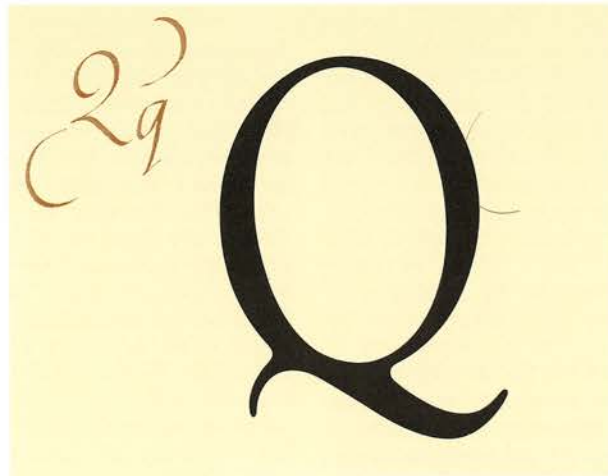


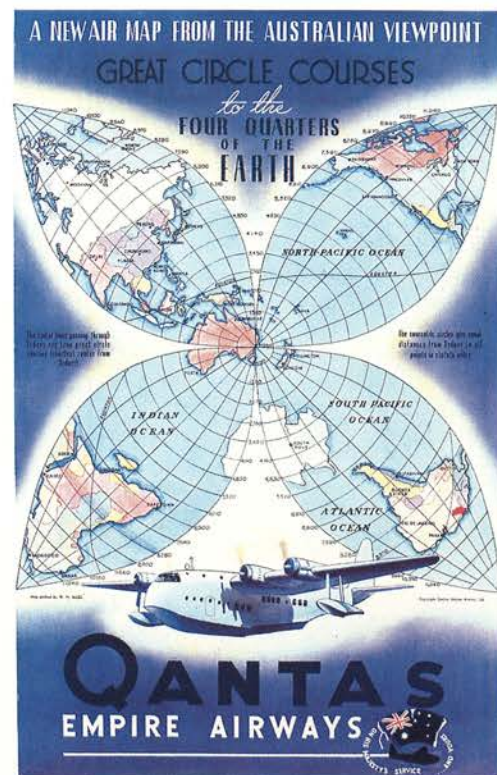


QANTAS Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services Ltd came into being on 16 November 1920 when it was registered as a business in Brisbane with headquarters at Winton. Its first service began on 2 November 1922 when it became the second airline to begin operating in Australia after Western Australia Airways. The airline grew rapidly, expanding the number of services offered and types of planes available. In 1934 the company became Qantas Empire Airways (QEA) and on 10 December 1934 it made the first international flight by an Australian company, from Brisbane to Singapore. This became a regular service from 25 February 1935. During World War II QEA took part in air force operations assisting with maintenance of military aircraft and the evacuation of civilians. After 1945 the company concentrated on improving its international services and on 30 June 1947 the Australian government bought the company. In August 1967 the name became Qantas Airways Ltd. Qantas now has a large fleet of modern aircraft and while providing many regular international routes has maintained an excellent safety record.

QUADRANT, a literary magazine published by the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom, is based in Sydney and is now a monthly. It was founded in 1956 specifically to counter modernism and left-wing ideas, a mission it has pursued vigorously ever since. Its founding editor was the poet James McAuley; others have included Donald Horne and the politician Peter Coleman.

JIM DAVIDSON

QUEENSLAND Without the vast distance and formidable physical barrier that sets WA apart from southeastern Australia, or the protective ring of water that separates Tas from mainland states, Queensland is the most self-consciously separate and different of the states. It is also perceived to be so by outsiders. If the self-perceptions and popular images come from myth as much as from reality, both myth and reality have been encouraged and fostered for over 150 years.



Qantas poster, 1939.
QANTAS COLLECTION

If Queenslanders have refused to congregate in their state capital to the same extent as other Australians, and have shown a fondness for the countryside and the provincial towns, they have merely practised what has been preached throughout their past.

Qld's geography has had an important influence on its development. Much of the state lies within the tropics. Heat and humidity, sometimes used to explain Qld's conservatism and a perceived inertia,

are particularly severe in the tropical north. This represents Australia's frontier, seen to be vulnerable to invasions from China, Japan or southeast Asia, and white settlement of the north has always been a priority. This helped to secure the establishment of free-grown sugar in land thought previously to be unsuitable for white occupation. The defence of the frontier also necessitated the traumatic, if highly desirable, American presence in Qld during World War II. The huge distances separating the far north and the far west from metropolitan Brisbane have contributed to the strength of regionalism, an abiding feature of Qld's development. Nevertheless, geography has been only one of many forces to place its stamp upon the northern state.

