry Foscue Morgan	B	newspaper proprietor, mining journalist	later RCI	Croydon
Hugh Mosman	A	mining investor (discoverer of Charters Towers), later MLC	RCI	Charters Towers
Daniel Patience	B	company manager (of Burns, Philp and Co.)		Cairns
De Burgh Fitzpatrick Persse	B	pastoralist, former MLA	RCI	Beau-desert
Herman Selig	U	storekeeper, mining investor		Herberton
John Stevenson	B	company manager and director, MLA	RCI	Brisbane
James Stodart	B	merchant, company director	RGS	Brisbane
Charles Lloyd Williams	U	pastoralist		Charleville
Walter Horatio Wilson	B	solicitor, MLC	RCI, RGS	Brisbane
Charles Henry Fletcher Yeo	B	accountant	RSQ	Brisbane
Hon. Commissioner New Guinea court: John William Lindt	E	photographer	RGS Victorian branch	Melbourne
1897 QUEENSLAND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Directors: Thomas Finney (chairman)	B	merchant (founder and senior partner of Finney, Isles and Co.), MLA	later RCI	Brisbane
James Forsyth (chairman 1896)	B	company director (of Burns, Philp and Co.), mining investor		Brisbane
John Dunmore Campbell	A	merchant, company director (of James Campbell and Sons)		Brisbane
James Thomas Isles	A	auctioneer, merchant (partner of Finney, Isles and Co.)		Brisbane
John Greaves	U	hotel proprietor (Australian Hotel, Queen St)		Brisbane
Isaac Mayne	A	solicitor		Brisbane
Thomas Welsby	A	accountant, company director, Chairman of Booroodabin Divisional Board, sportsman	later founder of Historical Society of Qld, RGS	Brisbane
General Manager: Jules Francois de Sales Joubert	E	exhibition organiser and entrepreneur		itinerant
Secretary: Henry Conwell Wood	BE	pastoralist, MLC, secretary of National Assoc.		Brisbane

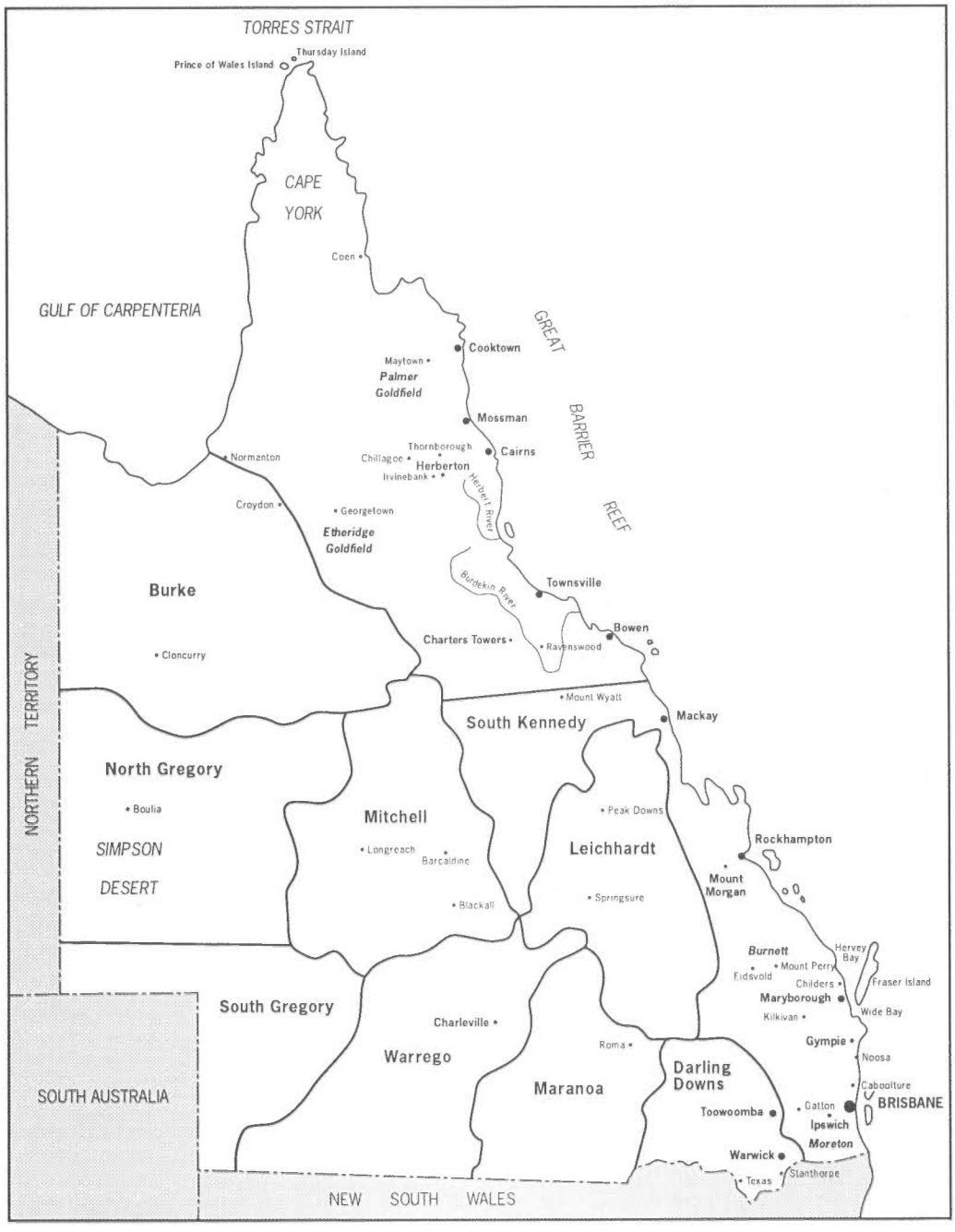
Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
1899 GREATER BRITAIN EXHIBITION, LONDON				
Representative: Robert Logan Jack (resigned Sept. 1899)	B	Government Geologist	former president RSQ, RGSL, Geological Society of London, later RCI	Brisbane
Asst Representative: Harry Courtenay Luck (replaced R.L. Jack from Sept.)	B	clerk and secretary	RSQ, RGS	Brisbane
Hon. Representatives overseas: Sir Horace Tozer	A	Agent-General, mining investor, former Gympie solicitor, former MLA	RCI	England
General Sir Henry Wylie Norman	B	former Qld Governor, also on exhibition's Committee of Advice; later a Royal Commissioner for 1900 Paris exhibition	councillor RGSL, RCI, formerly RGS	England
Sir James Francis Garrick	A	company director (chairman of London Bank of Australia, on London board of Mount Morgan Gold Mining Co.), former Agent-General	RCI	England
Sir Edwin Sandys Dawes	B	shipping magnate (senior partner of Gray, Dawes and Co., agents of Qld Royal Mail Line), squire, pioneer of frozen meat trade	RGSL, RCI	England
Pope Alexander Cooper	A	judge, former MLA	RCI	Brisbane
The Hon. Henry Stuart Littleton	B	company director (of Qld Investment and Land Mortgage Co.), former Qld pastoralist and mining investor	RCI	England
Andrew Heron Wilson	B	Gympie mining investor, former sawmiller, MLC	RGS	Maryborough
John Archibald	B	flourmiller, MLC	RCI, RGS	Warwick
Thomas Archer, CMG	B	former Qld Agent-General, company director (on London board of Mount Morgan Gold Mining Co.), former Qld pastoralist	RCI	England
Commander George Poynter Heath	B	retired Qld naval commander	RCI, formerly RSQ and RGS	England
William Smyth (died in London during exhibition)	A	mining investor and former miner, MLA, member of Qld Royal Commission on mining 1897		Gympie
Henry Brandon (also died during exhibition)	B	former Mackay bank manager and sugar-grower	RCI	England

William Knox D'Arcy	B	Mount Morgan mining investor, company director (chairman of London board of Mount Morgan Gold Mining Co.), former Rockhampton solicitor	RCI	England
George Robert Fife	B	merchant (London partner of Brabant and Co.), formerly of Brisbane	Agent-General's Board of Advice, RCI	England
Thomas Skarratt Hall	B	Mount Morgan mining investor, company director, former Rockhampton bank manager	RCI	England
William Hemmant	B	investor, bank director (of Australian Joint Stock Bank), former MLA	RCI	England
John McDonald	B	Charters Towers mining investor	RCI	England
Andrew McIlwraith (brother of Sir Thomas McIlwraith)	B	ship owner (of McIlwraith, McEacharn and Co.), pioneer of frozen meat trade	RCI	England
Thomas Mills	B	Charters Towers mining investor (largest share-holder in Day Dawn Block and Wyndham Mine)	RCI	England
Ross Robinson	B	Qld mining investor, company director, member of Incorporated London Chamber of Mines, on exhibition's International Mining Committee, former Charters Towers miner	RCI	England
Robert Muter Stewart	B	merchant, manufacturer, bank director (on London board of Qld National Bank), former MLA	Agent-General's Board of Advice, RCI	England
Arthur Herman Henry Milford Feez	A	barrister		Brisbane
Oscar John de Satgé	B	former Qld pastoralist, company director, former MLA	RCI	England
Charles Sidey	U	bank director (of Royal Bank of Qld)	RCI	England
Alexander Brand Webster	B	merchant (of Webster and Co.)	QAS, RCI	Brisbane
William Burns	B	contractor, ironmaster (of Burns and Twigg)		Rockham-pton
James Walter Cutten	U	? coffee-grower		?North Qld
Thomas Brown	B	merchant	RCI	Scotland
Alastair Campbell Sandeman	B	company director (London partner of Aplin, Brown and Crawshay, on board of Australian and New Zealand Mortgage Co.), Qld sugar-grower	RCI	England
Matthew Swinburne	B	pastoralist, grain-grower	RCI	via Warwick

Commissioner	Birth-place	Occupation	Membership of societies, etc.	Place of residence
William Henry Couldery	B	mining investor, pastoralist, sugar-grower	RCI	Gympie
Edmund Stansfeld Rawson (hon. secretary)	B	former Qld pastoralist	North Qld separationist	England
Thomas Rome	B	former Qld pastoralist	RCI	England
Reginald Byard Buchanan Clayton	B	stock and station agent (of R. Clayton and Co.), Qld investor, formerly of Maryborough	RCI	England
Edward Pope	U	sharebroker and auctioneer	RCI	Gympie
William Frederick Harrington	B	manufacturer (managing director of John Walker and Co.)	RCI	Marybor-ough
Malcolm McGregor	B	farmer		Marybor-ough
Richard Matthew Hyne	B	sawmill proprietor, former MLA		Marybor-ough
George Henry Irvine	B	mining assayer and investor, former manager of Mount Morgan Mine		Brisbane
Gilbert Edward Primrose	B	manufacturer (managing director of Helidon Spa Water Co.)		Brisbane
George Lata Wardlow	U	'an old colonist'		?
Dr George William Frederic Paul	A	medical practitioner		Brisbane
Charles Parsons	E	pastoralist		Longreach
1901 GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION				
Sir Horace Tozer	A	Agent-General, mining investor	RCI	England
George Randall	B	Emigration Agent and Lecturer		England
Hon. Representatives overseas:				
Thomas Brown	B	merchant	RCI	Scotland (Glasgow)
Robert Alexander Ker	B	veteran of Boer War, formerly in North Qld	RCI	England
Dr Robert Logan Jack	B	consultant mining geologist, former Government Geologist for Qld	RGSL, Geological Society of London, Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, RCI	England
John Marsland	B	solicitor, newspaper proprietor, mining investor, formerly on Charters Towers committee for Qld International Exhibition		Charters Towers
Norris Garrett Bell	B	Qld Railways manager, civil engineer		Brisbane

APPENDIX 4

MAP OF QUEENSLAND



'A GOOD SHOW': COLONIAL QUEENSLAND AT INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

J.M. McKAY

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Colonial Queensland was an active participant in international exhibitions, cultural milestones of the late 19th century. In the years between separation (1859) and federation (1901) Queensland took part in 16 international exhibitions as an official exhibitor (that is, with official displays and officially appointed representatives) and in another 15 as an unofficial exhibitor. This study examines various aspects of Queensland's involvement in these events and covers new ground as little has been known of Queensland as a world exhibitor.

First the motives for exhibiting are examined, by comparing the wholehearted support for British exhibitions with the sparing support for Australian exhibitions, including the one held on home ground in 1897. Of the 16 exhibitions in which Queensland participated officially, in 10 it exhibited as part of a British colonial group, at British request. Moreover, 8 of these 16 exhibitions were held in Great Britain, including 7 in London. This support for Britain and British interests at exhibitions reflected the colony's economic dependence, which increased as the century progressed. Exhibitions effectively chart the course of this dependence, and also of Queensland's more ambiguous relationship with its sister colonies.

Then the mode of exhibiting is examined — the selection, presentation and handling of exhibits. These exhibits were dominated by economic concerns rather than a desire to represent colonial life fully. Exhibition commissioners, the selectors of exhibits, were drawn from Queensland's economic elite and their exhibits reflected its varying needs for British investment in the major productive industries: agriculture, pastoral and mining. The presentation and handling of exhibits were unadventurous and amateurish by world or even Australian standards. Yet Queensland could be relied upon to put on 'a good show', and will be remembered for its pioneering use of photography and for adding the mercury fountain to the 'novelties' devised especially for exhibitions.

In the next five chapters, the major section of the study, the exhibits are examined more closely to construct a microcosm of Queensland environmental, cultural and economic history. The flora and fauna exhibits illustrate both the exploitative view of nature that was central to Western civilisation and the interest in natural history so keen in the 19th century. Likewise the Aboriginal (including human) exhibits show the racial attitudes of the time and provide insight into race relations in the colony. The mineral and mining exhibits portray in gilded splendour a materialism and a pride in technological achievement, while the agricultural and pastoral exhibits show the great optimism in the future of the colony as 'an earthly paradise for the farmer'. Other exhibits, such as maps, newspapers and educational exhibits, plotted the advance of Western civilisation in Queensland.

Finally the impact of Queensland's involvement in exhibitions is examined. In general, exhibitions did not fulfil their stated goals of attracting investment and population into the colony, nor did they extend its trade. Moreover, exhibitions brought few cultural benefits and no substantial legacy in buildings or public collections. They were, however, 'a first-class advertisement' for the colony and helped to shape its image at home and abroad. □ *International exhibitions, exhibitions, Queensland, British imperialism, Australian colonies.*

Judith Marilyn McKay, Queensland Museum, PO Box 3300, South Brisbane, Queensland 4101, Australia; *received 14 October 1997.*

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

QSA=Queensland State Archives; JOL=John Oxley Library; *ADB=Australian Dictionary of Biography*; *QPD=Queensland Parliamentary Debates*; *V&P of the QLA=Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly*.

Full names of exhibitions are given in Appendix 1; abbreviated names are used elsewhere. The English term 'exhibition' is generally used in preference to the French 'exposition' or the American 'world's fair'. Unless otherwise stated, 'exhibition' refers to an international exhibition rather than an intercolonial or local exhibition.

INTRODUCTION

The Great Exhibition of 1851 heralded a new era, in which a series of grandiose 'Universal Exhibitions' or 'World's Fairs' would mark the 'progress' of Western civilisation, not only in Europe and North America but also in colonial outposts. The significance of these self-congratulatory events was recognised at the time, as the popular newspaper the *Australian Town and Country Journal* wrote in 1870:

> ... in the history of human progress when comprehensively written, the series of international gatherings commenced in 1851, will occupy an important place among the causes which are contributing to the onward movement of the nineteenth century.[1]

The theme of progress underlies exhibition rhetoric, for each exhibition marked civilisation's advance since the previous world's gathering, and the scale and cost of exhibitions also steadily progressed as each strove to be 'the greatest' the world had ever seen. An essay on exhibitions began: 'Progress is the law of life, and Exhibitions ... the outcome and the forebears of that very progress'.[2] Progress in the 19th century meant a quest to excel, to be productive, to make grand discoveries, to control the forces of nature, to conquer the globe and transplant advanced civilisation to its farthest reaches. Implicit in this doctrine of continuous progress was a trust in technological and material advance as the key to such progress, and an unquestioned assumption of the earth's ability to sustain its onslaughts. International exhibitions lost much of their impulse after the Great War when world optimism was damaged by the destructive capacity of advanced technology, and many began to question the benefits of progress.

Although a history of exhibitions might begin with the Old Testament story of King Ahasuerus who 'shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom ... even a hundred and four-score days'[3] and then trace their evolution through the trade fairs of the Middle Ages, the exhibitions studied here were an invention of the industrial civilisation of the 19th century. They provided a medium for advertising a nation's wares and for 'showing off' the technological and scientific, and to a lesser extent, cultural achievements of the era. Exhibitions also facilitated comparison of nations and races, giving visible reality to the triumph of Western civilisation over indigenous races in an era of unprecedented imperial expansion.

