6 PEOPLE AND LANDSCAPE

the Australian context

Several theories about Australian perception have been published recently, from a wide selection of disciplines including history, cultural studies and literature. The following brief review discusses several of these and how they relate to understanding Queensland's cultural landscape. Most of these theories attempt to interpret the way we (as Australians or as Queenslanders) perceive ourselves and our place in the world. These 'self-visions' are part of what the environmental psychologists call the 'cultural influences' on environmental perception, and what some historians have described as 'cultural baggage'.

The first sources of these outlooks places Australia as part of the New World phenomenon, including the influence of distance and isolation on Australian development and self-awareness, and further comparison between European and antipodean visions. These sources may be seen as part of the Australian *zeitgeist* of the late 20th century: J. Powell's New World visions, Geoffrey Blainey's 'tyranny of distance' and Bernard Smith's 'antipodean/European' visions.[1]

The second source of ideas about the Australian landscape focuses on cultural landscape interpretation through the arts: literature, poetry, the visual arts. These sources were located in the influential work edited by George Seddon and Mari Davis, Man and Landscapes in Australia: towards an ecological vision.[2]

The third set of sources presents a distinctly Queensland vision of the landscape: beginning with attitudes to Nature before WW2 and then the personal interpretations of being a Queenslander provided by author Thea Astley and journalist Julianne Schultz.

These different outlooks on the Australian and Queensland landscape reveal a wide range of beliefs and perceptions held by various, often simultaneously. None are discounted here as irrelevant; instead they are evidence of the diversity that is the reality of cultural landscape interpretation.

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[1] The term ***zeitgeist*** has been defined as: "German word meaning literally 'the Spirit of the Time (or Age)'. It is associated with attempts to epitomize the mode of thought or feeling deemed fundamentally characteristic of a particular period, e.g. to interpret the 19th century as an age of '*heroic materialism*' (Kenneth Clark). The term was first regularly employed by the German Romantics … Tempted always to reduce the past to essences, they often treated the *Zeitgeist* less as a conceptual instrument than as a grandiose historical character in its own right. Most historians handle the term with caution on the grounds that the characteristics of any historical period are more complex than a formulation of a *Zeitgeist* can suggest." [Source: Bullock, Alan, Oliver Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley, eds. (1988), The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought. London: Fontana/HarperCollins, pg. 916]

[2] Seddon, George and Mari Davis, eds. (1976), Man and Landscape in Australia: towards an ecological vision. Papers from a symposium held at the Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, 30 May-2 June 1974. *Australian UNESCO Committee for Man and the Biosphere*, 2. Canberra: AGPS.

PERCEPTIONS OF AUSTRALIA AS A NEW WORLD

Notes by Helen Armstrong.

A chronological account of perceptions of Australia and their effect on settlement was found in J. Powell (1978), Mirrors of the New World. The earliest settlements in Australia (1780s) can be seen within the global context.

> During the 1780s the agrarianism and ruralism of the Physiocrats gradually declined as an ingredient in the image of America, which then became based upon two distinct concepts. The first favoured a Rousseauian emphasis, arguing that the young American nation had united its simplicity, virtue, equality and liberty with a standard of enlightenment more characteristic of a mature people. The second was the Progressionists' contention that America was the forerunner of a new age in which man would advance to perfection. As events in France moved towards revolution, the image of America was very quickly transformed from a philosophical symbol to a political slogan; in the process America also came to be seen as a peaceful asylum for troubled Europeans (Powell 1978:37).

Australia 1788: a Cesspool of Depravity.

The views of Australia, by Britain in particular, changed from the late 18th century "Australia as a small and incredibly distant cesspool of depravity" to the middle 19th century "a veritable Arcady, in which the Golden Age of rural prosperity and individual dignity might be captured" (Powell 1978:71). The importance of agriculture (the land) and national image became paramount. Locke (1632-1704) had argued that land was the common stock of society to which every person possessed a fundamental right. His opinions influenced perceptions about the New World particularly as his philosophy was suitable for pioneering societies. A little less than 100 years later, 6 years before the settlement in NSW, Professor William Ogilvie of Kings College, Aberdeen, published a case for "The Right of Property in Land" in which he argued for the importance of owning and cultivating land. This became influential in the perception that the early settlement of Australia could fulfil such aspirations. Ogilvie (in Powell 1978:47) argued that

> cultivation was good for the soul, and made valuable citizens: absentee use and/or ownership should be discouraged… Emigration should be positively encouraged by old World governments; in the great new territories conditions were obviously optimal for the establishment of more enlightened concepts of the rights and responsibilities in land than could ever be found in Europe.

Arcady in Australia: 1840s on.

From the 1840s, the abundance of natural resources was another recurring theme. Powell (1978:32) stated that this was an attitude shared in other colonies or former European colonies (e.g. USA) and that the "grand destiny of the New World countries was said to be assured by their bountiful resources." Australia was viewed similarly. Powell (1978:33) cited the Illustrated London News 22 December 1849 discussion about the ancient continent of Australia:

> Who shall fix the bounds of the future prosperity of the great Australian continent? While in this old country the pauper vegetates or dies, accursed of the land that produced him, in that new country the pauper becomes a labourer; he no longer vegetates but lives; and if he lives long enough, he may become a patriarch, sitting under the shade of his own fig-tree, and counting by thousands and tens of thousands his flocks and herds – a new Job in a land of plenty. Fertile soils, delicious climate, elbow room, and freedom from taxation – these are the blessings of the Australian. The Englishman enjoys the first two in an imperfect manner; the last are aliens – he knows them not, and will never know them while England holds her place among the nations.

The vision of 'Arcady in Australia' was well entrenched by the 1860s through to the

1880s. The comparison with urban problems in Europe made the vision of an Arcadian future in Australia even more appealing. Powell (1978:34) describes,

> …where the New World was concerned, the advantages of its great clean slate slowly became apparent and served very well indeed to empathize the ills of Europe, while at the same time suggesting opportunities for some experimentation with new equations to express a happier relationship between land and society.

Lansbury(1970) in her study, Arcady in Australia, declared that it "was becoming increasingly true that Pickwick's England was the historical past for most Englishmen, and it was this idealised past which Samuel Sidney and Caroline Chisholm hoped to establish in Australia" (cited in Powell 1978:72). By the 1880s, a particular Antipodean flavour was attached to this vision of Arcady, but in the interim: "while the mass of the Australian population continued to pursue a very simple utilitarian dream, British images of Australia's present and future became inextricably linked to reactions to changing conditions in the mother country, particularly its Arcadian virtue as a ready-made paradise for British workers" (Powell 1978:70-71).

Powell (1978:36) notes that communication between Australia and Britain worked both ways, especially from the 1890s and the 1920s. He states "Obviously ideas as well as people crossed the world during the great international migrations and those ideas did not necessarily require a massive transplanting of people. The Old World and the New were always bound together: observing and recording each other, held together in close mutual tension in so many ways".

Australia was a prominent destination during the 1850s gold boom and during 1870s-1880s. After World War I Australia and Canada moved ahead of USA for preferred destination for British migrants. Powell.1978:44 noted:

> …economic ambitions were paramount in the motives of many British emigrants… especially farmers and farmers' sons… The simple prospect of land ownership naturally suggested that more of the profit was bound to accrue to them as owner-producers… But the most frequently mentioned goal was independence, which was usually associated with farming one's own piece of land… This motivation was peculiarly related to a faith in self sufficiency and a desire for leisure…

Aldous Huxley (1955) wrote in Heaven and Hell about the attitudes to the Old World and New World:

> A man consists of what I may call an Old World of personal consciousness and, beyond a divided sea, a series of New Worlds – the not too distant Virginias and Carolinas of the personal subconscious and the vegetal soul; the Far West of collective unconscious, with its flora of symbols, its tribes of Aboriginal archetypes; and, across another, vaster ocean, at the Antipodes of everyday consciousness, the World of Visionary Experience… some people never consciously discover their Antipodes. Others make an occasional landing. Yet others (but they are few) find it easy to go and come as they please (cited in Powell 1978:14).

The Continuing Myth: El Dorado and Arcadia.

In the 1850s, Sidney's *The Three Colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia* (1852) was very popular in Britain. In this book, he scattered numerous descriptions of how industrious people could make peaceful and fulfilling lives,

> [W]here every striving man who rears a race of industrious children, may sit under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig tree – not without work, but with little care – living on his own land, looking down to the valleys to his herds – towards the hills to his flocks, amid the humming of bees, which know no winters (as cited in Powell, 1978:73).

Another writer of the 1850s, Henry Kingsley, continued to spread the Australian myth to British readers. In the Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn he wrote

> Australia was the Arcadian settlement of verdant plains and wooded heights, seamed with gold, where small farmers dwelt in rustic content supplying food to

> the diggers. The young pastoralists galloped freely through the bush, no whit different in appearance from the humblest shedhand or shearer (as cited in Powell, 1978:73).

Romanticising Wilderness and the Bush

The shift in perception from the need to tame the 'bush' to one which involved a sense of identification with the Australian natural environment, began in the 1880s and was quite deeply ingrained by the 1920s. Powell feels this assisted Australian to come to terms with the strange landscape, however most of the 'bush' focus was in local literature rather than the overseas perceptions.

Overseas perceptions in the 19th and early 20th century instead saw 'wilderness' as being embodied in the New World. This concept was initiated in North America with the work of Thoreau and Olmstead and rapidly gained credence in Australia through the early establishment of National Parks.

The Yeoman Myth

The perception in Britain that Australia, unlike North America, would be a land of small farmers had not been realised because of the massive land grabs by the squatters. As a result, there was a strong push to achieve land reform after the gold was depleted. Powell indicates that there was a desire to achieve reform through 'throwing open the big sheep and cattle stations then held under short term tenure they would create "a little England in Australia"' (Powell, 1978:74). Land Acts of the 1860s were prompted by British tastes in landscape an image of 'small fields, intensively cultivated … an inherited political and philosophical ideal for which small freeholders had become the symbol' (Powell, 1978:76). Unlike North America, the established large land holders subverted attempts to establish small selections around a village. As a result towns 'scarcely progressed beyond the main shopping street' (Powell, 1978:80).

Powell indicates that 'back to the land' movements have ebbed and flowed throughout the 20th century, with large land holders having a strong political influence in government. Despite the persistence of large landowners controlling land subdivision, the yeoman myth continued to have appeal. Powell suggest this confirmed perceptions about Australia as having land as 'a bountiful resource' (Powell, 1978:82).

Australia as a Resort

Powell points out that the environmental differences between Great Britain and Australia occasionally resulted in a mutually attractive interpretation. He (1978:129) suggests

> One example of this was a neoclassical interpretation of the connection between climate and health which led to an assertion that the Australian climate provided the most effective cure for 'consumption'.

This perception of the health giving qualities of the Australian environment was reinforced by the recuperative value of long sea voyages. Powell (1978:130) states

> For Australia, the cult of the ocean voyage contributed to a new appraisal: its remote location was said to offer the invalid a long sea voyage and southern regions of the continent might prove to be genuine havens to accelerate the recovery of British consumptives.

To summarise, these perceptions of Australia were clearly those seen from a colonising authority in another land. The perceptions were generated more by the needs of the Old World, than the reality of life in the New World. The following review contrasts these perceptions with those from within Australia.

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References:

Powell, J. (1978), Mirrors of the New World: images and image-makers in the settlement process. *Studies in Historical Geography*. Canberra: ANU Press.

DISTANCE AND ISOLATION

Notes by Jeannie Sim

Geoffrey Blainey's ideas about the 'tyranny of distance' and its effect on the course of Australian history and cultural self-perception has been profound, although somewhat like a self-fulfilling prophesy. His influential book was first published in 1966. In the preface (1974:viii), he wrote:

> Australians have always recognized that distance or isolation was one of the moulds which shaped their history … It seemed [after completing the book] that distance was a central and unifying factor in Australia's history. At the same time it was not the only one, and if this book gives the impression that climate and resources and European ideas and wars and markets and money and other moulding influences were unimportant than it is unintentionally distorting history.

Blainey (1974:ix) considered the idea of distance as part of Australia's history could be "as revealing as Frederick Jackson Turner's 'frontier theory' is in probing the history of the United States." Blainey (1974:viii) contended that the fact of distance is everywhere for Australians: being "at least 12,000 miles from western Europe, the source of most of their people, equipment, institutions and ideas" and with a coastline over 12,000 miles in length. Smith also observed this European influence and is discussed in the following section. Queenslanders are part of this *zeitgeist*, only sometimes the feeling of distance and isolation is more extreme, being far from the southern, decision-making cities of Sydney-Canberra-Melbourne, or far from the capital Brisbane, in the far south east of the State. Later discussion by Astley and Schultz deal with this phenomenon.

