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

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

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

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

FIG. 72. The mining court at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897, viewed from the entrance to the adjoining fine arts court. Behind the gilded columns and gold from Charters Towers (in the foreground) is the Etheridge district exhibit. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland)
previously shown at Melbourne in 1888-89. This was achieved with the assistance of gold wardens and mineral land commissioners throughout the colony, the Coen Progress Association, and a Charters Towers committee who published a pamphlet especially for the exhibition and sought half a ton of ores from each of the local mines. In addition, special collectors were engaged for particular districts: the Maryborough agent F.G. Simpson for Gympie and Eidsvold; Walter Evan Cameron, of the Queensland Geological Survey, for Charters Towers; F.H. Howard for Croydon and the Etheridge; and the local mining agent John M. Holloway and teacher William D. Nash for Herberton. Besides compiling a catalogue of exhibits, issued in a second edition to include the late arrivals from remote fields, Jack personally supervised the arrangement of the court and displayed his numerous geological reports and maps as scientific propaganda.

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

Queensland’s mineral wealth was at last shown in its full glory, in both actual bulk and gilded replica, and seats were provided so that visitors could contemplate over £50,000 worth of exhibits in comfort. The most valuable exhibits were three cakes of retorted gold from Charters Towers and Gympie, including a ‘trifling’ cake
weighing 2,679 ounces from Gympie's Columbia and Smithfield Mine, the result of its crushings for April 1897, and a large private collection of gold specimens from the Charters Towers magnate E.H.T. Plant. These precious exhibits were guarded by detectives, day and night. The diversity of the colony's past and present mineral wealth was shown by: copper from Mount Perry, Cloncurry and Chillagoe; tin from Stanthorpe, Herberton, Watsonville and Irvinebank; silver from Montalbion; bismuth from Biggenden; cinnabar from Kilkivan; opals and gemstones from the west; and, ranged along the colonnade outside the court, coal and coke from the West Moreton and Burrum coalfields. These were but a sampling of the finds made within living memory. Attesting to competence in metallurgy and mining technology were products from the Queensland Smelting Company's works at Aldershot, near Maryborough, which treated refractory ores, a model of the Mount Morgan chlorination works sent by the former manager George Henry Irvine, and photographs of the famous mine in operation. Having installed in 1888 the world's largest chlorination works (for the treatment of tailings), Mount Morgan developed chlorination to its highest efficiency and won acclaim for efficient mine management. Also on display were diamond drill cores from the bore at Golden Gate, Charters Towers, and a sectional view of the bore. By now Charters Towers had become a field of deep reefing, its rich Brilliant reef being worked by mines over 2,500 feet underground.

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

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

At the close of the exhibition, a Royal Commission on mining in Queensland recommended that the exhibits be retained for showing in London, then the world's centre for mining investment. But Logan Jack and the government already had plans to send the exhibits to Paris in 1900 for the exhibition of the century, and soon a second overseas showing was in the offing when the newly-formed Australasian Chamber of Mines proposed an international mining exhibition for London in 1899. Many mine owners donated their 1897 exhibits to the government for the coming events. Their enthusiasm was such that exhibits were still 'pouring in' a year later when Jack resisted any attempts at 'frittering
away' the valuable collection. In November 1898 Queensland eventually withdrew from the Paris exhibition over its 'wholly insufficient' allocation of space within the British colonial section and the impracticability of mounting an alternative 'Gold Court' within the exhibition proper. In fact most of the British colonies withdrew from the Paris exhibition at this point, faced with the inadequate space granted to them by the French authorities and the excessive cost of having to erect their own pavilion in the Trocadero Gardens.

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

At the Greater Britain Exhibition mineral exhibits took up two-thirds of Queensland's court, largely repeating the 1897 example on a grander scale. The two parts of the court were divided by a 30-foot-wide gateway replicating London's well-known old Temple Bar, built to scale and gilded to represent the 12,924,612 ounces of gold so far produced by the colony, now placing Queensland third to Western Australia and Victoria among Australia's gold producers. At the other end of the court was the colossal map of Queensland first prepared for the 1897 exhibition. Along a central avenue were 12 gilded obelisks and Ionic and Corinthian columns, individually scaled to represent the output of the principal goldfields, again ranging from Charters Towers to Coen (Fig. 76). Above the cornice the walls of the court were decorated with shields bearing the names of the colony's 64 proclaimed goldfields, while lower on the walls were photographs of mines and geological maps from all over the colony. Along the sides of the court the various mineral districts were again represented by a series of stands, with their bulk exhibits piled high on tables (Fig. 77). Here the colony's mineral wealth...
FIG. 76. Queensland’s court at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899, with Corinthian columns representing the output of the Eidsvold and Coen goldfields. (British Australasian, 17 Aug. 1899)

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

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

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

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

But the court contained more than just bulk, for the gold exhibits alone were valued at over £50,000. Among these were three cakes of retorted gold from Charters Towers, Gympie and Croydon. The largest, weighing 5,913 ounces and valued at £20,697, was from Charters Towers’ Brilliant Mine and was claimed to be ‘the largest lump of gold yet seen in England. Many visitors could not believe what they were seeing’. Close by these real cakes were Anthony Alder’s convincing replicas of the cakes shown in 1897 (Fig. 78). The Brisbane manufacturing jewellers, Flavelle, Roberts and Sankey, sent a large collection of Queensland jewellery and gemstones valued at £3,500, while the Queensland Smelting Company contributed a case of granulated fine silver. Maintaining constant vigilance over these treasures were an army of attendants, including constables and detectives, and an
FIG. 78. Cakes of retorted gold 'of fabulous value' in Queensland's court at the Greater Britain Exhibition. The cakes were from the Brilliant Mine, Charters Towers (left), and the Scottish Gympie Mine, Gympie (right). Behind them are Anthony Alder's gilded replicas (centre). (British Australasian, 17 Aug. 1899)

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

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

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

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

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

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Mineral exploration and mining in Queensland is fast assuming the proportions of a great industry, with infinite possibilities of expansion ... mining now depends for success less on the abnormal richness of the ore deposits than on the perfection attained in the methods observed in their extraction and treatment ... by a natural process of evolution the digger and the small mine owner are giving place to the mining engineer and the metallurgist.
showed that Queensland could convert its cinnabar deposits into the liquid metal so much needed on the goldfields for gold extraction. (By today’s standards, however, the fountain was more a potentially lethal menace than a triumph, now that the dangers of mercury poisoning are better understood.) Upon Logan Jack’s initiative Queensland mounted another symbol of progress at the exhibition—a gold battery which crushed and treated ore from the colony. It was housed in a special enclosure near the Ferris wheel in the Elysia amusement area. Since this was but one of several batteries worked at the exhibition and had been supplied by a British rather than colonial manufacturer, it caused none of the sensation achieved in 1886.