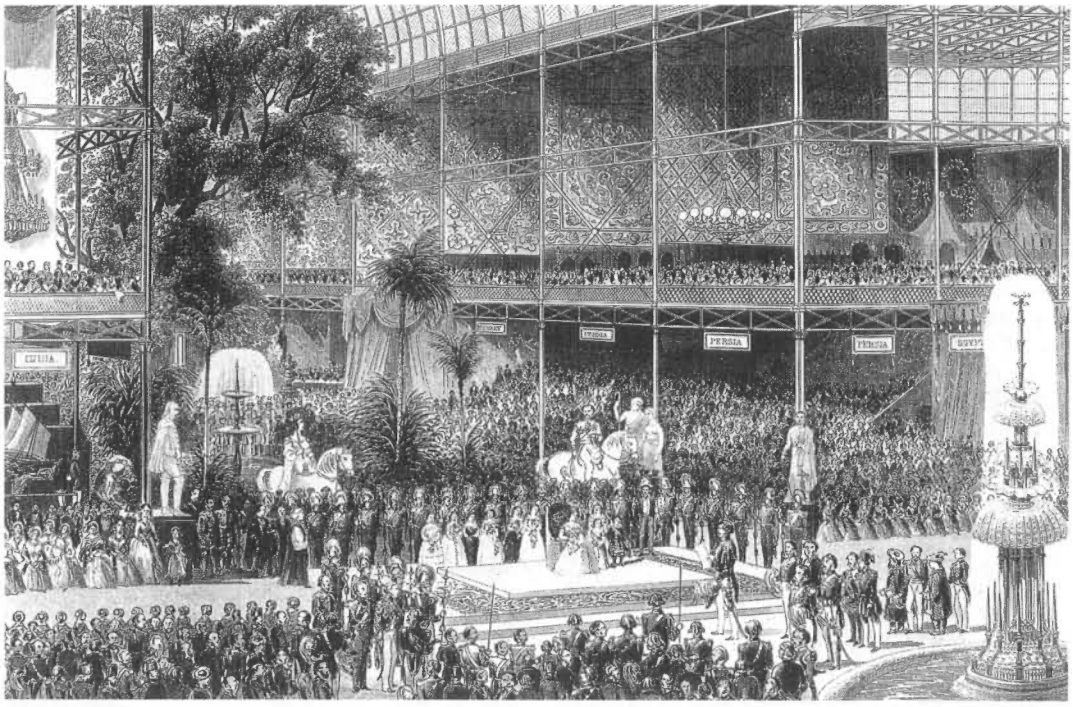

FIG. 1. The state opening of the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace, London, on 1 May 1851, 'a sight the like of which has never happened before'. (National Library of Australia)

This is a study of how colonial Queensland, a British outpost at the antipodes, showed its 'progress' to the outside world at exhibitions. For a young colony looking for population and capital to develop its vast and varied resources, the proof of progress was a fact of survival and largely shaped the colonists' image of their adopted land. The ultimate proof of progress was to play host to an international exhibition, but Queensland did not join the race until relatively late, in 1897.[4] Hence I focus mainly on Queensland's courts (as the various national or thematic sections of exhibitions were called) at international exhibitions elsewhere, and on the propaganda that accompanied these courts. Besides the official exhibits shown within courts, I also look at exhibition amusements organised by private entrepreneurs operating within the sphere of popular entertainment.

Exhibitions are a microcosm of the world, and conversely, as an apologist for Melbourne's first great event claimed, 'the world itself is an enlarged edition of the Exhibition'.[5] Exhibitions offer insights into the larger world of colonial Queensland — into the political, economic, social and cultural fabric of a frontier colony. Moreover, exhibitions played a part in attracting colonists and investment to Queensland, promoting trade, shaping cultural identity and, more remarkably, pre-empting official policy on indigenous people at a national level. And leading players on Queensland's historical stage, acknowledged for their contributions to politics, economic development, science, immigration and Aboriginal welfare, were also enterprising exhibitors: among them Richard Daintree, James Garrick, Frederick Manson Bailey, Robert Logan Jack, George Randall and Archibald Meston.

Yet little has been known of Queensland's involvement in exhibitions. Geoffrey Bolton, Ian Sanker and Peter Quartermaine have looked at the photographic enterprise of Richard Daintree (Fig. 2) and his work as Queensland's Agent-General in London,[6] but these studies underestimate the extent of his exhibition work spanning a total of six exhibitions and (in my view) his greatest achievement in erecting Australia's first exhibition building in London. The only other published research on Queensland at internat-

ional exhibitions is a paper by Marc Rothenberg and Peter Hoffenberg on all the Australian colonies at Philadelphia in 1876 and my brief account of a painting shown by Queensland at the first Melbourne exhibition.[7] In addition, studies on mining, investment and agriculture in Queensland make passing mention of its spectacular mineral exhibits at London in 1886 and of its later agricultural exhibits,[8] while a thesis by Peter Schlencker on the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland outlines the (limited) role of that body in organising Queensland's contributions to international exhibitions in the years 1879-81.[9] Since Queensland's involvement in exhibitions has been neglected as a field of enquiry, my study covers new ground. The field proved so rich that I had to limit my study to the colonial era (to 1901) and to international, as distinct from intercolonial exhibitions which warrant further studies. The chapters on the exhibits, in particular, are based on primary sources hitherto unexplored by Queensland historians.

A 19th-century observer saw exhibitions as a 'real and forcible' tool for education and propaganda: '... for they are in the nature of an ocular demonstration ... in a sceptical age like this people only believe what they see'.[10] Contemporaries often referred to exhibitions as 'object lessons', a means of instructing the masses through their eyes at a time when the masses were only partly literate. Exhibitions, like the public museums that also developed in the late 19th century, are proof of this faith in visual instruction. But people drew sharp distinctions between exhibitions and museums: museums were 'unattractive', even 'dry-as-dust'; whereas exhibitions were topical, competitive, 'showy' and above all, ephemeral. Their blend of entertainment, education and spectacle gave exhibitions a powerful advantage over museums in shaping public perception. Contemporaries also noted that visitors went to exhibitions more to be amused than instructed, as Victoria's Executive Commissioner for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition warned: 'take away the show element and you largely take away the interest of the Exhibition'.[11]

The profitability too, he might have added, for the commissioners for Melbourne's later centennial exhibition found that only by adding amusements 'of a trivial nature' could they hope to cut their rising deficit,[12] and by the 1890s it was accepted that no exhibition could succeed without a range of amusements and 'novelties'. My study records the 'showy' and sensational side of exhibitions, as well as their more sober offerings, for the sensational exhibits offer perhaps the most revealing insights into contemporary society. I dust off the era's opulent and often ingenious display devices — the trophies, obelisks, models, dioramas, panoramas and tableaux — which so attracted exhibition-goers. The visual excitement of these exhibitions has been underplayed by recent commentators and the 19th-century craft of exhibiting all but forgotten.

FIG. 2. Richard Daintree, Queensland's Agent-General, who oversaw the colony's displays at six international exhibitions. (*Australasian Sketcher*, 17 May 1873)

It was during the 19th century that printed and visual materials became accessible for mass circulation, hence exhibitions have left behind a vast stock of literature, from catalogues and jury reports to propaganda pamphlets and commemorative volumes. A major task of my study has been locating the more relevant items, which are widely scattered — even some of Queensland's exhibition publications are held only in interstate

and overseas libraries. There is also a sizeable quantity of recent literature, for since the 1970s there has been an upsurge of interest in exhibitions. But, as Robert Rydell warns in his excellent historiographical essay in *The Books of the Fairs* (on which I draw here), 'the quantity is deceptive and the quality uneven'.[13]

Particularly useful as compendiums of world exhibition activity during the 19th century are John Findling and Kimberly Pelle's *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions*[14] and the bibliography cited above, *The Books of the Fairs*, both published within the last decade. These list many of the lesser known exhibitions in which Queensland was invited to participate but which are missing from earlier accounts, apart from George Collins Levey's remarkably comprehensive entry in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910). Levey, who began his career as a professional exhibition organiser in Australia, also provides information on organisational aspects of exhibitions, drawing from his own experience.[15] The best book-length historical survey is John Allwood's *The Great Exhibitions* (1977),[16] although this continues the 19th-century tradition of descriptive and celebratory writing about exhibitions.

Since this book was published a new school of more analytical writing has emerged which sees exhibitions not as 'glittering occasions' but as recorders and shapers of late 19th-century society and its attendant materialism, racism and inequalities. Robert Rydell and others have focussed on the racist underpinnings of exhibitions and how non-whites were represented to legitimise imperial and white rule[17] — I seek to place these studies in a local context in Chapter 4. Some have focussed on other themes, such as the role of women in exhibitions,[18] the genesis of modern consumer culture in exhibitions,[19] or the parallels between exhibitions, museums and department stores,[20] while Paul Greenhalgh in *Ephemeral Vistas* (1988) takes a broad thematic view of exhibitions.[21] Indeed the scope for thematic studies is as 'universal' as the exhibitions themselves. In addition, there are many recent studies on individual exhibitions (these are listed in Section B of the bibliography), but they concentrate on the largest exhibitions, in which Queensland took little or no part.

Recent writing has other significant gaps for my purposes. Most of it is European or American-centred and has little to say about the involvement of colonies (particularly white colonies) in exhibitions; as Rydell says, 'systematic inquiries into colonial expositions can be counted on one hand'.[22] John Mackenzie in *Propaganda and Empire* has looked at the involvement of colonies in the British imperial exhibitions, which began with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886,[23] but the contribution of colonies to earlier events has not been fully explored. It should be noted that the expectations of imperial powers (usually the exhibition organisers) and colonies at exhibitions were quite different. Imperial powers used exhibitions to maintain their domination of world trade, while colonies were expected to show 'useful' natural products ripe for exploitation. Exhibitions reflected the inter-dependence of the world economy, over which the imperial powers held the purse strings. For imperial powers exhibitions were a show of national prestige, but for colonies like Queensland they were a drain on already stretched treasuries — the price they paid for their progress to be underwritten by Europe.

Also absent from recent writing on exhibitions is an investigation of their display techniques,[24] though the devices they borrowed from earlier forms of popular entertainment are recorded by Richard Altick in *The Shows of London* and by Mimi Colligan in a thesis on Australian panoramas and waxworks.[25] This lack of interest in exhibition techniques is puzzling in view of the recent interest in late 19th-century shop display and the central importance of hi-tech display to today's exhibitions. My study offers insights into these neglected aspects of exhibitions.

The international exhibitions held within Australia have not received the attention they deserve. Of the nine Australian exhibitions held during the colonial era, six have been studied to some degree, notably the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80 which is the subject of a MA thesis by Linda Young.[26] Graeme Davison has assessed the significance of Australia's 'Big Show', the Melbourne centennial exhibition of 1888-89 (Fig. 3), recording the intense intercolonial rivalry that underlay its planning as a national celebration. Davison has also placed the major Australian exhibitions in a world context,[27] but as yet there is no survey of all the Australian exhibitions, nor of the (fiercely independent) involvement of the Australian colonies in overseas exhibitions. Given the current international interest in the racist underpinnings of exhibitions, it is surprising that the role — or lack of role — of Australian Aboriginal people in exhibitions has been over-

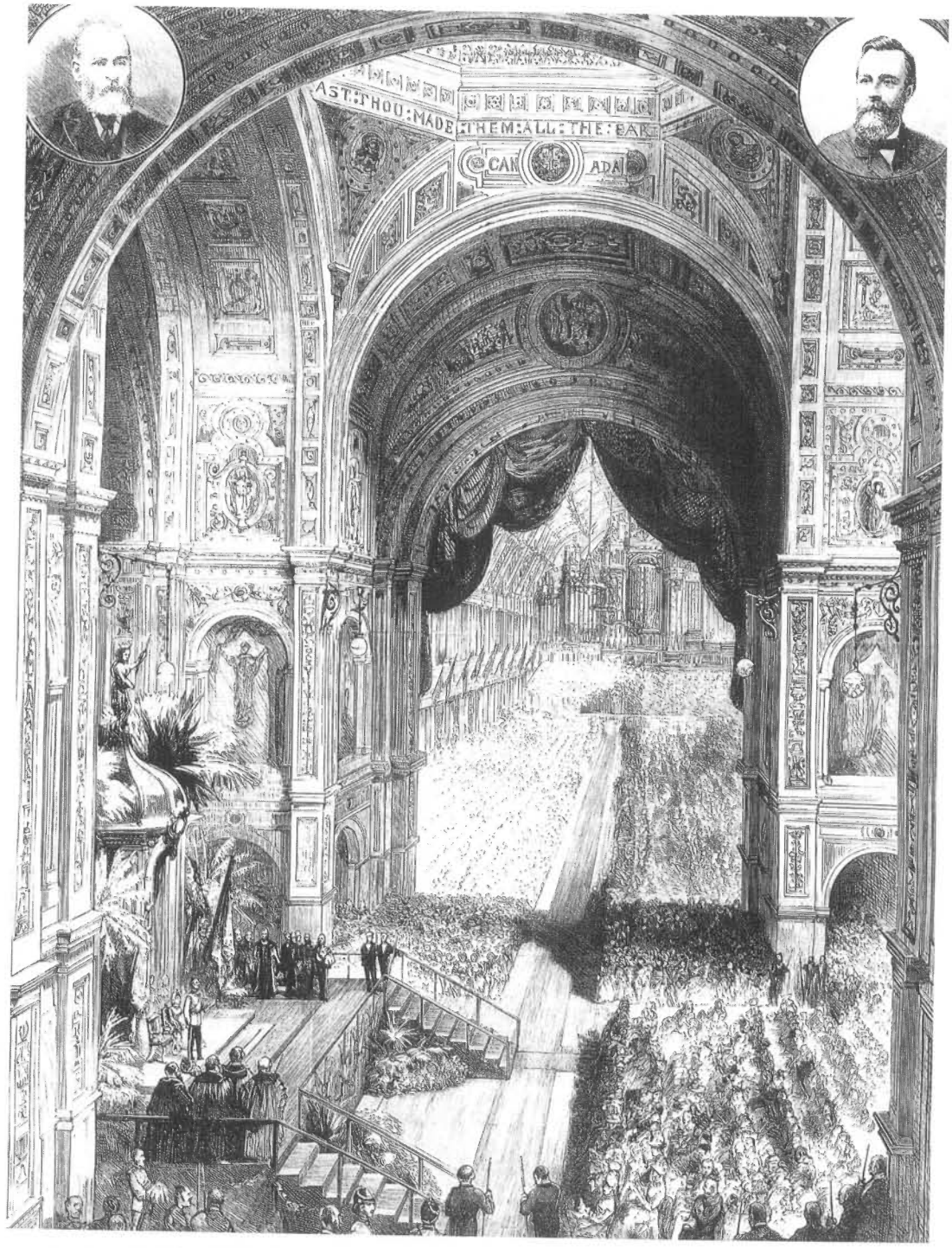

FIG. 3. The opening of Australia's 'Big Show', the Centennial International Exhibition, in Melbourne's Exhibition Building, on 1 August 1888. (*Graphic*, 15 Sept. 1888)

looked, apart from a recently-published paper by Valda Rigg on the representation of Aboriginal culture in colonial New South Wales.[28] Most surprising is that both historians and anthropologists have failed to study the pioneering ethnological court at the Sydney exhibition, which preceded the famous ethnological displays at the Chicago exhibition of 1893 by over a decade.

The use of exhibitions to promote mining in Australia has also been overlooked, though Richard Aitken has looked at the celebration of gold mining in Victoria.[29] Yet the Australian colonies mounted some of the world's most spectacular displays of mineral wealth, and two of the nine Australian exhibitions of the colonial era were held in gold-mining centres: Coolgardie in 1899 and Ballarat in 1900-01, followed in 1901-2 by Bendigo's Victorian Gold Jubilee Exhibition commemorating the discovery of gold there in 1851. Here I begin to fill in some of these gaps in our knowledge of Australians as world exhibitors, and I call attention to Australia's extraordinary Aboriginal and mineral exhibits. And I make a belated visit to the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897, perhaps the most neglected of all the Australian exhibitions. Overshadowed by the larger exhibitions in the south, Queensland's own show was relegated to history as soon as it closed and hardly rated a mention at the time of its recent successor, World Expo '88.[30]

In the following chapters I examine various aspects of colonial Queensland's involvement in international exhibitions. In the first chapter I look at the priorities that determined involvement in exhibitions, comparing the varying degrees of support for events held overseas, in sister colonies and on home ground. In the second chapter I look at the selection of exhibits to show what signified colonial progress at exhibitions, and I assess the presentation and handling of exhibits. In the next five chapters, the major section of the study, I focus more closely on the exhibits and on attitudes, issues and events surrounding the exhibits. These exhibits are dealt with by type: the third chapter deals with flora and fauna exhibits; the fourth chapter with Aboriginal (including human) exhibits; the fifth chapter with mineral and mining exhibits; the sixth chapter with agricultural and pastoral exhibits; and the seventh chapter with exhibits that marked the triumph of Western civilisation. The representation of Aboriginal culture underscores the whole thesis since the march of progress was heightened by showing its very antithesis — by adding a glimpse of 'barbarism'. In the eighth chapter I assess the economic and cultural impact of Queensland's involvement in exhibitions, while in the appendices I set out the facts of that involvement, drawing on a multitude of official and other sources.

