On the Edge
Women's Experiences of Queensland
Edited by GAIL REEKIE
On the Edge

University of Queensland

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On the Edge

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Contents

Illustrations vii
Tables viii
Acknowledgments ix
Notes on Contributors xi
Introduction 1

Part 1 SOURCES
1 Women, Region and the “Queensland Difference”
   Gail Reekie 8
2 Searching for Queensland Women’s History at the John Oxley Library
   Gail Reekie 25
3 Naming Queensland Women’s History: A Bibliographic Essay
   Gail Reekie 32

Part 2 HISTORIES
4 “A Great Deal Too Good for the Bush”: Women and the Experience of Dress
   in Queensland
   Margaret Maynard 51
5 The Sexual Economics of Colonial Marriage
   Katie Spearritt 66
6 “Raising an Interrogatory Eyebrow”: Women’s Responses to the Infant
   Welfare Movement in Queensland, 1918–1939
   Wendy Selby 80
7 “On the Bitumen and Off the Bitumen”: Women and the YWCA in the
   Lockyer Valley, 1935–1940
   Aline Gillespie 97
8 War Mobilisation: A Matter of Geography
   Helen Taylor 112

Part 3 SPACES
9 Felicitous Space: Refiguring the Relations of Identity, Home and Community
   in Regional Writing
   Kay Ferres 131
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/s</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Verandahs and Frangipani: Women in the Queensland House</td>
<td>Jennifer Craik</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Speaking from the Warm Zone</td>
<td>Gillian Whillock</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Part 4</strong> POLICY AND POLITICS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The “Tasty Morsel” Case: Sexual Harassment in Queensland</td>
<td>Jennifer Mahon</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Rape Crisis Services in Queensland</td>
<td>Ros Mills and Rob Duffield</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Endnotes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Select Bibliography</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Index</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Illustrations

Following page 120

"New kind of pin-up girl", Australian Women's Weekly, 15 January 1944
"The spearhead reaches south", Courier Mail, 14 February 1942
"Winnie the War Worker", Australian Women's Weekly, 8 March 1941

Map

Controlling Baby Clinic Centres, Queensland 1938 p. 96
Tables

7.1 Distribution of working population in primary industry in Queensland and Australia, 1901–1933 98
7.2 Male and female population and occupied dwellings in Lockyer Valley centres, and average number of persons per household in 1933 99
8.1 Wage and salary earners (other than rural and household domestic workers) employed, Australia, December 1941 120
12.1 Complaints of sexual harassment, Australia, 1989–1990 188
12.2 Complaints involving sex and sexual harassment, Australia, 1989–1990 189
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Jennifer Mahon is a PhD student and part-time research assistant in the Division of Humanities at Griffith University. Her dissertation examines the reforming impact of preventative legislations surrounding sexual harassment both in Australia and overseas.

Margaret Maynard is a costume historian, trained at the Courtauld Institute, London University, and has completed a PhD on historical perspectives on nineteenth-century Australian dress. She lectures on Dress Studies and Art History at the University of Queensland.

Ros Mills has worked in rape crisis since 1985. In 1991 she prepared a preliminary report for the proposed Sexual Assault/Rape Crisis Program to be administered by the Women's Health Policy Unit of the Queensland State Health Department. She is currently writing a thesis on women's violence at Griffith University.
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Gail Reekie first became interested in regionalism and Queensland women's history while teaching in Australian Studies in the Division of Humanities, Griffith University. She has published a number of articles on the history of women's work, feminism, sexuality and consumerism, and has written a book on the sexualisation of selling in the department store since 1880 (Allen & Unwin, 1993).

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Helen Taylor works in the Heritage Unit of the Brisbane City Council and has taught British Social History in the History Department of the University of Queensland. Born and educated in Queensland, Helen has long been interested in the history of this state. Her research interests include Australian and comparative studies of war and society; and class, race and gender in modern British and Australian history.

Gillian Whitlock teaches in the School of Australian and Comparative Studies at Griffith University. Her research interests are in feminism and postcolonialism.
Introduction

Women's lives, and their capacity to change their lives, have been shaped by the places in which they have lived. Women's relations with men, children and other women, opportunities for health, prosperity and longevity, female pleasures and fears, aspirations and disappointments, have varied not just according to race, class, ethnicity, religion, age, and marital status, but were also dependent on their regional location. Yet despite studies of, for example, women in Victoria or women in Western Australia, we do not know what difference it made to those women to have lived in that particular colony, district or community at that particular time. Regional factors and the nuances of spatial location have been overlooked in the overarching preoccupation with the history and culture of the nation.

This book attempts to bring region to the study of women in Australia by examining one, rather large, state: Queensland. Apart from the need for a book on women in Queensland, there are several reasons why this state is a good place to start. First, there is already a debate amongst historians, social analysts, journalists and political scientists about the so-called "Queensland difference". Some have found that Queensland's history, politics, economy and society are distinctive; others argue that the differences are more mythical than real. None of those writers has, however, thought to ask whether the Queensland difference made a difference to Queensland women. Second, Queensland is on the periphery in relation to the centre of gravity in the "southern states" - New South Wales/Sydney and Victoria/Melbourne. The study of women in Queensland therefore touches on broader themes such as ruralism, the frontier, isolation and distance, and settlement in the tropics. A focus on Queensland redresses some of the traditional balance in favour of the southern half of the continent and may suggest significant continuities with other historically peripheral states such as Tasmania and Western Australia.

A book on region must address the question of how region is to be defined. This is particularly so in the case of women, for it cannot be assumed that conventional definitions of region are necessarily appropriate or useful. Scholars of region — whether geographers, demographers, historians or sociologists - have used criteria that have limited relevance to the female experience. Regions are typically defined in these accounts by such factors as political or administrative boundaries, patterns of land use and resource distribution, networks of transport and communication, dominant political cultures, and economic activity. Because women were primarily located in the domestic
INTRODUCTION

and private sphere as daughters, wives and mothers and only temporarily or informally (if ever) as entrepreneurs or paid workers, the majority were isolated from the effects of such public and formal regional boundaries. Is region, then, a useful concept in the analysis of women’s relationship to history, culture and government?

These essays assess through selected case studies the value of conventional regional boundaries in accounts of female experiences of place. The book introduces Queensland women’s studies as an interdisciplinary field of enquiry, with a particular emphasis on history. It is designed, first, to provide practical help to those interested in researching women in Queensland. Part 1 is devoted to a survey of some relevant sources, an analysis of the current state of scholarship in Queensland women’s history, and an introduction to the problem of putting together women and region in the Queensland context. Part 2 is comprised of case studies in the history of Queensland women from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Part 3, devoted to cultural studies approaches to Queensland women, concentrates on the issue of gendered spaces and subjectivities. The way in which the contemporary situation of women in this state is affected by government, legislation, policing and policy formulation is the focus of Part 4.

Contributors’ individual projects are diverse and employ different disciplinary techniques. Clear continuities in these accounts of Queensland women nevertheless emerge. A strong theme in the historical studies is the hardship of Queensland domestic life and motherhood. The physical and emotional pressures on women primarily responsible for the survival of (usually large) families in both urban and remote rural communities were immense. With distinctively high rates of marriage, birth and infant mortality, nineteenth century Queensland women living far from kin and often lacking medical assistance constantly lived with the fear of pregnancy and childbirth and the regular anxieties and crises of motherhood. Expectations that wives would contribute to the management, resourcefulness and sheer hard labour required to ensure the economic viability of farms and other family enterprises added to women’s sexual and reproductive burdens.

Many chapters stress the significance of the urban/rural divide. In isolated rural areas, a supportive female culture embracing the sharing of problems, solutions, knowledges and resources—such as grew up in urban centres—was difficult, if impossible, to sustain. Well into the twentieth century, women were subjected not only to the hard work and isolation characteristic of small rural communities, but also to their traditional and oppressive masculine cultures. Comparatively high masculinity ratios and the persistence of a family-centred conservatism in rural Queensland created an
INTRODUCTION

uncomfortable, if not hostile and dangerous, environment for women outside (and often inside) the illusory protection of marriage. Whether daughters, wives or mothers, rural women encountered relatively few opportunities to escape rigid formulations of gender-specific behaviour, engage in social activities for their own pleasure and self-development, or pursue nontraditional life choices.

Options for economic independence for both urban and rural women were markedly constrained until relatively recently by the dominance of rural industries in the Queensland economy. Heavily centred on the primary sector - and particularly on traditionally male occupations requiring mobility and physical strength - the Queensland labour market offered little diversity in paid work to women who in other colonies/states benefited from the expansion of factory, shop and office employment. These constraints persisted in World War II, despite the expansion of women's work evident in the more developed states. Queensland's relatively retarded economic development and decentralised pattern of settlement delayed the importation into country areas of modern amenities and technologies which elsewhere materially improved women's everyday working conditions. Many Queensland women lived, and continue to live, without domestic help, a long way from urban amenities and sources of supply for basic household provisions and clothing, isolated by unsealed roads, floods and lack of access to transport.

Living in a town or city such as Brisbane did not necessarily guarantee Queensland women more legal rights or protection. The Queensland Government was the first to enact Contagious Diseases legislation permitting the extensive policing and harassment of women suspected of being prostitutes in 1868, and retained the legislation on the statute books as late as 1973. Government policies for women, such as distinctively interventionist legislation enacted in the 1920s ostensibly aimed at protecting maternal and infant health, proved either inadequate or mis-directed, and feminists have had a particularly hard struggle since the 1970s to establish rape crisis services in this state. Queensland women achieved equal divorce rights, married women's property acts and the franchise significantly later than most other Australian women. In 1992, abortion remained illegal and the majority of women in the Queensland workforce were unprotected by sexual harassment legislation.

If Anglo women suffered particular hardships as a result of Queensland's masculinist culture, Aboriginal women were subject to the additional indignities and injustices of colonial domination. Anglo Queensland women looked upon Aboriginal women as "other", a primitive standard against which they could measure their own achievements in maintaining civility and refined domesticity in a frighteningly uncivilised frontier culture. The predominant Aboriginal women's experience of Queensland which
emerges from this collection (in which Black women are seen exclusively through white eyes) is exclusion: exclusion from government maternal and infant welfare facilities, from the accounting of populations and workforces, from the recreational programs of organisations such as the YWCA, and from the basic comforts of station life. In some cases this exclusion was the consequence of overt racism; in others, institutionalised racism prevented apparently nondiscriminatory policies from being carried out in practice.

While many of the contributors to this volume suggest that Queensland women suffered particular, often greater, hardships than others, we also have here evidence of women's capacity to re-make their own worlds and experience them as pleasurable and rewarding. These possibilities were most often created by white women within their own sphere: in their gardens, in their writings, and in their homes. The Queensland house, with its characteristic flexibility and ambivalent location between inside and outside, public and private, emerges as a distinctive cultural site for women's negotiations over the uses and meanings of space. Published reminiscences and fictional representations of life in the Queensland house and in Queensland more generally also reveal specifically female textual strategies for the claiming of space and place.

While all the chapters share a preoccupation with the significance of "Queensland" to Queensland women, they differ in their assessments of the value of region to feminist inquiry. Some contributors imply that an attention to regional difference is essential to an accurate understanding of the diversity of the Australian female experience. Katie Spearritt uses legal comparisons and demographic statistics in her analysis of nineteenth century marriage to argue that the economic and sexual/reproductive situation of Queensland wives was distinct from - and more oppressive than - that of wives living in other colonies. This "distinctive sunshine state chauvinism" with its beginnings in an intensely masculinist frontier society continues to restrict Queensland women's life options. Jennifer Craik's study of the Queensland house and garden suggests that women's domestic experiences and opportunities for pleasure were directly related to, and consequently as regionally distinctive as the architecture of their homes. Helen Taylor shows how regional factors such as the nature of the economy, patterns of urbanisation and strategic location shaped women's options for paid and voluntary work during World War II. The diversity of Australian women's war experiences, she argues, can be more fully realised by "bringing place and process together".

Chapters analysing current patterns of policing, service provision and legislative provision for Queensland women who have suffered sexual violence also stress regional specificity. Jennifer Mahon points to the combined effects of Queensland's distinctively low levels of policing of sex-related crimes against women and the lack of legal avenues
INTRODUCTION

of complaint. These constraints on women seeking redress against their male attackers are a legacy, she suggests, of Queensland’s repressive political culture and the restrictions on women’s rights which characterised the period of National Party rule. The extent and nature of rape crisis service provision in Australia, as Ros Mills and Rob Duffield argue, has a similarly regional character. Federal and state government policies, relationships at the local level between crisis centre workers, professionals and bureaucrats, and the community in which the shelter is established may all affect women’s access to support and shelter from sexual and domestic violence.

Other contributors note what appear to be Queensland specificities but find the concept of region inappropriate or inadequate to explain their complexity. Gail Reekie suggests that distinctive patterns of race and ethnicity, the persistence of a frontier economy and culture, high masculinity and marriage rates, and an especially difficult struggle for legal equality have made a difference to the history of women in Queensland. She argues, however, that only comparative studies of region defined by sexually-specific criteria will enhance understandings of the meanings of region to women. Margaret Maynard, in her study of the ways in which Queensland women’s dress and self-perceptions were affected by place, concludes that key determinants were climate, isolation and distance from clothing supplies. The contrast between European and colonial society, the urban/bush divide and the distance from small towns and cities more effectively explain Queensland women’s experiences of dress than region as conventionally defined by state boundaries.

Aline Gillespie’s study of Lockyer Valley women’s family lives, work and (limited) leisure in the 1930s also suggests the limited value of state-regionalism. While experiencing the effects of a distinctive Queensland economy and demography, groups of women may have been more directly affected by community or local-level regional characteristics such as living “off the bitumen”. An argument might equally be made that regional location made less difference to certain groups of women than their position within common sexual cultures that transcended regional and perhaps national boundaries. Wendy Selby’s analysis of maternal welfare policies and their effects on Queensland mothers in the 1920s and 1930s suggests that it ultimately mattered little whether women lived in rural or urban areas. Both country and city women were subject to an oppressive pronatalism and the distressing and potentially fatal effects of male medical intervention.

Shifting the focus to regionalism as discourse reveals with more clarity its transcendant qualities. Gillian Whitlock suggests that regional sign systems attached to areas as culturally and topographically diverse as Newfoundland and Queensland are
INTRODUCTION

associated with the archetypically feminine. Women and men take up these regional sign systems differently and "we speak from 'region' as gendered subjects". Kay Ferres, also interested in the relationship between literary texts and particular female subjectivities, demonstrates in women's writing about Queensland an active engagement with, and attempts to transform space and locality. Rather than women "experiencing" a unitary concept of region, Ferres argues that women's writings create particular feminine spaces at particular times and in particular cultures, forging identity out of the relation to place. Dichotomous representations of regional difference may therefore be of limited value in understandings of women's experiences of Queensland. The essays by Craik, Whitlock and Ferres suggest the interplay between time, place and home in specifically female fantasies of domestic space.

The essays in this book, then, comprise the beginnings of a productive dialogue about the connections between women, space and time. In some ways, this is a book about margins, centres and peripheries. If Queensland women are positioned on the edge of the map of knowledge and of history, does this give them a unique vantage point from which to speak about and question region? Or do they share their marginal status with other regions? Perhaps Queensland's difference is no more than a matter of timing. Primary industry remained dominant, colonial domestic architecture persisted, demographic transition occurred later, and women's rights were granted considerably behind other states. If this is the case, what significance do we then attach to the different chronologies of women's history? There may be important lessons to be learned and useful models to be developed by pursuing temporal discontinuities across regions and nations.

There are also valuable methodological challenges in breaking down the categories of "women" and "Queensland" to release the diversity of female subjectivities. Assuming a spurious female homogeneity, or even assuming the existence of "real Queensland women" whose history can uncomplicatedly be reconstructed, may lead feminist regional studies down a blind alley. It is equally imperative that historians of women who lived "on the edge" of the dominant Anglo, heterosexual, married, middle-class and literate female identity question what it meant to be both "woman" and "in Queensland".

Differences of race represent the most serious challenge to assumptions of a unitary female history. In the early stages of this project the editors solicited contributions from Black women historians working on Queensland material so that the experiences of both Black and white women would be represented. Of the handful of Aboriginal women working in the area, some were already fully committed elsewhere and others unable to commit their work to this particular project. Despite the growing number of Aboriginal
INTRODUCTION

historians, and some attempt by white historians since the 1970s to write more sympathetically about the Aboriginal past, the Australian history discipline and profession remain dominated by the concerns, methods and perspectives of white Australians. Female Aboriginal writers have real and understandable reservations in devoting their time and energies to what is essentially a white man's, and more recently, a white woman's enterprise. This tension creates a dilemma for white editors seeking work by Black contributors, who may rightly refuse to provide the token chapter or two on Aboriginal women. The option of requesting non-Aboriginal historians to provide essays on Aboriginal women is often neither viable nor desirable. These difficulties, deeply embedded in the complex politics of sex and race, are not easily resolved. This collection, in spite of its subtitle, is predominantly about Anglo women's experiences of Queensland written exclusively from a white standpoint. From that white perspective, Queensland women's history can only benefit from regional histories written by Aboriginal and Islander women.

This book, then, does more than restore to the white women of Queensland their history. It raises for discussion and further enquiry the question of how best to bring together feminism and regionalism. Even more generally, it addresses the relationship between national histories and regional histories, Australian culture and regional cultures. Central to these debates - and to the study of Queensland - must be the recognition that women and men speak from regions from distinctly sexed and frequently incommensurate vantage points. The chapters in this collection demonstrate convincingly the need for sexual specificity in studies of Australian societies, cultures and spaces.

Gail Reekie
June 1992
Women, Region and the "Queensland Difference"

Gail Reekie

Women have a unique perspective on the world as a result of their position "on the edge of the map" of knowledge. Queensland women have lived, not only on the edge of the map of knowledge, but also on the edge of Australian culture and history. Barbara Brooks has identified two voices in her memories of Queensland. One is "a historical voice that says something like this - 'Queensland history is characterised by an emphasis on material progress and development, and the lack of an urban industrial base'". The other voice talks of images and "landscapes we attach ourselves to" such as "still summer afternoons before a thunderstorm, heatshimmer like an unstable haze on the hills. Rain on galvanised iron roofs". For Brooks, and perhaps for many women, "the history and images are different voices. Women's lives were not part of that history. We had to make our own. Always trying to bring the two stories together. Is that it? And now my sense of landscape has to do with centres and margins and edges. The feeling of being marginalised, as women, for example". Women's sense of place, of region, is powerfully constructed by their marginality to History.

Women have been excluded from studies of regions and nations. Features of physical geography, forms of land use and systems of government have typically constituted the characteristic features of a region. What have been seen as neutral defining or distinctive features of regions - economic activity and political organisation - have, in fact, been those which reflect and privilege masculine, public sphere, activity. Chilla Bulbeck's recent survey of the literature on regionalism suggests that, no matter what disciplinary approach to region is employed, the private and the feminine spheres of activity are subordinated to masculinist considerations such as national identity and cultural dominance, community ("horizontal comradeship"), urban development, federalism and the capitalist world system. If, as Bulbeck concludes, definitions of region have depended ultimately on the researcher's particular problematic, male scholars' failure to problematise the phallocentric assumptions underlying the concept of region is revealing.

Feminists have been equally reluctant to engage critically with the concept of regional difference. Feminist forms of analysis have tended to emphasise the
commonality of women's experience across national and regional boundaries and the
exclusion of women from concepts such as nation, citizenship and region. Sexual
violence, men's fear and denial of female sexuality, inequalities in income and educational
and workforce opportunities, and the exploitation of women's unpaid labour in the home,
to take a few examples only, are near-universal phenomena. While there are historical
and cultural, quantitative and qualitative, differences in expressions of femininity and
female experience, feminist historians and anthropologists agree that in all known cultures
women occupy a secondary status to men. The women's movements of western societies
have shared ideas, agendas and sites of struggle and have historically maintained close
links. By the end of the nineteenth century feminism was "truly an international force in
which ideas, personalities, and approaches readily crossed political boundaries". 

Patriarchy and its forms of resistance know few geo-political limits.

Recent research into the histories of specific groups of women living in regions of
the United States and Canada suggests that the female frontier experience may be inter­
national and inter-regional. Margaret Conrad argues that women in Atlantic Canada
shared distinctively female meanings of time and place. Her study of nineteenth century
women's diaries and letters reveals that the daily work rhythms of women's lives varied
little, even when they followed their husbands in search of work in other places. Place
for most women was defined, not by politics or geography, but by "home, kin and
community, spaces in which women's role was clearly defined and highly valued". 
Glenda Riley, in her comparative study of women on the prairies and the plains of the
United States, argues that the lives of women settlers "displayed fairly consistent patterns
which transcended geographic sections of the frontier". Unlike men, whose lives were
significantly marked by their physical setting and resources, women on the frontier
tended to pursue the same set of activities associated with domestic production,
childbirth, childcare, family relationships and other forms of women's work, irrespective
of region. 

Is region, then, a useful feminist category of analysis? Does it matter for feminism
that women have been systematically silenced in debates about regional differences? Is
regionalism yet another phallocentric discourse premised on forms of knowledge resistant
to the specificity of women's experiences and hence of limited value to feminist
understandings of history and society?

The concept of region, where it has been used in Australian women's history, has
invariably been deployed uncritically and unproblematically. Australian historiography is
characterised by numerous state-based studies of women's history, and Australian
feminist historians have often mobilised the category "region" in their studies of discrete
slices of women's past marked off by state boundaries. Practical, rather than theoretical, considerations have influenced these regional studies. A history of one state or region or city is clearly more manageable than a national history, especially in a country in which the major areas of settlement and hence source collections are widely scattered. Regional histories are typically the accidental result of archival convenience rather than the outcome of a carefully considered theoretical attention to women's place within that region. Where region is considered as a determinant of women's experience, it is usually used descriptively in the same way as class, race and ethnicity.

This chapter argues that if regionalism is radically re-cast to not only accommodate but mark out and privilege women's experiences, it has the potential to substantially extend and enrich understandings of women's history. While acknowledging that male-constructed geo-political boundaries and criteria are of limited relevance to women, the category "region" may nevertheless be redefined and its criteria reformulated to add new analytical dimensions to female specificity in history.

This investigation of the history of Queensland women suggests that, in a number of ways, women in this state had a different history compared with women elsewhere in Australia. I begin by outlining the current debate about the "Queensland difference", drawing particular attention to the knowledges that have rendered women invisible. After indicating some of the ways in which the historical experiences of women in Queensland might be distinctive, I broaden the discussion of regionalism to suggest some directions that feminist regional or state-based studies of women might take.

Queensland has been perceived to be different from the other Australian colonies or states within both popular consciousness and academic enquiry. At a mythological level, Queensland's tropical climate, rural orientation and isolation from the centres of national power are seen to have produced a distinctively insular, conservative and politically authoritarian culture. Historian Alan Morrison noted in the 1950s Queenslanders' apparent belief in Queensland's difference and the conviction that "decisions affecting this state can only be taken by Queenslanders".7 Humphrey McQueen argued that Queensland was different in its population distribution, regionalism, educational attainments and workforce participation; all of these features anchored in the primary industry bias of Queensland's political economy.8 From the perspective of political science, Patrick Mullins suggested that Queensland's particular brand of populism was a result of its relatively underdeveloped economy. Therefore, "Queensland is and has been different because historically it has been an underdeveloped state".9 Peter Charlton picked up on the politics theme in his 1983 State of Mind. Why Queensland is Different. Apart from a brief chapter on climate and geography, the book concentrates on the
WOMEN, REGION AND THE "QUEENSLAND DIFFERENCE"

political coordinates of regionalism and is in effect about the political career of Joh Bjelke-Petersen. "Ultimately", Charlton asserts, "one has to turn to politics, as an expression of the public collective mind".10

Political scientists and political historians have similarly identified the peculiarities of Queensland in its regionalism (that is, regions within Queensland), a retarded industrial base combined with a strong adherence to European notions of progress and development, the devaluation of dissent and education, agrarian fundamentalism, moralistic authoritarianism, political totalitarianism, graft and corruption.11 Women were effectively redundant in this political and economic rendering of the Queensland difference. The dominant predilection for political and economic explanations for Queensland's difference recurred in the Social Alternatives special issues on Queensland in 1986. The debate began to show signs of encompassing social and cultural issues such as education, the environment, the media, civil liberties, racial history, conflict between church and state and political culture. Nevertheless, apart from Neil Thornton's article on the family and sexual repression in Queensland and the odd mention of traditional attitudes towards women in the context of the state's overall conservatism, there was no mention of problems specific to women.12

Critics of the Queensland difference thesis continued to write securely within the political paradigm.13 In countering the myth of Queensland's different state image, Dennis Murphy referred to nationalist images and stereotypes, defence considerations, federation, transport, the "radical" nature of the state Labor government, the personality and actions of Bjelke-Petersen, the gerrymander and opposition policies.14 All of these indices of difference are inherently masculinist in the sense that they all refer to and promote the actions, preoccupations and interests of men.

Bulbeck's study of Queensland's population distribution, education, occupation, government expenditure and religious affiliation suggests that the statistics "do not give unequivocal support to Queensland's obvious 'difference'".15 Although she concedes that these statistics are "rough tags" for descriptions like authoritarianism, conservatism and ruralism, she does not question the choice of these particular indices of state difference, nor explore alternatives. Her analysis, including the central proposition that the endorsement of Queensland's difference by left and liberal academics alike has strengthened the National Party's position, remains within the familiar territory of political economy and political rhetoric. Queensland's difference, "if anything, is the materialism and apathy of Australian politics writ large".16 Peter Putnis has shifted the grounds of the debate away from empiricist accounts which attempt to determine whether Queenslanders are really different. Offering instead an account of the cultural
construction of a Queensland identity, he examines the manufacture of difference within
the discourse of separation (of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859), schooling,
tourism literature, popular consciousness, journalism and political rhetoric. Issues
relevant to women and gender, nevertheless, remain unspecified and invisible.

There are, however, some brief glimpses of women in recent accounts of the
Queensland difference. In a discussion predominantly of the political character of
Queensland, Brian Head suggests that demographic data on the distribution of the
population by age and gender and family structure might be incorporated into future
research strategies. Bulbeck notes that in 1983 Queensland had the lowest percentage
of the female population with a degree, that Queenslanders were (after Tasmanians) the
most likely to believe marriages should only be dissolved by the death of one partner, and
that Queensland had the second highest percentage of the population receiving supporting
parents' pensions. Both Bulbeck (in a footnote) and Duncan and Fitzgerald (in the
context of a discussion of "disturbing social trends") refer to the finding that Queensland
had in the mid-1980s a 50 per cent higher ex-nuptial birth rate among 15-19 year old
women than the Australian average. References to women, the family, marriage and
pregnancy sit uncomfortably within the terms of the Queensland difference debate and
suggest that the feminine is not easily accommodated within the masculinist boundaries of
political economy.

These sparse but indicative data on women, marriage and fertility are of central
importance to feminist accounts of regionalism. If they are admitted into academic
discourse, the whole terrain of the argument about whether or how Queensland is
different shifts dramatically. Clearly, if we are to fully understand whether living in
Queensland made a difference to women, we need to ask of history a different set of
questions that interrogates issues such as family, reproduction, sexuality and domesticity.

The historiography of women in Queensland, as chapter 3 shows, is of relatively
recent origin, fragmented and tentative. Studies cover a diverse range of topics and
approaches which largely avoid explicit theoretical attention to region. Many historians
have, however, made valuable observations which, collectively, provide indicators of
difference. The literature suggests Queensland differences in five main areas: the extent
of racial and ethnic diversity; the masculine rural economy; the impact of frontier life on
women; the state's demographic profile, in particular masculinity ratios; and women's
access to legal protection.
While race relations assumed a similar character in all Australian colonies, there may be grounds on which to argue that Aboriginal women's experience of racism in Queensland was different to that of their sisters elsewhere. Historians of race have suggested that the economy, enhanced by peculiar geographical, climatic and historical factors, made Queensland different. Raymond Evans and Kay Saunders point to the simultaneous and violent advance of pastoral, mining and plantation frontiers at a time when western racist theories were at their most extreme. The extent to which this Queensland peculiarity of race relations affected both Black and white women remains to be documented. Evans' interesting hypothesis that the processes of dehumanization and degradation of Black women that characterised all Australian colonial frontiers was especially marked in colonial Queensland, where "a far larger Aboriginal population confronted a widely spreading European invasion and settlement", might be profitably tested.

Alternative sources of difference for Black Queensland women might lie in the Queensland Government's legislative and policing arrangements for the Aboriginal population of the state. Aboriginal women who worked as domestics in Queensland during the 1920s and 1930s interviewed by historian Jackie Huggins had clear memories of the effects of the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders' Act of 1897. This legislation permitted the government extensive control over the movement of Aborigines, including their removal to reserves and missions. Aboriginal women were thus prevented from participating in the labour force and instead found work as domestic servants and nursemaids in station homesteads. Aboriginal women are likely to have experienced a distinctive pattern of legislative coercion and sexual and economic exploitation as a result of the state's particular political and economic history.

More clearly distinctive to the history of women in Queensland was the importation of Pacific Islander women and men as indentured labour for the sugar plantation owners of the north of the state. Faith Bandler's novel Wacv.ie, based on conversations with her Islander ancestors, gives some insight into an Islander woman's life as a domestic servant in late nineteenth century Queensland. Kay Saunders has indicated some of the historical contours of the female Islander experience in Queensland: their native cultures, the sexual division of labour in the sugar industry, Islander women's experiences of marriage and motherhood in an alien white slave culture, and their sexual exploitation.

Women of other races and ethnic backgrounds populated Queensland. Young Japanese women from poor farming or labouring families, for example, were sold by
their parents to traffickers who brought them illegally as stowaways into the remoter parts of northern Australia, especially Queensland, to work as prostitutes. Working in brothels disguised as shops in the Japanese quarters of towns such as Charters Towers, Townsville, Innisfail and Ipswich, Japanese prostitutes were tolerated by the police because it was officially believed that they serviced Kanaka labourers whose sexual passions might otherwise be directed towards respectable white women. While contemporaries commented favourably on the Japanese women's cleanliness, politeness and colourful appearance, these Queensland women experienced appalling - often fatal - conditions on the journey to Australia and were subject once employed to considerable harassment, sexual abuse and racial discrimination.26

Queensland's ethnic profile was also distinctive. Queensland society was, at least in the nineteenth century when state government policy encouraged large numbers of immigrants to settle in the colony, characterised by an unusually high proportion of non-Australian born. In 1891, no other city in Australia had a higher proportion of recent immigrants than Brisbane: only 52.1 per cent of the Queensland population was born in Australia.27 The proportion of immigrants was even higher among women, 58 per cent of whom were born outside Australia. The majority of these immigrant women were English and Irish, but a significant proportion were Scottish, German and Danish.28

There are few histories that might allow some analysis of the meaning of ethnic difference for Queensland women. John Cole's demographic analysis of the late nineteenth century rural community of Boonah gives some indication of the potential value that ethnic comparison might hold for women's history.29 Boonah was a farming community with a relatively high proportion of German settlers and a birth rate significantly higher than the Australian average until the late nineteenth century. Anglo women had fewer children than German women (7.1 compared with 8.1) and gave birth to them over a longer period of time. Anglo women on average married at the age of 20 and had their first child three years later; German women, by contrast, married at 22 but had their first child one year later.

Cole argues that this demographic pattern was the result of Anglo women delaying family formation until their marriages were secured (a significant proportion did not cohabit with their husbands during the early years of marriage) and properties settled. German women, on the other hand, as members of a small immigrant group, lived close to their prospective husbands and settled their properties with help from kin and neighbours. German women consequently began childbearing almost immediately on marriage, a demographic feature enhanced by cultural expectations that women's contribution to the farm would centre on the household rather than on rural chores. While
Aline Gillespie's finding in chapter 7 differ, it can be reasonably assumed that German women's lives and bodies were more heavily marked by the material realities of childbirth, childcare and domestic duties. More evidence, especially qualitative, is needed to fully explore the implications of this demographic and cultural differential between women of different ethnic groups.

The masculine economy

Contributors to the debate about the Queensland difference have all referred to the historically persistent rural base of the state's economy. Few have investigated the social implications of that ruralism, and none have thought to ask how the rural economy might have affected women. Katie Spearritt points out that the primary industry focus of the Queensland economy gave it a particularly masculine character. Most productive activity in the colony depended on work traditionally associated with, and dominated by, men: pastoralism, plantation agriculture and mining. The "open misogyny of the rural fringe" and the premium placed on mobility in the pastoral industry prevented women, especially those with children, from leaving the towns for work. The diversification and expansion of women's industrial work characteristic of the southern colonies was less marked in Queensland, with the result that women's economic marginalisation was intensified (a smaller proportion were in the paid workforce) and a distinctively large proportion were concentrated in domestic service until the early twentieth century.

The rural character of the economy not only encouraged a high marriage and family formation rate, but promoted the "family farm" as the model of personal relations and economic life. Attempting to explain Queensland's sexual conservatism, Neil Thornton suggests that contemporary attitudes to sexuality have their roots in an earlier rural economy based on the traditional family unit in which "production was carried on by father and sons, supported by mother and daughters caring for hearth and home", except at busy periods when the women would help out with jobs such as harvesting. Subsequent economic development, industrialisation and mining have had only a superficial impact, so that "a family-fixated conservatism has continued to be dominant in the political culture of the state". Where the family is seen as the supreme model of social organisation, women are likely to be viewed in particularly traditional and oppressive ways.
Women and the Frontier

The female experience of Queensland was significantly rural: 48 per cent of all women in Queensland lived in rural areas in 1871. The masculine rural economy of Queensland isolated women from one another, and from sources of help and support in times of need. Young female teachers, for example, were typically posted to one-teacher schools in remote rural communities where they lacked family, friendship and frequently sexual security. Women experienced difficulties living far from kin, neighbours and medical assistance, especially in childbirth. Kay Saunders and Katie Spearritt suggest that rural Queensland women rarely had access to medical assistance. Husbands were reluctant to help their wives, and "the realities of the frontier, where whites had pursued a policy of extermination, invariably precluded black and white woman's co-operation in the vital location of birthing". White women were frequently assisted by Aboriginal midwives, but racist views of the inferiority of Blacks prevented European women learning from their example.

Historians disagree on the political effects of this isolation on women's culture. Pauline Cahir argued in 1975 that in North Queensland distance militated against women of all classes achieving "any sort of group consciousness or a shared awareness of common problems". More recently, Jan Wegner suggests that isolation created significant opportunities on the frontier for cross-class female association and mutual support, especially in times of crisis. Women's organisations in Queensland have, since their beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s, attempted to ameliorate the worst effects of isolation. Anne Wood's survey of women's organisations includes the District Nursing Association, the Queensland Bush Nursing Association, the Queensland Bush Book Club, the Country Women's Association, the Travellers' Aid Society, and numerous other secular and religious groups of women who devoted many hours of unpaid labour to providing emotional support and material assistance to women in unsettled areas of the state.

A consciously and politically articulated sense of region helped some rural women reconcile themselves and others to their geographical situation. Political organisations such as the Women's Progress Clubs flourished in the 1930s in remote areas such as North Queensland. Diane Menghetti attributes the success of the clubs in part to women's full integration into the local community: communist women "worked within the culture of the region to win the status which that culture traditionally denied them".

Women living in cities also helped one another to cope with frontier conditions. Queensland's towns and cities were, especially during the years of extensive immigration
and rapid settlement, unhealthy and often fatal places for women and children. Helen Gregory and John Thearle have described infants and children in the 1860s as "casualties of Brisbane's growth". Rapid population growth, unplanned urban settlement, poor water supplies, inadequate sanitation, the lack of public health provisions and drainage, badly constructed and cramped housing, rough roads, the scarcity of fresh milk and the disruption to the transmission of childrearing knowledge between female kin as a result of immigration created high maternal and infant mortality rates through disease and infection.

Many immigrant families, for whom women assumed primary responsibility, lived in tents, or at best jerry-built timber houses, without either fresh water or sanitation. Mothers had to keep a constant eye on children subject to frontier hazards such as fire, falling trees, accidental shooting and snake bites. Drownings occurred in Brisbane in 1860 at twice the rate of drownings in Sydney. By the late nineteenth century Brisbane was the fastest growing capital city in Australia, described by one observer as "new, brawny, uneven and half-finished". This unsettled and spindly appearance of the young city was partly attributable to the distinctive timber Brisbane house built on stilts. Jennifer Craik suggests that the Queensland house with its temporary wooden partitions, the verandah (male space) and the external kitchen (female space) made a distinctive mark on Queensland cultural and sexual politics.

Members of Brisbane's elite saw the high incidence of prostitution in the city as an indicator of the city's immigrant, unsettled and hence immoral state. More positively interpreted, Brisbane's status as an immigrant depot in the nineteenth century may have provided more work opportunities to women, not just as prostitutes but within the informal labour market as laundry workers, boarding house keepers, produce growers, cooks and needlewomen. Clothing styles in nineteenth century Queensland, according to Margaret Maynard, were uniquely appropriate to the climate. Light tropical clothing continued to be in fashion long after it had given way to more heavy, formal wear in the southern cities, a factor which may reflect Queensland women's creative adaptation to local frontier conditions.

The frontier had other, more violent, physical and emotional effects on women. Kay Saunders' study of domestic violence demonstrates isolated women's physical and sexual vulnerability. Saunders argues that the extent of violence against women was probably greater in frontier regions such as north Queensland than it was in the more settled areas of the southeast. A masculinist and aggressive "frontier mentality", predicated on the ruthless suppression and extermination of Aborigines and European notions of progress, economic development and environmental exploitation, dominated
regions of recent settlement. Male aggression, culturally accepted in public frontier spaces, was also sanctioned in frontier homes.46

Demographic patterns

While the masculinity ratio in all colonies was relatively high, Queensland had the highest sex imbalance: in 1861 there were 201 men to every 100 women in rural areas; in 1900 the rural ratio was 171 men to every 100 women. The unusually high population of bachelors - over half of Queensland men aged 21 and over - demographically reinforced Queensland's masculinist culture. The presence of large numbers of unmarried men in public spaces and culturally sanctioned male sexual and homosocial practices such as drinking created a threatening environment for women, especially those who could not claim the dubious protection of marriage. Reported cases of rape, sexual abuse, infanticide, babyfarming, and rising illegitimacy rates suggest the particular vulnerability of Queensland spinsters to men's sexually predatory behaviour.47

Spearritt argues that the masculinity of the frontier and its attendant hazards, combined with the lack of employment opportunities, compelled single Queensland women into marriage. Marriage was a "near universal experience" for women, with Queensland experiencing the highest marriage ratio of all the colonies in the period between 1859 and 1889.48 This high marriage rate, combined with the young age at which women married and the influx of immigrants of reproductive age, created the highest crude birth rate of all the colonies. Queensland women apparently had fewer options to limit conception than their southern counterparts. They began to limit their families in the late nineteenth century, one or two decades later than other Australian women. The time and energy devoted to bearing and rearing children, moreover, limited women's mobility and their opportunities for economic independence.49

Although the sexual imbalance became less marked after the turn of the century, Queensland women experienced the negative effects of high masculinity ratios again temporarily during World War II. Brisbane was a major supply and operational base for American troops during the war. By 1942 about two-thirds of American landed troops were in the vicinity of Brisbane, and about half the remainder were in other parts of Queensland. As Michael Sturma points out, "the Americans, even if generally friendly, were in many respects an occupying army which entailed a measure of violence and exploitation".50 Queensland women were confronted by male violence, drunkenness,
sexual harassment and sexual danger as large numbers of men commanded the streets and public spaces of Brisbane and other centres.\textsuperscript{51}

Rosemary Campbell argues that because Brisbane exemplified the distinctive elements of Australian national culture - masculinism, racism and the promotion of a strong rural ethic opposed to urban development - the impact of the American troops and the challenge they represented to a white Australian national identity was more marked than elsewhere. Amongst other changes, "the intense antagonism aroused by the association of Australian women with American servicemen forced a re-examination of the rigidly defined and impoverished sexual roles that Australian cultural traditions had defined".\textsuperscript{52} In this case, the Queensland difference may in the long-term have worked in women's favour.

Law and politics

While women throughout Australia (and the western world) have had to struggle hard to win equal rights with men within the law, Queensland women appear to have faced more obstacles to legal equality than most. Their sexual behaviour has been policed more stringently, their legal right to abortion denied, and their right to the protection of the law in matters such as rape, sexual harassment and marital property has been less effective, or introduced much later, than in other states. Even where the Queensland Government introduced unique legislation, such as the 1922 Maternity Act and subsequent changes to the health and social welfare system in the 1930s and 1940s, ostensibly to serve women's interests, women failed to benefit. As Wendy Selby argues, the Act attempted to separate women from their traditional sources of birthing and childrearing assistance (female relatives, friends and midwives) in favour of male doctors and state institutions. In placing more women in the hands of doctors and forcing the closure of lying-in hospitals, this legislation not only failed to reduce maternal and infant mortality rates, but was the indirect cause of much female suffering and distress.\textsuperscript{53}

Queensland women have also been subject to the most extensive and persistent policing of their sexual activities. Queensland was the first and, for a long time, the only Australian colony to follow Britain in enacting a Contagious Diseases Act in 1868 to control venereal disease and regulate the activities of women working as prostitutes. Whereas the British act required the compulsory examination of prostitutes and detention of infected women only in certain naval and military stations, the Queensland legislation was extended to women in the civilian population. Supporters of the act argued that
Queensland was a special case. Attention was drawn to the rapid spread of the disease in the tropical climate, rampant immorality and widespread prostitution in barely settled areas (and, later, the influx of Japanese prostitutes), the absence of medical facilities in remote areas, the need to prevent the degeneration of British stock, protect native-born manhood and promote white population growth in the new colony.54

The legislation was remarkably resilient. Apart from the exemption of the Brisbane area from 1911, the act remained on the statute books until 1973. The amendment of 1911 retained the act's punitive provision for a lock hospital modelled upon prison regulations and conditions in which those deemed to be "common prostitutes" suffering from sexually transmitted diseases were compulsorily detained. By the 1940s, Queensland was the only state to operate a lock hospital system. The hospital's capacity and function was extended during the "moral panic" and attempts to control sexually-active women during World War II.55 Thus Queensland women were adversely affected by two wartime developments: by the comparatively greater numbers of men, and by draconian public health legislation associated with common perceptions of women as the bearers of disease and immorality.

As chapters by Ros Mills and Rob Duffield and Jennifer Mahon suggest, peculiarities of the Queensland legal and criminal justice system also affected women, perhaps less directly, in the policing of sexual offences such as sexual harassment and rape. While women have universally been afforded scant protection from male violence, the particular configurations of policing arrangements in specific regions at specific times made their experience of the law distinctive and dependent on local variables. Anne-Marie Collins found in her investigation of the policing of rape in Queensland between 1880 and 1919 that magistrates in Queensland were more likely than those in other colonies to dismiss a rape charge without committal for trial. In the period 1900 to 1909, for example, magistrates in Queensland sent 7.7 per cent of cases to trial, compared with 74 per cent in Victoria.56 Queensland magistrates were therefore crucial arbiters of sexual conflict and played a large part in reducing the degree of state protection given women in that state.

The politics of abortion have also assumed a distinctive character in Queensland. Judith Allen notes in her study of crimes involving Australian women that abortion law was not liberalised in Queensland through a case law precedent, as it was in states such as Victoria and New South Wales, with the result that abortion remains illegal in both criminal code and practice. Allen argues that the National Party Government's fetocentric activism was also distinctive to Queensland. At a time when other state governments were moving to liberalise abortion practices, Joh Bjelke-Petersen in 1980 attempted,
unsuccessfully, to confirm the criminality of all abortions under any circumstances, and in 1985 his cabinet ministers authorised police to raid the premises and seize the files of a Brisbane abortion clinic. Queensland women needing abortions have encountered harassment and considerable difficulties in attempting to control their fertility, many being forced to travel for abortions to New South Wales.57 Labor premier Wayne Goss’s refusal in 1990 to place abortion law reform on the political agenda suggests that opposition to abortion derives from masculinist politics that cross party lines.

Married women in Queensland have had less access to the protection of the law than their sisters in other states. Spearritt notes that the Married Women’s Property Act, giving women the right to retain ownership of their own property on marriage, was not enacted in Queensland until 1890, over a decade later than New South Wales. The universal difficulty encountered by women seeking maintenance from deserting husbands was exacerbated in Queensland, where the customary use of pseudonyms in the casual pastoral labour market assisted men in evading their legal obligations. It was not possible for women to be granted a divorce on the same grounds as men - a man could divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, whereas a woman had to show evidence of incest, rape, sodomy, bestiality, cruelty or desertion for a period of two years, as well as adultery - until 1922, forty years after equal divorce rights were granted to New South Wales women. The divorce rate was markedly low in comparison with other states, indicating that women in colonial Queensland had fewer choices to end their marriage than their southern counterparts.58 Members of the National Council of Women of Queensland were concerned that the rate of divorce continued in 1950 to be the lowest in the country.59

The role of the women’s movement in Queensland is clearly significant in any investigation of women’s rights. Historians such as Katie Spearritt and Carmel Shute suggest that, while Queensland did not lack an organised women’s movement similar to that in other states, it was slower to emerge and was less advanced than elsewhere. Spearritt suggests that this retarded political development was the result of demographic, geographic and cultural factors particular to Queensland: the reduced number of middle class spinsters in a society with high marriage and fertility rates, the lack of an intellectual forum in Queensland’s rurally oriented culture, and fewer opportunities for women’s economic independence.60 Shute, examining the apparent demise of organised feminism after World War I, argues that the suppression of feminism was connected to the “syndrome of national purity” which placed strong ideological pressure on women to marry and have children to populate the frontier and avert the racial “threat from the North”.61 Pam Gorring, from a political science background, has a third explanation: the
A high proportion of women born outside Australia and the dispersal of women workers in domestic service and clothing manufacture in late nineteenth century Queensland created a "polyglot" and fragmented female population with a low potential for developing the shared values and cultural norms necessary for group formation.62

Despite these obstacles to the effective and rapid organisation of feminist activity, the women's movement in Queensland tackled the same range of issues as those in other states and depended on the efforts of national (and often international) organisations such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Council of Women and various suffrage and electoral lobby groups. Women in Queensland agitated for female suffrage from 1890 but were almost the last to be granted the vote in 1905 (Victorian women had to wait until 1908). The struggle for the female franchise appeared to follow similar paths to those in other states, with the exception that in Queensland the campaign was hindered by the Labor Party's demand for the abolition of plural voting and insistence that winning the "one-man-one-vote" take precedence over winning the vote for women. Women's groups split over the issue in 1893, those supporting both votes for women and the abolition of plural voting forming a separate organisation closely aligned with the Labor Party.63

The uncompromising attitude of the Labor Party, the consequent division within pro-suffrage groups and the general subsuming of feminist issues into masculine political priorities contributed to Queensland women's difficulty in achieving equal legal rights and social status. Novelist Jean Devanny experienced this masculinism within the Queensland communist party in 1945. She wrote to a comrade that "I always came up against, particularly up here [North Queensland], the vile and strong streak of petty bourgeoisdom in the members themselves in respect to sex relations".64 Whether obstructed by bourgeois or labour men, women have had to struggle particularly hard to win a place for their sex in Queensland culture and society.

Conclusion

Distinctive patterns of race and ethnicity, a frontier economy and culture, high masculinity and marriage ratios, and the tardiness in granting women legal rights and protection, have made a difference to the history of women in Queensland. These differences are "different" to those identified by political economists. Most obviously, the formal political and parliamentary processes identified as distinctive by historians of Queensland politics were of far less significance to women. Politics have until very recently been
WOMEN, REGION AND THE "QUEENSLAND DIFFERENCE"

men's business, whether in Queensland or any other state. The criminal justice system and legislation covering marriage and divorce arguably had more impact on women than the populism, authoritarianism and conservatism which commentators have typically attributed to Queensland political culture.

The distinctively rural-based economy and decentralised pattern of settlement that feature in conventional accounts of the Queensland difference affected both sexes, but in radically different ways. Historians have referred to general trends in the (universal) "commanding economy" and their impact on (unsexed) social attitudes, population statistics and other impersonal indicators of difference. The history of Queensland women, on the other hand, reveals the sexual dynamics of the economy by concentrating on the private and sexed sphere of social and domestic life. Ruralism not only affected women differently, but affected men as a distinctly sexed group. How did men as men experience the isolation, the lack of urban settlement, the rural labour market and the masculinity of the Queensland frontier?

Political economy approaches to Queensland's difference cannot countenance the significance of regionally-specific lifecycle events such as spinsterhood, marriage, motherhood and widowhood. Demographic factors such as age at marriage (both men and women), family size, duration of marriage, and life expectancy had a particular immediacy in women's lives and subjectivities, and on women's bodies. For much of Queensland's history, women's bodies were equivalent to commodities. Women were objects of exchange between men: some sold their bodies directly for material gain; the majority were forced to exchange their sexual and economic vulnerability as spinsters for the illusory protection of marriage. The sexual economy, as Katie Spearritt details in chapter 5, replaced the commanding economy in women's horizons.

Regional studies need to be premised on the sexual specificity of human experience. The methods, understandings and central questions of sexual politics and sexual economics will clearly be more useful than political economy as the organising principles of such an inquiry. In what ways are the meanings of region sexually specific? If geography is mediated by politics, as some commentators concede, how might it be mediated by sexual politics? Can the sexual political structure of the state be changed by women's resistances? The questions asked of women's relationship to region must, then, be very different to those asked by phallocentric historical method.

This entails looking for the influence of region in different places, using different methods and sources to do so. It may be, for example, that the differences between life in the bush, small towns and cities, or between regions within one state, or between the centre and the periphery, were more meaningful for women than those between one state.
and another. It is equally plausible that region made more of a difference to women at an aggregate level than individually. In other words, historians may detect demographic, social or cultural indicators of difference in women's history at large which bear little relation to women's subjective experience of living in that region. Feminist studies of region which counterpose evidence of difference revealed by general statistical trends and quantitative profiles with qualitative sources such as women's letters and diaries may suggest more continuities than contrasts.

Whatever route feminist interrogations of regional difference take, they must be premised on indices of difference that place women and their roles centrally. In addition to the criteria identified in the historiography of women in Queensland, such indices might include divorce rates, birth spacings and average family size, illegitimacy ratios, sex ratios, rates of spinsterhood, age at marriage, legislation concerning citizenship, female labour market opportunities, male/female wage disparities, sex differences in educational achievement, the policing of crimes against women such as rape, domestic violence, abortion and reproductive crimes, bigamy and prostitution. Region has the potential to join race and class as a useful analytical category only if indicators of regional difference are refined, redefined and reformulated.

If western feminism was "an international movement responding to relatively common features of the sexual context prevailing in western countries", regional studies clearly need to be placed within these broader sexual contexts. Comparative studies of region defined by sexually-specific criteria will add substantially to our understanding of the particularity of cultures, the meanings of region and the meanings of region distinct to the sexes. Comparative regional studies promise to significantly recast the relationship between history, places and sexes.
This chapter surveys selected printed, manuscript and business records relevant to women's historical experiences of Queensland held in the John Oxley Library, Brisbane. The listing updates and supplements other Queensland history bibliographies, particularly the valuable collection published in 1977 by Kay Daniels, Mary Murmane and Ann Picot, Women in Australia. An Annotated Guide to Records. Unlike the Annotated Guide, the content of each holding is not described here, but items are categorised by the type of record. No secondary sources or (with a few exceptions) primary sources generated after 1970 were included. Plays, fiction and poetry, pioneering histories, biographies, family histories and the histories of organisations which could yield information on Queensland women were also excluded.

The items listed below were selected from searches of the John Oxley Library manuscripts guide and computer catalogue (ORAQLE). The computerised items were located using the keywords "Women" and "Queensland". This particular combination, while successful, by no means exhausted the catalogue's potential. Depending on the project, related keyword searches also yield good listings, especially if the researcher is looking further afield than Queensland. The keyword "Queensland" can be combined with any number of other topic keywords including: "Sex"; "Sexual Ethics"; "Men"; "Bachelors"; "Wives"; "Widows"; "Mothers"; "Maternal"; "Infant"; "Children"; "Childbirth"; "Divorce"; "Fertility"; "Birth Control"; "Abortion"; "Marriage".

The computer catalogue is generally a flexible and efficient way to access a range of research topics, but does not currently contain a complete listing of the Library's manuscript holdings. This chapter therefore also includes items identified from a systematic manual search of the manuscripts catalogue and the business records collection catalogue. See the manuscripts guide or computer display for detailed item descriptions.
PART 1 SOURCES

Diaries

Jane Clark (Mt. McConnell Station), diaries 1871-72 and 1875-76 (OM 67-29).
Emily Caroline Creaghe, diary 1883 (OM 78.008).
Helen Ferguson, diary 1882-88, written to her sister (OM 75-91).
Donald Gunn papers 1855-1932, include the diaries of Anna Sophia Gunn (OM 66.023).
Janet Black Hall, diary and autograph book 1878-87 (OM 78-66).
Isobel Hannah papers 1878-1958, include diaries (OM 71.027).
Lady Eliza O'Connell, diary 1877 (OM 84-32).
Stelley, Maria, diary 1863-64 (OM 71.014).
Agnes Helena Wansey (b. 1915), diary, reminiscences and photos (OM 91-5).
Mary Beatrice Watson, diary 1881 (OM 81-120). See also Jillian Robertson, papers re

Letters and Family Papers

Adam family letters 1908-18 (OM 91-11).
Atherton family papers 1871-92 (OM 88-3).
John Atherton papers 1859-1940 (OM 67-26).
Bayly family, family Bible listing births, deaths and marriages 1856-1954 (OM 79-9).
Beit family letters 1859-1910 (OM 72-33).
Bell family papers 1827-1939 (OM 80-76).
George Herbert Bourne papers 1846-1956, include material on Dr Eleanor Bourne

Mrs Brockway letters 1890 (OM 79-32/7).
Annabella Brown papers 1885-1892 (OM 72.105).
Campbell family papers 1856-1987 (OM 90-41).
Emily Congeau, letters 1912-35 (OM 79.013/31).
Denholm and Polzin families papers 1890-1964 (OM 71-15).
Isabel Dobson correspondence 1927-46 (OM 79.032/15).
Donkin family Bible (n.d.) (OM 80-7/17).
Kathleen Emmerson papers 1933-68 (OM 78.002).
Paula Fitzgerald papers 1945-55 (OM 65.055).
Foot family correspondence 1859-77 (OM 81-53).
SEARCHING FOR QUEENSLAND WOMEN'S HISTORY

Lucy Gray papers (including diary) 1868-83 (OM 75.123).
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Naming Queensland Women's History: 
A Bibliographic Essay

Gail Reekie

Rationale

Bibliographies are rarely the spontaneous productions of scholarly enterprise and disinterested intellectual endeavour. Like explorers' records of previously unknown lands, bibliographies are constructed in response to a perceived need for consolidated knowledge about an object deemed to be worth naming and mapping. The names, topographical categories and absences and presences in the written record may tell us more about the cosmology of the mappers of this new territory than they do about the land itself. The act of naming is a political act of appropriation, and bibliographies serve political purposes. They are inevitably implicated in the politics of knowledge.