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

The British Australasian reporter raved:

No such collection of gold quartz has ever been on show in London from any part of the world …

To company promoters the exhibition of this mining wealth will prove a perfect godsend …

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

Meanwhile back in Queensland there were jubilant expectations of another mining boom as had followed the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Late in 1898 the North Queensland Herald had even warned its readers with mines to ‘dispose of’ to be on the ready, having noted with glee that Logan Jack was not preparing ‘a zoological
collection’ for the forthcoming event! But British investors failed to respond on this occasion, apart from continuing to take up shares in the ‘biggest’ and best-advertised mining undertaking to be attempted in the colony, the Chillagoe Railway and Mines Company, floated in 1898 and actively promoted in London during the exhibition. Investors found Queensland’s mining laws discouraging, despite the introduction of new legislation which gave security of tenure to mining leases and relaxed labour conditions. In an editorial on the Queensland Mining Act of 1898 the Australian Mining Standard wrote:

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

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

Before the exhibition closed, Queensland decided to take part in the forthcoming Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, the largest exhibition to be held in Great Britain and favoured because of the ‘large amount’ of Glasgow capital already invested in the colony. The London mineral exhibits, reduced to about one-tenth of their bulk by selective crushing and donations to museums throughout Britain, were retained for another showing in the second city of the Empire. Queensland’s court at Glasgow, occupying 6,100 square feet in the large Industrial Hall, was almost entirely a display of minerals and was solely funded by the Department of Mines (Figs 80-83). Enclosed by an arcade with gilded columns, the court was dominated by a 24-foot-high gilded obelisk.
FIG. 81. From the centre of Queensland's court at the Glasgow exhibition. The octagonal case on the left contains smelted tin 'in fantastic shapes', with tin ore piled around the base. The centre case contains Anthony Alder's replicas of cakes of retorted gold. (British Australasian, 8 Aug. 1901)

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

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

But Queensland's most spectacular exhibit at Glasgow was the now 'famous' mercury fountain (Fig. 83) located at the east end of the court, its 65 streams of liquid silver now transformed...
into liquid rainbows by the addition of coloured electric lamps. To add to the spectacle some heavy axe heads were floated on the mercury in the basin of the fountain, a Biblical allusion that was not lost on Glaswegians. The fountain caused even more amazement than it had done at London and was featured in the Scottish press. Another attraction of the court was an opal cutting and polishing display. To accompany the exhibits, a special edition of the Queensland Government Mining Journal was published for distribution in the court, a 66-page ‘flying survey’ of the mineral fields in ‘a territory ... embarrassed with the multitude of its mineral deposits’ and appealing for capital to develop those deposits.

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

... there have been many unpleasant developments in connection with Australian mining enterprises, but never before has a company spent over half a million sterling in railway and wharf construction, ... smelters, etc., and collapsed without testing the paying possibilities of the property ... The effect upon Australian mining interests must therefore be most serious, and especially will it act as a set back to the mineral development of Northern Queensland.
More immediately, the Chilla-
goe collapse proved a setback
to the promotional effort at
Glasgow, having loomed
when the exhibition opened in
May and eventuated soon after
it closed in November.
Queensland's notoriety
ensured that Western Austra-
lia, which also had an official
court at the exhibition, con-
tinued to monopolise the flow of
British capital to Australian
mines. Further, the recent
British victory in South Africa
not only restored the flow of
capital to its mines but
unleashed a rush of migration
from all over the Empire,
including Australia.

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

CHAPTER 6

'FIELDS WITH PLENTY'

Exhibition propaganda asserted that 'almost
the whole' of Queensland could be put to produc-
tive use — no small assertion given the vastness
of its territory (over 11 times the size of England
and Wales). Queensland's catalogue for the Syd-
ney exhibition went so far as to dismiss 'the
persistent myth' of an interior desert.
Queensland, it was said, colonists could grow rich by 'utilising the tropical fecundity of the soil'. Moreover, Queensland could boast that its vast territory and climatic differences enabled its colonists to cultivate a greater variety of products than could be produced in the southern colonies, ranging from temperate to tropical. In his *Queensland, Australia* Richard Daintree wrote that: '... Queensland, while successfully competing with the Mauritius in sugars, and with the States in cottons, can venture as a rival with Southern Europe in cereals, roots, and fruits.' Other exhibition propagandists held that Queensland's capabilities of producing 'any known agricultural product of the earth' were almost without limit. 'In short', concluded Harry Courtenay Luck in his *Sketch* for the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, 'Queensland may be described as very little short of an earthly paradise for the farmer'.

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

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

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

At the London exhibition of 1862 the young colony of Queensland presented itself as 'the future cotton-field of England', an alternative supplier in the wake of the American Civil War which had cut Britain's cotton supply and paralysed its cotton industry. Cotton-growing in the
Queensland's pastoralists were neglectful of this solicitor Charles Frederick Chubb. Again, shown by Walter Hill, now joined by another envisaged from the cereal exhibits from the Darling Downs, ‘The Garden of Australia’, where farmers were starting to compete with pastoralists for land. More tropical products were shown by Walter Hill, now joined by another keen exhibitor of such products, the Ipswich solicitor Charles Frederick Chubb. Again, Queensland’s pastoralists were neglectful of this