What seems perplexing about Blainey's 'distance theory', as described in his book, is the concentration on transport as the primary tool for taming distance. Recent studies of early Queensland newspapers has revealed a wealth of up-to-date information being published that indicates that local settlers could be much more well informed than at first supposed: perhaps the communication between 'Mother England' and Australia wasn't so bad; perhaps, with the variety and spread of publications, Australia wasn't 'thirty years behind the times'. The development of new technologies has continued the trend of communication and Queensland (and Australia) can be observed to be at the forefront of many of them: telegraph, wireless radio, transceiver radios, aeroplanes, and air-services (Flying Doctor Service, mail deliveries), solar-powered public telephones, computers and the Internet. Communication between neighbours and the wider outside world is the key factor here. Nonetheless, distance and the perception of isolation (both real and imagined) are important components of the national identity and Australian history. It is my contention that communication and transport are a double act in the fight against distance. Distance can also be a pleasurable and desirable quality. This is particularly so for those with a romantic or scientific quest for wilderness and the authentic natural experience (including eco-tourists). Those wanting to establish new lifestyles, new social structures (egalitarian or totalitarian), new religious groups are drawn to the opportunities of space and isolation.

In comparison to this interpretation of Blainey's theory, the following extract is taken from teaching material prepared by Dr. John Minnery for a Built Environment History unit at QUT.

Australia and the Tyranny of Distance

Distance is a central and unifying factor in European Australia's history, and also had influences in Aboriginal Australia. Distance in as characteristic of Australia as mountains are of Switzerland. Australia is 19,000km from Western Europe, the source of most of our people, ideas, institutions and equipment. Australia has 19,000km of coastline. Aboriginal settlers probably migrated from the north and covered the vast distances of the continent as they spread, but became isolated from Asia, as well as changing as that moved across the distances involved.

Distance is not the sole explanation of Australia's history. There is also climate, resources, ideas, markets, money, people and so on. But it has had a strong impact. Distance's great enemy is efficient, cheap and fast transport. Transport and distance are the two faces of the development coin if the country. One aspect of distance is location, the location of one place in relation to others. This has also been a major influence on the history of Australia.

Position

Blainey argued that the key to explaining why the British settled on the Australian continent, was its position. Comparatively, the standard historical explanation before that time was that Britain needed a replacement repository for convicts after the American colonies were 'lost' in 1776. Blainey contended that England really needed a new sea base and refitting port in order to strengthen her commercial empire in the east. The east coast of Australia could be a port of call for four routes:

- The China sea trade (which soared in importance after 1784); Sumatra as a port was threatened by either pirates or by the Dutch in times of war
- To the Pacific north west of America (the trade in skins)
- As a centre for the whaling industry developing in New Zealand and the southern seas
- As a centre for smuggling and privateering on the rich Spanish trade linking the Philippines, Mexico and South America.

Blainey also argues that an important element in the equation was Norfolk Island and the flax and pines Capt. Cook found there. A base like Sydney could protect and help access the even more isolated Norfolk Island.

Isolation from the World

Distance and Isolation are the main themes of early settlement. Plants and seeds brought in the ships were damaged by the long journey. Letters to and from England were infrequent. The settlers had to rely on their own food and at first even developed scurvy (it takes from time to plant and grow vegetables and fruit). A corollary is the cultural isolation of the settlers from the Aborigines, for they could have utilised the food growing in the bush. In June 1788, ships were sent to Lord Howe Island to get turtles for food. In September 1788, the ship Sirius was sent to buy supplies from Cape Town – it was told to go via Tasmania, but that meant trying to go westwards into the westerly winds of the 'Roaring Forties' so it sailed around the world and got to Cape Town in three months, and returned to Sydney after seven months.

The first relief ship for the new colony arrived in 1790 (one earlier ship was wrecked on an iceberg en route, abandoned most of its cargo and returned to Cape Town).

Internal Distance

Early Australian towns all faced the sea which then was a communications channel rather that a barrier. Sea transport was cheap: in 1820 it was cheaper to send a barrel of whale oil to London than to send it 100 miles inland. Sydney was hemmed in by the Blue Mountains, which were not crossed until 1813. They were a barrier but at the same time there was enough crop land available on the coastal plains and thus no real need to explore inland. Inland travel was slow and expensive. Distance and travel problems help explain why wool became Australia's first major trading commodity after whale oil, and why industry took so long to develop.

Thus is can be seen that distance and isolation were vital factors in the way settlement occurred in Australia, for much of its history, but especially in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

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References:

Blainey, Geoffrey (1974), The Tyranny of Distance. South Melbourne: Sun Books, first published 1966

Minnery, John (2000), "Australia and the Tyranny of Distance", unpublished essay for PSB432 History of the Built Environment, QUT, School of PLAS.

ANTIPODEAN AND EUROPEAN VISIONS

Notes by Jeannie Sim.

Bernard Smith is primarily an art historian and critic, but his far-sighted scholarship has been influential also on other spheres of research in Australia. When he published European Vision and the South Pacific in 1960, it came as part of a major change in understanding about perception and the interpretation of history. The previous notion about the 'scientific' and 'objective' observer was giving way to an acceptance of 'observer biases'. Thus, Smith (1989:vii) wrote in the preface to the second edition:

> The use of the term 'European vision' declared a belief in a cognitive theory of perception: that seeing is conditioned by knowing. But the book nowhere suggested that Europeans (or for that matter the members of other ethnic or cultural grouping) are incapable as individuals of seeing what is actually before them, or that they are incapable of knowing that they are in the presences of the (for them) new, though they may well find, and usually do find, difficulty in assembling appropriate words, images, symbols and ideas to describe accurately their experience. It was assumed that it is possible, with the exercise of reasonable care, to distinguish accurate and faithful description from the distortions and errors so frequently attendant upon the interpretation of the novel. The book was not written as an apologia for an extreme cultural relativism.

From his standpoint of art historian, Smith purposely chose to explore the 'typical' landscape images (especially those "produced primarily for the purposes of information") rather that the popularly held method in the 1950s of considering only the 'art masterpieces'. Smith (1989:ix) concluded:

> It was from such a perspective tat the notion of 'typical' landscape as the predominant mode of nineteenth-century landscape painting emerged. The European control of the world required a landscape practice that could first survey and describe, then evoke in new settlers an emotional engagement with the land that they had alienated from its aboriginal inhabitants.

In his study, Smith (1989:ix-x) dismissed the traditional approaches of "European cultural movements and categories (classicism, romanticism, naturalism, impressionism, etc.)" because they "obscure the conceptual underpinnings of landscape throughout the [19th] century by the dominating categories of the descriptive sciences (botany, zoology, geology, geography, meteorology, anthropology, etc.) by means of which landscape and their inhabitants can be bought under control." Developing new ways of seeing (and interpreting) cultural history is a trademark of Smith's work. Gia Metherell (1997:26) reviewed a biography of Smith and concluded that, "Smith's European Vision and the South Pacific [is] credited with transforming our understanding of the visual." Peter Beilharz (1997:109), the biographer, continued:

> Smith's work is pivotal to understanding who we are. Smith … upsets the usual cliches of national identity by recognising that identity has less to do with geography than with relationships – we are antipodean, rather than Australian. Its a complex view, but for Smith the importance of being antipodean is that our culture cannot be understood without reference to its opposite, Europe: just as European culture has to be seen in relation to its antipodes, for culture is not static but fluid and hybrid, absorbing from other images and ideas which transform and reinvent it.

This two-way perception (by Australians and by Europeans, of each other their own selves) helps in understanding the complexity of Queensland cultural landscapes (which include the physical entity and various representations of it). Smith's investigations have opened our eyes as to further possibilities of interpretation. But as this meagre review reveals, there is much more to be explored than described here.

References:

Beilharz, Peter (1997), Imagining the Antipodes: Culture, theory and the visual in the work of Bernard Smith, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pg. ###. The word 'antipodes' is Greek for "with the feet opposite".

Metherell, Gia (1997), "Portrait of a Lucky Bastard", The Australian Magazine, June 14-15, 1997, pg. 26. [Article pp.26-7, 29 & 31].

Smith, Bernard (1989), European Vision of the South Pacific, 2nd ed. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATION THROUGH THE ARTS

Notes by Kim Watson
and Helen Armstrong

The following selection of outlooks about the Australian landscape are drawn from the influential work edited by George Seddon and Mari Davis (1986), Man and Landscape in Australia: towards an ecological vision. They are presented as summaries of key points related to perceptions of the landscape seen through painting, literature and poetry. The five essays reviewed were:

Bolton, G.	"The Historian as Artist and Interpreter of the Environment" pp. 113-24.
Elliot, B.	"Emblematic Vision: or landscape in a concave mirror" pp. 125-44.
Kramer, L.	"Symbolic Landscapes" pp. 145-56.
Thomas, D.	"Visual Images" pp. 157-66.
Wright, J.	"Biological Man" pp. 167-72.

The review of these essays was undertaken by Kim Watson is a graduate in Fine Arts and Landscape Architecture under the supervision and editorship of Helen Armstrong.

In summary, Geoffrey Bolton's perception as a practising modern historian is complemented by the views of other historians writing about Australia and the environment. The additional notion of historian as artist and interpreter (perhaps one and the same thing) is also of interest here. Brian Elliot seeks to identify 'emblems' (items with special significance or value to Australian society) through the ages since Europeans arrived. These symbols are also the subject of the essay by writer Leonie Kramer, observing the perceptions of landscapes represented in Australian literature. Daniel Thomas investigates visual imagery for these emblems and perceptions. Judith Wright seeks the fundamental human perceptions (which she called 'biological man') with the typical understanding of the poet.

While the editors (Seddon and Davis) reflected the ecological standpoint of the original symposium, it appears that kind of vision (or mental and cultural 'bias') is just part of the myriad of interpretations of the landscape (natural and cultural) that have existed in the past and in their time of the 1970s. These five papers reflect admirably the diversity of perceptions through time and how they all contribute to a holistic understanding of place and cultural landscapes.

"The Historian as Artist and Interpreter of the Environment"

The following review of Geoffrey Bolton's study has been divided into nine chronological eras which reflect the changing perceptions about the Australian environment from the 1830s to the 1970s.

1830s

During this era the discipline of historical writing reflected environmental concerns from a protagonist view. Perceptions of Australia tended to be based on a utilitarian paradigm therefore the Australian landscape was portrayed as a "*tabula rasa*",; a landscape that could only be cultivated and exploited for economic gain.

The landscape in geographical descriptions, such as those in John Dunmore Lang's History of New South Wales (1834), was represented as an encouragement for future investment and profit from the cultivation of crops such as wheat, wool, vines, cotton, tobacco etc., thus attracting capital, migration and political attention.

1850s

By the 1850s, the frame of reference for the Australian landscape started to reveal obvious limitations in its exploitative potential. John West, in his History of Tasmania (1852), having witnessed the effect of the Australian environment on European 'man', believed that environment shaped societies. Therefore, he argued, the

Australian landscape contributed to or impacted upon the 'Australian National Character' and overall Australian ethos.

Two views, the exploitative view and the environmental determinist view, form the foundation theory that underlies many further historical writing.

1860s-1870s

By the 1860s, notions of the Picturesque when describing Australian landscapes became more frequent. Rusden, in his History of Australia (1883), was considered an Old World historian of Australia. He was categorised in this way because he saw the Australian landscape through European eyes, using the language of the Picturesque to describe the scenery surrounding him. In contrast, the journal writings of explorers rather than those of historians from this period tend to portray an increased understanding of the Australian landscape.

Bolton (1976:115) points out that the vast difference between the landscape of the Northern Hemisphere and that of Australia led to 'exoticism' of the landscape.

> they came from the cool, moist green lands of the Northern Hemisphere, and to them everything in the Australian scene was exotic, demanded their attention, and impelled them to describe it …in the old country.

Interestingly, John Forrest, an Australian historian writing in 1870-1874, had the opportunity to correct the perceptions of his contemporaries, but he wrote little of the Australian scenery. Forrest took the environment of his upbringing for granted, thinking that there was nothing strange about the bush or the desert because it was "simply his home." (Forrest cited in Bolton:115).

During this period a self-conscious generation of writers (journalists, academics etc.) emerged that felt compelled to define a distinct 'Australian Type'. To do so they sought explanations in climactic and environmental factors. Writers such as Marcus Clarke (1877) recognised many characteristics within Australian cities that strongly distinguished Australia from the Old Country. Marcus Clarke (as cited in Bolton:116) wrote prophetically,

> …the average Australian will be a tall, strong-jawed, greedy, pushing, talented man… His wife will be a thin narrow woman, very fond of dress and idleness, caring little for her children, but without sufficient brainpower to sin with zest.

This attitude exemplified the environmental determinism associated with a perceived 'Australian Character'.

1890s

By the1890s, there is a sense that the Australian legend, namely the pastoral tradition, was seen as authentic. The Pastoral Ring was completed, that is, the completion of the circle of exploration, discovery and consolidation regarding the Australian landscape. It was a period where no further exploration inland occurred for future settlement. It was also a time when the environmental destruction due to European land practices was noted in journals and newspaper.