The historical record, in particular, has silenced women. These silences have protected male interests by sanctioning and legitimating the exclusion of women from historical and contemporary definitions of social significance. Feminist bibliographies which challenge masculinist paradigms therefore give discursive space to women's voices and actively contribute to the creation of feminist knowledges. The acts of claiming a territory as our own, of naming, of breaking the silence, are acts of possession and reclamation. The bibliographic enterprise thus joins other sites of feminist resistance predicated on the politics of naming.

This bibliography of Queensland women's history has its origins in teaching. In 1988 and 1989 I team-taught an Australian Studies course at Griffith University called Settlement and Society, about half of which was devoted to Queensland history. What students taking this course learned about the history of Queensland was predominantly confined to labour and race relations, politics, and land use. Except for some discussion of the sex ratio and the occasional reference to women, it was, in fact, a course about the history of men and their institutions in Queensland. Given the predominance of themes such as immigration, settlement, community and institution formation, it seemed appropriate both politically and pedagogically to include a topic on "Queensland women's history".
That women's experiences had to be "included" in a mainstream history course is a strong indicator of the difficulties faced by feminists attempting to intervene in disciplines such as history. Such knowledges conflate and universalise the experiences of the two sexes under an unacknowledged masculine model of "humanity" which glosses over the specificity of women and erases the disjunctions of sexual difference.\footnote{1} The integration of women and feminist analyses into masculinist forms of knowledge is therefore problematic, and women's studies programmes which offer separate academic spaces for the study of women are often more effective. More typically, issues of sex, gender and feminism are raised simultaneously within women's studies courses and in adjacent academic disciplines.

My search for secondary sources on the history of women in Queensland identified a distinct historiography that has its origins in the early 1970s. The bulk of the work has only been published in the last decade, suggesting that the field is still in its formative stages. Its authors have frequently had to counter the traditional androcentrism and eurocentrism - even the hegemony of the "southern" Australian states - of academic history departments. The origins and development of Queensland women's history thus owes much to the contemporary women's movement, the growth of feminist scholarship and the teaching of women's studies in Australia.

The purpose of this chapter is to accumulate, organise and comment on the value to feminists of secondary sources on the history of women in Queensland. The bibliography is a guide to what has been written on this topic, what remains to be written, and what might be revised. It indicates the range of resources available to teachers wishing to incorporate more material on women into their history or social enquiry courses. It may also encourage students and postgraduates formulating thesis or other research proposals on Queensland topics to consider the rich possibilities of researching the history of women in this state.

This bibliography is, however, no mere exercise in antiquarianism. It is one thing to assume that Queensland women have had a history of sorts; it is quite another, more political, thing to record and detail the precise contours of that history. The works listed below together constitute a political statement. They are more than the sum of their parts.

**Inclusions and exclusions**

No bibliography is an objective catalogue of sources, although it is limited by the extent of accessible knowledge at any given time. Under the umbrella of "women's history" I have
PART 1 SOURCES

included published or unpublished analyses of women, girls, gender, sexual difference, masculinity, femininity, motherhood, children, sexuality, feminism, marriage or the family. This is clearly a broad definition which necessarily includes some items with rather dubious feminist credentials, and some of the texts would more accurately be described as "women's history" as opposed to "feminist history". I included the former partly because my objective was to provide as comprehensive a guide as possible, and partly in the hope that it might provoke critical feminist revisions.

I have not included references to women where they have appeared in general texts on Queensland history. Such references are extremely scant, even in (masculinist) revisionist histories of Queensland such as that of Ross Fitzgerald. Ross Johnston's *Documentary History of Queensland* (1988) is of little value to students of women's history as it includes barely more than the odd mention of women, even in those documents listed under "women" in the index. The *Guide to the History of Queensland* which Johnston compiled with Margaret Zemer provides useful references but has no separate section on women (they must be sought under the headings "Health and Welfare" or "Social"). Ronald Lawson's brief accounts of women's education, philanthropy and suffrage in *Brisbane in the 1890s* is perhaps the least reticent of these general histories, but the study as a whole is not, and was not intended to be, "women's history".

The bibliography lists primarily those texts that could be described as secondary sources. The boundary between "primary" and "secondary" sources is diffuse, and I have included rather than excluded any item that seemed to be of value as a research aid regardless of its year of publication. While Queensland women's writings and fiction are important sources, I have chosen to give only a selective listing of novels, letters and the published memoirs of individual women, many more of which are held in the John Oxley Library and are listed in the Johnston and Zemer bibliography. Queensland women poets and dramatists also deserve a separate and more comprehensive literary bibliography.

It was not my purpose to provide a guide to primary sources such as documents, archival records and private collections. Kay Daniels, Mary Murnane and Ann Picot's *Women in Australia. An Annotated Guide to Records* is an excellent (but not exhaustive) listing of records available to researchers interested in the history of women in Queensland. The Daniels et al *Guide* is also an invaluable introduction to the variety and complexity of themes characterising the historical experience of women in Queensland. Their detailed annotations provide an insight into the histories of Aboriginal and Islander women; prostitution and venereal disease legislation; female institutions such as reformatories, industrial schools, refuges and prisons; women's health and education; female immigrants; female and child labour; maternity and child welfare; crimes and
policing; rape and sexual assault; abortion; the impact of war on women; women's recreation; suffrage and feminism; women's charitable and political activities; madness; marriage, domestic violence and desertion.

Some of these topics constitute sub-categories of this bibliography. There is nothing natural about topic headings and devising a workable system of classification is not an easy process. The bibliographer must impose her own interpretive grid on data that have diverse origins and a disparate variety of contexts. Hence categories are inevitably highly subjective and political ways of organising knowledge. My three major categories - oppression, subjectivity and resistance - derive from personal research interests and my own assessment of those aspects of women's lives that require critical attention from feminists. The structure of the essay therefore is in some ways an open avowal of perspectivism. As Elizabeth Grosz argues, "feminist theory openly admits to its own position as context- and observer-dependent - that is, as historically, politically and sexually motivated". The sub-categories were more dependent on the existing literature.

Marilyn Frye's notion of oppression provided the key to the basic structure of the essay. She likens the specific components of women's oppression to the bars of a cage which appear not to trap the occupant when looked at myopically and one-by-one, but which together and systematically constitute an inescapable network of barriers which "are so related to each other that jointly they restrain, restrict or prevent the thing's motion or mobility. Mold. Immobilize. Reduce". If oppression is seen as the cage which presses and reduces a woman, subjectivity is that which the caged woman feels or is conscious of, her own particular view of the world from behind (or between) the bars, and resistance the means by which she may bend those bars or even break out of the cage.

Finally, a word of recognition to those feminists who have contributed to this new historiography of women in Queensland. Teachers and researchers based within the state's major tertiary institutions have carried out, supervised and actively encouraged much of this work. Hecate, produced from the University of Queensland, has provided an important publishing outlet for studies of Queensland women, as did the Women and Labour conferences of 1978-1984. Hopefully this bibliography will consolidate and continue the feminist historical tradition in Queensland.
PART 1 SOURCES

Oppression

The term "oppression", as Frye uses it, has a specific set of meanings that distinguish it from suffering or limitation. The inhabitant of the cage is not there as an individual, but as a member of a category. Women constitute a category, despite their dispersal throughout classes and races, by virtue of their common function of servicing men and male interests. Women's service work consists of personal service (work typically performed by wives and mothers, domestic servants and secretaries), sexual service (providing for men's genital needs in and out of marriage) and ego service (support and comfort, providing men with the energy and spirit for living). The boundaries around this women-only service sector might disadvantage men as well as women, but "that barrier is erected and maintained by men, for the benefit of men". I have placed under the heading "oppression" studies of barriers which, together, have immobilised, reduced or moulded the lives of Queensland women. A major theme is the servicing of men by women as daughters, wives, mothers, single women or prostitutes.

Overviews of Women's Oppression

Few accounts of Queensland women explicitly address the theme of oppression or, more generally, the situation of women in a patriarchal society. Pauline Cahir's account of women in North Queensland is the only text which attempts a survey history of women's experiences in the state. The paper covers the experiences of rural and urban white women and their relationships with men, girls' education, employment opportunities, attitudes to women expressed in newspapers and women's periodicals, and Aboriginal women. Cahir stresses the coincidence of the settlement of the region between 1860 and 1900 with restrictive Victorian ideologies of womanhood. As might be expected from its date of publication, Cahir's "tentative first step" towards a history of women's "contribution" to Queensland history leaves intact the masculinist assumptions of history and characterises North Queensland women as the "passive, non-acting" victims of a male-dominated society. Cahir's essay nevertheless gives a schematic introduction to some of the ideological barriers acting to immobilise women.

The experiences of women living on the North Queensland mining frontier between 1864 and 1919, according to Jan Wegner, differed according to the variables of class, place and time. Her paper suggests the diversity of female work opportunities, economic status, reproductive experiences and responses to ideologies of womanhood in
NAMING QUEENSLAND WOMEN'S HISTORY

one Queensland region. Although women suffered from the effects of extreme isolation and found it hard to escape being categorised as either damned whores or god's police, they did form strong networks of friendship and support among themselves in times of need. Wegner's essay extends Cahir's account of North Queensland by revealing a distinctive women's culture. She concludes that "Some women became victims of the mining frontier, others took advantage of it, and others set out to change it".13

Carmel Shute's thesis on women and World War I is more chronologically circumscribed, but places the experiences of Queensland women in the national context of first-wave feminism's challenge, and eventual recapitulation, to patriarchy between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1920s.14 The wartime mythology of women, Shute argues, completed the subversion of the feminist movement. Recent scholarship suggests that the assumption that feminist activity slumped between its "first" and "second" waves needs to be revised. Nevertheless, Shute's analysis attempts to relate the experiences of Queensland women to a broader historical context characterised by sexual antagonism, feminist challenge and patriarchal suppression, and women's ideological imprisonment within the "bars of the gilded cage of mythology".15

Marriage

The history of the Queensland family has yet to be written. However, several case and preliminary studies provide critical insights into women's experience of marriage and fertility. John Cole's quantitative study of differential fertility patterns among women in Boonah, a frontier Queensland community characterised by both Anglo and German immigrants, highlights the significance of ethnicity to women's reproductive and productive servicing of men.16 German women in the late nineteenth century had an average 8.1 children compared with the Anglo mothers' average of 7.1 children. Cole suggests that the labour of both women and children was crucial to successful settlement. Cole's quantitative study has clear evidential limitations but warrants comparison with studies of other regions, communities and immigrant groups. The absence of an ethnic dimension to Queensland women's historiography is marked.

Families were not always the site of sexual complementarity and harmony, as Cole's analysis suggests. Kay Saunders' preliminary survey of sources and problems in the study of domestic violence in colonial Queensland makes an important feminist intervention into family history by indicating the extent of men's physical abuse of their wives.17 This abusive and violent behaviour was, she argues, more characteristic of
frontier communities such as the more isolated regions of Queensland than it was of settled urban areas. Was Queensland, then, a more hazardous place for women, married or single, than other states?

Katie Spearritt, in this volume and elsewhere, takes up this and other questions about the masculine nature of colonial Queensland and the "near-universal experience of marriage for adult women". The stigma attached to spinsterhood, the hazardous nature of a masculine society, and severe constraints on women’s wage-earning possibilities in Queensland made marriage a near-universal experience for adult women. Women's work opportunities were significantly restricted by the time and energy they had to devote to the family economy, childbearing and childrearing, and by the retarded commercial and industrial development of Queensland. Nineteenth century feminism grew out of the poverty of protection offered by marriage and an "environment of patriarchal exploitation".

Motherhood

Pregnancy, childbirth and childcare were often difficult, if not life-threatening, experiences for Queensland women isolated from medical assistance or female friends and relatives. Helen Gregory and John Thearle have shown how rapid urbanisation, insufficient sanitation and public health provisions, the absence of trained medical personnel and inadequate medical and nutritional knowledge in the early years of the colony contributed to high levels of infant and maternal mortality. Queensland nurses and early medical women attempted to care for the sick as best they could with inadequate training and in the face of the prejudices of the male medical establishment.

Kay Saunders and Katie Spearritt point out that these medical histories are "securely located within a medical discourse that overlooks many of the contributing social and demographic factors". Their study seeks a more contextualised investigation of the conditions and experiences of birthing through the use of demographic and documentary sources. Another near-compulsory institution for women in the pronatalist environment of nineteenth century Queensland, motherhood not only confined many women to a biological and domestic destiny, but frequently led to distress, pain, injury, madness or death. Woman's natural calling was often "a dangerous and lethal undertaking".

Wendy Selby's work on the infant and maternal welfare programmes established by the Queensland Government shows that, despite the good intentions of politicians and
administrators, the hazards of childbirth and infant care had diminished little by the 1930s. 24

Girlhood

Women's history legitimately incorporates the experiences and institutions of childhood, most usefully where gender differences are taken into account. Laraine Goldman's thesis on child welfare in nineteenth century Queensland, for example, provides a detailed insight into humanitarian and utilitarian philosophies of child welfare and institutionalised attempts to provide for, protect and morally guide girls and boys. 25 The study is a valuable source on attitudes towards babyfarming and unmarried mothers but is perhaps less useful on girls because the analytical categories of class and age are given primacy over gender.

Thearle and Gregory similarly treat "the child" as gender-neutral in their studies of infant and child mortality in the 1860s, medical interventions into child health in the 1890s and child abuse in the nineteenth century. Their investigation of child abuse provides valuable data on infanticide, wet nursing, babyfarming, child battering and sexual abuse. They fail to recognise, however, that some of these were practised largely or wholly by women (infanticide), others largely or wholly by men (sexual abuse), and that girls and boys were abused in different ways and for different reasons. The data they present from the annual reports of the Queensland Society for the Prevention of Cruelty suggest, for example, that parents were considered to be neglecting the welfare of girls if they allowed or sent them on the streets at night. Female children, then, were subject to disadvantages and deprivations because of their sex and their age, while male children suffered primarily because of their age.

Girls were similarly disadvantaged in schooling. Since the passing of the State Education Act in 1875, schools have supplemented families and other institutions in the channelling of Queensland girls into femininity. Curricula that restricted girls' intellectual development and employment options were difficult to challenge, especially by female teachers who in the nineteenth century were impermanent, economically insecure, subject to extremely difficult working conditions and forced to endure the hierarchical paternalism of an education system dominated by men. 26 Women's homemaking role rather than their academic ability continued to constitute the core of the girls' school syllabus into the twentieth century, although some evidence suggests that convent schools attempted to educate girls more broadly. 267 Libby Connors' analysis of school textbooks of the inter-
PART 1 SOURCES

war period reveals that girls were taught that women did not shape history and that their personal power derived from their looks and social skills. Much of girls' schooling might be interpreted as attempts to train them as paid or unpaid service workers.

Sexuality

Women's sexual service work, according to Frye, includes "being nice" and "being attractive" for men as well as providing for their sexual, primarily genital needs. In line with recent trends in feminist historiography, some historians of Queensland women have either explicitly or implicitly located their work within the realm of sex, sexuality and sexual relations. Although these studies differ greatly in empirical focus, a common theme is the significance of sex or "the sexual" in women's experience.

Rape and sexual offences against women and girls

As Julianne Schultz's account of the gang rapes which took place in Ingham in the 1970s demonstrates, Queensland women's lives have been powerfully affected by violent male sexual practices. Some historical studies of the incidence, regulation and meanings of rape in Queensland are more useful than others in understanding the historical significance of rape to women and girls. Ross Barber's articles on rape in Queensland analyse the place of rape in the state's criminal justice system but fail to reveal the sexual dynamics of rape. Carmel Harris's analysis of the application of rape laws to Aboriginal men refers briefly to the experiences of Aboriginal women, but is more concerned with the racism of colonial Queensland than with sex, gender or sexuality. Anne-Maree Collins suggests that conventional criminological approaches to rape construct the rapist as deviant and abnormal, and that the history and policing of rape requires close scrutiny of "normal" male sexuality and its impact on the lives of women and girls. Her studies of rape and bestiality suggest that Queensland history would be enriched, if not radically displaced, by histories of sexual practices, heterosexuality and masculinity. The rape, sexual exploitation, harassment and abuse of women during World War II has been documented by Sturma and, more impressionably but equally forcefully, by Bevege.
Prostitution

Like rape, prostitution has been a form of sexual servicing performed by women for men, and regulated by men. Sissons' study of Japanese prostitutes in Australia (a large proportion of whom worked in Queensland) is located more firmly within the historiography of immigration and race than it is within feminism. It nevertheless provides a unique insight into the policing and racial complexities of the state's sex industry.

Raymond Evans' study of prostitution in colonial Queensland documents the outrage voiced by the respectable classes of the colony when confronted by prostitution, and places this response in its historical context by linking attitudes to prostitution to prevalent notions of female morality, virtue and chastity. Evans' study focuses on the ideological component of prostitution and therefore leaves the subject of prostitution open to further investigation from a number of alternative perspectives such as sexuality, masculinity, regulation, policing, economic and industrial issues.

The policing of women's sexuality

That women's sexual behaviour has frequently been subjected to state legislation and policing is a strong indicator of the masculinist practice of ensuring the continuity of sexual service, and of the threat that women's sexual autonomy has been seen to pose to social order. One of the earliest controversies involving the extent and policing of prostitution in Queensland occurred with the enactment in 1868 of contagious diseases legislation and its provisions for the compulsory examination and detention in lock hospitals of women suffering from venereal disease. Women have been policed with particular vigour during war, as Kay Saunders' and Helen Taylor's and Michael Sturma's studies of attempts to control the spread of venereal disease (that is, female sexuality) effectively demonstrate. World War II also provided conditions under which state instrumentalities attempted to exert more general forms of control over women, whether it was their leisure activities, labour or their place of residence.
PART 1 SOURCES

Sexual mythologies and representations

The theme of Queensland women's place in wartime society persists into the historical study of representations of masculinity and femininity, and their articulation with myths of nation. Carmel Shute has shown how during World War I women were excluded from the heroic mythology centred around the male warrior and allocated instead an equally potent, but more supportive and restrictive mythic role as the soldier's wife and mother. Rosemary Campbell's *Heroes and Lovers: A Question of National Identity* (to date the only book-length study of Queensland gender relations) also identifies wartime as a critical period for the re-formation of both national and sexual ideologies. Queensland, with the largest concentration during World War II of American troops in Australia, was the site of a significant and final fracturing of the nexus between masculinity and the nation.

In peacetime, too, women have been constructed in conventionally feminine and stereotypical ways through a variety of representational forms, most of which remain to be identified. Dress as a form of cultural communication has received little attention. Yet, as Margaret Maynard demonstrates in her study of clothing in nineteenth century Queensland, codes of dress reveal regionally and historically specific sexual messages.

The subversive potential of feminist representational analysis is considerable. Rosemary Harris's *Hecate* article "How the Courier Mail sees Women" led to threats of a libel suit with the result that the publishers were required to reprint some sections.

Race

White supremacy and heterosexism are theoretically connected and hold similar assumptions about "society". White men, for example, have made motherhood compulsory for fear of racial extinction, particularly in racially vulnerable colonies like Queensland. Frye argues that women's pursuit of liberation is an expression of disloyalty to Whiteness and recommends that "we make this disloyalty an explicit part of our politics". Feminist histories of Queensland might acknowledge their Whiteness in the same way that feminists are stressing the need to reveal the masculinism of historical discourse.

Instead, what we have are histories of the Black experience, mostly written from a white perspective. An acknowledgement of racial difference is crucial to the development of feminist history. Despite their shared category and hence their common oppression,
"Queensland women" have never constituted a homogeneous group. Women's subjective experiences of oppression here as elsewhere have been differentiated by age, marital status, reproductive history, ethnicity, class and especially by race. Raymond Evans and Kay Saunders acknowledge in the preface to the 1988 edition of Evans, Saunders and Cronin's Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination (first published in 1975) that the relationship between class, gender and ethnicity as manifested in Queensland history has not received the emphasis it deserves. Their own study does not neglect women or gender - they discuss, for example, the abduction and rape of Aboriginal women, prostitution, anti-Chinese sentiment and rape - but typically in one or two-page references scattered throughout the book. The authors' primary allegiance to race thus prevents the interrogation of sources to elicit the experiences of women. However, a good index (which includes what must be one of the few entries on "masculinity" in Queensland) allows some potentially useful glimpses of women's history.

Raymond Evans later paid more direct attention to Aboriginal women's history in a key article published in Hecate in 1982. "Don't You Remember Black Alice, Sam Holt?" lays the theoretical groundwork for more extended investigations into the interrelation of racism and sexism in the Queensland context, as well as indicating the wealth of empirical material that might be drawn on. Janet McPhail's project on women, Aborigines and health in Queensland since 1939 suggests one of the many routes such an investigation might take. Aboriginal women themselves must play a central role in this history. How different might Queensland women's history - not to mention Queensland history - look when seen through Aboriginal women's eyes? Accounts written by Black feminist historians using oral evidence and oral traditions of recording women's experience have the potential to challenge some of the fundamental methodological assumptions of white historians drawing on more conventional documentary evidence. Jackie Huggins' study of Aboriginal women domestic servants benefited from "the rapport established between recorder and narrator" and Hope Neill argues in her autobiographical record of her experiences of her schooling that "there is no inequality by sex in our culture". Aboriginal perspectives not only contribute to a distinctive Black women's historiography and methodology, but may directly contradict white feminist representations of female oppression.

The presence of Pacific Islander women, imported to service the sugar industry and its white male beneficiaries, adds a distinctive element to the female experience in Queensland. Kay Saunders' preliminary study of the cultural origins, experiences, and sexual and economic exploitation of Pacific Islander women is to date the only published
analysis of this critical aspect of women's history. As Saunders makes clear, the paucity of primary sources constitutes a major problem in writing the history of Pacific Islander women. Faith Bandler visited the New Hebrides in 1974 to gather information about her father, who was kidnapped and brought as a slave in 1883 to North Queensland, where he worked on sugar plantations until escaping to settle in northern New South Wales in 1897. The result of her research, a novel titled Wacwie, included the story of Emcon, a female Islander who worked as a domestic servant for the wife of the plantation owner. The novel provides a tantalising glimpse into the world of Islander women in Queensland. But much remains to be discovered about the history of Islander women: for example, how the history of Aboriginal and Islander women compared; to what extent Islander women's experience of Queensland differed from that of Islander men; or how race and sex intersected in anti-Kanaka discourses.

Subjectivity

A number of published sources reveal the feelings, perceptions, beliefs and attitudes of individual Queensland women. They usefully supplement more "objective" historical studies of women as a category by providing otherwise inaccessible insights into female consciousness. How did women experience Queensland? What were their personal priorities, their judgements, their visions? Women's writing constitutes a body of texts no less worthy of analysis and historical interpretation than the more conventional documentary or statistical sources. While this survey cannot do full justice to the range of women's writing - indicating the need for a separate bibliography of literary sources - I can here at least indicate some of the possibilities. Murphy and Adelaide offer useful bibliographical information.

Fiction

Foremost amongst female novelists who have based some of their writings in Queensland and addressed their subjects from a woman's point of view are Jean Devanny and Thea Astley. Sugar Heaven (first published 1936) is based on Devanny's personal involvement in and observations of the contribution of women to the cane-cutters' strike in North Queensland in 1935. Cindie. A Chronicle of the Canefields (first published 1949), set in the Queensland sugar industry between 1896 and 1906, is discussed at
length by Kay Ferres in chapter 9. Carole Ferrier has compiled a valuable bibliography of writings by and about Devanny, as well as providing a biographical context to some recent re-issues of Devanny's work and a study of her Queensland novels.

Asdey's *A Descant for Gossips* (first published 1960) is ostensibly a story of the power of gossip in a small Queensland community, but may also be read as a revealing portrait of the difficulties of female adolescent sexuality, the sexual double standard and the victimisation of women in small town sexual scandals. *A Kindness Cup*, while it "makes no claim to being a historical work", draws on material contained in a report of the 1861 Select Committee on the Native Police Force in Queensland.

Some half (about twenty) of Rosa Praed's novels are set in Queensland. An extensive bibliography of her works has been prepared by Chris Tiffin. Margaret Trist has written about girlhood in a small town in Queensland in *Morning in Queensland* (first published 1958). Told by the daughter of an Irish-Australian mining family, *Knock Ten. A Novel of Mining Life* by Kay Brown is a story of life in Queensland mining town from 1930 to World War II. Betty Collins also sets her novel of working-class life, with an emphasis on women, in Mt. Isa. Criena Rohan's *The Delinquents* (first published 1962) gives valuable insights into the mid-twentieth century female working-class experience of daughterhood, courtship and sexuality.

Autobiography

As Julie Wells points out in her review of Jean Devanny's *Point of Departure*, autobiographies are essentially personal documents which pose particular challenges to feminist historians in their juxtaposition of subjective specificities with a more generalised social context. While the autobiographical form mediates and produces, rather than simply reflects an individual woman's consciousness, it nevertheless provides insights into female subjectivity otherwise denied the historian. Carole Ferrier has edited and published for the first time the autobiography of Devanny, "a working-class activist and agitator; a revolutionary socialist; a women's liberationist; a woman writer" whose recollections of her time spent in Queensland are easily accessed from the index.

An extract from Rosa Praed's *My Australian Girlhood* (first published in 1902) can be found in Spender's anthology of Australian women's writing. Many of Praed's novels were set in Queensland, and her autobiographical account of her girlhood contains observations of, for example, life in a slab and bark hut and Aboriginal culture seen through a white girl's eyes. Another work of autobiography is her *Australian Life: Black
PART 1 SOURCES

Anna Wickham, a feminist and poet who spent some time as a child in Australia around the turn of the century, writes briefly but perceptively of her experiences of Queensland in a "Fragment of an Autobiography". Spanning a similar period, Constance Jane Ellis's *Autobiographical Account of Pioneering Experiences in Outback Queensland* tells the story of her migration in 1889 to Queensland as a "lady companion" and her subsequently nomadic life as the wife of a station storekeeper.

The autobiographies of Black women are especially valuable, given their silencing in the historical record. Lilla Watson provides a brief account of her childhood in rural Queensland and the Aboriginal protest movement of the 1970s. Labumore's (Elsie Roughsey's) memories of the Aboriginal community and mission life on Mornington Island is, according to the editors, "partly an autobiography, partly a family history, partly a tribal history and partly a mission history". Written in Aboriginal English influenced by the author's language and presented in the traditional oral form of storytelling, the book is a remarkable testimony to the cultural differences between Black and white women's written memories.

Other accounts of individual women's lives, while not written as conventional autobiography, draw substantially on women's speech or writing. Dorothy French's account of "a Young English Girl Who Made Queensland Her Adopted Country" in 1867 draws on the writings of Jessie Sarah Berry, and Evelyn Maunsell's recollections of her life on Queensland stations and farms have been recorded in narrative form by Hector Holthouse. Oral history can similarly provide an invaluable insight into female subjectivity. The women interviewed in Roberta Bonnin's oral history of women in the Queensland Teachers' Union talk autobiographically about their lives as women, as teachers and as unionists since 1945.

Letter-Writing

Letter-writing has always been an important form of women's self-expression, recreation and kin-work. Well-educated and usually wealthy women living on outback stations maintained extensive correspondence relationships with family and friends as a means of ameliorating their isolation, particularly from other women, and to communicate their daily hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, needs and satisfactions. *The Letters of Rachel Henning* are perhaps the most readable and useful for historians. Henning's powers of observation and narrative skills applied to personal, family and social life make her letters remarkable documents of women's history. Jane Bardsley's outback letterbook, edited by
NAMING QUEENSLAND WOMEN'S HISTORY

John Atherton Young, charts her moves from a miner's cottage to a tent in a mining camp, a cattle station, a dairy farm and a sugar plantation.78 Apparently less itinerant than Bardsley, _Katie Hume's Letters_ provide a detailed portrait of marriage and settlement on the Darling Downs between 1866 and 1871.79 Praed’s papers are held in the John Oxley Library.

**Painting**

Women's painting, photography and other visual forms of self-expression are much neglected as historical sources. Natalie Adamson’s study of the self-portraits of some Australian women artists of the 1920s and 1930s shows that artistic production may embody a more positive female identity than conventional sources might suggest.80 While comparatively few women artists have achieved recognition within the art establishment, their significant contribution to the less culturally valued decorative and other domestic arts might well reap great rewards for women’s history. Two examples of women artists from Queensland suggest some of the possibilities. Harriet Neville-Rolfe, an English artist, joined her brothers and sisters on Alpha station in 1883. She produced nearly one hundred pencil and watercolour sketches of daily life during her two year stay at Alpha, apparently to give her family in England a clearer impression of her life in Australia than letters allowed. According to Susanna de Vries-Evans, the artist records the normal routines of station life, including picnics and family meals. _Breakfast at Alpha_ shows the family sitting at the table, incongruously "laid as though in an English stately home", complete with silver muffin dishes and the finest porcelain.81

Vida Lahey, a painter, watercolourist and art educator (whose works were the subject of an exhibition at the Queensland Art Gallery in 1989) has been acknowledged as one of the most influential figures in the history of art in Queensland. Her work gives a peculiarly female perspective on life in Queensland. Lahey's painting _Monday Morning_ (1912) was specifically designed to record the value of domestic work and depicts the weekly washday at her home in Brisbane. _Teatime_ (1924), _Busy Fingers_ (1913), _Drying Up_ (c.1930s) and _A Sunlit Interior_ (1932) feature other female figures absorbed in domestic activities within interiors that meticulously record (construct, celebrate?) the meanings and material culture of women's lives.82
Resistances

While politics narrowly conceived might be categorised as one of the barriers in the systematic oppression of women, I have placed under this heading studies of women who actively and, for the most part, consciously challenged oppression. This section includes studies of women's involvement in formal (party) politics, the women's movement, women's organisations, and the labour movement. Women's political activities and their efforts at reform have in some cases been specifically directed at attempts to relieve women's oppression (feminism); in others women have played an important part in class politics aimed at eliminating injustices and inequities more broadly defined.

Women and Party Politics

Janice Williams's *Refractory Girl* article on women's political role in state government processes has so far been the only attempt to examine the relationship between Queensland women, women's rights organisations and parliamentary political activity. The distinctive history of Queensland politics would seem to warrant more extensive historical and comparative studies. The novels of Jean Devanny, Lyn Finch's Queensland-based study of women in the Communist Party in the 1940s and Diane Menghetti's article on North Queensland women's involvement in the popular front in the 1930s suggest that women played an important role in left-wing political activity. The evidence of women's contribution to progressive causes in Queensland tends to refute, as Menghetti points out, the view that women in this state were less liberal than their southern sisters. The story of Annabelle Rankin, the first Queensland woman to be elected to the Senate in 1947 and the first woman to administer a federal government department (Housing), has been told by Waveney Browne.

Women's Organisations

Women's organisations have throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offered spaces for female work and pleasure. Queensland women were interested in the history of their own organisations from as early as the 1930s. *The Biographical Record of Queensland Women* details the work of individual women in various charitable, philanthropic, professional and civic organisations. This interest in documenting the
past record of women's "glorious heritage" and "progress and achievement" may have been encouraged by the establishment in 1950 of the Queensland Women's Historical Association.89 Anne Wood's comprehensive list of Queensland women's organisations not only indicates the range and extent of women's collective activities since settlement, but suggests that women played a crucial role in maintaining social networks and alleviating the effects of isolation in a rural society.90 Phyllis Cilento's account of the mothercraft movement in Queensland, also published in the Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal, similarly points to the largely voluntary effort of large numbers of women devoted to improving the welfare of mothers and children.91

Two of the most significant national organisations for the promotion of women's rights - the National Council of Women and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union - have operated successful Queensland branches.92 Given their longevity and importance to the history of women's politics in the state, the NCW, the WCTU and their sister organisations demand urgent analytical attention from feminist historians.

Women in the Labour Movement

Pam Young's account of women's militant involvement in the Brisbane general strike of 1912 and her book on feminist and "grand old woman of Queensland labour" Emma Miller begin the important project of placing the story of women's activism in Queensland on the historical record.93 Kath Thomas's study of Queensland women at work in the 1890s and her essay indicating some of the themes (for example, the struggle over equal pay in the 1950s) which emerge from the records held by the Queensland Trades and Labour Council, suggest the range of primary sources which could be drawn on for a general history of women's work and union activity.94 Women's involvement in white collar unions constitute the majority of the specific case studies. Nursing,95 teaching96 and the public service97 have received some attention from historians but are only partial histories. Women's work and activism in factory employment, domestic service and clerical work, among other areas, remain to be investigated.

The Women's Movement

There is no history of organised feminism in Queensland. What exists is scattered and of limited use to researchers interested in analysis and interpretation. Pam Gorring's study
of the political development of the women's movement of Queensland focuses on the voting behaviour, political values and "ideal types" found within women's organisations of the 1970s and includes a cursory account of the "historical background" to the women's movement.98 Selected chapters of Carmel Shute's thesis on the impact of World War I on Australian women and Katie Spearritt's thesis on marriage,99 neither of them directly or centrally concerned with the women's movement, are nevertheless the most useful sources on Queensland women's organisations and feminism. While excellent studies in their own right, these unpublished findings need to be expanded and consolidated into a comprehensive history (or, better, a series of comprehensive histories) of Queensland feminism.

An attention to class has frequently overridden sex in analyses of the Queensland women's movement, perhaps in part a function of Hecate's editorial policy which states a preference for feminist, marxist and radical methodologies. Much of the Queensland literature intersects with an international school of marxist-feminist thought which, despite the intention of analysing class in conjunction with sex, tends in the final analysis to subsume issues of relevance to women beneath masculinist theoretical imperatives. Young, in her brief narrative of the struggle for woman suffrage, concludes that the lessons learned by women, particularly their recognition that "woman's cause is man's", facilitated the subsequent contribution of women to class struggle.100 Paddy McCorry's main criticism of the 1974 Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Women in Queensland was that it was elitist and refused to recognise the needs of Blacks or the working-class.101 Alison Anderson focuses on the state and class politics in her account of the abortion struggle in Queensland, arguing that "Only in this struggle will a revolutionary working-class that can embody women's demands be built".102 Women as an oppressed category thus become invisible by their dispersal and assimilation into the systems of race and class which organise men.103 There is clearly space within Queensland historiography for analyses of feminist resistances which place centrally women, women's bodies and women's demands for sexual autonomy.
In 1864 Rachel Henning, the unmarried daughter of a British clergyman, wrote a letter to her younger sister Amy who was then living in Bathurst. For nearly two years Rachel had been working a property with her brother Biddulph and another sister Annie at Exmoor on the Bowen River, about 115 kilometres from Mackay. She liked pastoral life and, although she registered a longing to see Amy, she felt that there was little need to journey south except for one pressing reason. Her gowns and boots were dilapidated and her under-garments “have mostly departed this life”. The following year she could put off her trip no longer. In a letter to another sister Etta in England she noted her continuing boredom mixed with trepidation at the prospect of the journey. Yet she felt it would be “good” for her to visit Sydney and she was pleased at the thought of purchasing new garments. She remarked that she would like to see a bonnet again. “Except my old sunbonnet I have not beheld one for three years. We will be taken for aborigines [sic], I expect, when we present ourselves in the town”.

Henning’s letters are representative of a body of writings by middle-class women, most of them married, who settled in rural and urban Queensland from the 1840s till the end of the century. Many of these contain accounts of the local dress and behavioural habits of white women and a certain number include comments about the appearance of Aboriginal women as well. Equally there are silences. The texts privilege the life of adult women and their infants. There is little comment on the dress of older women and girls.

On one level Henning’s opinions about clothing, and those registered in contemporary women’s letters and diaries, may be read as domestic trivialities. Yet as historical documents they have a deeper significance. They offer an opportunity to question and possibly redefine the material and social category of “regionalism” as it is presently defined. Readings of these sources open up new ways to investigate women’s experience in what was a predominantly decentralised rural economy. Indeed by focussing on their respective accounts of dress and associated notions of femininity, it is possible to question whether the term “regional” can be used to describe any distinctiveness in Queensland’s social practices.
Such sources, and the subject of dress and appearance, have been virtually ignored by Australian historians. Little attention has been paid to these seemingly minor issues which are in fact crucial in the lives of women. Yet a close reading of these texts reveals important ways in which life in the tropics had a substantial impact on bourgeois women, affecting perceived notions of female respectability in terms of appearance, beauty and etiquette. The texts also reveal much about the authors' moral and paternalistic attitudes toward Aborigines. They allow comparison with perceptions of dress in other areas of colonial Australia and illuminate the problems women experienced in negotiating changes from the rigours of bush life to the social formalities of urban intercourse.

The subject of clothing sits uncomfortably with conventional historical writing and masculine agendas. Yet dress can be located at the core of discourses on beauty, morality, race, sexuality, class and economics. The study of dress is transdisciplinary, and its unexplored terrain is particularly pertinent in regard to the intimate daily lives of women. Henning's comments reveal more about the urban/rural divide than they do about a distinct regionalism in Queensland clothing. Other texts offer strong suggestions that regional factors, especially the climate, shaped women's approaches to dress in quite specific ways.

The possibility that regionalism might have played a vital role in nineteenth century Australian dress history has not been considered in costume surveys to date. Most of them do not categorise Queensland as a separate region at all, either in regard to city or rural dress. When the bush is discussed, it is universalised as a male domain and portrayed as having virtually no effect on women's clothing or appearance. Marion Fletcher, in her useful study *Costume in Australia 1788-1901*, does not mention Queensland dress and, when she analyses pastoral clothing, it is almost without exception an account of male adaptations. Joel takes the position in her book *Best Dressed* that men adopted practical dress in the bush but women of all classes declined to adapt to the climate because fashion remained a constant in the outback no matter how uncomfortable. This not only misreprents the nature of women's attitude toward fashion in rural areas but reiterates the belief that women are somehow mindless or irrational in their adherence to fashionable dress.

Historians of Queensland like Ross Johnston only relate the subject of dress to masculine interests in urban development and commerce. Fitzgerald accords dress one sentence in *From the Dreaming to 1915*, in which he states categorically and erroneously that the dress of Queenslanders (men and women) was mostly voluminous and quite unsuited to tropical conditions. This lack of any critical attention to dress in Queensland's history is by no means unusual. It is symptomatic of an overall "dress
"A GREAT DEAL TOO GOOD FOR THE BUSH"

blindness" in phallocentric Australian histories of the colonial period which privilege masculine activities located in significant political events, government decisions, civic action and national identity.

One reason why the subject has been consistently downgraded or even trivialised by scholars is its association with domesticity and the preoccupations of women. During the nineteenth century bourgeois women were regarded as docile in the face of fashion, and the fickleness and unstable nature of stylish dress was elided with feminine nature itself.8 More recent theorists of the Victorian period like Helene Roberts argue that women's restrictive dress actually defined their passive sexual roles, projecting their willingness to mould their behaviour to accommodate men.9 Valerie Steele counters Roberts' assertions that women's dress proclaimed and maintained their subjection to men, and argues that fashion was in fact a positive aid to women in the creation of their own self image.10 Yet climatic, demographic and differing regional tastes in Australia intersect with arguments such as these, and challenge formerly held stereotypes about nineteenth century women, their clothing and its meanings.

In regard to costume, historians have undoubtedly adopted the association between the trivial and the female quite uncritically. Dress is of primary importance to the study of any society and its mores. Allied to behaviour, it functions as a pertinent indicator of group values and expectations. It conveys unspoken signals through systems of coded precepts that are class specific. Both men and women wear clothes, yet the disparagement of fashion and dress accords with a broader cultural misogyny - a disparagement of the feminine. In Queensland historiography, then, there is a double evasion of both women and their experience of dress as subjects worthy of serious consideration.

Rachel Henning came from a family obviously well schooled in bourgeois etiquette and attendant dress practices. Her life in the Queensland tropics was an experience which she enjoyed. Yet living on a station, enduring extreme climatic conditions (on one occasion she recorded a temperature of 115 degrees Fahrenheit), and with practically no contact with other women except her sister, had a significant effect on the way she dressed and the image she had of herself.11 Her belief that she would be mistaken for an Aborigine when she went to Sydney is a reference not only to her shabby clothes but more particularly to her skin, which had become deeply tanned in the tropical sunshine. In 1863, after she had been at Exmoor for only a year, she discovered, in a newly set-up mirror, what she records as an interesting fact. "I look very ancient and Annie more so under the influence of the hot climate, though it agrees so well widi me".12

For a middle-class woman at this period a white skin was a sign of gentility. The face was regarded as the repository of beauty and an ideal complexion was fine and clear,
conveying notions of purity. The skin was desirably pale, accompanied by light pink cheeks.\textsuperscript{13} By contrast, tanned or coarse skin was associated with the working classes and outdoor manual labour. Thus in Queensland, bourgeois women like Henning had to come to terms with quite dramatic effects of the harsh climate on their skin.

Women of this class had to adjust not only to changes in their physical appearance but also to the effect of the tropical heat and humidity on their clothing and on notions of decorum. The climate, coupled with the isolation of bush life, were major contributing elements that altered the way women managed their clothing and how they coped with dress shortages and dealt with unavoidable changes in social ritual and etiquette. For these women there were other areas of accommodation. According to their letters and diaries, the lack of reliable servants and unwelcome contact with "colonial" behaviour and with Aborigines restricted information on dress and fashion, and poor shopping facilities in outback areas were additional elements in which expectations were affected.

By contrast, information about the experiences of lower-class women in regard to the climate and outback conditions is practically non-existent. Their views are not recorded and it is almost impossible to determine how they responded to dominant middle-class dress codes. What does emerge from available documentation is that colonial newcomers, as well as those who had lived most of their lives in tropical areas, suffered considerably from the summer heat and that they dressed to suit the climatic conditions.

Prior to examining the ways in which women adjusted to the Queensland environment, it is necessary to consider some factors regarding nineteenth century bourgeois notions of femininity and dress. Dress and etiquette are primary markers of gender. By means of clothing and behaviour, unwritten codes of meaning are conveyed regarding class, personal interaction and power. Middle-class women's style of dress was considered part of the necessary display of domestic consumption and, along with behaviour and language, a vital indicator of their family's social class.\textsuperscript{14} Of equal importance to the construction of gender definition was the fact that time spent on their appearance was essential to the formation of women's role as decorative, genteel and pleasing adjuncts to men. Sexual roles were not only identified but defined by dress. Clothing was of particular importance to women who, out of financial necessity, needed to please men by their appearance both before and after marriage.

Despite the dominance of marriage and family life as the model of social organisation in Queensland (as demonstrated by Katie Spearritt) and the rapidity with which British ideals of womanhood were transmitted to all the colonies, the realities of colonial life were sometimes in marked contrast to European perceptions. These ideals, that defined women as dainty and refined, were often mitigated by local circumstances.

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such as the difficulty and expense involved in obtaining trained servants, unwelcome contact with Aborigines and the greater demands of housework. The problems were most noticeable in outback areas but they were applicable even in the more settled city areas.

In decentralised Queensland, women in rural areas had little access to shops and magazines. This meant that a degree of tension existed between the desire to present a fashionable appearance and day-to-day existence on properties. For women busy with housework or station business, "modernising" their clothes required a substantial input of time and effort unless they had the means to employ a dressmaker. In 1863 Rachel Henning wrote to her sister Etta about the problems of maintaining a stylish appearance in the bush. "You have no idea of the trouble it is to get a dress here. I told you I remade my black skirt. The winter dress Emily sent me did not fit in the least and I left the making for another winter and did without... Such misfortunes are likely to make one contented with any wearable garment". Katie Hume, the wife of a government surveyor who lived at Drayton, a small town near Toowoomba, had much the same difficulty when fashions were changing quite radically in the 1860s. She complained wearily to her sister in 1868, "I suppose all my things will want altering, & goring to suit the present fashion & it is a great trouble".

Katie Hume was occasionally able to obtain the services of a dressmaker in Brisbane and her knowledge of fashionable styles was consequently quite up-to-date. In the bush, however, female fashion could lag at least twelve months behind European styles. There was also a general understanding that urban dress was not necessarily appropriate for country wear. Women like Henning regarded certain styles of garment as "too good" for the bush. Conversely, Katie Hume noted in 1867: "I remember Charlie being much amused at my taking a 'dinner dress' into the Bush, but I assure you people dress here almost more than at home".

Fashions percolated into remote areas through the receipt of actual garments, personal visits to the city, letters from family and friends, trade or store catalogues, or via illustrated magazines like the Illustrated London News and the Queen. The lack of current fashion information meant that styles changed abruptly, albeit infrequently, in remote areas. Rachel Henning noted how "we get hold of a fashion when we go to Sydney, and wear it till we go down there again". This problem diminished somewhat in the 1880s. By then more ready-made clothing for women was commercially available and mailorder services had improved. For instance, in 1886 the Brisbane store, Finney Isles and Co., advertised a substantial country order trade supplying the latest city goods to every part of the colony. "A lady can get a costume, piece of calico, hat, bonnet etc. etc., carefully
packed to any part of the colony by forwarding us their order .... and have a new useful article at Brisbane prices.”21 The following year Reid, McIntyre and Clark of Queen Street advertised patterns of new spring fabrics, sent to any part of Queensland.22

During the nineteenth century women in Australia, including those in Queensland, wore gowns and underclothing that closely resembled European styles. Yet there were subtle differences of fabric, colour, cut and decoration that set much of their clothing apart as identifiabley Australian.23 In 1883 the journalist Twopeny declared emphatically that not only did an "Australian" taste exist (a compound of the cocotte and the American) but that differences could be detected as well between the dress of Melbourne women and those in Sydney and Adelaide.24 Regrettably he made no comment on Brisbane fashions, although these too had their own character.

Women of all classes during the nineteenth century wore a good deal of underwear which protected their outer clothing. Beneath their gowns they wore corsets of whalebone or steel with a chemise underneath and then a camisole bodice, as well as petticoats.25 The cage crinoline, which could be up to five or six yards in width, was introduced in 1856. These items were made with hoops of whalebone and worn under the petticoats. They served to lighten the weight of clothing, as fewer petticoats were needed, and were considered more comfortable, particularly in the heat, as they kept petticoats away from the legs.26

Crinolines were worn in Australian town and country areas alike. The practical advantages of crinolines would account for the persistence with which women continued to wear them in the tropical outback. Rachel Henning took hers on an extremely uncomfortable journey north of Rockhampton in 1862. She wrote of the difficulty in cramming crinolines and dresses into a valise which her brother had to carry before him on his horse.27 If women could not readily purchase crinolines they endeavoured to make them. Robert Gray described how his wife on Strathmore Station near Bowen lost some of her wardrobe including her crinoline in a bush fire in 1863, and "her ingenuity was afterwards severely taxed to manufacture one". She succeeded in doing so, but it was some time before she could get to a drapery store to procure another one.28 Charles Eden in his autobiographical account of Queensland published in 1872 marvelled that these understructures were such an extremely fast selling commodity in Queensland station stores, although they had ceased to be worn in fashionable circles a decade previously.29 In fact, Katie Hume was quite emphatic that by September 1868 crinolines had almost disappeared where she lived at Drayton.30

It is a commonplace historiographic error to assume that nineteenth century men and women almost mindlessly continued to wear hot and uncomfortable clothing in the
tropics. Auliciems and Deaves have recently postulated that in the later part of the
nineteenth century bourgeois women in particular suffered a semi-permanent state of
hypothermia because of the heavy, hot clothing they wore "day in, day out, and seem­
ingly irrespective of season, or location". This assertion can be vigorously challenged
using information from clothing advertisements as well as women's diaries and letters. In
fact it was quite commonly believed that for women a limited wardrobe was adequate in
hot climates, and seasonal clothing was the norm.

In addition to this, there was concern that the use of hot clothing in the tropics
would cause moral and physical degradation. This issue increasingly occupied the
scientific community toward the end of the century, leading to some awareness of the
dangers of wearing inappropriate clothing. Tropical climates were considered to be unfit
for civilised peoples and long exposure to the sun was believed to be detrimental to the
physique. Dr Joseph Ahearne of Townsville, in his first presidential address to the
North Queensland Medical Society in 1890, queried the effect of the North Queensland
climate on the general health of the European race, asking: "to what is due the almost
universal languor, the absence of energy and the frequent attacks of indisposition in our
women?" Within this general ambit of debate, the Rockhampton Morning Bulletin in
1877 cautioned all newcomers to Queensland against the damaging effects of the heat,
advocating the use of lined sunhats to protect the head from the sun's rays. The Queensland Figaro in an article called 'Garden and Bush Hats' stressed in 1886 that straw
sunhats were essential for women engaged in outdoor activities.

Newspaper advertisements, as well as letters and diaries indicate that, both in town
and country areas, women adapted their clothing and behaviour to suit the heat. Although
many photographs posed in Queen Street studios give the impression that women dressed
exclusively in dark sweltering gowns, this is likely to have been far from reality,
especially in summer when lightweight clothing was clearly worn.

The few etiquette manuals that were published in Australia advised the use of thin
garments during hot weather. "In Summer all should be bright, cool, agreeable to wear
and pleasant to look at." Seasonal gowns and fabrics were commonly sold by major
department and drapery stores in Brisbane. Indian muslins, Ceylon skirtings, Liberty
cretonnes, zephyrs and embroidered silks were recommended for wear in hot weather. A
Boomerang article of October 1888, entitled "Summer Toilettes", advertised novel light,
white Japanese cotton gowns for ladies, printed with dull blue or red Japanese figures,
including hieroglyphs, pavillions and birds, readymade in Paris for the hot days coming
on. Special forms of underwear were also used for the tropical climate. Finney Isles
sold the Gossamer Swan Bill corset designed for warm climates. The corset combined
the advantages of the stay and Joan of Arc belt, while imparting a graceful symmetry to the figure.39

Queensland men and women adopted distinct codes of public behaviour that were directly related to the hot climate. It was believed that in public the heat should be bravely endured. Anthony Trollope indicated that the subject of warm weather was of extreme delicacy in Queensland. "One does not allude to heat in a host's house anymore than to a bad bottle of wine .... You may call an inn hot, or a court-house, but not a gentleman's paddock or a lady's drawing room."40 This was a formality that constituted part of the ritual of bourgeois etiquette. Those who publicly kept up the appearance of being unaffected by the heat did not necessarily maintain this in private. Women's letters and diaries are filled with complaints about the weather, especially between January and February, and references to the ways in which they coped with the conditions. Katie Hume noted in a letter to her mother in January 1868 that attending church at Drayton in the heat, while in mourning, was a terrible trial. "As a rule we always undressed and lay down all the afternoon .... Of course I cannot wear anything but a black barege skirt and white body indoors .... washing bodies are indispensible this weather."41

Middle-class women in Queensland, and probably working women as well, wore clothing to suit the various seasons, and there are constant references to differences between garments worn in summer and those for winter. Etiquette columns in southern newspapers during the 1870s and 1880s advocated a change in women's clothing for street wear toward much quieter colour schemes of greys, browns, olives and black, echoing male garments. Queensland women are likely to have followed this advice primarily in the winter months. Light coloured muslins and cotton prints made up into gowns were common for the hot weather, and silks and woollen poplins of darker shades were normally reserved for winter. Katie Hume thanked her family in Britain for "The Box" they had sent to her in 1870. "Thanks Ally for the pretty 'Fish'ook', it will do nicely to wear out of doors next Summer, the present fashion of 'having nothing on' being very suitable for this climate."42

Mary McConachie, living in Brisbane in 1882, wrote a vivid account of the steaming vapours of December weather and how languid she felt in the heat. In a letter back to Scotland she compared Queensland fashions on Christmas Day to those in Britain. She notes how in Brisbane there were "No muffler gravats [sic] to be seen no worsted gloved hands, no overcoats no leggings but instead suits of almost silk netting through which many parts of the body could almost be seen, scarf of the lightest make gloves like a net for the hair, shoes like dancing slippers a fan in the hand a parasol overhead".43 Special clothing for hot weather as described by Mary was not the
prerogative of city women alone. Those who lived in the bush also adopted summer clothing, although their garments had of necessity to be more practical. Women on stations wore lightweight muslins or print gowns and ginghams which were just as cool but more durable than muslin. Sunbonnets with wide side flaps or frills were commonly worn to shade the face from the detrimental effects of the sun, and broad brimmed felt has were considered equally useful for the heat.

Whether they lived in town or on stations, bourgeois women were responsible for the wellbeing of the family. They were regarded as arbiters of taste, upholders of traditional social values and were the spiritual guardians of the home. They had an obligation to sustain the rules of social etiquette. Although women in outlying districts attempted to keep up these standards, the harsh conditions and the lack of amenities sometimes mitigated against them.

Established bourgeois rules of decorum could not always be maintained due to a number of circumstances, ranging from the paucity of servants to climatic conditions and the mixing of social classes. The problem of being without servants affected middle-class women in a number of ways. They were required to perform more activities for themselves and so were less protected from the mundane workings of the household. Probably because of the lack of trained servants or butlers, Mrs McConnel, writing in her memoirs about her first impressions of Queensland in 1849, indicated that "no calling cards were ever used in Brisbane, but it was as well to have a piece of chalk in my pocket so that I might write my name on the door if people were out".

Newcomers found colonial manners less formal than those to which they were accustomed and faced social difficulties during contact with native-born Australians. There are no records of how colonial Queensland women felt about new arrivals. Katie Hume noted, at various times, how colonial behaviour differed from her expectations and from her experience in Britain. In 1866 she travelled to Warwick where she met the Gores family of Lyndhurst, whose Queensland-style behaviour she found strange. Katie considered the mother, Mrs Gores, to be ladylike although she had "roughed it" at times and there was a certain amount of "hugger mugger" perceptible in the household. The Miss Gores, the so-called Warwick Flashers, she deemed decidedly "fast", fond of riding and shooting, and one of them was an undignified five foot nine inches tall. "The whole family bathe in the Condamine together! It was my first introduction to real colonial young ladies. They have never been out of the Colony & I must say I was reminded of 'Gerty' (in Hillyars & Burtons) .... They talked almost as much slang & their manners are very offhand ...." Katie was prepared to endure this kind of behaviour up to a point but felt that she would tire of it after a time.
She attended a race meeting near Toowoomba in 1867 with her husband Walter and confessed it was her first introduction to a "colonial crowd". She was interested in the different way in which women conducted themselves and the unexpected social mixture at the meet. "What struck me particularly was the number of women on horseback for at home one sees none but ladies riding & never very many of them - here there were as many women almost as men, but hardly any ladies." The behaviour of colonial women on horseback was contentious for new arrivals. Mrs Miles, who went to Natal Downs Station in north-west Queensland as a young bride in 1871, had a deep revulsion for rough colonial manners. At a time when middle-class women almost never wore trousers, she abhorred the examples of unladylike behaviour such as riding astride and the use of divided skirts.