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

By the time of the Paris exhibition of 1867 Queensland had 8,149 acres under cotton, though the end of war in America had overcome the world shortage of cotton. Cotton was Queensland’s ‘best exhibit’ at Paris, according to the Argus reporter, and won Queensland’s only gold medal at the exhibition. This went to the Sydney pastoralist and investor Captain Robert Towns, owner of the Townsvale Plantation on the Logan River and importer in 1863 of Queensland’s first indentured labourers from the Pacific Islands. Sugar exhibits were now more numerous, coming from the Albert, Logan, Brisbane and Caboolture districts where sugar-growing was already well established. In 1864 the government had introduced liberal land concessions to sugar-growers and sugar was predicted to become one of the colony’s ‘principal sources of prosperity’. Prosperity was also envisaged from the cereal exhibits from the Darling Downs, ‘The Garden of Australia’, where farmers were starting to compete with pastoralists for land. More tropical products were shown by Walter Hill, now joined by another keen exhibitor of such products, the Ipswich solicitor Charles Frederick Chubb. Again, Queensland’s pastoralists were neglectful of this

exhibition, initially providing no wool for the Brisbane preview of the Paris exhibits. Eventually they sent nine wool exhibits to Paris, the ‘most prominent’ coming from Archer and Company of Gracemere, near Rockhampton. These exhibits were used in the spectacular colonnade of wool bales that formed the entrance to the Australian courts at Paris (Fig. 18). In addition, the exhibition commissioner Arthur Hodgson sent cloth woven in England from his Eton Vale wool. Also shown were samples of Liebig’s beef extract from its pioneer manufacturer in Australia, Robert Tooth, a Sydney investor and pastoralist and later an exhibition commissioner. Tooth was a partner in Tooth and Cran’s meat preserving works at Yengarie, near Maryborough, established in 1865 to exploit the Liebig process.

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

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

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

For the Paris exhibition of 1878 Queensland planned another show of pastoral wealth in the form of a wool trophy representing a giant golden fleece. But a drought the previous year limited the supply of wool, so the trophy was replaced by a gilded obelisk with a few bales of wool at the base. Again the wool came from the Darling Downs, the main exhibitor being Donald Gunn senior of Pikedale who won a gold medal. More conspicuous were the sugars arranged at the entrance to Queensland's court, comprising some 91 samples from the colony's sugar-growing districts. By now Queensland had 16,584 acres under sugar, and sugar offered 'a boundless field' for future wealth. Also shown in the court were: more cereals from the Darling Downs, tropical products from Walter Hill and other colonists, and tinned meats from Queensland's latest meat-exporting companies, G. Whitehead and Company of Rockhampton and the Hogarth Meat Preserving Company of Oakey Creek on the Darling Downs. And another 34 bottles of wine were shown, for this exhibition was 'an opportune moment' for publicising
Queensland’s wine-producing capabilities, following the recent destruction of European vineyards by the disease phylloxera.

More extensive exhibits were sent to the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81. At Sydney, Queensland showed its first wool trophy, a five-tiered rack of fleeces (Fig. 85), while other fleeces were shown in a specially-made glass column which Executive Commissioner Lukin’s critics considered a ‘ridiculous’ extravagance and more suited to rum than wool. Now the wool came from the west — the Maranoa, Warrego and Mitchell districts — as well as the Darling Downs, proving the productive potential of Queensland’s vast inland plains. By now half the colony’s sheep were concentrated in these districts, and Queensland’s commissioners made a concerted effort to ensure that wool from the west was represented in the Sydney exhibition. ‘There is no country in Australia better fitted for pastoral purposes’, wrote the exhibition propagandist Carl Fielberg in praise of Queensland’s west.

From the ‘famous’ Glengallan stud on the Darling Downs came four prize rams’ heads mounted by the Brisbane artist-taxidermist Anthony Alder as well as ‘magnificent specimens’ of fine merino wool. But these were only half of Queensland’s wool exhibits at the Sydney exhibition, for its stud flocks took part in the international sheep and wool shows held during the exhibition, winning some of the major awards at the Sheep Show which opened in late September 1879. Queensland sent fewer wool exhibits to Melbourne’s succeeding exhibition and, it seems, did not take part in Melbourne’s International Wool Show of January 1881. Other pastoral products shown at Sydney and Melbourne
included tinned meats from Brainard Skinner — 'the meat preserver, and everything-else preserver, of Brisbane' — and from G. Whitehead and Company of Rockhampton. The latter hosted a 'substantial luncheon' at the Sydney exhibition to promote its products, judged the best of all the preserved meats in the exhibition.

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

More spectacular, however, were the 'magnificent' collections of tropical products and plants despatched to the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions of 1879-81 by Walter Hill and the Queensland Acclimatisation Society to illustrate their plant acclimatisation work in the colony. Hill and the Acclimatisation Society sent large consignments to the various horticultural shows held during the exhibitions, and both were awarded gold medals for their contributions to Sydney's International Agricultural Show of March 1880. Here Hill's collection of about 350 'healthy looking economic plants' acclimatised from many parts of the world was praised as the largest collection of its kind yet exhibited in New South Wales. And Queensland's tropical fruit won the day at the 'grand' Fruit Show held in February 1881 during the Melbourne exhibition.
The years immediately following the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions saw sugar and pastoral booms in Queensland, bringing a new wave of settlement to the far north and the west. Besides a 'perfect spasm' of sugar investment in the Mackay district, new sugar districts were opened on the Johnstone and Burdekin rivers and from Cairns north to Cooktown, and from 1880 the Victoria Sugar Company and the Colonial Sugar Refining Company began their extensive operations in Queensland. At the same time an influx of capital from Victoria brought unprecedented growth to the pastoral industry, so that during the 1880s Queensland's sheep flocks reached their widest geographical expansion and Queensland became Australia's second largest wool producer (after New South Wales). Wheat production, on the other hand, failed to expand because of the continuing rust problem, while maize was taking over from wheat on the coastal scrub lands. Here, claimed the exhibition official Harry Courtenay Luck, the soil had to be 'merely tickled with the hoe' to yield rich harvests of maize. Agriculture in Queensland was further boosted by the passing of the Land Act of 1884 (known as the Dutton Act) which resumed land from pastoral runs and enabled colonists with little capital, especially immigrants, to take up small selections of crown land on lease. This Act, designed to break the pastoral monopoly of land and promote closer settlement, had already increased the colony's total area of cultivated land from 157,243 acres in 1883 to 209,561 acres in 1886. By 1886, however, the sugar boom had ended with the uncertainty of a cheap coloured labour supply following recent legislation by the Griffith Liberal government prohibiting Melanesian labour in Queensland after 1890. Also, world sugar prices had fallen due to competition from European bounty-fed beet sugar.
At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 Queensland put on its largest-yet show of wool, despite the severe drought of the previous year which had caused widespread stock losses and adversely affected the quality of the woolclip. P.R. Gordon, again an exhibition commissioner, urged pastoralists that 'what we lack in quality must be made up in quantity'. The 'quantity' came from 18 flocks from the Darling Downs and the Warrego, Mitchell, North Gregory and Burke districts, with Glengallan alone supplying 36 fleeces. The wools filled two long display cases which ran down the centre of Queensland's upper court, with each fleece shown in a separate compartment (Fig. 46). 'Particularly noticed' among these were the black merino fleeces from William Allan's Brae-side stud of Warwick, which had attracted record prices at the recent London wool sales. More pastoral wealth was shown in two 'novel' trophies of tinned meats which ornamented the doorways leading to the adjacent Canadian court (Fig. 87). These trophies were erected by the Hogarth Meat Preserving Company of Oakey Creek and the Central Queensland Meat Export Company of Rockhampton — the same companies that, along with Brainard Skinner, supplied a 'splendid assortment' of tinned meats for the exhibition's Colonial Market. Marking the experimental beginnings of Queensland's frozen meat exports (begun in 1884) was a model of the freezing works recently opened at Poole Island, off Bowen, and now seeking more capital from London investors following damage in a cyclone (Fig. 49). This model was made by the works' chief carpenter, Arthur John Vagg, and took him a year to make. Explaining the rich potential of these exhibits was P.R. Gordon's essay The Pastoral Industry in Queensland, published in 1886 especially for the exhibition.