At this time Australian history equalled the history of European settlement. Any form of Aboriginal history was erased from the Australian consciousness encouraged by a desire for a noble history.

The lack of wars and revolutions when compared to European history led to a desire for a dignified history. This was a time of emerging nationhood which was defined predominantly in political and economic terms rather than as a comprehensive chronological history. Bolton suggests the "lack" of a 'dignified' history led to myth-making, not by historians but by the written words of novelists including Marcus Clarke, George Paterson, Will Ogilvie and Henry Lawson. These writers were seen to be creators of the Australian image in the period of early nationhood.

1920s

Bolton notes that during the 1920s, there is a noticeable lack of ecological detail in historical writings depicting the Australian subject matter. Because of the environmental catastrophes, there was a large amount of information regarding the environmental effects of particular agricultural methods which had been accumulated over the years since 1880. Despite this, such information did not feature in the histories of this time because historical perspectives were still concerned with the political and legislative arenas.

1930s

It is interesting that despite the significant changes, histories written in the 1930s made little mention of urban growth patterns in settlement areas, even though the majority of Australians lived in a suburban environment. At this time, W K Hancock's Australia (1930) is the first indication that there was a shift in perceptions of the Australian landscape with an environmental theme emerging.

Hancock's view was an inversion of the early English settler. Having travelled widely, he possessed standards of comparison which the earlier explorers lacked. His appraisal of the relationship between the Australian environment and 'man' was unlike any previous depictions. His view of the Australian landscape, evocatively described, is enriched and appreciated by his experiences abroad.

Factors such as the Depression of 1930 and WW2 hindered further discussion about the environmental character of the Australian landscape. Political issues such as fascism, communism, nationalism and war left little room for environmental concerns

Nevertheless, Eleanor Dark's The Timeless Land (1938), was an historical novel that stimulated an awareness of the Australian environment. In this work she mentions the destructive effects of European man on the Aborigines. The novel recognised the harmonious balance between pre-settlement Aborigines and the environment. In contrast, Manning Clarke's History of Australia sees the Australian continent as *Tabula Rasa* with a "barbaric" Aboriginal society.

1950s-1960s

During the 1950s and 1960s, there was a growing interest in the environmental history of Australia. Bolton suggests this was influenced by two factors: the first factor was the introduction of geography as a subject into tertiary level studies; the second factor was the establishment of a School of History at the University of Melbourne with a primary focus on research. These events encouraged a re-interpretation of Australian history. As a result of this new interest in Australian history, many questions were raised about the inter-relationship between 'man' and the environment during the early generations of white settlers in Australia.

1960s

Building on this new climate of enquiry, two historical geographers, T.M. Perry and R.L. Heathcote, made important advancements into the understanding of settlement patterns and their relationship to the environment. Both proposed the idea that patterns of settlement were environmental dictated. Meanwhile, Hancock's Discovering Monaro (1972) depicted an optimism for 'man's' capacity to come to terms with 'his' environment. It was considered a new dimension in historical writing where the strength of an interdisciplinary approach to research was recognised.

1970s

In the1970s, the environmental perspective of Australian history was no longer marginalised. Australian Environmental History was introduced as a subject in a number of Australian tertiary institutions, Murdoch University establishing this focus in 1976. Through this academic interest, it was accepted that a complete understanding of Australian history was not only economic, social and regional history but also required a concurrent exploration into the environmental history.

"Emblematic Vision: or landscape in a concave mirror"

Brian Elliot's study looks at how the 'literary little bits' contribute to the image of landscape as a whole. He describes 'Image-making' as a string of expected attitudes using James Lionel Cuthbertson's Australia (no date) to show how clichés are powerful devices but only if they can evoke automatic responses.

He suggests the poetic landscape is made up of such 'little bits'. We are given the impression of a whole at a glance but it is the little details that we are first conscious of. Using the work of selective picture-makers such as the poets Lawson, Paterson, Cuthbertson and Gordon he shows how their poetry comprises of small singular details strung together to create the wondrous vision that is Australia. He points out that the process of selecting single details to make up the whole is a subjective process.

The colonial poetic phase was concerned with image making. To do so successfully they needed 'proper' imagery , namely, a body of creative clichés or emblems or an emblematic system.

Elliot suggests that two elements, 'discovery' and 'carry-over', when working together shape tradition. In the new colony this equation is not wholly balanced. The Australian landscape had a much higher degree of the unexpected strangeness or radical dissimilarities so that the balance between the discovery and the carry-over was uneven.

Poets of this period rejected the flora and fauna of the Australian landscape regarding it as having no poetic significance. Elliot points out that, although potentially bursting with emblematic matter, the poets and new settlers seemed to miss it. Poets place literary value on certain things, however, the Australian landscape was considered to have no poetic value. It was…"un-Picturesque" and "unmusical" (Elliot:134). By 'un-picturesque' it was implied that the landscape was un-18th Century Picturesque where wild nature and human additions, left as ruins by the passing of time, created poetic imagery.

Poetic images of the Australian landscape either created a complete picture filling in the gaps in comprehension or were descriptions of vistas that are enjoyed because they look somewhat like the landscape they have left behind. For the poets, the Australian landscape lacked all the traditional emblems such as nightingales, skylarks, thrushes and oaks…all poetic emblems from the European palette, emblems when used often becoming part of folk consciousness.

Foundations of poetry and landscape art in Australia were laid down in the latter part of the 18th Century. Poetry of the early settlers conveyed a sense of limitation within their own frames of civilised reference. In contrast, the botanists of the 1840-1850s showed considerably understanding of the Australian environment. Elliot points out the descriptions by the botanists portray a discipline of focussing on the 'little bits' to then understand the whole whereas the 'little bits' are missing in the early years of colonial Australian poetry.

Marcus Clarke (1876) describes the Australian landscape as having a "dominant note" within the landscape of "gloom" – funereal, secret and stern. "their solitude is desolation" (Marcus Clarke as cited in Elliot: 140). Clarke eludes to an overriding, but for the moment, hidden beauty that when recognised could soon be emblematic. The character of colonial poetic Australia was undoubtedly altered as a result of Clarke's writing. There was an awareness of the Australian landscape, only when it is known and understood, a continuation of the old rational criteria of 1788.

Stephen's The Dominion of Australia (1877) contains recurring poetic metaphors of image of awakening, the birth or the dawn of a young nation. The discovery of artesian water in 1870 was revered as holding the hopes of endless fertility for the outback.

Selections of emblematic detail occur when the true facts or perceived reality about the landscape are developed into an art; then we are no longer looking at the facts. The emblematic details are selected to concentrate our attention, therefore directing our perspective. The presence of emblematic detail in poetry concentrates and strengthens the substance of the message. Elliot says that a growing nation such as Australia, a colonial culture, needs to find and articulate the essential 'emblemry' that conveys the truth within the national and communal mind, instead of perpetuating the false 'carry –over' of bluebells and wise old oaks.

In contemporary poetry there is a desire to be seen as a 'modern' conquest over 'colonial' spirit. The present period of poetry is one that has an independent approach to the use of emblematic suggestion. Poetry is a mirror which concentrates articulated perceptions (emblems) by which we identify ourselves.

"Symbolic Landscapes"

In this essay Leonie Kramer looks as a number poets representation of the Australian landscape. She commences with Barron Field.

Barron Field: First Fruits of Australian Poetry (1819)

In his poetic journals of his excursions across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst and back, Barron Fields laments the monotony of the Australian scenery. He makes references through his poetry of the intimate connection in European poetry between the seasons and human life. When adapting this metaphor to the Australian landscape… "There seems… to be no transition of season in the climate itself, to excite hope, or to expand the heart and fancy." (Barron Fields cited in Kramer:145).

Barron Field's writing exemplifies problems of perception. Field highlights that no early settler could see and appreciate the Australian landscape for what it was. These settlers were conditioned by years of European environments. As a result, it was a natural instinct to use the familiar to explain or define the new experiences or 'the unfamiliar'.

James Tucker and 'Civilising Traditions'.

James Tucker's descriptions of Ralph Rashleigh entering Port Jackson exemplifies confusion of actualities with imaginative re-creations in works of the 1820s . His work conveys the 18th Century civilised tradition that nature exists to be improved by man "…abundant proofs of the wonted energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, who speedily rescue the most untamed soils from the barbarism of nature." (Tucker cited in Kramer:147).

Clarity of the Scientists

In contrast, scientists in the 1830s portrayed a certain clarity in their perceptions of the Australian landscape, possibly not clouded by Romantic/Picturesque literature. Charles Darwin in 1836 travelled across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst. Instead of the lack of seasonal variation and un-picturesque scenery, Darwin wrote about the natural beauty within the landscape and the harsh scenes of workers performing their daily labour, "forty hardened, profligate men were ceasing from their daily labours, like the slaves of Africa, yet without their just claim for compassion." (Darwin as cited in Kramer:148). These images became the central narrative for Marcus Clarke's For the Term of his Natural Life. This work signifies a shift away from literal documentation to the beginning of a literary exploration of 'man's' perceptions of 'his' environment.

Growing Intimacy with the Landscape

A.D. Hope's Australia; Thomas Kenneally's Bring larks and heroes, James McAuley's Envoi are literary examples of the 19th Century observations of a more intimate relationship between 'man's' perceptions of 'his' landscape and 'his' own sense of individuality. All 'man's' mind and experience are examined like the contours of the landscape. However in modern Australian writing, the contours of the landscape provide the defining context for 'man's' mind and experience. The landscape is a challenge for human experience. Henry Handle Richardson's The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney, Patrick White's novels, Kenneth Slessor's Crow Country are examples where the Australian environment becomes an element within the narrative that pushes man to the limits of human experience where external landscapes are equivalent to inner experiences.

Kramer points out that Patrick White's Voss is an exploration of the landscape as a literary base for internal travel. Observations travel beyond pure description suggesting a development of the relationship between the observer and the observed. This progression in the literary imagination occurs when the observer becomes induced or seduced by the whole experience.

Perceptions of Darwin, Leichhardt and others qualify the view of Australian literary history that is now widely acceptedas shown in a snippet of Leichhardt's letter to Dr. Little in 1842 (as cited in Kramer:150).describing a walk through the Sydney Botanical Gardens in the moonlight.

> You'd look the full Moon in the eye; you'd hearken to the sounds of the cicadas and the crickets; your eyes would sweep over the blue mirror of the water to the dark mass of trees that frame it; it is this mild weather your whole body would respond to a deep sense of well-being.

Discomfort in Landscape

This is in contrast to the way the early European settlers wrote. They seem to have been unable to see the landscape in its true reality. Kramer suggests they were unable to understand it and thus describe it accurately and confidently to others. The "imperfections" within the writings of the 19th Century were caused by the discomfort and confusion felt by the settlers towards the landscape. Changes in modes of perception within modern writing were influenced by two factors, accumulated histories of exploration and discovery and the pressure of the Australian experience : the promise and the realisation of harsh realities.

The Urban Landscape

Christina Stead's Seven Poor Men of Sydney (1934) and For Love Alone
and Lois Stone's Jonah (1911) are examples of modern Australian writing where the dominant image of the Australian landscape is an urban one. Whereas, Kenneth McKenzie : The Young Desire It (1937) and Randolph Stow : To the Island are two examples of modern Australian writing set in a rural landscape. In all works, whether situated in a rural or urban setting, the landscape is given meaning. It is not merely a backdrop nor just geography, the landscape becomes part of a state of mind.

Patrick White's novels are situated substantially within Australian urban and suburban life. Consistently White writes of an environment that serves the purposes of literary intention. Details of specific observations are carefully constructed fiction, an imaginative re-creation of actuality. Cities/towns are recognisable to a point but are deconstructed and recreated to provide a particular setting of the author's mind. This is a powerful, persuasive literary style, as it can alter the reader's own way of seeing. Patrick White's characterisations of reality are not unlike the writings of Barron field and Ralph Rashleigh. The reader is conditioned by literary perceptions to see through the eyes of others, thus potentially altering the perception of ourselves; the literary circle is complete.

This can be summarised as FAMILIARITY = KNOWLEDGE = EXPRESSION OF INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES where modern writers have captured and respected the Australian landscape in its most dramatic and subtle mutations.

"Visual Images"

Daniel Thomas writes of how the visual arts, observations by others, are generated by the observation of life and the landscape of dwelling. He points out that painters have been interested in the landscape throughout Australian history, reflecting the 19thC European movements such as Romanticism, Realism and Impressionism; all art movements that convey an interest in the landscape. The 20th century art movements such as Dadaism, Cubism, Abstract Expressionism had little influence in the Australian art context. Instead it was Surrealism which was embraced by Australian painters such as Russell Drysdale, Sidney Nolan, Albert Tucker and Arthur Boyd in the 1940s.

Thomas summarises perceptions of Australian landscape under a number of categories of painting.