Although bourgeois women living in Queensland, like Katie Hume, endeavoured to keep up the kind of social standards they had been used to in Britain, there were many ways in which the ideals of womanhood were challenged and reshaped by colonial conditions. This was particularly so when white women came in contact with Blacks. Middle-class women were discouraged from developing close relations with Aborigines, and their feelings oscillated between condescension and fear. Rachel Henning found Aborigines to be "very queer" and their semi-nude appearance distasteful. When government clothing was available, Aborigines regardless of sex were given shirts and blankets to wear but seldom trousers or drawers. Otherwise Aborigines were clothed by women settlers in whatever old clothes they had available or garments they could make themselves. With paternalistic concern, Henning noted how ragged her house servants appeared and how rapidly they wore out gifts of secondhand print dresses. "I am trying to manufacture a dress for Biddy, the black gin, out of two stout blue linen shirts which I got out of the store. I think it will make her a very strong garment." White women like Henning satisfied their moral and charitable impulses by imposing their dress habits on those Aborigines with whom they were in close contact. Aboriginal women seemed disinclined to resist white imperatives and apparently responded to clothing initiatives with passive acceptance.

The impression gained from reading the diaries and letters of outback women is ostensibly one of commitment to maintaining orthodox bourgeois standards of dress and behaviour. Partly as a consequence of their own writings, a myth has developed about such settler women that centres on their dedication to the virtues of homemaking and raising families. Yet, as has been shown by Judith Godden, the lives of many of these women displayed neither feminine warmth, heroism nor a ladylike demeanour. The myth has overlooked the numbers of women who did not conform to that particular
Stereotype. Women worked extremely hard in rural areas and were vital as producers within the family farming unit. They ploughed and sowed alongside men and were active in control of stock and in the dairy. Margaret Williams, who lived in the vicinity of Esk, described a range of activities in her diary, including making and selling cheeses to the local community, as well as domestic labour. Margaret Williams and Constance Ellis, who led adventurous existences in Western Queensland far from the niceties of bourgeois life, are examples of women who blithely contravened accepted notions of appropriate feminine behaviour.

Other women living outside the family unit, such as those co-habiting with sawyers and cedar-getters, or on the goldfields, about whom the records are virtually silent, were unorthodox in behaviour and in morality. Their dress was equally unconventional. Photographs of the Lynch sisters, for instance, who were timber workers living near Kingaroy at the turn of the century, indicate that they did not wear corsetry or tight underclothing. Photographs held in the John Oxley Library show the women dressed in skirts and roughly-fitted blouses, with rolled sleeves and wide masculine-style brimmed hats to cover their unconventionally loose hair. Victorian bourgeois morality precluded women wearing trousers except in rare cases and for certain forms of exercise. Despite this, there are several accounts of women wearing men's clothing in order to travel unmolested or to scare Aborigines when their husbands were away from home. Admittedly these accounts are about isolated areas of northern New South Wales, but there is no reason to suppose that similar habits were not adopted in Queensland.

It is possible then to categorise the clothing of Queensland women into three major groupings: urban dress, country dress and the dress of those women who spurned conventional behaviour such as timber cutters and goldfields women. This is convenient and to a large extent sustainable, but the three categories were not always so clear cut. Each was affected not only by class, occasion and occupation, but by availability of garments, personal choice and often scarcity, which imposed its own criterion.

Women throughout Queensland made clothes for themselves, their husbands and children and, if they lived on stations, they made clothes for Aborigines as well. They also repaired and altered garments and mended shoes. Station stores and drapery shops stocked readymade clothing and boots for men, but there was hardly anything available for women apart from fabrics, plus some hats and shoes. It was essential for women in small towns and rural areas to make their own clothes. There were few professional dressmakers (Mackay had only eight dressmakers listed in the Post Office Directory in 1888 for a population of 11,000) and the cost of putting out work could not be
supported. Some city dressmakers undertook country mail orders but this did not alleviate the day-to-day sewing and repair tasks required of women.56

Shoes and boots wore out quickly in rough outback conditions. Mary Watson, the wife of a beche-de-mer fisherman on Lizard Island, noted in her diary for 1881 that as well as mending her husband's fishing clothes she was "acting cobbler to a pair of reef boots".57 In 1863 Rachel Henning described how desperately everyone needed footwear. "We are all nearly barefoot .... I mend my boots with bits of leather everyday, and they will soon be beyond mending."58 The following year she noted that her boots were a miracle of patching - "I stitch on a fresh piece of sheepskin about every other day".59 Unlike many women of her class, Rachel knew little of sewing or indeed tailoring before she came to Australia and she had to acquire these skills on the station out of sheer necessity.

There is no doubt that in the nineteenth century the role of all classes of women in the domestic manufacture and maintenance of garments, as well as footwear, was significant. Women were involved in an informal economy, one that intersected with the home, in a way that makes the dimensions of such work impossible to quantify. In Queensland the predominantly rural economy meant that this kind of activity was more prevalent than in other colonies because of the significance of the family as a unit of production. What is certain is that locally-made clothing constituted a far larger proportion of Queensland dress than statistics acknowledge. Although much domestic sewing made use of patterns copied from European prototypes, and Europe remained the main source of fashionable ideals, the adaptations and influences, allied to domestic crafting, were a vital aspect of colonial dress distinctiveness.

Most imported apparel was British in origin or redirected through British markets, although there was a substantial trade with New South Wales. High fashion too, as represented by newspaper fashion illustrations, would indicate that very little difference existed between fashion ideals in Queensland and Britain. When Katie Hume visited London for a holiday, her personal dress accounts skyrocketed.60 Yet the degree to which Britain dominated the actual market needs careful assessment. A comparison between the amount of British imports in the 1880s with other colonies may indicate that Queenslanders were less British in style than elsewhere.61 This was, however, not necessarily the case. Imports varied from year to year and the extent of home dressmaking undertaken in the colony means that this must remain an area for speculation. Even so, the tropical climate in Queensland and the extent of rural living would lead to the assumption that clothing was frequently at odds with British models.
"A GREAT DEAL TOO GOOD FOR THE BUSH"

In addition to the influence of British styles, women in Brisbane, as well as other Queensland towns, aspired to continental ideals of dress. In the 1880s French fashion exerted a strong fascination. The thrust of fashion news in papers like the Brisbane Courier was a mixture of information from both Paris and London, and by the late 1880s, America. English and Parisian millinery was sold by firms like Edwards and Chapman of Queen Street, and stores stocked a variety of quality French and British fabrics. James Hunter, boot manufacturer, who had six Boot Palaces in Brisbane, employed agents in Paris, Vienna and other continental cities "whose sole duties are to catch the latest fashions and send out samples to me here". The Queenslander had a resident correspondent in France who sent regular information to Brisbane and offered a cut-paper pattern service to the home dressmaker.

Dress in Brisbane was not merely a blueprint of dress in Britain. Lucinda Sharpe, the female pseudonym used by William Lane for a series of letters to an imaginary girlfriend in America, published in the Queensland Figaro in the 1880s, described the subtle but definitive quality of local fashions. "Dresses here are rather different to dresses in the States. Nationally, I say that we are ahead; but I wouldn't be a bit astonished, between you and me, if this out of the way colony didn't fly newer fashions than we did in Chicago." Lucinda goes into some detail about local styles. "Walking and house skirts here are about the same except that they are a little longer, only just clearing the ground behind, and not leaving a good inch or so clear as yours do. The waists are very different, never being "basque", but ending just below the waist." According to Lucinda, Brisbane clothing stores had their own character and the service was very slow. Prints and silks were twice as dear as Chicago but gloves and hats were much the same price and lace "ever so much cheaper".

Brisbane inhabitants were conscious of the particular nature of their own local styles, and women wore the prevailing seasonal colours on offer in stores and dressmaking establishments. Advice in papers like the Princess, the city's first women's magazine, was directed toward local tastes and social conditions. Articles like 'Dress and Fashion' in the Queenslander described the characteristic way in which Brisbane women were arranging their hair in 1888 - one way being "To comb it straight up from the back of the head to the top and there to arrange it in one twist or two. The twists are then pinned in loops, quite on top of the head, or are coiled round and round in concentric circles. Great use is made of tortoise-shell hairpins, tiny side and back combs, or other small ornamental fastenings."

Visitors as well occasionally observed a distinct specificity in the appearance and dress of Queensland women. In 1891 Millais Culpin, a teacher and amateur entomologist,
PART 2 HISTORIES

was quite scathing about the ugliness of the colony's young women, who were in his view, skinny with complexions "the colour of oatmeal porridge". What is more relevant is that he noted that these local women wore curiously distinctive headwear and he included a sketch drawing in his account. "The hats the darlings wear are articles worthy of exhibition in England. In shape they are like this and they come right down past the shoulder of the wearer. Fine things for keeping the sun and rain off - you want no umbrella when you wear them. I use [sic] to see pictures of old market-women with hats something like these and I always thought they were caricatures."68

The regionalism of women's dress in Queensland did not have the distinctiveness of, for instance, the folk costumes of Europe, but unquestionably climate and geography determined certain clothing characteristics within the area. To this must be added other features that relate to dress supplies and specific behavioural codes. The great distances from sources of supply had the direct effect of imposing a form of conservatism on dress which was most noticeable in rural areas. The limited availability of goods meant that people not only had to make their garments last longer and adapt them for their own particular purposes, but that at times fashion changes occurred quite sporadically. For instance city merchants were inclined to view the Queensland hinterland as an outlet for unsold stock, or goods that were no longer popular with urban customers. So in remote areas the styles of dress were in many cases quite different from those worn in the major centres. Even Brisbane was seen somewhat in this light, and fashions there did not always match those of southern or European cities. This had an important effect on the self-image of Queensland women as they compared themselves with visitors from Sydney, for example, or the illustrations they saw in magazines.

To live in Queensland meant that women had, of necessity, to adapt their clothing to factors specific to the geography and demography of the region. Yet the elements of dress that distinguished clothing in Queensland were not necessarily noticeable immediately on crossing the border but were instead constituted around rather subtle differences of style and taste that were often subject to the availability of commodities. In addition to this, certain social practices and class factors within the colony were in some contrast to the stereotypes and ideals for women that governed the lives of the bourgeoisie in Europe.

If the criteria for defining region are fixed within masculine preoccupations such as politics, the law, economics and other public spheres of existence, then there is little point in seeking a distinctly regional dress for women in Queensland. On the other hand, if the terms of reference are altered to include the vast area of women's experiences encompassing dress, etiquette and self-image, then a different picture emerges in which the term regionality itself can be reassessed.
"A GREAT DEAL TOO GOOD FOR THE BUSH"

A study of the dress of women in nineteenth century Queensland shows that regionality can be interrogated on an intimate level, encompassing preoccupations of a private and domestic nature. The definition of "region" as such, at least for Queensland women, was not necessarily constituted around the concept of state boundaries and the capital city. As Gillian Whitlock shows in chapter 11, regional differences may be emblems of many other kinds of social values. Up to a point within their domestic experiences, in which concerns about clothing formed a large part, it was women's proximity to or distance from small towns and urban clusters that determined their sense of regional identity. Yet more personal experiences of the urban/bush divide and climatic conditions are likely to have had far more importance for these women than any of the masculine preoccupations which defined and categorised the political state of Queensland.
The Sexual Economics of Colonial Marriage
Katie Spearritt

"Open confession is good for the soul and nothing can be kept hidden for ever", Nora Murray-Prior mused on her thirty-seventh birthday in 1883, "and you can perhaps imagine some little of the mortification, chagrin and disgust with which I have been forced to recognise myself as once again in the valley of the shadow of a baby". This recognition meant more years of "necessary vegetation" at the family's Maroon Station, nestled south-west of the Brisbane hinterland, and a "stolid content" with the bearing of children and the making of jams.1

In letters to her step-daughter Rosa Praed, the Queensland-born novelist then living in London, Nora Murray-Prior tells a personal and gripping story of Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s. Melodramatic sketches of the colonial bush abound - climatic tribulations, the folly of business men soon wearied by the exertions of the bush, young men exposed to "temptation" in Queensland's backblocks and the fluctuating rural labour supply and demand. Female loneliness, birth trauma, domestic duties and sexual issues also enter this tale with astonishing frankness and sensitivity. Here is a dialogue scarcely encountered in the writing of Queensland's past.

Historians generally have been more interested in the political and economic developments of Queensland that have shaped it as the most self-consciously separate and different of the Australian states. Consequently, few attempts have been made to explain the sexual interactions, relationships and resistances which have cultivated an invertebrate sunshine state chauvinism. Yet the "family-fixated conservatism" that dominated Queensland's political culture in the late twentieth century - sensational exemplified by raids on fertility-control clinics and the persecution of homosexuals - is not merely a recent phenomenon.2

Marriage and birth rates, sexual imbalances, patterns of employment, legal codes, sexual and domestic violence and feminist activism have taken on great distinctiveness in the history of Queensland. Rapid growth of this extensive frontier colony was accompanied by near-universal marriage among women. Between 1859 and 1889 Queensland experienced the highest marriage rate of all the colonies.3 More than three-quarters of adult women were married or widowed in this period.
ninety per cent of women living in country areas such as the Darling Downs or the Kennedy district were married. By 1891, only three per cent of women reaching middle age had never married, compared with seven per cent of Victorian women. The situation was reversed for males, as more than twenty-five per cent of Queensland men in this age group had never married.

Male partners were freely available in this colony. Two years after separation from New South Wales in 1859, Queensland's rural masculinity ratio of 201 males to every 100 females was the highest sex-imbalance of all the Australian colonies. This imbalance was magnified in certain regions. Over eight times as many adult males as females lived in the pastoral and mining district of Kennedy in north Queensland, for example, just after the rush of men to the surrounding goldfields. The rural ratio of 171 males to 100 females at the turn of the century was still higher than other states, except for Western Australia. Only in the large settled urban districts such as Brisbane and Toowoomba did any sex balance become established by the 1870s.²

Marriage was considered the optimal means of economic and sexual protection for young women. Queensland's longstanding pre-industrial base of pastoralism, plantation agriculture and mining stymied opportunities for the diversification and expansion of women's paid labour. The reduced opportunities for paid employment obviously made it difficult for single women to remain independent. The 1880s and 1890s, usually hailed as a period of considerable advancement of women's employment options, were decades of modest growth in the Queensland female workforce. About one in three young women were paid workers. These women were typically young and unmarried. They comprised one-sixth of Queensland's total secondary workforce, heavily concentrated in the domestic service industry. Women living in rural areas particularly encountered a dearth of productive and profitable spheres of employment.⁵ The proportion of Queensland women living in rural areas was forty-eight per cent in 1871, the figure for men being sixty-five per cent. This high percentage reflected the colony's obsession with rural industry and decentralised population. By 1901, twenty-five per cent of the female population and thirty-six per cent of the male population lived in rural areas. Young women were also seen to be vulnerable to the predatory sexual behaviour of large numbers of colonial bachelors, especially in Queensland's backblocks where rape and prostitution were prevalent.

But the sexual economics of marriage suggest this protection proved illusory for women. Wifehood entailed certain exploitative obligations and transactions, which were codified by colonial law. This included sexual and reproductive demands, the focus of the first section of this chapter. The second part discusses women's contribution to
Queensland's rurally-based economy through domestic, farm and station labour. While Aboriginal women comprised a large proportion of the population, there is little information about them in the demographic and economic sources used here.

Sexuality

Pervasive notions about voracious male sexuality in the late nineteenth century suggest that colonial wives were often vulnerable to unrestrained sexual transactions. Men's exercise of their unchallenged conjugal rights could lead to wives conceiving more children than they could manage to rear without enormous physical and emotional hardship. Medical experts believed that the desire for gratification or "sexual appetite" was stronger in men, while women's "sexual instinct" was sublimated as the desire to reproduce. As large family size was a distinguishing characteristic of colonial Queensland, most wives endured the physical and psychological burdens associated with childbearing, childrearing and high rates of infant death.

Mary Alice Dick's birthing experiences provide a poignant example of how the biological capacity of women to bear children translated into the destiny of individual women. Upon her arrival in North Queensland to join her husband on the Palmer goldfields in 1876, Mary Dick became pregnant with her third child after five years of married life. In 1880 she gave birth to her fourth child. During the next thirteen years, she bore another eight children every one to two years. The first twenty-two years of Mary Dick's married life, the years of her youth and vitality, were devoted to pregnancy or recovering from childbirth, leading to frequent immobility. As only seven of her twelve children lived to adulthood, she was also forced to withstand the emotional pains accompanying infant tragedies.

Although Mary Dick's fertility experience became less common from the late nineteenth century, when the birthrate declined significantly in Australia and other Anglo-Saxon countries, the trend to family limitation in Queensland was relatively slow. The colony experienced the highest crude birthrate of all the Australian colonies for much of the period from 1870 to the mid-1890s. Important demographic features were the distinctively high propensity for women to marry, the youthful population of the colony and the influx of immigrants of reproductive age in the 1880s. The average age of marriage for women in Queensland was 23, for men 27 years. New South Wales women, by comparison, married at an average age of nearly 25 by the end of the century. In the first decade of this period, there were 40.38 births for every 1,000
persons living, compared with equivalent figures averaging between 35 and 38 births in southern colonies. In the 1880s, a drop in the birthrate was offset by the immigration wave, creating a return to the high rates of the early 1870s. It was only in the 1890s that the birthrate began its pronounced decline in Queensland, although the 1895 rate of 32.85 births per 1,000 persons was again the highest of the Australian colonies.

Seen from the perspective of family size, the relatively slow fertility decline in Queensland suggests that white women continued to bear an average of six or seven children well into the late nineteenth century. This approximation of the average size of families, however, is historically contingent upon the regional location, ethnic origin, education, and occupation of the parents. The differences in average family size in Queensland were most conspicuous in comparisons of rural and urban areas. For example, family size underwent a slow contraction in agricultural regions such as the Darling Downs, where the typical farm family used its numerous offspring as a built-in labour reserve. The average number of children ever born to urban-dwelling women aged 20 to 24 in 1881 was 5.6, whereas the number born to women in extra-metropolitan areas was closer to 7 children. Queensland experienced the highest average number of children ever born to wives aged between 45 and 59 years in 1911.

High rates of miscarriage and infant mortality meant that most married women's lives were occupied with pregnancy more often than these estimates indicate. Infant mortality rates in Queensland remained tragically high throughout the second half of the nineteenth century: approximately one infant in eight died before it reached one year of age during the period 1870 to 1895. This was a higher rate than in other colonies, especially during the summer months. Infant deaths usually occurred before the child reached one month, and were attributed to diseases associated with poor sanitary conditions as well as injudicious feeding techniques. The anguish of thousands of mothers who witnessed the deaths of their infants and children probably paralleled the response of Drayton mother, Katie Hume, after the death of her second child in April 1869: "Of course a tiny baby like my little treasure cannot be missed by others as he is by his mother. To me there is a dreadful blank. That little, unconscious babe was the centre round which everything seemed to revolve". The perception of women themselves was that the grief when children succumbed to disease or died from accidents was an inescapable burden understood only by mothers who had experienced a similar loss. As one Brisbane woman explained, "It is a great blessing to be a mother, but there is the possibility of sorrow in the relation known only to those who have been in the depths themselves".
Accentuating women’s difficult resignation to infant deaths was their own awareness of the hazards and physical demands of giving birth itself. Diaries and letters of colonial Queensland women offer striking insights into the fears and often resentment of repeated childbearing. But it must be stressed that the overall picture is necessarily partial, owing to the limitations of evidence, and because the writings of these women were strongly influenced by their socio-economic position. The limited medical capacity to deal with miscarriage, puerperal fever and other maternal complications disadvantaged all classes of women in Queensland in the nineteenth century.17

Obviously the extent of maternal mortality in this era meant that pregnancy and childbirth were viewed with extraordinary circumspection. Parturient women sometimes perceived that their bodies could yield a dead infant or carry the seeds of their own destruction. As one pregnant Brisbane mother noted, it had "worked on her mind... [how] the fate of one might possibly be the fate of the other".18 When Katie Hume suffered painful labour contractions, she admitted that she was "obliged to attend to all the final arrangements in case the end should be near".19 Similarly, a mother confided to Helen McConochie in 1885 that she "made every preparation before Annie was born and I’ll do the same thing so that if death should come I will not be entirely unprepared".20 It is extremely difficult, though, to ascertain the degree to which such fears reflected the reality of high maternal death rates. For much of this period, five mothers died for every one thousand live births, according to official medical sources.21 These figures did not significantly improve until the discovery of antibiotics in the 1940s, when a renewed interest in maternal health and welfare became apparent.

Not all women were uncritical exponents of the nineteenth century lauding of marriage and maternity. Apart from the fears of death, the prospect of often repeated motherhood brought hardship and anxiety for some wives. Some women would have preferred a longer period to adapt to marriage before coping with maternal responsibilities. Others admitted to a measure of "disgust" at such successive conceptions with only short intervals between them. Helen McConochie, a Brisbane mother who bore five children during the 1880s, captured the strains associated with seemingly incessant childbearing when she wrote in a diary in 1886: "What a ceaseless round is this. Before one little one is afoot there is another cast on my care and I feel incapable of it and what does it come to? ... No no grind on and on and when you reach the meridian of life you will be used up... [and] sink into your grave".22 Perhaps the most detailed chronicles of childbirth in Queensland are the letters of Nora Murray-Prior, the wife of Queensland Legislative Councillor Thomas Lodge Murray-Prior and aunt of Australia’s nationalist poet A.B. (Banjo) Paterson. From 1873 to 1885, she bore eight children, but promised
to rear her own four daughters as "happy old maids". Her perceptions of childbirth and childrearing were affected by her personal experiences of the emotional and physical pain of miscarriage and prolonged or difficult labour. Along with her own tribulations, she vividly recounted her friends' and relatives' nine-month path to what she consistently referred to as their "doom". The letters were seemingly used to cope with the physical and psychological manifestations of childbirth, as there was often a noticeable interregnum between births: "I cannot write letters just before an event being 'usually ... under a sense of woe' at such times and I may add under vague sense of injury too".23

Mrs Murray-Prior admitted to living in "morbid horror of a large family" and on occasion welcomed miscarriages to alleviate the burden of childbearing. Each conception was tinged with dismay and foreboding gloom. After giving birth to her sixth child, Julius, in March 1884, she suffered perineal tears and subsequent haemorrhage which hampered her recovery. Postpartum discomfort and sometimes permanent physical debility was a possibility for many colonial women who did not succumb to the labour itself. But it was only nine months before Mrs Murray-Prior found herself pregnant again: "What will you say to me? [H]ow will you manifest your disgust? When I tell you that I am again sick, sorry and expecting. You can imagine my own feelings on the subject .... What will become of all my little ones of whom the world stands in no need?".24 Her daughter, Ruth Angela, born in July 1885, was her last child.

Mrs Murray-Prior's descriptions of pregnancy and childbirth are redolent with images of disgust and penance. That marriage entailed some amount of sexual subservience to her husband is highlighted by this resentment and the vague "sense of injury" that accompanied each conception. After explaining a friend's recent difficult confinement, she wrote in 1881: "A wife in Australia has a hard time of it. I am not sure that in hot climates polygamy would not be advisable".25 Implicit in this statement was the pervasive understanding of male sexuality as hydraulic and driven, and the resultant misery involving unwanted pregnancies for some colonial women. Mrs Murray-Prior became more explicit. By late 1883, she reported to Rosa Praed that her long protest against her husband's approach to their sexual relations was becoming effective: "Papa ... is beginning to understand that I am not his ideal woman whose chief delight should be bearing men into the world and struggling and slaving to keep them there afterwards, that I can never be made into her, and therefore that he must just make the best of what I am".26

Such responses showed that women were actively engaged in defining their own lives, even if they were making choices within very restrictive and exploitative boundaries. While it would be wrong to make too much of one woman's precarious
PART 2 HISTORIES

physical and emotional vulnerability to male sexual demands, it does reflect considerable unease among women about the expected sexual acquiescences of marriage.

The assumption that male sexual urges were difficult to contain was institutionalised by nineteenth century divorce law. The law allowed a husband to divorce his wife for one single act of adultery, whilst a petitioning wife had to show adultery coupled with incest, rape, sodomy, bestiality, or adultery with cruelty or desertion for two years. As Queensland's foremost radical journalist and trade unionist William Lane described the "iron-bound marriage law": "Under existing law a man may have as many mistresses as he pleases and the so-called wife of his bosom cannot release herself from a degrading alliance; if she slips once he can arise in the majesty of his indignation and claim his freedom". This state endorsement of men's indulgence in extra-marital sexual liaisons remained until 1922 when adultery, desertion for three years, cruelty, incurable insanity and habitual drunkenness became separate grounds for divorce for both sexes. More than four decades had passed since New South Wales legislated for a husband's adultery as a single ground of divorce in 1881. And because Queensland was the penultimate state to grant full female suffrage in 1905, following the federal precedent in 1902, there was very little women could do to alter these power relations.

Economics

The daily sexual economics of marriage also entailed a clear separation of work roles. Wives were expected to confine themselves to domestic life and to the economic protection of husbands for subsistence and shelter. The public sphere of commerce and politics was men's sphere. But a wife had no guaranteed portion of the wage of the male breadwinner. That many women struggled to subsist on the "capricious doles" of their husbands, to quote Sydney feminist Rose Scott, was a common colonial observation. Drawing an evocative parallel between marriage and a "Labour and Capital business", Gresley Lukin wrote in the Boomerang in 1891: "... he holds out the cheque-book and doles out as little as may be for household expenses; while she does housekeeper's and head nurse's work within a fixed salary, and her daily toil is most certainly not within the limits of eight hours". Many women argued that the negligible "pin money" afforded them by their husbands trapped them involuntarily into economic dependency for their lifetime. "Pin money" implied that women's domestic or household labour was auxiliary, rather than central to the colonial economy.
The Sexual Economics of Colonial Marriage

In August 1885, "Ethel" ventured the generalization in a letter to the Queensland Figaro that "too much is said by the men, in a light and flippant manner, about the anxiety of young ladies to secure a home and a husband". The former teacher, earned enough money to support herself adequately but, upon marrying, found her economic independence and comfort substantially eroded. "Why should girls", she asked, "struggle to become the slave of a husband and children, and tie themselves to a man when they might be free and happy?" The editor's evident discomfort with the woman's forthright questioning drew an astringent rebuke: "Lots of self-supporting young ladies have married and have to go very light on pin money after that, and still they do not squeal, as you, dear Ethel. They did not marry for revenue only. They married for protection .... No, Ethel, if you married expecting to be a dormant partner during the day and then go through Mr Ethel's pockets at night and declare a dividend, of course life is full of bitter regret and disappointment". What was not emphasized by such comments was the degree to which marriage offered economic protection to men. Although late nineteenth century advice to wives claimed their domestic sphere was a "calm retreat" where "wounds of the spirit and the courage are healed", marriage contained the assumption of a range of economic duties and functions.

As Kerreen Reiger has demonstrated, this ideal of the economically dependent wife ensconced in a well managed, thrifty and hygienic household was reformulated in the late nineteenth century by the professional rationalization of the domestic world by middle-class scientific experts. Integral to this instruction were the benefits that a wife would provide to protect the economic comfort of her spouse. "Advice to a Young Man", for example, stressed in 1882: "You marry and your wife will bring tact, and love, and skill, and domestic genius, and a womanly economy that will clearly double your salary". Others stated bluntly that bachelors would "find a difference [by the state of their purses] between a wife and a landlady" if prepared to forego the pleasures of independence for marriage. Especially in times of economic depression, the young Queensland bachelor should ensure that marriage reaped financial benefits rather than unnecessary extravagance. The letters of Brisbane storekeeper, Reuben Nicklin, record a series of careful calculations about the financial value of marriage in the late 1860s. To Nicklin, it was critical that his future bride be "careful but not stingy" and he expressed some relief in dispensing with the housekeeping money "because my intended wife is not the sort to keep a servant if she can do the work herself".

The colonial home was the locus of constant and arduous domestic labour for women. Domestic tasks included washing, mangling, ironing, preparation and processing of foodstuffs and sewing, as well as the routine nursing jobs still expected of
PART 2 HISTORIES

many mothers. This household work was highly labour-intensive in the absence of gas, electricity, and internal plumbing from most nineteenth century urban and rural households. Most women cooked on a wood or coal-burning range or a primitive colonial oven which required constant scouring and blackleading, and the cleaning of heavy iron saucepans required water to be carried in buckets from an outside pump or tank. Laundering, maintenance, and making of clothing and household linen were also time-consuming but indispensable tasks. Clothes were lifted when heavy with water and burning with steam from the laundry boiler, and required draining before being subjected to the appropriate rinsing, wringing, blueing, starching, and mangling processes. The use of iron or wooden tubs for laundering, which had to be lifted and emptied, could prove a dangerous strain, especially for a pregnant woman. Colonial women complained of the poor construction of their houses and the heavy, intricate articles of furniture which meant additional dusting and polishing.35

Women's role in the colonial household was partly eased by the introduction of labour-saving devices. Advertisements for new appliances appeared from the late 1880s in Queensland newspapers, including the Boomerang, a popular working-class oriented journal. "The Housewife" column replaced the general ladies' column in the Queenslander in October 1891. In this new column, reports revolved around methods of modernizing traditional habits and creating functional arrangements of working areas for the middle-class housewife. Yet these changing methods of household management touched primarily upon the urban middle-class household, since costs and availability doubtlessly prevented working-class and rural women from access to these appliances.

While thirty-five per cent of Queensland women in paid employment worked as domestic servants and laundresses in private lodgings in 1891, much evidence suggests that the supply of domestic help was insufficient to meet the demand of middle-class families. At the same time, Anglo-Queensland women benefitted from the colony's relatively high population of Aboriginal servants, who provided farm manual labour and midwifery support, and from Queensland's high immigrant intake during the 1880s and 1890s. Most colonial women were required to perform a large portion of the family's domestic labour. This was especially so of the forty-eight per cent of women who lived in relatively remote areas of Queensland as part of a family economic unit in 1871. Nora Murray-Prior undoubtedly echoed the feelings of many working-class married women when she wrote tersely in 1883: "It has been work, work, work with us [Papa and me] from morning till night lately, and neither of us have felt satisfied enough with life to sit down and write letters in rare intervals of repose."36
Many women accepted the routines of domestic labour, having been socialized early to assume family and work responsibilities. As Alicia Beit, a middle-class mother who had experienced rural conditions at Drayton on the Darling Downs, wrote from London in 1882: "... in the colonies girls manage to pick up sufficient education for the state of life to which they are called out there .... [T]heir bringing up does not cause them to consider the inevitable domestic duties of colonial life as any hardship - my girls would, I fear jib if I now went out again having got spoiled by having had everything done for them".37

Many families simply could not afford servants. The housemaid's annual average wage (including board and lodging) of £20 to £30 in 1885, for example, represented between one-third and one-half of the annual income of a family dependent on a single male skilled breadwinner.38 The diary entries of a Rockhampton mother of five, Mary Allen, reveal the chronic economic pressures produced by the erratic employment of her husband who ran the gamut of farming, dairying, journalism, and mercantile pursuits in Queensland before a protracted spate of unemployment during the 1890s depression. In the case of Mrs Allen, and many like her, domestic duties were manifold and any assistance, even at a pittance wage, was difficult to maintain: "I have had the help in the morning lately of a little girl of 12, but have had to let her go as 2/6 per week for wages is not manageable any longer, indeed never should have been paying it, it should have been going towards baker’s bills. I have been hoping things would improve, but no, worse and worse".39

Supplementary work in domestic industry was frequently carried out by mothers in times of need or economic crisis. Wives established their own laundressing businesses from home, sewed clothes for the numerous bachelors on the northern goldfields, took in infants to nurse and assisted their husbands in small-scale commercial enterprises in a variety of unrecorded economic practices.40 Many joined the ranks of the relatively cheap supply of female industrial labour amenable to intermittent employment in peak periods and seasons.41

In rural areas, wives' work underpinned the family economy. Some were paid in a formal capacity for employment in the laundries, dairies or gardens of farms and properties. More commonly, married women constituted an unpaid labour reserve in the family economy where the household was the basic site of production. In 1886, just under one thousand Queensland women were engaged (as either unpaid or paid workers) in agricultural pursuits.42

These workers predominated in the Darling Downs region of south-east Queensland at each census collection. Many of these women would have been the wives of the small selectors placed on the land by the Selection Acts from the mid-1860s. Historian Duncan Waterson has revealed that the sanguine yeoman dream of small-scale selection on the
Darling Downs before the turn of the century was deflated by crippling summer rainfall patterns, inferior land, lack of capital and political powerlessness.43 Few single women could participate in the land settlement schemes, let alone manage such difficulties. The cost of purchasing land would have taken many years' earnings for women whose wages were usually half that of their male co-workers. Married women, who comprised over eighty per cent of the adult female population in 1871, were excluded from purchasing land under the various Selection Acts. In any case, a woman upon marrying had to surrender her property and earnings to her spouse until the passing of the Married Women's Property Act in 1890, almost a decade later than similar legislation in Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and qualified legislation in New South Wales.

Consequently, the farm labour of wives and children was critical, as the folk hero of the Darling Downs, Steele Rudd, suggested: "With our combined male and female forces and the aid of a sapling lever we rolled the thundering big logs together in the face of hell's own fires; and when there were no logs to roll it was tramp, tramp the day through, gathering armfuls of sticks, while the clothes clung to our backs with a muddy perspiration".44 Most work on the family farm was accomplished by hand. Mechanized farm machinery came slowly to Queensland. Antiquated agricultural methods - "all depending on hands, soil and weather, no brain work, no improved machinery"45 - and the continued bias towards primary production must have slowed the transition from a family economy to a family wage economy.

The diaries and letters of some female settlers in rural Queensland indicate that a multitude of tasks, ranging from the processing of foodstuffs for commercial sale to the making of rugs by tanning skins, were performed by married women and children. As Rockhampton-based Rachel Henning pointed out in 1871: "a good deal of home manufacture goes on in the bush, and it saves a great deal of money".46 The making of cheese and butter and the salting and preparation of meat were the prime responsibilities of women. The work diary kept by Margaret Williams in 1893 while living with her husband and children on a farm near Cressbrook highlights the endless routine of washing, baking, gardening, cheese-making, and the raising of animals which constituted most rural women's labour. Using a primitive colonial cheese press, she helped the family economy by spending several hours daily churning the milk to produce about twenty pounds of butter and three cheeses, and then marketed the surplus. Her typical weekly routine appeared thus: "[Monday] 3rd .... I brought down 11 lbs tea from the roundabout ... filled 13 bladders of lard for town ... made 2 cheeses. [Wednesday] packing cheeses and lard and bacon for town ... [Thursday] I done (sic) the washing and
scrubbed some cheese shelves ... [Friday] busy cheese-making all day ... [Saturday] I killed a cow highback Gaults, had 25 lbs. we separated the milk". This rigorous toil continued through periods of sickness and intense heat: "I have been washing and cheese-making. I feel very bad and tired. It is miserable. So much work and not well".47

In the 1880s, following the introduction of refrigeration, the successful establishment of dairy farms in Queensland relied heavily on women's labour. Dairying was a permitted extension of women's domestic sphere rationalized by the desirability of milkers being of a soft and gentle, hence "feminine" disposition.48 Yet dairying involved early risings and tedious menial work. Only in the early twentieth century did the new milking machinery alleviate the strenuous demands on women's bodies. In the course of one day, a farmer's wife at "Kumbia" near Kingaroy: "milk[ed] twelve cows ... and have three more to come in shortly. It's just as much as I can do to milk or help to milk twice a day and make bread and look after the children. I never have a minute to myself".49

Seasonal patterns of male waged pastoral and agricultural work in Queensland demanded an extension of the traditional gender-coded division of labour. During slow times on their farms, farmers and petty selectors often joined in the annual migration to the shearing sheds to supplement their pitiful income.50 With absent husbands, married women inevitably engaged in "unsexing" and "manly" work for several months of the year. During these periods on the new selections, wrote Isabel Weale in a 1907 farming journal, "We have seen her ringbarking, sloughing, milking, breadmaking, aye - and mustering and killing, and, let us add, none the worse for manly work".51 Similarly, seasonal troughs were catered for by the use of women's labour. When droughts occurred, as one Queensland woman recalled, "breadwinners had to pack up and walk from station to station looking for work. Girls ... had to harrow and plough the fields. It was nothing for my mother to herd cattle in the moonlight till seven o'clock at night".52 Mustering and cattle work, considered degrading for European women and men, were routinely undertaken by Aboriginal women on Queensland's outback stations.53

In addition, many wives assumed financial responsibility for the household. Domestic managers ranged widely in their socio-economic backgrounds. Some farmers' wives, such as Margaret Williams, detailed all of the family's expenses and profits, and were the chief traders in the marketplace for the household's surplus products.54 Similarly, wives of station owners in Queensland ensured that station stores were well-equipped and negotiated the wages and rations of servants and shearing shed hands.55 Writing in 1864, Rachel Henning considered herself an astute managerial "clerk": "I keep
the station books, enter whatever the men buy with their wages in a debtor and credit account, and make up the entire consumption of the station.56

Women’s responsibilities, though, did not match their economic status. As Rose Scott-Cowan recalled: “Women in the farming districts don’t occupy a very high place in the masculine community - being classed usually according to their degree of usefulness with the other animals”.57 What is more, the failure to perform home or farm duties could lead to domestic or sexual violence in a frontier society where guns, horsewhips and other weapons were readily on hand.58

Male breadwinners’ disability, death, or desertion added extra hardships for Queensland women. Most male occupations on the rural frontier, and building construction in the settled areas, held considerable risk of accidents and injuries. When such accidents occurred, casual employment from home became mandatory for women.

With such hazardous working conditions, male life expectancy in colonial Queensland was comparatively low. Longer life expectancy for women (which was improving at the turn of the century) meant impoverished widowhood for many. Widows were concentrated in the urban regions, where employment opportunities and charitable assistance were more available. Approximately ten per cent of adult women living in Brisbane and other main townships were widows throughout the period 1870 to 1900. Rural employers' reluctance to engage men with the “encumbrances” of wives and children led large numbers of urban women to bear the brunt of family expenses and child care.

Reliance on a single male breadwinner or “protector” was clearly a fragile arrangement in a violent frontier environment characterized by illness, sudden death, and considerable geographic mobility. All too often women learned that marriage provided at best only temporary protection against the economic distress of spinsterhood.

Colonial Queensland had the highest rural sexual imbalances, the highest marriage rates, the highest sustained birthrates and family size, and the lowest levels and least diversification of paid female employment. The transition to a family wage economy lagged behind the southern colonies. There were high levels of economic and sexual exploitation of Aboriginal and European women in this masculinist, rurally-oriented society and little effective protection for women within the bounds of matrimony. First-wave feminism came slowly to Queensland owing to the lack of a forum for intellectual debate and the high proportion of women consumed by domestic demands. Such specificities allow us to better understand the “gendered” history of Australia and restore women to the narratives of Queensland’s past.
THE SEXUAL ECONOMICS OF COLONIAL MARRIAGE

Women's experience of "Queensland" has been considerably different to that of other regions. Decentralisation, the predominance of rural industry, cultural isolation and frontier violence shaped women's relationship to the colony, as did assumptions about male sexual and economic power enshrined in legal discriminations. The poignant irony was that, in colonial Queensland, where women generally experienced greater hardships than in other Australian colonies, feminist reform had barely dawned as the century closed.
"Raising an Interrogatory Eyebrow": Women’s Responses to the Infant Welfare Movement in Queensland, 1918–1939

Wendy Selby

Introduction

Leola S., who was born in Rockhampton in 1913, remembers clearly her experiences with her children when they were young. Leola’s story, which I have edited, is as follows:

My first baby was born at the Lady Goodwin Hospital. On the sixth day I wanted to go home but I was told to stay on my back for fourteen days. I was very weak when I finally went home but my mother was there to care for me and the baby. A nurse from the baby clinic visited me and told me to come to the clinic. I did, and I was given a white card with a pink shaded area on it. The baby’s weight was marked on the card after every visit. I tried very hard to follow all the clinic advice. My baby was always near the bottom of the pink mark ... always skinny. The baby had to learn that she was only fed every four hours, even though she cried a lot. I finally weaned the baby onto grouts but I didn’t make them in the double boiler, as the nurse had advised. I made grouts my way! With my next three babies I gave up the idea of four-hourly feeds because I couldn’t bear to hear the baby crying and I rarely attended the clinic except to get the baby weighed. My best source of advice was my mother-in-law who lived nearby. I think it must be hard for the modern mother to manage these days if there are no relatives nearby, especially grandmothers.1

Leola’s experiences with her children, the baby clinic and her female relatives typify the experiences of many Queensland women in the interwar years. Like their mothers and grandmothers before them, the years spent raising children were probably the most important years of their lives. The difference for Leola’s generation, however, was that they were the first women in Queensland to experience fully the infant welfare facilities,
to be advised by baby clinic sisters about the new methods of raising babies, and to be
told that their own mothers knew little about babies.

The invasion of the family by the infant welfare workers and other experts in the
early twentieth century is a common theme in historiographical debates in the field of
family history. Despite differences in the objects of study, theoretical perspectives,
evidence and conclusions, these historians agree on the significance of the expert in early
twentieth century familial relations. It is generally thought that these new experts used
the late nineteenth century principle of scientific management combined with moral
rectitude to justify both their work and their positions of authority, and that most women
were "under the sway" of these authorities by the 1930s. What these histories generally
do not examine, however, is the question of women's culture and women's agency.
Questions such as the extent to which women followed the experts' advice, or made
careful selections of the services offered, and the extent to which the region in which
women lived affected their experiences, are rarely asked. It is these questions this chapter
will address by looking at the infant welfare movement in Queensland between 1918 and
1939.

Because of unique legislation implemented by the Labor Government in 1922,
Queensland makes an interesting case study for assessing the extent to which the experts
were successful in dismantling women's networks. The oral histories of seventy-three
women who raised children and eight infant welfare nurses who worked in Queensland in
the interwar years will be used as evidence of women's experiences of the infant welfare
movement, and will be analysed in conjunction with a critical feminist re-reading of
conventional sources. The oral history project was undertaken because the usual sources
of evidence available to write a history of the infant welfare movement only recorded the
experts' point of view. To prioritise the experiences of women, it seemed necessary to
ask women about either using, or working in, baby clinics. I travelled to seventeen
regions of the state, interviewing women who had raised children before 1940. My
typical interview subject was eighty-four years old and had raised four children. Despite
the limitations of oral evidence, my interviewees' stories provided a wealth of information
not previously recorded.

This chapter will also examine the extent to which women's experiences varied
across regional and racial boundaries. It will be argued that drawing an urban/rural
distinction in women's experiences is problematic because of the mobility of women, and
because of the sparsely populated and rural nature of Queensland during the interwar
years. It will be shown that, throughout the state, white women appeared to have had
common experiences of the infant welfare movement. Racial differences in women's
experiences, on the other hand, were significant. Aboriginal women were discouraged from using government services that were provided supposedly for all. Given the rigidity of the advice and methods of the baby clinics, doubtless this was a blessing in disguise for the Aboriginal community. Overall, this research will focus on the commonality of women's experiences and suggest that women's cultures have been resistant to any changes in childrearing practices which women did not feel were useful or necessary.

**Women and the experts**

Little historical work specifically addresses the ways in which women's support networks were affected by the growth of social workers, doctors, nurses, baby clinic sisters, family counsellors and teachers. Masculinist assumptions in the discipline often prevent women being seen to have a culture of their own, and histories have tended to focus on the (supposed) benefits of the scientific management of infants and public health campaigns. Maternal ignorance is usually assumed without question. Differences in these histories are due to different emphases in explaining the decline in the infant mortality rate, a mortality statistic used to indicate a region's health and prosperity. Milton Lewis and Claudia Thame typify those historians who have argued that the reduction in infant deaths was primarily the result of the infant welfare movement's success in educating mothers in general baby care and domestic hygiene. Others, such as Douglas Gordon and Bryan Gandevia, have attempted to look at the broader social and economic conditions, such as improved living conditions and smaller families. Feminist histories generally concentrate on what the experts said and did to women. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English provide exhaustive evidence for the United States, showing how the experts exercised their power and authority over women. More recent works by Jill Julius Matthews, Kerreen Reiger and Desley Deacon about Australian women have also focussed on the success of interventionist practices, without fully questioning the extent to which women might have ignored, or made careful selections of, the experts' advice.

One problem with many infant welfare histories is that their main sources of evidence are the reports of infant welfare professionals. Not surprisingly, women's experiences are not recorded or deemed worthy of attention in these reports, and their writers had much to gain (such as increased budgets) by presenting their department's work in a positive manner. For instance, the annual reports of Queensland's infant welfare division continually took the credit for any decline in the infant mortality rate and blamed any increases (as there were in 1932 and 1933) on the lack of more extensive
infant welfare and antenatal services. These "official" documents require closer scrutiny in order to avoid equating prescriptions with practices. More attention must be given to women's culture and women's responses to the barrage of services offered to them in the interwar years.

Another bias in Australian histories of the infant welfare movement is that only two cities' records are generally considered: Sydney and Melbourne. The question of geographical specificity is rarely addressed: what happened in Sydney is thought to have happened in Australia, despite every state, and regions within states, having different policies and practices. Queensland as a region of study has been neglected, and I have yet to read any history which mentions Queensland's 1922 Maternity Act. One of the most comprehensive and exciting studies of the infant welfare movement in Australia, Philippa Mein Smith's thesis "Reformers, Mothers and Babies", makes only scant and vague references to Queensland's practices. Queensland women's experiences of their government's attempts to destroy their traditional support networks need to be told. Their experiences not only provide evidence of the importance of women's cultures, but also suggest that women's networks were difficult to dismantle.

The 1922 Maternity Act

The Queensland Maternity Act of 1922 was designed to make better provision for the establishment and maintenance of maternity hospitals and baby clinics, with specific emphasis on providing maternal and infant welfare services to women in remote regions of the state. The Act provided, at the Queensland Government's expense, fully equipped maternity hospitals and baby clinics in all parts of the state, as well as a training centre for infant welfare nurses in Brisbane. By 1925, 57 maternity hospitals and 10 baby clinics had been built and, by 1938, 94 maternity hospitals and 122 baby clinic centres (or sub-centres) were in operation. Financed by the state-operated Golden Casket lottery profits and fully controlled by the Home Office, the implementation of the Maternity Act had far-reaching effects on the women of Queensland. Only those aspects of the act's implementation which affected infant welfare will be considered in this chapter. During the second reading of the bill in parliament, the Labor Government outlined its four aims in introducing this legislation: to decrease the mortality of mothers and babies, to increase the birthrate, to increase outback settlement, and to train mothers in how to care for children. While these concerns were common in Australian governments in the 1920s, no other government built and controlled such an extensive set of institutions to address...
them. To better understand this legislation, it is helpful to examine briefly the type of government in power in the 1920s and some reasons for its populist support.

The Labor Party came to power in Queensland in 1915 and, with the exception of one term of office between 1929 and 1932, held power until 1957. It was a highly idealistic party in its early years and was successful in implementing many of its socialist goals, such as the abolition of the Legislative Council, public ownership of the tramways, and unemployment and workers' compensation insurance. Support for the party came not only from typical working class, urban regions, but also from many rural areas. In addition to strong populist support throughout the state, the public service, in particular the key bureaucrat behind the Maternity Act's planning and implementation, Charles Chuter (Assistant Under Secretary of the Home Office), were also supportive of the Labor Party's policies. One major concern of the government, particularly after World War I, was encouraging settlement in remote rural areas. Definite ideas were held by the Labor Party as to the "type" of person most suitable for Queensland's settlement. A common slogan, "that a native born immigrant is the state's best asset", reflected the government's way of thinking about the state, its development, and the role of women, in the 1920s.

The Maternity Act, and the effects visualised from its implementation, occupied a privileged position in the Labor Party's overall policy for Queensland in the interwar years. It was considered to be "the noblest legislation ever placed on the Statute Book", and that because of the Maternity Act "the lives of thousands of young Queenslanders and their mothers are being saved annually". It was perceived that, by providing hospitalised childbirth facilities and by placing infant rearing experts within the reach of every Queensland woman, large families would be raised in Queensland, advancing the state's prosperity. Every opening of a baby clinic (or a maternity hospital) was a gala occasion, with all the local dignitaries attending. Grand speeches were made, usually by the Home Secretary, about how the Labor Party was helping every mother "do her duty" for Queensland. The baby clinic was always referred to as Labor's "monument to motherhood".

At no time was the (perceived) correlation between infant welfare work and the decline in infant mortality questioned. On the contrary: it was thought that only by expanding the clinics' work could infant mortality, especially for babies over one month, be reduced. Four baby clinics had already been opened in 1918 in Brisbane's inner city suburbs and the staff trained at the Tresillian Training School in Sydney. Further expansion of infant welfare work was limited by a shortage of funds, a problem neatly solved by the use of Golden Casket profits. A training school for nurses undertaking an
The Labor Government's infant welfare program was expensive. The government was determined to provide all mothers with the services but, to keep full control of infant welfare, refused to allow any privately-raised funds to be used to supplement the costs. Each new baby clinic cost approximately £4,000 to build and £500 a year to operate. The railway car cost over £2,500 to buy and convert, and its operational costs, which included a staff of two nurses, must have been high. During the short period of office of the Country and Progressive National Party (1929-1932), funds for baby clinics were restricted. Once Labor resumed power, however, the clinics were greatly expanded. By June 1939, the operating costs of the 122 clinics and sub-centres had reached over £24,000 per year. The government could now claim to be reaching the majority of Queensland's mothers. Of the 220,459 total attendances in that year, 11,787 (59 per cent of total births in the state) were newborn infants.22

The fundamental difference between Queensland's infant welfare program and those found elsewhere in the interwar years was the centralised control held by the Queensland Government over all aspects of infant welfare work. The government refused help or
financial assistance from voluntary organisations, much to the dismay of some women's groups such as the Mothercraft Association. All other states had a mixture of state and local governments working together with active and influential voluntary associations run by white, middle class women. In Victoria there were two conflicting methods of training infant welfare nurses and advising mothers and, as a result, there were bitter disputes between the women's organisations as to whose method was best. In New South Wales, the Baby Clinic Board which controlled the clinics was affiliated with the National Council of Women until the New South Wales Government took over in 1925. Even then, most clinics had a citizens' committee which took an active part in their activities and finances. South Australia's Mothers and Babies Health Association, Western Australia's Infant Health Association and New Zealand's Royal Society for the Health of Women and Children were primarily voluntary organisations with government grants assisting privately-raised funds. The United States did not have a comparable system because of the development of the medical specialty of paediatrics, but in Britain the control of the baby clinics was shared between voluntary associations and local governments.

The combination of diversified interests, unstable finances, the involvement of voluntary associations with various degrees of interest and effect, and often unclear delineations of power within these numerous groups, resulted in the infant welfare institutions in these regions being less available to (and therefore less able to exert influence on) women. By contrast, Queensland had one system, one site of power and one carefully implemented program that aimed to bring the infant welfare experts' advice to all women. Therefore one might expect that the experts in Queensland were extremely successful in bringing women "under the sway" of the new scientific methods for rearing infants. It was considered that, to "convert" women, they not only needed to un-learn what they knew, but also had to ignore and discredit any sources of advice or assistance that would contradict the new knowledge.

Abolish the old lady

At the opening of the first baby clinic at Woolloongabba, Brisbane, in 1918, the honorary medical officer of the clinic, Dr Paul, announced that "the clinic would abolish the old lady"! He went on to describe the "great amount of evil" caused by "the quack" (unregistered nurse) and the old lady who gave advice to young mothers. The belief that advice from "the old lady" was a threat both to Queensland's future and to the success
of the infant welfare movement permeated the work of Queensland's infant welfare experts in the 1920s. To educate mothers successfully with the newly constructed knowledge of infant rearing, it was believed that existing ways of thinking about babies had to be challenged. Older mothers were suddenly seen to be ignorant, and their advice a dangerous threat to the new generation of Queenslanders.

Although concern about women's ignorance of mothercraft was by no means restricted to Queensland, the infant welfare experts' verbal attack on older women's advice appears unprecedented. Opening Rockhampton's clinic in 1923, the Home Secretary, James Stopford, explained how the government felt about old women. Concerned that young mothers would not use the clinic, he told an audience of over one hundred people that "the trouble was that the younger women would use them but they probably met an old lady who will say 'What's the use of these new fangled notions, my dear. Look at me. The old ways never did me any harm. I've had 12 children, and buried 11 of 'em, and I'm alright'."28 The Assistant Home Secretary, Michael Kirwan, told the gathering at Bundaberg's baby clinic in 1924 that "women are prone to believe the old haphazard system under which they were brought up, or under which most of their children survived the ordeal, is good enough for the baby today". He recommended that the citizens of Bundaberg ignore this source of advice and look to the new experts of infant welfare for future help.29

The campaign in Queensland to destroy women's traditional sources of advice in infant rearing culminated with posters displayed in every baby clinic throughout the state in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Unfortunately no copy of the poster exists today, but many baby clinic nurses have described it to me. In the centre of the poster was a drawing of two women talking over a back fence, one woman holding a crying baby. The caption, in bold letters, stated: "DON'T TAKE ADVICE FROM THE WOMAN NEXT DOOR, WHO'S HAD TWELVE CHILDREN BUT ONLY REARED FOUR". One nurse, who trained in 1928 and worked for the government in infant welfare for 39 years, recalls that the poster was designed by Turner. Although this poster repeats the sentiments expressed in Labor Government speeches made prior to 1926, Turner adamantly believed that the advice of old women was a major concern and a hindrance to the success of his department's work. A close reading of his annual reports and other publications reveals the extent to which he felt traditional advice threatened Queensland's babies by creating a "want of knowledge" of mothercraft. Turner believed that "the enormous majority of [infant] deaths ... must be traced ultimately to one cause: want of knowledge".30
The experts' biggest concern was the belief that the traditional methods of feeding prescribed by old women and midwives caused infant diarrhoea. Mein Smith explains in detail how the new work in bacteriology strengthened the assumption of the infant welfare experts that diarrhoeal disease was caused by either the wrong food, too much food or (less frequently) the absorption of poisonous bacteria. Turner, and his successor, Dr Mathewson, thought that overfeeding was "a killer", even in totally breastfed babies, and gave their nurses strict rules for advising women on exact feeding schedules. Not all doctors agreed that overfeeding was dangerous. One outspoken critic was Dr Felix Arden, Medical Superintendent of the Hospital For Sick Children in Brisbane between 1938 and 1946. He recalls with sadness that "you could pick these 'clinic' babies because they were underweight and undersize".

Disagreement within the medical profession had little impact on the infant welfare department's work and nurses continued to "educate" Queensland mothers with Turner's advice on feeding from 1926 until the 1940s. In areas where a clinic was established, new mothers would receive a visit from an infant welfare nurse either in hospital or at home, inviting her to attend the baby clinic. A typical visit to a clinic involved a "test feed" (where the baby was weighed before and after a feed to determine how many ounces of milk the baby had received), advice on strict four-hourly feeding schedules, a general discussion of the baby's health and home environment, and warnings against the use of a dummy. If the woman was assessed as having feeding difficulties, she was also given instructions on making "modified milk", a milk formula made from fresh cows' milk, boiled water, sugar of milk (a type of sugar) and cod liver oil emulsion.