The recent drought also affected Queensland's agricultural exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, limiting the cereals to one trophy (Figs 88, 97). The sugar exhibits were more extensive, filling more long display cases in the upper court. Among the 29 exhibitors of sugar were plantations in the new sugar districts of Cairns and the Johnstone and Burdekin rivers. But the exhibition's experts pronounced these sugars 'unsuited to the English market' because of their dull and 'greyish' appearance — unwelcome news indeed for Queensland's already depressed sugar industry. Likewise Queensland's wines won scant praise, though a small quantity was sold at the exhibition's Colonial Market. By now there were no cotton exhibits, as cotton-growing in Queensland was virtually defunct. Queensland's other tropical products attracted no special attention, apart from a trophy of 29 kinds of tropical jams, jellies, chutneys and pickles (some 'decidedly novel') from Charles Hardy of Eight Mile Plains, Brisbane. Accompanying these agricultural exhibits were more essays published for the exhibition, offering...
Queensland’s late decision to participate officially in the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 prevented its commissioners securing wool from the 1887 clip. Only a few wool exhibits were shown in Queensland’s court, but commissioner P.R. Gordon ensured that Queensland was represented at the exhibition’s two Wool Shows of December 1888 and January 1889, accompanying his exhibits to Melbourne. At the latter show Queensland had some 12 exhibits, which came from the Darling Downs and the Warrego, Mitchell and Burke districts. But it seems that Queensland’s wool won no awards at the exhibition, apart from gaining fourth place in the ‘International Grand Championship’. More successful were the tinned meats shown in another large trophy in Queensland’s court, which won a gold medal for the Central Queensland Meat Export Company and a silver medal for Brainard Skinner. ‘Looking out’ poignantly over these exhibits was the mounted head of a 4-year-old bullock, presumably again the work of Anthony Alder. At this exhibition Queensland could boast that its pastoral capabilities were ‘further brightened’ by the recent discovery of artesian water. The government’s three artesian bores sunk since 1887 at Barcaldine and Blackall had confirmed a ‘seemingly unlimited’ supply of underground water capable of transforming the western desert to rich productivity.

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

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

The time was ripe for the colony to make its grandest-ever show of agricultural and pastoral wealth at the Queensland International Exhibition of 1897. Here an agricultural court was organised by the Queensland Department of Agriculture under the direction of its Under Secretary, Peter McLean. The court, occupying some 4,725 square feet in the exhibition’s annexes, was the second largest in the exhibition, second only to the mining court. Adorning the entrance to the court was Queensland’s coat of arms made of tinted maize grains and cobs on a shield of white popcorn, a worthy tribute to the colony’s main agricultural crop (Fig. 89).
Leading into the court was an avenue of marbled columns and glass columns, the latter containing soils from the colony’s various agricultural districts, from the volcanic soil of Toowoomba to scrub soil of the Johnstone River (Fig. 90). 'A more instructive object lesson could not have been presented to the farmer', enthused the Queensland Agricultural Journal. On the walls of the court were photographs of agricultural and pastoral subjects taken by the Department of Agriculture’s first artist-photographer, Frederick Wills, and a large map of Queensland showing the various agricultural districts and their products. Exhibits from all over the colony filled the court’s 21 bays.

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

Fruit was featured at the Queensland International Exhibition, reflecting the rising importance of fruit-growing in the colony, now boasting over
Roessler Brothers. More fruit was shown in the large Fruit Show held in the exhibition's annexes from 19 to 24 June 1897 as part of Brisbane's Third Conference of Australasian Fruitgrowers. Bringing together fresh, preserved and dried fruit from Queensland and other colonies, this show was reportedly the 'most comprehensive' of its kind yet held in Australasia. Here Queensland won most of the awards for citrus fruit, as well as excelling in tropical fruit.

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

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

16,116 acres under cultivation. Among the most admired exhibits in the agricultural court were the 'wonderfully natural' wax models of Queensland fruit made by Anthony Alder for the Department of Agriculture, hailed as 'marvels' of artistry as much as 'object lessons' in fruit culture. These models numbered well over 200 and represented fruit ranging from the apple of temperate climes to the kola nut of the equator. Also shown in the court were yet more of Skinner's jams and preserved fruit (by now 'too well known ... to need any commendation') and the products of a more recent competitor, the Toowoomba fruit canners and winemakers...
These grand displays of agricultural wealth at the Queensland International Exhibition were matched by displays of pastoral wealth. Among the local trade displays were trophies of wool from the Graziers' Butchering Company and the New Zealand Mercantile Agency Company of Brisbane, and of tinned meats from one of Queensland's (and Australia's) largest meat-exporting companies, the Queensland Meat Export and Agency Company of Brisbane and Townsville.\(^{43}\) In addition, there was a trophy of woollen goods from the Queensland Woollen Manufacturing Company of Ipswich. More popular with exhibition-goers, however, were the Wolseley shearing machine demonstrations held from 12 May in the exhibition's machinery section, in which a 'practical' shearer stood on a platform shearing a 'good supply' of sheep. These demonstrations were provided by the local agent for the shearing machine, Claude Musson and Company. But the shearing machine, like the travelling dairy, was no longer a novelty, as it had been demonstrated in August 1887 at Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition and also at Toowoomba, and was already in widespread use. Strangely, the exhibition had no display of frozen meat, though this was now a major export item. 'Surely at a gathering like this a freezing or chilling plant should have been exhibited', complained the Queenslander reporter at the lack of refrigerated exhibits.\(^{44}\) Even Sydney's international exhibition of almost two decades earlier had included a cold storage chamber.