Pastoral Landscape

The history of the Pastoral Landscape in Australia was evident in the works of John Glover and Conrad Martens 1830-1840 and Eugene von Guerard and Lois Buvelot 1850-1860 where the landscape is embellished with homesteads and stockmen. The artists painted the landscape as periphery. The landscape is not central to the painting but rather is represented as ' Exotica'. John Glover's paintings generalised the pastoral landscape without any specific Australian reference. Thomas suggests his style is said to be a combination of conservative Romantic pastoral Arcadia and 17th C Roman art of Claude Lorrain with a subtle homage to the Aboriginal tradition agriculture and their harmony with the landscape.

In contrast, Eugene von Guerard painted the pastoral landscape as 'collision'; the juxtaposition of colliding elements in the landscape such as immigration, destruction and regeneration. Louis Buvelot painted pastoral paintings that emphasised sheep within the landscape, a significant shift from the traditional European paintings where cattle always inhabited the landscape. His paintings are intimate suburban pastoral scenes, commonplace and humble, rather than the remote pastoral expanses of his contemporaries.

By 1888, Australia had been colonised for 100 years and there was search for a national identity. Suddenly space on gallery walls and museums were filled with images of pastoral life and the landscape. These were large scale, straightforward in their content and intention and simple in method, exemplifying nationalistic painting. These included the works of Tom Roberts, Fredrick McCubbin, Arthur Streeton, Julian Ashton, Frank Mahony and G W Lambert. Their influence was so strong that even in the 1930, artists such as Russell Drysdale, Sidney Nolan and Arthur Boyd were still benefiting from the pastoral traditions of the 1890s, some with a surrealist influence.

Before the Pastoral , there were scientific representations of the landscape. 1815 pre-pastoral tradition, a time when Australian artists saw the landscape to be dull and monotonous so they sought to spice it up with influences from the Pacific and Asia thus rendering it as an exotic landscape or tropically Picturesque.

Scientific Landscape

These were painting or engravings of the landscape that provided a backdrop for botanical and anthropological discoveries. The original site of discovery was of little importance, therefore paintings were compilations of all species found thousands of miles apart. J W Lewin was natural history draughtsman in 1815. He created a series of watercolours whilst crossing the Blue Mountains. These are the first landscape paintings that portray the untidiness and disorder of the Australian bush vegetation and that capture it's untidiness in the specific light of a hot, dry landscape. Later Buvelot in 1870 painted the gumtree in all it's glory. Many of his paintings dramatise the gumtree, allowing it to totally dominate the painting. These paintings of this now dignified tree sparked interest in his audience. Hans Heysen in 1910 further enhanced the dignity of the gumtree, propelling its popularity to the present day iconography of Australia.

Intimate Landscape

Thomas suggest that as the Australian landform was considered flat, featureless and uniform, perhaps this forced artists to examine the landscape at more detail. Frederick McCubbin in the 1880s, painted the popular images of pastoral life in the landscape contributing to the nationalistic generation. However McCubbin's repertoire extended to painting the intimate landscape, one of loving detail and affectionate involvement with the landscape at ground level. This was particularly evident in Mc Cubbin's North Wind (1890) which is a combination of an intimate focus set within a distant generalisation of the Australian landscape.

From the1920s to 1940s, Margaret Preston introduces an opposing view to the intimacy of the 1890s. Her work was characterised by large simplifications of the Australian floral form; influenced by Australian Aboriginal Art, her style bold, geometric, enlarged and coarse in scale.

Colours of the Australian Landscape

For the first 100 years the Australian landscape was represented as green/tawny brown, as exemplified in the pastoral landscapes of Martens, Glover and von Guerard. By the 1880s, the pastoral landscape became gold and then the intimate depictions of the landscape coloured grey/mauve. In the 1930s and 1940s the landscape became monochrome red as painters moving from the pastoral landscapes to the desert country shown in Hans Heysen: the Flinders Ranges 1926 and Arthur Murch: Alice Springs 1933. Red carried associations with the word "heart". As well, the advent of Technicolour film and Kodachrome transparencies accentuated the colour red. But it was Russell Drysdale's "New South Wales Drought series"(1945) which confirmed red to be the symbolic colour of Australia.

Seascape

Thomas felt that marine painting scarcely existed in Australian Art. Despite this, there was a significant awareness of the movement and strength of the ocean, portrayed in Australian Art, reflecting a nation's conscious awareness of the ocean, both its delights and danger, shown in Arthur Streeton's "The Long Wave Coogee".

Landscape with Emotion, Drama and Myth

Loneliness and the concept of a settlement clinging to the edges of an empty continent have often been characterisations of the Australian landscape. Another emotion associated with representations of the landscape is 'Pride' seen as the achievement of civilisation in an unknown wilderness, ordering the disorder. Adjusting to the landscape as a pioneer where Australia was seen as physically empty, visually monotonous and empty of history, poetry and myth.

By the 1880s, painting showed an exaggeration and over-emphasis of the exotic using palm trees and fern. There was also increasing patriotism with the dominant patriotic image of the pastoralist representing the nationalistic Australian. By the1890s, nature was seen as a violent element. The Australian bush was often portrayed as dangerous and sinister. Many paintings depicted the landscape as ominous in character. However the majority of Australian landscape paintings of this period depict a sense of man conquering nature, the landscape as tamed and benign. Thomas suggests that Tom Roberts' "The Sunny South" 1887 as the first painting of European nudes in the Australian landscape, indicates that these Australians did not feel alienated from the environment.

Ending

In the1900s, there were a number of 'isolation paintings' which were responding to the demolition and death surrounding Sydney at the outbreak of the bubonic plague. By the1920s, Lloyd Rees painted images of the landscape that combine the "Old Sydney" Picturesque-ness and the great landscape paintings of Europe. He often 'improved on' paintings and drawings of the Australian landscape by placing a hill-top monastery in the composition.

By the 1940s, Arthur Boyd adds a creature still in the stages of evolution to the particular remoteness of the Australian landscape. Animal, vegetable or mineral is not stipulated however its presence is an indication of his own awareness of a pre-history to the Australian landscape.

"Biological Man"

Judith Wright looks at the landscape as a tension between 'biological man' and 'technological man'. She argues that poetry is the voice of the 'biological man'.

She suggests that 'Biological man' is within every human being; he is the part of us that is least under conscious control. 'Biological man' is the feeling/emotional side as opposed to the thinking analytical side. His needs are pure and simple; food, shelter, employment, air and water. However, our "new" environment is made of by-products of the material progress made by the 'economic/technological man'.

'Biological man' is the enemy of progress because he is the victim of progress. Wright suggest that he can be silenced no more; 'Biological man' is now finding his voice, responding by protest. This protest can take many forms – criminal, dropping out of society or escaping by means of alcohol, drugs etc. As a result 'Biological man' may become ill and need to seek help thus become a statistic that is reflected in the cost of health services. 'Biological man' is then a burden on society – what a bind for' biological man'! Wright argues that poets are the mouthpieces for 'biological man', as poetry is the words of our human history and natural rhythms of life. Poetry is a way the 'biological man' can survive and be heard. Poetry can be seen as a measure of the real human condition.

Australian poetry portrays an unease with its own country, perhaps we are still aliens in our own country. We have only occupied this country for a relatively small time but in that small time we have not tried to adapt to the country instead we have tried to adapt the country to ourselves. Poetry reflects 200 years of European settlement and the resulting infertile soils, vanished forests, silted estuaries, drained wetlands and exploited agricultural land; all in an alarmingly short period of time.

Wright shows that we have a history of confrontation with the landscape which has been portrayed in poetry of Charles Harpur, depicting Australia as a Wordsworthian landscape inhabited by perfectible man; Henry Lawson, scolding the bush for its monotony and harshness, so too the cities for their cruelty. Inturn the harshness of the bush has changed Australians into tough pioneering types, inhabiting an equally tough nation. If the landscape was harsh, the challenge was there for it to be conquered, if it was then conquered it was done so in the interest of progress and the national spirit.

Apparently 'Biological man' found little to say during the first Century of Australian poetry. It was John Shaw Neilson who was an early voice of 'Biological man'. He wrote of the landscape of his birth and his alienation in urban city life including the discomfort of 'Biological man' under the conditions created by 'technological man'.

By the 1950s, 'technological man' was ascending. Urbanisation, industrialisation, war and settlement predominantly in the urban environment, convey a shift from country life. Poetry is now the words of the university-educated about the city. Poetry is sophisticated, scholarly and urban, not environmental in terms of 'Biological man'.

In the 1960s, the realisation that progress technologically can lead to war prompted a reaction. The academicism of poetry started to crumble and poetry moved to cafes. The philosophy of poetry was now based on instant communication through personal relationships rather than what was demanded by the technological society, thus 'Biological man' is the instigator for change within us all.

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ATTITUDES TO NATURE – Visions of Landscape

by Jeannie Sim[3]

Central to any landscape design philosophy is an attitude, or set of attitudes, towards Nature (otherwise known as the natural environment). Such attitudes affect other kinds of changes on the land, including urban development, agriculture, mining, conservation and tourism, that is these attitudes are made manifest also in the broader cultural landscape. One relevant definition of Nature in the OED is "**13.a** The material world, or its collective objects and phenomena, esp. those with which man is most directly in contact; freq. the features and products of the earth itself, as contrasted with those of human civilization."[4] Aside from this general but comprehensive concept of Nature, there have been several 'visions' of the relationship between human beings and their environment. Attitudes to Nature, especially as they related to Australia, have been considered recently within the research areas of geography and environmental history. Kevin Frawley listed five specific 'visions' of nature within the Australian context, which he explained in this manner (emphasis added):

> **Colonial** (resource exploitation, development ethos)
> **National** (national development optimism)
> **Scientific** (enquiry into nature)
> **Ecological** (opposition to development ethos)
> **Romantic** (attraction of wild and uncivilized landscape)[5]

These visions were based on the five major images proposed earlier by geographer Ronald Heathcote.[6] Frawley maintained that the combination of Western cultural traditions (particularly among Anglo-Celtic settlers) were influenced by the Australian conditions to create these different visions. He described the historical development of these visions (see Table 8), but the essential outcome of this analysis was the opposing ideas of developmentalism and environmentalism and the striving for some common ground between these polarities as a present day objective. In Queensland's history, these visions were vying for attention, with the developmental vision by far the strongest.

TABLE 8: Eras in evolving Australian environmental visions, & key elements.[7]

Exploitative pioneering: nineteenth century onwards

- Enlightenment thought: progress, growth, development
- Anglo-Celtic cultural background: obeisance to all things British
- Colonialism/imperialism: Australian production geared to Empire needs
- Rationality: on rational principles Australia was to be made more productive
- Evolutionary theory: gave a rationale for colonial displacement of people and transformation of environment by a superior race
- Yeoman farmer ideal/agrarianism: social and environmental ideal highly significant in land policy until mid twentieth century
- Human impact on environment: influence of Marsh (1864) as well as local observation

National development and 'wise use' of resources: c. 1900-60s

- 'Wise use' concepts: slowly come to underpin State intervention in resource management (beginning with water)
- National development, northern development, population question
- Immigration
- Post World War II social and political change, rise of nature conservation interest

Modern environmentalism: 1960s-present

- International wave of social change
- Environmentalism: competing social paradigm to [become] dominant one
- Green politics: critique of capitalism, Marxism,

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[3] Edited extract from: Sim, J.C.R. (1999), Chapter 5, in "Designed Landscapes in Queensland, 1859-1939: experimentation – adaptation – innovation." Unpublished PhD thesis, Brisbane: QUT.

[4] OED, "Nature," pg. 249.

[5] Frawley, Kevin (1994), "Evolving Visions: environmental management and nature conservation in Australia" Chapter 4, In Dovers, Eric (1994), Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. pp. 55-78; derived from "Environmental Ideas in Australia and Public Policy Development," pg. 59.

[6] Heathcote, R. L. (1972), "The Visions of Australia 1770-1970," In Rapoport, A. (ed.) Australia as Human Setting. Sydney: Angus & Robertson. pp. 77-98.

[7] Frawley, Kevin (1994), pp. 55-78; This is a copy of his Table 4.1 of the same name, pg. 61.

and the 'old' left
- Ecologically sustainable development: 'wise use' writ anew, or development constrained ecologically?

Until recently, it was widely believed that concern for the environment was hardly raised in 18th or early 19th centuries, being substantially a 20th century phenomenon. The American George Perkins Marsh was often cited as being among the first authors to link the actions of humanity with environmental degradation.[8] However, historian Richard Grove dispelled that myth recently when he concluded:

> our older assumptions about the philosophical and geographical origins of current environmental concerns need to be entirely reconsidered. It is now clear that modern environmentalism, rather than being exclusively a product of European or North American predicaments and philosophies, emerged as a direct response to the destructive social and ecological conditions of colonial rule. Its colonial advocates, and their texts, were deeply influenced by a growing European consciousness of natural process in the tropics and by a distinctive awareness of non-European epistemologies of nature.[9]

Evidence from the Queensland publications from the 1860s to the 1930s support Grove's observation, with numerous instances of concern for dwindling forests and associated climatic problems being found, although official (government) recognition of these ideas was slow to take hold.