Whenever stocks were available, all mothers received a copy of *The Queensland Mothers Book*, the government's major instruction manual which Turner wrote in 1927. Based on the New South Wales Government manual, *Notes For Mothers*, this book was revised several times by Turner. Each revision offered similar advice on infant feeding schedules, infant care, maternity care, recipes and patterns. Turner stated clearly in the Preface that his reason for circulating *The Queensland Mothers Book* was because "most of the troubles of babies and small children come from want of knowledge". What was feared was the knowledge and skills in raising children which women shared amongst themselves. "Experts", such as Turner, spent much of their professional lives trying to eradicate women's cultures.
A baby clinic nurse, discussing the poster warning women about their neighbour's advice being likely to kill their baby, recalls "that a lot of people took exception to this". Mothers' memories of the poster and of the clinic advice in the 1920s and 1930s provides supportive evidence. All the women I interviewed were asked to comment on the government's claim that rearing children required expert assistance. Without exception the mothers, even the "clinic mothers", thought their own skills quite adequate. Hilda G. thought women "used their own judgement and their relatives", and Mona Y. believed that the suggestion that she couldn't feed her babies properly was ridiculous: "it was men that said that, probably". Interestingly, many of these women, now great grandmothers, worried about mothers today not having confidence in their mothering skills. Helen S. wondered why "they are wanting to be stuck at the clinic or the doctors all the time", because raising babies "never worried me".

The infant welfare movement's claim to be successfully reaching the majority of mothers by 1939 rests on the assumption not only that women were attending the clinics regularly, but also that they were following the clinic's advice. In my sample of seventy-three mothers, fifty-five had access to a baby clinic while their children were young. Of these mothers, sixty-nine per cent attended the clinic regularly for at least one of their babies. However, forty per cent of these women said they took no notice of the nurse's advice on feeding or any other matter, unless it coincided with their own family's opinion. These women went to the clinic for other reasons: it was either a social outing or an opportunity to get the baby weighed. The nurses were not unaware of this situation. Emily M., who worked as a clinic nurse from 1932 until 1947, recalls "that you knew damn well they never did anything you told them but they used to come ... I suppose it was a meeting place".

The social outing was extremely important for women, and a common reason for attending baby clinics. For many, it was their only respite from the house or farm, other than to shop, and therefore a time to swap ideas and compare babies. It is difficult to assess just how many women attended the clinic simply for the sake of seeking other women's company. It certainly provided women with a legitimate excuse to socialise, either at the clinic itself, or visiting friends when they came into town to attend the clinic. Other women enjoyed the company of the nurses and, as Doris M. expressed it, were pleased "that somebody else was thinking of you and thinking of the baby". Enjoying the nurses' company at the Nambour clinic in 1937, however, did not prevent Doris from ignoring most of the advice and hiding her baby's dummy under the pillow of the
pram. One woman found the conversation in the waiting room of more value. Joan B. remembers the clinic in Fortitude Valley in 1933 advising her to breastfeed her nine month old baby, even though the baby was very thin and pale. A woman in the waiting room told her to give the baby arrowroot biscuits and olive oil, which she did, and then Joan B. never went back to the clinic because she was frightened of the nurses' advice.

These social visits to the clinic brought women into contact with the experts' feeding advice, but with mixed results. Women, even those without milk, were constantly advised to breastfeed. Irene W. remembers the nurse at Mackay spending over one hour trying to re-establish her milk. She thought this exercise a total waste of time but she still enjoyed the outing to the clinic every week: "I always tried to take their advice but not as far as feeding the baby because you know what you can do and what you can't do". Some women just lied about their babies, said whatever they thought would please the nurse, and hid the dummy. Others told the truth. Beatrice S., of Warwick, told the nurse that she was feeding her baby arrowroot biscuits: "the nurse said, 'if you want to kill your child that is the quickest way to kill him'. And I thought, ahhh, my mother fed my sisters on arrowroot biscuits and reared them".

Many women found it difficult to accept advice on mothering from a nurse who was a young, single woman. Joyce N. recalls the nurse telling her that she knew more about babies than Joyce did. When asked if she agreed, Joyce replied, "No. I don't now. I think if they had had children...yes...but if they hadn't, no". To counteract this problem, the clinics tried to select nurses who were the least dogmatic and the most "grandmotherly" looking, preferably with some grey hair. All the baby clinic nurses agreed that the mothers paid more attention to them as they became older and greyer. Ironically, Turner tried to select as infant welfare experts nurses who most resembled the "old ladies" whose advice they so blatantly ridiculed.

Clinic nurses were required to visit the home of every new mother in their area to entice her to learn the clinic's way of raising a baby. The department even bought three Baby Austins in 1927 to assist the nurses with this work, despite only one nurse having a driver's licence. The new mothers were found either through information passed on by the Registrar of Births, or by seeing nappies hanging on the line. It was an aspect of clinic work most nurses did not enjoy because of the hostility and rudeness shown by many women when confronted by a veiled nurse on their doorstep. The nurses to whom I spoke all recall the frustration of this happening after spending time, and often a tram fare, locating the house of the new mother. Doris B., who completed her infant welfare training in 1929, recalls her experiences of these home visits sixty years later as annoying, because the nurse never knew how she would be received: "some of them
abused you and some of them welcomed you". In 1923 Ellen Barron, supervisor of baby clinic nurses, tried unsuccessfully to convince Chuter that these home visits were a waste of valuable time. Both Chuter and Turner were convinced that all mothers would come to appreciate the clinic's advice and insisted that these door-knocks continue. Common resistance to this type of intrusion suggests, however, that the clinic services were far from popular when the nurse arrived uninvited at women's homes.

Every available means of advertising the infant welfare division's work was utilised in the hope of converting women to the "clinic" ways. In addition to these home visits, both government and private maternity hospitals were regularly visited by the nurses. Monthly articles giving advice on feeding schedules and other clinic methods of infant rearing, written by Turner and Barron, were published in every newspaper in the state. Slide shows were displayed in local picture theatres, displays were set up at agricultural shows, and the CWA's noticeboards advertised clinic opening hours. In the first eight years of the clinics' work the nurses even handed out free medicines and lotions to attract mothers' patronage. Despite all these enticements, many women never bothered to go to the clinic. Irene E. had the opportunity in 1940, but decided that she would not agree with the clinic advice: "I just fed them my way. A little bit of mashed potato and gravy ... you know, when they were old enough. Whatever we had, they had". Hazel G. followed her neighbour's advice when she couldn't feed her baby in 1938. When her baby was ready for solid food, she combined common sense with what the local women told her: "you just did. We gave them this and that, or the other thing. They managed".

There is further evidence that many mothers were not interested in departing from their traditional sources of help. Widespread distributing of The Queensland Mothers Book, for instance, did not necessarily mean that it was read and followed. Many women to whom I spoke took exception to being told not to use a dummy. The 1936 revised edition claims: "that there is no surer sign of want of knowledge of the right way to manage a baby than the use of a dummy. Before many years the mothers of Queensland will learn this so well that they will be ashamed to be seen using it". Win P., of Mundubbera, was given a copy of the book in 1938 and, although she read it, did not agree with many things in the book. Marjory S., of Brisbane, felt the book "was in one way a help, and in another way a deterrent". When I questioned her further she said, "Oh, the things they printed to be done, they all seemed to take so much time. And I didn't have the time". The department was aware of the "indiscriminate" use of their treasured book. In 1940 they were concerned because "nurses on visiting homes found that the book had been
torn up as it had been given to a baby to play with. In fact, one nurse discovered the book being used as a pot holder!".\textsuperscript{53}

The reporter who attended James Stopford's opening of the Rockhampton baby clinic in 1923 did more than record the minister's speech about the old women of Queensland burying eleven of their twelve children. He also noted that there were a lot of women at the gathering: "but somehow they didn't feel any enthusiasm for Jimmy's pious wish, or if they did they didn't show it... Many an interrogatory eye brow was raised, as much to say, 'that's all you know'".\textsuperscript{54} The feelings of the women of Rockhampton in 1923 appear to have been shared widely throughout the state over the entire interwar period. I found no evidence of the clinics being supported or followed any more (or less) in 1939 than they were in 1918.

Neither did I find any evidence of the clinics being more, or less, supported in urban regions, compared with rural areas. It is difficult to accurately assess the extent to which women living in rural areas may have had different experiences of the infant welfare movement in Queensland. One immediate problem is the difficulty of defining a rural region in Queensland in the 1920s. In 1926, the state's population was 882,193, excluding Aborigines. This represented only 1.32 people per square mile, a sparsely populated state compared with New South Wales (7.59), Victoria (19.48), and Britain (477.71). Any statistical comparisons made during these years compared the tropical region north of Mackay with the central and southern regions. An urban/rural distinction was not considered. Another problem is that settlements on the outskirts of cities and towns might be considered urban by scholars today. However, in the 1920s and 1930s, these women were as isolated as women living in remote regions. Violet L. was not able to visit the Boonah clinic in 1937 because her only way to travel five miles was with the cream carter, which involved a long trip around all the farms before arriving in town.\textsuperscript{55}

Women living in towns and cities appear to have been better placed to take advantage of the infant welfare services, but this cannot be assumed. Not all urban women were close to public transport facilities, or were close enough to walk to a clinic. All women in all regions had many time-consuming chores to do which could have been a legitimate reason for urban, as well as rural, women not wanting to attend a clinic. Most women whom I interviewed cooked on a range or an open fire, boiled nappies in a "copper" or cut-down kerosene tins, gathered firewood, kept chickens and perhaps other animals, made all their family's clothes, and worked hard all day. Hazel G. lived in Warwick when her first child was born in 1938, but she remembers that "you didn't have time to be going to, ahh, sitting around at clinics, did you. You had to get home, you know. All those cows were waiting".\textsuperscript{56}
Another difficulty in comparing the experiences of women in urban and rural areas is that many women lived in different regions of Queensland while they raised their children. Of the seventy women I interviewed who had more than one baby, thirty women (forty-three per cent) had their babies in different regions of the state, and nearly half of these women raised children in three or more regions. For example, Vivian E. gave birth to her first baby in Longreach in 1930, her second and third children in Barcaldine, and her fourth baby was born in Brisbane. This evidence makes a simple urban/rural distinction problematic. Furthermore, it has already been shown that the majority of women either rejected the clinic services or made careful selections of the advice to suit their needs. The bonds of women's traditional networks were important everywhere. Having easy access to a clinic in a city, or anywhere, does not appear to have made the clinic's services more popular. Decisions were made to suit the moment and the finances of the family. If a distressed baby needed feeding and "grandma" said the baby was hungry, then it seemed sensible to feed it and to forget about what the clinic nurse had said about strict feeding schedules. If a drop of brandy on the baby's gums and a cuddle in bed helped the whole household to have an uninterrupted night's sleep, then this was very likely what happened whether the mother lived in Brisbane, Bowen or Boulia.

Experiences of Aboriginal women

Queensland has a long history of racist, often brutal, practices towards Aborigines, including the reserve system which started in the 1890s and kept Aborigines confined to small, controlled areas. The establishment of reserves and missions was not only for "humanitarian" reasons: according to Raymond Evans, reserves served both "a local cheap labour reservoir and a place where native remnants, who were an 'eyesore for everyone', ... could be kept". This and successive legislation controlled the movements of Aborigines in Queensland, keeping most women firmly under the control of police protectors and reserve superintendents. Aborigines were seen as a "primitive race" who needed to be taught "an understanding and interest in home and community life", the unstated ideal being a white, middle-class home and a white, Christian community.

Only those Aboriginal women who lived on the outskirts of towns in "black camps" had the opportunity to use the infant welfare services, because baby clinics were not built in reserves and missions in the interwar years. In 1930, there were 5,436 "full blood"
and "half caste" women over the age of twelve in the state. It was estimated that 64 per cent of Aboriginal women were either employed or living in supervised camps. Only 23 per cent were "nomadic", the remaining 13 per cent "status not ascertainable". Because Aboriginal women have a much lower life expectancy than white women, I was unable to interview any Aboriginal women who used (or chose not to use) a clinic in the 1920s or 1930s. My knowledge of their treatment comes from the stories of the infant welfare nurses and government correspondence.

It was government policy that no person should be refused the benefits of the maternity hospitals or baby clinics. All hospital boards were issued with instructions stating this policy, and baby clinic nurses were instructed to provide their services free of charge to all women. In practice, however, it was a different matter. Aboriginal women were frequently denied access to the maternity hospitals, and usually were confined to a tin shed out the back of the hospital grounds if they were courageous enough to use the hospital facilities. Springsure Hospital Board was one hospital which refused Aboriginal women access to the government maternity and antenatal facilities because "scarcely a white man in the whole district would countenance the possibility of his wife being compelled to lie up during or after confinement in the same ward as native women". Although I have no evidence of Aboriginal women being denied access to a baby clinic, it is likely to have happened.

Kath E. worked at the Emerald baby clinic and travelled widely in western Queensland, opening sub-centres every fortnight. She recalls that a few Aboriginal women used the clinics in Emerald, Clermont and Blackall. When I asked her why they used the clinics, she replied, "ah, I think with Aborigines, we've bred a race of people who expect you to give ... and they used to come to the clinic for things for their babies". She thought that Emerald had two "types" of Aborigines: those who lived "out on the creek", who rarely worked, and who expected handouts, and those (few) families who lived in town, with jobs on the railway. Kath thought that the white women disliked sharing the clinic with Aborigines who lived "out": "there was always a little bit of racism ... but there wasn't a lot.... They did more or less accept the people who lived in the town". Many baby clinic nurses expressed similar racist viewpoints. Joan F. worked at Bowen for two years and recalls that only a few Aboriginal women used the baby clinic. Like Kath, Joan felt they attended "only if you were giving out free something". Aboriginal women using the clinics were thought only to be there for hand-outs, while white women were thought to be attending for more honourable reasons. My evidence suggests that many women used the clinics to suit their needs, selecting only those services which they wanted. If Aboriginal women attended only for free samples then
they responded in a manner similar to white women. Both Black and white women were seen to be ignorant and in need of expert advice, but Aboriginal women were, in addition, the object of racist remarks and practices.

One positive, but unintentional, outcome of this institutionalised racism might have been that most Aboriginal women avoided the government service altogether. They would then have been able to continue with their traditional infant rearing practices without criticism or judgement. I suspect that this was probably advantageous to both mother and baby. The clinic advice in the 1920s and 1930s was very inflexible: there was only one way to feed a baby, only one way to mix "modified milk", one way to care for a baby. Given the social and economic circumstances of the Aboriginal community, it would have been extremely difficult, financially impossible, and socially disastrous for any Aboriginal women to become a "clinic" mother.

Conclusion

This study of Queensland's infant welfare movement in the interwar years questions the extent to which experts in infant welfare were successful in discrediting and dismantling women's cultures. Unlike other regions in Australia, Queensland had a well-organised, centrally controlled, and fully government financed infant welfare scheme with personnel committed to converting women all over Queensland to the "clinic" ways. It has been shown that the government's scheme, however, had a limited effect on the women of Queensland. There is no doubt that the experts had some influence on infant rearing practices, but it was limited both in the number of mothers it affected and in its impact on the regular "clinic" mothers. Many women ignored the new methods, preferring to use their mothers', or friends', advice if they felt they had a problem with their babies. Other women made careful selections with the advice and services of the clinics, choosing only what was thought necessary or useful. Some women tried to do what they were told, and were grateful for the assistance and support. These women, however, constituted the minority. Aboriginal women's experiences of the clinics were different because of the prevalence of racist opinions and practices. If Aboriginal women only attended clinics for free samples and medicines, then they shared with many other women the viewpoint that only certain aspects of the clinics' work were useful. Both white and Aboriginal women were seen as ignorant.

Women continually resisted attempts to change, suggesting the persistence of women's culture networks. More work needs to be focussed on the question of
geographical specificity. To what extent are the formation of women's cultures historically, and geographically, specific? Were the experiences of Queensland women unique to Queensland or were all women in the 1920s able to raise an "interrogatory eyebrow" at the experts who dared to tell them that their knowledge of raising children was grossly deficient? Women's cultures should not be discredited nor their histories ignored. The belief in the ability of women to care for and support each other may be useful for women today having babies and raising children in a society still dominated by experts.

CONTROLLING BABY CLINIC CENTRES
QUEENSLAND
1938
Traditional forms of male authority have persisted in Australia, most noticeably in conservative rural communities. Yet women's unpaid labour has been essential to farm survival. Studies of women in contemporary rural communities have shown how rigid boundaries for social interaction have been set and maintained by men. Women who fail to conform to the stereotype of supportive female are ostracised by both sexes. Underlying men's dominance is their economic power and their resistance to the admission of women to decision-making processes or privileged positions. Women on properties, while they contribute considerably to the farm economy, generally do not participate in major decisions affecting their lives or those of their families.

Rural women have traditionally lacked opportunities for social interaction or exposure to alternative life options. This paper concerns the effort made in the interwar period by the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Queensland to bring to girls and young women living in an isolated, conservative and patriarchal rural community the religious, social and sporting programs it conducted for city girls. By initiating caravan clubs in the Lockyer Valley, in south-east Queensland between Brisbane and Toowoomba, the YWCA provided leisure activities, expanded parochial limitations and offered different choices to girls whose daily lives were constrained by the demands of physical labour, remoteness and economic dependence. With the introduction of new concepts of female recreation, personality development and community participation, the YWCA diminished conservative attitudes towards women, softened the strict Sabbatarianism imported from Europe two generations earlier and eroded the continuity of a rigid work ethic and sexual division of labour persisting from the early years of white settlement.

In the absence of official records, the material on the YWCA in the Lockyer Valley used in this paper was obtained from interviews with ten women who were former club members, as well as from cutting books and newspapers. The club members were descendants of the British and German settlers who came to Queensland in the great immigration drives of the 1870s and 1880s. Each interviewee is referred to by her first
name in the text, and is identified more fully in the endnotes, with one exception where anonymity was requested.

Any study of Australian women in the 1930s must be considered within the context of male/female relations in that period. The socio-economic status and geographical location of mothers, wives, daughters and sisters were invariably dependent upon the decisions of men in the family. A gender order which defined femininity in terms of moral purity, submissiveness to male authority and economic dependence was "the most fundamental, most pervasive and most taken-for-granted structure" in Australian society.7

Among the factors which distinguished Queensland from the other Australian states in the twentieth century were its vast area (comparable only to Western Australia), its dependence on a rural economy, a pattern of decentralised settlement and a sexual imbalance that was especially marked in the nineteenth century, but which continued in many regions into the twentieth century. In 1871, 64.5 per cent of men in Queensland were located in the rural sector, while 35.5 per cent were urban-based. At the same time, the proportion of rural women was 48 per cent. In 1901, the male figure for rural areas was 35.5 per cent, compared with 25.2 per cent for females.8 By 1936, there were 110 men to every 100 women in Queensland, a higher masculinity ratio than in any other state except Western Australia.9

The rural economy remained dominant in Queensland between 1901 and 1933, while it declined in the remainder of Australia. (See Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Distribution of working population in primary industry in Queensland and Australia: 1901 to 1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Queensland Year Book 1941, pp. 198-9.

The extent of manufacturing industry also differed from the national profile. In Queensland, the proportion of the workforce engaged in manufacturing in 1933 was 17.8 per cent, of which only 14.6 per cent was in full-time employment. The proportion of the Australian workforce engaged in manufacturing in that year was 23 per cent. The level of building and construction activity in Queensland in the 1930s was consistently below the Australian average.10
These figures indicate that in the 1930s Queensland was dependent on rural production for its economic survival and that women had limited opportunities for employment in secondary industries. The predominant occupation for women over 21 years of age in the Lockyer Valley was given in the electoral rolls of 1936 as housewife or domestic duties. The life experience of girls and women in this rural community makes it clear that women's unpaid labour contribution to the productivity of farming in the rural sector was not recognised.

Added to the heavier workload which rural women carried was a higher reproductive rate. Fertility rates in rural areas in Queensland were much higher than in urban centres. In 1940, the net reproduction rate in the southern urban district was 0.89, while that of the Moreton district of the southern rural sector (which included the Lockyer Valley) was 1.36. Table 7.2 shows household occupancy in the region in which the YWCA operated its caravan clubs. It indicates, firstly, that men were numerically dominant in rural households and, secondly, that rural households were larger than urban households.

Table 7.2: Male and female population and occupied dwellings in Lockyer Valley centres, and average number of persons per household in 1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural Centres</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Occupied Dwellings</th>
<th>Average per dwelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caffey</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Hill</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatton</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantham</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingoldsby</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laidley</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>1749</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Tent Hill</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma Ma Creek</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Sylvia</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Whitestone</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plainland</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ropeley</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ropeley East</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Tent Hill</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby Cities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>143,525</td>
<td>156,223</td>
<td>299,748</td>
<td>60,535</td>
<td>4.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich</td>
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<td>11,346</td>
<td>22,498</td>
<td>5,076</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toowoomba</td>
<td>12,439</td>
<td>13,984</td>
<td>26,423</td>
<td>5,805</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The small Lockyer Valley townships of Forest Hill, Gatton, Laidley and Grandham had lower occupancy rates than the ten farming centres "off the bitumen". This difference suggests that farm women's higher reproductive rate was related to the labour demands of the farm and that there was an increased domestic workload placed on female household members in the more remote centres. Several farm houses were occupied by one or two single men only, a factor that could indicate higher household occupancy in others. Some of the women interviewed belonged to families with six or more children, suggesting that rural families were larger than official fertility rate figures revealed. One interviewee recalled families in which there were up to twelve children, as well as farm houses where only one or two men lived.13

Women pioneers have been recognised by poets, novelists, biographers and historians as sharing the hardships of settling an inhospitable land.14 Their contribution to the pioneering process, however, has generally been sited in the category of helpmate to husbands and fathers.15 The bush was identified as "male", and masculine values were inherent in both the mythology and the reality of rural life.16

The yeoman ideal of nineteenth century liberalism was promoted by the Queensland Government in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the speediest and most economical way to settle the land. Thousands of British and European immigrants were enticed to Queensland by exaggerated accounts of plentiful land and favourable conditions.17 Already outmoded in England as a pre-industrial agricultural form of production18 in which the onus for success or failure was placed on the individual, the family farm formed the basis of an agrarian economy in Queensland. As early as the 1830s it was recognised that Australian farming conditions differed geographically and climatically from those in Europe, with unreliable markets, transport inadequacies and a need for more capital than most small settlers possessed.19

Women's hard labour contradicted the ideal of a farmer working as breadwinner outdoors, while his wife was fully engaged in domestic duties, performing only occasional light work outside the home. Morally conservative and patriarchal,20 farming families in Queensland were dependent on the unpaid work of the farmer's wife and children for their economic survival. Evidence of women's experiences in the Lockyer Valley in the interwar period undermines the theory that Australian women did not work "in the fields", as did European women.21 Electricity was not installed in the Lockyer Valley until the late 1930s and early 1940s, and thus all farm chores were done manually. Girls as young as five helped with the milking by hand before and after school, separated the milk, cleaned out the pails and helped to take the heavy cream cans to the front gate for collection by the cream carter for delivery to the butter factory. Before electricity
enabled a greater diversity of crops to be grown with irrigation, the monthly cream cheque was the economic staple of the dairy farms of the Lockyer Valley. Lyla, a former YWCA club member and daughter of a farmer, said: "In those days, they all had cows and sold cream. Everybody kept cattle because there was always the cream to go. No matter how dry it was, it was a steady source of income. You would still have something".22

Without irrigation, drought was a constant threat and at times extreme measures were taken to ensure the survival of cattle. Women's assistance proved indispensable. Ellen recalled a time when prickly pear was used as stock feed: "One drought they pulped the prickly pear to keep the cattle alive. They used to go down the creek a few miles. The prickly pear was terrible, the men used to get the prickle in their clothes and skin. We used to have to get it out for them, the best way we could. I can remember Uncle Frank coming over at night. Mum would get them out of his eyes at times. He couldn't manage them himself as he was living on his own."23 Drought created additional work and hardship for women and children. Water was retained in the house tank for drinking, but for washing and other household chores, a 44 gallon drum of water was brought up from the creek. Lyla remembered how it was made fit to use: "My mother used to put something in it which was a poison, caustic soda, and that was because the creek water was hard. The caustic soda formed a milky curdle in it, and it would settle and then you could use it. We used to go down and get water from the creek for washing the separator".24 When Myrtle's father was unable to work because of typhoid fever, she (the oldest child at twelve) helped her mother obtain water from the creek: "Mum used to harness the horses up in the wagon, and we used to put the big tanks on, it was dry weather, and I used to go down to the creek by myself, back the horses down, and fill the tanks up. The full wagon was covered with two big tanks, and whatever cans and tins and stuff".25

From about the age of twelve, many of the girls worked in the paddocks, with subsequent ill-effects on their health. Myrtle and her sister Dulcie both started milking when five years old, and performed heavier outdoor work at twelve years. Myrtle recalled the hard work they performed: "We followed harrows and everything, three horses and a set of harrows and worked all day on the farm. The doctors tell me that's what wrong with my knees now, abused before they were mature. The only thing I never ever did was scuffling or ploughing, but Dulcie and I used to chip onions until we nearly looked like an onion ourselves".26 The burden on Cora, still in her teen years, who had worked on the family farm since she was a young schoolgirl, was even heavier when three brothers "were taken for the Army", in the early 1940s. With a father
crippled with arthritis, she and one remaining brother did all the heavy labour: "We went out picking potatoes, making hay, cutting hay, and irrigating which was dreadfully heavy work. We would have to carry the pipes, and let the water run out, and sometimes all the water wouldn't run out. There would be two or three lengths together and I would get one end and my brother would get the other end and we would lift it and carry it in mud this deep". The fifteen foot pipes had to be moved every half hour or three quarters of an hour, from one field to another if necessary. Clods of mud would stick to Cora's feet, requiring a trip to the house to remove them, and then she returned to the paddocks to move the pipes again. Rubber boots were unobtainable for women in wartime, and the men's boots were too large, so Cora was forced to go barefoot in the wet fields, "summer and winter".

Schoolwork was less regulated and less effective for rural girls than it was in urban schools. The one-teacher schools had enrolments of up to forty pupils and the older children taught the younger ones to assist the overworked teacher. This was regarded as fun and an escape from mundane learning, but as Cora said when interviewed: "Well, the kiddies did a lot of teaching. The older grade would teach the younger grade, which you thought was great because you got out of some of your lessons. It wasn't really when you look back". Very few of the girls received more than a primary school education, and in later years women regretted their lack of higher education. Apart from illness, children attended school regularly, although it meant long walks or horse rides of several miles each way for some. The farm work waiting to be performed deterred "wagging", as Lyla explained: "They never missed school. They went every day. I think it was because there were so many hard jobs to be done at home if they didn't go". 

The education of girls was not considered to be important, as "they were just going to be married." Myrte's schooling was terminated before she completed primary school when her father wrote on three occasions to the Education Department requesting that the minimum school-leaving age be waived in her case, as she was required to work at home and on the farm. She said she cried when she had to leave school, as she knew the life of hard work which awaited her, "not just picking cotton, everything". Cora was aged just thirteen when she finished her schooling. She had already missed two days every week for some time to help with washing and ironing and other domestic tasks because of her mother's illness.

The girls in Lyla's family were not expected to work outside, but they did nevertheless: "My father never believed in girls going out on the farm. We used to go down and help him a bit with the hay and other times we went down when they were bagging cabbages and cauliflowers and things like that, but a lot of women, the German
women particularly, used to work out on the farm all day. He maintained that that wasn't work for a woman. It is significant that Lyla's work and that of her sisters was seen as "helping out" occasionally, and was not viewed as the essential relief of the men's work when they were hard-pressed. It would have been necessary to hire outside male labour to help at these times, if the girls had not been willing to work.

In his study of pioneer families in the Boonah region, about seventy kilometres south-east of the Lockyer Valley, John Cole concluded that the outdoor labour of German women in the late nineteenth century was restricted compared with their British counterparts, whose work contribution was essential to survival. The oral evidence of this study suggests a contrasting ethnic work pattern for women in the Lockyer Valley both in the interwar period and for the previous generation. The performance of arduous outdoor work by women and girls was expected in German families, even for those who were pregnant or were breast-feeding babies. Girls and women of other ethnic groups hand-milked and otherwise helped with farm chores but, as Lyla said, her Scottish father did not believe in women working outside. English and Scottish farmers elsewhere in Australia were generally reluctant to admit that, without women's labour, successful farming was not possible. The instance of a farmer sending his wife out to harrow after dark reflected the national denial of "the extent to which Australian women engaged in farm work". It resulted in the historical refutation of the reality and the fabrication through censuses and electoral rolls that women's work was confined to the domestic sphere.

Unlike their brothers, who anticipated acquiring a farm of their own in the future, the girls' labour was unpaid. In one family, girls were allowed to buy only one school exercise book each. For extra writing paper, they salvaged the white wrapping paper from around the daily newspaper, smoothed it out and used that for their homework. To obtain pocket money, Myrtle said she and Dulcie would kill a calf, "with the back end of an axe - I hated that", skin it and sell the skin to the butcher. Other skins were obtained from cattle which died from a disease called "redwater". The skins were sold for between 1s.6d. and 2s.6d. each, and the money was divided between the three eldest children. As another income-earner, when pumpkins were in good supply, the seeds were collected, dried and sold in bags to a seed merchant.

The mothers of the Lockyer Valley girls who joined the YWCA were their occupational role models. They worked hard with few conveniences in the house, bore large families, helped neighbours, supported their husbands in normal and stressful times, sewed and knitted, preserved fruit and baked bread and cakes, and, in many cases, worked outside as well. The girls' expectations were constricted by the patriarchal values
of the remote rural community. They were expected, like their mothers, to marry local farmers, who would inherit farms or purchase nearby land with the help of the older family. Their ambitions, however modest, were frustrated by the labour demands of the farm and family and their father's authority. Ellen was offered an apprenticeship as a professional dressmaker in Sydney, but she had to stay in the valley to assist in the home and on the farm. For Evelyn, the dream of a high school education at Gatton was denied by having to care for an invalid mother after her father died and the family farm was inherited by an older brother. Doris's ambition was to be a typist in Gatton, but her family could neither afford to send her to train at the high school nor spare her from the farm.

The poor condition of the roads in the rural region was the cause of much of the isolation experienced by farm girls and women. Winifred Archer, the YWCA mobile secretary from 1938 to 1940, divided her club members into two categories: those living in the small urban centres "on the bitumen" and those "off the bitumen" who belonged to the farming families. The unsealed black soil roads linking the farms to the bitumen highway were impassable in wet weather, and deeply rutted by wheels and the hooves of animals when dry. The daughters of farmers were unable to travel any distance, except by horseback or in some cases, by bicycle, and were reliant on the men of the family for transport to more distant places. Cora recalled that "It was nothing to walk three miles to visit a friend".

The labour and financial demands of the farms took precedence over other activities, and restricted visits by rural women and girls to the nearest town. An annual outing for the Gatton show or for emergency medical or dental treatment were the only occasions on which the girls saw shops and mixed with people other than those in the farming community. When she married at eighteen, Myrtle did not know how to shop nor what prices she could expect to pay for goods, as she had seen shops only once or twice with her mother and father, and at those times she had no money of her own to buy anything. She said, "It was pretty hard when I got married to know what you had to buy".

The alternatives shown to the farm girls by the YWCA, especially in the form of the role models presented by the two secretaries of the mobile clubs, Dorothy Heighway and Winifred Archer, contrasted significantly with their normal lifestyles. The Association was a Christian lay women's organisation formally established in Britain in 1877 when two separate movements, which had been concerned with the welfare of young women since 1855, combined. The objectives of the YWCA in the nineteenth century were to ameliorate the social effects of industrialisation on women and to support them in their struggle for equality. Slum conditions in overcrowded urban centres, low wages, long
working hours and the moral dangers to which young women were exposed stimulated upper and middle class women, encouraged by Protestant evangelism, to open hostels for working girls and young business women, to foster belief in the Christian faith and to instil the virtues of sobriety, thrift and self-discipline. Due to its efficient management structure, evangelistic zeal and influential friends (Lord Shaftesbury was the first President), the YWCA spread quickly throughout Britain and internationally, with permanent work commencing in Australia in the 1880s. The first branches in Queensland were established in 1888.

The aims of the association in Australia in its early years were to guard the moral welfare of girls and young women, and to promote a healthy lifestyle in which the development of natural skills and talents encouraged them to achieve better living conditions and some degree of independence. The founders of the Association in South Australia in the late nineteenth century focussed on female moral improvement and self-discipline, and, in co-operation with the suffrage movement, promoted the ideal of the moral superiority of women as guardians of family and public life.

A strong Christian ethical approach to all its community work continued to be emphasised by the YWCA in the 1930s. Its purpose was "To unite women and girls in a world wide comradeship that together they may find the joys of friendship, knowledge and service by loyally following Jesus Christ and sharing membership in His Church for the Extension of the Kingdom of God". Girls and women of any class, creed, race or nationality could become members of the YWCA, providing they believed in its purpose and led morally pure lives. The pre-conditions of purity and respectability promoted what Matthews has called the ideal of the "good" woman. The ideology of the morally superior woman whose primary function was the mothering of the future population of Australia persisted, even though the reality frequently failed to sustain the ideal.

Women of leisure, education and social standing were the pioneering force behind the YWCA in Britain. Upper and middle-class leadership, especially in the field of voluntary work, continued to characterise the association as it extended around the world. Miss Mary Griffith, sister of Sir Samuel Griffith, the Premier of Queensland and Chief Justice of the High Court, was the president of the YWCA in Brisbane when it re-formed in 1898. Girls of lower socio-economic status were from the beginning, and have continued to be, the beneficiaries of the association's efforts.

Promoted as a "new profession for women", the first leadership training courses to qualify young women as secretaries to guide and train others commenced in 1891. As paid staff members, trained professional leaders and religious instructors, the two YWCA secretaries in the Lockyer Valley were capable of teaching sports, team games and leisure
activities, and developing the skills and talents of the youthful members. They travelled to the various posts to which they were assigned within and outside Australia as single, independent women who lived alone and were economically self-supporting.

The spartan conditions under which the secretaries lived and worked in the Lockyer Valley upheld the ideal of Christian service which was a basic philosophic tenet of the YWCA from its inception. The club headquarters comprised a small vehicle converted from an Essex six-cylinder motor car into a caravan which was named "Martha" because "she went around doing good". The living space measured approximately two metres in length, and one and a half metres in width and height, allowing insufficient headroom for an adult to stand upright. The interior contained a canvas stretcher for sleeping, a tank for water, a primus stove for cooking, kitchen utensils, a small library, first-aid cupboard, craft materials and the leader's personal belongings. The YWCA logo of a blue triangle, representing "body, mind and spirit", was painted prominently on the sides of the caravan.

Lacking insulation, the van was hot in summer and cold in winter. When out on the road travelling to the various clubs, the leaders slept overnight in the van at the side of the road, preferably sheltered under a pepperina tree. Winifred Archer accepted hospitality at farmhouses when it was offered. Mechanical breakdowns occurred frequently and becoming bogged was a hazard on the roads during wet weather. On these occasions, the driver waited until a local farmer came to the rescue.

The Lockyer Valley caravan club was a branch of the Toowoomba YWCA and was financed through public and private funds. Shortly after the blessing and official opening of the caravan on 19 July 1935, and with the approval of the Education Department and local ministers of religion, the secretaries commenced their work in the Lockyer Valley. Within two years, seventeen clubs were formed, with a membership of 200 girls and young women. Meetings were held for schoolgirls aged from 10 to 14 years under the high-set state primary schools, after school was finished for the day. Saturday afternoon meetings were organised for older girls, from 14 to 18 years.

Meetings commenced with prayers and religious instruction, followed by singing and team games such as tunnelball and "teams of eight", continued with first-aid lessons, and ended with a session in handcraft. They were held weekly or every two weeks, and club members travelled long distances to be present, with one girl coming seventeen miles to a centre fifteen miles "off the bitumen". The meetings were so popular in one area that an attempt was made to hold them weekly instead of fortnightly. The attempt failed, as a young member could not be spared from farm chores more frequently than one afternoon every two weeks.
"ON THE BITUMEN AND OFF THE BITUMEN"

One of the aims of the YWCA was to encourage girl members to be thrifty. Thrift Clubs were formed in urban centres, where a leader collected a small amount each week from working girls and deposited it in a savings bank account on her behalf. The Rockhampton YWCA reported in March 1929 that £103.14s.7d. had been banked with the Commonwealth Bank in three weeks on behalf of business girls in the city.58 The aim of economic independence, however, could not be sustained in the Lockyer Valley where the girls were not paid for the work they performed either when they were still at school or afterwards in their adolescent years when they were fully employed on the farming property.

Apart from the leaders' annual salary of £150, which was donated by a Victorian trust, funds to operate the caravan and all expenses associated with the running of the clubs had to be raised by the YWCA staff and club members themselves. One fund-raising activity was concerts, held in local church halls, for which the girls practised for weeks. The leaders taught them songs, folkdancing and poetry recitation, and short dramas and comic sketches were prepared with a minimum of stage materials. Winifred Archer frequently showed lantern slides of her Australian and overseas travel, and of the other clubs and their activities.59 These were intended to broaden the members' knowledge of the world outside their isolated valley, and to give them a sense of fellowship and unity with the national and international YWCA.

Functions such as concerts and lantern slide evenings were attended by the families of the club members as well as by men and women and children in the district. The popularity and financial success of the entertainments ensured the continuance of the YWCA's programs and indicated that the innovative and modernising activities introduced by the leaders were generally accepted and approved of by both male and female members of the community.

The names of the clubs reflected local natural features and included the "Kookaburra" club at Ma Ma Creek, the "Golden Glow" at Grantham, the "Bellbirds" at Helidon and the "Bluebells" at Gatton. At Ingoldsby, where there was a strong German presence, the club adopted the name of "Freundinen", meaning friends, and suggesting the fellowship enjoyed by members of the YWCA. The "Ramblers" in Laidley may have participated in the hikes in the healthy outdoors which the YWCA encouraged.60

Before the YWCA caravan arrived, the social life of the farming people revolved around the local church and family celebrations of weddings and twenty-first birthday parties. The original settlers had come from England, Scotland, Germany and Ireland, and their descendants retained many of the religious beliefs, sense of morality and culture of their forebears. There were several Congregational, Lutheran and Methodist churches
in the area. Observance of the sabbath as a sacred day, when nothing was done except essential work such as milking, was strictly adhered to in the valley, especially by Protestants and Lutherans. The rule, however, had a gender bias. "It was a day of rest for my father," said Lyla, "but not for my mother".61 Women prepared the customary midday Sunday roast dinner with baked potatoes and pumpkins and beans, followed by a baked milk pudding. In some households, the vegetables were prepared the night before to ensure no unnecessary labour was performed on the sabbath.

Some of the girls were allowed to attend dances and to see the silent movies shown once a month in the hall at Caffey, but others were not permitted to do so. Ellen, with a strict Methodist background, was forbidden to dance, as was Cora, who belonged to a Lutheran family.62 When she was seventeen, however, Cora defied her father and learned to dance at the local hall. "He didn't like it" she said, "but he didn't object".63 Decision-making of this nature and the assumption of responsibility for individual actions despite patriarchal disapproval may have reflected the influence of the YWCA secretaries and their recreational programs.

The handcraft lessons which Winifred Archer taught were of particular interest to the girls and women, who regularly sewed and knitted and crocheted for family needs. Archer added basket-making, papier-maché and other crafts. Flowers were made from guinea bird and chicken feathers and used for decorating baskets and cane trays. The novelty of working with raffia and natural materials such as gum nuts, she-oak needles, reeds and leaves, gathered locally, satisfied the creativity of the club members in a manner which necessary family sewing failed to do.

The YWCA provided much-appreciated opportunities for leisure and social activities. Picnics to a nearby creek and walking tours were arranged at weekends, and Myrtle remembered going to a weekend camp at Gatton, which was the first time she had ever ventured on an excursion away from home.64 Several of the girls travelled with Archer in the caravan to Brisbane for an athletics competition for schoolgirls, and on another occasion to Southport for a YWCA conference.65 All the interviewees spoke of the pleasure they derived, as young girls with few leisure pursuits available to them, from the YWCA club activities. "The YWCA meant so much to the local girls," recalled Lyla, "because there was so little social life".66 Doris also remembered that the girls looked forward to the visits of the YWCA secretary "because we had nothing else".67 Ellen thought that "The YWCA was a bright spot in the lives of girls out there, having someone come out like that, because there wasn't much opportunity otherwise".68

The lack of recreational activities and facilities in rural areas in the interwar period in Queensland had contributed to the drift of rural youth to cities and towns. Up to 250,000
people moved to metropolitan centres from country areas in Australia in the 1920s. The YWCA's belief that the welfare and demographic strength of small towns and rural areas were vital to the future of Australia's development in part motivated the creation of the caravan clubs in the Lockyer Valley. Citizenship ideals of teamwork, leadership, community loyalty, ethics and morality were imparted through the medium of games, the conduct of meetings and the training of club leaders.

The popularity of the programs introduced by the YWCA was demonstrated by the number of girls who participated. In Toowoomba, so many girls attended the indoor sports games that there was no hall in the town large enough to accommodate them. By the 1930s, physical fitness performed in the interests of female health and beauty had evolved to the stage where it was not only valid but was a modern and pleasurable pastime. The YWCA's advocacy of physical and health culture as a legitimate occupation for women reassured club members of its respectability.

Despite the association's non-denominational nature, girls of the Roman Catholic faith did not belong to the YWCA clubs in the Lockyer Valley. The association included in its first constitution in 1898 a statement that membership was limited to "young women who are members in good standing of an Evangelical Church". In a directive issued from Rome in 1920, Roman Catholic bishops were advised that the YMCA and the YWCA were not "for Catholic participation". The doctrinal dispute over the Protestant stance of justification by faith alone continued well into the twentieth century. Sectarianism thus prevented Roman Catholic girls in the Lockyer Valley from participating in the YWCA's programmes.

The caravan club in the Lockyer Valley was unique and its innovative work was watched with interest by associations in Australia and other countries. In early 1940, however, the trust fund donation for the secretary's salary ceased and efforts to raise sufficient funds to continue the caravan clubs failed in a region still affected by the depression of the 1930s. "Martha" was becoming unserviceable, having travelled four thousand miles a year for five years over difficult terrain, and it was impossible financially to replace her. Petrol rationing added to the difficulties of running the caravan. Reluctantly, Winifred Archer arranged to sell "Martha" and departed to Toowoomba, where she served as general secretary before becoming an instructor in crafts in the Australian Women's Army Service. Some of the clubs established in the Lockyer Valley were run for a few years by the girls she had trained, but a lack of leadership eventually led to the closure of the surviving clubs at Gatton and Grantham in May 1944. Since that date, there have been no YWCA activities in the Lockyer Valley. The Toowoomba association continues to function and operates the YWCA's only hostel in Queensland.
PART 2 HISTORIES

The YWCA's flexible policy in decision-making allowed for regional variations, provided clubs were guided by its fundamental principles as a basis for membership, and retained a common ideal of function and program. Local associations had autonomy in areas where conditions differed from the norm and a discretionary approach was required. The isolation and communication deficiencies of rural Queensland in the 1930s called for alternative approaches to those which applied in cities. In the Lockyer Valley, the Toowoomba Area Secretary Dorothy Heighway extended her urban responsibilities by caravan, which was a pioneering concept for the Australian YWCA. The second departure from urban programs was the admission to membership of mothers and sisters of the younger girls, older women who joined because they were interested in the handcraft classes. The formation of a female community in their patriarchal society brought to them a form of companionship and enjoyment not previously experienced. More formal city programmes would have been restricted to girls in their teen years and younger.

Women's organisations such as the YWCA, the Country Women's Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have been particularly important and relevant to the women of Queensland. Because of the scattered nature of settlement in the state, remote inland centres have been isolated from urban amenities and avenues of leisure. The dominant male presence and ideologies of femininity prevalent in rural communities combined to burden women in the bush with the responsibilities of civilizing the frontier. It was believed that women provided the morality and virtue perceived to be necessary to maintain law and order, and contributed to national well-being by bearing and raising a large number of potentially useful citizens. The women of organisations such as the YWCA alleviated the loneliness and deprivations of rural women.

The 1930s was a transitional period for women in the Lockyer Valley. The harshness of pioneer life lingered in a legacy of patriarchal authoritarianism and female powerlessness. A new age of technology was approaching which would bring changes in farming techniques, a reduction in labour demands, an increase of available leisure time and greater mobility through the replacement of sulkies and German wagons with motor cars and trucks. The radio brought to women new ideas and concepts of the world outside their isolated region. Gradual improvements in road surfaces contributed to the lessening of isolation.

The YWCA's programs for rural girls reflected these changes and assisted their members to prepare for them. The work of the YWCA secretaries bridged the past and the future. On the one hand, the programs consolidated the traditional female values of service which were central to the objectives of the YWCA. These values were

110
demonstrated in their own selfless manner of living, and were embodied in the state of marriage for which it was anticipated most of the girls were destined. Regular functions such as the “Mother and Daughter” evenings reinforced the prevailing gender ideology. In 1936, for example, the Girl Citizens of the Ramblers club in Laidley, in their uniform of white blouse and navy blue skirt, entertained their mothers with items and games. Candles were lit and a speech eulogised “the truth, beauty and radiance of motherhood”. On the other hand, the secretaries’ own lifestyle demonstrated the opportunities which were to become available to women in the future and showed the Lockyer Valley girls that alternatives to marriage and unremitting work were possible. The two Lockyer Valley secretaries were in the ambivalent position of reaffirming ideals of womanhood and conventional images of femininity while their preferred mode of living clearly challenged that model.

By raising rural women and girls’ awareness of modern lifestyles, the YWCA in the Lockyer Valley adhered to the principle of developing “body, mind and spirit” to which the founders of the association had been dedicated in the nineteenth century. At the same time, the focus of the YWCA on feminine purity, family solidarity and the ideal of motherhood led to a consolidation of existing values and the retention of the status quo. This conflict has characterised the association throughout its history.
"Total War is a Woman’s War ... All can serve".¹ This headline in the Courier Mail on Monday 23 February 1942 heralded one of the more dramatic changes to be wrought by the war in the Pacific - the attempt to mobilise the womanpower of Australia in a manner, and to an extent, “never before imagined”.² It signalled the commencement of the third, and most intensive, phase in the process of mobilising Australian women for war. It marked an important stage in the on-going transformation of public perceptions of the ways in which women might serve. The headline also afforded belated recognition to a factor most significant in a woman’s war - geographic location.

From the early months of 1939, women in Queensland found regional factors decisive in their mobilisation for war. The state’s geo-political location, its populist politics and the vast inter-regional disparities in the location of industry and in the composition of the labour force together limited women’s response to the state-directed mobilisation. Then, with the advent of the Pacific war, a woman’s regional location assumed a new and menacing dimension.

In the few short weeks from the bombing of Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, war became a matter of geography for all Australians. In rapid succession, those barriers which may have offered some vestige of security were quickly swept aside as the Japanese advanced south. Rabaul was taken on 23 January. Moresby was bombed on 2 February. The Japanese landed on Singapore Island on 9 February and that seemingly impregnable bastion, Singapore, capitulated on 15 February. Four days later, on 19 February, the first bombs fell on Darwin. From that time, it was widely assumed that the Battle for Australia had begun.³

Confronted with graphic illustrations of the way in which THE SPEARHEAD REACHES SOUTH ALWAYS SOUTH (see illustration) and the admonition that EVERYONE MUST FIGHT OR WORK, those resident in Australia were forced into a total war situation. In the subsequent attempts to mobilise the total human and material resources of the Commonwealth for the defence of the nation, geography was to serve as both a catalyst and a constraint. Nowhere was this more in evidence than in the attempts to garner these resources in Queensland, the state which had seemingly become the new
WAR MOBILISATION: A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY

frontline. In no other state did the mobilisation of the resources of women prove so crucial, yet at the same time so regionally circumscribed.

In Queensland, as a result of the uncompromisingly agrarian politics of the interwar period, the outstanding features of the Queensland economy by 1939 were its restrained growth, lack of diversity in manufacturing, primary dependence and regional imbalance. In addition, differences in population, industry, labour force participation and urban density set the south-east corner apart from both the north and west of the state and the central and southern portions. The greatest density of the state’s population was located within a two hundred mile radius of the capital, Brisbane, and almost one-third of the state’s one million people resided there. The largest concentration of manufacturing and tertiary industries was also in the south-east. Female participation in the labour force had been highest in this area, 24.7 per cent in 1933, while participation in the other areas of the state averaged between 15 per cent and 16 per cent. The predominance of the pastoral and mining industries in the north and, with the exception of sugar, the concentration of 90 per cent of the state’s land under crop in the southern portion, reinforced the male domination of the labour market throughout the state. Mobilisation of the resources of the approximately 310,000 adult women residents posed an unprecedented challenge.

Historians have interpreted the challenge posed by the mobilisation of women in a variety of ways. Most often, the interpretative framework employed has been a variation on the watershed theme, with evidence being presented to either affirm or deny that war was a turning point for women. Robertson has concluded that in Australia “notable advances were made in women’s struggle for a happier place in society” while Martin argues there had been “a quiet revolution”. McKernan and others are less optimistic and imply that the gains were only temporary. The determination of “a happier place” was an elusive issue for the historian. So, too, was the demarcation of revolutionary change and the estimation of “gain”. Interpretative claims such as these tell us little about the actual historical processes of women’s mobilisation. They also share certain fundamental limitations. First, they fail to take account of regional differences. In this they adopt a stance similar to that of the Official War Historian who alluded to regional differences but then failed to explore the implications of those variations. Secondly, they fail to acknowledge the diversity of women’s experience and the constraints imposed by the gender order. Thirdly, their analysis of the relations between the state and society, as exhibited in the mobilisation process, affords little recognition to the import of the process of militarisation with its democratising and repressive elements. It is only when account is taken of the peculiar regional variations of each of these aspects that one can understand
the particular patterns of mobilisation in Queensland and the seeming contradictions between the homefront experience in this state and that of the southern states.

By situating the homefront mobilisation of women 1939 to 1945 within a regional context, and by scrutinising the particular identities constructed for women in the policy making process, one can ascertain some of the limits to action imposed on women in Queensland. By exploring the reciprocal relations which developed between the state and its citizens in war, it is possible to discern the ways in which women carved out significant roles for themselves. By bringing place and process together, the many and diverse ways in which women chose, and were chosen, to serve may be understood.

The official mobilisation was a long and complex process. There were four stages in the process, each corresponding to a particular phase of the war and to official assessments of both economic and national necessity. In each stage, the translation of policy into practice involved a challenge to, if not a confrontation with, widely held notions about women’s capabilities and proper roles. In each stage, policies devised with a metropolitan or south-eastern Australian perspective required substantial revision in Queensland in order to accommodate both inter-state and intra-state regional differences. In each stage, policy makers and planners endeavoured to harness and direct the substantial energies which women individually and in groups were channelling into the war effort.

The groundwork for the first stage of mobilisation is to be found in a cabinet submission dealing with the establishment of a Women’s Register approved in February 1939. This document enables us to gauge the manner in which policy makers prior to the war envisaged mobilising and utilising women’s services. The aims of the Register, the manner of its compilation and the areas of service in which it was thought women might enrol, highlight the way in which the gender system both constructed and differentiated male and female activities in war.

In contrast to the compulsory registration required of men, women’s registration was to be voluntary. Secondly, it was intended that the utilisation of women’s services would depend on the stage of the war and the manpower available. Thirdly, though the policy documents differentiated between the avenues of service for the young, single and mobile and those for "homemakers", all roles to which women were to be assigned were essentially "feminine" roles. Throughout, there is the implicit assumption that women would respond as required and that they would be prepared to fill roles which were both secondary and subordinate to those of the male warrior. No attention was directed specifically to the supportive capacities of rural women, though they, like their urban counterparts, had staked their claim for a part in the defence of Australia long before
headlines proclaiming “WOMEN'S PART IN DEFENCE” appeared in the Courier Mail in March 1939.12

The Women’s National Emergency Legion (WNEL) was formed in Queensland in 1938 in response to a perceived threat of war. Programmes arranged for the new recruits included First Aid, Nursing, Transport, Wireless, Morse and Signalling. The WNEL recognised a major facet of Queensland life by establishing a landworkers' section. Women in the organisation recognised what the policy makers had failed to realise: that there were different concerns and limits to action for women in the different regions of the state. In the six months from October 1938 to February 1939, 1800 women enrolled in the WNEL in the Brisbane metropolitan area alone. Other groups and other branches were established in the same period in areas extending from Mackay in the north to Quilpie in the west.13 Recalling her pre-war involvement in WNEL in Brisbane, Robina Angus remarked: "a lot of people thought we were terribly out of line and hysterical".14

It was the energies and commitment of members of such groups that the government sought to organise through the Women's Voluntary National Register (WVNR). The WVNR for service in a national emergency was established formally in Queensland on 26 April 1939. It was staffed by women's voluntary labour and recorded and classified offers of service from all women aged fourteen years to sixty-five. In Brisbane alone, thirty-four different groups registered with the WVNR.15 In the weeks which followed, meetings were held throughout the state. They appear to have been well attended by women of all political persuasions.16 However, the possibilities offered by the Register were not welcomed unequivocally. In Townsville, a meeting to form a committee was reported in the North Queensland Guardian of 2 June as “a meeting of Townsville's would-be 'brass hats' ... to foist regimentation on useful women and ... prepare the way for conscription”. The report also noted that one woman, wary of the Register, argued that air raid precautions were of first importance.17

The response throughout the state, particularly as it was reflected in the minutes of the WVNR executive, attests to the desire of large numbers of women to be involved.18 The stance adopted by members of the Women’s Progress Club of Townsville suggests that, while women across the political spectrum were consciously and determinedly preparing for war, some were highly suspicious of the attempts by the state to superintend their activities.