More pastoral exhibits were shown in the exhibition's final week, from 11 to 14 August, when Brisbane's annual agricultural exhibition was held in conjunction with the international event. (The agricultural exhibition was managed, as usual, by the National Association, and not by the Queensland International Exhibition Company.) Outstanding among its livestock exhibits were the dairy cattle and sheep, Brisbane's largest-yet displays in these classes, in which the Glengallan stud carried off most of the sheep awards. Another feature of the agricultural exhibition was
FIG. 92. Travelling dairy no. 2 at the Queensland International Exhibition. The Dairy Instructor, John Mahon, is on the right. (Queensland Agricultural Journal, Aug. 1897)

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

The fact is that Queenslanders as a whole do not care for exhibitions without livestock. They have been in the habit all their lives of connecting the annual show chiefly with agriculture and grazing, and it is hard to draw them for anything else. In this case they simply waited for the agricultural show.43

The colony made a less spectacular show of its agricultural and pastoral wealth at the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899 where, as noted in the previous chapter, minerals took up two-thirds of Queensland's court. The remainder of the court (over 7,600 square feet) was organised by the long-time exhibition official, Harry Courtenay Luck, who was appointed by the Department of Agriculture in December 1898 (almost a year after Robert Logan Jack's appointment) to collect the agricultural, pastoral and industrial exhibits. The 'disproportion' of government effort and expenditure on the mineral exhibits...
caused no little friction between the Departments of Agriculture and Mines, and the general feeling was that Queensland's agricultural resources were 'but very inadequately represented' at the exhibition, especially in comparison with the grand show of agricultural resources in Victoria's court. (Victoria was the only other Australian colony to participate officially at the exhibition.) The Department of Agriculture was not able to carry out its plan to make another coat of arms of maize for this exhibition and, as noted in Chapter 2, its first cinematographic films were not ready in time to be shown. Instead, the department sent more of Frederick Wills' agricultural and pastoral photographs and 'about a hundred' lantern slides complete with a 'lectureette' on each slide.

Most conspicuous of the exhibits in the non-minerals section of Queensland's court were two 'kiosks' filled with tinned meats from the Central Queensland Meat Export Company of Rockhampton and the Queensland Meat Export and Agency Company, both of which were awarded gold medals for their contributions. These and other Queensland meat companies kept up a 'continuous' supply of frozen meat for display in the exhibition's cold storage chamber, located in a separate building in the Elysia amusement area. Fitted with the latest in refrigerating plant, the chamber celebrated the advent of marine refrigeration which had enabled the Australasian colonies to quadruple their meat exports to Britain within the last decade. Here in the miraculous chamber, shared with Victoria and New Zealand, exhibition-goers could see the perishable produce of far-distant colonies 'fresh and dainty enough to please the most fastidious'. By 1899 Queensland was Australia's largest frozen meat exporter, with some 30 meatworks producing annual exports worth £1,278,720. (Meat was now Queensland's third export earner, after wool and pastoral photographs and 'about a hundred' lantern slides complete with a 'lectureette' on each slide.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 7

'THE MARCH OF CIVILISATION'

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

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

The rapid advance of the colony’s railways was recorded at exhibitions in a series of illuminated maps prepared by the Queensland Railways Department and drawn by Giovanni Prosdocimi, a lithographic draftsman in the Chief Engineer’s Branch in Brisbane. The first of these ‘artistic’ maps was shown in 1886 at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Measuring 12 feet by 10 feet, this map recorded not only the 1,555 miles of railways open, but also the 490 miles under construction and more miles planned for
construction. Surrounding the map was an illuminated border 'even more interesting than the map itself' incorporating photographs of railway works (stations, bridges, tunnels, etc.) and providing statistical details of those works. Queensland's exhibition commissioners proposed also to send a railway carriage and a section of railway track to complete this grand show of railway 'development' at the London exhibition, but the proposal was rejected by the government as too costly. Another of Prosdocimi's much-admired maps was shown at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89, along with a working model of a railway traffic and dump car. The map shown at the Queensland International Exhibition was the most spectacular of all. Measuring 14 feet by 11 feet, its illuminated border had groupings of birds and flowers as well as photographs of railway works and other 'picturesque spots'. By the time the next map was shown in 1899 at the Greater Britain Exhibition, Queensland could boast 2,800 miles of railways open, representing Australia's third largest railway network — and a crippling drain on the Queensland revenue as these railways were unable to pay their way.

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

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

'The miracle of artesian waters', writes J.M. Powell in his study of water management in Queensland, 'caught the popular imagination and appeared to give the greatest hope for an assured future'. Artesian water threw open some 88,300 square miles of semi-arid land for pastoral and agricultural production and promised colonists new security against the deprivations of droughts. 'We... have played sad havoc with Nature. We laugh at droughts', gloated the Queenslander in 1897. By the time of the Queensland International Exhibition that year the colony had 471 artesian bores, of which 317 were overflowing and delivering some 187 million gallons of water daily. The artesian 'era' was celebrated at the exhibition...
in the colossal map prepared by the Government Survey Office, mentioned in Chapter 5, which loomed over the mining court (Fig. 93). Also in the mining court were a series of photographs of artesian bores shown by Queensland's Water Supply Department (Fig. 94). Further, as an exhibition 'novelty' Queensland's most famous artesian bore, at Charleville, was opened for public viewing on Mondays and Thursdays during the exhibition, and the Queensland Railways offered exhibitiongoers special excursion fares to Charleville to see the bore. (The Charleville bore was famous for its enormous output of 3 million gallons of water daily.) Not surprisingly, more maps and photographs of artesian bores appeared later at the Greater Britain Exhibition, and the colossal map prepared for the Queensland International Exhibition was shown again (Fig. 77).