EXHIBITION ADMINISTRATION. Some explanation of the mechanism of involvement in exhibitions is a necessary preamble to this study. For London's exhibition of 1862, when Queensland showed for the first time as a separate colony, the policy and mechanism for government involvement in exhibitions were established, to be followed by administrations of all political persuasion throughout the colonial era. First the government would decide whether to participate officially in an exhibition, usually after an exchange of cables with sister colonies, then commissioners would be appointed to collect and despatch exhibits and to oversee the interests of the colony at exhibitions. There were two categories of commissioners: local and overseas. Local commissioners, as the selectors of exhibits, had greater impact on exhibitions, whereas overseas commissioners (in 1899-1901 called 'honorary representatives') were generally appointed later in the planning process and acted more as publicists for the colony — as a contemporary observed, their duties were more 'of a nominal and ornamental nature'.[31]

For the exhibitions at Paris in 1878, Sydney in 1879-80 and Melbourne in 1880-81 the government appointed the newly-formed National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland as local commissioners. (The National Association organised Brisbane's First Intercolonial Exhibition of 1876 and its succeeding annual agricultural exhibitions.) In turn the National Association appointed a committee for each of these exhibitions from its council members. However, the Colonial Secretary held the right of veto over expenditure, which led to friction and eventually the abandonment of this arrangement. Commissioners and executive commissioners were mostly unpaid but had the services of a paid secretary, from 1879 to 1881 the secretary of the National Association. Exceptions to the rule were Richard Daintree and Angus Mackay, both paid for their exhibition work in the 1870s, and the salaried public servants who took over exhibition organising from the 1890s.

Commissioners could claim 'reasonable' exhibition expenses, which at times became a matter of controversy. The commissioners advertised widely in newspapers (Fig. 4) and the *Queensland*

CENTENNIAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.

MELBOURNE, 1888.

QUEENSLAND COMMISSION.

The Commissioners earnestly call attention to the great importance of a full display of Queensland Products—Manufactured or Raw.

The Exhibition OPENS 1st August, 1888, and CLOSES 31st January, 1889. Last Day for Entries, 23rd May, 1888.

Intending Exhibitors are requested to signify their intention without delay.

H. COURTENAY LUCK,
Secretary.

Treasury Buildings,
Elizabeth-street, Brisbane.

FIG. 4. Calling for exhibits. (*Boomerang*, 14 Apr. 1888)

Government Gazette, and sent circulars to municipalities, divisional boards, chambers of commerce, agricultural societies and other likely exhibitors to seek support throughout the colony. Sometimes local agents or committees were appointed to collect from particular towns or districts, and usually included the district's 'more influential' public servants, such as police magistrates, land commissioners, gold wardens and customs officials. These agents and committees had no official status and, like the commissioners, were unpaid. Government financial assistance was intended for transit, rather than purchase, of exhibits for it was assumed that colonists would have the 'spirit of enterprise' to freely contribute exhibits which could, if required, be sold on their behalf after exhibitions. But despite this policy, exhibits often had to be purchased or commissioned.

Following the British precedent of partial and indirect government involvement in international exhibitions, the Queensland Government did not hold any exhibition under its immediate sanction. Though the Departments of Mines and Agriculture oversaw government involvement in exhibitions from the late 1890s, the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897 was initiated and financed by a public company. If the government was undecided on the appropriate level of participation, as was the case with the Calcutta exhibition of 1883-84 and the Adelaide exhibition of 1887-88, notices were placed in the *Government Gazette* and in newspapers to solicit the interest of colonists. Hence involvement in exhibitions was an indication of public as well as government priorities.

CHAPTER 1

'ONE WITH BRITAIN HEART AND SOUL!'

In December 1901 Queensland's Agent-General in London, Sir Horace Tozer, was dealing with requests for Queensland to take part in the forthcoming international exhibitions at London, Cork and St Louis. He had overseen Queensland's displays at the Glasgow exhibition earlier that year and, in 1899, at the Greater Britain Exhibition. 'Generally there seems to me a tendency to overdo these Exhibitions ...', commented Tozer, for within the last few years Queensland had borne an unfair share of maintaining 'the general Australian advertisement' at such events. The time had come, he concluded, to hand over exhibition undertakings to the new Commonwealth of Australia.[32] During the 50 years that elapsed from the Great Exhibition of 1851 until the inauguration of the Commonwealth, the colonists of Moreton Bay and Queensland had received formal requests to take part in no less than 63 international exhibitions,[33] almost half of them in the 1880s when world exhibition activity reached its peak (see Appendix 1). It was not feasible for a young colony far removed from the centres of civilisation to take part in more than a selection of these events, and their relative merits had to be assessed 'in the light of business'.[34]

A large proportion of the funds that Queensland could spend on exhibitions was taken in packing, freight and insurance, even more costly for exhibits brought from remote parts of the colony. Since this precluded sending custodians with the exhibits until the 1870s, exhibits consigned to earlier exhibitions were often 'neglected' or 'mislaid'. Moreover, there was considerable risk of loss or damage during transit over such long distances, damage from mould or (in the case of cereals) weevils being often encountered, and on two occasions (on voyages to London in 1871 and 1872) exhibits were lost in shipwrecks. Also, the time available to prepare exhibits was restricted by the months lost in communications and transit by sea, taking from one to three months between Australia and Europe during the years in question. In this chapter I look at the priorities that determined Queensland's involvement in exhibitions, comparing the varying degrees of support for exhibitions held

FIG. 5. 'Colonial produce' at the Great Exhibition of 1851, including copper specimens from South Australia's Burra Burra mine (lower left). (*Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*)

overseas, in sister colonies and on home ground. I contend that economic dependence on Britain determined where Queensland exhibited and (as I argue in Chapter 2) what was exhibited. I also record the intercolonial jealousies that thwarted united Australian effort at exhibitions.

After two minor appearances as part of New South Wales (in 1851 and 1855), Queensland was invited to take part in another 61 international exhibitions in the years between separation (1859) and 1901. But these exhibitions, of which 33 were held in Great Britain, Ireland, India or British colonies, were just a British-biased sampling of world activity, for John Findling and Kimberly Pelle's *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions* lists 204 exhibitions for these years, of which only 60 were held on British soil.[35] Queensland was further biased towards Britain and British interests in selecting from the exhibitions on offer (see Appendix 2). Of the 16 international exhibitions in which colonial Queensland participated officially (that is, with official courts and officially appointed commissioners): in 10 Queensland exhibited as part of a British colonial group administered by a 'Royal Commission' and indirectly by the British Colonial Office; 8 were held in Great Britain, including 7 in London, 'at the heart of the Empire', and one in Glasgow, the second city of the Empire; and only 4 were held in Australia — and participating in the one on home ground was obligatory. In addition, of the 15 international exhibitions in which Queensland participated unofficially (that is, without official courts): 10 were held on British soil, including 4 in London and only 3 in Australia. In comparing overseas and Australian exhibitions, it should be noted that participation in the former incurred much greater expenses, risks and difficulties than did participation in the relatively few events held in Australia.

What could Queensland gain from these exhibitions? Reporting on its first display, at London in 1862, the commissioner Matthew Henry Marsh wrote:

> I think the Exhibition has done wonders in bringing the Colony into notice. Within my knowledge, it has induced great numbers to emigrate to Queensland, many of them with considerable capital...[36]

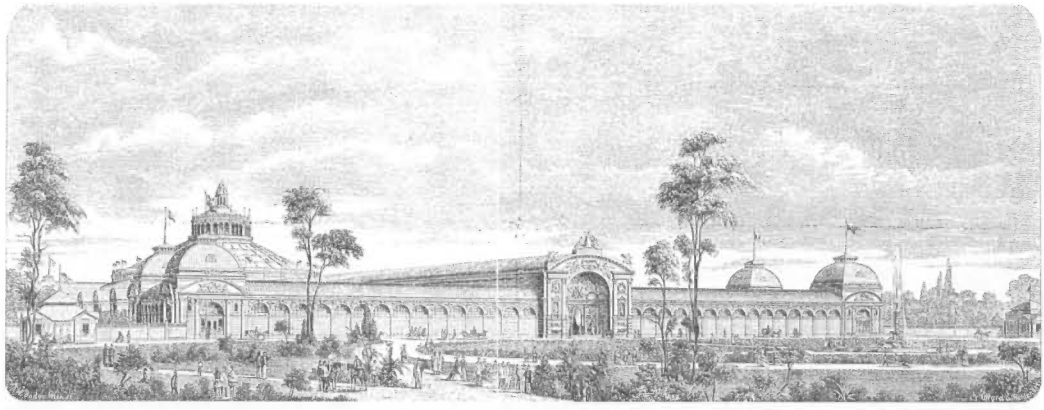

FIG. 6. The western entrance of the Palace of Industry at the Vienna exhibition of 1873. Queensland's court was in a transept of the vast western nave. (Queensland State Archives, COL/76, 1873/1843, reproduced courtesy of the Dept of the Premier and Cabinet)

The goals of attracting investment capital and population at exhibitions were voiced throughout the colonial era, until at the Glasgow exhibition Agent-General Tozer appealed to the capitalists and 'unfettered sons of the British Isles ... to assist in the further development of Queensland's unoccupied and unexplored millions of acres'.[37] It was assumed that most of the capital wanted in the colony would come from London and the population from the British Isles — except for indentured labourers from the Pacific Islands and India, and Chinese miners who needed no inducement from exhibitions. Queensland also sought new markets for its products at exhibitions, but until the 1890s exhibition propaganda focussed on the need for 'labour' and 'capital' to develop the export industries of the future. With its vast tracts of 'unsettled' land, Queensland still wanted population after other Australian colonies had ended assisted immigration, and the cost of opening up its remote territory was comparatively high.

In his recent study *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, Luke Trainor shows that economic dependence underlay the relationship between Britain and the Australian colonies.[38] International exhibitions provided a means of extending the economic ties, by promoting trade and emigration and presenting new opportunities for investment in the colonies. It can be no coincidence that exhibition activity throughout the British Empire quickened in the 1880s as Britain sought to 'consolidate' its domains into a self-sufficient economic and political unit. In initiating the first of the British imperial exhibitions, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, the Prince of Wales sought to strengthen the 'Bond of Union between ... all parts of the Empire'.[39] This exhibition was planned as a necessary 'first step towards ... federating the Empire', and came at a 'fortunate' time when the movement for imperial federation held currency in Britain. The exhibition ode, written by the Poet Laureate, Lord Tennyson, called on the 'sons' of Britain to:

> ... be welded each and all,
> Into one Imperial whole,
> One with Britain heart and soul!
> One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne!

Though the proposed federation of the Empire was opposed in Australia and eventually shelved, the imperial economic nexus was consolidated to a degree which, Trainor argues, largely determined the course of Australian politics in the depressed years of the 1890s. Significantly, it was at this time that Queensland made its grandest-ever display for another imperial show, the Greater Britain Exhibition. The prospectus for this exhibition stressed the economic advantages of the Empire (and the exhibition), reminding the colonies that 'trade always follows the flag'. As John Mackenzie records, imperial exhibitions continued to be held in Britain until the mid-20th century, and their propagandist content became more overt.[40]

The British colonies were poorly represented at London's Great Exhibition of 1851: 'The notice given was too short; the undertaking was hurried; the project was quite new, and not thoroughly understood'.[41] Within the meagre showing by the Australian colonies (Fig. 5), the Moreton Bay district was represented only by a sample of timber from Wide Bay and by some cotton woven into muslin. The colonies had more chance to

FIG. 7. The Prince of Wales presenting British and colonial commissioners to Marshal MacMahon, the French President, outside the Prince's Pavilion at the Paris exhibition of 1878. Arthur Hodgson, representing Queensland, was among the commissioners presented. (*Graphic*, 11 May 1878)

respond for the Paris exhibition of 1855, and in March 1854 the New South Wales commissioners resolved to appoint collectors for Moreton Bay. In the following October, when their exhibits were forwarded to Sydney, the local collectors complained that:

> ... not-withstanding the general mortification that was felt at the non-representation of Moreton Bay at the London Exposition in 1851, the northern squatters have been equally neglectful on this occasion.[42]

The London exhibition of 1862 featured the British colonies for the first time 'in their true proportions' and Queensland, the youngest colony, now became a world exhibitor in its own right.[43]

Thereafter, the mother country made many calls on the colonies to offer 'worthy' or 'suitable' displays at exhibitions. Queensland contributed courts at Paris in 1867 and 1878, Vienna in 1873 and Philadelphia in 1876, where the British colonies exhibited as a large block. In securing space at the Vienna exhibition (Fig. 6), the Agent-General Richard Daintree urged that '... if Queensland is to be represented ... at all, it should be in the most worthy manner possible'.[44] But Queensland, like other Australian colonies, was barely able to fill its space at Vienna, where the Australians' bags of wool and cans of beef and mutton were made 'standing jests' by German newspaper correspondents intent on discouraging their countrymen from emigrating.[45] At the Philadelphia exhibition, which marked the centenary of the American victory over British domination, the British Empire made its grandest display yet shown outside Britain, to teach the recalcitrant Americans that the Empire was 'now firmly joined in the closest bonds of friendship'.[46] The Empire was the single largest foreign exhibitor, occupying half the Main Building. Here a third of the space for the British colonies was taken by the Australian courts, of which Queensland's was said to have attracted the 'largest share of attention and admiration'.[47] At Paris in 1878 the British Empire occupied nearly a third of the space reserved for foreigners, putting on a 'magnificent' show for the Prince of Wales who personally directed the British block and lent his priceless gifts from India (Fig. 7). Recalling this exhibition, Queensland's commissioner Arthur Hodgson wrote that the Australian colonies 'made a display of which England might well be proud', contributing to the show of 'Anglo-Saxon energy ... industry and skill'.[48]

By participating in these events could Queensland expect population or capital to flow from Europe or America? According to the well-known commentator on colonial life and sometime exhibition organiser, R.E.N. Twopeny, the Australian courts at these exhibitions were but 'insignificant atoms in the International molecule, passed over unnoticed by many' and brought none of the benefits of a London exhibition (such as he was proposing).[49] Queensland's emigration scheme from Germany had proved so difficult to operate in the face of Prussian obstruction and unscrupulous shipping agents that it was temporarily suspended in February 1874, soon after the Vienna exhibition. By this time emigration from France was also seen as impractical and Queensland failed to gain a firm footing in the emigration trade from Continental Europe in succeeding decades. Besides, the tide of emigrants from America had long ended by the 1870s and they had gone to the Victorian goldfields, not to Queensland. Britain, on the other hand, could gain both prestige and trade from impressive shows of the British group in Europe and America. The Vienna exhibition, for instance, offered British industrialists a chance to 'acquaint' Eastern Europe with their machines, railways and bridges.[50] But what could a display of raw products from Queensland achieve at Vienna? Queensland's most tangible gain from the Philadelphia exhibition was a much-criticised collection of labour-saving machinery brought back by commissioner Angus Mackay to show local colonists the wonders of American technology. Clearly, Queensland's courts at these exhibitions were less of direct benefit to the colony than the price it paid for its progress to be underwritten by Britain. Arguing in favour of Queensland's participation at Paris in 1867, the parliamentarian Robert Herbert cautioned:

> ... if this colony should make a bad show beside the other colonies, at the Paris Exhibition, it would cause a bad impression on the minds of all Englishmen, who are sure to be there.[51]

FIG. 8. The Queensland annexe at London's annual international exhibitions, here in 1872. Timber exhibits filled the western end of the annexe, while in the foreground is a model of the emigrant ship, the *Polonaise* (centre), and corals (right). (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Queensland's grandest displays were reserved for London. In September 1870 the government took up an offer from Richard Daintree,[52] the former Government Geologist of Northern Queensland, to show his minerals and photographs at the forthcoming London exhibition of 1871. By April 1872, when he was appointed Queensland's Agent-General, Daintree was already mounting 'a full display' of the colony's resources for the next London exhibition, and at his urging a special annexe was erected in the exhibition grounds in 1872 (Fig. 8). Queensland's annexe, a simple timber pavilion situated in the Eastern Annexe ground at South Kensington, was Australia's first exhibition building to be erected in London.[53] It was maintained in 1873 and 1874, giving Queensland the most conspicuous presence of all the British colonies at London's series of annual international exhibitions.[54] (Queensland was the only British colony to erect and maintain its own building at these events.) Here in the imperial capital, wrote Daintree, there could be 'no better or cheaper method' for publicising Queensland.[55] He presented the annexe as a portfolio of investment opportunities for the emigrant and the capitalist and in 1873 published his illustrated guide, *Queensland, Australia*, 'for the use of intending emigrants'.[56] As

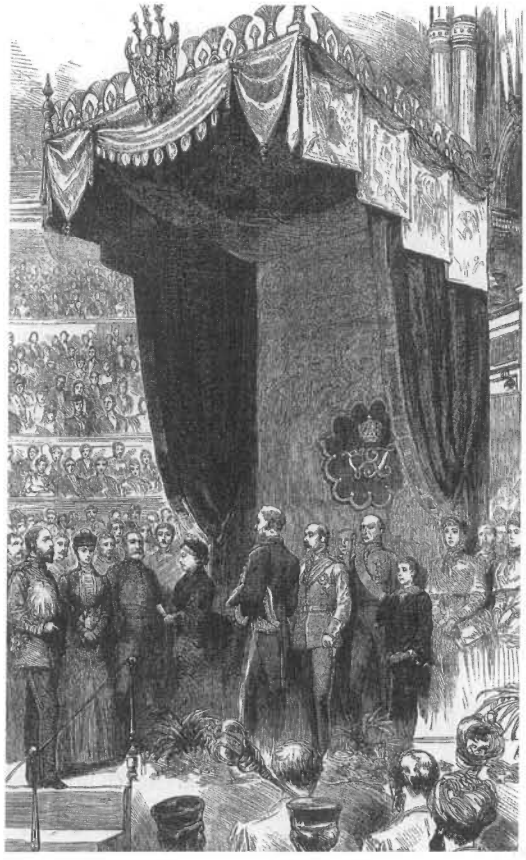

FIG. 9. The state opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in the Royal Albert Hall, London, on 4 May 1886. The opening ceremony, witnessed by subjects from all over the Empire, was described as 'a feast of Imperial unity'. (*Graphic*, 8 May 1886)

early as October 1871, before Queensland built its annexe, Daintree had lobbied for a 'joint Australian Court' in London,[57] but the other colonies were unable to agree on united action before the series of exhibitions were discontinued in 1874.