The first British settlement in Qld was selected partly because of its remoteness. In 1823 the surveyor-general of NSW, John Oxley, chose Moreton Bay as the site for a penal settlement for those convicts who had continued to offend badly while serving their sentences in the south. In 1824 Lieutenant Miller arrived as first commandant of the outpost, which he moved up the Brisbane River in 1825. Here in Brisbane Town convicts experienced a severe regime of discipline and punishment, epitomised by the rule of Captain Patrick Logan, who established the basis of a settlement through forced labour and violent retribution. Many convicts escaped to take their chances with the Aborigines and nature rather than endure the conditions of their imprisonment. Those who remained supplied the forced labour for farming and the construction of buildings and elementary roads. By 1831 there were 1200 convicts in Qld, but by the late 1830s Brisbane's role as a penal settlement was coming to an end. The farmers and pastoralists gradually relinquished the unpaid and cheap labour that had helped to establish them, though the squatters were still hoping to revive transportation at the time of separation from NSW in 1859 as a means of solving their problems of labour supply.

Soon after the settlement was established it began to spread. In 1827 the colonial botanist of NSW, Allan Cunningham, was much impressed by what he saw of the Darling Downs and correctly predicted its agricultural potential. In 1846, Thomas Mitchell, in search of an overland route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria, travelled through the mid-west and, around the Barcoo, was enchanted by 'the finest and most extensive pastoral region' he had ever seen. The Gregory brothers (Augustus, Charles and Francis Thomas), attempting to trace Leichhardt in 1858, found the land desolate and drought stricken. Edmund B. Kennedy, William Landsborough, Robert O'Hara Burke and William J. Wills all helped to plot the course of the great rivers of the interior in the late 1850s and early 1860s. The Great Barrier Reef had been explored in the 1850s, and the coastal areas of the north a decade later. By the mid-1870s the remaining Channel Country and the lands between the Cloncurry River and the NT border had also been explored, and the basic physical shape of Qld determined, even if its attributes were not always correctly assessed at



Queensland has long been popular with Australian holidaymakers. Courier-Mail Annual, 1956.

the outset. Exploration and discovery, a process of public and private enterprise by a variety of individuals representing a range of interests, was followed by settlement, and settlement in Qld meant conquering a native people and occupying their lands.

With Patrick Logan's success in laying some sort of economic basis for free settlement through pastoralism and agriculture and with the beginnings of a successful export trade in the 1830s, the way was open for white settlement on the Darling Downs, which promised to be a fertile area for raising both flocks and crops. In 1840 the Leslie brothers (Patrick, George and Walter) brought sheep and cattle on to the downs, and over the next few years 45 runs were established by enterprising squatters who could raise the capital to stock the land. From this base they travelled westward and northward in search of better, more extensive unoccupied grazing lands. Their idea of what was 'unoccupied' brought them into furious and bloody conflict with the original inhabitants of these lands.

At the beginning of British settlement Qld contained perhaps one-third of Australia's Aborigines, with Cape York the most densely populated area. Although early encounters between Europeans and Aborigines were not necessarily unfriendly, their differing world views inevitably produced conflict. Aboriginal notions of communal ownership and proper use of the land could not be reconciled with British notions of private ownership leading to intensive exploitation through ploughing, farming, grazing and mining. Because the Aborigines did not

engage in these activities, colonists deemed their lands to be unoccupied. The progress of white settlement was one of frontier warfare as the spears of the occupants were gradually overpowered by the rifles of the invaders.

In the Moreton Bay area the Aborigines succumbed to imported sicknesses such as tuberculosis and venereal diseases and were almost eliminated by them. On the downs, farther west and farther north, they lost their lands, their hunting grounds and their lives as they retreated from the invaders. By the 1850s the downs and Moreton regions had been mainly subdued, but stouter resistance was encountered in the north and more bloody battles occurred to punctuate the sporadic guerilla warfare that persisted until the 1890s. By then between ten and twenty thousand Aborigines and about one thousand Europeans had died in the war of conquest. In the name of law and order the European settlers, assisted by a notorious native police force, pursued a policy of so-called dispersal, which was in effect one of extermination. The remnants of the Aboriginal population were forced to congregate in reserves or attach themselves to the outskirts of townships. The invaders, having triumphed in war, secured an inheritance of social and political problems which would continue to plague them.