As an editorial in the Australian Women's Weekly claimed, the establishment of the Register was "a tribute to the new status of women".19 It provided a mechanism whereby women in Queensland could be admitted to war-time citizenship. The duties implicit in that citizenship were quite consistent with the reigning discourse of "armed
civic virtue" which assigned to women the sacrifice of their sons, lovers, husbands and brothers. The ultimate sacrifice, that of one's life, was reserved for the male as "citizen-warrior". Women from across the political spectrum appear to have internalised this ideology even as they mobilised to challenge other aspects of the legislative measures which established gender-defined spheres of activity for men and women in war.20

At War

Thus, when Prime Minister Menzies announced to the nation on 3 September that Australia was at war, there was a clearly defined policy in place, one which delineated the labour which was to be provided by each sector of the female population aged 14 years and over. The emphasis in policy was the mobilisation of a voluntary female labour force. Mrs Sterne, State President of the Country Women's Association (CWA), had been summoned to Canberra several weeks earlier. After the broadcast, as her daughter recalled, she announced, "I have a job to do immediately. I have to organise the women of Queensland to be ready to be of help to soldiers who enlist, to soldiers' wives".21

The terms of the appeal to women were set out in the Australian Women's Weekly of September 1939: "Women's part in the war is to be steadfast...They are the second line of defence ... the majority serve best in keeping the family cheerful and happy. Men must fight and women work .... Home making is our greatest key industry and the women running our homes have a tremendous responsibility".22

The response of women in Queensland to the Commonwealth Government's attempts to mobilise their unpaid labour was varied, vigorous and vocal. In a letter to the Prime Minister's Department in April 1940, Annabel Philp of the Women's Auxiliary Transport Service remarked "it had not dawned on me that every other women's organisation was worrying your Prime Minister".23

The Rush to Serve

Women and girls "aged 16 to 60 years and over" desirous of responding to the advent of war, for the most part, followed trails blazed during World War One. In the second week of December, a report in the Courier Mail noted that women from the Sherwood, Yeronga, Goodna and Redbank districts who attended Redbank Camp were working from 9.30 am till late afternoon at their traditional tasks of cooking, mending, sewing and
WAR MOBILISATION: A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY

providing comforts. The numbers involved in voluntary work escalated as women found an area in which to serve. This was quite in accord with the policy of the federal government that the mobilisation of women's traditional labour was all that was required in the initial stages of the war.

Women in their hundreds flocked to learn Air Raid Precaution (ARP) work in cities and towns, while in numerous country centres from the Atherton Tableland in the north to Longreach in the West, the Darling Downs and all points west and south, women joined with enthusiasm the evacuation committees formed in the first weeks of the war. Branches of the Comforts Fund were reactivated, with some 260 branches throughout the state by November. The desire to serve seemed to cut across existing class and age divisions. In Brisbane, "grey haired women rubbed shoulders with schoolgirls, factory hands with stenographers and Hamilton housewives with those from Spring Hill...at an air raid precaution [ARP] class." In the country, wives and daughters of squatters and struggling farmers, those in business and those on relief, answered "The Call to Duty".

However, there were significant variations within the state. The work prescribed in the policy documents, canteen work, non-government auxiliary services or transport duties, was a remote possibility for the majority of women in rural Queensland while the war was fought in Europe. Nevertheless, women in some of the more sparsely populated areas of the north and west of the state found that they too expended many arduous hours when they were called upon to provide as many as five thousand meals in one day when troop trains were diverted in the wet season. Later, when war came to the Pacific, women in those areas of the state where either allied or Australian camps were established found, as Goondiwindi women did, that giving up a few days or nights of the week "cooking, serving the boys with refreshments, doing their mending" was, as the Argus claimed, "a full time job for many ... who have their families to attend to with all the accompanying work".

The early "business as usual" stage of the mobilisation process lasted until approximately June 1940. Little attention was directed to women in the paid labour force as the government envisaged that it would be augmented "in the same way as under the ordinary conditions of peace". This decision ensured the maintenance of those practices which historically impeded female entry into the paid labour force and designated certain occupations and tasks as "female work". Even though policy makers had not envisaged the utilisation of women's services "in the way of substitution for men", the sexual barriers were reinforced in Queensland for two reasons closely related to the particular economic structure of the state. First of all, there were initially fewer men free to volunteer, fewer men eligible for call up, and therefore, fewer to be replaced.
Secondly unemployment, which had been a feature of Queensland economic life for almost twenty years, continued to influence the decision-making process. Unemployment for both male and female workers fluctuated until the height of the crisis in mid 1942, when Colin Clark announced that unemployment had to come to an end. But, until that time, the ruling precept in the labour force was that expressed in the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) memo of 24 April 1941 to the Minister for Labour and National Service, Harold Holt. The union argued that the employment of female operators at the Toowoomba Foundry "cannot be entertained ... until all available male labour has been absorbed into the industry, and then only under certain conditions". The belief that men were to be the primary or sole breadwinner in the family limited women's opportunities for paid work in Queensland.

Though comprehensive statistics about the employment of women and girls are not available, existing evidence supports the claim in Economic News that there were "no great changes in female employment between 1939 and July 1941". The numbers of females registered as unemployed varied between 1,253 in December 1939 and 1,806 in April 1940, returning to that level once more in January 1941.

"Choosing to work for nothing" was not just the prerogative of the female dependants of bourgeois and petit bourgeois men, as Shute argues. In Queensland, it was often the only work available. In the first phase of women's war, domestic responsibilities and the economic structure of the region appear to have been more important determinants of the nature of women's war work than class. The position in New South Wales and Victoria was markedly different. In those states, between July 1939 and December 1941, some 43,000 and 27,100 women respectively had been drawn into paid war work from "not occupied groups, self employed, and rural and private domestic wage earners", whereas in Queensland only 500 more women were added to that category. In the south, as industries changed over to war-related production, the opportunities for women in paid employment burgeoned.

The attempts by women to carve out suitable war-related roles did not cease with the implementation of the plans set out in the War Book. Many of their initiatives were also directed towards achieving a more active role in Australia's defence. Women enrolled in classes to learn signalling, motor and aircraft maintenance. Robina Angus, then living in Mareeba, recalled, "A few of us young women who ... were either still working or lived on farms wanted to do something and we went to the local radio-station ... [to learn Morse]". Women's challenge to the established order was not overlooked. Press reports of their activities were, at times, patronising or derisory.
WAR MOBILISATION: A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY

The Australian Women's Land Army, formed in Queensland in May 1940, and certain other paramilitary endeavours or women's groups met with hostility, if not outright rejection. Later in the war the state took control of the Land Army and utilised the skills women had acquired in their paramilitary groups. But in the first stage of mobilisation, the training of women in skills hitherto classified as "masculine" whether as agricultural labourers or as telegraphists, was widely perceived as an affront to received understandings of women's capabilities. Nevertheless, the activities of the various women's groups set in train a gradual change in public perceptions of the ways in which women might serve.

By mid-1940, the first phase of the mobilisation process was complete. Women's unpaid labour had been enlisted in the national cause as planned. However, the nature of individual women's contribution was dependent on their regional location. In the translation of policy into practice, the question of women's role in the war was inscribed firmly on the public and political agenda.

New Roles for Women?

That question remained unresolved throughout the second phase of the mobilisation process. This second phase coincided with moves to bring Australia's war effort in industry and the services to an optimum level of efficiency. At the policy level, this involved a reconsideration of the scope and possibilities of the female labour force and a rapid build-up of the services.

In Queensland there was still little scope for an expanded female labour force. Such expansion was hindered by continuing high male unemployment and the small numbers of men to be replaced. It was also limited by a factor identified in the Report of the Manpower and Resources Survey Committee of September 1941: "Queenslanders did not have the general industry of the southern states to absorb workers in war work". Secondly, geographic location became crucial. Requests from the Queensland Premier for consideration in munitions allocations met with the rejoinder that "for strategic reasons the Commonwealth Government is averse to the establishment of munition factories along the eastern coastline unless such action is absolutely unavoidable". Queensland did not benefit, as the southern states did, from the moves to decentralise munition production over thirty-five regionally planned areas. The one munition factory established at Rocklea did not come into full production until mid-1942.
In those country districts of Queensland where suitable machine tool capacity installed in garages and engineering works was being utilised for the production of munition components and ship-building requirements, the employment of women seems to have been insignificant. An addendum to the Manpower and Resources report by J.G. Duncan Hughes pointed out that in 1941 "scarcely a women was to be seen in the Railway workshops, foundries and mills which were inspected except occasionally (but not always) in the offices and in the Government annexe at the Toowoomba Foundry". The addendum further suggested that replacement of men by women would not be favourably regarded by the Queensland Government. As a result, the increase in this state in the number of female wage earners in the period July 1939 to December 1941 was insignificant, as Table 8.1 suggests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>December 1941</th>
<th>Increase July 1939 to December 1941</th>
<th>Increase July 1941 to December 1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>574.6</td>
<td>217.1</td>
<td>791.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>400.4</td>
<td>177.0</td>
<td>577.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>162.8</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>218.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>125.9</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>167.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>110.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1,394.6</td>
<td>535.1</td>
<td>1,929.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Australian Archives: CRS CP 6/2 ITEM B. FILE XXVII (I)

The much debated expansion of job opportunities for Australian women in this second stage of mobilisation was a phenomenon of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia only.

However, the second strand of the mobilisation policy, the rapid build-up of the armed services, did eventually provide a significant opportunity for single women throughout Queensland to play a more direct role in the war effort. The decision of the Advisory War Council in 1941 to form a Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force also provided the first officially sanctioned challenge to the gender order. Women were to be
The message from Prime Minister John Curtin was simply and graphically conveyed: “Australia faces the darkest hour in her history.”

Source: *Courier Mail*, 14 February 1942

Public perceptions of the ways in which women might serve in war were slow to change. The manner in which some of their para-military activities were acknowledged is captured in the “humour” of this “Winnie the War Winner” cartoon.

Source: *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 8 March 1941

“*But how was I to know the General was inspecting the guns!***
ACW Nuelle Pinner: twenty-two-year-old teleprinter operator is the latest pin-up girl for Australian servicemen who saw her on our cover.

New kind of pin-up girl...

Uniformed Waaaf on our cover

The war-time propaganda machine was quick to stress women service members’ essential “femininity”, particularly when their work involved tasks previously perceived as “all-male”; hence the representation of one of their number as “The new kind of pin-up girl.”

Source: Australian Women's Weekly, 15 January 1944
employed "in mustering where trained men are not available or are not suitable for the work required". The debates at policy level, from the time of the initial proposal in October 1940 to the actual enrolment of the first women as telegraphists and teleprinter operators on 15 March 1941 provide a telling example of the connections between women's experiences of the war and the processes of politics.

Objections from within the Australian community to the admission of women to the services were based on the protection of certain interests. To the unions, the admission of women was perceived as a threat to men's jobs. Labor opposition members in federal parliament were equally explicit and believed that women should be employed in "other and more suitable avenues". The Advisory War Council stated its objection to "the enlistment of women in the fighting services particularly for duties which in unit life are performed for men". However, it did not raise the same objection to the employment of women as cooks, "for, positions such as these ... in civil life were filled by women".

The initial proposal for a Women's Auxiliary was deferred by the Advisory War Council, despite a pressing need in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) for telegraphists and teleprinter operators. Utility and need eventually overrode other considerations and women trained by the voluntary war organisations were enrolled, but as a temporary measure, until sufficient men could be trained. In Queensland, young women from rural areas as well as those from the city who were trained in signals were quick to apply. It was the moment for which they had trained. Cynthia Blair, who lived in Ipswich, wrote to the Minister for Air asking, "What about us?" She and her sister had not been included in the first two intakes of 1941. By mid 1942, the net recruitment in Queensland was second only to that of Western Australia.

Enrolment in a women's auxiliary may have eliminated the obstacle which a woman's particular geographic location had imposed, but equal participation in the public world of war and work was another question. Questions of remuneration, like those of working conditions, allowance and later rehabilitation and reconstruction for servicewomen, were not determined on the same bases as those for servicemen. They were governed by official perceptions of what was appropriate to the gender order.

The Cabinet Agendum of 25 June 1941 acknowledged that "there are no special economic considerations which can be used to rebut this argument that justice demands the payment of single men's rates to women in the Forces doing equal work". Nonetheless, the Cabinet decided that women's pay would be two-thirds of the male rate. Women's right to economic self sufficiency was never on the government's agenda.
PART 2 HISTORIES

Official attempts to designate the work of servicewomen "women's work" did not completely allay community fears about the perceived breach in the gender order. The war-time propaganda machine was quick to emphasize women service members' essential "femininity". In mid-1942, Lt. Col. Sybil Irving's advice to women received headline billing. "We must keep the "W" in the WAAF and AWAS...we do not want to lose sight of the fact we are women". Later in the war, the Australian Women's Weekly announced that women in the services were the NEW PIN-UP GIRLS (see illustration). Women, whether in the services or in civilian life, continued to find their role depicted as "feminine" and as "the second line of defence".

All-In?

The advent of the Pacific War ushered in the third stage of the mobilisation process. The rapidity with which the Japanese swept south, east, and west forced a reassessment of national priorities. In order to release every available man for defence, policy makers had two immediate tasks in this stage to bring as much female labour as possible into the workforce and to redistribute women within industry. New and different principles for the employment of women in industry were brought forward. These included the far-reaching regulations of March 1942, which established a Women's Employment Board with power to determine whether or not females might be employed in various occupations and to determine the conditions under which they might work and the appropriate rates of pay.

Establishing the principle was one step, implementation was quite another. The headline in the Courier Mail with which this chapter commenced was the first of a long series of propaganda moves designed to alter attitudes within the community to home, to industry, and to women's place within them. In May, one editorial in the Courier Mail asserted WOMEN CAN PULL THEIR WEIGHT. It then proceeded to tease out the implications of the Prime Minister's claim that "Australia will have to depend upon women's work to an extent never before imagined". In this third phase, the mobilisation policies which emanated from the relative security of southeastern Australia continued to be curiously out of touch with the lack of positions in the labour force in Queensland and the social dislocation wrought by evacuation from the north, the construction of defence facilities across the state, and the deployment of Australian and Allied servicemen.
The threat of invasion which both the government and people in Queensland felt to be imminent prompted many to prepare evacuation plans. While the Premiers Conference had agreed that "evacuation ... should be on a voluntary basis and confined to women (and) children not capable of employment", the evacuation census conducted in January had precipitated a substantial exodus from the north. The distinction between a compulsory and "encouraged voluntary" evacuation of women was, as the Mayor of Cairns later stated; a technical one. His view was supported by the editor of the Townsville Daily Bulletin, who argued that evacuation was fostered by the authorities and helped by the fact that "womenfolk who followed the forces (were) told by their husbands to get out of Townsville, and the locals therefore thought it good enough to get their own womenfolk out". 800 women and children left Cairns in the first week of February alone, while in the period 24 January to 5 April 1942, 113 south-bound passenger-carrying trains conveyed 25,373 passengers and 24 west-bound trains conveyed 7,100 passengers. Though this figure included several parties of evacuees from other countries, the number of passengers was very much higher than in peace time. It represented a loss of nearly one-fifth of the population of the north as recorded at the census of 1933, and an increase in the population in the north-west of more than 40 per cent. The social geography of the state altered markedly.

With this alteration, there came some changes in the particular role which women in the various areas of Queensland might play. In the country towns west of the great divide, women stepped up their efforts to provide accommodation for whole families and evacuee children. They worked long hours to raise funds and produce comforts; the camouflage net became a standard piece of equipment in the home and the local hall. Women who remained in coastal towns and the immediate hinterland, like their city counterparts, were reluctantly enrolled as ARP wardens. Some became mine watchers and aircraft spotters. Others shouldered the responsibility for emergency centres and first aid units. Some helped prepare and stock emergency supply depots, all the while attending to domestic obligations which grew more onerous with schools closed and war news more depressing. Many salvaged scarce materials and dug Victory gardens. The "Time Budget for War Work" published in the Courier Mail of 6 July, 1942, indicated that domestic duties were being militarised. Later, war duties would be domesticated.

At the moment of greatest crisis, largely because of their geographic location, it was the traditional labour of women, their unpaid labour in the home and its extension in the service of the nation, that was mobilised on the greatest scale in Queensland. By all accounts, this was contrary to the experience in the southern states, where women's paid labour appeared to be of singular importance.
In Queensland, those not tied with domestic responsibilities who wanted paid work found mobility to their advantage. In December 1941, 13,000 women volunteered for any service associated with war work and 2,000 submitted their names to enrol with either the women's army or the air force. The determination of the latter volunteers was emphasised by their reported decision to "link up with the service which will be called up first". In Queensland alone, there were volunteers sufficient to fill the target announced by the Minister for the Army on 10 December: "2,100 to be recruited in all States ... to make every fit man available for active service". By July, 2,716 women had been accepted. Others vied for places in the Australian Women's Land Army, which met with the greater acceptance in rural areas as male workers were called up or enlisted. A number moved to the city in an attempt to get jobs. Some were forced to return home when faced with the lack of suitable accommodation and the lack of demand for their services.

Positions in the paid workforce were extremely limited in the early months of 1942. Some vacancies existed in the clothing industry for juniors aged fourteen to sixteen years and for more experienced machinists but, as the report of the employment inspector in January of that year pointed out, there was "little likelihood of the absorption in the workforce of the 2,864 females registered for work." In the inspector's view, the only prospect of placing large numbers of women appeared to be "the Rocklea Ammunition factory when production increases". Of the obstacles to increasing women's employment which he enumerated, employer intransigence was one of the more significant. Subtle persuasion had been necessary to require two firms with war contacts to employ, as juniors, girls of seventeen. They were too old! Women over 45 years of age were deemed to be difficult to employ.

The Commonwealth Statistician noted in July 1942 that, contrary to the position in the southern states, there had been very little increase in the diversion of female labour into industry in Queensland, where little factory development had occurred. Until shortages in the labour force were identified locally, legislative intervention, propaganda campaigns and the designs of the federal government's Economic Charter had little impact. This is not to suggest there was any immediate or direct relationship between the policy decisions and the movement of women into industry. The Queensland experience suggests women's decision-making was influenced by a range of factors, not the least of which was their regional location. But, in the first six months of 1942, the options for those who chose to adhere to the maxim "Fight or Work" were extremely limited.

However, several factors intervened to substantially alter the composition of the labour force in Queensland after July 1942. Men were increasingly diverted from
WAR MOBILISATION: A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY

industry to the defence forces and replaced by women "for the duration"). Allied with this, at a propaganda level, a sustained campaign in the media established new and different public images of women at work. Of equal significance for the labour market in Queensland was the move which Ida Haldane of Toowong termed "the means of me getting into a really worth while war job", the introduction of the Restriction of Employment of Domestic Servants Order. According to Colin Clark, this made available for redirection some 10,000 people. While not all were women, a considerable number were. By the end of this phase, one in every two males aged 18-40 years was in the services and the female labour force had increased by 24.7 per cent.

Some of this increase can be attributed to the Rocklea munitions factory coming into full production with 1600 women employed in the peak production period of early 1943. Of greater import in the long term was the arrival of the "Friendly Invaders", the Americans. They established at various locations throughout the state all the facilities required by an army engaged in a total war. Australian army facilities also multiplied. The strategic location of Queensland, which had limited female participation in the labour force in the earlier phases, became a catalyst rather than a constraint.

As a result of the burgeoning military presence, Queensland's traditional industries assumed an unprecedented importance. In consequence, the most significant increase in the female labour force occurred, not in the new war industries, but rather in those industries in which women had traditionally been employed, particularly in clothing, textiles and food processing. Policies and plans were adapted accordingly. The focus of the media campaigns in Queensland from mid-1942 was pre-eminently on women in traditional occupations, though exceptions such as those of ice-vendor, bank teller and tram conductor also featured.

The arrival and dispersion of allied and Australian troops in rural areas required women to feed, entertain or attend to those troops. Many found paid employment for the first time in their lives, or supplemented their wives' allotment as the invading army stimulated the local economy. While most were engaged in "women's work", a few, such as those in Gordonvale, packed parachutes. Others replaced men in rural industries, where their contribution proved invaluable. In the north, they helped with the sugar harvest. In the south and west of the state, women were reported droving, driving wool lorries and working with stock. Women from the Cherbourg Aboriginal Reserve were engaged for the peanut harvest. Whatever the need, it seems that both Aboriginal and European women, those in the Australian Women's Land Army and those available at the time, were quick to fill the breach. Bette Parker, a member of the AWLA summed up the approach. "On Lochiel Station in the Roma district, [I did]
whatever Mr. Henzel would have done, as far as I could. If the Bathurst Burr were bad ... you chipped it out. [In the drought], if there was a sheep stuck, if you could get him out, you got him out ... I did the fences too.\footnote{89}

By September 1942, an unprecedented situation had arisen in Queensland - a shortage of female labour. The various strategies which had been implemented earlier in the south to effect the total mobilisation of women were gradually introduced throughout the state. Those single women and married women without children who were aged 16 to 34 and not gainfully employed were called up.\footnote{89} While class position appears to have been of little relevance, domestic responsibilities were. Only those married women who could assure manpower officials that their children under 16 were being catered for were admitted into the workforce.\footnote{90} Some of the traditional strictures which had governed women's entry into and exclusion from the labour force were forced to one side by the demands of the war economy.

As shortages continued, a number of policies were addressed to striking a compromise between upholding women's domestic role and utilising their labour power in industry. However, such moves followed rather than preceded calls for women in industry. Part-time employment, which had earlier been declared unwarranted, was apportioned to those unable to undertake full-time work.\footnote{92} Such a policy signified a great deal more than a desperate shortage of labour - it signalled a recognition of women's domestic burdens and, what is more, deference to them. The debates surrounding experiments such as collective child care seemed to signal profound change. Closer investigation suggests that this change was severely constrained by respect for the domestic obligations of women. In many instances collective child care became a method of policing women's attendance at work.\footnote{93}

Redeployment of women in industry to positions the policy makers deemed most necessary became a standard practice in the metropolitan area.\footnote{94} Where the move was from a lowly paid to a more worthwhile position there were few problems. If the move was in the other direction - for example, from munitions to the canning factory, with a subsequent loss of wages - women reasserted that resoluteness that had led them to persist in their attempts to enter the workforce. They went on strike.\footnote{95} The lack of parity in women's wages throughout industry also became a pressing problem for those charged with maximising the war effort.\footnote{96}

The third phase was one of intense mobilisation of women's labour in the service of the nation. But, whereas in other states, that had been translated into positions in the workforce from the start, in Queensland, the pattern was markedly different. It was marked first, by the substantial expansion of women's unpaid services in both urban and
WAR MOBILISATION: A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY

rural areas. Then came increasing demands for their presence in the paid labour force - a labour force which, by mid-1943, was not confined to the large metropolitan centres. Numerous strategies were developed to bring Queensland's wartime employment figures to their highest point. At the same time the public images of women changed noticeably. Their roles as canteen worker, munition worker, land worker, member of the services and/or housewife appear to have been equally valued. The Berlei advertisements in the *Australian Women’s Weekly* of 15 January 1944 appealed to women in each of these roles.

The transition from the third to the fourth phase of mobilisation was not marked by any significant external crisis. There was, if anything, an internal crisis. Policy makers realised that Australia could not continue to meet commitments to the services, to production in essential war industry, or to increasing demands for services and supply for the allied forces in the Pacific. A rationalisation of "manpower" and a process of diversion and redeployment of women's labour was necessary.

Nowhere was this process of rationalisation more in evidence than in Queensland, with its heavy involvement in primary production and in the processing of those primary products. The task of servicing and supplying the needs of both the Australian and allied forces continued to be shared between the large metropolitan centres and the numerous small towns along the coast and in the north and west of the state. In each of these centres, labour was in short supply, so the task was then to redistribute female labour to meet changing national priorities. This task was less daunting in Queensland than it might well have been because of the decentralised and localised nature of those industries which became "vital" to the war effort.

"Women's work": a reconsideration

In addition to those strategies developed in the latter months of the third phase - such as "combing out" surplus labour from less essential industry, the introduction of extensive part-time employment for women, and the compulsory diversion from one industry to another - several major policy decisions were taken in the fourth phase in an attempt to further augment the female labour force.

First, the services were restricted to set quotas so that there were limits to the manpower being replaced. Those attempting to enrol in the women's auxiliaries were screened to determine whether their skills might be better utilised in civilian industry or in rural areas. Secondly, the *National (Female Minimum Rates) Regulations of 1944*
were introduced in certain "vital" industries, notably food processing, clothing and the

textile industry, in order to overcome some of the inequities inherent in women's waged

work in those areas. The minimum female wage was set at 75 per cent of the male basic

wage.101 Later in 1944, the Commonwealth Arbitration Court was asked to further re­

assess women's wages "in comparison with the minimum rates of pay for females

employed in other industries or parts thereof which are virtually necessary during the

war".102 Though the application was unsuccessful, it suggests that high priority was

finally being accorded those occupations and industries in which women had traditionally

been employed.103

The desperate quest for female labour in Brisbane and in many country centres was

most evident in the monthly reports of the Deputy Director General of Manpower (Qld)

for the years 1944 to 1945. There was little or no place in this phase for women's

voluntary labour. The Women's Voluntary National Register was wound up in early

1944.104 Every single, widowed, or divorced woman without dependent children, who

was not gainfully employed, had her commitments thoroughly scrutinised. Questionnaires

were dispatched; women were interviewed; and prosecutions were

launched against those who failed to comply with direction orders to work in hospitals

and institutions. "Raids" were planned to check on those persons in the "floating"

population who evaded such scrutiny in Brisbane, Townsville and Cairns. Retail stores

were "combed" for female labour. Those women aged less than 45 years who were

debated suitable for other "more essential" work were redirected accordingly.105 Another

significant move was the complete cessation of the munitions program at Rocklea by late

1943 and the diversion of its female labour force to aircraft repair and industries

elsewhere.106

One measure of the success of the various strategies undertaken in this phase is that,

by mid-1944, female employment reached its highest point in Queensland, and, by

January 1945, every shop and factory district had an increased number of employees.107

Ultimately, numbers of service personnel were released to meet the shortfall of labour.108

The fourth phase of the mobilisation process is the one most remembered by many

women in Queensland. The coercive arm of the state, "the manpower", was very much

to the fore in obtaining female labour for industry deemed essential.109 Little has been

written about the extent of its role in the allocation of that labour within industry. The

Code of Working Conditions for Women became a measure by which to determine the

priority accorded to particular firms in the allocation of labour. A schedule drawn up in

1945 pointed out that, of the seventy-eight clothing and textile factories visited in

Brisbane, only twenty-five had installations which complied with the code. As a result,
only twenty-five were eligible for new or reallocated workers.\textsuperscript{110} Labour shortages in these industries continued after the cessation of hostilities.

Phase four of the mobilisation process was, like the preceding phase, one in which policies emanating from the south were reworked or rescheduled to meet the differing requirements of the decentralised industrial structure in the state. Because Queensland's manufacturing and processing industries were widely spread, this reduced rather than exacerbated the problem of utilising the available state-wide female labour force. While this was the phase in which women's labour was most heavily policed, it was also a time when belated recognition was accorded to the scant rewards which women received for their paid labour and the time when token acknowledgment of the dual burden resulted in the extension of part-time work and in attempts to address the question of child-care.

Contrary to the widely held belief that women were sent home after the war, the position was more complex in Queensland. As the Minister for Labour and Employment, V.C. Gair, pointed out in 1946, "instead of a surplus of women in industry leading to competition between men and women for jobs, there has been a shortage of female labour generally. ... The action taken by some employers to engage men for work in textile, clothing, boot and jam factories normally carried out by women is sufficient indication of the extent of female labour shortages. ... Some employers state that they have been forced to continue to employ married women because of the difficulty in obtaining female labour."\textsuperscript{111} These trends were more pronounced in Brisbane. A continued shortage of female labour in Queensland ensured that women's employment remained under the control of the Directorate of Manpower after similar controls on the male labour force were removed.\textsuperscript{112}

By 1946, the masculinity ratio in factories throughout Queensland had returned to its pre-depression (1925) level. It increased from 29 males to every 10 females in 1939 to 32 males to every 10 females in 1946. This represented an increased masculinity ratio for the state of 10.3 per cent. In Brisbane, the increase was 27 per cent. The masculinity ratio in shops decreased, and in Brisbane by 1946 the proportion had dropped from the 1925 ratio of 18 males to every 10 females employed to 10 males to 10 females.\textsuperscript{113} A similar change occurred in the property and finance industries.

In Queensland, total war was a woman's war. All, who could, did serve. Nevertheless, regional factors considerably altered both the nature and the experience of that homefront mobilisation. In the first two phases of this process, the nature and patterns of Queensland's development severely constrained the possibilities for mobilisation and for change in the employment structure. In the third, strategic location was of paramount importance. At that time, changes in employment were brought about,
not by the increasing diversity of war production as in the southern states, but by the nature of Queensland’s industrial structure. The provisioning and servicing of Australian and allied armed forces built upon Queensland’s traditional industries and its primary producing and primary processing potential. This process continued in the fourth stage, resulting in significant changes in the composition of the female labour force in terms of the marital status, age structure and regional distribution of the women employed.\textsuperscript{114}

The employment structure in Queensland also shaped and was shaped by regional wartime developments. First, the increased employment, where it was in factory production, was concentrated in a considerably reduced number of factories. By the end of the war these had declined from 3,064 in 1939 to 2,652.\textsuperscript{115} This may well have shaped postwar development by encouraging the continuation of those manufacturing interests already established in certain regional areas. Secondly, while there was a significant increase in the female labour force and changes in its composition, the masculinity ratios in the manufacturing, retail, finance and property industries indicated that the labour market remained sex-segregated.

Such changes did not necessarily suggest that women generally gained for themselves a happier place in Queensland society, though that may well have been the case for individual women. War did bring some short term changes in women’s tasks in Queensland. But, time and space were important elements in the mobilisation process. Paradoxically, the same economic and social changes that made young women’s work more varied and more mobile increased familial burdens and reduced the social autonomy of wives and mothers. Some women assumed economic roles traditionally ascribed to men, but the nature and variety of these tasks depended on regional location. With the exception of a few individual cases, there is little evidence of a "quiet revolution" in women’s status in Queensland at this time.

The energy, enthusiasm and unstinting contribution of women in paid and unpaid work underpinned the nation’s war effort. In Queensland, more than in the southern states, those tasks traditionally regarded as "women’s work" played a vital role in maintaining a total war commitment. The prediction of the Prime Minister in May 1942 had been fulfilled. Australia, and in particular Queensland, had depended upon women’s work to an extent never before imagined.
In this chapter, I want to consider how we can understand women's experience of particular places and of the cultural, social and political life of their times by thinking about the spatial constitution of subjectivity and sexual difference. The association of masculinity and femininity with public and private spaces emerged with nineteenth century urbanisation; and one of the effects of women's association with domestic, private space has been to locate their experience outside the domain of conventional histories. The absence of women from official accounts and the limitations of measuring their lives in terms of a chronology of marriage, childbearing and death are by now well recognised problems for feminist historiography. Analysis of women's experience only in terms of exclusion has given way to a project which would secure their position in the private sphere as one from which the horizons of cultural, social and political life might be remapped. Just as the "facts" of women's reproductive lives are not reducible to an immutable "biology", so this position is not fixed and unchanging, but one which is inscribed within shifting corporeal and social relations of identification and difference. If we are to restore the experiences of unextraordinary women to history, to include the details of everyday life and of those moments which allow life to be experienced as having shape and significance, we need to attend to the ways in which subjectivity is constituted within those relations, and within the intersecting spaces of personal, social and political life. In particular, the desire for "felicitous space" and the ways in which that space is used to mark out relations of identity and difference need to be explored. As a consequence, the relations of home, identity and community might be reconceptualised to take account of the specificities of sex, class, ethnicity and race.

The issues of identification and difference also arise in this collection in terms of a concern with the "Queensland difference". This specification is dependent upon the position from which the question of difference is posed. Like sexual difference, regional difference is usually conceived of as a dichotomous difference, privileging one transcendent term against its undifferentiated others. So in the context of Australian cultural criticism, region is opposed to nation in historical and political discourses. In aesthetics and in literary history, regional writing or "local colour" (where women have
PART 3 SPACES

been prominent) is the other against which the universal and the abstract is defined. When difference is constructed in this way, the regional, the local and the particular cluster together, in contradistinction to the national, the universal and the sublime, as feminine is opposed to, and contrasted with, masculine. In this dichotomous relationship, neither term can be defined positively, on its own terms. As Naomi Schor argues, the detail is aligned with the feminine in classical theory. Postmodernist theory, however, has shifted attention to the detailed and the particular, has reconceptualised difference as plural and has identified localised sites of negotiation of power relations. In considering the ways in which we might think about "women" and "region", I want to displace the paradigm of dichotomy, and to consider instead the multiplicity of difference, differences within as well as "without". In this way the question of difference might be posed from other positions. This strategy avoids a simple reversal of the opposition, privileging "Queensland" in terms of "the South" but still remaining within its bounds. The recasting of the issues of identification and difference also discloses positions from which other women's lives may be read, lives which are at once familiar and strange.

My concern in this chapter is not with historical texts, or even directly with the kind of "evidence" - diaries, letters, official documents - which those texts draw on. I am more interested in the technologies of gender, in the ways in which representational practices produce difference and in the understandings of the formation of gendered identities which are deployed in reading and writing a woman's life. Consequently I am taking up these issues in relation to two literary texts, Jean Devanny's Cindie: A Chronicle of the Canefields (1949) and Thea Astley's It's Raining in Mango (1987), both of which are concerned with the inscription of difference, and with the construction of a space outside the discourses of heterosexual and national difference from which the horizons of historical narrative can be redrawn.

Historical and literary narratives have privileged the temporal as the dimension into which the active subject has been inserted. In both, it has been men who have figured as the agents who move the narrative forward, whose activities in the public domain precipitate change and development, while women, occupied as they are with the private activities of reproduction and nurturance, interrupt and slow the narrative. Against the symbolic, linear time of history, women are situated in the semiotic, cyclical time of reproduction and generation. If women have intervened in the public domain as women, their presence has typically been experienced as a disruption, often precipitating scandal. Nineteenth century feminist strategies which emphasised "respectability" were an attempt to counteract this effect. Julia Kristeva has discussed the forms which feminist interventions might take, given this sexed differentiation of the temporal relations
FELICITOUS SPACE

constitutive of national and supra national identities, in her essay, "Women's time". As Toril Moi explains in her introduction to the essay, "Kristeva's explicit aim is to emphasise the multiplicity of female expressions and preoccupations so as not to homogenise "woman", while at the same time insisting on the necessary recognition of sexual difference as psychoanalysis sees it. Stressing that for her, the word "generation" emphasises less a chronology than a signifying space, Kristeva distinguishes two generations of feminists: the first wave of egalitarian feminists demanding equal rights with men, or, in other words, their right to a place in linear time, and the second generation, emerging after 1968, which emphasised women's radical difference from men and demanded women's right to "remain outside the linear time of history and politics". Kristeva locates the emergence of liberal feminism in an historical matrix of post-Enlightenment egalitarian political and nationalist movements. This feminism is the feminism of modernity: Kristeva points to the "logic of identification" with the "logical and ontological values of a rationality dominant in the nation-state". This current of feminism, like other liberal movements, is concerned with the representative or universal woman and locates its interests in access to the public and political domain of men. More recently, feminism has rejected this logic of identification, exhibited a distrust of "the entire political dimension" and refused linear temporality, seeking instead "to give a language to the infrasubjective and corporeal experiences left mute by culture in the past". The alternatives represented by these feminist positions are underwritten by different theories of the formation of sexed subjectivity and are indissociable from the subject's relation to space: the semiotic space of the maternal, or the paternal, symbolic space. Kristeva contends that a third generation of feminists will draw on and go beyond these alternatives, and produce new understandings of difference, of subjectivity and of the negotiations of power and of the designation of the political. She claims that this third generation feminism would produce a demassification of the problem of difference, which could then be understood in terms of the singularity and multiplicities of women.

Rather than debating Kristeva's programme for a feminist ethics and politics at this point, I want to pursue the notion of the indissociability of the temporal and the spatial, and to think about the constitution of subjectivity in terms of both intra- and intersubjective spaces, of the spaces of the "I" and the "non-I", as an experience of differentiation within familial and social relations, of self from the material world, and, through memory, of self from past relations. Kristeva argues that the anxiety of separation and differentiation is experienced differently by men and women, that narcissistic gratification and later mastery and control are the privilege of men rather than of women. The threat of castration is compensated for men in the promise of renewed
connection; for women, "lack" is much less likely to be supplied, desire not to be fulfilled, loss experienced again and again. Hysteria, the resistance to separation, the refusal of the symbolic, is characterised by repetition, and by the desire, never satisfied, of narcissistic gratification.

I want to suggest that the relations of feminine subjectivity to space and time, the desire for connection and completion might be traceable in women's experience of place, and in particular in the practices related to the creation of and attachment to what Gaston Bachelard has called "felicitous space". Where Kristeva argues that feminine subjectivity has to be understood in terms of the tensions between insertion into the paternal space of linear time and the cyclical, generational rhythms of the maternal space, Bachelard's claim that an understanding of intimacy cannot depend on a chronology of dates, but must take account of the subject's relation to inhabited space, the space of the "I" and the "non-I", allows the argument to be extended. "All really inhabited space", Bachelard claims, "bears the essence of the notion of home". In calling for a "systematic psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives" which he designates "topoanalysis", he argues that what we can know of subjectivity is "a sequence of fixations in the spaces of the being's stability".

The horizon of inhabited space is located in terms of the situated body, and is thus sex-specific. Nancy Mairs has taken up Bachelard's work in her collection of essays, Remembering the Bonehouse: An Erotics of Place and Space: "The body itself is a dwelling place ... and the homeliness of its nature is even livelier for a woman than for a man .... Woman may literally become that inhabited space, containing, in Cixous's words, 'a thousand and one fiery hearths' of erotic desire and experiencing in childbirth 'the non-me within the me', thereby becoming the non-I that protects the I of the unborn child .... Through writing her body, woman may reclaim the deed to her dwelling". Women's bodies have been allocated to a space outside culture, at the same time as they have been culturally inscribed as the raw material, the site of passion and desire which must be subjected to the control and surveillance of the rational (masculine) intellect. Kay Schaffer has argued that in the discourses of nationalism and masculinity which circulate in Australian culture, the feminine is aligned with nature, with the landscape, as the ground on which national identity is inscribed. Yet the constant reworking of representations of that identity also indicates its instability, and the instability of the boundaries between masculinity and femininity, nature and culture. This instability offers the opportunity for redefining difference, within the lived relations of nature and culture.

If we take up a position outside the dichotomies - in Teresa de Lauretis's "space off" - and rethink the notion of difference, and the relation of the "I" and the "non-I",
that it is possible for woman to occupy both positions at once, and to move between
them, experiencing her subjectivity through the body as a spatial and temporal process, a
set of relations, it may be possible to renegotiate her positioning as a political subject, as a
citizen. I want to propose a notion of "woman" which represents her multiple subjectivity
as mobility, as shifting between the "I" and the "non-I", between the spaces of the
private, civil and political domains. Both the novels considered here construct feminine
subjectivity in this space between, in a process of negotiation of identity and difference.

Devanny's title, Cindie: A Chronicle of the Canefields, embodies the tensions of the
narrative's movement between romance, the genre of domestic space, and documentary
history. It is at once a history of the personal and political development of a woman and a
history of the sugar industry in North Queensland. It documents the late nineteenth
century debates surrounding labour and immigration laws, it identifies the stakeholders in
those debates, and it differentiates their interests in industry and regional terms. In doing
so, it engages with the workings of the political process at governmental and union levels,
but importantly it also widens the debates to show how they intersect with issues of sex
and race. The romance narrative is not marginal; it functions to renegotiate the definition
of the political to include race and sexual politics, and to extend the political domain to the
private, domestic sphere. In doing so, it also reworks notions of feminine desire through
its account of the labour which produces attachment to place.

Cindie comes to North Queensland in 1896, as lady's maid to Blanche Biddow,
whose husband Randolph is clearing land to establish a cane plantation. Randolph is not
from Blanche's class; against the tensions which arise from these differences, their union
is marked as one based in sexual attraction. Blanche is wilful and spoilt, a brimming
vessel of the sexual desire which will bring her downfall. Cindie soon realises there is
little for a maid to do in these circumstances, and secures permission to work with
Biddow in the fields. But while she might be redundant as a lady's maid, she is quickly
made aware that as a woman, she will be in demand: "Within a radius of five miles of
this table there are dozens of planters just breaking into sugar, and not more than a score
of them are married. And a woman...can make or break a man in these parts .... You
look out, Cindie! They'll be on your tail like an army of tom-cats before you can turn
round" (15). This advice is grounded in the realities of masculinity ratios on the frontier,
but the statement also situates Blanche and Cindie in terms of their moral and ethical
functions as women: Cindie is the woman who can make a man, Blanche the sort who
breaks him. Their struggle ensues from their desire of the same object, Randolph. But
their struggle is not merely personal: each strives to be the subject of her own desire,
Blanche by flouting the conventions of marital fidelity, Cindie by trying to renegotiate the
conventional romantic scripts. She refuses the "ideal" marriage, and apparently represses her sexuality, but her desire is sublimated in her creation of her "felicitous space".

Working alongside Biddow on the plantation, Cindie provides the practical good sense which balances his idealism. Work in the fields transforms Cindie: no longer a servant, but "a labourer in the Lord's vineyards", she takes her place at Blanche's table "consciously devoid of a sense of incongruity and submission". Although she assures Biddow that housework is work, after a body bruising day with fork and hoe "she felt a man among men".

Having secured her release from domesticity, Cindie is careful to contain her excitement and not to transgress the limits of propriety. Her own interest in Biddow is redirected into "a mounting obsession" with his affairs. Poring over the political news at night, labouring by day in Biddow's discarded dungarees, Cindie undergoes a revolution within. Her political education is not simply derived from Biddow, however. She has "put down roots in the soil" and this experience makes her see "the practical inutility of his temperament". So, "looking like a youth of the working class", she marks out a space for her own interventions. Her engagement in these debates, however, is dependent upon this masquerade. In town, she takes on the "forward looking and radical" miners: "Once she had discovered that these miners were a fount of new supposition and prophecy bearing on the welfare and development of Folkhaven, Cindie took no account of her sex in seeking them out and engaging them in discussion and even dispute" (110, italics mine). The dispute the narrative engages, however, is not Cindie's with the miners but Devanny's with William Lane on the question of the use of Melanesian labour in the sugar industry. The details of that argument are not so important here; what needs to be noted is the Communist Party's response to Devanny's position. For while she may have shared Cindie's view that sex was of no account where political opinion was concerned, the Party's hostile response to this novel suggests otherwise. Devanny's views on the labour question were out of line; consequently, Cindie was not reviewed in the Tribune. Nor was she given an opportunity to defend her views, a circumstance which recalled her earlier expulsion from the Party on the grounds of sexual irregularity. The response to Cindie precipitated Devanny's resignation from the Party in 1950, and it is tempting to suggest that the novel's representation of sexuality, though nowhere explicitly referred to in discussions of its reception, may have contributed to the hostility which surrounded its appearance.

Cindie's refusal of marriage is accompanied early in the novel by a moral outrage at the "promiscuous" sexual conduct of the Melanesians, and her disgust at Blanche's affair with Willis Fraser. That affair is exposed in the narrative's most spectacular scene: the
confrontation between Cindie and Blanche for possession of Biddow. When Fraser's Chinese wife Blossom contracts leprosy, Cindie seizes her opportunity to denounce Blanche's promiscuity and to secure her renunciation of sexual rights to her husband. Leprosy was understood to be a sexually transmitted disease, and armed with her medical and moral knowledges, Cindie makes clear to Blanche the extent of her contamination. It is a moment of excruciating agony for Blanche, and of exquisite pleasure for Cindie, as Blanche buys her silence with the promise to end her sexual relations with Biddow.

This scene erupts in the narrative like an hysterical symptom, yet Cindie's desires are more complex than even this jealousy suggests. Her refusal of Jeff Grey's proposal indicates the conventional plots of heterosexual desire cannot contain Cindie, but neither does this scene prepare the way for her displacement of Blanche as Biddow's wife. Instead, the romantic narrative is resolved by her seduction of, and marriage to, Biddow's son, Randy, whom she had tended as a child. This closure defies conventions, both literary and moral. It also strains the limits of the "chronicle", requiring a reading outside the boundaries of linear, historical time.

Cindie's narrative centres on a space outside culture and politics as defined by the dominant narrative. This space is the rainforest, the wilderness that her work as a labourer transforms. On her first day, she escapes the children and the boundaries of the property to wander in the forest, enticed further by a delicious scent: "The perfume came from a clump of great lily-like leaves rising from the gentle slope of the bank, down near the stream. Each leaf stalk was almost as tall as herself, each swaying leaf was a foot wide, two feet in length. In among the leaves were green flower buds on thick stalks, undoubtedly the source of the rich, cloying scent, for all that they were tightly closed. The moments of her discovery of that wild lily-stock were to remain with Cindie Comstock and recur to her as a stimulating excitement, throughout the long years of her singular and uncharted life. What happened to her then was like a conception within her, the germinating of new life" (20-21). This experience awakens in Cindie "little wings of eager desire for action" and that action is directed toward making from this wilderness her own space. The chart of her life is not mapped as a simple transposition into the public, masculine domain. It is grounded in the private, in housework, and the building of the house which she later claims as her own, in the creation of gardens as well as the plantation. This work expresses her ardent desire for a connection to place, experienced sensually through touch, taste and smell, that is, via those senses which impinge in nature and collapse the distinction between subject and object.¹²

Cindie's labour blurs the distinctions of "work" and "housework", "work" and "leisure": she remakes the tradition of women's work in settler societies. And in creating
PART 3 SPACES

her "felicitous space" she also renews her relation to Blanche. In the undercroft of this
North Queensland house (a space which correlates with attic or cellar in conventional
psychoanalytic topographies) Cindie constructs, at Blanche’s request, a fernery. In this
activity, her work is transformed to art, nature to culture. The construction of this cool
and inviting bower, a cave fringed with soft fronds and delicate orchids, is a work of
feminine desire. Its beauty is dependent upon the absence of the masculine. This is
signified by Cindie’s shooting a taipan which menaces her Aboriginal helper, Charity, as
they collect specimens in the forest, and by Biddow’s recognition of his own incongruous
presence in this space: "When Biddow came in he fell for the fernery to an extent that
surprised both women .... He moved from orchid to orchid, touching the petals of the
flowers, his odd eyes alight, his manner boyishly elated. He took his pipe from his
mouth and put it in his pocket. ‘Tobacco pollutes a place like this ...’". (99). At the risk
of being unsubtle, Biddow’s gesture is about erasing the phallus, withdrawing from this
site of feminine desire. Freud has discussed weaving as a woman’s art in terms of the
veiling of the female genitals, and women artists such as Georgia O’Keeffe and Judy
Chicago have attempted to reclaim vaginal iconography in their representations of
flowers. I am suggesting that in the creation of "felicitous space" in gardening, in
decorating rooms and houses, we can read a similar attempt to reclaim the female body.

In her connection to the wilderness and her various transformations of it, we can
trace the movements of Cindie’s "wings of desire". This desire is inscribed in the novel
not by a linear, but by a cyclical narrative. Cindie "seduces" and marries Randy, the
Biddow’s son. Her sexual awakening is described in unashamed hyperbole as
"monotonous, unloved virginity" displaced by "swooning voluptuousness". Cindie’s
youthful vitality is restored: "It was as though the last years had never been, she had
dropped them into oblivion and knitted up the tangled skein of 1896 with the possibilities
of 1905." (316).

The tangled skein of Devanny’s narrative is knotted by a complex series of
displacements and contradictions. At first sight, it seems that Randy takes the place of his
father as the object of Cindie’s desire. But Cindie offers herself, and Randy takes her,
"as naturally as a child would turn to its mother’s breast for comfort". In this case,
Cindie’s desire is to displace the mother, to put herself in Blanche’s place. No longer
"the girl", but "old Cindie" (though she is barely thirty), Cindie’s relation to Randy is at
once passionate and maternal.

Cindie’s renegotiation of difference is limited by the narrative’s closure, which
establishes Biddow as the subject of knowledge. He pronounces upon the issues of sex,
class and race raised within the narrative. The departing Kanakas are given space to voice
their own desires, but it is Biddow who legitimates their position, just as he channels Cindie's desire into marriage. In *It's Raining in Mango*, Connie Laffey "goes back to the start of things", tracing in memory and attachment to place a history of white settlement in the Cairns hinterland. While Connie's life and living memory shapes the narrative, hers is not the only position from which events are recorded or knowable. Instead it is inscribed as one among many different perspectives, privileged only to the extent that it is retrievable and continuous. Devanny's narrative takes account, as far as it is able within a broadly marxist framework, of corporeality and difference, by addressing race and sex, as well as class, in its analysis of social relations. But ultimately, its claim is that difference should make no difference, that we are all equal under the skin. Astley's narrative represents difference differently, mapping the relation of bodies and spaces onto an account of economic, political and social life in North Queensland from the 1860s to the present. Because this account recognises embodiment as the ground of experience and of knowledges, it does not make universalising claims. Instead, it marks out the positions from which it cannot claim to speak, including these blanks and silences, rather than suturing together a seamless narrative.

Subtitled "Pictures from the Family Album", the text comprises a series of intersecting but discrete narratives tracing the history of the Laffeys, descended from Cornelius and Jessica Olive, who come to the goldfields north of Cairns in the 1860s. As Annette Kuhn comments on the uses of the family album: "The whole, the series, constructs a family story in some respects like a classical narrative - linear, chronological; though the cyclical repetition of climactic moments - births, christenings, weddings, holidays (if not deaths) - is more characteristic of the open-ended narrative form of soap opera than of the closure of classical narrative. In the process of using - producing, selecting, ordering, displaying - photographs, the family is actually in the process of making itself". The photographs in this album construct the Laffeys around the absence of Cornelius, the deserting father, and the endurance of Jessica Olive, whose work is to imbricate the family in a web of social relations. This is a diminishing family, set apart by its attachment to place and by a social conscience which cannot disregard racial and sexual politics. Shadowing this narrative is the parallel history of the descendents of the Aboriginal boy, Bidiggi, befriended by Cornelius's son, George. The narrative does not presume to speak for Aborigines; though their voices are occasionally heard, they are fragmented, irrupting into the narratives of white history. It offers an account of "dispersal" and dispossession - of their lands and of their children - as it is experienced by Cornelius and George, who confront the horrors of white violence and their own complicity in the violation of Aboriginal culture.
Cornelius comes to the North as a journalist, writing both for the local press, and as a stringer for a Sydney paper. Violence is a way of life on the Palmer, and directed against the Chinese, or against Aborigines - not classified as human - it goes unremarked, until George stumbles on a bonefield, in its midst an upthrust, decaying hand. The memory of death and decay stays with him: "Trotting behind his father, who moved through mobs of drunks with journalistic detachment, George witnessed the bloodiest of fistfights and a lynching. At night he was kept awake by the screams of beaten women. There seemed to be no police. And through it all he also kept seeing the half-rotted bodies of the blacks and that pleading decayed hand, whose fingers formed a white bone barrier behind which protective grille these other horrors were minimised" (30). That experience is to have its own meaning for George, which issues years later, in his intervention in police attempts to remove an Aboriginal baby from its mother. But it also has more immediate repercussions. Cornelius writes an article as reparation for his son's lost innocence and for white guilt, denouncing "dispersal" as murder, and censuring the callousness, aggression and greed of the goldminers. The article is never published, and Cornelius is sacked. Just as his journalistic outrage is censored, so the trials of frontier life finally silence him - he walks out of the house one morning, not to be heard of again for forty years. With Cornelius's disappearance, the narrative dispenses with the public, journalistic interpretation of race relations on the frontier. Instead, it focusses on the meaning of those relations, as they are experienced in the private domain. Aboriginal history unfolds on the periphery of white history, the two intersecting in those painful moments when white "policy" is brought to bear on Aboriginal culture. These moments are used both to stress the Aborigines' claim to self-determination, and to consider the possibilities of non-exploitative relations between whites and Aborigines. In this narrative, at least, such relations can only exist in local sites outside the domain of law and government, whose practices are still discriminatory, if not vengeful.

Cornelius's legacy is his scorn for convention, for which there is a place in late nineteenth century masculine culture. When finally rediscovered, he is a "Sydney Bohemian", comfortably positioned by a radical intellectual tradition. Not all forms of resistance are so readily accommodated, however. His daughter Nadine's rebellion results in seduction and betrayal, an uneasy existence as a prostitute, and finally death as the brothel is swept out to sea in the midst of a cyclone. And George's son Will, never reconciled to his homosexuality, is finally driven to suicide. The white population of Mango has its share of misfits and drifters, but Astley is equally interested in those who settle, who forge a relation to place.
In the Laffey's case, the settlers exhibit a strong maternal inheritance. Jessica Olive had been captivated by Cornelius's charm, and had suffered his flirtations and his shiftlessness. After his desertion, she retrieves her error by burrowing in. Her connection to place and her ethic of survival are taken up by George and his daughter, Connie, who functions as the bearer of family history and the point of connection of past memory and present experience.

Connie is the subject of her own history, and that subjectivity is constructed through temporal and spatial relationships. Her narrative is not inserted into the linear time of conventional historical narrative, but is part of a cyclical, generational time. She understands who she is through a process of "backwards identification": "Will, I've lost my identity up here. Sometimes I'm Nana on that bucking dray going to Maytown. I'm camping by the river. I see it. I'm waking up to find grandpa gone. I'm Nadine rocking out to sea from that house in Sunningbird Street. There's an enormous tonnage of featherweight past I carry myself and I tell you, Will, it's all become meaningless" (228). For Connie, as she faces old age, it is the idea of an inviolate, separate "self" which is meaningless. She will endure, as Jessica Olive did, because her identity negotiates the "non-I". But for Will, who has experienced loss, rather than connection, there are no consolations. His father had died when he was five, and that bereavement has never been redeemed.

Connie's sense of self is not derived from differentiation, by maintaining a stable boundary between "I" and "non-I". She does not live by the myth of a unified, separate self sedimented through acting upon the world. For her, identity is achieved through an interactive process, a shifting across the bounds of time and space. That identity is bound up in memory, in the relation to objects and to place. As she talks to Will, she moves around the house where they had grown up, handling the objects which signify those connections: "She gazed about a room that held most of their childhood. Rocklike it had resisted all attempts to change its character - coats of paint, windows cut wide, walls knocked out. Nothing altered its substance .... On the table was a fmh bowl Jessica Olive had taken on the first long journey to Charco, bounced by water, by bullock dray, amazingly intact except for the faint crazing on its sepia glaze .... She put her hand gently on the bowl's rim" (226). The objects inherited from Jessica Olive - the bowl and a lampshade - also stand for her resilience and resistance, qualities which Connie shares. Jessica Olive's independence was won of disillusionment and hardship, and as she tells her father, "without the aid of your sex". Where Cornelius had retreated into Bohemian decadence, and Will into a Prufrock-like passivity, the women in this narrative are not so egotistical as to be threatened by a loss of self. Their feminine strength is to be able to
discard the masquerade of a single "identity" and to evade a definition of self within a heterosexual paradigm of dichotomous difference.