Daintree's pioneering displays were surpassed in 1886 when Queensland took part in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, a showcase in London for the products and resources of the British Empire (Fig. 9). Queensland appointed commissioners as early as January 1885 and their efforts were spurred on by a warning from the Agent-General, James Garrick, that 'much' was 'expected of the Colony' at this event[58] (Fig. 10). Here the Australian colonies strove to out-do one another in the splendour of their courts and later

FIG. 10. Sir James Garrick, Queensland's Agent-General and Executive Commissioner for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. He and other colonial commissioners were knighted for their services to the exhibition. An able and popular Agent-General, Garrick was said to be Queensland's 'best exhibit' in London. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Garrick, as Queensland's Executive Commissioner, reported that his court was 'as much admired as any' for 'no effort was spared to do justice to the Colony'.[59] Besides the court, boasting the largest collection of exhibits yet shown by the colony, Queensland set up a full-sized gold battery in a special enclosure in the exhibition's South Promenade to convince British investors of its mineral wealth. This was in turn surpassed in 1899 by the colony's 'magnificent' display at the Greater Britain Exhibition, so important that the Departments of Mines and Agriculture were appointed as its organisers, instead of local commissioners. Queensland's court at this exhibition filled the Queen's Palace building, taking up a space of 30,000 square feet (Fig. 11). Its collection of 'unlimited' resources was intended as an 'object lesson' for 'Imperialists and Little Englanders' alike:[60] to restore confidence in the

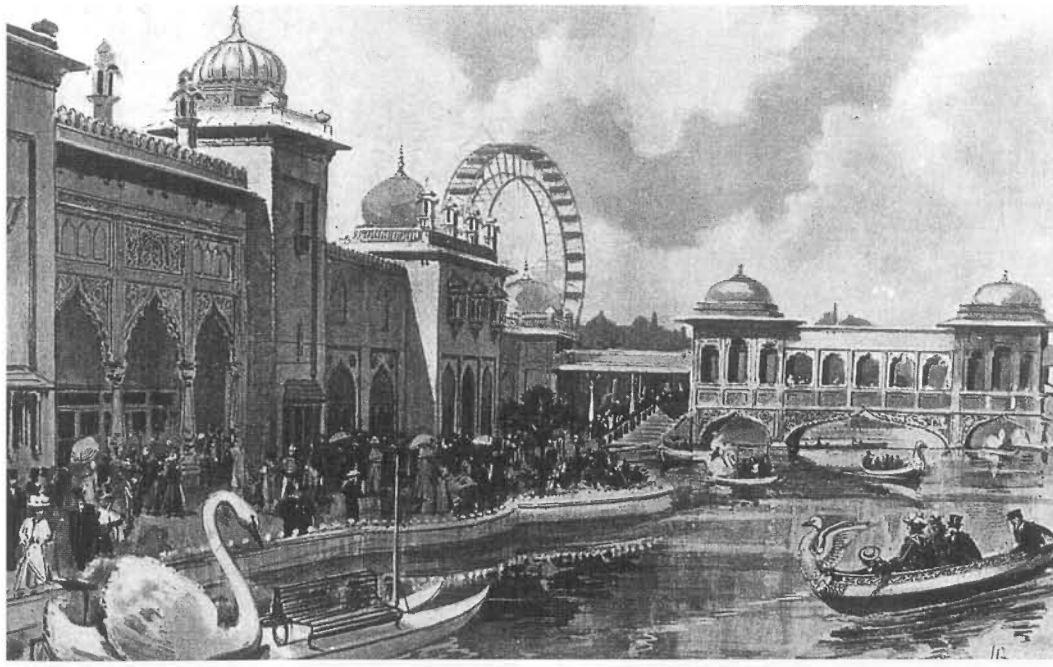

FIG. 11. The Queen's Court at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899. At left is the 'bold Oriental facade' of the Queen's Palace where Queensland's court was located. (State Library of Victoria)

colony as a field for investment following the economic difficulties of recent years. The colony was, it was claimed, now on a more steady path of progress, and its loyalty was blazoned by hundreds of Union Jacks suspended from the roof of the court and by a portrait of Queen Victoria which took 'the place of honour' at the entrance.[61] Queensland's display was applauded as 'one of the finest' ever shown by an Australian colony.[62]

The considerable costs of these displays in London were never seriously questioned, for it was assumed they were of great benefit to the colony and would 'recompense the Government abundantly'.[63] When Executive Commissioner Garrick far exceeded his budget for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, which eventually cost Queensland up to £15,000,[64] he was forgiven, for his government colleagues agreed that 'money was never more properly expended'.[65] Likewise the government agreed that the colony 'got excellent value' for the £17,484 spent later on the Greater Britain Exhibition, which included £758 for exhibiting space alone since this was a commercially-run event.[66] Expenditure on exhibitions elsewhere was, however, not so unanimously applauded and reached nothing like the levels spent in the imperial capital. I focus more closely on these London exhibitions in later chapters.

Exhibitions often came at times when Queensland could ill afford to participate. In 1866, as the colony prepared exhibits for the forthcoming Paris exhibition, it faced a financial crisis due to the involvement of government finances with the failed Agra and Masterman's bank, and a crippling drought lasting from 1865 brought trade almost to a standstill. William Thorpe has shown that despite the euphoria that followed the first major gold strike at Gympie in 1867, Queensland's economy remained depressed until late 1872, when the colony was already maintaining its own annexe at London's annual exhibitions. Late in 1875, as more exhibits were prepared for the Philadelphia exhibition, another severe drought began and the cotton crop 'failed utterly'. This was followed by a commercial recession and trade remained depressed until early 1880, by which time Queensland had taken part in exhibitions at Paris in 1878 and Sydney in 1879-80 — exhibitions, it seemed, were 'pretty well played out'.[67] Thorpe has further shown that the 1880s, generally regarded as a boom time in Australia,

were not unbroken years of prosperity in Queensland. In 1883, 1884 and 1887 unemployed 'mechanics' demonstrated for restrictions on immigration, while in 1884 a depression in north Queensland gave impetus to the northern separation movement. In 1885, as more exhibits were prepared for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, another drought caused widespread stock losses and disrupted goldfields, wool prices fell sharply and an industrial depression brought further unemployment.[68] Moreover, the perceived prosperity of the 1880s was artificially maintained by extensive public borrowing which by the end of the decade gave Queensland the highest per capita public debt of any British colony.

By 1891 British investors were losing faith in a colony where progress had been pushed forward with 'unwise haste'. The withdrawal of credit followed a series of bad seasons and in 1892, when called on to participate in the forthcoming Chicago exhibition, Queensland entered its most serious depression ever, culminating the following year in a banking crisis after its worst floods ever recorded. In April 1892 the government was forced, 'reluctantly', to withdraw from official participation at Chicago.[69] The economy was still far from buoyant and the annual debt interest repayment had risen to more than £1 million by 1899 when the colony sent its grandest-ever display to the Greater Britain Exhibition. This was on the eve of the devastating drought at the turn of the century which caused a deficit of £500,000 by 1901 and was still not over when Queensland took part in the Glasgow exhibition. Such were the vicissitudes of life in a colony troubled by drought, deluge and debt. Despite the perennial inconvenience of exhibitions, only once, at Chicago, did colonial Queensland withdraw from an exhibition for economic reasons.

The demands made on the colony for exhibitions were paralleled at a personal level by the deeds of its exhibition commissioners, of whom 80% were 'Anglo-Colonials' born in Great Britain or Ireland (see Appendix 3).[70] Many of the overseas commissioners were returned colonists: men who had typically gone out to the colony young, made good, then retreated 'home' to Britain to lives of gentility; or former colonial administrators for whom the return to London was inevitable.[71] The first category were mostly absentee pastoralists, merchants and mining magnates, some representing banks, mining companies and other financial enterprises operating in Queensland. The best known of these

FIG. 12. Arthur Hodgson, Queensland's long-time exhibition commissioner, in 1868. He was later knighted for his services to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

'absentees' was the Mount Morgan gold millionaire ('Croesus') William Knox D'Arcy, one of the original shareholders in the famous Mount Morgan syndicate, whose princely lifestyle kept him in the London social columns.[72] Also in this category were agents-general, mostly former parliamentarians, whose presence in London was specifically to represent the colony's interests. The second category included former governors and Queensland's first Premier, Sir Robert Herbert, who on return became Permanent Under Secretary of the Colonial Office from 1871 to 1892 and together with his second cousin, the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, is identified with the imperial expansion of those years.[73]

The regular haunt of such men was the Royal Colonial Institute in central London, 'the recognised common gathering-ground for thoughtful British colonists from every point of the compass', where the proposal for imperial federation was hatched in 1884. Of Queensland's 163 exhibition commissioners, at least 60 were 'Fellows' (either resident or overseas) of the Royal Colonial Institute (see Appendix 3). From 1887

FIG. 13. The architect T.E. Colcutt's design for the Imperial Institute, London, opened in 1893. (*Illustrated London News*, 9 July 1887)

Queensland's returned 'pioneers' also gathered in London for the Annual Queensland Dinners at which they toasted 'The Queen and a United Empire' and savoured the annual musical rendition of 'The Old Bullock Dray'. The doyen of these 'pioneers' was Sir Arthur Hodgson (Fig. 12), a well set up Darling Downs pastoralist and advocate for Queensland from pre-separation days, who was a commissioner for the colony at no less than seven overseas exhibitions.[74] In 1886 Hodgson was knighted for his services as a Royal Commissioner and as general secretary to the Reception (official entertainments) Committee of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, of which he was also a guarantor. Though well respected in English society (his daughters married into the aristocracy), Hodgson was less popular in Queensland when he commented on colonial matters. 'It is not worth while wasting paper on this dotardly Pure Merino', wrote the outspokenly anti-imperial newspaper, the *Boomerang*, in response to Hodgson's patriotic ramblings read at the Colonial Institute. There were mixed feelings about opinionated, anti-democratic 'absentees' who had 'made money by picking Queensland's eyes out'.[75]

Besides contributing to exhibitions, the British colonies were drawn into a high-flown scheme to bring 'The Empire under one Roof' in a permanent museum (Fig. 13). Following several earlier unsuccessful proposals to establish a colonial museum in London from exhibition collections,[76] the Prince of Wales revived the idea in mid-1886 during the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, lest its treasures also be dispersed, and fixed on an Imperial Institute as the principal fund-raising project for the Queen's golden jubilee. His assumption that the colonies would leave their exhibits in London for the proposed institute and contribute to its foundation and maintenance costs met with a cautious response. By January 1887, when the public appeal for funds was launched throughout the Empire, the institute was to be, in the Prince's words, 'an emblem of the unity of the Empire'[77] and was to house British as well as colonial exhibits. Officially promoted as an intelligence bureau for colonial emigration and trade, the institute was seen with some scepticism in Australia as another step towards imperial federation and 'a business arrangement ... for making the colonies dumping grounds for British manufactures'.[78] When Queensland's contribution of £2,029 to the Imperial Institute was finally approved by Parliament in December 1887 the leader of the Opposition, Boyd Morehead, a native-born Australian, objected to colonial taxpayers having to pay 'one

farthing' to 'another fad of Imperialism' and suggested that 'Her Majesty might have put her hand in her own pocket ... to commemorate her Jubilee'. The public appeal throughout the colony raised a mere £68/8/6 for the Prince's pet project.

For colonists like William Brookes, the nonconformist member for North Brisbane, the institute was just a remote 'brick warehouse' whose benefits were 'so indistinct' that they 'could not see them at all'.[79] Further, it was to be run by the same clique who had managed the recent exhibition, the Prince's friends or 'South Kensington gang'. The *Boomerang* found their undignified grab for funds and exhibits for the institute a disgrace to England and added: 'We're very sorry Queensland is in it'.[80] Most of Queensland's exhibits from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition were stored in London until the institute was officially opened in 1893 at South Kensington, though some of the exhibits were borrowed for Melbourne's exhibition of 1888-89. Queensland's court at the institute was maintained with little enthusiasm, as a colonial visitor observed: 'It was the most forlorn and Godforsaken portion of the Institute'.[81] Its contents had become obsolete 'museum specimens' by 1903 when Agent-General Tozer reported that the court was 'hardly ... worthwhile maintaining'.[82] Lacking popular support and vastly over-scaled, the institute itself became, as John MacKenzie puts it, 'a mausoleum of imperial hopes, an expensive liability'.[83] By 1899 the institute was in such financial collapse that the British Government had to take it over.

Colonial loyalties were sometimes sorely tested at exhibitions. At Paris in 1855, the Australians were disappointed to find that the British officials had relegated their exhibits to a meagre corner in a dim gallery. Again at Paris in 1867, the colonies were aggrieved enough by the 'injustice' of their treatment by the British officials to send a memorial to the Colonial Office.[84] At Philadelphia in 1876, it was reported that an 'insolent air of superiority ... marked all the relations of the British Commissioners ... to their colonial *confreres*'. Commissioner Angus Mackay arrived at Philadelphia to find that Richard Daintree's approved plan for the Queensland court had been altered 'by no means for the better' to allow English carpets to be hung on the walls. Mackay, who succeeded in removing this 'unsightly' intrusion, complained that Professor Thomas C. Archer, the British Joint Executive Commissioner for the exhibition, showed himself 'totally oblivious of the existence of Australia, and indeed all the colonies'.[85]

At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition the Australians considered that their wines did not receive fair treatment from the British exhibition officials. In particular, Australian wine-growers were aggrieved by a monopoly over the supply of their wines to the exhibition's refreshment contractors, the lack of a dining room selling exclusively colonial wines and inadequate sampling facilities in the exhibition's bars. This dispute intensified colonial mistrust of the so-called 'South Kensington gang' who managed this and the preceding London exhibitions, a mistrust widely shared in London as newspapers made allegations of the gang's 'princely hospitality', self indulgence and improper connections with exhibition contractors.[86] In October 1886, following public calls for a 'clean sweep' of the South Kensington officials, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, the focus of colonial resentment, was forced to resign from the management of the Imperial Institute.[87] While the Australian colonies kept up a show of untroubled loyalty at the exhibition they were alarmed by the French invasion of the New Hebrides and by British acquiescence in the crisis. This invasion brought not only a stronger French presence in the Pacific, but also deported French criminals. The imperial government's failure to defend the rights of its colonial subjects in the Pacific sparked Australian protests at the Colonial Conference held in London in 1887.