Three themes are used in the following discussion to illustrate further the local ideas: developmental ethos, ecological ethos and romantic ethos. These themes were derived from the five visions of Heathcote and Frawley. The changes entail combining the colonial and national visions into one general developmental ethos and separating out the scientific vision for discussion elsewhere. It was considered that attitudes to science go beyond just dealing with nature, and that an intrinsic relationship exists between science, plants and gardening (or horticultural science). This justified a separate and detailed exploration which is contained in the following section of this chapter. The third theme of a romantic ethos is revealed as having very strong links to contemporary aesthetic theory such as 'the picturesque.' For landscape design, the interrelatedness of these three basic visions becomes evident as the discussion progresses.

The **'developmental ethos'** was fundamental to Colonial settlement and post-colonial times as well. Recent histories of Queensland have noted the heavy emphasis on 'progress' or 'development' during both the 19th and 20th centuries.[10] This development ethos affected many aspects of life and lifestyle in early Queensland, not the least being how land was managed. The emphasis on development for commercial purposes meant concepts such as intellectual or spiritual stimulation, art and ornament were barely considered: usefulness, the "useful arts" and "the pursuit of the practical" were the important concerns of the times, and for most echelons of society.[11] The development of the natural resources of Queensland was seen as the primary driving force for the Colony. This view is supported by an unknown author who wrote in 1870:

> If the future of Queensland is to be great, it can only become so through the instrumentality of commerce, and it is therefore the duty of every well-wisher of the colony to assist by every legitimate means in fostering its trade and developing its immense resources.[12]

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[8] Marsh, George Perkins and David Lowenthal (ed) (1974), Man and Nature. Cambridge, MA: John Harvard Library/Belknap Press. This was an anniversary reprint of the original 1864 edition of the American scholar's most famous and influential work. Lowenthal made this claim to Marsh's prominence in his reprint introduction.

[9] Grove, Richard H. (1996), Green Imperialism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pg. 486

[10] Fitzgerald, Ross (1986), A History of Queensland from Dreaming to 1915, Vol. 1. St Lucia: UQ Press, Prologue. See also Fitzgerald, Ross (1985), A History of Queensland 1915 to the 1980s. St Lucia: UQ Press; Flannery, Timothy Fridtjof (1996), The Future Eaters: An ecological history of the Australasian lands and people. Chatswood, NSW: Reed.

[11] Fitzgerald, Ross (1986), A History of Queensland from Dreaming to 1915, Vol. 1. St Lucia: UQ Press, pg. 305.

[12] Attached to "Annual Report to The Honourable Secretary for Public Lands, Queensland" (presented to Parliament by Walter Hill), In Queenslander, 7 May 1870, pg. 6. The catalyst for this declaration was the recently tabled Annual Report from the curator of the Brisbane Botanic Garden, Walter Hill, who was busy

The excitement evident in this extract is almost tangible. The vision of Nature with bountiful resources is pronounced. Experimentation with plants and horticultural processes was the foundation of these developmental efforts. The search for profitable primary industries began with pastoral ventures and continued with familiar European agricultural pursuits supplemented with some investigations into new (tropical) plant products.[13] Forestry was another major industry that included a range of development attitudes from the outright exploitative to the strongly conservative across its long history in Queensland.[14] The role of the early curators of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens in both these fields was confirmed in the publications researched.

The **'ecological ethos'** in the British Empire began well before the 19th century. This understanding of the environment related to colonial scientists exploring not just the individual plants and animals, but how they all worked together as a natural system. Modern historian Richard Grove wrote:

> While the degree of popular interest in global environmental degradation may be something novel, the history of environmental concern and conservation is certainly not new. On the contrary, the origins and early history of contemporary western environmental concern and concomitant attempts at conservationist intervention lie far back in time. For example, the current fear of widespread artificially induced climate change, widely thought to be of recent origin, actually has ancient roots in the writings of Theophrastus of Erasia in classical Greece. Later climatic theories formed the basis for the first forest conservation policies of many British colonial states. Indeed, as early as the mid eighteenth century, scientists were able to manipulate state policy by their capacity to play on the fears of environmental cataclysm, just as they are today. By 1850 the problem of tropical rainforest deforestation was already being conceived of as a problem existing on a global scale and as a phenomenon demanding urgent and concerted state intervention.[15]

By stressing the dire consequences of environmental havoc on reduced commercial activity and increased famine and disease from failed crops, the London-based bureaucrats of the British Colonial Office affected policy change at the local colonial level. Important figures in science, such as Charles Darwin and his friend Dr. Joseph Hooker of the RBG, Kew were voices of concern in the growing fields of ecology and environmental management. The concept of 'ecology' is basically the: "study of interrelations between organisms and their biotic and abiotic environments" but has "has two meanings, one denoting the environmental science and the other a normative or ethical position that is protective of and reverent towards ecological processes and communities."[16] Both meanings were discussed in the early Queensland publications. The recognition of the environment as an ecologically functioning system was not beyond the ken of educated men like Philip MacMahon, curator of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens (1889-1905). One particular example shows the public nature of the discourse as well. MacMahon wrote of the character of native Cluster figs (*Ficus racemosa* syn. *F. glomerata*), and the role of the little 'fly' in fertilising the tiny fruit encapsulated in the large fruiting body, popularly called the 'fruit'. He placed the workings of this 'small fly' within an ecological context. He said: "All Nature is mutually dependent ; there is a kind of interlocking as it were, like parts of

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experimenting with plants that had potential for future agricultural industries.

[13] Two recent histories of agriculture in Queensland are Camm, J.C.R. (1976), Cultivation, Crops and Machinery: The Development of Agriculture in Queensland, 1890-1914. Newcastle: University of Newcastle Press ; and, Skerman, P.J., A.E. Fisher, and P.L. Lloyd (1988), Guiding Queensland Agriculture: 1887-1987. Brisbane: DPI.

[14] Taylor, Peter (1994), Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland. St. Leonard's, NSW: Allen & Unwin ; and, Carron, L.T. (1985), A History of Forestry in Australia. Canberra: Australian National University Press. Also refer Webb, Leonard (1966), "The Rape of the Forests," in The Great Extermination, A.J. Marshall, ed. London: Heinemann ; and Frawley, Kevin J. (1983) "Rainforest Management in Queensland Before 1900 (Revised form of a paper presented to the 51st ANZAAS Congress Brisbane, May 1981)," Australian Historical Geography Bulletin (4, January), pp. 2-26.

[15] Grove, Richard H. (1996), Green Imperialism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pg. 1

[16] Emel, Jody (1994), "Ecology," pp. 145-147. In Johnston, R. J., *et al* (1994), The Dictionary of Human Geography.

some elaborate machine."[17] The naturally occurring existence of this fly has made the growing of the Mediterranean *Ficus carica* (the edible fig of antiquity) an easy task in Queensland. This plant also requires insectivorous efforts for fertilisation and propagation and the development of edible fruit.

Forestry and the conservation of forests were recurring themes for many of the early directors and curators of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens, beginning with Walter Hill.[18] Hill also acted as the selector of agricultural reserves and forestry reserves (on Fraser Island) around this time. Similarly, all the Government Botanists from F.M. Bailey onwards, have lobbied for adequate recognition of the unique flora of Queensland which included both protection and use for ornamental and productive purposes. Philip MacMahon also wrote on forestry matters and became the second head of the Queensland Department of Forestry between 1905-1910.[19] His early involvement in forestry and conservancy is encapsulated in this biographical description:

> Mr. MacMahon has always taken a considerable interest in forestry, and has no little experience in the propagation of timber trees., to the study of which he devoted no little time whilst in India. He is also a practical surveyor and a clever draughtsman. He was asked by the Queensland Government to suggest a scheme for the conservation of the timbers of the colony (which in many places are fast disappearing), and for the natural regeneration of our forests. On this he wrote a paper, and this paper has been printed and laid on the table of the House in 1890.[20]

Entwined amid these concerns for a sustainable forestry industry were other environmental and aesthetic issues, which gave rise to the interest in establishing National Parks in Queensland following the example set in southern States and colonies.[21] The first National Park in Queensland was Witches Falls, in Tambourine Mountain, gazetted in 1906. This was followed by Cunningham's Gap in 1909 and then the extensive Lamington Plateau in 1915.[22] At the opening of Lamington National Park, the Minister of Lands said:

> The park is described by visitors as affording a panoramic view of magnificent scenery consisting of rugged mountains, waterfalls, precipices, running streams, forest giants and glorious flora and fauna. The reservation of the National Park will preserve it for the use and benefit of future generations. This is regarded as the Blue Mountains of Queensland.[23]

This statement reflects uncertainty and insecurity in its use of language. For example, visitors are credited with the glorious assessment of the place's worth and the subtropical rainforests are likened to the Blue Mountains of NSW (mostly eucalypt forests and woodlands) to justify or familiarise its value. Perhaps the later appellation of the Lamington district as the 'Green Mountains' bears some relation to explaining this difference.[24] The point here is that many contemporary resident Queenslanders showed discomfort in acknowledging the distinctive qualities of their adopted landscape. Other places were better because they were already known and admired.

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[17] MacMahon, Philip: "Our Botanic Gardens" (No. 2) QAJ, V.2, January 1898, pg. 33;

[18] Apart from his Annual Reports which usually included a call for greater environmental care he also produced this series of articles in the local Press: Hill, Walter (1879), "Notes on Forest Conservancy I," Queenslander, 29 Nov 1879, pp. 692-693 ; "Notes on Forest Conservancy II," Queenslander, 6 Dec 1879, pp. 724-725 ; "Notes on Forest Conservancy III," Queenslander, 13 Dec 1879, pg. 756 ; "Notes on Forest Conservancy IV," Queenslander, 27 Dec 1879, pg. 821.

[19] Taylor, Peter (1994), Growing Up: Forestry in Queensland. St. Leonard's, NSW: Allen & Unwin. pg.226. The first head of the department was L.G. Board (1900-1905).

[20] Queensland, 1900. (1900), Brisbane: Alcazar Press, pp. 111. The reference tabled in Parliament was probably later published as: MacMahon, Philip (1905), The Merchantable Timbers of Queensland, Australia: With Special Reference to their uses for Railway Sleepers, Railway Carriage and Wagon Building, and Engineering Works. Brisbane: George Arthur Vaughan, Government Printer. This reference has numerous photographic views and construction drawings of railway bridges in early Queensland.

[21] There are several published histories of this movement and the first parks, including these: Chisholm, Alec (1972), "The Great National Parks Movement in Queensland, Romeo Watkins Lahey Memorial Lecture," JRHSQ, 9 (30), pp. 204-215 ; Jarrott, J. Keith (1975), "History in Queensland National Parks, Fifth Romeo Watkins Lahey Memorial Lecture, 21st March 1975," National Parks Association of Queensland News, May/June 1975, pp. 3-25 ; Groom, Tony (1979), Lamington National Park, Stanthorpe: International Colour Pub'ns.

[22] Poole, Stephen (1996), Wild Places of Greater Brisbane. Brisbane: Qld Museum/Brisbane City Council. pg. 4.

[23] Jarrott, J. Keith (1990), History of Lamington National Park, Brisbane: Author / National Parks Association, pg. 41.

Thanks to a few voices in the local community interested in natural history, some special natural environments were protected from the turn of the century. These people later formed the National Parks Association of Queensland in 1930, a community organisation with the goal to maintain that 'watch-dog' role over government.[25] Romeo Watkins Lahey was one of the founding members of the NPA and had successfully campaigned with his friend R.M. Collins for the creation of Lamington National Park between 1911-1915.[26] The tourist industry potential for these National Parks was frequently mentioned in the literature; thus, making such places really 'useful'. A trip to the Lamington National Park was reported in the Queenslander with numerous photographs of scenic views and gigantic trees. The author of the articles began:

> That the National Park, on the MacPherson Ranges, is capable of being made a great holiday resort and recreation ground for Southern Queensland was apparent to a party of members of the Brisbane Field Naturalists' Club, who recently spent nine glorious days there.[27]

Reinforcing the good sense of making a national park was a concern for the author. However, the usefulness of the place was stressed. The author 'G.H.' wrote,

> Was the proclamation justified? Surely it was. Here we have an area among the hills and valleys that one would never expect to be closely settled, but that can serve many useful purposes as a great national asset. Leaving the tourist aspect aside, for the present, look at the possibilities for the preservation of timber and plant and bird life that such a State reserve affords.[28]

The potential for tourism was compared to similar established destinations in southern colonies with this statement: "From the tourist point of view, the MacPherson Range, the Main Range, from Toowoomba to the border, and the detached peaks in the vicinity should become as popular as the Blue Mountains in New South Wales." [29] Here, the author is not describing Lamington in meek terms as a local version of the Blue Mountains, but proudly and hopefully, comparing potential tourist popularity. In this report also, Lahey is mentioned: "It is very largely owing to the efforts of a Queensland University student, Mr. Romeo Lahey, that this piece of mountain borderland has been set apart for the future common benefit of the people of the State as a whole."[30]

The ecological awareness and conservation of non-rainforest environments was much slower to develop. Early visitors to Australia such as the English nurseryman John Gould Veitch had described the Melaleuca and Eucalypt woodlands covering much of the continent's coastal areas as "the same brown-looking Australian vegetation."[31] One unusual example of a call for the study of gum trees (*Eucalyptus* spp.) was published in the local Press in 1879. Dr. Bancroft wrote a letter which included two significant ideas:

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[24] O'Reilly, Bernard (1940?), Green Mountains and Cullenbong, 25th impression, Fortitude Valley: Kemp Place Investments. This work describes the history of the O'Reilly family who settled the Lamington Plateau in the early 20th century and cleared the "Big Scrub" for dairying purposes, but later turned to conservation and tourism. O'Reilly's Lookout and Guesthouse and Binna Burra are today the two major resorts within the Plateau area.