Meanwhile Qld, before and after separation from NSW in 1859, was having successive regions declared open for pastoral occupation. The squatters legitimised their economic and social status through the political dominance they exercised in early parliaments. Wool became the mainstay of the economy and fortunes were made, but even the successful had their problems. Huge tracts of land were alienated by the ambitious and enterprising, but from the 1860s the banks and financiers were increasingly taking over from the private settlers. Along with the great pastoral companies, they gained effective control of the large runs, even though an aristocracy of graziers attempted to keep up an appearance of independent power. Good and bad seasons had always illustrated the inherent instability of pastoralism, and boom periods had been interspersed with depressions. After 1890 the ominous predictions of the past were fulfilled when an economic depression combined with the natural disasters of drought, rabbit infestation and fly pests, and the unnatural hazards of strikes. Pastoralism would revive, but organised labour was to be strengthened and overseas financial control was to become even more complete.

It was intended that agriculture should coexist with the pastoral industry; farming allotments were prescribed by legislation and lands were resumed in the 1860s to permit selectors to move in alongside the bigger graziers. To some extent they did, but the proportion of land under cultivation rose only slightly during the nineteenth century. Great difficulty was experienced in appraising the agricultural potential of the land, typified by the persistent but unfulfilled hopes that wheat would be successfully and consistently grown as far west as Cunnamulla. Closer settlement remained a dream for most of the nineteenth

century. Although the government assisted migration to make the dream come true, many immigrants preferred to live in Brisbane or the other towns.

The sugar cane industry represented farming success in the nineteenth century, but it did nothing to realise the ideal of small settler farmers. Instead, sugar brought Qld into the van of the 'white Australia' movement. Sugar cane was successfully grown in the coastal lands of the southeast from the sixties; Melanesian labour was introduced into the Logan area in 1863. As cultivation spread to the more northerly coastal fringe and became concentrated there, it seemed less possible to expect white men to perform the harsh labour required to grow and harvest sugar cane. Instead, indentured island labour was imported, sometimes by dubious means, and the Melanesians provided cheap labour on evolving plantations which operated their own small mills.

The use of cheap immigrant labour incurred the hostility of resident white workers. The urge to protect their own jobs, combined with conflicting emotions of racial dislike for the temporary immigrants and a repugnance towards the traffic bringing the Melanesians to Qld, strengthened the desire to have sugar grown by small farmers working with white labour rather than by large plantation owners exploiting coloured labour. The sugar industry boomed in the early eighties and the cultivated area trebled in size, but the racial antagonisms, paradoxically assisted by humanitarian impulses, were already leading to government regulation of recruiting and working conditions. The government sponsored the construction of co-operative central mills to encourage small growers, and was eventually assisted in imposing its ideal on the industry by the federal expulsion of Melanesians after 1900.

Goldmining, too, complicated race relations in nineteenth-century Qld. The small discoveries of the early 1860s were outshone by the later finds which temporarily raised the population of Gympie to 7000, brought Charters Towers into prominence in 1872 and extended the rush to Palmer River in 1873. Particularly in the north, racial antagonism was strong against Chinese miners, who outnumbered the Europeans by about 13 000 to 5000 in 1877. Whites feared them, believing that they were disease carriers and a threat to the purity of the white stock. Animosity remained even when their numbers declined and they moved into other occupations on the land.

Further discoveries at Mount Morgan and Croydon in the 1880s confirmed the importance of goldmining. Despite its speculative nature it provided a much needed boost for the economy, especially during the depression of the 1890s, though other minerals were to have greater long-term significance. Copper, silver and tin were being mined in the 1880s, with John Moffat establishing a personal empire at Irvinebank as the outstanding tin-miner. Coal deposits, long known to exist in Qld, were being investigated in the central area in the 1890s and would eventually prove to be the state's most important mineral resource.

All through the nineteenth century there had been a shortage of labour. No group had felt more frustrated than the early squatters, who suffered with the ending of transportation and resorted to experimental schemes in the mid-1840s, bringing in indentured Indians and Chinese coolies. The Aborigines seemed an unlikely settled labour force, though they were to contribute substantially to the success of pastoralism in the north. But more important than the needs of specific groups was the general need to encourage free settlement to provide for a future when the convict origins of Moreton Bay could be erased from memory. Under the schemes of J.D. Lang over 600 chosen immigrants arrived in 1848–49. As skilled tradesmen and small farmers, it was intended that they would produce a more balanced society than that of a few squatters in command of the forced labour of convicts and the various racial groups.