By 1888 when the centennial exhibition opened in Melbourne, Queensland was seen as the most radical of the Australian colonies over its refusal to share in maintaining an imperial naval squadron in Australian waters. (Queensland was the last of the Australian colonies to ratify the imperial naval defence agreement made at the previously mentioned Colonial Conference, not ratifying the agreement until 1891.) More recently, Queensland had rejected the imperial Governor-nominee Sir Henry Arthur Blake, notorious for his 'pacification' work in Ireland (Fig. 14). This had followed a series of showdowns between the Nationalist Premier, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, and the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, culminating in Musgrave's sudden death in October 1888. Queensland's defiance was still an issue of 'national' debate when Thomas MacDonald-Paterson, one of the colony's executive commissioners at the exhibit-

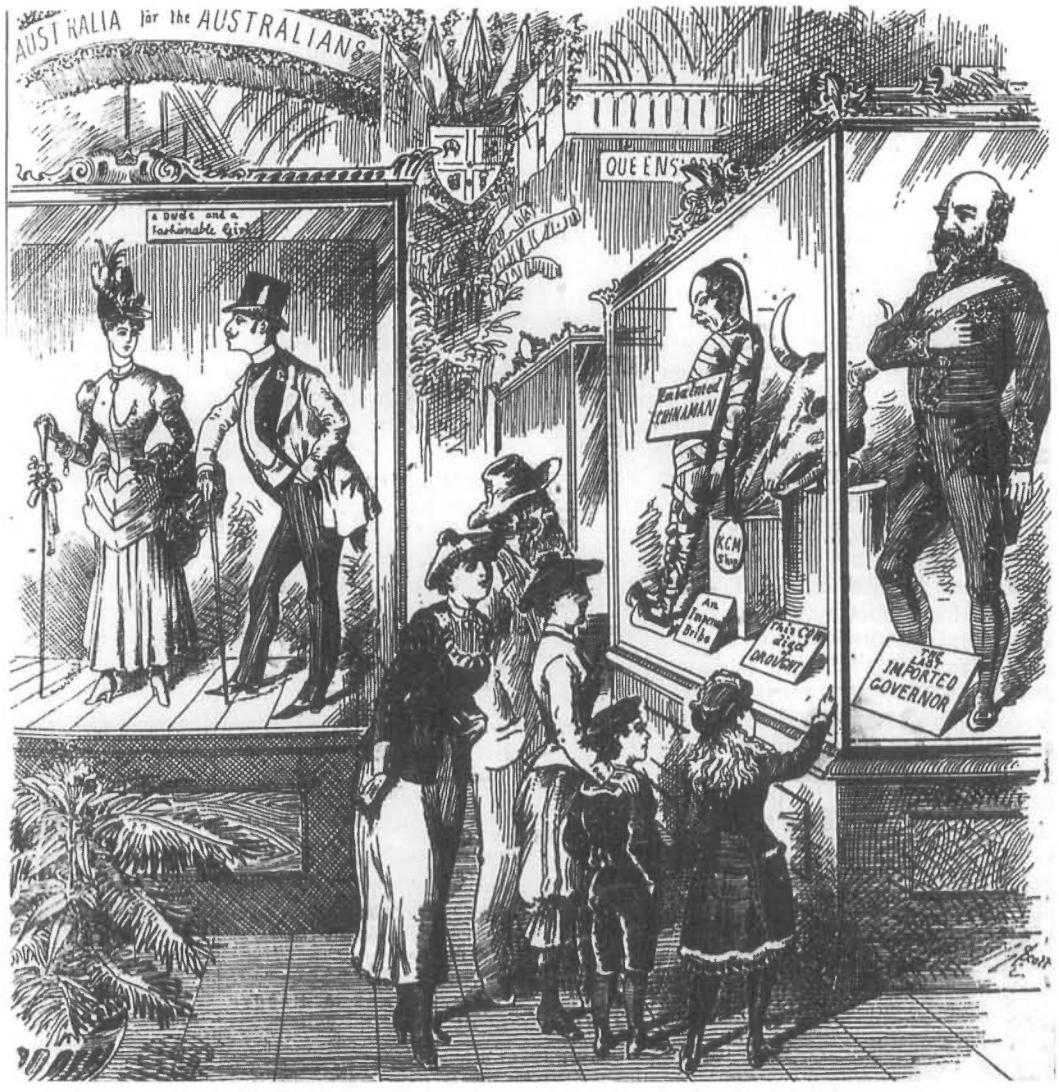

FIG. 14. How the *Boomerang* newspaper saw an 'Exhibition of 1898', illustrating the tensions between Queensland and Britain at the time of Melbourne's centennial exhibition of 1888-89. In the large display case are (right to left): 'The last imported Governor' — an embattled Sir Anthony Musgrave; 'This cow died of drought' — a victim of the current drought; 'An Imperial bribe' — the knighthood received by the former Premier, Samuel Griffith, thereafter seen as an imperialist; and 'Embalmed Chinaman' — an unwanted immigrant whose exclusion from Australia was opposed by Britain. (*Boomerang*, 18 Aug. 1888)

ion and a member of the Opposition, addressed an exhibition luncheon in Melbourne on 29 November 1888, the day after the Victorian Parliament had condemned the actions of its sister colony. In his speech MacDonald-Paterson could not resist an opportunity to applaud Victoria's 'loyal' stand, and added that he believed most Queenslanders were 'in complete sympathy' with Victoria. When news of the speech reached the north, MacDonald-Paterson was promptly asked to resign his exhibition appointment: 'such public utterances' were 'incompatible' with his official post.[88] Despite his protests, his appointment was cancelled on 12 December. The *Boomerang* of 22 December gleefully com-

mented on the incident in a poem entitled 'To a Queensland Commissioner'(p. 8):

> You have earned the 'sack' Mr. MacDonald-P.
> You have failed to perceive how the 'National' tide
> Sets — hourly stronger, more deep and wide —
> A blunder is worse than a crime, don't you see?
> So get off the stage, Mr. MacDonald-P.

The tide of discontent did not turn until after the arrival of a more popular Governor, Sir Henry Norman, in May 1889. In 1899, when Queensland mounted another show of loyalty at the Greater Britain Exhibition and despatched troops to fight an imperial war in South Africa, its sugar industry faced ruin as a result of trade treaties between Great Britain and Continental countries which favoured European bounty-fed beet sugar. Ironically, the exhibition purported to promote trade and strengthen the bonds of 'good feeling' within the Empire. While showing its sugars at the exhibition Queensland was actively supporting the Anti-Bounty League to urge Britain to remove the 'objectionable' bounties so adverse to colonial interests.

Queensland was less ready to cooperate with its sister colonies at exhibitions. Of the nine international exhibitions held in Australia during the colonial era, Queensland participated officially in only four (including one on home ground) and unofficially in three. Queensland had little option in joining with its sister colonies at Australia's first international exhibition, held in Sydney in 1879-80. This exhibition marked Australia's entry into the 'race of progress among the nations' and directed world attention to civilisation's advances at the antipodes. Queensland's court was declared a 'grand success' and won extra points for its 'energetic' Executive Commissioner, Gresley Lukin (Fig. 15), as the first court to be completed in time for the exhibition's opening on 17 September 1879.[89] Lukin, a well-known Brisbane journalist and a founder of the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland, had laboured hard for the court's success since his appointment in February 1879. Already by September, however, there had been grumblings in Parliament about the probable cost of the exhibition, particularly from members of the government 'sub-section' angered by Lukin's journalistic activities.[90] In February 1880 Lukin had to resign from his official post due to insolvency, but this did not stop an outcry over his expenditure when the exhibition closed. Though unpaid for his labours (which no doubt contributed to his financial plight), Lukin's personal expenses as a commissioner were considerable,

FIG. 15. Gresley Lukin, Queensland's Executive Commissioner for the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80, later criticised for his extravagance. (*Queensland Punch*, 1 Nov. 1879)

including six trips to Sydney and over four months' stay, sometimes accompanied by his family, at a Sydney hotel. The government considered his £650 claim for personal expenses far from 'moderate' and criticised him for having purchased or commissioned most of his exhibits

FIG. 16. The Central Avenue of the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81, looking south. The entrance to Queensland's court is in the left foreground, recognisable by its huge pearl-shell trophy. (*Australasian Sketcher*, 23 Oct. 1880)

with public funds instead of borrowing them from public-spirited colonists.[91] The complete exhibition accounts were tabled in Parliament in July 1880, following scrutiny by the Auditor-General who found that Lukin had exceeded the parliamentary vote for the exhibition by some £2,000.[92] Yet the total £8,777 spent on the Sydney exhibition was but a fraction of what the colony spent on London exhibitions, for which exhibits too had to be purchased.

Such parsimony towards Australian exhibitions caused Queensland to vacillate over participation in Melbourne's event opening later in 1880, even though most of the Sydney exhibits could be (and later were) sent on to Melbourne at relatively little cost. Maybe there were feelings of resentment towards Melbourne, as Queensland had proposed to hold its own international exhibition the same year but had to abandon the proposal when it became apparent that foreign exhibitors would not contribute to both events.[93] Queensland's decision to mount a court at Melbourne in 1880-81 (Fig. 16) was not made until March 1880, less than seven months before the exhibition opened. Likewise Queensland's court at Melbourne's centennial exhibition of 1888-89 was only a last-minute decision. This, the largest international exhibition to be held in Australia before Brisbane's World Expo '88, was the climax of celebrations to mark 100 years of British settlement: 'a most useful landmark in the march of Australian progress'.[94] At first Queensland declined to take part, prompting Victoria to urge its sister to reconsider its decision and uphold 'the federal feeling' at such a momentous event. In December 1887, following criticism in Parliament of the 'very supine manner' in which the government was treating the exhibition, it was finally agreed to mount a court.[95] By this time most of the display space was already taken, leaving Queensland with a court of only 5,150 square feet, less than half the size of Tasmania's. Though Queensland's commissioners managed to secure exhibits within six months, it was generally agreed that the cramped court was unworthy of the colony or even, chipped the *Boomerang*, 'a disgrace'[96] (Fig. 17). Additional display space had to be found elsewhere in the exhibition complex, in the general courts and also in a separate Queensland conservatory. Even then, many of Queensland's exhibits, particularly the minerals, could not be shown at all and were returned to Brisbane in their unopened cases.

Queensland was reluctant to contribute to the other international exhibitions held in Australia during the colonial era, being only unofficially represented at Adelaide's jubilee exhibition of 1887-88 and Tasmania's exhibitions of 1891-92 (at Launceston) and 1894-95 (at Hobart), and totally absent from Coolgardie's (1899) and Ballarat's (1900-01) exhibitions (see Appendix 1 for the official names of these exhibitions). There were good reasons, however, for Queensland's lack of enthusiasm for these relatively small events. Adelaide's came too soon after Queensland's costly display at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and exhibitors were unwilling to lend again, and besides, South Australia had just reneged on its share of the Australian upkeep of New Guinea (following the proclaimation of a British protectorate in 1884). Tasmania's exhibitions came about the time of Queensland's most serious depression (which also forced its withdrawal from Chicago), Coolgardie's coincided with the Greater Britain Exhibition, and the invitation to Ballarat's minor affair came 'too late'.[97] Unlike canvassing for population and capital at London exhibitions, the events held in sister colonies could bring no great benefits. The *Queensland Punch* noted sceptically:

> There is an impression that we get some vague indirect sort of return for the expense of keeping the colony before the public at these Southern shows ...[98]

Nor was Queensland more willing to co-operate with its sister colonies at exhibitions overseas in order to intensify the Australian impact and share the substantial costs of exhibiting.[99] There was no point in cooperating with fellow competitors for largesse from London. Victoria, in an attempt to organise a united court at Paris in 1867, staged Australia's first intercolonial exhibition in Melbourne in 1866-67 as a preview of the exhibits bound for Paris. At the Melbourne exhibition, Queensland's exhibits were left unpacked until the afternoon before the opening, when Victoria's Government Botanist, Ferdinand Mueller, came to the rescue and hurriedly set up the Queensland court out of friendship with an exhibitor from Rockhampton, Anthelme Thozet (a botanical collector for Meuller). The Melbourne officials were equally negligent later in forwarding Queensland's exhibits on to Paris: they were carelessly packed, exhibitors' names were lost and some exhibits never left Melbourne. Consequently, the 'great dissatisfaction' felt by many Queensland exhibitors made them wary of exhibiting again

FIG. 17. The cramped Queensland court at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, too small to show all the colony's exhibits. Flower paintings by Ellis Rowan can be seen on the far wall, behind the mineral exhibits. (National Library of Australia)

and the government would not participate in the next intercolonial exhibition, held in Sydney in 1870 preparatory to the London event of 1871, without a 'guarantee' from New South Wales that Queensland's exhibits would be safely despatched to London.[100]

At Paris in 1867 the Australian colonies made a token 'facade' of united action, in the form of a colonnade of their wool bales (Fig. 18) making a 'unique' entrance to all the Victorian, Queensland and South Australian courts. For the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876, Victoria again attempted to organise a united court, but only Tasmania was willing to cooperate overseas in what was seen as a scheme of 'aggrandisement' to show Victoria's manufacturing superiority over its sister colonies.[101] Along with Western Australia, Queensland declined even to take part in the Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition held in Melbourne in 1875 as a 'Colonial rehearsal' for Philadelphia. The Victorian commissioners eventually had to abandon their scheme with much regret:

> ... each Australian colony will indulge in a rivalry with its neighbours, which, although friendly and amicable, may somewhat militate against the effect which might have been expected from the efforts of a combined Australia.[102]

Queensland would not cooperate later in proposals to erect separate Australian pavilions at the Paris exhibitions of 1878 and 1889, though the colony had no intention of participating in the latter anyway following an official boycott by Britain (and other European monarchies) because this exhibition marked the centenary of the French Revolution. Intercolonial jealousies again thwarted a united court at London in 1886. For Chicago's exhibition of 1893 New South Wales made a valiant stand to 'carry out the spirit of Federation' at an exhibition, proposing that the Australian colonies exhibit under the 'supreme control' of its Executive Commissioner. Finding

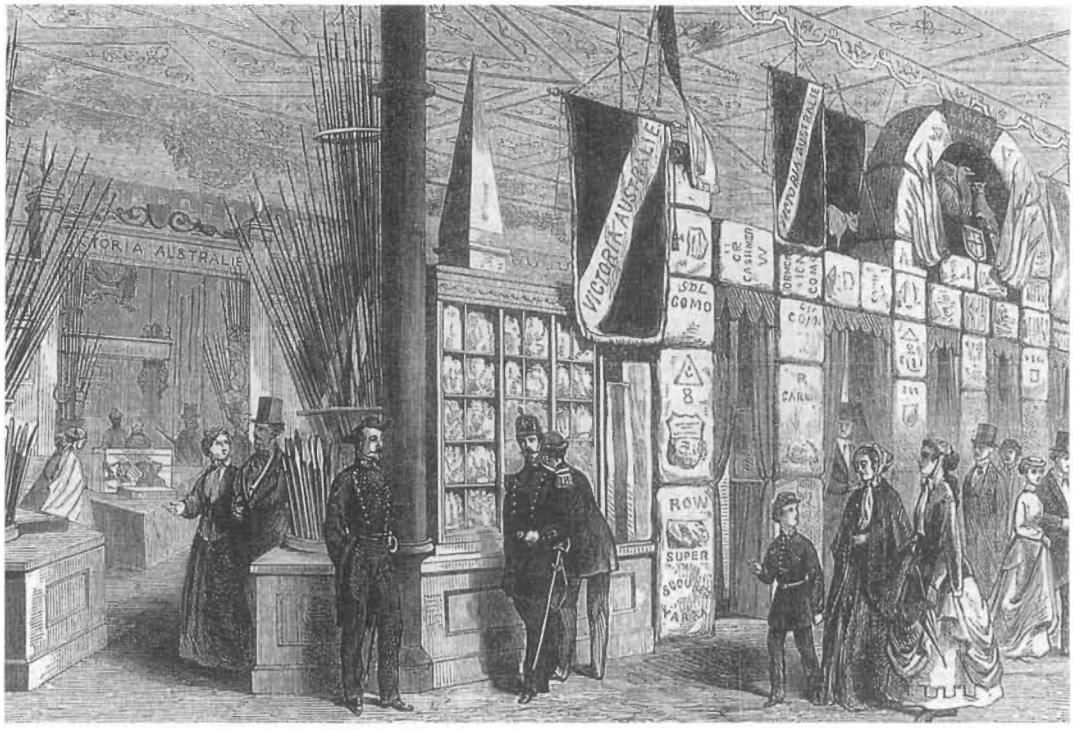

FIG. 18. The 'unique' entrance to the Australian courts at the Paris exhibition of 1867 — a colonnade of wool bales from three colonies. (*Illustrated London News*, 8 June 1867)

little support for the proposal, Queensland again opted to act independently until its eventual withdrawal from Chicago. There New South Wales, the only Australian colony to exhibit officially, occupied its own pavilion called 'Australia House' and assumed its 'proper rôle, as the mother Colony and the gracious standard-bearer of Australia'[103] — as news broke of the bank failures in eastern Australia. A plea by Victoria for a joint Australian court at Paris in 1900 went unheeded when most of the colonies withdrew from the exhibition, leaving only Western Australia to exhibit officially. Finally at Glasgow in 1901 the two mining giants, Queensland and Western Australia, competed fiercely for the attention of British investors. United action at exhibitions, then, was as unattainable as attempts to establish reciprocal trade agreements among the colonies.