[25] Queenslander, 24 April 1930, pg. 3

[26] Jarrott, J. Keith (1990), History of Lamington National Park, ?Brisbane: Author & National Parks Association, pp. 36 & 41. Lahey's early exploratory journey by foot through the Coomera / Lamington Plateau area was described in an article in the Queenslander, 9 September 1911.

[27] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park: Mountain Views and Waterfalls, The Antarctic Beech Trees", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41. The party was comprised of "Messrs. C.T. White (Government Botanist), Henry Tyron (Government Entomologist), A.H. Chisholm (Queensland secretary Ornithologists Union), C.D. Gillies (University biologist), S.R.L. Shepherd (Geological Department), J.E. Young, R. Higgins, O.W. O'Brien, W. H. Hermann, and G. Harrison."

[28] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41

[29] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41

[30] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41

> In the Queenslander of last week, page 250, is an article about gum trees being planted in various parts of the world, ending in 'Perhaps at some time an effort should be made to grow gum trees here for shade purposes.' Might we not go further, and grow a little park of them for educational purposes ? We in this land of gum trees know very little about them.[32]

Apart from the recognition of the most common trees in Australia being least understood, this extract includes a landscape design matter and a scientific pursuit. Bancroft's suggestion was not taken up from the evidence uncovered so far, nor was the idea of shade tree planting with gums, but this statement is one of the earliest calls for the study of these native plants. Later, perhaps associated with the recognition of early National Parks and a growing awareness of the natural environment, an arboretum was established in suburban Brisbane for the study of Queensland's native plants. Sherwood Arboretum was established in 1923 to the layout of E.W. Bick, then curator of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens. The State Arboretum received a rousing chorus in the description of its progress by the Queenslander's gardening columnist 'Chloris' who noted among other things, a "grove of acacias" and an "avenue of gums".[33]

The third theme about climate and Nature discussed here is the **'romantic ethos'** which was (and is) closely linked to creative and artistic expression. One early example from agricultural writer Angus Mackay shows how the visions of Nature could be entwined. In between detailed descriptions of keeping stock and raising crops (decidedly developmentalist ideas), he presented a small essay called "Living in the Bush," about Nature and humanity (which leans towards environmentalism and is laced with both aesthetic and romantic notions). Observations of nature and natural processes are just part of the plethora of knowledge that Mackay indicates should be acquired.

> Verily, there seems pressing need of a new apostle to go to and fro in the land, preaching everywhere what Ruskin calls the "duty of delight." A love of nature is just as much a matter of cultivation as a love of virtue or of knowledge, or any other desirable mental state, and its attainment must always form an essential part of every right education. That any life should ever be allowed to grow stale, flat, and unprofitable when there is much to learn and enjoy, is one of the mysteries. See to it, brothers and sisters – you dwellers in the quiet homes scattered over the hillsides, through the valleys, and on the broad plains of our country – see to it, that you are not throwing away your birthright.[34]

This call for self-improvement is a legacy of the Enlightenment era of the 18th century and was a recurring sentiment in the Victorian era both in Britain and Australia, if not much of the industrialised world at that time. Acquiring knowledge (to match the practical experience much admired by all) was another matter. Justifying the pursuit of scientific agricultural and horticultural knowledge as aids to better productivity were an ongoing theme around the turn of the century in Queensland in particular.

Literary expression and the awareness of the natural world can be found in the Queenslander. This newspaper included several literary sections over its printing history that gave local poets and short story writers a public forum for their ideas. Many of these works centered on experiences in the bush – both positive and negative reactions. At times these works revealed a sentimental attachment to the Australian environment and Nature's processes. Such ideas became more pronounced leading up to Federation and beyond, where nationalism and appreciation of 'the bush' were closely linked.

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[31] "Extracts from the Journal of Mr. John Gould Veitch during a trip to the Australian Colonies and the South Sea Islands," Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette, [London] 10 February 1866, pg. 124.

[32] Bancroft, Dr. (1879), letter published under the "Forestry" banner, Queenslander, 30 August, 1879, pg. 277.

[33] 'Chloris' (1929), "Garden Notes," Queenslander, 28 February 1929, pg. 61.

[34] Mackay, Angus (1875) The Semi-Tropical Agriculturist and Colonists' Guide. Brisbane: Slater & Co. pg. 16

Other descriptions of scenic landscapes reveal both the aesthetic and romantic ideas that were associated with these places. 'Picturesque' was a term that was frequently used in these discourses, as a general term of admiration for the visual character of natural landscapes. Harrison, who has been cited already, was particularly verbose in these matters when discussing the Lamington Plateau area:

> At Mount Bithongabel, a few miles from the [Moran's Creek] falls, where the party camped for a couple of nights in the beautiful scrub, there is a view that would be hard to surpass anywhere. In one direction you can look south over the mountains to the Pacific Ocean in the far distance, … Immediately below is the valley of the Tweed, dotted with dairy farms, … Mount Warning stands out in the near distance, and the township of Murwillumbah and the silver streak of the Tweed are features of the panorama. The lights of Byron Bay lighthouse blink at you after the sun has set. In the other direction you look down the valley to where Mount Lindsay and Mount Barney rear their heads above those of the minor peaks in the vicinity, and beyond that, in the haze, you can take in the Main Range with all the blur of country that comes down to Brisbane, with the sand on the sea shoe at Stradbroke Island as a background. This is typical of other aspects all along the peaks of the border range.[35]

The panoramic view and concepts of power (of Nature and of humans conquering Nature by climbing mountains) are issues revealed in this extract. The tourist potential for natural places with extraordinary scenic views was emphasised in Harrison's account and he mentioned one destination in particular in this regard:

> At one spot the O'Reilly family have made a clearing in the scrub at a point where they some day hope to erect a rest house. Surely no more pleasing aspect could be desired. Here you are among the manuscripts of God. The darkening shadows – neither moving nor at rest – play on the sides of the mountains.[36]

Despite the author's obvious admiration for the landscape around him, he still used the common appellation of 'scrub' for the ancient rainforest areas. Associated with early environmentalist attitudes was the notion of Nature being God's handiwork which inferred that humans have a responsibility to look after these special (sacred) areas – the romantic ethos blended with the ecological. The other side of this philosophical coin is the God-given right for humans to exploit Nature – the development ethos. For Harrison, whose experience of cities, pollution and urban problems was primarily via sub-tropical Brisbane, nonetheless noted the unsullied character of the Lamington Plateau:

> The air – free from the dust that is inseparable from the populated cities – is cool and bracing, and you can appreciate its value as a tonic as you drink in great draughts of it. You are at a height of anything from 2000ft. to nearly 4000ft.[37]

This combination of the attractive scenery and the recuperative opportunities of cool, clean mountain air became a major characteristic of tourist promotions for this area from the 1920s onwards to the present day.

There were numerous other descriptions of the scenic landscapes of Queensland in early publications, which emphasised the picturesque and sentimental ideas that embody the romantic ethos. These deserve further investigation in their own right and comparison with the dominant ethos of development at all costs. The impression for these publications was that authors were carrying at the same time both romantic and developmental attitudes to Nature in early Queensland.[38]

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[35] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41

[36] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41

[37] G.H. [author = ?G. Harrison], "The National Park", Queenslander, 8 February 1919, pg. 41

[38] Among these were : Meston, Archibald (1895), Geographic History of Queensland. Brisbane: Government Printer ; Fox, Matt J. (1919-1923), The history of Queensland : its people and industries : an historical and commercial review, an epitome of

Bridging the themes of climate, Nature and plants, is this extract from the first Queensland Agricultural Adviser, Professor E.M. Shelton. He advocated the use of native plants for landscape works and condemned the extensive clearing of bushland for development purposes when he wrote:

> One of the most curious inconsistencies of pioneer life the world over is seen in the eagerness with which all native-tree growths are chopped down and grubbed up about country dwellings and public buildings, in order that transplanted ones may be enjoyed twenty years afterwards. On almost every part of Queensland outside of the western plains natural groves exist, or did exist, which, with a little pruning and thinning, might have been made objects of beauty and utility to this and coming generations.[39]

Shelton's advice reflects a growing concern for the long-term future of the Colony of Queensland, and the pleasant verdant character that it should comprise.

These attitudes to nature are just some of the key perceptual matters of relevance here. Variations on these attitudes have been raised by historians and writers of literature, among others. The next section discusses some of these major outlooks on Australia and Queensland in particular.

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progress. 3 Vols. Adelaide : Hussey & Gillingham for the States Publishing Co. ; Knight, J.J. (1895), In the Early Days: History and Incident of Pioneer Queensland. Brisbane: Sapsford ; and, Knight, J.J. (1897), Brisbane: A Historical Sketch of the Capital of Queensland. Brisbane: Biggs and Morcom.

[39] Shelton, E.M. (1892), "Tree-Planting for Shade and Ornament: Suggestions for teachers and others interested in the planting of trees," Bulletin No. 17, May, 1892, pp. 5-18. Brisbane: Department of Agriculture/Govt. Printer. pg. 9.

BEING A QUEENSLANDER – BEING DIFFERENT?

by Jeannie Sim.

The final discussion here presents the personal interpretations of being a Queenslander by two women: writer Thea Astley and journalist Julianne Schultz. Of course, there are many more writers of prose, poetry and journal articles that could be added to this list. Fortunately, Astley reviews many of the notable writers up to the 1970s in her lecture discussed here, and this provides an overview of their interpretations. These two writers identify a widely held perception among Queenslanders (about themselves) and among other Australians that Queenslanders are different (from other Australians). For Astley, this phenomenon is tied to the notion of distance, heat, frontier straightforwardness, and the active pursuit of difference:

> The human race places great store on the outward trappings of conventional behaviour – or conformist behaviour. Almost from the first, Queenslanders made no attempt to reduplicate the architecture of their southern neighbours. Houses perched on stilts like teetering swamp birds; and with the inroads of white-ants not only teetered but eventually flew away. And then we build houses so that we can live underneath them. Perhaps those stilts made southerners think of us as bayside-dwelling Papuans. Our dress, too, has always been more casual. Our manners are indifferent, laconic, in temperatures that can run at over ninety [degrees Fahrenheit] for weeks on end.[40]

Astley suggests that this 'difference' is the key to understanding Queensland:

> It's all on the antithesis. The contrasts. The contradictions. Queensland means living in townships called Dingo and Banana and Gunpowder [and 1770] … And the distance … Queensland has maintained much of its quality of abstraction, an idea – a genesis still preserved in the current publication of the Wild River Times. The vast spaces, the smaller population bring unexpected rencontres.[41]

She identified the difference, even within Queensland, between north and south: "There is a saying in Queensland that the real Australia doesn't start until you are north of Rockhampton";[42] and that northern suspicion of political skulduggery includes Brisbane even more so than Canberra. The number of times North Queensland has attempted to secede from Queensland over than past century is further testimony to this perception. Schultz also noted the Queensland difference, as perceived by 'outsiders' such as visitors to prestige resorts in Noosa or Port Douglas who declare "To me Queensland is just another foreign country" and as she observed herself:

> Queensland is the "other" place in Australia – God's own country of sand, surf and sunshine. Hotter, blonder, brasher, dumber, poorer – rather like the old Australia used to be. Not far way, not remote like Western Australia. Just over the border, plan an hour from Sydney, two from Melbourne, close enough to intrude into the national consciousness. It is of the nation to be different, very, very different. The edge, the frontier, the raw, untamed world just beyond the 30th parallel, the Brisbane line. [43]

The other side of this difference coin is the disconnection or exclusion Queenslanders feel about the rest of Australia. Schultz wrote: "To their intense annoyance, many who live in the Sunshine State are made to feel like uninvited guests at the table of national decision-making: not welcome and certainly not understood, apologetically provincial."[44] (and the butt of jokes). However, this difference has given rise to several innovations. The Labor Party and the Democratic Labor Party were born in Queensland – the left and right of politics. Schultz wrote:

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[40] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. *The Sixth Herbert Blaiklock Memorial Lecture*, delivered at University of Sydney, 23 June 1976. Surry Hills, NSW: Wentworth Press, pp. 3-4.