All of the strong women in this narrative understand sexual politics and the ways in which asymmetrical sexual difference is produced and reproduced by the practices and institutions of heterosexuality. As Jessica Olive bluntly tells the priest who happily drinks her whisky as he counsels against even the thought of divorce: "Tell me, Father, how is it that a sex which commits most of the crimes of this world also happens to be the arbiter of morals?. All my liturgical loyalties, those reverences for the simple dogmas the poor unfortunate sisters drummed into me at the behest of a male hierarchy, have been my undoing as a human... That terrified obedience you and your brothers in Christ exact is directed largely at women. Women. You've neutered us. Made us nonhuman". (75-76). These words come of bitter experience. Her daughter, Nadine, learns the same lesson - that "civilisation" is dependent upon the control and regulation of female sexuality - in the brothel. The prostitute Sylvia, who delights in the irony of her own self-naming, tears away Nadine's romantic illusions: "I have the true whore mentality... It's a job and I like my work... Don't wince, silly. You don't like the word, do you, pretending what you're doing is what it isn't. We offer a service. We get paid. Sex for money. That's what it is. Poor mother. She didn't get either". (59). Sylvia's masquerade exposes the instability of the dichotomies which support heterosexual difference. But for the Laffey women, the negotiation of the meanings of femininity and sexuality continues to be painful.

Connie tells her story to her son, Reever, as a tale of enchantment wherein the heroine is born in the wrong body, and the prince's promise fades as soon as spoken. But Connie, born in another century, has a freedom and an education unknown to Jessica Olive and Nadine. She can travel as her grandfather did, though without his desire to escape the ties of family and responsibility. Her position in the line of descent, and her connection to place inscribe the contours of her self: "Wherever she went a sense of self lamented its lost sense of place, and though the idea of home persisted with the worn toothbrush, the travelling clock dented in one corner, the handbag bric-a-brac, those depositions of self soon lost their meaning in the impersonal rooms of motels or third-floor walk-ups." (14-15). The desire for home, the rainforest triangle, with its ticking grass, hissing trees and lewdly pawing heat meshes these "Bedouin" Laffeyes together. While the early generations of men walk off the map, the women burrow in, marking out their own felicitous space.

That work remakes nature as culture, but finds no place in the traditional histories of nation-building. Jessica Olive is not so sentimental as to do it for love: "Cut off, Jessica
Olive thought, peering critically about, sniffing at woodsmoke. But when were we anything but that, she mused, in this dangerously new country? Her pursed lips wanted to scorn the romanticising of settler drudgery, the sort of rubbish that those southern jingoistic papers printed, mush doggerel by scribblers who'd barely come to terms with the day-to-day and failed to understand the tension between landscape and flesh. Only men would write it. A woman wouldn’t waste the time, couldn’t find the time to waste.” (72). Who ever counted the burnt fingertips of women testing hot irons, or numbered the long and uncomplaining line of drab workers, menstrual agonies or the stirring of the next child? Jessica Olive's demands cannot be met within the paradigms of conventional national or regional histories, or by social history which relies on marxist analysis. Attention to the particular investments of sexed bodies requires a reconceptualisation of relations of time and space and the production of subjectivity. And, as Astley's novel at least would suggest, a rethinking of the relations of representation, subjectivity and narrative space.

The tension between landscape and flesh, the negotiation of the space between "I" and "non-I" in the production of feminine subjectivity, is central to Astley's representation of women as subjects of their own history, and to her construction of difference. As in Devanny's novel, the landscape is directly mediated by touch and smell - whether the stench of mouldering decay, the sticky and insistent grasp of vine leaves, or the close pressing humidity of the tropics. This is how European bodies experience the rainforest, for Bidiggi's descendents, the landscape has quite other meanings. But this narrative does not fall into the trap of inscribing that relation in terms of some white projection of a pre-historic mysticism. Its representation is of emergent, modern forms of Aboriginality, or at least of the struggle to achieve this. It does not bind Aboriginal or white self-determination up in myths of nation, but documents instead the small, local struggles to rework the relation of self and other, to forge identity out of the relation to place.

This chapter began with the claim that dichotomous constitutions of difference do not provide a useful paradigm for thinking about women’s experience of Queensland. It has not been my purpose to isolate some essentially "feminine" or "regional" experience. Instead I have sought to explore the power of the desire for "home" and the ways in which the work to create a "felicitous space" produces identities whose coherence is not dependent upon the series of repressions and exclusions of difference which characterise the maintenance of dichotomies. An understanding of identity which can assign a positive value to difference and which takes account of differentiation as a process rather than an outcome can lead to a reconfiguration of relations of self, family and community which...
recognises the specific, embodied forms those relations take in particular places at particular times.
Verandahs and Frangipani: Women in the Queensland House
Jennifer Craik

Daytime visitors were entertained on the front verandah among the white cane chairs and potted ferns, and when I went visiting with my mother, this is where we were called in to eat pikelets or pumpkin scones for morning tea from a three-tiered cake stand, and in the afternoon, date slices, anzacs and cream puffs, while the ladies, with a lace fichu at their throat, patted the sweat from their upper lips or fanned themselves with plaited palm. Here, on a cane lounge, my mother and other ladies took their afternoon nap, and here we were settled when we were sick, close enough to the street to take an interest in the passing world of postmen, bakers, icemen and newspaper boys with their shrill whistles, but out of the sun. Here too on warm evenings, with a coil burning to keep off the mosquitoes, we sat after tea, while my father watered the lawn and chatted to neighbours over the swinging chains of the front fence ...

As a Queensland-born author, David Malouf's memories of growing up in a Queensland house resonate with the special quality of such houses. While not a unique design, "The Queensland House" has become synonymous with its inhabitant, the Queenslander. Wooden houses on stilts (or "stumps") dominated the hills and plains of Queensland until the 1950s. The houses were distinctive because of their red galvanised iron roofs, verandahs, and a kitchen denoted by its tin kitchen hood out the back. One of the advantages of this house design was that it could be moved "two blocks or a thousand miles away" to new settlements as needed. This gave Queensland towns a look of transience and of poverty as the houses had "the improvised air of tree houses... It makes the timberhouse-dweller, among the domesticated, a distinct sub-species, somewhere between bushie and brick-and-mortar man [sic]".

Whereas other settlements tended to dispense with the wooden house as soon as economic circumstances permitted the construction of more solid house forms, the
wooden house on stilts became the archetypal house form in Queensland - perhaps "Australia's first contribution to world architectural development".

This chapter considers how the choice of this house form influenced the lives of women occupants. It was a two-way process: the house imposed an outward looking orientation and a dynamic relationship with the environs while occupants could easily shape the house to suit their specific needs. The Queensland house invited certain patterns of usage, yet the simple design and construction offered considerable flexibility. While other colonial house designs specified specific rooms for specific functions, the Queenslander allowed occupants to select and change uses of any room. Moreover, the design and building materials created an outward orientation of use.

An extreme contrast were the houses of imperial China. These were designed to confine women within internal rooms and enclosed courtyards. The inner spaces were flanked by "curtains, screens, partitions, walls, and gates" which "served as a real and symbolic barrier to [women's] participation in the outer world". The design of the Chinese house produced a radical spatial distinction between men and women which corresponded to their relationship with the outside world. Women endured extreme isolation, cut off from their families and the outside world, in a subservient life devoted to household activities, child bearing and childrearing. "Identified by her relationship to the architecture which confined her, ... she was called ... 'the person on the inside'".

The Queensland house offered a very different life. Despite differences in wealth, location and social status, women's lives were synchronised with this organic, externally-oriented architecture. Rather than creating a private world cut off from public realms, this house worked at the interstices between public and private activities and institutions. Occupants were mobile and active. In contrast to studies which have analysed domestic space as a privatised domain, the Queensland house suggests that public and private intermingled and that women partook of a range of roles in diverse spheres. They "reframed" codes of behaviour and notions of masculinity and femininity in order "to follow some of their own inclinations without overtly challenging the norms of the day". Such evidence suggests that we need to take a more dynamic look at how domestic space functions in a wider context. As Guppy and Hall have argued about the houses of migrants in Wollongong, "The Home, ordinarily a representative of security, for immigrants took on additional meaning. The home was where the environment could be controlled. Its decoration could be a subversive act, rejection of the sameness, the newness, yet also be a celebration of self, creativity, and an outreach to others".

Looked at in this way, the house and garden are means of individualising a house, creating a community, and establishing a relationship with the environment; in other
words, the house constitutes "a material piece that celebrates the wit of ordinary people". In Australia, the potency of the house was enhanced by its symbolic function as the tangible indicator of success and "hopes for the future". The Queensland house encouraged an interactive usage and flexible transformation of space. The house became an ally and confidante in the lives of women, a silent witness to the hopes, dreams, hardships, disappointments and traumas of everyday life. In the context of Victorian ideas about the role of women, the importance of the home was stressed in contemporary rhetoric: "Home is the throne of empires on which woman sits, the sceptre with which she wields the destiny of nations. All that is dear and holy, noble and divine, in society or the nation, centres back to home, where woman presides as the angel of love... Home is a woman's true sphere".

For colonial women, cut off from "civilised" society, the home was all the more important. The achievement of etiquette was "centred on the private home". The "lady" of the house had primary responsibility for social events as the "preservers of morality and arbiters of taste, manners and social contact". Throughout the nineteenth century, new settlers were intent on meeting the social standards prescribed in polite, middle-class society in England. Colonists devoured etiquette manuals and guides in the quest for self improvement. Because the home was perceived as the training ground for public life, etiquette centred on rituals of conduct in the home concerning "style, manners and place". The Queensland house enabled many to circumvent or ameliorate the "authoritarian paternalism" that characterised nineteenth century Australian family life. Indeed, the codes of social contact established and negotiated by women were crucial to forming the political and cultural milieu of colonial society: "The exclusion of middle class women from commerce, industry and the institutions of the state did not mean that they had no political significance nor that they were simply ornamental, idle and useless. In their own sphere, they established and enhanced the position of their class as much as men did in theirs".

A Glimpse into the Queensland House

The Queensland house was characterised by four rooms off a central passageway, a steep-pitched, pyramidal roof, wooden walls (usually tongue-and-groove), and a verandah at the front. Later on, a lean-to or separate room was added at the back to form a kitchen. The design could be embellished: sometimes with more rooms off the passage, sometimes
PART 3 SPACES

a wrap-around verandah (some of which could be enclosed to form other rooms), and sometimes a central room organised the placement of corridors and other rooms.

This design replaced slab huts and iron houses from the 1860s, with especially rapid growth in the 1880s, coinciding with mass immigration. Brisbane’s population, for example, rose from 1,000 in 1846 to 2,500 in 1851, 37,000 in 1881, 102,000 in 1891, and 119,000 in 1901. The population outside the metropolitan area rose from 177,000 (1881), to 292,000 (1891), to 384,000 (1901); while the total Queensland population rose from 214,000 to 394,000 to 503,000 over the same period.19

The demand for housing rose accordingly. To meet this, designs were stylised and the building industry boomed. There was "an enormous range in the standard of houses" with their cost varying from $259 to $5,510.20 While a basic cottage was a four-room dwelling, a middle-class design might elaborate this plan to between six and twelve rooms plus a wrap-around verandah.21 The houses of the elite were even more expensive and tended to adopt the style of grand homes of the south rather than the Queenslander design. The Queensland house became so popular that some houses were sold as prefabricated kits. These offered a range of designs: smaller, basic designs (such as the Cleveland, Fassifern, Moreton, Burnett) as well as larger, more elaborate designs (such as the Maranoa, Barcoo, Toombul, Dalby and Mitchell).22 The Dalby, for example, featured a large central living room with two rooms off each side; all rooms opened onto the four-sided verandah whose back two corners were enclosed to provide a bathroom and kitchen respectively. The advertising blurb read: "This home is quite different from most designs, as more than a third of the room space is occupied by a very large living room open to all breezes. French Lights let the breezes in and out. The Bedrooms are of good size and are always cool. The Kitchen is far enough away from the Living Room to exclude all noise and smell of cooking. If the roof of this home be coated with Arabic it will be as cool as any house could be. A study of the timbers used will show that the very best of everything is used throughout. This is an important consideration".23 The kit homes were ideal for transportation to remote areas.24 Most houses, though, were builders’ variants or home renovators’ adaptations. Although there is some debate as to the origin and function of the stumps, they proved to be a practical device: making houses easier to move (they could simply be lifted up onto a truck); easier to inspect for white ants (that devastated the wooden houses); to build on hilly terrain (using the stumps to create a flat surface area for the house); to catch prevailing breezes; and, above all, to provide a huge, multi-purpose living space under the house.25 On the one hand, the Queensland house design meant "a uniformity of materials (hardwood and corrugated iron), a uniformity of design (stilts and verandahs), a uniformity of ornamentation
VERANDAHS AND FRANGIPANI

(elaborate facades and cast iron railings), and finally, a uniformity of colour (beige and brown). On the other hand, because the walls were stud frames, they could be moved or removed with ease, making changes to the dimensions of rooms a simple operation. Consequently, it was rare to find two identical houses despite their distinctive Queensland-ness.

Uniformity was also evident across classes. Government policies encouraged settlers to purchase land and build. In Brisbane, for example, immigrants were enticed by an eighteen pound Land Order and subsequent twelve pound grant which enabled the working class to build small "detached and owner occupied" houses on blocks as "meagre" as 7 to 9 perches. Although the 1885 Undue Subdivision of Land Prevention Act increased the minimum size to 16 perches, it still encouraged the erection of single dwellings at reasonable prices. The Queensland Government continued to provide incentives to assist working people to build homes through the 1909 Workers' Dwelling Act, the 1919 Workers' Home Act, the Commonwealth War Service Homes Commission (established after the First World War), the 1932 Building Revival Scheme, and the Queensland Housing Commission established in 1945. As a result, it was the working-class which "put the characteristic stamp on the general impression of our homes".

Suburbs were not rigidly stratified but composed of all income groups. Topography provided the main indicator of wealth: the rich built their houses on the ridges and by rivers to catch the breezes, while the poorest groups were located in the gullies or outlying plains. Of course, the type and use of houses varied with location - outback, hamlet, town or city - as well as by economic well being. Conditions also varied with the age of settlement: pioneer period (1850s to 1880s), rapid growth (1890s to 1920s), urbanisation (1930s to 1960s), and modernisation and renovation (1960s to 1990s). While it is difficult to generalise across this range of material circumstances and physical conditions - or even to claim that the experience of Queensland women was different from other women in Australia - the house form enhanced certain patterns of living and has become, in retrospect, the archetype of the memory of Australian domestic life.

Gendered Domesticity

Although there are now a number of studies of the Queensland house, few have looked at how the houses were used or at the lives of the occupants. This lack of attention to domestic space is not unique to Queensland. As Anderson and Winkworth have
observed: "How do we represent the home as a productive unit to a modern audience for whom the home is mainly a place of consumption? ... A lifetime's washing and cooking leaves no monuments". Nonetheless, they also note that notions of the "Australian way of life [have] revolved around powerful images of suburban life and home ownership". Although it is commonly said that domesticity has escaped the official gaze, there are many Australian cultural forms - books (novels, biographies and autobiographies, histories), plays, paintings, films, television programmes, and musical forms - which are centrally organised around the home and domestic life. Such informal accounts tend to emphasise nostalgia and tricks of memory - both good and bad - rather than systematically examine relationships between housing and occupants. As Censer has suggested, we need to dispense with the "narrowing aspect" of gender analysis with its focus on the individual experiences of women to incorporate relationships with men, non-family members, as well as examining institutional, sociological and anthropological factors: "dynamic and contextually fluid relationship[s] between people".

There seem to be gender differences in such reminiscences: gendered memories. Men remember the Queensland house with nostalgia and fondness, as a place of relaxation, pleasure and safety as well as an understated formative ground of behaviour, manners and morals. By contrast, women highlight features of domestic life associated with housework and domestic rhythms, as well as hardship, isolation, dramas, traumas and survival. Memoirs by women were usually written by literate middle-class wives, companions or adventurers, whose experiences and material circumstances may not have reflected those of the average woman. Taken together, these letters, autobiographies, novels and memoirs form a collage of impressions of domestic life from the early days of settlement until recently.

Elsewhere in this volume, Gillian Whitlock contrasts David Malouf's image of underneath the house as a "wedge of darkness" - as a site of danger and makebelieve - with Jessica Anderson's image of domesticity and household routines. For Anderson's character, Rhoda, under-the-house was an "extension of the busy house above". The downstairs was a site of play for boys, whereas for girls it was primarily a vision of future role models (of mothers washing and hanging clothes, collecting stores, and cleaning).

Documentary accounts emphasise (though briefly) the tough conditions faced by women settlers in Queensland, with "few amenities, no refrigerator, electricity, fly gauze or running hot water", as they supported their husbands and bore and raised children without medical care or schools. Queensland women were celebrated in a poem.
entitled, "Women of the West", which extolled the women who lived in the isolated "slab-built, zinc-roofed homestead", facing the rigours of sun, "weariness and rain", far away from other women, and driven by "sacrifice" and "love". It concluded that despite the achievements of the men pioneers, "The hearts that made the Nation were the Women of the West".38 Neal described Mrs William Waddell's life at "Kookaburra" station in 1861 in similar terms: "Infant in arms and with tired small children, Mother faced the roughest of conditions... Ants swarmed in her kitchen and over the set table... Flying ants and beetles surrounded the kerosene lamps. Dingoes took the young goats, goannas the hens' eggs, native cats slaughtered the poultry, hawks the young chickens, snakes invaded the house when the rains came, and a rain water tank tainted by a dead frog could mean disaster".39

Jean Devanny concluded that "the women were the real singers of the Australian outback. Only by listening to the women may one penetrate to the deeper resources of the pioneering spirit, understand the more intimate texture of the pioneering life".40 Women played a vital role managing the homestead and domestic staff as well as contributing to farm work, especially tending chooks and milking cows.41 The work of married women, in particular, "went unmarked by economists, although the 1861 census did include a category of work, 'farmer's wives', which at least recognised their enormous contribution to farm production".42

Frequent pregnancies were an added risk, as Katie Spearritt's chapter in this volume shows. Medical support and facilities were, at best, rudimentary, resulting in high rates of infant and maternal mortality.43 Women had little control over their fertility: seven to eight children over thirty years was the average family size. Cole calculates that during the 1870s and 1880s the average size of a family at Boonah, a rural community outside Brisbane, was 7.76 children, compared with 5.79 for rural Australia, and 5.31 children nationally: "In this Queensland rural community the typical pioneer wife who married between 1870 and 1889 devoted over 30 years of her life to childbearing and rearing. Assuming that her last born stayed at home for fifteen years, she was close to 54 when her home again became an 'empty nest'. At 43 she was still raising her youngest child when the eldest born produced her first grandchild".44 Quiggin confirms that birth rates in Queensland were significantly higher than the national average from 1860 to 1900. The 1860 national average was 42.13 births per thousand compared with Queensland's 47.93, and the 1900 national average of 27.94 compared with 30.20 in Queensland. Almost half of all Australian women had more than eight children during this period despite the overall declining birth rate. Women in cities had less children and had them sooner than rural women, though rural children had a greater chance of survival and better
A significant reduction in the birth rate has been attributed to the introduction of family planning, medical services and the growing independence of women. Jane Bardsley typified this pattern. She almost died giving birth to her first child in 1897 after a hair-raising trip to Normanton seeking medical help. She was given up for dead by the local doctor and was only saved by the efforts of a wardsman and his wife who was a nurse. Jane reluctantly went on to have six more children, two of whom died in infancy. Bardsley also raised an abandoned Aboriginal girl, nicknamed Pigeon. Although the girl was raised with the other children, Pigeon was a ward of the state and therefore received no education. She was obliged to sleep in a cot, infested with fleas, on the verandah. Eventually she went "off the straight and narrow track" and became pregnant (the baby died). When Jane discovered what had happened, she sought help from authorities who sent Pigeon to Barambah mission station. Pigeon was hysterical at being sent away and Jane felt like she was "losing another child". At Barambah, Pigeon died giving birth to a second baby (while suffering from "pneumonic influenza"). Although Pigeon grew up with the other children, she remained a ward of the state and was therefore treated differently legally (for example, denied education, medical and dental care, and the right to determine her own fate). In these circumstances, Jane's attitude to Pigeon was progressive, though even she treated Pigeon differently from her own children.

Jane's letters recall her embarrassment and horror of finding herself pregnant each time. She did not share the enthusiasm of some women to act as breeding machines. Jane recalls one mother's defence of her fourteen young children: "They are all mine, fourteen and I hope to have many more, it is women like you, who should stop galavanting around and stay at home and have babies. I am not much good at defending myself, otherwise I would have told her I am the mother of four, and God knows how many more I shall find as I am only twenty-six. Also, I should much prefer the stork called on her more frequently and spared me".

As these episodes suggest, the house was not a place of relaxation and leisure for women but the site of work and constant crises. Despite evidence of domestic and sexual violence, other families achieved happier, complementary arrangements. The gender imbalance in favour of women had contradictory consequences. For some, it meant they were preyed upon or became prostitutes; while others were treated extremely well as prize possessions of husbands and fathers. Extant accounts, though, suggest that often women and men provided considerable mutual support in their respective activities in the home.

Women helped where they could in physical and often hazardous work (accidents were common) while men assisted in many domestic chores, home improvements, childbirth
VERANDAHS AND FRANGIPANI

and child rearing. In conditions of hardship and isolation, mutual support was vital to maximise life chances. It is easy to overlook the degree of actual support which often went against "acceptable" social conventions of the time. It also explains why men's recollections of home life are often nostalgic and sympathetic. Lawson concludes from his study of Brisbane in the 1890s that, although there were "autonomous spheres of activity for father and mother", men administered "punishment and police[d] table manners" as well as shared tasks like "setting and clearing the table, washing the dishes, and buying groceries". He concludes that:

the decline of the Victorian family system was well advanced in Brisbane by the 1890s: of 57 families where both parents were alive during that decade, only 25 children reported that their fathers had 'worn the pants', while 19 stated that their parents had shared the authority fairly evenly, and 12 asserted that their mothers had been dominant. No clear class pattern emerges from these replies. The results concur with those of a study conducted in a similar way in Penrith, New South Wales, concerning the 1900-1910 period, which found that more than half the families had operated on a democratic basis; the mother had been the dominant influence in the control of the children, although the father remained the source of final authority.50

Other evidence of the concern of husbands for wives came from the fact that settlers were reluctant to take their wives into the bush until there was a house to live in and at least rudimentary facilities.51 One prospective pastoralist, Peter MacDonald, brought his new wife, Julia Ayrey, to Rockhampton where they lived in makeshift quarters because he "disliked the idea of taking her 'up the country'":

He later said that he never dreamed of making Yaamba anything more than a temporary residence until he could build a homestead at Fernlees, his station near Springsure, but once he made improvements and additions it was 'almost too comfortable to leave'. By the beginning of 1862 the exterior of the house was completed and work had begun on the interior... He ordered unbleached calico from a Sydney firm for lining the walls before papering them and two days before his first child was born in the new home, he 'sat up till 12 at night to finish papering the room.' He had also begun preparing the garden to plant two dozen bananas, three hundred pineapples as well as oranges, loquats, passion fruit and grape cuttings. With the homestead and
its garden established and his son and heir doing well. MacDonald expressed his satisfaction to his brother Alio: 'Julia and Charles the second are jolly and it is quite refreshing at all times and more especially after a long journey to find myself the possessor of a House surrounded by so many Blessings.52

Life became easier as time went on, though even in the 1930s, homelife was still fairly rudimentary - that is, until the coming of electricity, water, sewerage, radio and motor cars. In the early days, for example, stores had to be ordered at six-monthly intervals and then stored as best as possible to protect the food from heat, moisture, decay, ants, rats, and marauders. A typical order in the 1860s included: sauce, currants, sago, tapioca, apples, apricots, oatmeal, peas, vinegar, cornflour, pepper, spice, soda, cream of tartar, sandsoap, starch, knife polish, lanterns, flour, sugar, jam, carbide and treacle.53 These staple foods were stored in a store room - sometimes lined with zinc - and eaten with meat (smoked beef, pork or mutton) and home grown vegetables and fruit.54 Gardens were essential for early settlers. Rachel Henning reported that:

There is a fence being put up all round the house so as to form a garden in front. The fence is of upright posts ... to keep out the fowls, and it makes a very pretty fence, especially when we get some vines and pumpkins growing over it. I have a small flower garden already in front of the house and some flowers do very well, but the soil is very hard and stony... We are going to plant some bananas and orange-trees and vines in it; all the other fruit-trees are going down in the kitchen garden, which is at the foot of the hill by the creek that supplies us with water.55

Hospitality was freely offered by homedwellers to passing travellers, a custom recalled fondly by Neal.56 While most travellers were welcome, sometimes these strangers posed a threat to isolated homesteaders. Jane Bardsley's account of one "fierce-looking" man (who turned out to be an escaped convict) seeking food while she was alone at home with her teenage daughter and frail father was typical of the fear that accompanied the custom of offering hospitality to travellers.57 Nonetheless, the unwritten code of offering food and shelter to strangers persisted into the new century.

From the 1890s, home life in the cities was punctuated by regular visits from suppliers of milk (twice a day), the post (twice a weekday and once on Sundays), meat, bread, and ice (each once a day), groceries, fruit and fishmongers (once or twice a week), hawkers (from time to time), and icecream (every afternoon in summer). In addition, the
garbage and sanitary contractors came at least once a week, and the bottle every few
weeks. Typically, the more regular callers stopped for a chat: "Some of them seemed to
have the knack of reaching our house at breakfast time, and did not need to be asked twice
to pull up a chair and have a cup of tea ... and our kitchen could be quite crowded if they
all arrived at once". The home could be a busy place with a constant stream of visitors
and a variety of activities going on at once. Groceries were ordered and delivered while
other shopping involved a trip to the local shop or into the city. This was also a social
event. Carroll suggests that people went to talk with friends rather than to shop. This led
to huge throngs of loiterers whom the police felt obliged to move on. Until the 1950s,
when traders stopped calling and shopping was done in shopping centres, shopping was
a "part of that intimate and familiar network", an extension of domestic life.

All this had implications for the main occupants of the Queensland house - women
and children - namely, the constant negotiation of inside and outside. The house design
and location meant that the house interacted with its surroundings - trees and vegetation,
flora and fauna, weather patterns and neighbours - in a constant and insistent way. The
use of the house was determined by its design and location. Cooking in the hot kitchen,
washing the clothes under the house, using the distant dunny, picking the mangoes and
pawpaws, keeping breezes blowing through the house - all involved negotiating internal
and external conditions. The single skin walls and the harsh extremes of the climate
meant coming to terms with the environment via the very ways in which the house could
be used. The saving grace was the verandah which acted as a buffer zone between the
inside and the outside.

The Buffer Zone of Dappled Light: The Verandah

Just as the Queensland house has become synonymous with Queensland, the verandah is
regarded as the epitome of Australian housing. In fact, the verandah can be found in
India, France, and North America. England adopted the verandah from its colonial
outposts as an architectural fashion which Australia, in turn, copied in its "slavish
devotion to the British styles". The verandah played a symbolic role signifying "the
'front' of the house" and acting as a "'barrier' between public and private". It was also
"a cheap means of shelter against rain and sun for a dry place to sit alfresco". This was
fortunate since the verandah proved a perfect accompaniment to housing in a harsh
climate. Australian houses developed a vernacular form of the verandah by using
bunelose corrugated iron for the roof, iron balustrades and wooden fretwork, lattice

155
screens, and wooden venetians. In some areas, the verandah was extended to wrap around the house to provide shade and protection from the heat, sun, rain and wind:

Whilst the low projecting roof provided the required shading and protection to the walls, the space beneath became valued also - as a suitable outdoor living area. In Queensland and the Northern Territory where the verandah formed four sides of the house, it often occupied a greater area than the rooms it protected. It was in fact used for the greater part of the day and night and, near the coast, throughout the year. The inner rooms were reduced to little more than dressing cubicles and storage spaces for the more valuable items of furniture during the wet season. Areas of the verandah might then be set aside for the drying of clothes and as a play area for children.65

The verandah was a multi-purpose space. As a social space, the verandah combined functional purposes (drying and airing clothes, storage, sleeping) with leisure activities (a play area for children, somewhere to entertain visitors, somewhere to read and relax). During the day, it was the domain of women and children. Malouf recalls that the verandah was also useful for dealing with strangers, such as travellers and salesmen. Here was a neutral space where they could display their "sample-cases containing sheets, towels, pillow-slips, 'longeray' and lines of wholesale grocery"66 with "no embarrassment on either side, no sense of privacy violated": "Verandahs are no-man’s land, border zones that keep contact with the house and its activities on one face but are open on the other to the street, the night and all the vast, unknown areas beyond".67 As family size increased, so did the pressure on space. Children found themselves sleeping on partially or fully enclosed verandahs which were eventually turned into rooms with glass louvres for windows. Malouf resented this sleeping arrangement because he felt excluded from the main action in the house itself and felt scared "to be so close to the garden, with just the cast-iron and venetians between me and the dark".68

The verandah has now became a status symbol and a sign of links with our Australian heritage.69 But few verandahs are now used as they were due to the long absences of occupants from home and for security reasons. But they still provide a buffer - neither in nor out. For women, especially, the verandah has been an enduring mediator between domestic and other lives - neither public nor private but a mixture of both.
Gossip, the Welsh Dresser and the Eureka Gas Stove: The Kitchen Powerhouse

"The kitchens were tiled, with walk-in pantries and an old wood range (for baking) beside a newer gas stove, perhaps an Early Kooka like ours, with its legs in tins of water to keep off ants". Kitchens were primitive. Invariably, they were located out the back for safety reasons as well as to exclude cooking smells and signs of food preparation from the main house. The kitchen ranged from a simple lean-to to a purpose-built room separated from the main part of the house by a walkway. Early kitchens had no plumbing, just basins for washing up and preparation. Stoves were located in an iron hood again for safety reasons. When kitchens were modernised, the renovations were usually rudimentary and it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that kitchens were re-modelled seriously.

Nonetheless, the kitchen was the powerhouse of the home. Before the development of gas (the Eureka Gas Stove and the Early Kooka) and later electric stoves, a wood fire was kept burning constantly. In winter, the kitchen was the only warm place in the house but in summer the heat was "almost unbearable". Mothers would be left there alone. They knew the meaning of 'slaving over a hot stove all day' Without refrigeration, plumbing, kitchen appliances or instant heating sources, the preparation and cooking of food were time-consuming, daily chores which needed as many hands as possible. Wealthier families employed household help to assist with these chores. In the 1890s, upper-class Brisbane families had an average of four servants, while all but the poorest had part-time help. Most had one or two servants. None of the servants were treated as "members of the family", yet they clearly eased the arduous tasks of baking, sewing, cleaning and ironing: "The laundress toiled over a hot copper, using round iron tubs that had to be filled and emptied by hand, a washboard, and a heavy mangle for wringing. The task of ironing, immense in those days of superabundant frills and skirts, was attacked with 'Mrs Potts' irons, heated on the stove. The floors were scrubbed regularly by the housewife or servant - upon her knees."

Keeping food cool was a major problem especially for perishable items like milk, butter and meat. Where possible, food was kept in cellars, otherwise in Coolgardie safes, "damp earthenware containers or ... covered with damp cloths and placed in a breeze."

The introduction of freezing machines at the 1851 Great Exhibition of London was a great advance. Queensland's Colonial Secretary, Robert Herbert, wrote to his mother: "You will be glad to hear that the ice machine I bought in Paris is a very great success. It weathered all the dangers of the P. and O. travelling, and we have many times made
blocks of solid ice as well as lemon water and orange water ices. When Herbert’s
machine wore out, he was obliged to rely on daily commercial ice deliveries “made on
exactly the same principle”, a service which lasted until the 1950s. Other early
mechanical household aids included cream separators, washing machines and mangles,
irons, and treadle sewing machines.

Kitchen life was busy and informal, the focus of a local social network of women,
children, servants, boarders, and often men, and the site of many activities - including
collective work, hand crafts, singing, laughter, and education. Other work included
sewing, millinery, tutoring, and book-keeping, often to supplement the family income.
For poorer families and widowed and deserted women, the kitchen was the key to
survival, since there was no welfare on which to rely. Whatever the circumstances, the
kitchen was a secure and productive environment, at least for children. Malouf recalls:

the dark of the kitchen itself, which opened through a wooden arch into the
dining room, delighted me, it was so cozy and safe - especially on summer
afternoons when it stormed and the tin roof thundered under the hail.

Here, usually, I did my homework at the big table with its velvet cover, while
Cassie peeled potatoes or shelled peas. Sometimes in earlier days, before the
war, my mother and Cassie would take it in turns to read aloud from the old-
fashioned novels they liked, while Cassie prepared the tea and my mother
darned or wound wool over the backs of chairs... The world of those novels
and our own slow-moving world seemed very close... It was a world so
settled, so rich in routine and ritual, that it seemed impossible then that it
should ever suffer disruption.

The kitchen was the hub of women’s lives. It was also subject to radical changes
with the coming of “modern” ideas about domesticity. The development of electricity
promised to release homeworkers from the drudgery and repetition of many chores. But
the simultaneous emergence of home economics and Taylorism undermined much of that
potential. The kitchen was re-defined as the site of specialised activities concerned with
food preparation and the room itself was likened to a laboratory. No longer a magical,
informal space out the back of the house, the kitchen became a place in which a
homemaker’s efficiency could be displayed.

Changes to the design of the kitchen changed possible patterns of usage. Taylorist
principles of efficiency were applied to create a work triangle within the kitchen. The
triangle linked storage cupboards with sites of food preparation (sink and benches) and with the stove to minimise the number of stages it took to prepare food by reducing the number of steps the cook took to perform these tasks. In a celebrated study, home economist, Lillian Gilbreth, showed that a re-designed kitchen could reduce the number of steps to make a coffee cake from fifty to twenty-four. The aim of the efficient kitchen was to remove superfluous activity and non-workers. The kitchen was re-defined as the exclusive domain of one kitchen worker. Others were banished elsewhere. Even the kitchen table, centrepiece of traditional kitchens, and the site of most non-cooking activities, was gradually marginalised - reduced in size, turned into a bench or bar, and finally put in an adjoining room. Women, though, have resisted this architectural imposition and have been reinstating a sit-in kitchen since the 1980s. According to real estate agents, the kitchen is the room that is most thoroughly inspected by potential women buyers. The importance of the kitchen is reinforced by attention to its decoration, and furnishings and the lay-out of fittings.

The Queensland house has adapted readily to changing ideas about the kitchen. Perhaps because it was so rudimentary, each generation could re-model it easily. In the most recent period, changes have been extensive. The kitchen has been linked to the outside (via windows overlooking the garden, French doors, or an adjoining deck), as well as to other rooms (a "family" room, or open-plan design onto the rest of the house). Whereas the kitchen had been separated away from the house proper, with its informality contrasting with the formality of the parlour, dining and lounge rooms, the revamped kitchen is the control centre of all home activities and sets the style and tone of domestic life.

Cedar, Antimacassars and Forbidden Places: The Parlour and the Front Room

"One huge room, always at the centre of the house, always darkly panelled and with a picture rail, was never opened except to visitors. Its curtains were kept drawn to preserve the carpets and the genoa velvet lounge chairs from the sun; there were chromium smokers' stands and brass jardinières full of gladioli; on a heavy sideboard, cut-glass decanters of whisky, brandy, port; and a big central lampshade of silk brocade, with tassels, that gave a smoky light". Whereas the kitchen revealed the informal work and play of the house, at least one room was kept for formal purposes to display the status and character of the home. Given the culture from which most of the early settlers came, there
were strong Victorian influences in decor and furniture: heavy, dark and forbidding. These were also the most gendered rooms in the house. Their formality resonated with tones of masculinity which were reflected in the choice of furnishings. Again and again, accounts of these rooms stress their difference from the rest of the house, as if that style did not match or suit the feminine overtones that influenced the furnishings and decor in other rooms. Although these rooms were decorated by women, they did not resemble their character. Jessica Anderson recalls that these closed up rooms exerted a magnetic attraction: “In the windowless living room, dimness would make magnetic forbidden objects - the dark books on the higher shelves, the shining violin in its red velvet nest, the revolving top of the music stand.”

These rooms also exhibited class differences. Wealthy homes “were crowded with stout Victorian furniture adorned, often tastelessly, with many knick-knacks” while poorer homes “were furnished in a more spare, even makeshift, fashion.” The drawing room of one Brisbane gentleman featured a grand piano, ottoman, various chairs, occasional tables, chippendale cabinet, music canterbury, card table, urns, vases, pottery, ornaments, Superior Wilton carpet, stereoscope, and Japanese tea set. The furnishings reeked of opulence enhanced by the generous use of gold silk, tapestry and velvet soft furnishings. Such a room was designed to make a statement about the social status and respectability of the occupant. Ordinary people had more immediate preoccupations in furnishing their homes.

It was common to keep the formal rooms closed up although they were spotlessly clean. They were used by visitors, such as the clergy and officials (rather than neighbours or intimate friends). The parlour was also the place where bodies were laid out prior to burial. As a result, these rooms were filled with ambiguous resonances for the occupants. These were places where the family was on show rather than where they lived or were comfortable.

Entertaining was one of the more pleasurable respites from the rigours of colonial life, as well as providing an opportunity for a family to establish its social credentials. Codes about dinner parties dominated etiquette guides which provided highly detailed instructions on appropriate menus, table settings, guest lists, and conduct. These middle-class conventions were emulated by working people and elaborated by the elite. While the man of the house appeared to dominate the proceedings, they were in fact orchestrated by women. In short, the dinner party was “very much the affair of ‘the lady’ of the house.”

Memories of the Ipswich house, “Claremont”, included an account of entertaining in the drawing room on Christmas Eve in 1859. This “fine” room featured french doors.
large mirror, a chandelier, French lounge and easy chairs, and "a Chinese black and gold lacquered 'crochet' table which could be opened up to disclose sewing fittings for Mrs Panton and her daughters". After a typically English dinner of turkey, ham, plum pudding and mince pies, the host entertained guests with a magic lantern, carol singing and cards. Life was less grand for poorer families and rooms were more likely to be used. While one might be kept closed, dining rooms were often the site of enjoyable family dinners and socialising.

Sunday lunch was often the big meal of the week and, despite the climate, a full roast dinner was usually the menu. Carroll recalls that chicken was the special treat in the 1930s. Families raised the chooks themselves and grew many of their own vegetables for these weekly feasts: "As the aroma of roasting chicken drifted through our small weatherboard house from the wood stove in the kitchen, willing hands set the table for Sunday lunch as our taste buds began to anticipate the treat to come. Father, seated at the head of the table, always made jokes about the parson's nose as he carved up the golden brown chickens. Mother served the vegetables, two or three green ones from our own garden, potatoes and pumpkin from the grocer. We always had enough of everything for seconds all round".

The emphasis on retaining English customs of diet and decorum died hard. There were few concessions to the sub-tropical conditions. Women worked hard to maintain a semblance of civility and adhere to English conventions. The diet was rich in protein with the emphasis on quantity, leading Twopeny to observe that "cooking is an unknown art" in Australia. Nor was the food necessarily nutritious since roasts, stews, soups, sausages, dumplings, treacle, bread-and-dripping - supplemented by some vegetables and fruit - were not really appropriate for the climate. Perishable food (especially meat, milk and bread) risked spoiling in the primitive transportation and storage conditions; Brisbane's 1897 typhoid outbreak was traced to a dairy.

Clothing was equally inappropriate. As a "ready indicator of status", the wealthy followed English fashions "unsuited to Brisbane's warm, humid climate". While the wealthy imported London fashions, most people had to sew their own, and draperies became common in colonial towns and cities. Towards the end of the century, local clothing manufacture offered cheaper imitations of the mode. Clothing tended to be formal and heavy, even for workers. Men invariably wore coats in public while women wore voluminous, layered dresses, hardly suited to an active life in a hot climate. Jane Bardstey described the undesirable and unaccustomed dress of visitors at the annual ball that accompanied the Normanton Races: "The men in full evening dress looked so different from how they appear in the bush, with their white moleskin pants and coloured..."
shirts; but, alas, after the opening dance - the lancers - which was danced with vigour, they were left with a pulpy mess around their necks instead of the nice stiff, highly polished collars. No lady cared whether her feet touched the ground or not as she was held so firmly by her strong bushman, and she could be sure that only a stray ankle could be seen as our dresses were so long and we also wore starched petticoats. The emphasis was on conforming to English customs and markers of civility. Jane's ball dress had been chosen by her husband on a trip to Brisbane: "He says I must dress differently now I am a married woman and buy materials one cannot see through. The choice is a bottle green, almost as thick as a billiard table cloth, trimmed with black velvet, and a very severe toque. Looking in the mirror, I certainly do look married. There will be no hope of getting admiration elsewhere as I could easily be taken for a grandmother. It is a good thing it pleases Tom." Jane was obliged to wear her "billiard cloth dress" on several formal occasions despite its disadvantages and her dislike of it. She complained of sweating profusely in her dress and finding its weight cumbersome and hazardous when travelling. Margaret Maynard argues elsewhere in this volume that Queensland women did not always feel constrained to follow inappropriate European fashions. Nonetheless, maintaining a veneer of civility was of paramount importance, and, just as the house had to have a room for display, so its occupants were obliged to dress to reflect their social position.

Brass Beds, Lace Curtains and Cut-Crystal: The Privatisation of Sleeping Arrangements

To the right, down the hallway with a Persian runner, is the bedroom where my parents sleep. Their door too is always open, it being a convention in these houses that nothing is seen or heard that is not meant to be. The convention soon becomes a habit. Air circulates from room to room through a maze of interconnecting spaces; every breath can be heard, every creak of a bed-post or spring; you sleep, in the humid summer nights, outside the sheet and with as little clothing as decency allows; and yet privacy is perfectly preserved. A training in perception has as much to do with what is ignored and passed over as with what is observed. You see what you are meant to see. You hear when you are called.
Nowadays, a bedroom is the right of each member of the family. Previously, only the parental couple and servants were guaranteed a bedroom of their own. The average number of bedrooms in the 1890s varied from 2.7 in small houses to 6.6 in large ones. Whereas one or two people shared a bedroom in the latter, the average in smaller houses was three (though sometimes as many as five). The rooms featured high brass beds with "lace curtains, a lace coverlet and bolster, a washstand with doilies and a floral jug-and-basin". Jessica Anderson describes her parents' bedroom as "white, starchy, insipid, and often locked". Parental bedrooms were an odd combination of heavy furniture and a woman's favourite things - scent bottles, powder, jewellery, portraits and knick-knacks. Malouf recalls the ambivalence surrounding the bedroom: "So my mother's room was both hers and not hers. Nor was it my father's. They might, in their different ways, have felt the same trepidation on entering it, the same sense of bold trespass, that we children did. It was already too fully occupied". Parents' bedrooms were the most fully furnished, with a well-appointed room of the 1890s featuring, in addition to the bed, a medicine cabinet, commode, bedroom suite (dressing table, washstand, wardrobe with bevelled mirrors), wicker chair, lace curtains, and Brussels carpet. Other bedrooms were more basic with a bed, and some of the following: drawers, wardrobe, washstand, wardrobe, carpet. Servants' rooms were the most sparsely furnished of all.

Children slept wherever there was room - with parents when they were babies and in a separate room or on an enclosed verandah when possible. Until notions of socialisation and personality prompted ideas of individual development, there was little thought given to where children slept. Quite often, they ended up on the verandah, exposed to the outside world.

Transformations in Hygiene and Privacy: A Sanctuary for Mother

These houses created patterns of usage that were gendered as well as temporally and spatially determined. While the public face of the family was demonstrated through the best room or rooms, notions of privacy were foreign to the occupants. This extended to habits concerning the body. Only the wealthiest homes had bathrooms. The early designs of the Queensland house had no bathroom, just a tub for washing and a "thunderbox" out the back. Gradually, the thunderbox moved closer to the house as new disposal techniques reduced the smell and health risks. From the 1890s, sanitary workers changed the pans weekly. With septic tanks and plumbing came the possibility of adding
the bathroom directly onto the house. Similarly, a specialised bathroom - and later shower - were added, often located by filling in a corner of the verandah. These rooms were bare and functional, with "brutal plumbing and beaten-tin walls": "You did what you had to do briskly, efficiently, and you never locked the door". 104

From the 1950s, the bathroom was acknowledged as a special room within the house and this necessitated additions or more extensive re-modelling of the house. The advantages of plumbing were recognised. But equally, the body was re-valued, no longer something to disguise and ignore but as a machine to be fetishised, fashioned and disciplined. As a result, bathrooms have become "secular shrines", 105 the sign of hygiene, health, body mechanics and nature. This change was especially important for women for whom personal toilette was always a major preoccupation. More pragmatically, biological functions (menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth) exacerbated the limitations of these primitive arrangements. The modern bathroom was therefore welcomed as a site for privacy, comfort, and peace and quiet.

Lantana, Loquats and Lupins: Survival and Solace in the Garden

My memories were all of our old house in South Brisbane, with its wide latticed verandahs, its damp mysterious storerooms where sacks of potatoes and salt had been kept in the ever-dark, its washtubs and copper boiler under the porch, its vast garden that ran right through to the street behind, a wilderness that my grandfather, before he died, had transformed into a suburban farmlet, with rows of spinach, tomatoes, lettuce, egg-plants, a shed where onions and garlic hung from the rafters, and a wire coop full of chooks. 106

Gardens were an essential adjunct to the Queensland house. Initially, the garden was a matter of survival and a means to tame the unsympathetic bush. But a garden was also essential to provide at least some basic food - vegetables and fruit - to supplement meagre diets. 107 The vegetable garden has remained a feature of Queensland houses, though they are less common. In addition, flower beds graced even the earliest Queensland house, usually featuring imported English species - dahlias, petunias, daffodils, roses, gladioli, gerberas, gardenias, hibiscus, crotons, pansies and camellias. Jane Bardsley recounts how the Atherton family brought from England "a small pink monthly rose in a pot, and so far every Atherton in the family has a bush in his
VERANDAHS AND FRANGIPANI
garden". She became an adept gardener and later lamented: "I feel a little sad at leaving Toowoomba, as I have made some very nice friends and will miss my flowers so. The daffodils, snow drops and lilies seem to peep out of the grass without one ounce of care". The nostalgia of settlers for England was palpable. Rachel Henning wrote wistfully: "You are just in the middle of summer now, and how lovely June is in England! I can fancy all the thorn-trees out on the downs and the children picking flowers in Leigh Woods and the bouquets in the shop windows and the flower-beds in the Zoological Gardens and the summer costumes on the green. It is fine and warm and sunny here, with just a cool breeze to remind us that it is winter".

Such longings continued until the 1960s when native species and new ideas about landscaping finally began to challenge the formal design of the front garden which imitated "the English upper class - the huge gate, the central flower bed and palm trees". Many of the palm species including the popular royal, traveller, queen and coconut palms, were imported. Native palm species were only reluctantly acknowledged. Climbing sprays of jasmine, bougainvillea, wisteria and passionfruit were also common. Yet the merits of some native species were recognised. One visitor in 1851 was impressed by the local trees: "The palette is subtle and superficially serene ... blue grey leaves, stronger yellow notes of wattles and blooming silky oaks ... accents of scarlet of the flame trees ... purples of jacaranda, lilac wisteria".

Generally, the front garden provided a formal display tempered by a row of palms or one large shade tree, often a mango. Trees were more common in the back garden where they provided much needed shade and protection. Popular species included frangipani, pawpaws, wild lime (bush lemon), macadamia (known as the Queensland nut), bananas, pecans, stone fruit trees, breadfruit, exotic tropical fruits. The edible fruit provided much needed variety and a source of vitamins and roughage.

More than that, gardens provided solace, comfort and satisfied the nostalgic yearnings of uncertain settlers. Settlers were encouraged to plant trees to moderate the landscape and the climate. Rockhampton, for example, prided itself on creating a city of "fronded trees, that hedge the sun-swept streets. There you will find us, housed in wooden walls ...". McDonald records the romantic story of Jane Drake, a sixteen year-old Dorset girl who arrived in Rockhampton in 1877. Homesick and longing to see a tree, she sat under a huge weeping fig tree and wept:

but quickly admonished herself, 'Why are you crying, silly girl? One day you might own this tree.' Spiritually strengthened by her feeling of kinship with the tree ... she picked up her basket and walked back to town where she
PART 3 SPACES

found work minding the children of a hotel proprietress. Soon afterwards Joseph Allan, Overseer at Torilla Station, saw her and fell in love and they married. Their two sons Fred and Charles and their daughter Beatrice were born at Torilla. Many years later Jane Allan bought the allotment on which the tree grew for £200 and also the house on the adjoining allotment on Dawson Road. About 1940 a new house was built in the shade of the huge tree and there Jane Allan’s daughter Beatrice lived in 1977 obviously drawing spiritual strength from the tree as her mother had exactly one century earlier.

Leadlights, Bloodwood and Downstairs: Renovation and Revitalisation of the Queensland House

Because of the makeshift nature of Queensland houses, they always required a lot of work. Jane Bardsley discovered this in 1896 when she married and found herself living on "Midlothian Station" near Normanton in Tom’s two-roomed house of corrugated iron tempered by a wide verandah on three sides. She set about home improvements: "I have made the two main rooms so artistic by lining them and ceiling them with art muslin that has a greyish background with pink roses and green foliage, but alas! it is far from being soundproof. When we have visitors and want to talk, we have to do so in whispers".

Five years later, they moved to "Woonon", a property near Mackay which was a substantial Queenslander. The house was improved over the years, but in 1917, the family sold the property and bought the "Pretty Bend" homestead near Bowen. It was rundown and required considerable work. Bardsley described it so:

It is a four-room house made from adzed bloodwood, with horizontal slabs fitted into their positions. There are verandahs all round and it is built on very high blocks. The kitchenmaid’s room, the bathroom and the men’s dining room have been built in the same way, and connect to the main house by a long passage... [W]e are gradually transforming it into a pretty homestead.

First of all we varnished the main rooms and you cannot imagine how wonderfully the varnish brought out the different lights in the bloodwood. Then on one side we put leadlight windows and built our kitchen and dining room under the house, using the old kitchen for a billiard room.
VERANDAHS AND FRANGIPANI

Visitors simply rave about the place, but of course I keep quiet that we are overrun with cockroaches at times.116

The Queensland house remains the only form of housing that can be identified as uniquely Australian. As such, it has become, if belatedly, the object of attention of architects, home renovators and historians. One of its great virtues has been its flexibility and adaptability. Because of its simple design, walls can be moved at whim and new spaces created. Although only a fraction of the original stock of Queenslanders remains, since the 1970s many have been reclaimed, renovated and "improved". More than conventional houses, the Queenslander is a living house form which changes and responds to climate and circumstance. Although frustrating and never perfect, this characteristic also makes them irresistible: occupants live with the house and the house lives with the occupants.

A Woman's Place?

The Queensland house defies the assumption that domestic space is private and confines women within its space, cutting them off from the outside - public - domains. Instead, the house provides an interface between various private and public arenas with features such as the verandah forming a literal intersection of people and activities. Houses were like a tea house or information exchange in which gossip was traded, support provided, and communities formed: a symbol of security and a statement of life chances, though these were often in conflict. Despite, or perhaps because of, the open and scanty construction, the Queensland house obliged occupants to negotiate an active relationship with the environs. Contact with neighbours was part of that practice. Only in recent times have the demands of working life, fewer occupants, new notions of privacy, changed patterns of shopping and servicing, and different ways of using the house, undermined these conventions. Even so, the identification of the Queenslander with its occupants remains strong. For women, in particular, the Queensland house has been an enduring source of comfort and inspiration. In the changing circumstances of the lives of Queensland women, the house remains an intimate ally in the ups and downs of everyday life.
Region, like gender, is a form of difference which does not frequently occur to a critic trained within the dominant paradigms of Australian literary and cultural studies. The dominance of masculinist and nationalist perspectives - ideologies which we now know coalesce in the "Australian" tradition - produce an endemic cultural blindness when faced with traces of gender or spatial differences, among others.

The elision of masculinity and nationalism has been revealed in the Australian context by a number of feminist critics - Marilyn Lake, Kay Schaffer, Gail Reekie and Susan Sheridan. Although the Australian legend produces a spectacularly potent version of this relationship, feminists in other settler societies observe a similar alliance. For instance Aritha van Herk: "I come from the west, kingdom of the male virgin. I live and write in the kingdom of the male virgin. To be female and not-virgin, making stories in the kingdom of the male virgin, is dangerous. You think this kingdom is imaginary? Try being a writer there. Try being a woman there."2

Given that the case for an affinity of masculinist and nationalist discourses has been well made, the question whether a corollary is apparent deserves consideration. Does regionalism provide opportunities for women's voices to be heard? Does challenging the national monolith bring other kinds of difference onto the agenda? Such a large question cannot be discussed effectively by cataloguing individual examples of regional and nationalist thought alone. Rather it requires us to consider regionalism as a discourse, that is as a construction which tends to privilege certain values, particular concerns and, perhaps, objects. Are there characteristics and functions of regional identities as they occur in quite different contexts? If so, how do they relate to the interests of women?

Implicit in this shift is the idea that regional identities are constructed. Culture plays a vital part in this process of construction. The emphasis here will be primarily on literature. However regionalism is fostered in cultural activities of all kinds: sport, music, scholarship, tourism, lifestyle, heritage. There is another article to be written, for
SPEAKING FROM THE WARM ZONE

instance, on the extent to which beer promotes regionalism from Newfoundland to Queensland! This alerts us to the fact that there is no necessary affinity between the feminine and the regional, for in almost every case these popular promotions identify the regional taste in masculine terms. In approaching regions as constructions in this way I am drawing on the kind of analysis set out in Benedict Anderson's book, *Imagined Communities*. Although Anderson focusses on the nation as a community, he does so in a way which stresses how communal identities of all kinds are produced or imagined. Instead of thinking of the region or the nation as a pre-existing reality, Anderson examines how these communities are created, how people come to think of themselves in terms of a communal identity. Culture plays a crucial role in fostering a sense of identity, in imagining a community, be this community based on nation or region, or shared interests due to, for example, gender, ethnicity or race.

This approach to regional identity also draws on Richard White's analysis in *Inventing Australia*. Like Benedict Anderson, White stresses identity as a construct, rejecting the notion of a true identity in favour of examining the ways in which various images of national identity are produced. Like Anderson, White makes no explicit reference to regional identities. Indeed his analysis demonstrates persuasively (and unselfconsciously) the extent to which images of national identity in Australia have emerged from a metropolitan intelligentsia in Sydney and Melbourne. However White's argument is useful to us here in that he stresses the role of the intelligentsia as producers in the process of constructing communal identities. Writers, critics, academics, copy writers, advertisers, publishers, reviewers, journalists, copy writers, commentators, all are key players in the construction and dissemination of identities. This alerts us to the role of the intelligentsia in both constructing and promoting regional identities.

However if regional difference is to flourish, distinct communities or regions must have the local and particular means with which to produce their identities. For example, a local review or newspaper, a regional television station, a regional literature. It is in these venues that the process of reflecting and shaping these identities is undertaken. Of course the importance of institutional anchors to the emergence and validation of identity and difference is well known to feminist scholars. In Australia and elsewhere a substantial shift in cultural politics had to occur for feminism to emerge as a significant force in cultural and literary affairs. Changes and reorientations in academia, in journalism and in publishing, among other cultural formations, has been vital to the promulgation of a woman-centred perspective. The establishment and success of a number of small and specialist presses (Sibylla, Redress, McPhee Gribble, Sisters), the appearance of
women's studies courses in curricula, and an intelligentsia sensitive to gender-based issues, have all been crucial in the recent feminisation of Australian culture.