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

The Great Silent Land is silent no longer. Distance is bridged over — space annihilated. There is no place so distant from the metropolis whence a telegram may not be sent; the post-office is everywhere — the mailman ubiquitous. Though not officially represented at Chicago in 1893, Queensland contributed to a display of the world's post and telegraph departments organised by the United States postal authorities. Queensland's exhibits included: postage stamps, telephone apparatus, photographs of post and telegraph offices and the travelling post office operated on the Queensland intercolonial express train, and a large map showing the colony's telegraph lines and postal facilities. The photographs were 'artistically retouched' in crayon by the Brisbane artist Oscar Fristrom. These exhibits, it was predicted, would 'compare favourably with anything of the kind in any part of the world' and the American authorities agreed. Another collection of Queensland's postage stamps was shown later at the Greater Britain Exhibition by the exhibition official Harry Courtenay Luck.

Other exhibits recorded civilisation's advance. By the time of the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89 Queensland could claim that its coast was the best lit in Australia, and as evidence the Queensland Harbours and Rivers Department showed prize-winning models of the Brisbane River and Cape Bowling Green lighthouses. Also at this event Queensland could boast Australia's most advanced meteorological service and what better proof than the large collection of meteorological instruments and weather maps and charts shown by the Government Meteorologist Clement Wragge. Already since his appointment in 1887 Wragge had expanded Queensland's observation network and was issuing intercolonial weather forecasts (much to the annoyance of his southern counterparts) in his bid to improve the science of forecasting throughout eastern Australia.
Queensland International Exhibition, and sent more weather maps and charts to the Greater Britain Exhibition. Later Wragge visited the Paris exhibition of 1900 to take part in its International Meteorological Conference. His reputation was such that, but for his irascible temper, he might have become Australia's first Commonwealth meteorologist.

Further, Queensland could boast that its burgeoning towns were not unlike those of Europe and could rival those of its sister colonies. The growth of these towns was recorded at exhibitions by panoramic photographs and, occasionally, paintings. For Queensland's court at the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 the government commissioned the local artist and art teacher Joseph Augustus Clarke to paint a View of Brisbane from Bowen Terrace (Fig. 95). Clarke's 'grand picture', measuring 4½ by 12 feet, was painted in oils on canvas and framed in a splendid gilded frame. It is a panoramic view of the (then) town and its appurtenances of civilisation — its wharves, warehouses, factories, shops, churches, residences and public buildings, notably its grand Parliament House. Inspecting this painting at the exhibition, the Argus reporter was pleased to find that, except for the windmill, all other traces of Brisbane's convict past had been 'well nigh obliterated'.

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

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

The Anglo-Australian race is merely a transplanted Anglo-Saxon race. 455

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

Also recording the progress of the colony's towns were plans and photographs of its grandest buildings. Among the many architectural plans shown by Queensland at London in 1886 and at Melbourne in 1888-89 were the former Colonial Architect F.D.G. Stanley's plans for the Queensland National Bank headquarters in Queen Street, 'without doubt the most imposing building... in any part of the colony'. 459 Richard Gailey's plans for Brisbane's first high-rise, the Courier Building, and Andrea Stombuco's plans for Brisbane's Opera House. But most of the
buildings featured at these exhibitions were government buildings designed by the Colonial Architect and his staff. For Melbourne the entire staff of the (then) Colonial Architect, George Connolly, spent two months making perspective views and plans of 35 of the colony's finest public buildings, from Brisbane's new Public Offices (later known as the Treasury Building) to Warwick's new Court House. These were shown in a large album, and also reproduced in a booklet printed especially for the event. It was on 'reproductive works' like these that the colony's public debt had been contracted, pleaded propagandists repeatedly at exhibitions. These works, said Queensland's official propagandist in Britain, Maurice Hume Black, enhanced the value of the public estate and would reap 'untold benefits' in the future.

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

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

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

More prominent at exhibitions were Queensland's many exhibits of newspapers, which often had special exhibition features summarising the colony's recent progress. Newspapers were first shown in bulk at the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876, bound into two large volumes by the Government Printing Office. At later events regular issues were sent from almost every town and city in the colony — of some 70 different newspapers
FIG. 96. Queensland’s court at the Glasgow exhibition of 1901, described as ‘one of the most attractive courts... within the Exhibition’. The stand on the far left is probably Queensland’s ‘news-distributing’ stand. (Fryer Library, the University of Queensland)

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

Here I have shown how Queensland represented its place in the march of progress at exhibitions, through maps, photographs, newspapers, educational and other exhibits. These provided graphic evidence that its colonists were transforming ‘a land by civilisation’s step untrod’ into a shining outpost of British civilisation, reminiscent of Britain and affording new opportunities for enterprising Britons. Queensland could boast that its ‘rapid strides’ in the march of progress were exceptional given the vastness of its territory and the sparseness of its European population (never more than ½ million throughout the colonial era). In 1886 the exhibition propagandist Alexander Boyd declared that the history of Queensland had with a few checks... been one of continual progress — a progress which, taking into consideration the gloomy circumstances under which the colony was started... may be said to have no parallel in the history of British colonisation.468

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

CHAPTER 8

THE IMPACT: ‘BENEFICIAL’ OR ‘USELESS’?

Exhibitions had their critics as well as their supporters. To some they were bewildering displays ‘possessing little value or interest’ and of ‘somewhat problematical’ benefit to Australia.469 Others saw exhibitions as inspiring, a means of instructing the masses and improving public taste. A few optimists dreamt of exhibitions as
Thereafter while the attention of British investors the colony was pushing forward its progress. Yearly instalments that reached over £2,000,000 from 1885. Large-scale public borrowing continued until the banking crisis of 1893, though with increasing alarm at the 'reckless pace' at which the colony was pushing forward its progress. Thereafter while the attention of British investors turned to the rich new goldfields of Western Australia, Queensland was unable to fully restore its credit-worthiness and public borrowing was suspended early this century, having totalled only £5,989,000 in the years from 1894 to 1903.