[41] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. Surry Hills: Wentworth Press, pg. 14.

[42] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. Surry Hills: Wentworth Press, pg. 3.

[43] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pg. 32.

> The struggle against exclusion means that time and again Queensland is the wellspring of national change. It sets the national agenda, changes the way we think about ourselves. It was ahead of the game in trading with Asia, and thanks to One Nation it is again ahead of the game – raising barriers.[45]

Astley also observed this attitude:

> I have an idea that Queenslanders were not early conscious of a kind of federal racism directed at them until late in the [second world] war and after. The scandalous implications of the Brisbane Line which still brings a rush of blood to the necks of old-timers were perhaps what first directed the Queenslander's realisation that he was disregarded, a joke, a butt, to the attempt to complete and prove cultural worth.[46]

The result of these taunts about difference, is a local patriotism, some would say provincialism which Astley observed among her fellow authors as well as the general public. Sometimes this "positive pronouncement on the aggressive patriotism" is expressed with a critical wit, as here by the reformed southerner poet Paul Grano (born in Victoria and lived in Qld since 1932):

> **Patriotism**
> **(After visiting the Rest Room at the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau).**
> All wood here used is Queensland wood,
> the blossoms pictured are of Queensland trees,
> the table, too, is as it should be, a product of our factories,
> we must agree are not so good the paper flowers with wiry stem
> but let it quite be understood –
> they're Queensland flies that crawl on them.[47]

In 1998, there were ten right-wing One Nation Party members elected to the Queensland parliament. Schultz's article was prepared as a result of the shock to the national psyche: barbarism and ignorance raising its ugly head in Queensland, so it was 'amusingly' presented in southern papers. Schultz noted:

> [Pauline] Hanson's oddness, her outspokenness, her ignorance, wasn't a joke. She connected to an old Australia which, like a grumpy giant with a massive chip on its shoulder, awoke to claim the future. The stereotypes and caricatures, like the discredited century-old answers – White Australia, agrarian socialism, tariffs, infrastructure projects and low-interest State banks – could be dusted off and revived.[48]

The negative side to the Queensland difference has been addressed candidly also by others. For instance, historians Ross Fitzgerald and Bill Thorpe have identified the strong development ethos and lack of cultural diversity (matters discussed in the meta-historical themes of 'development' and 'land'), while Henry Reynolds has provided a much needed insight on the treatment of indigenous Australians in history (as event and account).

Another aspect of Queensland distinctiveness is the tide of visitors and migrants (from the southern states) that regularly cross the borders. Being popular as a holiday destination, has meant that many Australians have a remembered connection to Queensland as Schultz noted:

> … the sparkling jewel of a million dollar travel agency posters, Queensland is a foreign country you can visit unencumbered by passport, phrasebook or traveller's cheques. Beautiful one day, perfect the next … For those south of the border it is tantalising odd yet familiar … Many [of the recent migrants had] … a prior connection to the State, childhood memories of sun and mangoes and weatherboard houses on stilts, halcyon

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[44] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pg. 32.

[45] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pg. 33.

[46] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. Surry Hills: Wentworth Press, pg. 4.

[47] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. Surry Hills: Wentworth Press, pg. 6.

[48] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pg. 33.

> memories they wanted their children to savour.[49]

The search for a new start (lifestyle and opportunities) in Queensland, unhindered by prior situations, and within a lush warm climate, has been a recurring theme in migration to the State, from the earliest pastoral squatters to the latest influx from Victoria post-Kennett, as Schultz described:

> In the "growth is good, development at all costs" world of Queensland, the waves of new arrivals were a good thing. Despite the lingering jokes about Mexicans and tick gates, the migrants proved the State really was the most desirable part of Australia, something no true-blue Queenslander ever doubted.[50]

Both Astley and Schultz remarked about Queensland as a source, these days, of national "cultural richness", and attributed the character of the land, lifestyle and society for this phenomenon. Astley pointed out the extraordinary richness of the Queensland Education Department's School Readers, and the effect from an early age of being introduced to great literature (in small and well illustrated amounts). She also noted how by leaving the State, the heart grew founder: "I don't think my love affair with Queensland ripened into its mature madness until I came south to live."[51] Schultz wrote:

> Much of the nation's cultural richness has been crafted by Queenslanders who left, their creative imaginations stamped by a tropical or outback childhood. For generations many of the best and brightest have left the State, seeking bigger opportunities, broader horizons, a more open, less judgemental society.[52]

Thus, after years of self-deprecatory jokes and stories, the difference about Queenslanders is being realised as something to be celebrated and enjoyed. However, is so doing, the danger is that the distances will be narrowed and bridged, the rebelliousness tamed, the culture homogenised into the acceptable tourist pap and the difference lost. From Thea Astley comes this reminder linking literary truth and local identity:

> Whether a writer takes his matter from an isolated hamlet in Patagonia or the lushest cities in Europe, the clichéd beauties of the English countryside or the salt-pans west of Isa, it is the manner in which these things are seen and interpreted that creates the truth and the poem – not the thing itself … Only simplicity is truly moving – which explains why one weeps over Lawson's Mrs Spicer but not over Laura Trevelyan's Voss. Grandeur inspires awe and wonder. Rarely tears. And of course simplicity is the heart of the parish.[53]

This review of Astley's paper and Schultz's article reveals the richness of 'high' literature and journalistic writings in providing evidence about cultural perception and local identity. However brief this overview, several key explanations about perception have been reveal. These include the furthering of 'distance' as a key motivation in history and that the Queensland difference has both good and bad aspects to it. What cannot be denied is the importance of these perceptions (real or imagined) in the course of history.

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[49] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pp. 32-3.

[50] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pg. 33.

[51] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. Surry Hills: Wentworth Press, pg. 5.

[52] Schultz, Julianne (1998), "Queensland, another country", The Australian Magazine, July 25-26, 1998, pg. 34.

[53] Astley, Thea (1978), Being a Queenslander: a form of literary and geographical conceit. Surry Hills: Wentworth Press, pg. 8.

7 INTERPRETING LANDSCAPE AS TEXT

interpreting landscapes through phenomenological hermeneutics

By Helen Armstrong

Landscape interpretation using phenomenological hermeneutics is currently a rich field of study in the new area of Critical Cultural Geography. In Australia this has been applied to interpreting tourist landscapes through the work of O'Hare (1997) and to the interpretation of migrant landscapes though the work of Armstrong (1997).

Phenomenology and hermeneutics, although originating within the realm of philosophy, are now widely used, particularly in Post-Structuralist studies where the data, visual or discursive, are referred to as 'texts'. Phenomenological applications are seen in cultural studies, sociology, cultural geography, art and design, and even legal studies. Within philosophy, phenomenology has been a growing movement because it challenges the primacy of Cartesian logic and Hegel's idea of 'absolute knowledge'. In the area of cultural geography, this has opened the door to complex interpretations of cultural landscapes.

Through phenomenological studies, cultural landscape interpretations can be informed by the essence of experience of the lived world (Spiegelberg, 1975, 1982). This can be augmented by hermeneutics, the study of interpretations, where layers of meaning are revealed. The application of hermeneutics occurs in those situations where meanings are encountered that are not immediately understandable. Thus phenomenology in cultural landscape studies can be summarised as focusing on people's unstructured descriptions of their lived experiences, while hermeneutics interprets the way these experiences are evident in the landscape.

Investigating Queensland's Cultural Landscapes: CONTESTED TERRAINS Series

Introduction

In studying cultural landscapes through phenomenological hermeneutics, it is important to resist essentialist claims about phenomena. Confusion often occurs when 'phenomena' are equated with 'things' (Pickles, 1985). Instead, phenomenologically, we are interested in the way things, landscapes, are constituted, ie the intentionality. Duncan & Duncan's study (Re)Reading the Landscape (1988:117) shows how Post-Structuralist literary theory provides a way of interpreting landscapes or place as "transformations of realities". 'Place as text' has been the focus of a number of Post-Structuralist geographic interpretations (Duncan and Ley, 1993). Perhaps the clearest explanation of why landscapes are data comes from Christopher Tilley's study, A Phenomenology of Landscape (1994:33), where he discusses the nexus between stories and place. He suggests that

> …when a story becomes sedimented into the landscape, the story and the place dialectically help to construct and reproduce each other. Places help to recall stories … and places only exist (as named locales) by virtue of their emplotment in a narrative.

Phenomenology provides a way of revealing the values held about landscapes, particularly values that are held by different groups in the community. In Queensland, there are a number of community groups whose relationship to the landscape has not been explored.

Deep readings of values and meanings related to place are often difficult to understand and articulate, particularly if the groups' values may not be part of the mainstream culture. So the process of gaining the 'text' is not easy. Most of the narrative texts in landscape studies draw from oral history and memories, which is seen by some scholars as unreliable (Windshuttle, 1994). Samuel, in his study Theatres of Memory (1994), explores the reticence by historians to value memory. In this work, he argues for the validity of 'unofficial knowledge'. Sandercock also look at the 'unofficial story' or the 'noir side' in her study of marginalised groups and place, Making the Invisible Visible (1998). Samuel does not seek verifiable narratives. Instead he argues for the role of 'metafiction' such as Simon Schama's Landscape and Memory (1995), a study which adds to historians' concerns about the value of memory as a legitimate text (Windshuttle, 1994). The metafictions, Samuel suggests, show how memory is "primitive, instinctual, [and] naturally comes to mind" (1994:ix) whereas history is considered to be self-conscious and the product of analysis, taking abstract reason as its guide. Equally, Connerton's (1989) argues strongly that community memories have validity. Lowenthal (1996:143) explores the tension between history and heritage when interpreted through memories. He cites Spence (1982) as an example of the historian's concerns, where Spence comments,

> Those who chronicle their own pasts, alter facts and tolerate fictions in ways that would ban historians from academe. Mistrusting memories that can neither be verified or falsified, historians take a jaundiced view of what psychology calls narrative truth – accounts based solely on unsupported recollection.

While phenomenology does not supply 'facts', it nevertheless uses a particularly rigorous procedure to interpret values.

Applied phenomenology is a science, an art, and a method as much as it is a philosophy (Bartjes, 1991; Buttimer & Seamon, 1974; Natanson, 1966).

Because of the cross-disciplinary nature of landscape interpretations, phenomenological applications involve rigorous methods as well as the art of creative interpretations. Pure phenomenology emerged with the writings of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). He argued for the importance of returning to phenomena as they are consciously experienced without theories about their causes, and for observing such phenomena as freely as possible from unexamined preconceptions and presuppositions

(Spiegelberg, 1975, 1982; Valle & Halling, 1989). Thus phenomenology can be explained as a rigorous and unbiased study of things 'as they appear' so that one might come to an understanding of the essences of human experience. Husserl's main concern was about understanding how we come to know the world. He explored this through the concept of 'life world' (*lebenswelt*) which is the world of every day experience as expressed in everyday language. Husserl, nevertheless, considered his phenomenology as a disciplined science. He suggested a form of investigation which systematically dissected phenomena by a process of reductions into their 'essences'. Through this process the many facets of a phenomenon could be considered thus allowing for multiple perceptions of a phenomenon (Husserl, 1970).

There are limitations in the use of pure phenomenology to interpret landscapes, particularly Hussserl's hermetic discipline of distilling essences. Instead, it is valuable to explore Heidegger's (1962) observation that a rigorous, but hermetically sealed, investigation of the essence of phenomena precludes the unveiling of concealed meanings within phenomena. Heidegger (1962, 1971) drew from the study of interpretations, known as hermeneutics, calling his form of investigation hermeneutic phenomenology. As well, landscape interpretations can draw from developments in existential-phenomenology (Sartre, 1966; Merleau-Ponty, 1963) which sought to explicate the essence of human experience through descriptive rather than reductive techniques including **'disciplined reflection'**. Disciplined reflection involves a commitment to the use of natural language and conversation where phenomena speak for themselves rather than being subjected to predetermined hypotheses (Polkingthorne, 1989; Spielgelberg, 1975). In landscape studies, this is achieved through a rigorous analysis of transcribed conversations or written material such as tourist brochures and so on.

The different phases of hermeneutic phenomenology are summarised by Herbert Spiegelberg (1975) who has studied its evolution closely. Table 9 shows how the relationship of each of these phases of phenomenology relates to landscape interpretations.

It would appear from Spiegelberg's succinct and encompassing summary, all aspects of phenomenology contribute to an understanding of landscape. But it is hermeneutic phenomenology which can clearly advance the understanding of how the experience of landscape results in places encoded with this experience. There is a growing group of researchers who discuss the value of the reflexive and critical character of the interpretative process used in phenomenology (Bartjes, 1991; Evans, 1988; Polkingthorne, 1989). Because of the emphasis on teasing out concealed or hidden meanings associated with places, hermeneutic phenomenology also has relevance to the nature of values communities have about the landscapes they have created ie. whether they see these landscapes as part of their heritage. However, understanding landscape values for communities requires sensitivity to the phenomenological concept of time.