A regional cultural infrastructure has been slow to develop here. Australian publishing, reviewing, criticism and the administration of the arts remains firmly grounded in the metropolitan Sydney-Melbourne axis. This is, to quote Janette Turner Hospital, the centre which speaks for the whole.5 The Australian Book Review is published in Melbourne and draws most of its reviewers from there, so does the SBS "Book Programme" and the ABC's "Books and Writing". Most of the Australian cultural and literary journals emanate from Sydney or Melbourne. Australian Literary Studies, the notable exception, comes from Brisbane, but firmly sets its face against any regional interest.

This centralisation of literary and cultural institutions both promotes and naturalises the hegemony of what otherwise might be conceptualised as two metropolitan regions: Sydney and Melbourne. This organisation is crucial to an understanding of Australian cultural politics and the suppression of regional identities. It allows us to see, for example, why the adoption of a regional perspective by a number of Australian writers can remain unheard in the Australian context, and why critics tend to "rehearse" regionalism self-consciously. In Australia neither critics, nor curricula nor literary journals are, by and large, organised in relation to regionalism.

There is a marked contrast here with Canadian cultural production. In Canada regionalism finds powerful institutional anchors. For instance arts funding in Canada is more provincially based than in Australia, and regional interests have always had a high profile in the Canada Council. There is an established provincial structure of Arts Councils with local, regional priorities. Book publishing in Canada is regionally diverse.6 During the eighties there was a burst of radical regionalism in Canada. The role of regional presses in fostering this has been crucial. I am thinking, for instance, of NeWest in Edmonton, Turnstone in Winnipeg, Western Producer Prairie in Saskatoon, Nimbus in Halifax and Pressgang, Talonbooks and UBC in Vancouver. These examples are from English Canada alone. Regional anthologies proliferated during the 1980s. Regional thinking by no means correlates to political boundaries so, for instance, we also find collections like Carole Gerson's edition Vancouver Short Stories. Gerson points out that telling a story is a vital part of identification, "the writer writes her people, her place, into existence", the writer creates images for us to identify with.7 If we glance at curricula in Canadian universities we find a strong focus on reading Canadian writing regionally. Although there are frequent complaints about the centrist power of Ottawa and Ontario,
Canada is, as Janette Turner Hospital recently wrote, a country of lusty, vociferous and competitive regional victims.8

This network of regional publishers and reviews, the institutional anchors of regional difference, established a pluralist infrastructure which greatly assisted the development of feminism in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s. By grafting on to established small presses or by establishing new enterprises in a system already oriented to cultural diversity, a strong and pluralist women's culture was rapidly established. The Women and Words/Les Femmes et les mots network in Canada, which brings together editors and publishers, teachers and librarians as well as writers in many genres and media, has from the outset embraced the concept of a many-voiced women's literature, voices from diverse cultures, races and regions. The contrast to Australia is striking. There is of course nothing inherently feminist in a well developed regional infrastructure. However such a network can be a congenial host for feminist initiatives. It can allow different identities to flourish.

My point is that identification by writers with regions is not in and of itself enough. This identification cannot be amplified and heard without a cultural infrastructure oriented to regionalism. Australian women writers in particular are more inclined to spin local mythologies rather than national or sexual stereotypes. For instance, Barbara Hanrahan pursues the obscure working-class voice of Thebarton, Helen Garner chronicles urban Carlton, Olga Masters sketches Cobargo. Thea Astley, Jessica Anderson and Janette Turner Hospital all identify themselves as Queensland writers, yet their sentiments meet with little response. In making this argument I have no wish to diminish the regionalist energies which are present in Australia. In the West, for instance, there is a regionalist intelligentsia. A very successful publisher, the Fremantle Arts Centre Press, has given high profile to regional and other writers of difference. Journals such as Westerly, books such as Bruce Bennett's *Place, Region and Community*, curricula sensitive to regional difference and a series of regional anthologies are also signs of an academic regionalism there. However these regional energies continue to be diminished within the larger national framework. The point made earlier about the affinity between regionalism and feminism in Canada is reinforced as we note how the Fremantle Arts Centre Press has promoted women's writing in particular: Marion Campbell, Sally Morgan, Elizabeth Jolley. It is not the case that regionalism is absent in Australia, or that centrist energies are non-existent in Canada. However the discursive conditions for regionalism in each context are quite different.

How can we identify a set of characteristics of regional discourse? What kind of oppositions does it tend to produce? What does it privilege?
As I have already suggested, one of the effects of considering regionalism as a discourse is to focus on the construction rather than the reflection of regions. One implication of this is that we can recognise features of regional discourse which occur through and across specific examples. This may seem perverse: after all the drive of regionalism is to the local and the particular. However if we read examples of regional writing comparatively, across national and regional boundaries, continuities are apparent. For instance, James Overton describes the Newfoundland image as constructing the Newfoundlanders as slow and friendly people still attuned to nature.9 One is immediately reminded of the Queensland Tourist Authority's description of Queensland: "When Qantas began, Queensland was full of empty spaces ... Even the people themselves were seen as something special. A breed apart. With hearts as big as the wilderness they had tamed. Queensland was the last frontier. Nothing has changed."10 Newfoundlanders too are spontaneous and natural, or so the image goes. A quotation from the Introduction to Janice Keefer's reading of Maritime fiction makes the point more clearly. She selects and approves the following description of the Maritimes from Silver Donald Cameron: "... the values of stability and rootedness, the sense of belonging to a well-defined community, the gentler, domesticated beauty of farmstead and fishing harbour. The sense that things are not altogether transient, that the idiosyncratic old home that has been there two hundred years will not have been trampled by a high-rise developer tomorrow. The Maritimes have their own illusions, of course, but those illusions seem to me closer to the kind of thinking we will all need ..."11 Cameron associates the Maritimes with tradition and durability, a spirit of place which, she argues, is intrinsic to "the regional". Bruce Bennett notes similar qualities in his consideration of regionalism in recent Westalian writing, which also, in his view, celebrates the small rural community and close attachment to the natural world.12 These continuities alert us to some marked similarities in the representation of places which are, from a geographical or climatic perspective, vastly different. Objectively existing fact is not the point here. Rather regions, as imagined communities, may become emblematic of a range of social values (in Cameron's terms "a kind of thinking") which might generally be associated with tradition and domesticity. The gendered nature of this association is made explicit in George Bowering's definition of the region: "A region has to be lived in long enough to produce typical antiques and cooking .... The outsider coming to London, Ontario in the mid-sixties felt a bit like a suitor coming with his belle to one of her family Sundays. He found these regional sign systems: country fairs, holidays in which rituals have become obscure to origins ... human rather than geographical legends, graveyards, religious demarcations, haunted houses, and so on. Now there is tradition."13 In these quite
dispersed contexts, then, regional sign systems are associated with the archetypically feminine: with the organic community, the domestic, the family, the natural world, tradition. It is in keeping with this gendered association that, in his call for radical regionalism, the Canadian critic Arthur Kroker refers to "coming home to the culture of the region" (my emphasis). Are these gendered characteristics of regional discourse a reason why Australian women writers are attracted to regional particularities? How does gender figure in regional discourse?

To consider this in relation to the region I know best, Queensland, I am immediately struck by how often writings about Queensland are writings about childhood or adolescence and the past. There are numerous examples, the best known include David Malouf's *12 Edmonstone Street*, Johnno and Harland's *Half Acre*, Jessica Anderson's *Stories from the Warm Zone*, and *Tirra Lirra by the River* (which is about both childhood and old age), Thea Astley's *Mango* stories and "The Northern Belle", Janette Turner Hospital's stories such as "The Bloody Past, the Wandering Future", Tom Shapcott's *White Stag of Exile* and *Hotel Bellevue*. These narratives by no means universally glorify the local. However they do cast it in terms of a retrospective, associating Queensland regions spatially in terms of a lost innocence and simplicity, a wilderness space which cannot be recaptured. Even when urban space enters Queensland narratives, it retains the qualities of wilderness, impermanence and excess, the "sprawling timber settlement" as Astley describes it. Bowering refers to "regional sign systems"; in Queensland the regional sign systems include entrenched white settler rituals and gentility, a pervading and almost sensual ripeness and rampanty in the natural environment, an architecture which teeters on impermanence. The characteristics of regional discourse are apparent in evocations of Queensland space and culture. The extent to which we are dealing with an "imagined community" here is apparent if we turn again to that seemingly incongruous comparison of Queensland and Newfoundland. Newfoundland too is constructed as a region with a neo-primitive white culture, a lifestyle which has developed organically with the environment, a place where the urban industrial society is held at bay.

What brings such incongruous places as Queensland and Newfoundland together is that tendency of regional discourse to construct the region as a point from which to criticise mass civilisation and industrial urban society. As James Overton points out, the idea of the region and the regional community is often romanticised by middle-class urban intellectuals to represent values threatened by mass society: the human, the spontaneous, the natural, a sense of order and purpose. Regionalism becomes not so much a place as an expression of alienation.
I want to pursue this consideration of regional discourse more specifically at this point by comparing two well-known examples from the list of Queensland narratives above: David Malouf's *12 Edmonstone Street* and Jessica Anderson's *Stories from the Warm Zone*. More specifically than this, I am interested in that most Queensland of spaces, the weatherboard house. There are similarities in the reminiscences of the childhood house in Malouf and Anderson, as we shall see, but differences emerge in their fantasies of domestic space in and around "the Queenslander". These constructions of childhood are gendered as well as regional, and archetypally Queensland spaces are constructed differently according to a gendered cultural politics of domestic space.

"The Queenslander", a bungalow on stilts is, perhaps more than anything else, an icon of our regional difference, a cornerstone of our regional sign system. To the outsider it is a sign of impermanence and makeshift, for its occupants there is a profound relationship between its contours and characteristics and their own self identity and formation. As Jennifer Craik has observed, the Queenslander feeds into a collective fantasy about the past and heritage and the uniqueness of Queensland settlement. The idea of "coming home to the region" has particular valency here, for the Queenslander is frequently placed at the centre of those writings about childhood and the past which are characteristic of regional writing. Generally in literature houses are symbolically linked with cultural identity and the social order. However the mapping of space and definition of boundaries in the Queenslander, the relationships amongst its inhabitants and between its occupants and the exterior, are markers of a regional ethos and identity. As this house figures in regional discourse, its spatial arrangement organises different characters, objects and events of the past in a distinctive way.

David Malouf's *12 Edmonstone Street* is the most familiar statement of the Queenslander as "habitus". Here we find all the marks of the regional sign system identified earlier. Although set in an urban space, South Brisbane, in the narrator's memory the house retains the qualities of wilderness and impermanence; it is represented as a "nest" of open rooms, it is like living in a "reorganised forest":

Like most people in those days, my father was ashamed of our house. He would have preferred a modern one made of brick. Weatherboard was too close to beginnings, to a dependence on what was merely local and near to hand rather than expensively imported. It was native, provincial, poverty-stricken - poor white. Real cities, as everyone knows, are made to last. They have foundations set firm in the earth. Weatherboard cities float above it on blocks or stumps. ... The creak of timber as the day's heat seeps away,
SPEAKING FROM THE WARM ZONE

the gradual adjustment in all its parts, like a giant instrument being tuned, of the house-frame on its stumps, is a condition of life that goes deep into consciousness. It makes the timber-house dweller, among the domesticated, a distinct sub-species, somewhere between bushie and brick-and-mortar man.

As for verandahs. Well, their evocation of the raised tent flap gives the game away completely. They are a formal confession that you are just one step up from nomads. Malouf stresses the imprint of the house upon its inhabitants:

First houses are the grounds of our first experience. Crawling about at floor level, room by room, we discover laws that we will apply later to the world at large; and who is to say if our notions of space and dimension are not determined for all time by what we encounter there, in the particular relationship of living-rooms to attic and cellar (or in my case under-the-house), of inner rooms to the verandahs that are open boundaries?... The house is a field of dense affinities, laid down, each one, with an almost physical power, in the life we share with all that in being 'familiar' has become essential to us, inseparable from what we are. (8-9).

The contours of the house determine what can be said, heard and observed: "it is a convention in these houses that nothing is seen or heard that is not meant to be" (22). There are different kinds of conduct on the verandah ("Verandahs are no-man's-land, border zones that keep contact with the house and its activities on one face but are open on the other to the street, the night and all the vast, unknown areas beyond") (20) and within the house proper. Malouf characterises the front verandah as a female space, where his "mother's ladies" gather in clouds of whispers and talc. Other female spaces are the piano room, where the children, their mother and the household help gather in the afternoons; the jardiniere, in which the "paraphernalia of female occupations" are bundled away at the first sign of father's return; and the dressing table, evocative of his mother's English origins with its cut crystal dressing table set and spirit lamp. Against these are male spaces: the toolroom under the house is the male domain, here swear words "have none of the shocking quality they might have upstairs" (46). Beyond this the timbre of the whole house alters when father returns in the evening, "like Zeus", to "transform" what is, during the day, the female domain.
12 Edmonstone Street proceeds by spatial contiguities rather than a sequence of events. Gradually this child-in-the-house narrative makes its way from verandah, through the rooms and down to "under the house", a space which Malouf mythologises as a forest, as dark as anything in Grimm. Here is the irrational, the underside of things, a place outside of time and language, as opposed to the careful naming and possession of objects above, in the house proper. It is no surprise to find that, in Malouf's novel Harland's Half Acre, the darkest fears are realised when a corpse is found hanging from one of the rafters beneath the house.

Malouf's mythologising of the Queensland house binds the details of its architecture, its colour - the cream ironwork, ochre venetians, ox-blood iron roof - and its surroundings - the enormous shade trees which darken the backyard - into a topography which ultimately includes its inhabitants, they belong here and are made by it. The house and the household become part of an organic entity, an ecosystem. It is this close detail and the house as the lynchpin of an ethos which makes 12 Edmonstone Street such a seductive statement of regional identity: the house is a marker of tradition, domesticity, an organic community. There is in Malouf's house all the emblems of that regional sign system identified earlier: the communal rituals, the magical icons (the Sacred Heart of Jesus above the parental bed for instance), even the haunted house which Bowering identifies as typical of the tradition of regional identifications!

The household in Jessica Anderson's Warm Zone stories shares a number of these features. These stories too are characteristic of a Queensland regional discourse. They feature a child-in-the-house narrative which is a recollection of a childhood in a prewar Queensland household. There are two houses here, one, Old Mooloolabin, in the country and a second Queenslander in a suburb of Brisbane. However each is the centrepiece of an evocation of place which has familiar characteristics: the sense of living on the edge of a wilderness, the makeshift quality of the built environment, the mannered, genteel settler culture. These qualities of Queensland as a marginal space are accentuated here as the Warm Zone stories are juxtaposed with the "Sydney Stories" which follow, bringing a past/present, rural/urban contrast into play.

However as we look more closely at these two narratives we can observe ways in which these constructions of childhood are gendered as well as regional. The same regional sign systems are apparent, but they are taken up differently. This is one effect of the generic frameworks adopted by Malouf and Anderson. In 12 Edmonstone Street there is, as we have seen, a spatial progression through the structure, beginning at the entry and moving through to those dark and most private spaces: "the body's dark", the bathroom.
and lavatory. The *Warm Zone* stories do not template narrative and architectural structure in this solipsistic way.

The contrast is most apparent if we compare the imaging of "under the house". For Malouf, as we have seen, this space is gothic, outside of language and time, a "wedge of darkness" which the Queenslander floats upon. These spaces are reached after the more civilised spaces above are mapped out. On the other hand Anderson's stories begin here: "If you don't wait under the house," said Rhoda to me, 'she won't come at all." The child narrator, Bea, feels imprisoned and discarded as her older sisters leave for the paddocks outside the domestic enclosure. However as the story "Under the House" develops, a quite different sense of this space emerges. The wilderness is not under the house but outside its boundaries, down by the creek. Whereas Malouf's child narrator will find the forbidden sexual objects (a book about bestiality) within the house, in the passage between the bathroom and the lavatory. Bea will make these discoveries down by the creek, a space beyond the house and outside of her mother's influence. The condoms she finds there and retrieves as "treasures" are immediately expelled from the house, burned in the kitchen stove by her mother. Whereas in Malouf's fiction the house is compartmentalised, with areas being associated with occupants, in the *Warm Zone* stories Bea's depiction of the house is imbued with her mother's presence. It is this, for instance, which brings under-the-house within the domestic domain:

Now I heard my mother enter the bedroom above my head, her footsteps also muffled for a moment by the red rug. I could not distinguish the words she said to Thelma, yet could hear the swishes and bumps as they gathered up the mosquito nets and tossed them on top of the valance frames, out of the way before valances were turned and beds made.

My mother's presence in the bedroom stopped me from running out and peeping through the gate ....

So I fidgeted and waited while her footsteps crossed and recrossed the floor above my head, brisk and staccato above the indecisive steps of Thelma. She wore neat black or brown shoes (polished by Neal) laced over the instep. Her parents had emigrated from England when she was three. Both she and Thelma wore aprons, Thelma's of opened-out sugar bags, hers of checked cotton.22

The sound of these domestic rituals, heard from underneath, civilises and domesticates the space underneath. In another story, "The Appearance of Things", Bea sits on the cool
linoleum under the dining room table, hearing the tap of her mother's narrow, laced up shoes moving to and fro, this sound punctuating a discussion between her parents about Queensland politics: labour politics, Theodore and Gillies. Again this reminds us of how the domestic routine and Bea's sense of the order of things is organised around her mother's presence. In *12 Edmondstone Street* the mother is in the shadows, silent, "powerfully unused". In Bea's story the sensible shoes and the purposeful steps are metonymic of a figure who has power and agency.

These differences are symptomatic of a more profound difference between these two child-in-the-house figures. Malouf's child narrator is an explorer, mapping the little world of the house and discovering laws he will "apply later to the world at large". He is engaged in a process of mastery: "Set loose in a world of things, we are struck at first by their terrible otherness. It drives us to fury. For a time we are all mouth, we try to swallow them, then to smash them to smithereens - little hunters on the track of the ungraspable. Till we perceive at last that in naming and handling things we have power over them. If they refuse to yield their history to us they may at least, in time, become agents in ours" (9). This is later expressed in terms of body talk, the desire to possess being represented through his body's "only expressive mouth", the anus. The penis, his trigger, is represented in terms of aggression and lawlessness. This body talk, he later realises, "opens into a real social world". His relationship to that first world, the house, is inflected by the gendered body from which he speaks.

The contrast with the Anderson *Warm Zone* stories is so marked because several of them are concerned with the breakdown of Bea's ability to name, to speak. Whereas Malouf's child narrator is engaged in a process of mastery, Anderson's child is unable to assert her control over things through language. Words cannot leave her mouth, she struggles and hisses, silenced by a "word-blocking emanation": "... I stood and struggled to speak, the former emanation came to seem like a substance, visualised by me as a tangled mass of some sort, spiny, prickly, or a forward-inclining jagged rock which blocked at last even the contorted sounds I had managed before" (48). This loss of control over language is associated by Bea with her experiences in that wilderness beyond the house and down by the creek: the ritualistic "showing" of genitals there, the discovery of the condom, the growing knowledge of sexuality and the body bear allusions and reminders which cause her to sink into silence. The phallus, which empowers Malouf's child narrator and "triggers" his exploration of the world as an autonomous individual, for Bea seems to be a reminder of her immanence. Finally she can speak clearly only by addressing her mother instead of her father.
The gender-based contrast between these two stories I have sketched here may seem to affirm a by now familiar psychoanalytic interpretation of gender difference. In Freudian thought the idealisation of separation and the idealisation of the phallus go together, the phallus is the representative of individuation: "The father and his phallus intervene to spring the child from the dyadic trap, the oneness with mother, forcing the child to individuate .... And the consequences for the girl are, as [Juliet] Mitchell put it, 'no phallus, no power, except those winning ways of getting one'". As de Lauretis points out, this interpretation reveals a number of assumptions of Freudian thought: that the individual is defined by separateness, that the father's phallus (authority) is the prime mover of separation, that the girl's lack relegates her to a "feminine" condition of passivity and an envious relationship to father and phallus. If we map this Freudian psychoanalytic reading back onto the two child-in-the-house narratives we have been reading here, the Malouf text seems to enact precisely that drive to autonomy and mastery which defines masculine individuation, the Anderson story seems to confirm the immanent condition of the feminine.

However a quite different line of interpretation is suggested by the Anderson stories. As a response to her "condition" Bea stays at home with her mother for a year. This time when they are alone in the house together prefigures the later stage in their relationship when Bea nurses her mother as an aged widow and the relationship of nurturance and dependency is reversed. The stories draw out a female bonding between mother and daughter in the house which counteracts the silencing which has taken place outside its boundaries. Bea experiences this not as containment but as freedom. During this phase the house is imaged as a female space, the men are away until evening and the creek is now forbidden territory. Mother and daughter begin to speak to each other differently, a companionable language, and develop a relationship with the other which allows each both independence and symbiosis: "I hear her advancing from the front of the house while I walk from the back, and before we come into sight of one another I hear her lonely conversational murmur. We meet. She starts. 'Oh. Oh.' And gives an abashed laugh. 'Oh, it's you Beatie'" (79). The sense of time here bears those markers of "women's time" identified by Kristeva: circular and meandering rather than linear and progressive.

The contrast with the Malouf narrative in particular serves to highlight how the house in the Warm Zone stories functions in spatial terms not as a place to practise mastery and the power to name, but as a source of "the treasures of space and privacy". The solipsism of Malouf's child is replaced by the female community of mother and daughter, both of whom enjoy a curious mixture of companionship and solitude which is
PART 3 SPACES

beyond words. It is a space which Bea conceptualises as being immersed in the sea: "My impending return to the school began to spread like a stain across my life, or like the huge flotilla of seaweed Rhoda and I had watched one dawn rocking closer and closer across the blue and silver and turquoise sea .... I told myself as I mooched about that after I went back to school I would 'lose the sea'" (106). Julia Kristeva conceptualises a kind of writing which eschews the phallic dominance (which she associates with the privileged father-daughter relationship, the drive for mastery) in favour of "the valourization of a silent underwater body" in the female text.25 In Helene Cixous we also find the female space is marine: "Write! and your self-seeking text will know itself better than flesh and blood, rising, insurrectionary dough kneading itself, with sonorous, perfumed ingredients, a lively combination of flying colours, leaves, and rivers plunging into sea we feed ... our seas are what we make of them ... we are ourselves sea, sand, coral, seaweed, beaches, tides, swimmers, children, waves ... More or less wavy sea, earth, sky - what matter would rebuff us? We know how to speak them all."26 For Anderson too this sea represents a space outside the phallic order and within an intersubjective maternal order.

These remarks on female space may, it seem, have floated away from where we began: the region, and the identification of a regional discourse. Perhaps not if we return to those central questions identified at the beginning of this chapter: What are the characteristics of regional discourse? How do these relate to the interests of women? I have suggested that the region is consistently associated with a particular set of values: the organic community, tradition, the natural world. Regionalism generally functions as an anti-urban, anti-industrial polemic. The values it celebrates are conventionally understood in terms of the domestic, the feminine. However within the parameters of this discourse ways of speaking from the region are by no means universally or consistently feminised. To return to the Queensland instance I have been concerned with here: Malouf's essay represents one enunciation from regional space, a particularly seductive one at that. But, as the child-in-the-house at 12 Edmonstone Street realises, talk opens onto a real social world. A world where, I would add, gender remains a primary consideration. Which is to say that we speak from the warm zone, as from all others, as gendered subjects.
In November 1986 in Brisbane, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) found in favour of the complainant in a sexual harassment hearing. The commission ruled that the respondent pay $7,000 for the loss and damage suffered by the complainant. In handing down the decision, Commission Chairperson, Dame Roma Mitchell, said it would be hard to imagine a more serious instance of sexual harassment suffered by a young woman. The case, colloquially identified as the "Tasty Morsel" case after the name of the bakery where the incidents occurred, represented a landmark decision in both Queensland and Australian legal history.

The complainant, Lynette Aldridge, was the first woman in the state and only the second in Australia to be awarded damages for sexual harassment. The respondent, Grant Booth, had the rather dubious distinction of being the first Queensland man to appear before the HREOC on a sexual harassment charge, as well as being the first person in Australia to refuse to pay a commission order of this type. HREOC was unable to institute enforcement procedures against Booth. His refusal to pay did not constitute contempt of court because it was an award for damages only and not a fine. It was thus necessary for Aldridge to apply to the Federal Court to enforce the commission ruling, making the case unique in Australian legal circles.

Justice Spender, for the Federal Court, was forced to rehear the case as he was concerned that by not doing so he would be "giving judicial imprimatur to unjudicial proceedings". What he meant was that the HREOC is a quasi-judicial body only and has no inherent legal authority. Although the commission operates in each state under the auspices of the federal government, its determinations do not constitute an exercise of the judicial power of the Commonwealth. Judgements take the form of moral inducements only and are not binding or conclusive between any of the parties. This inability to enforce a determination has been acknowledged by some legal practitioners as a major difficulty with the Sex Discrimination Act 1984.

During the Federal Court case, Booth's counsel, in a surprise move, challenged the validity of the Sex Discrimination Act in Queensland, claiming its operation in this state was beyond the Commonwealth's constitutional powers. The question of constitutional
validity represented an important legal challenge as it reflected not only on the Commonwealth's legal jurisdiction over Australian states, but also on the ability of the HREOC to formulate determinations. The commission decision was upheld and the Federal Court ordered Booth to pay Aldridge the prescribed damages. Since this was the first time the commission's powers had been tested, the decision by Mr Justice Spender was hailed as a victory for the HREOC itself, as well as for supporters of sex discrimination legislation in this country.

Aldridge's triumph, while successful at a personal level, was also heartening for women all over Australia. It established a legal precedent in respect of the constitutional validity of the *Sex Discrimination Act*, and exposed the more serious, yet often hidden side of sexual harassment. The public face of sexual harassment is often depicted, particularly in the popular press, as the occasional man having "normal" male fun at work. However, it can and does entail more serious and damaging activities. The long-term nature and severity of the harassment endured by Aldridge, along with the lengthy public ordeal she was subjected to during the legal proceedings, raises a number of concerns. This chapter locates *Aldridge v. Booth* (the "Tasty Morsel" case) alongside the broader debate on sexual harassment. It demonstrates the negative repercussions of Queensland law, policing and political culture on Queensland women.

The handling and resolution of sexual harassment complaints in Australia is problematic. Firstly, where figures are collated, they are presented as a set of monolithic offences in which a vast array of differing workplace offences are grouped together under the single category of sexual harassment. An incident involving assault or rape at work is thus classified along with inappropriate verbal comments or the displaying of sexually explicit material as sexual harassment. Clearly, there is a disparity in the seriousness and nature of these different actions and their potential effects on victims. As a result of this totalising practice and lack of distinction between varying offences, even overtly aggressive sexual offences in the workplace are designated as being of lesser importance and treated accordingly. This is not to say that all sexual harassment is as serious as that endured by Aldridge. However, current methodology used in the gathering of sexual harassment statistics makes it impossible to determine the percentage of serious incidents which might be masked beneath the general term of "sexual harassment". More detailed data might provide a more comprehensive picture of workplace relations between men and women and question the extent to which the current system of semi-legal handling of these offences reduces male culpability for sexually predatory behaviour.

Secondly, the majority of complaints are handled within a privatised conciliation setting, further entrenching the notion that sexual relations between men and women are
THE "TASTY MORSEL" CASE

private matters and thus beyond the province of public legal proceedings. While the intent of such informal procedures is laudable, the effects of maintaining the practice of sexual secrecy must be of some concern to feminist scholars. Given that around ninety per cent of complaints are resolved within the private world of conciliation, this aspect of sexual harassment hearings merits further analysis.

Thirdly, the decision to award monetary damages to complainants in some instances is also worrying. It suggests payment for services rendered, similar to the exchange which occurs in prostitution. Sexual access to women's bodies is maintained, with some types of access being moderated by the extraction of a payment from the man.

Finally, in the context of regionalism, there are a number of disturbing implications for women in Queensland. As recently as late 1991, Queensland was conspicuous as one of the few remaining states in Australia which did not have in place anti-discrimination legislation. A draft discussion paper was formulated by the Attorney-General's Department in 1991 but had not been enacted at the time of writing. In a press release announcing the issue of pre-legislation guidelines to all state government departments on the prevention and handling of sexual harassment in December 1991, the Premier, Wayne Goss, acknowledged the previous lack of formal avenues for lodging sexual harassment complaints in Queensland. The premier also announced that in future the state government would be taking a tough stance against sexual harassers. Given the legislative prohibitions and the previous lack of sympathetic policies towards women in this state, Queensland women could be forgiven for remaining dubious.

The particular situation in Queensland has been due in large part to a concurrence of three decades of conservative National Party rule and the personal leadership style of its former Premier, Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen. The right wing ideology of hearth, home, pumpkin scones and family espoused by the former premier has helped to create and maintain conditions favouring the domination of women. Superimposed on an historical tradition of neglect, isolation and violence towards women, discussed by other contributors to this volume, the contemporary Queensland state is, at best, unsympathetic towards women and, at worst, one that has actively profited from the sexual exploitation of women. The situation of Queensland women in regard to sexual harassment has thus been frustrated by inadequate legislation and further hindered by the political and policing specificities of the state.

Sexual harassment is defined in the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 as an unwelcome sexual advance, or request for sexual favours, or any other unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature whether made orally, or in writing. It may adopt a variety of forms. For instance, the commonly-held perception of sexual harassment is that it involves harmless
behaviours, such as bottom-slapping or lewd jokes. It can, in many instances, be much more. It can involve comments about a woman's sex life, or the displaying of sexually offensive material. Harassment may also comprise suggestive behaviour such as leering, pinching, wolf-whistling, or making a woman feel mentally undressed. It can entail unwelcome comments about a woman's appearance, sexual propositions, or continual requests for dates. It can also include molestation or rape. If any of these offences occur in the workplace, and if a woman can prove that they have detrimentally affected her work, educational performance, or promotional opportunities, they constitute sexual harassment.

Labelling such a wide variety of offences as "sexual harassment", however, trivialises the violations themselves as well as the impact of such behaviours on female victims. The term "harassment" evokes a notion of conduct that is merely vexatious or annoying. Yet harassment is part of a broader group of male practices which ensure that women maintain an attitude of constant vigilance and thus continual uncertainty about their personal safety and bodily integrity. Consigning certain actions to this descriptive abyss effectively camouflages their connections to other forms of sexual violence.

Carole Sheffield maintains that both sexual violence and nonviolent sexual intimidation are better understood as sexual terrorism because they are based on fear, hostility and men's need to dominate women. Political terrorism consists, in part, of the indiscriminate, unpredictable and arbitrary destruction of a target. It uses a system of terror to achieve its ends. Even if overtly violent acts are infrequent, terrorists are nonetheless successful because they have the power to maintain a constant tension or fear of violence in the general population. Similarly, with sexual terrorism, every woman is a potential target, at any age, at any time and in any place. A woman's place in the world is, quite literally, governed by the pervasive threat of male violence against which she may have little defence. Workplace harassment is similar to other types of victimisation suffered by women. As Sheffield points out, however, because of under-reporting, perhaps in itself a symptom of fear, it is difficult to ascertain how widespread sexual violence is, or to devise meaningful strategies to eliminate it.

Sexual harassment, like other sexual crimes, is largely under-reported. Part of this reluctance to complain stems from a widespread cultural belief that most harassment results from the "natural" behaviour of men who are unable to control their allegedly stronger and more aggressive sex drives, or that it is the result of the idiosyncratic personal proclivities of a minority of men. "In other words, rape, workplace harassment, wife abuse, and other forms of harassment are extensions of the 'normal' expectations for male and female behaviour in this society." Not surprisingly perhaps,
THE "TASTY MORSEL" CASE

in the 1976 Redbook reader survey on sexual harassment in the U.S.A., sexual harassment was found to be pandemic, an everyday and everywhere occurrence. This reinforces Sheffield's analogy with terrorism whereby the fear of an attack so permeates women's lives and consciousness that we have learned to live with it as though it were part of the natural order of things. Unlike political terrorism, where we condemn the terrorist and sympathise with the victim, in sexual terrorism we often blame the victim and excuse the offender. Moreover, the continued construction of sexual harassment and other sexual crimes as "normal" or "natural" male behaviours makes it increasingly difficult to define what constitutes mutually acceptable inter-personal behaviour on the one hand, and sexual harassment on the other. Such difficulties seriously inhibit the effectiveness of legislation designed specifically to counteract such offences.

Barbara Sullivan argues that part of the problem of legislative ineffectiveness rests on our reliance on degendering strategies such as those implied in sex discrimination legislations, which she claims are flawed. Such legislations assume a sex/gender distinction in which individual identity is perceived to be created in the mind, with the body being accorded an indifferent or irrelevant status. Thus, the psychical construction of sexed bodies and physiological sex differences are ignored in sex discrimination laws. As intrinsically rationalist strategies, degendering principles must disavow the female body in order to achieve a sexually equal society. Sullivan asserts that "... degendering strategies (such as sex discrimination laws) cannot address the often irrational adherence to sex specific identities, behaviours and practices ... [and] the passage of sex discrimination legislation may be the moment at which the existing boundaries between private and public life are confirmed with issues bearing on (women's) sexual difference being firmly relocated in the private sphere".

The difficulties imposed by the public/private distinction have also been addressed by feminist legal scholars. Margaret Thornton claims that the incorporation of sexual harassment into a legislative framework in Australia in recent years has created a number of problems for the legal system. The issue of sexual harassment draws attention to the presence of bodies in the public sphere. Yet the illogical world of the body and sexuality are normally confined to the private sphere. Sexual harassment legislation serves as a constant reminder of the tensions which exist within and between the public and private spheres. The sex specificity of sexual harassment thus does not sit easily within the allegedly neutral abstraction of legal discourse.

This obstacle is evident in the handling of sex discrimination cases at both conciliation and more formal levels. Thornton maintains that the very existence of antidiscrimination legislation represents a formal acknowledgement by the state that all
PART 4 POLICY AND POLITICS

citizens are not equal.\textsuperscript{19} The sexual harassment provisions within anti-discrimination legislation also implicitly affirm the existence of bodies in the workplace. Legal practice "seeks to persuade us that 'justice' will result from fair combat between equals", but the very opposite is intrinsic to the operation of sexual harassment proceedings.\textsuperscript{20}

To some extent, the pseudo-judicial operation of sex discrimination legislation in this country is not meant to incorporate the more formalised legal practices inherent in other types of legal proceedings. Unlike the adversarial legal norm, which locks parties into legal "combat" from the commencement of proceedings, anti-discrimination legislation focuses instead on conciliation and negotiation.\textsuperscript{21} This lack of traditional legal form is meant to promote speed, economy and a non-threatening environment in which there are no obvious distinctions between superior and subordinate actors such as those which exist in a more formal court system.\textsuperscript{22} Despite these moves, counsel for respondents have attempted, on occasion, to treat complaints as if they were operating in a criminal court.\textsuperscript{23} Some legal practitioners adopt overtly aggressive cross-examination methods when dealing with complainants, as occurred in the \textit{Aldridge v. Booth} case.\textsuperscript{24} These and other aspects of legal proceedings in anti-discrimination hearings are likely to exacerbate existing inequalities.\textsuperscript{25} In some instances, respondents will actually be advantaged by legal procedure.\textsuperscript{26}

In no instance is this more obvious than in the placing of the burden of proof on the complainant. This requirement, while appropriate in a more formal legal setting, is quite inappropriate in a quasi-judicial setting. The complexion of discriminatory treatment, including sexual harassment, means that the type of hard evidence which could be produced in a civil or criminal court is not available to litigators in cases of discrimination. Most forms of discrimination are unlikely to be explicit, and legal culture cannot grasp the ubiquitous yet subtle nature of discrimination. A complainant must still be able to establish categorically that some material harm was inflicted in order to uphold a complaint.\textsuperscript{27} This symbolically assumes non-discriminatory treatment by a respondent and "evidence" may be reduced to the credibility of the complainant's statement over that of the respondent. Such evidence often, and perhaps inevitably, will clash as one person alleges conduct which is denied by the other.\textsuperscript{28} Yet even minor discrepancies in the complainant's statement are likely to lead to the finding that discrimination did not occur. Evidentiary problems draw attention away from the discriminatory behaviour itself and focus on the persuasiveness and performances of complainant and respondent alike.\textsuperscript{29}

Similarly, in sex crime court cases, the onus is on the (usually female) victim to show that harm has been inflicted. Until recently in some Australian states, irrelevant questioning about a victim's prior sexual history and evidence of complainants' sexual
reputations was admissible in court cases and served to influence decisions in favour of assailants. Representations of women as innately deceitful have been difficult to surmount.

While these aspects of sexual harassment and other sex crimes generate difficulties in all states in Australia, the policing of sex crimes in Queensland has produced a set of problems unique to this state. There is consistent evidence that all sexual incidents, rapes especially, are under-reported. Hence, it is particularly disturbing that of the fraction of rapes that are reported, a substantial number are discounted by police as "unfounded". Police in Queensland have been cited for their unsympathetic attitudes to reported sexual offences and they have also been found to have deliberately falsified statistical data. Evidence was presented in the Fitzgerald Report in 1989 that police in this state have consistently and intentionally manipulated their own statistics for certain offences to give the impression of a lower crime rate and a more efficient police clear-up rate than was the case. The Inquiry which produced the Fitzgerald Report found that, contrary to official police statistics, rapes had increased more than seven-fold during the preceding twenty-year period. The Inquiry concluded that this probably represented only ten to fifteen percent of actual rapes committed in this state. In addition, the likelihood of a woman being raped had trebled during the same period, indicating that Queensland was becoming a more dangerous place for women despite official assertions to the contrary.

Commissioner Fitzgerald criticised the methods whereby the nature and presentation of Police Department statistics provided misleading information about the level of actual offences and the alleged police clear-up rate.

The crime statistics published by the Police for the period 1976/7 to 1986/7 contained figures for only the previous three years. This meant that the reader could only compare the figures for any one year against recent history, and that long term trends were obscured. By reference to those trends, it is clear that the incidence of crime has grown more and more rapidly over the past 20 years. Secondly, crime categories were grouped in such a way which tended to artificially inflate the overall clear-up rate. This gave the reader a false understanding of the incidence of crime and the performance of the Police Department in its prevention and control.

This finding is supported by figures from the Rape Crisis Centre in Brisbane which reveal that the incidence of rape alone in Queensland is much higher than reported. Before funding difficulties constrained the activities of the Centre, it was receiving 350 calls per
month pertaining to rape and other sex-related offences. This figure indicates that sex-related violations in this state are generating more concern among women than official police documents reveal, and that actual offences were certainly higher than the 186 rapes reported in the 1985-6 Police Department Annual Report. It appears that while the incidences of sexually predatory behaviour among men were increasing, so too were efforts by the (primarily male) Queensland Police Force to camouflage this fact. This highlights the effectiveness of the many strategies whereby the Queensland state has been able to mask the full extent of the problem for so long.

While inadequate policing has been a problem, judicial limitations have also affected the number of complaints. An effective method of constraining complaints and thereby reducing statistics in relation to sexual violence is to reduce the legislative opportunities for women to seek redress. This is apparent in the instance of sexual harassment legislation in Queensland. As Table 12.1 shows, Queensland has one of the lowest rates of sexual harassment complaints in Australia.

Table 12.1: Complaints of Sexual Harassment, Queensland and Australia, 1989-1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGENCY</th>
<th>QLD</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>WA</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>VIC</th>
<th>TAS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HREOC</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, HREOC and State Anti-Discrimination Agencies, 1989-90.34

This table shows complaints of sexual harassment only, which the HREOC reports was the second largest area of complaints in 1989-90, representing nearly a quarter of all complaints made to the commission that year under the *Sex Discrimination Act*.35 When complaints of discrimination involving sex and sexual harassment are added, these figures are substantially elevated, as shown in Table 12.2.
As with other sexual offences, it is most unlikely that the low rate of complaints in Queensland can be attributed to a low incidence of sexual harassment. Strong indications emerge from the inter-state comparisons in these tables that the legislative character in each state significantly moulds the overall reporting patterns of sexual harassment offences. Table 12.1, for instance, reveals that the majority of complaints relating to sexual harassment are lodged with state agencies. In states which have both federal and state legislation, complaints to HREOC represent only twenty-five per cent of complaints. The only complaints lodged in Queensland, the Northern Territory and Tasmania were those made to HREOC. Clearly, these states are adversely affected by state laws which potentially allow most complaints to remain unreported.

Although it seems unwieldy to have parallel laws and agencies in some states, Australia's peculiar legislative nature makes it essential. The coverage of sexual harassment legislation in this country is circumscribed by the differing jurisdictional responsibilities of federal and state statutes. Thus, state and federal public services in Australia are covered by their own government statutes. Put simply, federal legislation covers the Commonwealth public service, which is exempt from state provisions, and the state public services, while covered by state government statutes, are exempt from Commonwealth legislation. This means that federal legislation cannot be applied to state public servants and can only be enacted within a state context when a private sector complaint is involved. The private sector in all Australian states and territories is covered by federal legislation, and in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia it is also covered by state laws.36

In Queensland, therefore, state government employees are technically precluded from lodging complaints under the *Sex Discrimination Act*. State employees may register
a grievance with the HREOC, but this body is powerless to direct any formal resolution of
the problem. As women currently comprise 41.07 per cent of all public sector employees
in Queensland (excluding teachers and health care workers), a significant proportion of
the female workforce in Queensland is unprotected. This is particularly disturbing since
experience in other states has shown that government instrumentalities have represented a
high proportion of respondents in all complaints of discrimination.

In most other states, co-operative arrangements exist between Commonwealth and
state governments for administering overlapping anti-discrimination legislations where
states provide such laws. Federal and state governments work in tandem in these states to
provide women with maximum opportunities to seek redress for sexual harassment. The
lack of state legislation in Queensland clearly inhibits complaint opportunities for women
and creates difficulties for enforcers of federal legislation who must work in an
environment antipathetic to the problems facing women in the workforce.

Although the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation in Queensland was
mooted as far back as the early 1970s, at no stage did it achieve the stature of a legitimate
political issue. In 1973, a Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Women in
Queensland refused to recommend the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation,
despite being strongly urged to do so. Among its reasons for declining to recommend
such legislation was the belief that "discrimination involves the attitude of a particular male
to a particular female or group of females or to females generally". It was difficult for
the commission to see how legislation could effect any major changes in community
attitudes. The report from the commission suggested instead that such attitudes were
moral in scope and that the law should not be involved in questions of morality.

Somewhat quixotically, however, the commission maintained that the system of industrial
courts in Australia was developed enough to be able to regulate relationships across the
whole industrial spectrum. It thus seems that the commission either perceived industrial
courts to be amoral, or that it assumed that anti-discrimination legislation involved little
more than equal pay, despite its earlier statement that the latter position reflected a
superficial understanding of the problems affecting the status of women. Anti-
discrimination legislation emerged from the inquiry as a dead letter.

One scholar has suggested that the low priority given to anti-discrimination
legislation occurred because it was essentially a minority concern. Women, Aboriginals
and other minority groups did not pose a large enough electoral threat to warrant altering
the status quo. In addition, the genesis of moves to introduce anti-discrimination
legislation in all Australian states came from the federal government. With a well-known
antagonism towards the federal government, and eager to rebuff its perceived attempts to
THE "TASTY MORSEL" CASE

limit state sovereignty, the Bjelke-Petersen government was instrumental in preventing the Federal Human Rights Commission from investigating civil rights violations under state law. Bjelke-Petersen and his ministerial colleagues either refused or failed to understand the importance of human rights in a civilised community. They were more concerned with maintaining electoral viability at any cost.

It was in this context of legislative prohibition, inadequate policing, often corrupt politicians and police officers, as well as political malpractice, that the Tasty Morsel case unfolded. Lynette Aldridge was employed at Grant Booth's "Tasty Morsel" bakery from 21 January 1985 to 24 January 1986. During that year, Booth subjected her to numerous instances of sexual harassment, including touching her body (both inside and outside her clothing), kissing her, twisting her arms behind her back, between twelve and twenty acts of sexual intercourse, as well as emotional pressure in the form of sulking and yelling when she refused to comply with his demands. She was threatened with dismissal if she did not yield to Booth's advances, as he referred many times to the possibility of her "having a holiday on the government" (going on unemployment benefits/the "dole").

Counsel for Booth, Stephen Sheaffe, argued that Aldridge could have repelled Booth's advances if she really wanted to. He suggested that as her job at the bakery occasionally required some heavy lifting, her muscle tone had no doubt increased sufficiently during her twelve months at the bakery for her to physically resist Booth. In Sheaffe's opinion, therefore, Aldridge had not made a concerted effort to resist her employer's advances and had willingly consented to the repeated incidents of sexual intercourse. Although Aldridge appeared to be complaining of coerced sexual intercourse, she had not made a single complaint to police. Her complaint against Booth must therefore have been manufactured.

Aldridge v. Booth was presented as a series of "consenting" acts of sexual intercourse which occurred over a lengthy period of time. Indeed, "consent" was a vital prerequisite for the offences being classified as harassment. Aldridge's "consent" meant that the incidents could not be treated as sexual assaults but rather as a single case of discrimination constituted by sexual harassment in the workplace. As the action was not one of criminal assault, but one of discrimination, it could only be addressed through anti-discrimination legislation.

For charges of sexual assault or rape to be upheld, women are compelled to prove legally that an act of violent coercion has forced them to do something harmful to them against their will. Yet coercion does not have to be violent, in the legal sense of the word, in order to force people to do things which will ultimately prove to be harmful. Even in cases where extreme violence is involved, however, a conviction will not
necessarily be secured. Feminist scholars have asserted that rape trials are parodies of justice because rapists often claim in defence that the woman consented to sex, or that they believed she did. It is difficult for women to convince either police or the courts that they did not consent to sex unless they show signs of physical injury as proof that they resisted. Aldridge showed no signs of physical injury, nor did she lodge any complaints with police. Sheaffe argued: “It was virtually rape that she's complaining of and yet there was not one complaint ... of a sexual nature. It would not go anywhere ... It's not a complaint at all.”

Under Queensland law at the time, complainants in cases of sexual offences were required to report complaints as soon as they had occurred. Had Aldridge made a complaint of this nature it is unlikely that police would have treated it as rape, or even as sexual assault. From the feelings of shame and embarrassment she reported during the hearing, it is doubtful that Aldridge ever considered approaching police. Yet Sheaffe used this as legal argument to suggest that her complaint did not constitute harassment. The Sex Discrimination Act nonetheless represented the only mechanism whereby Aldridge had any opportunity for redress for Booth's access to her body and loss of job that ensued.

Aldridge's failure to report the matter to police, while constructed by Sheaffe as proof that no offence had been committed, was not unusual. A survey undertaken in 1990 by the Sex Discrimination Commission found that most women in similar situations would be extremely unlikely to report sexual harassment to police, or even to seek legal help, believing either action to be of little assistance. The majority claimed that they would be more likely either to tell a friend, avoid the harasser, or simply tell him to go away. Aldridge would not have lodged a complaint either, except that Booth accused her of theft after she had been dismissed. Incensed at such libel, Aldridge sought legal assistance. When her tale unfolded, she was advised to contact the HREOC. HREOC and other agencies explicitly advise women that if they consent to sex because of job-related threats then they cannot take action under sexual assault laws, but may take action under anti-discrimination laws. Aldridge followed this advice, but her actions were used as legal argument against her in an attempt to prove that the incidents were not as severe as she insisted.

Aldridge had repeatedly made her objections and unwillingness to comply with Booth's demands quite clear. He persisted nonetheless. She finally asked him why he continued doing these things to her. He replied that he was the boss and that "Women were put on this earth to serve men." Aldridge raised the question of payment for
sexual favours, asking "Why don't you go out and pay for sex?". And he said, "Why should I, I pay you anyway?".53

In view of Booth's later refusal to pay the commission order, it appears that he believed that payment of a wage to Aldridge automatically entitled him to more than just employment-related services. He clearly assumed he was entitled to unlimited sexual access to Aldridge's body as well. When HREOC handed down a decision in favour of Aldridge, Booth proclaimed his innocence in local newspapers, arguing that he was a scapegoat. He further claimed that the decision was an important one for Queensland feminists, and not Queensland women as the HREOC had declared. Further maintaining his innocence, Booth told reporters that complaints such as the one lodged by Aldridge would be dealt with more fairly by police and in a court of law.54 What he no doubt meant was that narrow legal definitions of sexual offences in this state predispose police and law courts to find in favour of male respondents. "Justice" was conceived by Booth to consist of nothing less than complete legal exoneration for his actions despite the severity of his offence, and the personal damage he had inflicted on Aldridge.

It transpired during the commission hearing that Aldridge had been a virgin prior to sex with Booth. Her prior virginal status no doubt reinforced her credibility and status as a good woman. In the Federal Court appeal, Justice Spender concurred with the commission's original assessment of Aldridge's credibility, because he too found her account to be generally more truthful than Booth's, whose evidence Spender determined to be inconsistent.55 Aldridge, the complainant, therefore symbolised the virtuous woman in almost every detail. She was virginal, credible and as a consequence, rapable.

The judicial assessment of such situations, however, is that women can only be raped by someone unknown.56 In most instances of sexual harassment women know their assailants, since a person in a position to threaten job loss must know their victim. Does this indicate that any type of "consenting" sexual offence in a work environment is a priori harassing behaviour rather than criminal behaviour? Is sexual harassment legislation allowing men to maintain sexual access to women's bodies with much less likelihood of incurring serious penalties? On the surface, sexual harassment which involves intercourse cannot be rape and must therefore be sex. An act that looks like sex, however, cannot be a crime.57 When "consent" is present and the parties know each other, the act becomes personal and private and the state cannot or will not intervene in such matters.58

Why then, was Aldridge legally successful? In property terms, Booth took something from Aldridge, that is, her virginity.59 He was also guilty of an employment infringement similar to other employment infringements such as underpaying staff, or not
providing safe working environments for those staff. By upholding Aldridge's complaint, the unacceptable nature of the respondent's actions as an employer were specified and justice accommodated. Aldridge was awarded damages for loss of wages and injury to her feelings. This non-gendered and non-corporeal proscription of injured feelings preserved legal neutrality and impartiality because such a determination could be applied to any abstract person within the liberal democratic state. In that respect, Aldridge was no different from any other person, and she received compensation as an employee wronged by an employer.

Put another way, Booth paid for access to Aldridge's body in the same way he would have paid for sex had he visited a prostitute. Prostitution, together with marriage, is a means by which male sex-right can be exercised. The law and the state consider prostitution to be a problem about women rather than a problem about male sexual behaviour. Sexual harassment is similarly viewed as a problem about women and their lack of assertion, or a problem about employment conditions, rather than the result of male sexual behaviour. The exercise of male sexuality appears to be legally unproblematic. The importance of these assessments cannot be overstated.

Carole Pateman contends that male sex-right constitutes the hidden basis for political legitimacy. Yet the sexual contract, as she has labelled this phenomenon, is deemed irrelevant to political or public life, and sexual relations between men and women are regarded as private matters separate from the public sphere. Those who uphold political and judicial neutrality assume that the concept of the individual can be universally applied to all citizens and that individuals can be separated from sexually differentiated bodies. The application of the Sex Discrimination Act outlined here suggests that an acknowledgement of sexual specificity is vital in determining that an offence has been committed. The presence of female bodies in the workplace is implicitly recognised in the legislation. That same specificity must, however, be disavowed if liberalism and legalism are to retain their authority as governing and mediating agencies. Statutes such as the Sex Discrimination Act which incorporate gender neutrality mask the fact that male sexual access to women must continually be reinforced (but denied) and maintained (yet hidden) in order to generate political legitimacy.

Although Lynette Aldridge's complaint was vindicated by the final outcome, other aspects of this case warrant closer scrutiny. For instance, during the original HREOC hearing, there were indications that this was not the first time that Booth had "harassed" women. This potential evidence was disallowed on the basis that it was prejudicial. Examination of Aldridge's sexual history, on the other hand, was not precluded from legal probing, another example of the sexual double-standard. If irrelevant questioning
THE "TASTY MORSEL" CASE

about a victim's sexual past is disallowed in formal courts, why does it continue to be used in informal settings? Moreover, if a non-adversarial policy is recommended for use in quasi-legal environments, steps must be taken to ensure that complainants are not badgered as Aldridge was in this case.

Secondly, the HREOC points to the educative effects of such public hearings, claiming that they discourage potential offenders, yet at what personal cost to victims and potential complainants? The high profile of *Aldridge v. Booth* undoubtedly discouraged many women from subsequently lodging complaints. Aldridge was subjected to a lengthy process of judicial and media attention through several sessions of conciliation, a HREOC hearing and a final Federal Court appeal. It is ironic that in a setting designed to minimise trauma, Aldridge was repeatedly traumatised.63

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a critical appraisal of the benefits of sexual harassment legislation is long overdue. Superficially, it represents a step forward for women in providing some deterrent against unwanted and non-reciprocal sexual attention in the workplace. Yet this chapter has pointed out many shortcomings in both the theory and practical application of legislation covering sexual harassment. Other feminist scholars have drawn attention to the difficulties inherent in anti-discrimination legislation currently in use in Australia.64 Given the reservations expressed by these scholars about the usefulness of gendering strategies, the future of truly sex-inclusive legislation in this country looks bleak and begs the question about alternative proposals. Under the current system, a handful of women may triumph and some men may modify their behaviour towards women, but this falls a long way short of the ideal.

For Queensland women at present, there is little likelihood of achieving success with sexual harassment complaints when there are few legal avenues through which they can pursue grievances. Women's legal experiences as the victims of sex crimes per se in this state have differed from their counterparts in other states. The lowest police clear-up rate in Australia and a past as a violent frontier community may in part explain this phenomenon. Three decades of rule by a Christian fundamentalist premier with ubiquitous influence over the political, legal and moral character of the state is also significant. The presence of a corrupt police force with virtually unlimited power, and one which had within its ranks members who financially profited from the sexual exploitation of women through prostitution, amplified the inequalities of a male-dominated society.