Intracolonial jealousies also surfaced at exhibitions, particularly the enduring resentment felt by north Queensland towards the south. The Rockhampton district contributed a large assortment of exhibits for the Paris exhibition of 1867, including about 350 timber samples collected by the local botanist, Anthelme Thozet. Thozet also collected samples of Aboriginal foods to accompany a booklet, *Roots, Tubers, Bulbs and Fruits, used as Vegetable Foods by the Aborigines of North Queensland*, prepared especially for the exhibition. Distressed later to find that some exhibits, including Thozet's booklet, never reached Paris and that his timber and Aboriginal food samples were shown under the name of 'a Brisbane pet', Walter Hill, the Rockhampton exhibitors accused the Queensland commissioners of 'shabbiness'. Arthur Hodgson, the commissioner who had set up the court at Paris, responded that the blame more justly lay with the Melbourne exhibition officials who had so shamefully neglected Queensland's exhibits (though the Queensland commissioners were also to blame for not making better arrangements there).[104]

Another quarrel with the north erupted in 1886 when the Townsville Chamber of Commerce wanted its pamphlet, *Statistics for the Municipality and District of Townsville for the Year 1866*

up to the Year 1885, to be distributed in the Queensland court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. The pamphlet had been written by William Coote, the energetic secretary of the Northern Separation League, and included a paragraph on the league's current scheme to collect 10,000 signatures for a petition to the Queen. Much to the frustration of the separationists, Agent-General Garrick refused to distribute the pamphlet in the court, claiming it lacked government approval, but this did not deter them from despatching their petition to London in July 1886, during the exhibition, and campaigning in Britain. In 1887 the Colonial Office rejected the separationists' case, declaring that the issue had to be resolved by the Queensland Parliament.[105]

Finally in 1897 Queensland held its own (and until 1988, only) international exhibition. From its genesis in a public meeting on 2 September 1895, it was clear that this would not be a state-sponsored event. Indeed the initiative came from the veteran Australian exhibition organiser, Jules Joubert (Fig. 19), an early champion of the Sydney international exhibition and later promoter of exhibitions in New Zealand, India and more recently, at Launceston (1891-92) and Hobart (1894-95). His claim to be able run exhibitions 'on the soundest of principles' with neither deficits nor 'red tape'[106] made good sense in Queensland at a time of restraint in government spending. With the support of some of Brisbane's leading businessmen, the Queensland International Exhibition Company was formed on 26 September 1895 to implement Joubert's scheme. Its capital, of £10,000 in £1 shares, was largely contributed by Brisbane citizens each holding one or two shares, but Joubert himself was sensible enough to hold shares only at the company's formation.[107] As General Manager of the exhibition Joubert then hired Brisbane's existing Exhibition Grounds and Building at Bowen Park from the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland, and purchased 'temporary' annexes from his recent Hobart exhibition. But the success of his Brisbane exhibition was soon jeopardised by its lack of government patronage which proved discouraging to outside exhibitors. Moreover, the Queensland Government left it too late to arrange the appointment of a Royal Commission in Britain to secure international standing and wide publicity for the event, an advantage enjoyed by other Australian exhibitions.

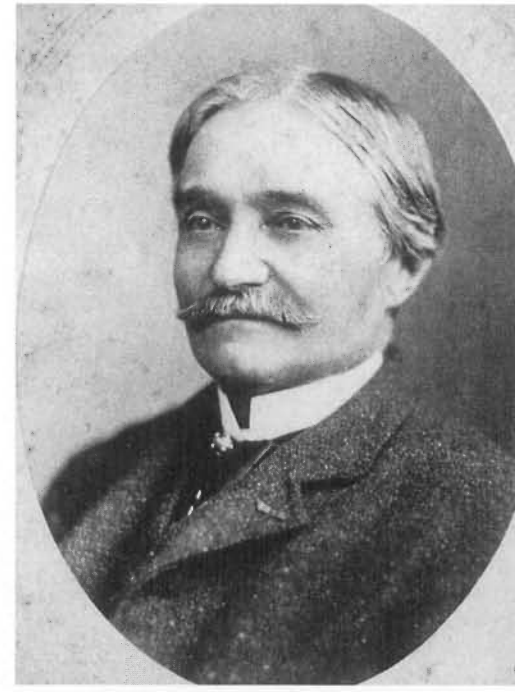

FIG. 19. The veteran Australian exhibition organiser, Jules Joubert, who was General Manager of the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales)

What the government did provide were a series of three official courts proclaiming the success of its policies on mining, agriculture and education (the mining court was destined for another showing overseas), and Aboriginal amusements offering both spectacle and propaganda. The government also contributed to the costs of freight and display space for district exhibits, especially exhibits from the north. (The Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions, by contrast, received substantial government support — for their buildings, exhibits and for making-good their deficits.) When the Queensland International Exhibition opened on 5 May 1897 (Fig. 20), its Chairman of Directors, the Brisbane merchant Thomas Finney, could boast that it had been achieved 'without a penny' of direct government support and this was why its opening ceremony lacked the 'pomp and circumstance' of the state openings of the Sydney and Melbourne events.[108] The Brisbane exhibition also lacked much of the usual exhibition rhetoric, being without a cantata or even an ode. With its electric installation late for the opening (which left exhibits plunged in

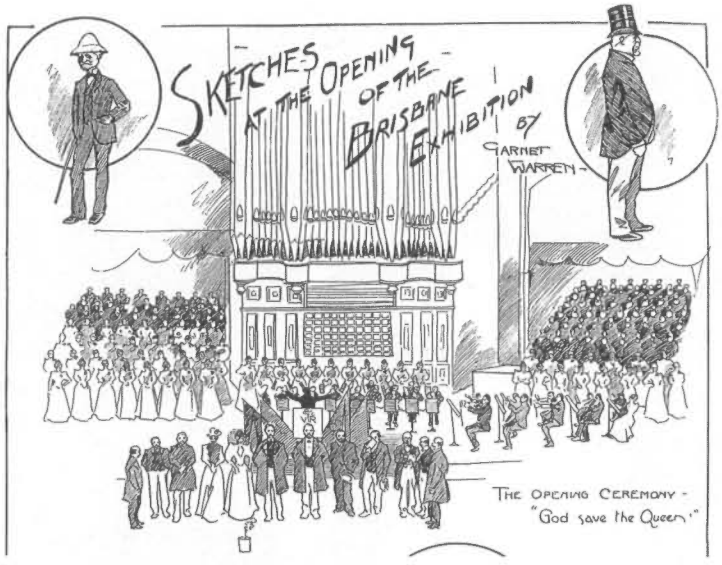

FIG. 20. The opening of the Queensland International Exhibition in the concert hall of the Exhibition Building at Bowen Park, Brisbane, on 5 May 1897. The exhibition was opened by Queensland's Governor, Lord Lamington. (*Queenslander*, 15 May 1897)

darkness) and many of the overseas exhibits also late, the exhibition proved a disappointment to most visitors, though its mining court and bush-house were acclaimed its best attractions. Exhibits from sister colonies were conspicuous by their absence, with only New Zealand contributing an official court, and in the absence of many foreign exhibits 'the lion's share' of display space was taken by British manufacturers (or their local agents) who showed everything 'from a needle to a steam engine'.[109]

Faced with increasing financial problems, the directors appealed to the government for belated support to keep the exhibition open after the first month. The government agreed to purchase the annexes for £1,000, a fraction of the £3,500 the exhibition company claimed it had spent on them,[110] and more live entertainments were offered. But attendances remained low until the final week when Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition (held in conjunction with the international event) brought an influx of country visitors to town. By the time the international exhibition closed on 14 August, the total attendances for its three-month duration were only 220,814, of which 72,000 were during the three days of the agricultural exhibition. When one compares the more than a million attendances at Sydney's and Melbourne's exhibitions, including the two million-odd at the 1888-89 exhibition, it is not surprising that a contemporary dismissed Brisbane's as a 'ghastly show'.[111] (Its ratio of attendances to the colony's population was 45%, whereas the ratios for the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions were over 150%. It should be conceded, however, that Brisbane's event was disadvantaged by its remoteness from much of the colony's population and by the decentralised railways which do not converge on Brisbane.) There was no ceremony to mark the passing of Brisbane's exhibition and Joubert seems to have left the city quietly, his exhibition career all but over. The Queensland International Exhibition Company went into voluntary liquidation in November 1897, still owing rent to the National Association and adding to the association's financial troubles, which resulted in its surrender of the Exhibition Building to the government soon afterwards.

In this chapter I have shown how colonial Queensland's involvement in exhibitions varied from wholehearted support for London exhibitions to more sparing support for Australian exhibitions, including the one on home ground. This support for Britain and British interests at exhibitions was the price that Queensland paid for economic dependence, which by the end of the 1880s produced a huge public debt. But British attempts at this time to 'consolidate' the Empire sparked a nationalist response in Queensland and its defiance became a 'national' issue during the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. The economic crisis of the early 1890s, however, tightened the bonds of dependence and suppressed nationalist sentiment, and at the end of the decade the colony made its grandest-ever display in London. Participation in Australian exhibitions brought none of the perceived benefits of London exhibitions, while cooperation with sister colonies at overseas exhibitions proved unattainable. Hence exhibitions effectively chart the course of Queensland's increasing dependence on Britain, and also its more ambiguous relationship with its sister colo-

FIG. 21. 'A museum of curiosities' — Queensland's court at the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81. The exhibits are (left to right): the fibres trophy, the pearl-shell trophy and natural history specimens. Ornamenting the walls are live staghorn and elkhorn ferns, while littering the floor are macrozamia plants and clam-shells. (La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria)

nies, finally resolved in 1901 with federation. Thereafter Queensland contributed to joint Australian exhibits, first at London's Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 and San Francisco's Panama-Pacific Exhibition of 1915, and later at the imperial exhibitions at Wembley in 1924-25 and Glasgow in 1938.[112]

CHAPTER 2

'RAW PRODUCTS OF NATURE IN BULK'

Colonial Queensland soon became identified at exhibitions with its vast storehouse of natural products and the produce of its staple industries. These exhibits were remarkably consistent during 50 years in the predominance of raw products over local arts and manufactures. With its tropical exotica and minerals, Queensland's court at Melbourne in 1880-81 was 'a museum of curiosities'[113] (Fig. 21) compared with the other Australian courts that could boast a veneer of culture and the products of burgeoning manufacturing industries. Applying for space for the colony at the forthcoming Chicago exhibition, the Premier Sir Samuel Griffith wrote that 'the exhibits from Queensland will probably consist for the most part of raw products of nature in bulk'.[114] In this chapter I look at the selection of exhibits to show what signified colonial progress at exhibitions and what was hidden from view. The exhibits provide glimpses of a frontier society: white, materialistic, masculinist and brash, and economically dependent on Britain. I also

look at the presentation and handling of exhibits, which by world standards were unadventurous and even amateurish. Yet Queensland's courts were applauded for their distinctiveness befitting 'the push and vigour' of a young colony,[115] and were never criticised for their want of interest or for the blatant commercialism (or 'shoppiness') that often marred the displays of industrialised nations.

Economic dependence on Britain determined not only where Queensland exhibited but also what was exhibited. The exhibits reflected the varying needs for British investment as the century progressed: cotton was dominant in the 1860s; sugar, wool and minerals in the 1870s and 1880s; then minerals became increasingly dominant so that by the end of the century Queensland's contributions to exhibitions were essentially large collections of minerals. Since British investment in Australia was directed to the production and transport of raw materials and foodstuffs for the imperial market, there were good reasons for showing these rather than manufactures that might have been seen as competing with British goods.

At the Brisbane preview of Queensland's first display at London in 1862, Dr William Hobbs explained that he and his fellow commissioners had aimed chiefly 'to collect those articles ... that are usually classified as *Raw Materials*, and many of which can be produced in this colony in almost unlimited quantities'.[116] Thereafter Queensland was represented at exhibitions as a 'young giant', the youngest of the Australian colonies by some years, so richly endowed by nature that the colonists were preoccupied with 'picking up the riches ... at their feet' and 'bringing the raw material into marketable shape' instead of making progress in arts or manufactures.[117] In 1885 Queensland's commissioners for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition explained that their 'chief object' was 'to prove to the world the immense metallic, mineral and agricultural resources' of their colony, adding that 'in the machinery line the colony will probably take a back seat'. Later reporting on Queensland's court at this event, the commissioners wrote:

> To the casual observer the ... court may not be so attractive ... as those of older and more wealthy communities; but it will assuredly demonstrate to the capitalist ... the magnitude of our mineral wealth, and of our unequalled resources in almost every field of investment ... and which now only await development at their hands.[118]

In 1892 Queensland's proposed commissioners for the Chicago exhibition recommended that their exhibits 'eliminate ... all machinery and nearly all manufactured goods'.[119] Finally at Glasgow in 1901 the *British Australasian* (the newspaper read by Australians in Britain) remarked that: 'The Queensland collection is practically one of minerals; no attempt is made to represent the various interests of the State as a whole'.[120] Hence Queensland's displays at exhibitions conformed to what was expected of an economically dependent and under-developed colony, unlike Victoria's, which, with their predominance of arts and manufactures, were likened to British displays (Fig. 22).

Queensland's exhibition commissioners were appointed above all to represent the economic concerns of the colony. Of the 163 commissioners appointed throughout the colonial era and often to successive exhibitions (see Appendix 3): 56 had known financial interests in the pastoral industry, 35 in the mining industry, 16 in agriculture, and 35 were involved in business or finance (as company directors, bankers, merchants, agents or accountants). Of the latter category, many were directly involved in the transfer of British capital to public and private enterprise in the colony. In addition, three of the commissioners were shipping magnates or agents involved in the transfer of people and commodities. These 'Distinguished Persons', as commissioners were sometimes called, represented the colony's ruling class as well as its economic elite: no less than 61 were one-time members of Parliament in Australia (that is, in Queensland or New South Wales), 34 were one-time senior public servants in Queensland, 15 were legal practitioners (including judges), and 6 were one-time governors, acting or lieutenant governors or governors' secretaries. The commissioners also represented the colony's intellectual elite, for many were members of its leading scientific societies: the Philosophical Society and its successor the Royal Society, the Acclimatisation Society and the Royal Geographical Society. Others were trustees of the Queensland Museum or accredited members of learned societies overseas. Further, as I have noted in Chapter 1, 80% of commissioners were British-born and at least 60, as members of the Royal Colonial Institute, were avowed imperialists.

The selection of commissioners varied only according to the economic concerns of the day: until the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 commissioners with pastoral interests predomi-

FIG. 22. The Victorian court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80, with a predominance of arts and manufactures. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

nated, but from the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 the mining men became so numerous that they took over Queensland's show at the Greater Britain Exhibition and later at Glasgow. Significantly, of the 163 commissioners, only 5 were manufacturers, a mere fraction of the band of manufacturers who ran Victoria's exhibitions. Even scarcer were any commissioners specifically representing cultural concerns, such as artists, writers or architects, as were appointed by sister colonies. Queensland's commissioners, then, represented material progress and ruling values. In the words of the commissioners for the Philadelphia exhibition, they 'carefully avoided entering into either the political or social aspects' of the colony, but aimed, rather, to promote its 'vast avenues ... for the investment of capital and the employment of labour'.[121] And like Matthew Swinburne, a Darling Downs pastoralist appointed a commissioner for the Greater Britain Exhibition, they shared a 'boundless faith' in the future of the colony and were 'ever ready' to sing its praises.[122]

By consistently representing a resource-rich frontier, Queensland's commissioners ran the risk of damning their colony as 'half-civilised'(as oriental races were often damned at exhibitions), for Michael Adas has shown that technological and scientific achievement was central to the 19th-century gauge of human progress.[123] It was to the machinery annexes that exhibition-goers went to see the most striking evidence of advanced civilisation. Surveying the mammoth steam engines at the Great Exhibition, Queen Victoria was overcome with admiration for 'the greatness of man's mind, which can devise ... such wonderful inventions'[124] (Fig. 23). On the other hand the art galleries at exhibitions were testing-grounds of national taste and cultural

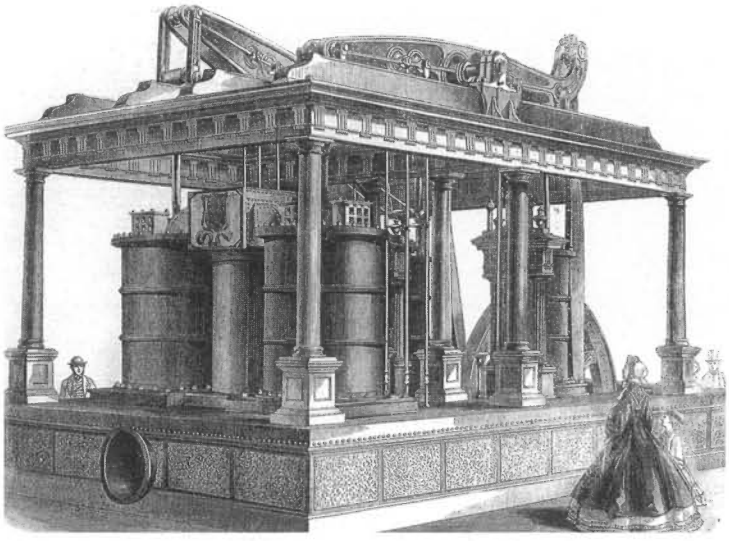

FIG. 23. British blast engines in the industrial department of the London exhibition of 1862. Here, wrote the Australian exhibition organiser, John George Knight, were machines 'so entirely the creations of intense thought, that they appear almost to think themselves'. (*Illustrated London News*, 20 Sept. 1862)

attainment, especially at Paris exhibitions where French and British artists vied for supremacy. Human achievement was often accorded an official position of supremacy at exhibitions. At Paris in 1867 the exhibits were arranged in concentric galleries that 'progressed' from raw products in the second outermost gallery to fine arts near the central courtyard. Similarly the original classification system at Philadelphia placed raw products at the base, with categories ascending according to the application of human skill. At Melbourne in 1880-81 gold medals were reserved for arts and exhibits showing the 'application of new and useful principles' or 'great skill in manufacture, invention or design', hence raw products, even those that had received a First Order of Merit, were ineligible (much to Queensland's dissatisfaction).