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

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

Queensland officials often reported interest by investors in their displays. At the London exhibition of 1872, Richard Daintree was so overwhelmed by investors' enquiries about the colony's latest mineral discoveries that he published a report from Christopher D'Oyly H. Aplin, the late Government Geologist for Southern Queensland, in the London Times. Many other instances can be cited of investors' enquiries at exhibitions, but only one, the Colonial and...
Indian, brought a substantial influx of capital to Queensland. At this time the factors determining the flow of capital were in Queensland’s favour, and investors had lost faith in the untested ‘El Dorados’ of South America and the still unremunerative mines of India. Contemporaries agreed (with satisfaction) that the mining boom that began in late 1886 was a direct outcome of Queensland’s strategically planned show of mineral wealth at the exhibition (Fig. 97). Such ‘judicious advertising’ had attracted about £1 million to the mining industry by the beginning of 1887, its first major influx of capital, and prospects for the industry never looked brighter. Queensland was the only Australian colony to enjoy a mining boom at the close of the exhibition. In his illuminating study of this boom, A.L. Lougheed estimates that from 1886 to 1890 nearly 50 mining companies were registered and floated in Britain to operate in Queensland, costing British investors some £6.4 million (not all of which reached Queensland). These companies mostly operated gold mines, but some were involved in silver, tin, copper, coal and opal mines, or in gold-extracting works. The Charters Towers goldfield, so prominently featured at the exhibition, was the major recipient of the British capital which transferred ownership of many of its mines from small cooperative groups of working miners and local businessmen to London-based companies. The Etheridge goldfield received an influx of over £1 million at this time, while the Ravenswood, Palmer, Gympie and Mount Morgan fields received lesser amounts.

Regrettably, the benefits of the boom were limited, for most of the British mining companies were over-capitalised (that is, lacking working funds, having purchased their mines at inflated prices), were incompetently but extravagantly managed, and aimed more for quick dividends than for developing their mines. Further, some companies, such as the notorious Mount Morgan West Gold Mining Company, purchased properties that were virtually worthless. Diane Menghetti writes that ‘the advantages of British capital must have seemed small indeed to the workers of
Charters Towers’ whose working conditions actually deteriorated under the British companies, despite the introduction of improved machinery. The transfer of ownership to these companies coincided with the era of deep reefing and with higher accident rates, lower wages, and hence worker discontent. The future of the Charters Towers lay with the Brilliant reef, the richest ore shoot ever discovered there, which was not affected by the 1886-87 boom. The short-lived British companies on the Etheridge goldfield were renowned for the vast quantities of costly crushing machinery they brought to relatively unproductive mines. Some of this machinery was never assembled and still rusts in splendid isolation. (Geoffrey Bolton calls the Etheridge ‘a museum of the various ways in which a London mining company could lose money’.)

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

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

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

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

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

More significantly, the social composition of Queensland’s immigrants shows that, as a group, they were unlikely to have been influenced by — or even to have visited — exhibitions. In her comprehensive study of Queensland immigration in the 19th century, Helen Woolcock estimates that 85% of these immigrants were government-assisted, either with free or subsidised passages, while many of the full-payers during the years 1861-78 and 1887-94 were rewarded with land grants. Queensland (like Western Australia) continued assisted immigration throughout the period 1860 to 1919, whereas the other Australian colonies had abandoned assisted immigration by the late 1880s. In other words, Queensland’s immigrants were attracted by more substantial lures than exhibitions. F.K. Crowley observes that Queensland bid much higher for its immigrants than the other Australian colonies, paying an average of £193/- for every immigrant recruited between 1860 and 1919.
was overwhelmed by his two visits to the Great Exhibition of 1851: 'I find I am “used up” by the Exhibition ... so many things bewildered me ... ', he wrote.\textsuperscript{487} Dickens' experience was shared by at least some of the working-class people who managed to attend exhibitions. The \textit{Practical Mechanic's Journal Record of the Great Exhibition 1862} noted:

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

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

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

Though the Agent-General Richard Daintree and others had used photographs (and later lantern slides) to illustrate their emigration lectures, George Randall was the first to mount displays of Queensland produce at agricultural exhibitions in
FIG. 99. An example of the propaganda distributed by George Randall in Britain. (Queensland State Archives, PRE/A23, 1899/3908, reproduced courtesy of the Dept of the Premier and Cabinet)

Britain. Inspired by the initiative of Canada in touring sophisticated display vans to these exhibitions, Randall mounted rival stands to 'kidnap colonists' (as his critics held) to Queensland instead. Queensland was, he boasted, 'the only Australian Colony having the enterprise and public spiritedness to do this'. Randall reported that his first stand, at Warwick's Royal Agricultural Show of 1892, was 'a splendid means of advertising the colony to British farmers'.403 Besides samples of agricultural produce and wax models of fruit supplied by the Queensland Department of Agriculture, his exhibits included maps, photographs of farms and artesian bores and a painting of the Barron Falls by his son, the artist Richard Randall. (When challenged by exhibition visitors about Queensland's 'dry', he pointed to the bores on one hand and the waterfall on the other, then referred them to a map of the colony's varying rainfall, and 'took the doubters by surprise').404

But Queensland's most successful experiment in recruiting at an exhibition was the inspiration of another emigration agent, August Larsen, also targeting a specific audience — in this case, women. Larsen mounted Queensland's stall at London's Women's International Exhibition of 1900 where he recruited most of the 417 'girls' he despatched to the colony within 10 months to meet its chronic shortage of domestic labour.405 There were other examples of new colonists being attracted at exhibitions. The young De Burgh Fitzpatrick Persse, later a well-known pastoralist, parliamentarian and a commissioner for Queensland at Melbourne's centennial exhibition, was 'inspired' to emigrate from his native Galway, Ireland, by Queensland's display at the London exhibition of 1862. He was reportedly one of 'many' emigrants attracted at this event.406 Later at the Greater Britain Exhibition Queensland officials claimed that their exhibits had caused 'a number' of visitors to emigrate, but statistics show no great increase at this time. Though the exhibition could have induced some to emigrate, maybe years after the event, some other cause deterred others.