The newly established Qld government of 1859 mounted expensive schemes to bring farm labourers and domestic servants into the country free of charge, and land grants were offered as extra inducement. Not all immigrants measured up to requirements and many preferred to remain in Brisbane rather than move into the country. The German farmers were seen to be a better type of immigrant. Their Protestant faith helped to inspire the Queensland Immigration Society of 1861 to finance the passage of Irish peasants and thereby strengthen the Catholic Church. This goal was achieved, for the Irish always heavily out-

numbered the Germans. It was nevertheless an expensive operation and by 1866 the government was unable to offer work to the immigrants who had been brought in. Better times revived the immigration movement, especially in the early 1880s when another land grant scheme was devised to attract farmers, and other useful types of immigrants were identified and given various degrees of assistance. Through the 1870s and 1880s Qld received more immigrants than any other state, though some chose to move south after arrival. Some 215 000 arrived over the period 1860–1906, almost 90 per cent of them assisted.

The scattered distribution of these people in sheep grazing, cattle raising, mining and sugar production over an enormous area of some 1 727 397 square kilometres made transport a vital capital development. Motorised transport did not begin to replace teams of bullocks, horses and camels until the 1920s. Cobb & Co conveyed passengers and mail by coach from the 1860s but the teamsters and carriers were still required to link Qld's towns and properties with its railway system. It was the railways that absorbed most public spending in the nineteenth century, as three parallel lines from the coast brought great areas of the interior into contact with their respective centres. The southern line passed through Toowoomba, Dalby and the western downs, reaching Charleville by 1888; the central line from Rockhampton had reached Barcaldine by 1886; while the northern line, which linked Townsville with Charters



The Nerada Tea Estate, about 27km west of Innisfail, Qld, the first fully commercial tea-growing venture in Australia. Photograph by Reg Morrison, 1980.

WELDON TRANNIES

Towers, had reached Hughenden by 1887. This railway network, eventually supplemented by coastal links and branch lines in the interior, provided Qld with its transport system; roads remained a subsidiary concern and mainly the province of local authorities.

Brisbane grew only slowly in the nineteenth century, for a long time suffering from rivalry from the smaller Ipswich, which wealthy squatters of the downs favoured. The downs had its own towns—Toowoomba, Warwick, Dalby and other smaller centres. Towns such as Maryborough and Rockhampton emerged along the coastal strip, serving the hinterland and preventing the emergence of one dominant metropolis. By 1891 Brisbane had no more than 22 per cent, and all the towns together no more than half, of the state's population. Qld retained a rural bias: its rural interests and activities were regarded as those that really mattered, and public money was spent on improving services to the country rather than developing the facilities and amenities of Brisbane. The capital was thus destined to remain well behind its southern counterparts in demographic and social development. Even through the first two decades of the twentieth century immigrants tended to move to the provincial towns and the countryside, and metropolitan growth remained slow. After World War II the Bureau of Industry continued advocating the development of small towns to service the rural sector. An abiding mistrust of an overgrown Brisbane, and the power it might wish to exercise over the rest of the state, have remained. The relative weakness of the capital city has compounded the relative strength of Qld's other urban centres, which comprise one-third of all Australian cities with a population over 25 000.

One consequence of Qld's pattern of urbanisation has been the dominance of regionalism, not to mention parochialism, as small towns have rivalled each other for chunks of mutually accessible hinterland and have competed to ensure that roads and railways were built in their own direction. The winning and retention of government has always depended on the ability of political parties to accommodate the demands of regional interests rather than on the promotion of policies on behalf of the whole state. Qld thus remains a collection of regions and regional interests much more than the other states.

Urbanisation and industrialisation have come together in Qld in a manner that has left the state's economy relatively undeveloped, lacking in diversification and heavily reliant on primary production. Such nineteenth-century industrialisation as did occur in the provincial centres involved the processing of primary products in meatworks or sugar mills, or the construction of machinery to operate the mining and sugar industries, or the supply of transport. Brisbane became, and has largely remained, a city of small-scale factories and workshops without much heavy industry. Food-processing has remained the typical industrial activity of a primary producing state, and Qld has remained below the national average in diversifying its workforce by means of secondary manu-



In 1888 the Barron River near Cairns shared 'with similar streams the attractions of rich alluvial bottoms and a growth of grand cedar trees'. A. Garran (ed), Picturesque Atlas of Australasia, 1886–88.

ANDERSON COLLECTION

facturing industries. This was a distinct advantage during the Great Depression, which Qld was able to ride out with relative ease, and which helped to confirm the Qld view that primary production was both economically and morally a superior form of activity. After about 1960, this attitude was partially overcome as a result of the heavy industrial development arising from the growth of the mining industry. The emphasis on primary production remains, however. The oil refineries, power stations and alumina works continue to be decentralised semirural industries which process primary products. Secondary industry still lags behind, with Qld supplying less than 10 per cent of the national manufacturing workforce.