By showing raw products over arts and manufactures at these events, how could Queensland attest its place in the onward march of progress, especially to prospective investors or immigrants? These raw product exhibits portrayed Queensland as a land of opportunity with resources to sustain any number of investors or immigrants — resources enough to 'raise a dead speculator from his grave', claimed the exhibition propagandist Horace Earle.[125] But these raw product exhibits signified more than potential wealth, for they showed how Queensland's colonists could exploit its vast resources with the aid of science and technology. Other exhibits such as maps and photographs recorded civilisation's advance by way of towns, artesian bores, railways and telegraphs, etc., while books, newspapers and educational exhibits testified to cultural progress. All these were proof that colonists were transforming 'a land by civilisation's step untrod'. Stark contrasts were drawn at exhibitions between the 'barbarism' of Australia's first Aboriginal inhabitants deemed incapable of exploiting its resources, and the civilisation of 'progressive' colonists. I look more closely at these exhibits in later chapters.

This insistence on showing raw products was more a conscious choice than a reflection of conditions in the colony. The historian Geoffrey Bolton asserts that in 1870 when exhibits were sought for the forthcoming London exhibition, Queensland was 'lamentably short' of artists and its 'artistic output was mainly confined to the discreetly amateurish watercolours of a few enthusiastic ladies'.[126] There is no evidence to support this assertion. Among those active at the time were Auschar C. Chauncy and Joseph Augustus Clarke, both professionally trained in Europe, and the visiting Sydney artist Joseph Backler, portraitist of Governor Blackall. And among the so-called 'enthusiastic ladies' was Eliza Hodgson, a pupil of the Sydney artist Conrad Martens and wife of the long-time exhibition commissioner Arthur Hodgson, though her work was never shown publicly. Of course in later years there were many more artists who could have represented the colony's cultural progress, yet the only local artists to have a consistent presence at international exhibitions were Anthony Alder and Oscar Fristrom, the former more in his capacity as a taxidermist and artificer. Only once, at Melbourne in 1888-89, did Queensland show enough art works to attract the praise of art critics,

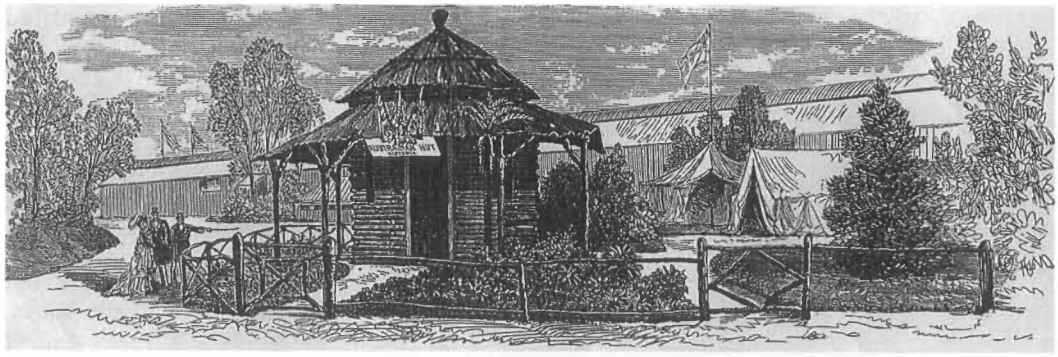

FIG. 24. Victoria's bush hut and surveyors' camp at the Paris exhibition of 1878. This recreation of colonial life was probably the inspiration of George Collins Levey, secretary to Victoria's commissioners for the exhibition. (*International Exhibition at Paris, 1878. Report of the Commissioners for Victoria*)

but their praise was reserved for the works of a visiting flower painter from Victoria, Ellis Rowan, already well known to Melbourne audiences.[127]

Nor did Queensland lack skilled artisans, as proved by its fine exhibits of local joinery and furniture at international exhibitions, though these were intended to show the beauty of Queensland's timbers more than the skills of its artisans. Other Australian colonies, by contrast, were proud to show the work of their artists and artisans at exhibitions. Victoria's court at Vienna had some 'conspicuous' landscapes by Eugen von Guérard, which proved that in its 'haste to get riches' it did not 'ignore ... those pursuits which have an educating and refining influence on the mind'.[128] Later Victoria could boast 'a very creditable picture gallery' in its court at the Greater Britain Exhibition. Queensland's lack of art exhibits could be seen as a tactical oversight, for the exhibition organiser R.E.N. Twopeny observed that 'no parts of the International Exhibitions were so well attended as the Art Galleries' and these were what caught the eye of Brisbane's Nehemiah Bartley when he visited the Sydney and Melbourne events.[129] Public interest in genre pictures was seemingly insatiable and caused heated debate over the awarding of art prizes at the Melbourne exhibitions.

Likewise, Queensland's constant plea that its manufactures were 'of necessity' deficient compared with those of its 'elder sisters'[130] was not entirely accurate, for even country towns had a range of manufacturing industries, from breweries to foundries, which supplemented imported goods more than is so today. Already by the 1870s Queensland foundries, such as John Walker and Company of Maryborough and Smellie and Company of Brisbane, were competing with southern and British firms to supply the massive sugar and mining machinery needed increasingly in the colony. Manufacturing expanded rapidly in the 1880s when Queensland's factory workforce almost trebled to 16,000, representing a more rapid increase than occurred in the southern colonies during this decade. The manufacturing sector continued to expand in the 1890s, particularly in Brisbane, prompting the introduction of factory legislation in 1896 and 1900.

Also absent from Queensland's courts was a balanced representation of everyday life in the colony. The domestic domain, the contributions of women and other disenfranchised groups, and the colony's simmering inter-racial tensions were kept peripheral to the march of progress. The photographs of Queensland's pioneering exhibitor, Richard Daintree, were said to give a 'new chum' a foretaste of life in the colony but as Ian Sanker notes, the photographs show that Daintree 'was more interested in geology, scenery and industry, than in people'.[131] Women and children are almost totally absent from Daintree's record of life in the colony where, he wrote, the evils of English society 'do not obtain' and 'pauperism is unknown'.[132] Yet other nations attempted to portray everyday life at exhibitions. Among the most popular exhibits at the Great Exhibition were a series of 'ethnographical' figures 'illustrative of foreign costumes and manners'. At Paris in 1867 the first of the so-called cultural exhibits were introduced, *The History of Labour* which traced human labour from prehistoric times to the present, and a section

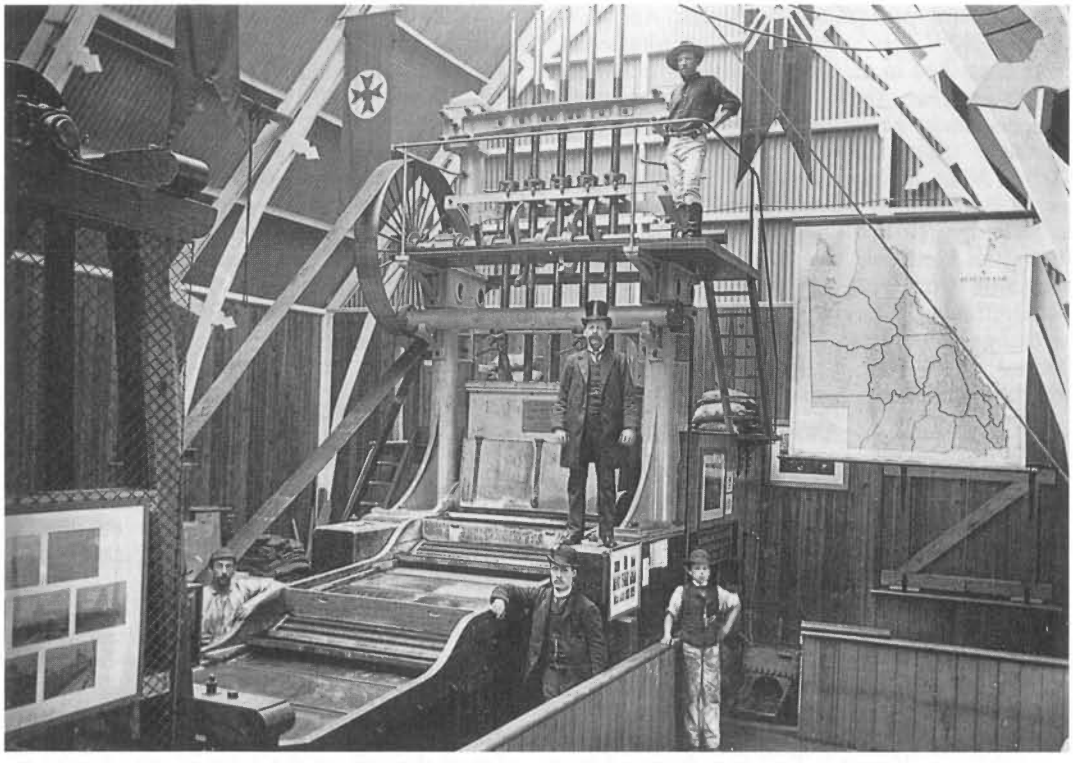

FIG. 25. Queensland's pioneer hut at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. Here a gold battery was operated under the supervision of the engineer J.N. Longden (standing in the centre, presumably), and alluvial gold washing was demonstrated by a Queensland miner, Henry Aldridge (standing above). (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

called *Social and Moral Problems*. Later at Philadelphia tableaux of the American frontier, including a New England farmer's log-house and a Western hunter's camp, were recreated to show the progress of American civilisation over the past century. At Paris in 1878 many nations offered tableaux of (albeit idealised) 'peasant' life in their pavilions on the *Rue des Nations* (an innovation of this exhibition) and ethnic amusements in association with their kiosks and cafés in the exhibition's pleasure grounds.

Here Victoria was the first Australian colony to use a full-sized replica of a bush hut and surveyors' camp to give visitors a 'peep' at colonial life (Fig. 24). Victoria's hut, disguising a cellar of colonial wines, had live cockatoos chattering from perches under the eaves and was surrounded by a garden of Australian plants. At the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 South Australia was the next to recreate a pioneer hut, as part of a more ambitious Australian 'bush scene' incorporating animals and life-sized figures of colonists and Aboriginal people. At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition New South Wales, South Australia and Queensland all had pioneer huts, but Queensland's was an over-sized structure devoid of any homely props. Instead it housed an operating gold battery and inside its walls were covered with plans, maps and photographs of the colony's goldfields, and its noise level was anything but homely (Fig. 25). Significantly, none of these pioneer huts made any acknowledgment of women — the 19th-century Australian bush tradition was strongly masculinist.

The Colonial and Indian was the only exhibition at which Queensland's commissioners made a concerted attempt to represent (albeit male) pioneer life. Besides the pioneer hut, they showed a series of stockmen's saddles, pack-bags, whips and boots, a bullock dray, a model of a bushman's hut made by the Bowen gardener William Shann and a model of a stockyard made by the Central

Queensland pastoralist Frederick Archibald Blackman.[133] Also at this exhibition, pioneer life was described in an essay written especially by Price Fletcher, the agricultural editor of the *Queenslander* newspaper, one of a series of 15 'popular' essays edited by Fletcher for this event. Titled *Hints to Immigrants: A Practical Essay upon Bush-Life in Queensland*, Fletcher's essay offered 'practical' advice on all aspects of colonial life from selecting land to making bush furniture from packing cases and flour bags. (Regrettably, the advice was not accompanied by actual exhibits.) Later at the Queensland International Exhibition no attempt was made to represent colonial life or the early history of the colony.

Women were conspicuously absent from Queensland's courts,[134] yet they were often officially recognised at exhibitions. Philadelphia had the first separate women's pavilion to be erected at an international exhibition, while the Sydney and Melbourne events had separate 'Ladies' Courts', but all these made only token recognition of women through handicrafts. More substantial recognition came later at the Chicago exhibition which set up a Board of Lady Managers early in the planning process. Apart from organising a Women's Building designed by a woman architect and housing the most extensive women's exhibits ever assembled, the Lady Managers planned an International Congress of Representative Women to address such 'great themes' as women's suffrage, moral and social reform, even dress reform. Chicago's Lady Managers sought cooperation from all quarters of the globe and in March 1892 wrote to Queensland to request that a women's commission be appointed to secure 'a full and representative exhibit of the artistic, industrial, educational and philanthropic work' of its women.[135] Premier Griffith was unwilling to grant this request when Queensland had already withdrawn from the exhibition,[136] and the colony's only response was to forward reports on women's philanthropic work.[137] (New South Wales, by contrast, appointed a women's commission and had a court in the Women's Building at Chicago.)

It is hardly surprising that women were excluded from Queensland's exhibition displays when they were also excluded from its major productive industries (pastoral, mining and sugar). As Kay Saunders and Katie Spearritt point out, the role of women in Queensland was not as contributors to productive wealth, but as contributors to population increase. Queensland women consistently contributed the highest crude birth rate of all the Australian colonies.[138] There were no women among Queensland's 236 exhibition commissioner appointments, though female exhibition commissioners were not unknown elsewhere, and there is no evidence that women's organisations in Queensland were ever approached to collect exhibits. Local women were not properly represented at an exhibition outside Queensland until the First Australian Exhibition of Women's Work, held in Melbourne in 1907. The neglect of women at exhibitions was a sore point for an anonymous correspondent to the *Queenslander* newspaper who enquired in September 1895 whether a women's section, or even a women's committee, was to be included in the forthcoming Queensland International Exhibition.[139] A women's committee later ensured that a women's court was included, but its cramped space and predictable handicraft exhibits confirmed the subordinate status of Queensland's women, outside the male preserves of politics, well-paid employment or even legal protection.

Moreover, Queensland's courts at overseas exhibitions made no special gestures to women visitors throughout the colonial era, despite the constant demand for young female emigrants to meet the colony's shortage of domestic labour and to redress the gender imbalance outside the towns. Given that departing emigrants were repeatedly assured of 'the husbands waiting for them in sunny Queensland', one might ask why some fine representations of colonial manhood — some wax figures — were never shown in the courts to lure female visitors to greener pastures. Queensland's modest stall at London's Women's International Exhibition of 1900 was not officially planned but the inspiration of an energetic emigration agent, August Larsen, who was later threatened with dismissal for his pains when one of the emigrants recruited at the exhibition claimed he had 'misrepresented' her future prospects in the colony.[140] Larsen's experiment was not repeated at the Glasgow exhibition, which had a large women's section.

Though Queensland rarely represented cultural and domestic life at international exhibitions, local agricultural exhibitions often included classes for fine arts and 'Women's industries' (or sometimes sewing was subsumed into 'Clothing' or 'Schools' work') (Fig. 26). Queensland's First Intercolonial Exhibition of

FIG. 26. The south transept of Brisbane's Second Intercolonial Exhibition of 1877. Locally crafted leather frames (foreground) and a patchwork quilt (on the far wall) supplement the displays by local merchants. (John Oxley Library, State library of Queensland)

1876 also included a class for 'Apparatus and application of liberal arts'. The National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland's later exhibitions in Brisbane had well-contested classes for furniture and artisans' work, and in the 1880s and 1890s fine arts sections were added, requiring the addition of an art gallery to Brisbane's (first) Exhibition Building in 1887. Likewise the Queensland International Exhibition had sections for fine and applied arts as well as the women's court. It seems, then, that such non-commodity resources could be acknowledged at home, but were not important enough, or good enough, to be shown elsewhere.