IMPACT ON TRADE. Nor were exhibitions any more effective in boosting Queensland's trade. The years immediately following exhibitions brought no increases in exports that cannot be explained by other factors such as bumper seasons or new minerals discoveries, and there were large increases in some export commodities in years quite unrelated to exhibitions. Conversely, the Queensland International Exhibition brought no great increases in imports. Ironically, exports slumped after the colony's grandest-ever display, at the Greater Britain Exhibition, due to its worst-ever drought which lasted until 1902. Of course the ability of exhibitions to directly influence trade depended on a free-trade world which, though the guiding principle behind the Great Exhibition of 1851, was not a reality in succeeding decades, even within the British Empire. High tariffs prevented the Australian colonies from increasing their wool exports to the United States as a result of their spectacular wool displays at the Philadelphia exhibition. Queensland
had hoped to start a direct wool trade with the United States after this event. Likewise, Victoria's protectionist policies minimised the export gains that Queensland could make from participating in Melbourne exhibitions. Victoria's high tariff on Queensland sugar was a contentious issue at the time of the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-89. Even the mother country, while espousing the benefits of a free-trade empire, was not an open market for colonial produce by the 1890s because of its trade treaties with Continental countries, also a contentious issue for Queensland.

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

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

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

CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC IMPACT. Queensland seldom took advantage of the latest advances in science and technology on show at exhibitions, though most Western nations sent official observers to exhibitions. On only two occasions, at Philadelphia in 1876 and the International Health Exhibition in 1884, did Queensland appoint commissioners specifically to report on exhibits and overseas developments of interest to the colony. Significantly, on both occasions the commissioners lacked professional expertise in the subjects they reported on, so their reports lacked scientific validity and were generally ignored. In 1875 there were repeated calls for the Australian colonies to bring back information on American agricultural technology from the Philadelphia exhibition, for colonists saw the experience of the American frontier as particularly applicable to antipodean conditions. In September 1875 the Queensland Government took up the offer of Angus Mackay, a local journalist and writer on agriculture, to proceed to Philadelphia as a special exhibition commissioner. This followed Mackay's lobbying, as editor of the Queenslander, for the colony to 'learn, as well as exhibit' at Philadelphia. Apart from overseeing Queensland's exhibits, Mackay was detailed to spend eight months in the United States reporting on agricultural machinery, including
the fine display in the exhibition, and touring California and grain and sugar-producing districts to observe recent advances in agriculture and low-cost railways and bridges. Later his tour was extended to include reports on Chicago's modern abattoirs and the central sugar mill system operating in the French West Indies.

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

In April 1884 Queensland appointed John Douglas, a former Premier and man of letters then visiting London, as a commissioner to report on the International Health Exhibition. His report touched on subjects of vital concern to industrial
civilisation, sanitation and water supply, and urged the colony to obtain the exhibition’s literature which, he predicted, would have ‘a more extended influence than the exhibition itself’. The exhibition’s 19 volumes of literature were later deposited in the Queensland Parliamentary Library, and were probably rarely consulted as the library was (and still is) for the use of politicians, not technical experts. In 1891 the Queensland Parliament received a report on London’s recent International Exhibition of Mining and Metallurgy by C.A. Heussler, a mining engineer of Brisbane, but the colony was not officially represented at this exhibition and Heussler did not have commissioner status. While only tentatively interested in practical exhibits, Queensland was even less interested in the cultural advances on show at exhibitions. An offer made by the Brisbane medical practitioner, parliamentarian and later Queensland Museum trustee, Dr Kevin Izod O’Doherty, to report on aspects of French culture at the Paris exhibition of 1878 hit a bureaucratic brick wall.

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

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

Other collecting institutions in Queensland fared little better from exhibitions, though as I have previously noted Richard Daintree ensured that his photographs were placed in local museums as a stimulus to ‘technological education in the colony’. The Queensland Museum now holds two series of ‘Daintree’ photographs, but it seems that the photographs despatched elsewhere have been lost. At the beginning of the Melbourne exhibition of 1880-81 the Queensland Museum received plaster casts of the muses Polyhymnia and Euterpe as gifts from Professor Francis
Reuleaux, the Chief Commissioner for the German Empire at the exhibition. These muses, copies of antiquities held in Berlin, have also been lost. The museum made its best gains from exhibitions after Melbourne's event of 1888-89 due to the involvement of its Curator, Charles de Vis, as an exhibition commissioner and as a cataloguer of the mineral exhibits. De Vis took advantage of the return of exhibits to induce their owners to make donations to the museum. Many 'interesting' mineral exhibits were acquired, including a collection of tin and silver ores from John Moffat and Company of Irvinebank and the bulk of the exhibits from the New Guinea court (now known as the MacGregor Collection).

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

As international exhibitions became recurring events in the world’s major cities, it became customary to plan at least one permanent structure among the exhibition buildings. Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Launceston were left with sizeable exhibition buildings after their respective events; that is, until a fire destroyed Sydney’s building in 1882. Brisbane, however, was left with less substantial assets from the Queensland International Exhibition, since it was housed in the National Association’s existing (second) Exhibition Building at Bowen Park, erected in 1891 (Fig. 101), and in ‘temporary’ iron annexes acquired from the recent Hobart exhibition. These annexes became a permanent addition to Brisbane’s Exhibition Grounds after their purchase by the Queensland Government in June 1897 in an effort to keep the Queensland International Exhibition Company solvent. Following repairs and alterations made in 1899, the annexes remained in use well into this century, providing necessary accommodation for Brisbane’s annual agricultural exhibitions once the Exhibition Building was taken over by the government in December 1897 in consequence of the National Association’s indebtedness to the state. In the meantime the building was used for Brisbane’s annual exhibition of 1898, the mining court from the Queensland International Exhibition still installed there awaiting its overseas showing.
The international exhibition's bush-house and gardens also survived till the 1898 exhibition and were later taken over (albeit depleted) by the Queensland Museum when the museum moved into the Exhibition Building in 1899. The Queensland International Exhibition gave Brisbane no other permanent amenities, unlike its European and American counterparts which left parks, sports stadiums, railway stations, even mass housing, in addition to grand exhibition buildings.

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

... the sinister Base on a Mount, a pile of Quartz, issuant therefrom a Gold Pyramid, in front of the Mount, a Spade surmounted by a Pick salteretris all proper.

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

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