The political history of Qld has reflected its economic development. From the outset separate voting zones were established to distinguish between urban and rural areas. The conflict between town and country was written into the constitution, ensuring the continued dominance of rural over urban interests. Governments of all political persuasions have withheld rights of equal representation to people

of different regions in deference to the view that parliament represents areas and interests. Some ideological differences did separate the liberals and conservatives of the nineteenth century as they gave varying stress to public spending, education, the protection of white labour or the role of the state; but all politicians wanted to see the state developed and its resources exploited. It is significant that Thomas McIlwraith and Samuel Walker Griffith—leaders with contrasting views—were able eventually to act in alliance.

Even with the rise of an industrial and political labour movement, which mobilised the neglected and claimed to speak for the whole people, the basis of development was rural. Thus, the Labor party arose in country areas of the north and west before its influence spread to Brisbane before World War I. When the party won power in 1915 under T.J. Ryan, it did so with a pragmatic concern to protect the consumer against exploitation, represent all classes and effect social reforms of wide appeal. At the same time its state enterprises were a socialist experiment which gave Qld a transient reputation for radicalism. Its official power base was the Australian Workers' Union, but the Catholic Church was informally important, and Labor in the 1920s claimed to be as much a farmers' as a workers' party. Under Forgan Smith in the 1930s Labor still stressed the rural sector and promoted recovery through the export of sugar, dairy products, beef and wool. Edward Michael Hanlon's classic gerrymander of 1949 was engineered to prevent Brisbane overshadowing country interests, a precedent followed by Country and Liberal party coalitions after Labor lost office in 1957. The coalitions ended a long period of Labor hegemony and instituted an era of conservative rule.

Qld today contains a few surprises. Labor is now an urban party. The National (formerly Country) party—under the leadership of Joh Bjelke-Petersen who became premier in 1968—has started to make inroads on metropolitan electorates. Although it represents mainly rural areas and still claims to speak for country people, it has been the great champion of industrial development. It has encouraged multinational corporations to exploit Qld's mineral resources and has had no qualms about leasing areas of the state to Japanese investors to promote tourism. The latter indicates no new racial tolerance or cosmopolitan culture. Qld failed to pick up its share of non-Anglo-Celtic migrants after 1945; it retains strong emotional ties with the UK, the British national anthem and the British flag; and it shows little inclination to meet Aboriginal aspirations without commonwealth government pressure. After successive phases of segregation, paternalistic protection mingled with exploitation, and then assimilation accompanied by

the gradual removal of legal restrictions and impediments, the Aborigines remain a socially and economically underprivileged sector of the community, tolerated in law but scarcely in fact.

The Qld government demonstrates its separateness by taking the lead on all states' rights issues, hounding commonwealth government leaders of all parties, and occasionally threatening secession. It withholds some civil rights in the name of law and order, prosecutes homosexuals and doctors who terminate pregnancies in the name of upholding morality, and prescribes a state educational program in which the teaching of evolution is thought to be subversive of religious belief. Perhaps most characteristically it permits, even encourages, those who seek to drill the Barrier Reef for oil, mine Fraser Island for its sand and cut down the remaining rainforests for timber. The government has been known to permit bulldozers to tear down historic buildings at dead of night to allow modern property development. Conservation was the last thought of Qld's pioneers, and its popularity outside Qld is almost sufficient to guarantee its unpopularity within that state.

MALCOLM I. THOMIS

Further reading W.R. Johnston, *The call of the land: a history of Queensland to the present day*, Brisbane 1982; R. Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915: a history of Queensland*, St Lucia 1982; R. Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, St Lucia 1984.

QUICK, Sir John (1852–1932), politician and writer, practised as a solicitor in Bendigo and became a member of the legislative assembly in 1880. Having lost his seat in 1889 due to electoral redistribution, he worked for federation. With Sir Robert Garran he prepared the *Annotated constitution of the Australian commonwealth* (1901). Sir John was member for Bendigo in the commonwealth parliament until 1913 and served as chairman of the first Tariff Commission in 1905–07. From 1922 he was deputy president of the federal arbitration court.

QUONG TART (1850–1903), merchant and philanthropist, came as a child from China to the NSW goldfields and later established a series of highly successful ventures: a chain of tea shops in 1881; an elaborate restaurant in King Street, Sydney in 1889; and a dining hall in the new Queen Victoria markets, which was to become a popular social centre, in 1898. In the 1880s Quong agitated for a ban on opium imports, as addiction adversely affected the Chinese community. He was a defender of the Chinese race in the face of European hostility, but was at no time a Chinese leader. His wealth, Christianity and marriage to a European separated him from his countrymen.