Manufactures also had a better showing at home than elsewhere. Richard Daintree could boast that Toowoomba and Drayton's exhibition of 1873 included 'excellent' agricultural implements from the Toowoomba Foundry.[141] Such locally-made implements were shown at agricultural exhibitions throughout the colony, one of the keenest exhibitors in this class being the Brisbane agricultural implement maker Alexander McLean who exhibited from the 1870s until the turn of the century (later as A. McLean and Company). Among the varied displays of local manufactures at the Queensland International Exhibition were food and beverages, clothing and woollen goods, furniture, carriages, pottery, electrical equipment, even white ant exterminator. The most impressive of these local manufactures were shown by John Walker and Company's foundry and engineering works of Maryborough. Besides 'a mass' of sugar and mining machinery, the company showed a 56-ton (class B15) goods locomotive, one of its current

FIG. 27. Queensland's court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80, looking towards the transept. Here cloths from the Queensland Woollen Manufacturing Company can be seen on the stand in the centre and Richard Daintree's photographs on the panel on the right. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales)

contract for 30 locomotives for the Queensland Railways. This locomotive, hailed as the 'finest specimen of a steam engine' in the exhibition, won Walker's a gold medal.[142] But at exhibitions outside Queensland there was nothing to be gained by 'invidious comparisons' of local manufactures (intended for the home market) against those of more industrialised neighbours or suppliers.[143] Such comparisons occurred when woollen cloths from the newly-established Queensland Woollen Manufacturing Company of Ipswich were first shown at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80: they were 'not considered by the judges to have the perfection visible in the exhibits of the other colonial courts'[144] (Fig. 27).

Queensland's courts at exhibitions lacked consistency of design, achieving a distinctiveness more from their exhibits. These were generally arranged with little artistry, as was observed at Paris in 1867 (Fig. 28):

> ... we are content to display our goods ranged in the most formal manner, as if with a sort of protest that they are too good to require any artificial recommendation ... we are content to be tidy and nothing more.[145]

Order and tidiness ruled Queensland's displays at the London exhibitions of 1872-74 (Fig. 29) and at Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878, where Richard Daintree's strictly 'geological' arrangement was used.[146] Here the courts were divided into sections for the colony's different geological formations, each represented by photographs and, in cases beneath the photographs, mineral specimens and typical products, and all neatly captioned. Daintree's captions mounted onto the walls 'in white letters on a black ground' served as a catalogue to Queensland's annexe at the London exhibitions.[147] Though lacking in artistry, these displays were readily appreciated by visitors more accustomed to 'picturesque confusion' at exhibitions. The London *Graphic* claimed a brief inspection of the annexe 'would afford a better idea of Queensland than is possessed by many persons who have lived in that country half their lives', while the *Evening Standard* found the annexe 'a perfect model of what such a display

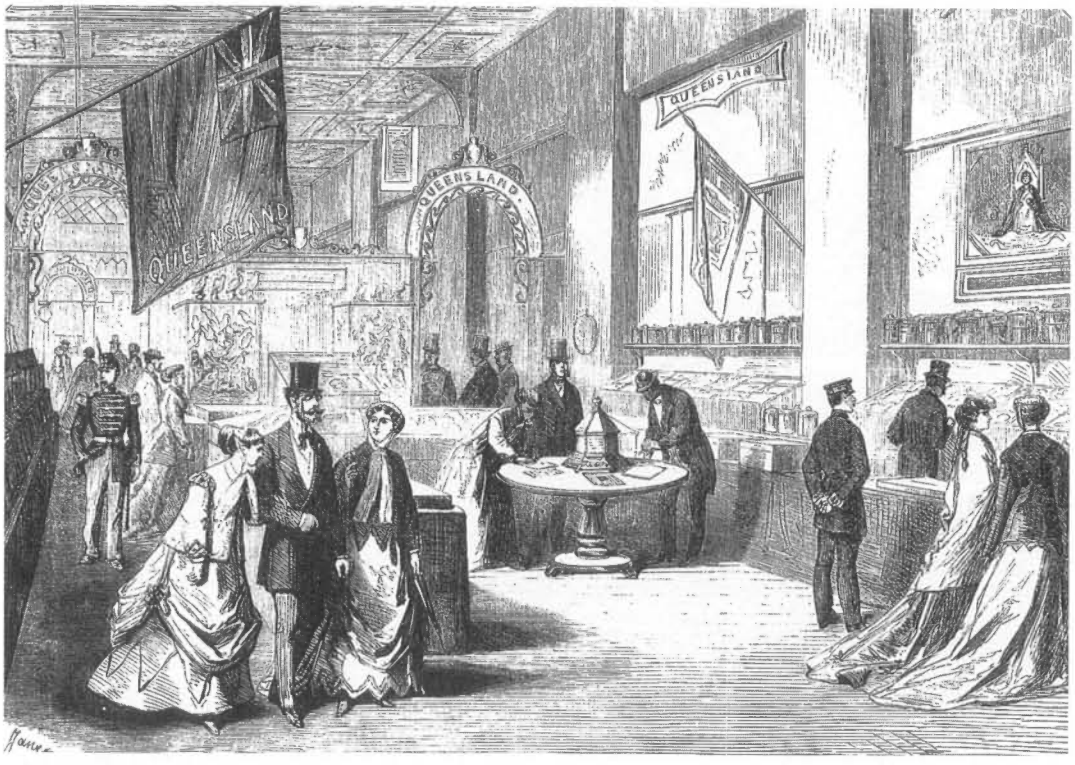

FIG. 28. The Queensland court at the Paris exhibition of 1867, described as 'ranged in the most formal manner ... tidy and nothing more'. (Rare Book Collection, State Library of Victoria)

should be'.[148] Queensland's court at Philadelphia won an award for its 'systematic arrangement of exhibits'[149] (Fig. 67).

Recalling Queensland's annexe at the London exhibitions, Joseph Beaumont, a resident member of the Royal Colonial Institute, wrote:

> It was so arranged as to attract the attention, not only of those who were already well-informed or observant, but even of the ignorant ... In the Queensland Exhibition the interest was greatly helped by the numerous pictures, drawings, and maps, which attracted and even commanded the attention. Then, when the mind thus realised not only where the place was but something of what it was and what it was like, they had different productions presented in something like order, and order which pleased the mind, excited the fancy, and taught people what they did not know.

For Beaumont Queensland's displays were a welcome change from the collections of 'dingy and ill-arranged Colonial produce' so often seen at exhibitions: 'odd lots of dirty cotton, wool ... or bits of ores and stones — which one ought to appreciate and cannot'.[150]

Queensland's later courts lacked the precision of Daintree's displays but retained their distinctive exhibits. Reporting on Queensland's court at Sydney in 1879-80, the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote:

> The decorations, if we may so style them ... are few and simple. They call for little remark, for the objects exhibited are in themselves so pleasing, as not to need much embellishment.[151]

What most impressed the *Sydney Mail* about this court was its abundance of tropical products which gave it a 'distinctiveness' among the Australian courts.[152] Later at Melbourne in 1880-81 the *Argus* reporter found the exhibits themselves were enough to impress:

> ... see how brightly the pearly mound of shells shines in the foreground; how impressive and solid the piles of copper and tin ingots look; how excellently the leathers adorn the walls, and how luxuriant seem the sheaves of natural grasses ...[153]

The *Queenslander* added that here 'little attempt at display' had been made.[154] The courts at London in 1886, Melbourne in 1888-89 and Glasgow in 1901 were presented with more finesse due to

FIG. 29. The Queensland annexe at the London exhibition of 1873, showing Richard Daintree's 'geological' arrangement of exhibits. (Queensland Museum)

the involvement of professional decorators,[155] though their schemes were not always appropriate to the exhibits. At Melbourne the decorators chose a 'Moorish' (or 'Arabesque') facade for the court to add a touch of eastern exoticism (Fig. 30), causing the *Boomerang* to complain: 'The colony is misrepresented by a hideous copy of the front of a Moorish mosque — what has Queensland to do with Moorish mosques?' Worse still, it continued, this 'abortion' was directly opposite the entrance to the 'elaborate and tasteful' German court.[156] At Glasgow the decorators used over 140 coloured electric lamps to illuminate the (mostly) mineral exhibits in 'pretty' rainbow colours. Some of the minerals were displayed in four 'specially-designed' octagonal cases capped by coloured domes, more befitting a display of luxury goods in a department store (Fig. 81). George Cornish, the assistant manager of the court at Glasgow, predicted that visitors would be drawn by the sheer 'beauty' of Queensland's show.[157]

Of more vital concern to the colony was to secure its display space in one block. In 1875 Richard Daintree advised the Colonial Secretary that Queensland's participation in the forthcoming Philadelphia exhibition should be 'conditional' on 'all exhibits being together', otherwise the colony should 'not ... appear at all'.[158] George King, Queensland's Executive Commissioner for the Melbourne event of 1880-81, wrote to the local officials:

> Collectively our exhibits will make a very fair show, scattered however they would convey but a poor impression ... We lay considerable stress on the locality because our exhibits from their nature cannot be shown everywhere to equal advantage.

Later King advised that Queensland's railway carriage (Fig. 55), which had attracted much attention at the Sydney exhibition, should not be sent on to Melbourne because it might not be shown there in a similar position beside Queensland's court. If relegated to the machinery annexe, King argued, 'the interest which attached to it in Sydney ... would not exist'.[159] In 1891 a local committee advising the government on Queensland's participation in the forthcoming Chicago exhibition warned that the impact of the exhibits would be 'neutralised' if dispersed

FIG. 30. The Grand Avenue of Nations of the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, with the 'Moorish' facade of Queensland's court on the left. (National Library of Australia)

amongst the exhibition's various sections, as proposed by the Chicago officials, instead of shown 'within one roof'.[160] For the Greater Britain Exhibition the Agent-General, Sir Horace Tozer, insisted that all Queensland's exhibits be shown together in one court instead of consigning the mineral exhibits to an international mining section.[161] On only two occasions did Queensland permit its exhibits to be dispersed: at Melbourne in 1888-89 where the lack of space within its own court necessitated an overflow of exhibits into the general machinery, educational, fisheries and wool courts and a separate conservatory; and at the Queensland International Exhibition where the government contributed three separate mining, agricultural and educational courts (see Appendix 2).

Queensland's display techniques were mostly unadventurous, making scant use of the era's ingenious devices which could achieve wondrous illusions of reality. These devices included life-sized figures (modelled in either wax or plaster), dioramas and panoramas,[162] though the latter were gradually superseded by photography in the late 19th century. Dioramas and panoramas were never used in Queensland's courts, and only once was a wax figure used. This figure, shown at Melbourne in 1880-81 by the Brisbane experimental gardener Alexander Macpherson, was dressed in some of his collection of native fibres. Though Madame Tussaud's Waxworks had popularised such figures in London and in other Australian colonies, they were still a novelty in Brisbane by 1889 when the new 'Queensland Waxworks and Museum' claimed to be satisfying 'a long felt want'.[163] The tropical climate would have restricted the use of wax figures locally, but this does not explain their absence from exhibits sent elsewhere. Queensland was slow even to use wax models of fruit, eventually used in 1897 at the Queensland International Exhibition, whereas other Australian colonies consistently exhibited wax fruit models from the 1860s.

FIG. 31. Richard Daintree's photographs (hung in tiers on the far panels) in Queensland's court at the Sydney exhibition of 1879-80. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)

Moreover, only occasionally were other types of models used, yet models were among the most prized products of 19th-century craftsmanship and were always admired at exhibitions. For Queensland's annexe at London in 1872 Richard Daintree commissioned a series of models showing different modes of tin dressing, but his example was seldom repeated. Apart from model lighthouses shown by the government at Melbourne in 1888-89 and later at the Queensland International Exhibition, the only building models shown by Queensland were the (then) Rockhampton architect Stanley H. Uther's models of a town hall and a hospital, shown at Sydney and Melbourne in 1879-81. One might ask why models of public buildings were never used to show British investors the results of the colony's massive expenditure on public works. Automatons, arguably the era's most ingenious and admired display devices, made a brief appearance in an 'automatic theatre' shown at Sydney and Melbourne in 1879-81 and an 'automatic boy' (called the *The Successful Beggar*) shown only at Melbourne, both supplied by the Brisbane cabinetmaker Peter Thomle.

Queensland was more adventurous in its pioneering use of photography which offered more than just an illusory reality for 'photographs', it was said, 'cannot lie'. When Richard Daintree's photographs were first shown in the early 1870s, photography was a still new medium for propaganda and claimed to show the colony's still largely unknown scenery with convincing accuracy. Daintree's photographs became the mainstay of Queensland's courts until the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 (Figs 27, 31), and were shown on home ground at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition of 1881 and much later at the Queensland International Exhibition. Not surprisingly, these photographs were 'universally admired' for their novelty, informative content and brilliant colour, and won several awards at exhibitions: at Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, and posthumously at Paris in 1878 and Sydney in 1879-80. 'As effective advertisements of the colony, they are incomparable', enthused a reporter at the Sydney event.[164] Photographs remained a feature of Queensland's courts, and at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899 lantern slides were also shown. By this time Queensland's emigration agents were also using

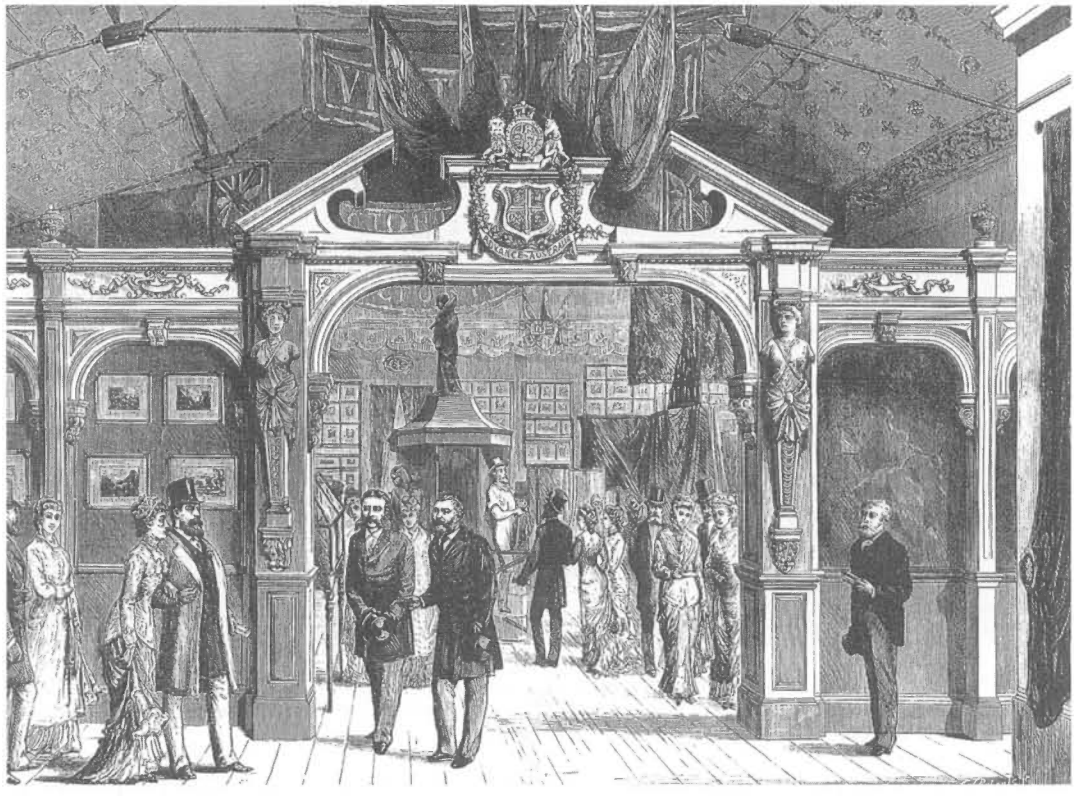

FIG. 32. Victoria's court at the Paris exhibition of 1878, showing art works and, in the centre, a trophy with figures of gold miners, stockdrivers and Aboriginal people. (*Graphic*, 13 July 1878)

lantern slides and the Queensland Agent-General's office was lending slides to schools, etc. in Britain.

Regrettably, Queensland was slow to use the products of its boldest-ever experiment in photography at exhibitions. In late 1898, on the pretext of supplying George Randall, Queensland's Emigration Agent and Lecturer in Great Britain, with 'more interesting and more instructive' campaign material, the Queensland Department of Agriculture took up cinematography using a Lumière camera. But the department's first series of films did not reach London in time for the Greater Britain Exhibition where they would have given Queensland a world first, as moving pictures were not shown at an international exhibition until a year later, at Paris in 1900. The difficulties encountered in operating a (then obsolescent) Lumière projector ensured that the films were not shown in 1901 at the Glasgow exhibition. In fact George Randall, who managed Queensland's court at Glasgow, was quite unexcited by the film experiment,[165] so it was not until the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 that Queensland first showed moving pictures at an international exhibition, by which time they were not such a novelty.

Besides its pioneering use of photography at exhibitions, Queensland was adventurous in the use of live exhibits sent especially from the colony. Live plants gave Queensland's court at Melbourne in 1880-81 'the general appearance ... of a museum and conservatory combined'[166] (Fig. 21), while whole conservatories and aviaries of live plants and birds were among its 'chief attractions' at London in 1886 and Melbourne in 1888-89 (Figs 40, 42). A Queensland official explained that the conservatory and aviary at London were a deliberate attempt to avoid the 'dulness' of museum displays:

> Visitors have enjoyed in these ... a combination of Kew Gardens and the 'Zoo' — a kind of grown-up kindergarten ... not a dull, dreary round of ... stuffed beasts and birds ... [with] long unintelligible Latin names.[167]