The phenomenological concept of time is not ontologically real time (Heidegger, 1962; Polkingthorne, 1988; Sartre, 1966). For community groups, when discussing valued landscapes, time is not chronological but experienced time. Phenomenological time allows sensitivity to the processes of identification with place. So when seeking to understand place values it is important to recognise that value statements may be asked for at any point in a sequence, namely places may be valued today, not valued tomorrow and then valued again as individuals try to reconcile their cultural identity.

Table 9: Phases of the phenomenological method (after Spiegelberg, 1975).

PHENOMENOLOGICAL PHASES	DESCRIPTION	RELEVANCE TO LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATIONS
Descriptive phenomenology	Direct exploration, free from presuppositions. Redeeming what was seen as unredeemable data; stimulates one's perceptiveness about the richness of the experience.	Free description of the experience of landscapes. Heightening our awareness of the richness of everyday life.
Phenomenology of Essences	Grasping the essential structures and essential relationships of phenomena; allows for the researcher's imaginativeness as well as a sense of 'what is essential and what is accidental.'	Determining what is essential to the landscape experience and what is accidental or contingent. Can lead to responsible generalisations.
Phenomenology of Appearances	Cultivating attention to the way things appear and the changes in this appearance. It relates to the physicality of phenomena; heightens the researcher's sense of the inexhaustibility of the possible perspectives one can have of phenomena.	This is a play of perspectives associated with the physicality of places. The different ways of seeing according to light, shade, seasonality etc.
Constitutive Phenomenology	The process in which phenomena take shape in our consciousness. Exploring the dynamic aspects of our experiences.	The way in which landscape constitutes itself. Exploring the dynamic aspects of landscape experiences.
Reductive Phenomenology	Bracketing the experienced world in order to give us new perceptions of phenomena. Intellectual self-discipline and intellectual humility.	Provides us with insights into the world of others and prevents us from stereotyping.
Hermeneutic Phenomenology	Looking for hidden meanings associated with phenomena. Directions and intentions rather than descriptions.	Finding the meanings in a particular landscape that are not immediately obvious.

May (1994, 1996a, 1996b) in his study of the effect of space-time compression on place identity, draws from Heidegger's concept that place is understood as an experience captured in the notion of 'dwelling.' Most commonly the experience of dwelling is made possible through a long residence in a particular place where the place becomes 'time thickened' through the structure of memory (May, 1994:26). May (1994:31) considered that in such cases, "national identity works through a hierarchy of geographic identities within which any individual may claim identification with different places at different times". This has particular significance in interpreting values held about landscapes.

Interpreting Concealed Meanings: Hermeneutics

Using hermeneutics to study landscapes involves the disciplines of philosophy and literary studies. Both phenomenology and hermeneutics are similar in their subject matter and methods however they draw from different philosophical traditions. Phenomenology requires a presuppositionless state for the process of reduction whereas hermeneutics emphasises contextual foreknowledge. Working phenomenologically one must stay within the rigour of interpreting only the experiences as they appear, nevertheless one can interpret the subjective meaning of values using *verstehen* or empathetic understanding (Minichiello *et al*, 1990; Pickles, 1985).

Traditionally hermeneutics was undertaken on completed texts. Landscapes are texts which change. Their interpretations can be quite fluid when they are developed from community discussions about valued places. Such interpretations frequently have to allow for multiple and sometimes contested meanings.

Another interpretative issue relates to hermeneutic completion. Although some argue that good interpretation is a fully interpreted finished product (Hirsch, 1967), others argue that a hermeneutic interpretation is never finished (Gadamer, 1976). There is, however, general agreement that interpretative paradigms allow for multiple constructions of meaning (Kvale, 1983, 1995; Sanderlowski, 1993, 1995).

Debates About Hermeneutics

In the 1970s there were many arguments around objectivity-subjectivity in interpretations of meanings and values, expressed as the difference between positivistic hermeneutics versus philosophical hermeneutics. Positivist hermeneutics is employed by many heritage and cultural landscape theorists whose interpretations about places and their value are derived from objective rigour and mapping (Melnick, 1989; Kerr, 1990). In philosophical circles this position is argued by E. D. Hirsch (1967) who puts forward a **science of interpretation**. This is in contrast to phenomenological hermeneutics argued by the philosopher, H.G. Gadamer (1976) who maintained that hermeneutics is not a science but an **art of interpretation**. Both Smith (1988) and Geertz (1973, 1983), ethnographers who work on constructing local knowledge in communities, similarly support the concept that interpreting place values is an **art**. Gadamer maintained an anti-methodological stance, focussing his criticism on the techniques associated with rigorous phenomenology which required researchers (interpreters) to remove their biases by a process known as 'bracketing' (Gadamer, 1975). He suggested that a process where one seeks to understand another's horizons by abandoning one's own, involves a self alienation that is the antithesis of understanding (Spiegelberg, 1975).

In the forty years since the publication of Gadamer's Truth and Method (1960), hermeneutics has come to be regarded as an international and interdisciplinary movement. Gadamer not only subjected literary criticism to questioning, he also applied a thorough critique to historical research, indicating that scholars studying history and the literary and artistic production of the past belong to a world of constantly interpreted and reinterpreted events and works (Misgeld, 1991:163).

In contrast, researchers such as Hirsch, are looking for 'absolute truth and meaning' using traditional research. Other researchers see this search for an 'absolute-in-itself' (Madison, 1988:13) as a frustrating and ultimately counter productive pursuit, because such a phenomenon is unlikely to exist, particularly where values are multifarious and often contested.

> In terms of rigour, the validation of an interpretation can be seen as the unfolding and reciprocal confirmation of successive experiences and their interpretations. So when the researcher opts for a given interpretation, it is not because it is known to be true, but because the researcher believes it to be the most appropriate one. While many landscape values can be determined by historical scholarship where the researcher can work alone closely scrutinising historical resources, this is in strong contrast to the way one must work to determine the social significance of landscapes. Where the researcher is determining the heritage values within a community group, the art of dialogue and discourse become the key

> mechanisms to reveal meanings and values.

The way Gadamer saw the creative potential in understanding meanings and values through discursive speech provides insights for landscape interpretations. He drew from Plato and Socrates in establishing the central point for his hermeneutic theory. Christopher Smith (1991:37), in an essay on Gadamer and hermeneutics, explains how Plato acts as the impulse for Gadamer's hermeneutic theory.

> We learn precisely from Plato that an understanding of something is reached in a dialogical process, i.e., in discussion. Understanding occurs not in subjective thought but in an interrogative discursive exchange between speakers: "What emerges in its truth is the *logos* that is neither mine nor yours and thus exceeds the subjective beliefs of the partners in the discussion to such an extent that even the leader of the discussion remains unknowing" (WM,350). The allusion obviously, is to Socrates' "learned ignorance", which far from being a mere ploy, establishes the interrogative spirit of enquiry (Zetesis) needed for any *dialegesthai*.

In landscape interpretations, new understandings emerge through the process of letting go opinions and allowing the state of 'unknowing' to persist until a form of new knowledge materialises from the discussion. A number of disciplines are now seeing the promise of hermeneutics as a productive research approach in terms of human understanding and the relation between language and meaning (Madison, 1988). Hermeneutics can therefore be legitimately used to explore landscape values however, the method of hermeneutic interpretations needs to be clearly articulated.

Hermeneutic Methods

Debates about the most appropriate form of hermeneutics (Knockelmans, 1991) need to be considered when undertaking hermeneutic studies of landscapes. The philosopher, Madison, argues for a position somewhere in between the extremes of Hirsh's positivist hermeneutics and Gadamer's anti-methodological stand. He suggests that a "viable hermeneutics must allow for method" (Madison, 1988:27) particularly when two researchers may disagree on the meaning of a text or interpretation of conversations. He proposes that a satisfactory theory of hermeneutics should include a set of criteria to adhere to in the actual work of interpreting (Madison, 1988:29-37). This allows for subjective interpretations but ensures that judgements arrived at are not gratuitous or the result of subjective whim. The criteria facilitate rational judgements based on persuasive arguments. Such judgements or interpretations can be defended in that they embody or conform to certain generally accepted norms or principles.

> It is important to distinguish between literary texts which are complete as well as being well articulated, highly condensed expressions of meaning, ie 'eminent texts' (Kvale, 1883:186) and texts derived from interviews, discussion groups and reports and promotional brochures. The latter are often vague, repetitious, with many digressions. Thus one needs care in drawing direct analogies with traditional hermeneutics. Despite this, there are certain principles that are applicable regardless of the sources of the text as shown in the following methodological table generated from Madison's criteria for literary texts.

Madison stresses that these criteria are merely an articulation of what generally occurs in practice. This, however, does not mean that interpretations cannot be rigorously derived. As Madison says, rigorously derived interpretations are "an art in the proper sense of the term" (1988:33). Similarly the interpretations do not need to be "universally and eternally valid". They need only be generally accepted. The art of interpretation is driven by a belief that meaning and therefore the rationale behind action often lies beneath commonsense understandings articulated by the respondents themselves. May (1994) argues that this can only be reached through the researcher's relation to a deeper theoretical position.

Table 10: Criteria for interpreting texts (Madison, 1988:30).

CRITERIA	LITERARY TEXT INTERPRETATIONS
Coherence	The interpretation must be coherent in itself; it must present a unified picture and not contradict itself. This hold true even if the work being interpreted has contradictions of its own. The interpreter must make coherent sense of all the contradictions.
Comprehensive	This concerns the relation of the interpretation in itself to the work as a whole. In interpreting an author's thought one must take into account his thoughts as a whole and not ignore works which bear on the issue.
Penetration	It should bring out a guiding or underlying intention in the work i.e. recognising the author's attempts to resolve a central problematic.
Thoroughness	A good interpretation should attempt to deal with all the questions it poses to the interpreted text.
Appropriate	Interpretations must be ones that the text itself raises and not an occasion for dealing with one's own questions.
Contextuality	The author's work must be seen in its historical and cultural context.
Suggestiveness	A good understanding will be fertile in that it will raise questions that stimulate further research and questions.
Agreement	The interpretation must agree with what the author actually says. This is in contrast to reductive hermeneutics characteristic of Marxism or Freudianism.
Potential	The interpretation is capable of being extended and continues to unfold harmoniously.

The Significance of Metaphors, Tropes and Creativity

Metaphor has increasingly assumed importance for applied hermeneutics. The essence of metaphor in a social sense is the understanding or experience of one kind of thing in terms of another. The pervasiveness of metaphors in everyday discourse suggests that they are critical mechanisms by which meaning is imbued in texts. Corner (1991), a landscape theorist, suggests the power of metaphor for interpretive work related to place lies in its ambiguity. Metaphors can also be described as 'tropes' or figures of speech. The rhetoric of language allows the researcher to uncover tropes (metaphors, metonyms, synecdoche etc) which encode meanings in landscape 'texts'. ,White, in his Tropics of Discourse (1978:5), argues that the study of tropes can help us see the way people make sense of the world. He states that

> understanding is a process of rendering the unfamiliar… familiar, of removing it from the domain of things felt to be "exotic" and unclassified into another domain of experience encoded [through tropes] to be … non-threatening, or simply known by association.

Interpreting metaphors and tropes not only requires a strong theoretical framework, it also draws from the researcher's creativity.

Using creativity in hermeneutics is argued for strongly by Patton (1990), Sanderlowski (1993, 1995), and Smith (1988). The art of interpretation needs to allow for creative, exploratory, even playful ideas in order to be insightful. It is in this way that the leaps in

imagination required to comprehend the world of others can occur (Smith, 1988).
The creativity involved in interpretations has particular relevance for concepts related to transformed culture is reflected in landscapes – a concept of hybridity which draws from Derrida (1972) and others including the landscape theorist, Meyer, (1993) who interprets landscapes as the "space-in-between" or "thirdspace".

Building on the Structuralists' belief that culture is the act of encoding and that this encoding can be analysed like language, cultural theorists such as Barthes (1986) suggest that these signs or codes are not innocent in the meanings they generate. The Post-Structuralists, in particular Derrida (1972), have gone further by challenging habitual ways of thinking, particularly where binary opposites are used to define phenomena. Derrida (1972) argued for an alternative space where hybridity and multiple meanings could be explored. Thus the braiding of hermeneutics, phenomenology and Post-Structuralism provides a way into interpretations of landscapes which are layered, multiple and shifting.

To summarise, phenomenological hermeneutics can provide a powerful way of entering the realm of landscape meanings and values. Landscape values are multiple and complex. They vary over time and from group to group. Using the art and skill of phenomenological hermeneutics will allow the complex and often contested values related to landscapes to be revealed and understood.

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