Increasing rates of sexual crimes over the last thirty years in Queensland were met by an interventionist police force and archaic forms of state intervention. Under the banner of safeguarding public morals and upholding law and order, civil liberties were withdrawn, raids were organised on so-called abortion clinics, and condom-vending
machines were torn off walls at the University of Queensland.\textsuperscript{65} In another curious example of a double-standard, gaming and prostitution flourished at the same time and police and politicians actively profited from protection money paid by the owners of unlicensed premises.\textsuperscript{66} Evan Whitton's \textit{The Hillbilly Dictator} claims that this period will be remembered as one in which democracy and law were subverted and injustice and corruption elevated to the commonplace.\textsuperscript{67}

Amongst all this, sexual harassment was hidden and no legislative prescriptions for addressing it were introduced. Hopefully, the Labor Party Government elected to power in 1989 will do much to redress the wrongs and injustices that have characterised Queensland as "different" to this point. The current passage of anti-discrimination legislation through the Queensland Parliament will no doubt provide some indication for women in this state as to whether meaningful reform is possible.
When considering regionalism and rape from a feminist viewpoint, the first thing that comes to mind is women's apparently universal experience of male violence. As Gail Reckie points out, "[a] woman is just as likely to be raped whether she lives in New York, Bombay or Brisbane". Yet the form rape might take, responses to the rape, the way a woman may experience rape, and the effects the rape may have will necessarily be influenced by a region's cultural practices, politics and geography.

The paternalism and authoritarianism of Queensland governments, the moral, social and political conservatism (or apathy) of Queenslanders, the religious fundamentalism apparent in rural areas, and the prevalence of a strong masculine ethos are referred to in discussions of Queensland difference. Yet these traits, as many writers agree, are not so much peculiar to Queensland, or to National Party politics, as they are "more so". This "more so" affects women in ways not usually referred to in mainstream accounts of Queensland. The rate of male violence against women is rising in Australia and nowhere more so than in Queensland, in which there are more rapes known to the police than any other state. Reporting on crimes against women, Bulletin journalist Virginia Westbury states that "[s]erious assault against women may be the biggest hidden crime in Australia". But it is Queensland which she says is "regarded as the 'sexual assault capital of Australia'" and it is Queensland where "the number of sex offences reported to police rocket[ed] from fifteen hundred in 1980 to more than four thousand by 1990."

Australia is said to have the highest rate of pack rape in the world. Queensland is unlikely to prove an exception. While the cultural practice of pack rape is not peculiar to Queensland, what is peculiar is the lack of response from official Queensland bodies. Not that responses elsewhere have necessarily resulted in positive changes to laws or services. Nevertheless, in New South Wales in 1968 at least the incidence of pack rape elicited sufficient response to warrant an official report. In contrast, the pack rape which occurs regularly in North Queensland (referred to as "training" by the local boys), has been effectively ignored. During 1976 and 1977, concerned mothers and their supporters attempted to confront the townspeople of Ingham. They were silenced by local National Party members and influential residents. Recently workers involved in rape crisis
services in Townsville and on the Atherton Tableland have expressed concern at the increasing number of schoolgirls currently being gang raped in the north Queensland hinterland. Little, if any, publicity has been given to this crime and local police continue to either ignore or deny its occurrence.

While rape statistics are necessarily suspect due to the low rate of reporting and very possibly low rates of disclosure, it is likely that they reflect general trends in rape occurrences within the various states. The sheer number of rapes in Queensland is therefore a factor for feminist scrutiny. As Anne-Marie Collins shows in her work on the policing of rape in Queensland from 1880 to 1919, the attitudes of those who are involved in policing and legislating will determine to a large extent the significance and repercussions of rape. Similarly, policies regarding procedures for collecting forensic evidence, medical care and support, and the form and level of funding allowed for rape crisis or sexual assault services will affect the extent and location of such services and the type of service they provide.

This chapter considers some of the implications of regionalism for women and for feminism through a discussion of the development of rape crisis centres in Queensland from the early 1970s to 1992. Rape crisis services in Queensland today tend to reflect the different needs of women in particular areas and the politics of the women who initially applied (or struggled) for funding. Three rape crisis services are clustered in the southeast corner of Queensland, while another three centres are located in the north. Traditionally rape crisis services in Queensland have worked out of multi-purpose women's centres. Often the centres have been responsible for running what may be the only feminist refuge in the area (almost all refuges in Queensland are religiously based). Funding for rape crisis services in Queensland has, until recently, been administered through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP). This program was designed for women's refuges rather than rape crisis services, and this anomaly has tended to isolate rape crisis centres and leave them little political clout.

One of the most significant differences between the development of rape crisis services in Queensland and the development of similar services in the rest of Australia has been the lack of an extensive sexual assault program such as those established in most other states during the early and mid-eighties. Unlike sexual assault centres, which are either in or attached to hospitals, rape crisis centres in Queensland are autonomous, community based, and receive their funding through quarterly grants. The close tie of sexual assault services to hospital boards and other bureaucratic and governmental structures - through employment contracts and management committees - tends to modify feminist ways of working and organising in these services. However, the relative
autonomy afforded rape crisis centres by government grants is always in danger of being eroded by funding bodies which find difficulty accepting feminist forms of organisation and theory and respond to these difficulties with demands for more accountability.

Ironically, the comparative autonomy of rape crisis services in Queensland today may be due to the historical lack of political interest in providing women in Queensland with services against male violence and to the fear of feminist intrusions into conservative government enclaves. That is, the historical development of rape crisis services has been influenced to a large extent by a rape culture which, while not unique to this state, has at the very least been more politically overt than in other Australian states over the last thirty years or so. Queensland women have had to wait until the 1990s for a state government to establish a program for sexual assault/rape crisis. It remains to be seen what this will mean for Queensland women, and what impact the historical development of Queensland rape crisis services will have on the structure of the new government program.

The Politics of Rape Crisis Services in Queensland

The Brisbane Rape Crisis Centre (BRCC) provided the first funded feminist rape crisis service in Queensland. The centre's aims and objectives, implemented during the mid-to late 1970s, reflect the basic tenets of a radical feminist politics which motivated and informed feminist interventions into rape. The history of this service and its struggles with the state provides an excellent site for a discussion of the politics of early rape crisis centres in Queensland.

From the early 1970s and throughout the 1980s, rape crisis services in regional areas of Queensland sought funding from the government. During the 1970s, women around Australia met to discuss problems which had in the recent past seemed entirely personal and now in a surge of feminist consciousness were seen as political. Issues of male violence were central to many of these intense, exciting and often optimistic discussions. A renewed feminist belief in the creation of a more woman-focused society motivated some women to form centres which could provide women in the community with accessible services in such areas as health, law and welfare. These services, to be made available under one roof and run by and for women, were to be an alternative to what were perceived as the fragmented and disempowering government institutions of a capitalist and patriarchal society. Women's centres were not to be considered merely as reforms in a welfare society, but rather as potentially revolutionary structures in which the empowerment of women would ultimately change the power relations of society.
Feminists in Brisbane discussed the formation of such a multi-purpose women's centre in 1973. During 1974, a newly formed centre undertook research into the needs of women in Brisbane and provided an information and support service for women in the areas of law, work, health and housing. The centre, commonly known as Women's House, became legally incorporated in 1975 as The Women's Community Aid Association (WCAA). From its inception, Women's House operated as a working collective which remained answerable to an association. The forms which the relationship between association members and workers have taken has varied over the years in which the house has operated.

The WCAA maintained what it perceived as a revolutionary attitude towards the working practices of the centre: that is, the feminist concept of women working with and for women was stressed as the most appropriate philosophy and practice. Professionalism was approached in a pragmatic yet cynical manner. It was noted, for instance, that "certain professions have something to offer the centre" but this was tempered by a determination to ensure that it would remain "a priority of the Association that professions should not build their own empires". Judith Chapman, social work student at Women's House in 1974, wrote: "Hopefully self-help medical groups, legal workshops and support groups will all develop, and there will be as much passing of information between groups and services as possible".

Social work students were fairly well represented during the first ten or so years of Women's House. However, while a significant role was played by these students and the Social Work Department at the University of Queensland, social work practice in this state's rape crisis services has never been afforded the status accorded it in New South Wales. Nor has the service historically sought out or employed a majority of social workers, although a brief survey of feminists employed over the years by WCAA does suggest that many were professionally trained in other areas. Chapman describes the women involved in the establishment of Women's House as "very much a part of an academic, white, middle-class elite. Most are presently students, or are graduates, with fields of expertise covering sociology, arts, psychology, medicine, social work, journalism, law and government."

The Brisbane rape crisis service began to operate as a sub-committee of Women's House in 1975. This was the year nominated as International Women's Year (IWY). The public focus on feminism opened a right-wing "can of worms". Much of the IWY backlash came from conservative women; for example, Flo Bjelke-Petersen (wife of the Queensland premier) insisted that women's liberation was not only unnecessary but "counter-productive" as "women are liberated in Queensland". A diatribe against
feminists by journalist Sylvia da Costa-Roque included descriptive phrases such as "Howling she-wolves of women" and "Frightening shrieking harridans and foul-mouthed daughters of hell". Her article, as did many others, separated the "good feminists" from the "bad"; the bad, according to Costa-Roque, "look dirty, even if they're not". Image and dress were to become standard critiques of women providing feminist services.

The opening of the rape crisis service likewise engendered a vocal and virulent opposition from the political right. This opposition came mostly from women such as Gabby Horan (state president of Queensland Housewives Association), Barbara Bowers (secretary of the Women's Action Group) and Vilma Ward (right wing activist). The thrust of their accusations against the Brisbane rape crisis service rested on claims that the services provided to women would be inadequate and dangerous. Lacking accurate information on either the law or the practices of the service she was criticising, Horan maintained that women "could lose any chance of having legal action taken ... because alleged rape had to be reported within 12 hours". In the same article Ward called for the closing of the centre, announcing her "alarm... that the women at the Rape Crisis Centre were acting as judges of right and wrong". Ward does not appear to have elaborated on this rather ambiguous statement. Bowers claimed that "the centre was operating from a legally precarious standpoint, and was staffed by women whose qualifications to deal with rape victims were dubious". This latter argument was subsequently prominent in criticism of feminist centres.

The establishment of a rape crisis service at Women's House raised more political and public ire than did the applications for research funding, or the provision of information and support services. Perhaps raising the issue of rape was perceived as more threatening to conservative notions of masculinity and femininity than the issues raised earlier by feminists at Women's House. In a chapter on "Women's Refuges and the State", Ludo McFerren notes that the popular initial response to refuges for women escaping domestic violence was "extraordinarily" supportive and suggests that "it was... significant that Australian women had not been similarly excited by the funding of rape crisis centres". She proposes that this may be "an indication that the victims of domestic violence were perceived as less blameworthy than rape victims" and speculates that this could be either "despite, or perhaps because of Australia having the highest incidence of recorded gang rape in the world".

In 1975, Federal Labor Prime Minister Whitlam was ousted from power in a political coup, engineered in part by the Queensland government. A new Liberal government committed to federalism charged the states to take responsibility for much of

201
PART 4 POLICY AND POLITICS

the funding previously administered by the national government. Women's services in Brisbane and Townsville were accused in the Queensland Parliament in 1976 as being "hotbeds of Marxist propaganda". Inquiries into women's services were called for by Liberal parliamentarians in both cities, with claims that the Women's Health Centre in Brisbane (operating from Women's House) was a "camp for radicals" and Townsville women's shelter "was in a sorry state [with] reports of misuse of funds, baby bashing, lesbian practices and wastage of food". Liberal member Dr Scott-Young claimed that Townsville had been taken over by "the same fringe lunatics" as those involved in Brisbane women's services. In a belated bid to replace feminist services with malestream professional services, Dr Scott-Young suggested that what was needed was a "shelter... attached to the Townsville General Hospital so that trained welfare officers and senior medical staff could be involved in counselling instead of 'some lesbian orientated persons'". Funding was subsequently lost in mid-1976 with the refusal of the state government to administer funding to Women's House and the Townsville Women's refuge. Funding for Women's House was not restored until December 1978.

During the intervening eighteen months, WCAA became embroiled in feminist polemics within Women's House as well as in the now overt antagonism between feminism and the state. This was the time when Australian Women Against Rape (AWAR) was most active, law reform was on the agenda, and lesbianism became a political issue for feminism.

Amid a right-wing backlash against feminist services and cuts to funding in 1976, a more cautious feminist influence, arising mainly from association members of the WCAA, conflicted with both Marxist and radical feminist theory, work practices, and concepts of appropriate feminist structure. This conflict between the political beliefs of the association members and the workers brought with it the inevitable heartaches of passionate feminist challenges to equally passionately held feminist theories and practices. Unresolvable conflict led eventually to a more workable situation where workers became directly responsible for the day-to-day running of the centre, while structural or major policy changes needed the agreement of the association, of which workers would remain a part.

Internal events at Women's House suggest that the political divisions which polemicised during this time arose between those feminists who believed that the state had something to offer feminism and women's services and those who believed that the patriarchal state, by definition, was unable to do this. Homophobia played a significant part in these dilemmas and debates. Feminists who believed in the potential usefulness of
RAPE CRISIS SERVICES IN QUEENSLAND

the state were more likely to be cautious regarding the public avowal of sexual practices than those who were more radically aligned.

The bulk of the funding which was returned in 1978 came from the federal Labor government. It was, nevertheless, constantly under threat from the Queensland government. A continuation of feminist tensions between "radicals" and "liberals" - particularly around issues of respectability and activism - engendered external criticisms and in some instances internal splits.

Of particular significance to feminist struggles in Queensland in the late 1970s and early 1980s was the prevailing political atmosphere. These were the days of the civil liberties campaigns and "right to march" demonstrations held in response to authoritarian government and corrupt police practices. Feminists from Women's House not only took part in these political activities but on several occasions subverted them for their own political platforms. An atmosphere similar to that of the late 1960s encouraged political activism and prompted workers from Women's House to take their fight against male violence into the streets.

A political focus on rape in Queensland during 1977 was a result of the relative strength of the Brisbane branch of AWAR. Of particular importance was the part played by AWAR in the campaign waged around "Irene" and "Margaret", two Queensland women who on reporting their rapes to the police were charged with false complaint. This campaign elicited a good deal of response from feminists around Australia, New Zealand, Britain and the USA. In 1982, Brisbane AWAR reformed as an extension of the Rape Crisis service. Activism continued throughout the early 1980s. Rape crisis workers were involved in the successful struggle with the Queensland government against regressive abortion legislation in 1980; workers from the BRCC demonstrated in 1984 against the Anzac Day valorisation of militarism and the rape of women in war by singing the feminist version of "Lest we Forget" in the official two minute silence; BRCC workers were present at May Day marches, Reclaim the Night marches and were directly involved in the organisation of International Women's Day demonstrations. An ongoing tension between the state funding body and WCAA was exacerbated by sporadic threats and fears of defunding.

During the police raids on abortion clinics in Brisbane and Townsville in 1985 there was a quantitatively different response from workers at Women's House compared with that of 1980. Similarly, as the mid-eighties progressed there was less public involvement of BRCC in Anzac Day demonstrations and Reclaim the Night marches. In 1986 government funding bodies demanded more accountability and respectability. Issues such as lesbianism, professionalism, feminist organisation and activism took on sinister
proportions as WCAA gathered itself for a struggle with the Department of Children's Services that lasted until 1989.

In July 1991, the responsibility for funding rape crisis centres in Queensland passed from the State Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (DFSAIA) to the State Department of Health, to be administered by the Women's Health Policy Unit. The Health Department inherited from DFSAIA a totally inadequate budget of $280,000 and four established rape services with a total of eight workers between them. (Two multi-purpose women's centres funded under DFSAIA through SAAP remain in the ambiguous position of offering services for women who have been raped, without official recognition or adequate resources). In comparison with Queensland, the New South Wales State Health Department has, over the past ten years, funded thirty-two mixed hospital and community based sexual assault centres. Funding for these centres presently totals $2.8 million. Victoria's budget for sexual assault programs set up in the mid-1980s presently stands at $2.5 million. The failure of Queensland governments to officially recognise the need for rape crisis or sexual assault services may be read as evidence of the prevailing politics and attitudes regarding women in Queensland reflected, restated and reinforced in the policies of the former National Country Party Government of Queensland. The State Health Department announced in October 1991 that a pilot three year program for sexual assault/rape crisis services in Queensland, to be administered through the Women's Health Policy Unit, would increase funding to $758,000 for 1991/2, $1.25 million for 1992/3 and $2.095 million for 1993/4. This represents a total of $4.1 million for the three year period.

This amazing feminist win, facilitated by the change of state government to Labor in 1989 and, in the last instance, by supportive feminists in policy departments, should perhaps be treated with caution. The well-entrenched masculine ethos of mainstream politics in Queensland is unlikely to change with a change of government. Protective legislation and policing have always been popular in Queensland. Protective policies leave intact traditional ideas of appropriate masculine and feminine roles. Services which focus on "woman as victim" and on therapeutic treatments for women and men are therefore likely to be popular. Services for women which are seen to be challenging masculine notions of sex and sexuality are unlikely to be popular. However, Labor's political promises to counter violence against women and promote equality in the workplace, whilst fraught with pitfalls, have allowed some leverage into treasury coffers and some access for feminist interventions into government policy.
RAPE CRISIS SERVICES IN QUEENSLAND

Theory and Policy

The level of feminist theory informing practice in the early days of rape crisis services is evident from the publications, talks, and papers on rape and service provision produced by women associated with Women's House. Meetings of the Brisbane Women's Liberation movement held at the house included on their agendas discussions of local political actions and readings and debates on feminist theory. Suggested readings for the group in 1977 included the works of Susan Brownmiller, Germaine Greer, Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millett, as well as the published writings of Ros Innes and Nancy Peck from the BRCC. Marxist theory was clearly influential in the early days; for instance, Innes develops a theory of rape based on Juliet Mitchell's blend of psychoanalysis and marxism. However, the influence of radical feminism is most apparent. Practice was to inform theory as the Brisbane Rape Crisis Centre continued to work with rape survivors and compile research from phone-ins on rape, rape in marriage, and incest.

Feminists working in rape crisis centres in the 1970s saw the relationship between rape and power as paramount. They wanted to draw attention to power in a malestteam intellectual milieu which drew on biological determinism, sexology and popularised versions of Freudian psychology to posit theories of a hydraulic male sex drive and female masochism as explanations for rape (men can't help it; women love it). The separation of sex from power also reflects feminist attempts to address the aggressive and contemptuous nature of male power, as defined by Kate Millett in Sexual Politics, while retaining something of the notion of sex as freedom promised by the libertarian left in the heady days of the 1960s and 1970s.

To the extent that patriarchal power was identified as the power of all men over all women, it usefully served to locate the act of rape within a theoretical framework of institutionalised male power. That is, rape became a political rather than a private act. The discourse on power as male may, however, have limited women in terms of women's agency, unwittingly presenting them as powerless victims in the face of male aggression. For example, Susan Brownmiller's statement describing rape as "nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" challenged the gender-neutral concept of power held by the nonfeminist political left, yet placed women in the timeless role of victim. Furthermore, the emphasis Brownmiller placed on rape in war, riots, pogroms and revolutions left intact the notion of penetrative heterosexuality as natural and rape as an aberration. This has had the unforeseen effect of neutralising feminist research showing rape to be an act
PART 4 POLICY AND POLITICS

committed mostly by men known to the woman they rape. The distancing of rape from "normal" sex is comforting to women and men alike. The belief that rape is an aberration of sex has meant that rape has retained, against repeated feminists denials, the mythology of the psychopathic criminal as its perpetrator. This belief has in turn led to policies which implicitly rely on the policing, treatment and confinement of rapists as satisfactory methods for dealing with rape.

Equally problematic for policy is the use of sex-neutral language for explanations of violence. Workers in rape crisis services have insisted on the importance of both language and service provision which acknowledge the specificities of women's and men's bodies. An insistence on service provision for women by women in women's space has alienated unsympathetic government bodies and sometimes other women's services. Yet, discourses which deny the sexed and sexual nature of acts of violence, while retaining theories of unequal power relations pertaining between women and men, ignore the way in which women and men have come to experience power, or lack of power, through their bodies. Disembodied explanations of violence ignore the way in which men use their bodies as weapons for their pleasure and the way in which women experience rape as a violation, or intrusion, of the body. Women working in women's policy and services are sometimes reluctant to use sex-specific language. Perhaps there is a concern to appear egalitarian or nonsexist, or to maintain respectability or meet the demands of funding criteria. Whatever the reasons for this reticence, failure to consider the sexed body may result in the unintended depoliticisation of male violence and the silencing of women. In terms of policies and services which deal with the aftermath of male violence against women and children, these debates are crucial.

In the face of almost unrelenting opposition to rape crisis services in Queensland, the commitment needed to maintain these services as woman-specific may be responsible for the constant level of feminist involvement and influence apparent in rape service provision today. Certainly a radical feminist influence is more apparent in this type of service than it is in other women's services in Queensland in the 1990s. Services dealing specifically with domestic violence, for example, have tended to become more individualised and welfare orientated. Perhaps this difference is related to the difficulty of ignoring patriarchal (hetero)sex when dealing with rape.

The continued influence of radical feminism on much of the rape crisis service provision in Queensland is also worth comparing with feminist input in other Australian states where sexual assault services have been better funded but remain tied into non sex-specific or social work theories and bureaucratic structures. The sexual assault services set up in Victoria and New South Wales during the early to mid-1980s have (unofficially)
attempted to incorporate feminist theories and analyses of rape into their social work practices and structures. Feminist theory and practice has, however, tended to be diluted by the emphasis laid on individualised "victim" therapies, hierarchical organisational structures, and the desexing of language (and sometimes services). A paper reviewing Victoria’s first sexual assault centre, presented to the Australian Social Workers Conference in Townsville in 1989, speaks of "maladaptive behaviour" and adolescent "sleeping around". It suggests that "[c]ounselling can also assist with other difficulties arising as a result of the rape ... [for instance] the development of phobic responses, sexual, marital and family difficulties". Most feminists working with rape would be unlikely to contemplate the use of categories of sexual or social normality used in this example. Nor would most feminists accept the account of women’s all-pervading victim status. The danger of these individualised theories lies in the fact that they form part of the mainstream therapies of psychology and social work. Thus work practices in sexual assault centres which are tied into malestteam institutions rely to a great extent on the feminist ethics of the individual worker.

The Centres Against Sexual Assault (CASA) House in Melbourne and the Sexual Assault Centres in New South Wales, have, through the work of feminists (particularly the work of Kate Gilmore and Moira Carmody) attempted to overcome the difficulties associated with maintaining a feminist focus and practice within a malestteam organisational structure. This has been managed to some extent. Yet there is always a need for compromise, for a form of manipulative wheeling and dealing with malestteam committees and funding bodies, and there is always the lurking danger of co-optation. A relatively safe male-free space is maintained, in part, by the practice of employing female workers. This situation is also facilitated by a de facto situation, rather than policy agreement, in which over ninety per cent of rape victims presenting at the services are women. The name ‘Centres Against Sexual Assault’ suggests more than a mere individualised service provision, and CASA presents a reasonably public face, particularly through a commitment to community education. Yet many feminists claim that the very use of the phrase "sexual assault" waters down the enormity of the violation of rape. A de-emphasis on the seriousness of the crime of rape is the rationale for the legal use of the term "sexual assault" in New South Wales.

The integration of feminist theories of male power into social work theory and practice was an important strategy during the struggle for acceptance of male violence as a legitimate issue of concern and object of government funding. Moira Carmody states that the continued participation of social workers and reliance on social work theory in sexual assault centres in New South Wales has been instrumental in the retention of a political
focus on sexual assault. In terms of a comparison between services in New South Wales and services in which medical models have been particularly influential in service delivery (for example, in Western Australia and Tasmania), Carmody's preference for a professional focus on the social nature of rape is worth consideration. In terms of political effectiveness, however, it is likely that the lack of autonomy in the organisational structures of sexual assault centres in New South Wales could prove limiting. Lack of control over employment criteria has the potential to render feminist services equally as vulnerable as the more overt threat of defunding. The limitations on political action for public service employees is also a matter for consideration. To tie so many feminists into governmental straight-jackets may prove to be politically inexpedient, if not naive.

Despite the obvious drawbacks of funding criteria which link feminist services into mainstream organisations and professional bodies, the sheer number of services, particularly those in New South Wales and Victoria, which maintain some form of feminist focus must be acknowledged. This achievement owes much to the struggle of feminist social workers. The presence of these services over the last ten or so years has meant that women suffering the violation of rape in these Australian states have at least been less likely to be ignored (or as invisible) as many women in Queensland.

Where to Now for Rape Crisis Services in Queensland?

It would be unfortunate if feminists in rape crisis services in Queensland were to become complacent regarding the new funding. Apart from changes in personnel and in governments themselves, problems could arise from proposed national programs which attempt to bring Queensland into line with other states, or from the potential conflicts, both monetary and practical, which are likely to arise between regional state programs and the centralised state program such as that which presently administers the funding of rape crisis services.

The Queensland State Health Department has recently decentralised its organisational and decision-making processes into thirteen regional areas. Regional departments are likely to express an interest in services for women, particularly services attached to hospitals. This situation could change the profile of rape crisis and sexual assault services in Queensland. Conflict between established community-based rape crisis services and their local regional departments is very likely. It is possible, however, that these potential conflicts between service provision at the regional and central levels can be defused. Medical and legal procedures and protocols can be established which
RAPE CRISIS SERVICES IN QUEENSLAND

utilise the services of community-based rape crisis centres for advocacy and support and limit hospital services to women requiring immediate medical attention or the services of a government medical officer. In rural areas where no rape crisis service exists, a rape crisis worker could be employed, through a funding grant overseen by the central Women's Health Policy Unit, to work out of an existing mobile or local women's service or centre where a space for women-only can be provided. These workers would liaise with the local hospital. All rape crisis workers in Queensland could receive in-service training through the auspices of the Women's Health Policy Unit.

The importance of providing a special and comfortable space where women who have recently been raped may wait for forensic examination or medical treatment cannot be underestimated. Special hospital facilities would provide an infinitely better place for the process of police questioning and government medical examinations than the local police station. However, not all women wish to report their rapes, and not all women need hospital treatment. Very few women who contact rape crisis services are likely to present either at hospitals or police stations - although this situation could change. Many women who contact rape crisis services do so for ongoing support concerning past rape or incest. These women are not sick; they are recipients of male violence. Clearly, it is not appropriate to provide ongoing support for rape survivors in hospitals. A further potential problem is that mandatory reporting of apparent crime is still in effect in hospitals. This situation threatens women's autonomy and may exacerbate the experience of lack of control and violation of bodily integrity common to women who have been raped. It is important that women have access to correct information on the processes of reporting and court procedures in order to make a decision about how to deal with their rape. This type of information is made available at rape crisis services.

A rape victim is not perceived in the same way by the police or government medical officer as she is by a health or crisis worker. The primary concern of the worker is, of course, the health and well-being of the woman who has been raped and, while this might possibly be the private concern of some police officers, the primary motivation of police intervention is the apprehension of the rapist. The police, as prosecutors of the crime, are there to consider the potential believability of the victim, since she is almost always their sole witness. The government medical officer is examining her body for evidence; he (in Queensland it is almost always he) is not there to provide medical treatment.

Nothing much has changed since Irene and Margaret were prosecuted when reporting their rapes in 1977. Women in Queensland making an official report of rape are still likely not to be believed. In March 1991 a woman reporting an immediate rape at Cairns Police Station was arrested for non-payment of overdue fines and imprisoned in
the watch-house. This is not an isolated incident. Women who do report their rapes are subjected to the traumas of physical examination by a male government medical officer (an experience described by many women as "another rape") and the horror of waiting in police stations or a hospital casualty department for up to four hours without being able to shower or change out of soiled clothing. The next step for those concerned with designing policies on rape crisis service provision is, therefore, to consider the implementation of procedures which prioritise the emotional and physical comfort and safety of raped women. Particularly important are those which provide women who have been raped with the choice of when, where, and if to report their rape, and the option of being cared for by sympathetic women practitioners in a male-free, supportive, clean and comfortable environment.

The autonomy of Queensland rape crisis service provision and the relatively adequate funding of these services is unique to Queensland. Feminist struggles for services run by and for women have, within the prevailing masculine ethos of Queensland, nevertheless been fraught with obstacles. Autonomous services such as these are in the most advantageous position to pursue further the theoretical and practical aspects of a contemporary radical feminism which considers seriously the implications for women of a prevailing, and escalating, male violence. Sex, sexuality, power, and the different bodies of women and men are in the forefront of feminist studies in the 1990s. Feminists working in areas of women's health have long realised that bodies, not neutral and unsexed bodies but lived and situated bodies, are the basis of feminist politics. Feminists working in the areas of sexual harassment and rape are particularly aware of the eroticisation of power and the implications of patriarchal heterosexuality. Policies for women which consider these feminist insights could be radical indeed.
Endnotes

Chapter 1

ENDNOTES


212
ENDNOTES


33. See, for example, the recollections of women teachers in *Dazzling Prospects: Women in the Queensland Teachers' Union Since 1945*, ed. Roberta Bonnin (Spring Hill, Qld.: Queensland Teachers' Union, 1988).


42. Davison, "'New Brawny, Uneven and Half-Finished'".


ENDNOTES


51. See also Margaret Bevege, "Some Reflections on Women's Experiences in North Queensland during World War II", in Worth Her Salt. Australian Women at Work, eds, Margaret Bevege, Margaret James and Carmel Shute (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1982).


ENDNOTES

62. Goring, "The Political Development of the Women's Movement in Queensland".
65. Allen, "Contextualising Late-Nineteenth-Century Feminism", p. 34.

Chapter 3

ENDNOTES


ENDNOTES


23. Saunders and Spearritt, "Is There Life After Birth?", p. 79


217
ENDNOTES


39. Barclay, "Queensland's Contagious Diseases Act 1868".

40. Kay Saunders and Helen Taylor, "To Combat the Plague: The Construction of Moral Alarm and State Intervention in Queensland During World War II", Hecate
ENDNOTES


ENDNOTES

60. Thea Astley, A Kindness Cup (Melbourne: Nelson, 1974).
64. Betty Collins, The Copper Crucible (Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1966).
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74. Dorothy French, *To Queensland in 1867. An Account, True and Human, of a Young English Girl Who Made Queensland Her Adopted Country* [n.d.].


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ENDNOTES


Chapter 4


2. Ibid., p. 234.


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12. Ibid., p. 166.
20. Ibid., p. 273.
24. Ibid., p. 76.
26. Ibid., p. 21.
30. Bonnin, Katie Hume, p. 120.
34. Australasian Medical Gazette, 9 (1890), p. 293.
ENDNOTES

42. This garment had probably been crocheted. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
43. Diary of Mary McConachie 1882-5, OM 75-91, John Oxley Library.
46. Mrs D. McConnel, Queensland Reminiscences 1848-1870, 2/1623, Fryer Library.
53. Diary of Margaret Williams, OM 81-126, John Oxley Library.
57. Diary of Mary Watson 1881, OM 81-120, John Oxley Library.
60. Katie Hume Accounts, AB/37, Fryer Library.
67. *Queenslander*, 5 May 1888, p. 693.
Chapter 5

Some parts of this chapter have been previously published as "Toil and Privation: European Women's Labour in Colonial Queensland", Labour History 61 (November 1991): 133-146.


8. Mary Alice Dick, Register of Deaths, No. 3915, Clerk of Petty Sessions, Cooktown Court House.

9. In 1881, for example, ninety per cent of the female population were of childbearing age (under forty-five). Queensland Census, 1881.


ENDNOTES

16. Helen McConochie, diarybook, OM75-91, John Oxley Library.
18. H. McConochie, diarybook, July 1885.
21. These figures are from the *Transactions of the Intercolonial Medical Congress*, 1887, p. 268. *Queensland Vital Statistics* returns for 1870-95 are appreciably lower. I have used the higher of the two in view of the obvious under-recording.
22. H. McConochie, diarybook.
24. Ibid., 21 December 1884.
25. Ibid., February 1881.
26. Ibid., 3 December 1883.
27. *Boomerang*, 10 August 1889, p. 5.
30. *Queensland Figaro*, 1 August 1885, p. 197.
33. *Queenslander*, 3 December 1870, p. 2.
34. Reuben Nicklin to his father, 20 January 1867, 6 September 1869, OM83-10, John Oxley Library.
ENDNOTES


38. *Queensland Statistical Register*, 1885.

39. Mary Allen, diary entry, Rockhampton, 4 June 1899, Allen Family Letters, MS11276, La Trobe Library.

40. See, for instance, *Port Denison Times*, 23 April 1881; Ann White to Jane White, 3 May 1874, Charters Towers, MS676, National Library of Australia; *Queenslander*, 3 August 1872.


42. *Queensland Census*, 1886.


44. Steele Rudd, *On Our Selection and Our New Selection* (Sydney, 1953), pp. 4-5.


47. Margaret Williams, diary 1893, Darling Downs, OM81-126, John Oxley Library.


49. "Aggie" to Cousin Kitty, 10 December 1917, Kumbia, Murphy Family Letters, Box 2014110, La Trobe Library.


54. Margaret Williams, diary 1893.
ENDNOTES

55. See Jane Clark, diaries 1871-72, 1875-76, Mt. McConnell Station, OM67-29, John Oxley Library. Anna Gunn, diary 1865-73, Pikedale, Donald Gunn Papers, OM66-23, John Oxley Library.

56. Rachel Henning to Etti, 8 August 1864, p. 203.

57. Rose Scott-Cowan papers, Darling Downs, OM71-23, John Oxley Library.


Chapter 6

1. Interview No. 82, mother of four, first born 1937, husband's occupation: nursery man, mother's occupation: home duties. (All interviewees' occupations were "home duties" unless otherwise stated).

2. For a succinct overview of the work on family history and the invasion of the family see Kerreen Reiger, The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernising the Australian Family 1880-1940 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), chap. 1.


4. The "infant welfare movement" is a term describing the range of new services provided by the emerging professional group of nurses, doctors and bureaucrats concerned with children under the age of five. There were also a number of voluntary associations organised by middle-class women. All infant welfare workers believed that good mothering required expert, professional assistance.


ENDNOTES


12. Ibid.


14. The Golden Casket was a Government lottery and the Home Secretary had full control of the profits from 1920. In practice, however, the profits were allocated by the Assistant Under Secretary, Charles Chuter, who was the principal bureaucrat behind the implementation of the Maternity Act.


16. President's address, Eighth Queensland Labor-in-Politics Convention, *Official Record of Proceedings*, 28 February 1916, pp.15-18. Abolition of the Legislative Council was not achieved until 1922, but it had been the most important plank of the party's platform for many years.


18. Copy of the opening speech of Home Secretary at Bundaberg and Gin Gin Maternity Hospitals, 1932, COL/363, Queensland State Archives [QSA]. At the opening of the Rockhampton Baby Clinic, James Stopford, the Under Secretary, is reported as saying that the country "aimed at, and was succeeding in, raising a pure
ENDNOTES

white race of good living citizens", Evening News, Rockhampton, 29 October 1923.

19. "Mothers of Queensland Your Duty is Clear!", pamphlet, 1926, P 324.7 MOT, John Oxley Library.

20. For example, see "Monument to Motherhood", Warwick Daily News, 11 December 1939.


22. ABC of Queensland Statistics, State Baby Clinics, 1924-1936; Queensland Year Book, Maternal and Child Welfare, 1941. Total attendance figures can be deceptive, however, because any person attending a clinic could be shown as one attendance. For example, a mother with a baby and two other children was marked as four attendances if the nurse gave advice on any family health matter.

23. The only exception was one baby clinic started at Nundah in 1931, when the Country and Progressive National Party was in office. After the election of the Labor Party in 1932, control was taken back, with Chuter stating that "it does not seem compatible that the activities [of baby clinics] should be provided partly by the state and partly by private organisations". Charles Chuter to the Minister of the Home Office, 8 July 1932, COL/364, QSA.


27. "Woolloongabba Baby Clinic", Mail, 12 March 1918.

28. "Miss Stopford's First Speech", Evening News, Rockhampton, 29 October 1923. (James Stopford's daughter opened the clinic but the major speech was made by the minister).


31. Mein Smith, "Reformers, Mothers and Babies", chap. 3, pp.76-86.

32. Interview with Dr Felix Arden, 22 November 1989, Brisbane.

34. Interview No. 61, triple certificate nurse, started nursing training 1921.

35. By "clinic mothers", I mean those women who regularly attended a baby clinic during their child's infancy, and who spoke favourably of the services the clinic offered.

36. Interview No. 32, mother of five, first born 1937, husband's occupation: tram driver; Interview No. 91, mother of seven, first born 1923, husband's occupation not stated.

37. Interview No. 83, mother of three, first born 1924, husband's occupation: railway worker.

38. Interview No. 57, triple certificate nurse, started nursing training 1927.

39. Interview No. 54, mother of four, first born 1937, husband's occupation: motor mechanic.

40. Interview No. 8, mother of two, first born 1933, husband's occupation: factory supervisor.

41. Interview No. 90, mother of nine, first born 1935, husband's occupation: waterside worker.

42. Interview No. 79, mother of three, first born 1937, husband's occupation: cream carter.

43. Interview No. 62, mother of three, first born 1943, husband's occupation: labourer.

44. Interview No. 61. Both Turner and Mathewson were aware of the importance of the "motherly" appearance of the nurse and worried about "the wrong type" of personality being employed. See Turner, "Experiences in Preventive Medicine", pp. 812-813.

45. Interview No. 7, triple certificate nurse, started nursing training 1926.

46. Ellen Barton to Home Secretary's Office, 7 May 1923, item 23: 04185 baby clinics, A/31671, QSA.

47. In 1926, the handing out of free medicines was stopped because it was thought that this service was being abused by mothers. Thereafter only a small supply of ointments and aperients were available to the honorary medical officer of the clinic. Charles Chuter to all baby clinics, 1 April 1926, COL/368, QSA.

48. Interview No. 24, mother of eight, first born 1938, husband's occupation: engine driver.

49. Interview No. 34, mother of three, first born 1938, husband's occupation: farmer.

ENDNOTES

51. Interview No. 69, mother of four, first born 1921, husband’s occupation: cane farmer.
52. Interview No. 78, mother of two, first born 1938, husband’s occupation: engine driver.
53. Charles Chuter to the minister, 18 July 1940, item 40:06938 maternal and child welfare, A/31677, QSA.
55. Interview No. 47, mother of two, first born 1937, husband’s occupation: farmer.
56. Interview No. 34, mother of three, first born 1938, husband’s occupation: farmer.
57. Interview No. 25, mother of four, first born 1930, husband’s occupation: bank teller.
59. Director of Native Affairs: Information Contained in the Report for the Year ended 31 December 1940, QPP, 1941, p. 5.
60. It is difficult to calculate how many women were not in supervised camps because the Aboriginal Census separated women in regular employment as a separate category, no matter where they lived.
62. Charles Chuter to all Secretaries of Hospital Boards, Queensland, 1 December 1922, COL/362, QSA.
63. President of Springsure Hospital Board to Charles Chuter, 7 August 1923, item 23: 5994 hospitals: maternity, A/4732, QSA.
64. Interview No. 23, triple certificate nurse, started nursing training 1932.
65. Interview No. 29, triple certificate nurse, started nursing training 1938.

Chapter 7


5. The records of the caravan club were destroyed in a fire in the Association office in Toowoomba.

6. Membership of the YWCA is open to women of all races. The interviewees could not recall any Aborigines living in the Lockyer Valley in the period under review. Lyla Perkins stated that Aborigines lived on her grandfather's farm when her father was young and took care of him at times when his parents were busy. Lyla Perkins, interviewed by writer 12 September 1990. Cassette tape and transcript held by writer.


12. Queensland Year Book 1941, p.41. Compilation of vital statistics in local authority areas in 1940 revealed this disparity. Net reproduction rates measured the extent to which births were sufficient to replace the population. Ibid., p. 34.


14. George Essex Evans, "The Women of the West", in The Secret Key and Other Verses (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1906), pp. 8-10; Barbara Baynton, "Squeaker's Mate", "Billy Skywonkie" and "The Chosen Vessel", in Portable Australian Authors. Barbara Baynton, eds, Sally Krimmer and Alan Lawson (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1980); Myrtle Rose White, No Roads Go By (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1932); Helen Heney, Australia's Founding Mothers (Melbourne: Nelson, 1978), p. 3.

ENDNOTES


26. Ibid.


28. Ibid.

29. Lyla Perkins.

30. Myrtle Riedel.

31. Cora Wacker.

32. Lyla Perkins.


34. Cora Wacker spoke of her mother taking babies out to the field in a kerosene box cot. It was placed at the end of the row where she was working and she sat down on the ground to feed the baby. Myrtle Riedel remembered her expectant mother...
suffering from cramps when picking cotton. There was nobody at home at the time and Myrtle, not knowing what else to do, laid her on the ground. Her mother recovered after a time and carried on working.

36. Myrtle Riedel.
37. Ibid.
38. Ellen.
41. Cutting book on Lockyer Valley YWCA clubs, compiled by Ellen.
42. Cora Wacker.
43. Myrtle Riedel.
45. Ibid., p. 286.
46. Records in Rockhampton YWCA collection. Mrs Felicia Hopkins, first Secretary, recorded the first meeting held in August, 1888; Lorna McDonald, Rockhampton: A History of City and District (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p. 397.
52. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
53. Cutting book. Martha was a biblical character in the New Testament. The sister of Lazarus, she was depicted as a woman of great faith.
56. Typescript, YWCA records, University of Melbourne Archives.
ENDNOTES

57. Cutting book.
60. Lyla Perkins.
61. Ellen; Cora Wacker.
62. Cora Wacker.
63. Myrtle Riedel.
64. Cutting book.
65. Lyla Perkins.
66. Doris Jamieson.
67. Ellen.
75. Ibid., pp. 263-4.
76. YWCA Northern Regional Council Minutes 1944.
79. Shire Clerk, Clifton, 27 October 1930, Queensland Department of Main Roads records MR210/7/3.
Chapter 8

I am indebted to my colleague Shirley Scott, for drawing my attention to the material in the *Herbert River Express* and *Goondiwindi Argus*. An earlier version of this article previously appeared as "Total War is a Woman's War - All Can Serve", *Shaping Queensland Through History, Queensland Geographical Journal*, 4th series, 3 (1988).

10. Hasluck, *Government and the People*, p. 132; Robertson, *Australia Goes to War* also refers to these regional differences but only to pose the question "What had Australians in different regions to fear?".
11. Cabinet submission, 23 February 1939, MP574/1, File No. 600/1/1, Australian Archives (hereafter AA).
13. Chandler, Leader of the WNEL to Fadden 6 June 1940, A1608, Item B27/1/5, AA.

238
**ENDNOTES**


16. Notices of meetings and requests for registration forms from towns and shires throughout the state were recorded in every set of minutes from 19 May 1939. Women's Voluntary Register, Queensland State Council Minute Book, No. 1, in OM-12-57/4, Box 1 (John Oxley Library). See also the reports of the meetings in Townsville 16 May 1939 and 20 May 1939 in *North Queensland Guardian*, 2 June 1939, p. 2.


18. 142 letters to local authorities are recorded in the outwards correspondence of 19 May 1939 in Women's Voluntary National Register, Queensland State Council Minute Book, No. 1, in OM-12-57/4, Box 1.


23. Letter A. Phillips to N. Tritton, Prime Minister's Dept, 22 April 1940, in ACTCRS A1608 Item B 27/1/5, AA.

24. "Women Rush to Offer Services For War Work", *Courier Mail*, 5 September 1939. The quarterly meeting of the Red Cross Society in September was the largest since 1932. The report noted there had been 25 new branches and sub-branches established in country districts, *Courier Mail*, 19 March 1939.

25. *Courier Mail*, 5 September 1939; 19 September 1939; *Mackay Daily Mercury*, 7 September 1939; *North Queensland Guardian*; *Western Star and Roma Advertiser*.


27. *Courier Mail*, 8 November 1939.


29. *Western Star and Roma Advertiser*, 22 November 1939; *Herbert River Express*, 9 September 1939.


32. Cabinet submission, 23 February 1939, MP 574/1, File No. 600/1/1, AA.
ENDNOTES

33. Memo, Colin Clark to Secretary, Department of Labour and National Service, Canberra, 12 May 1941 in MP 1, File No. 193/1/4, AA. Numbers of males in reserved occupations were approx. 99,000 out of the 211,800 aged 20-44, a figure much higher than in other states.


36. Memo 24 April 1941 in MP 1, File No. 220/9/18, AA.


38. "Table Q.III Number of Persons Registered as Unemployed", July 1939-January 1941 in CRS CP311, Item Bundle 1, File 7, AA.


41. Robina Angus, interview, OHC Queensland Homefront 1939-1945.

43. "This hostility is cited in both the Minute of 16 June 1942 and Report of Mrs A. R. Philp (n.d.), MP 26/2, file No. 42/110/2475, AA.

44. Hasluck, *Government and the People*, vol. 2, pp. 231-233. There was no opposition to the VADs who worked in Army Medical Services from December 1940.


46. Manpower and Resources Survey Committee, Third Interim Report, 18 September 1941, Item 137, CRS CP3/1; Bundle 7, AA.

47. Curtin to Forgan Smith, 31 December 1941, MP 60/1 File 159/4, AA.


49. Curtin to Forgan Smith, in MP 60/1 File 159/4, AA.

50. Addendum, Manpower and Resources, Third Interim Report, 18 September 1941 in Crs CP3/1 Bundle 7, AA.


54. Ibid., p. 405.

55. Ibid., p. 404.
ENDNOTES

57. Cynthia Blair and Phyl Brady, interview, OHC Queensland Homefront 1939 -1945.
59. See WCTU of Qld to Prime Minister Chifley, 8 June 1945, protesting inequalities in pay and rehabilitation benefits for women in the services. A1608 Item G 27/15, AA.
60. Cabinet Agenda 25 June 1941, Item No. 32, p. 1, MP 180/1, AA.
61. Courier Mail, 4 July 1942.
63. Butlin and Schedvin, War Economy, pp. 31-35.
64. Ibid, p. 33.
65. Courier Mail, 28 May 1942.
66. "Notes of Evacuation", Hasluck Papers, 3 DRL 8031, Item 54, Australian War Memorial.
67. Ibid., (n.p.).
68. Ibid., (n.p.).
69. Prepared from figures in Queensland Year Book 1947, no. 8, p. 289.
70. Courier Mail, 18 January 1942; Goondiwindi Argus, 30 January 1942; 27 March 1942, 27 November 1942; Herbert River Express, 29 January and 28 February 1942.
71. The Morning Bulletin, 10 December 1941.
72. Courier Mail, 12 December 1941. At the conference at Victoria Barracks on 9 December 1941, decisions were taken about the numbers of service women required to fill establishment positions and the numbers that could be successfully trained on a daily basis while resident at home. In New South Wales and Queensland, it was felt that the army’s alternative to recruiting more women - to call up married men over 35 years - might be preferable to relieve unemployment. See “Conference on Utilisation of Women’s Services in War Industries, etc.”, 9 December 1941, p. 9, in CP 80/1, Item 81. AA.
73. The Cabinet stipulation of December 8 that women could only be recruited to replace men was rigidly adhered to. See CP 80/1, Item 81. AA; Courier Mail, 10 December 1941, p. 3.
74. See Annual Report WVNR, 15 August 1942, MP 24/2 File No. 42/110/2475, AA; “Survey of Manpower and Employment Statistics”, 4 September 1942, Copy no. 23, in MP 60/1, File No. 152-3, AA.
75. Minute 8 January 1942, 574/1 File No. 220/9/23, AA.
76. Ibid.
80. Letter Ida Haldane to Dedman, 4 December 1942, MP 1 Fde No 1/4/145, AA.
82. "List of Staff and Employees at Munitions Establishments", 1943, MP 60/1, File No. 159/1, AA.
86. Herbert River Express, 24 September 1942; 4 November 1943.
87. Goondiwindi Argus, 6 August 1943.
88. Betty Purvey and David Robino, interviews, OHC Queensland Homefront 1939-1945.
89. Bette Parker, interview, OHC Queensland Homefront 1939-1945.
90. Courier Mail, 20 January 1943; Circular, Director General of Manpower, MP 24/2, File No. 43/15/5085, AA.
91. Circular, Director General Manpower to Deputy Director General, 19 April 1943, MP 24/2 43/27/4396, AA.
92. Minute, Employment Inspector, Queensland, 8 January 1942, MP 574/1, File No. 220/9/23, AA. See also report, Deputy Director General Qld, 1943, MP 24/2, File No. 43/23/5628, AA.
93. Minutes of Meeting, 27 October 1943, CRS A571 Item no. 43/550, AA; "Report on Investigation of Absenteeism ... Erskineville" 2 December 1943, SP 113, AA.
94. Monthly Memos, Walsh-Deputy Director General Qld to Director-General, Manpower, April 1943-August 1945, MP 24/2, File No. 43/23/5628, AA.
96. Apologia: National Security (Female Minimum Rates) Regulations, MP 574/1, File No. 426/8/1, AA.
97. *Queensland Year Book* 1947, no. 8, p. 258.
99. Cabinet Agendum No. 197/42, 8 April 1944, MP 60/1, File Nos. 149-3, AA.
100. Circular, Director General Manpower, 16 January 1943, MP 24/2, File No. 44/27 B/8864, AA.
101. Document "E", Introductory to the Making of the National Security (Female Minimum Rates) Regulations, MP 26/2, File No. 426/8/1, AA.
102. Ibid.
103. Memo, Chief Research Officer for Minister for *Labour and National Service*, 7 May 1945, MP 24/2, File No. 426/8/1, AA.
104. Memo, Walsh, Deputy Director General Qld, 26 June 1944, MP 24/2, File No. 43/72/4727, AA.
105. Walsh to Wurth, 26 April 1944, MP 24/2, File No. 42/110/1054, AA.
110. "Working Conditions in Clothing & Textiles", Draft Report Interdepartmental Committee, 1945, MP 60/1, File No. 127/252, AA.
Chapter 9


6. Ibid., p. 194.


8. Ibid., p. 8.


Chapter 10


3. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
ENDNOTES


7. Ibid., p. 35.

8. This chapter mainly draws on the experiences of wives and companions, though, of course, many women occupants were single, widowed or deserted. Other occupants included white, Chinese and Aboriginal servants whose experiences have escaped attention. On the most generous reading of existing accounts, their circumstances were generally dreadful.


13. These sentiments were expressed in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1870, quoted by Pat Quiggin, *No Rising Generation. Women and Fertility in Late Nineteenth Century Australia* (Canberra: Department of Demography, Research of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1988), p. 75.


15. Ibid., p. 70.

16. Ibid., p. 72.


ENDNOTES

20. Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p. 130. Amounts in pounds sterling have been converted into dollars.
24. Interestingly, though, kit house companies such as "Ready-to-Erect" failed by 1930, and it was not until the 1960s that the kit home concept was revived (Sumner, "Pioneer Homesteads of North Queensland", p. 60).
25. Cf. Ray Sumner, "The Queensland style", in *The History and Design of the Australian House*, ed. Robert Irving (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 307, 310. In fact, stumps were less common than assumed and did not become really popular until the 1920s. Surveys suggest that only about a third of Queensland houses were high set.
32. Ibid., p. 149.
33. Cf. Censer, "What Ever Happened to Family History?", who reviews recent studies of "concepts of women and gender found in popular expressions, whether advice literature, poetry or architecture", p. 534.
ENDNOTES

34. Ibid., p. 536.
41. Marilyn Lake argues that the amount of agricultural work undertaken by women was underestimated due to a belief that it was not proper work for women but that, in fact, "settlers developed a debilitating dependence on their wives" (Marilyn Lake, "Helpmeet, Slave, Housewife: Women in Rural Families 1870-1930", in *Families in Colonial Australia*, eds, Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985), pp. 179-180).
42. Patricia Grimshaw and Charles Fahey, "Family and Community in Nineteenth-Century Castlemaine", in *Families in Colonial Australia*, p. 102.
43. Maternal death rates were, however, lower in Queensland than the national average (Quiggin, *No Rising Generation*, p. 40).
46. Young, *Across the Years*, p. 94.
47. Ibid., p. 153.
ENDNOTES

48. Lake, "Helpmeet, Slave, Housewife", p. 184, characterises wives as "slaves", while Grimshaw and Fahey ("Family and Community", p. 90) conclude that wife beating and assault were common; John Spurway ("The Growth of Family History in Australia", The Push From the Bush, 27 (1989), p. 100) suggests that there was a wide range of modes of family behaviour (from brutality to happiness).

49. This is clear both in autobiographical accounts and in historical evidence (e.g. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, 1973, pp. 135-6).

50. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, p. 136.


53. Neal, Beyond the Burdekin, p. 15.


55. Ibid., p. 134.

56. Neal, Beyond the Burdekin, p. 15; Jean Devanny was typical of travellers who took advantage of this custom.

57. Young, Across the Years, pp. 207-9.


60. Carroll, Growing Up, pp. 51-52.


64. Ibid.


67. Ibid., p. 20.

68. Malouf, Johnno, p. 34.

69. Although regarded as quintessentially Australian, Bell found that only 7 per cent of North Queensland houses he surveyed had an open verandah; other surveys
showed that only 20 per cent of housing stock featured the "trademark" encircling verandah (Sumner, "The Queensland Style", p. 310).

70. Malouf, Johnno, p. 35.
71. These were the legacies of middle-class Victorian England.
72. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, p. 135.
73. Carroll, Growing Up, p. 25.
74. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, pp. 135, 327.
75. Ibid., p. 135.
77. Ibid., p. 26.
78. Ibid., pp. 43-4; Young, Across the Years, pp. 134-5.
79. The character of the kitchen is poignantly portrayed by Joseph Elliott's description of his family's home in Adelaide in a letter written to his mother in 1860 (Elliott, Our Home in Australia, pp. 58-72).
80. Malouf, Johnno, p. 35.
84. Malouf, Johnno, p. 33.
86. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, p. 133.
87. Ibid., p. 336.
88. This custom has been adapted by the gypsies of Vlachs in Romania. Caught between two worlds - traditional gypsy camps and urban high rise ghettos, some have opted to build a cottage and settle on the outskirts of towns. A documentary on the gypsies (in the Granada series, Disappearing World) showed one such house in which the prized room was "The Clean Room", an unused shrine filled with porcelain mementos and "beautiful" things collected purely for the purpose of showing visitors how "modern" the household was.
90. Buchanan, Five Days at Claremont, p. 25.
92. Quoted by Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, p. 132.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., p. 133.
96. Young, Across the Years, p. 88.
98. Malouf, 12 Edmondstone Street, p. 22.
99. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, pp. 131, 327.
100. Malouf, Johnno, p. 32.
103. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s, p. 337.
104. Malouf, 12 Edmondstone Street, p. 58.
105. Ibid., p. 57.
106. Malouf, Johnno, p. 4.
107. Gardens and rich soil were a selling feature of houses and allotments - "a poor man's earthly Paradise" (Johnston, Brisbane. The First Thirty Years, p. 238). The auction of a Brisbane hotel in 1854 emphasised the bonus of the garden - "1,000 pines, orange, lemon, nectarine, peach, guava, apple, plum" as well as prize-winning beds of flowers and shrubs (Ibid, p. 241).
108. Young, Across the Years, p. 43.
109. Ibid., p. 222.
113. McDonald, Beyond the Burdekin, p. 333.
114. Ibid., p. 355.
115. Young, Across the Years, p. 93.

Chapter 11

ENDNOTES


8. Hospital, "Voyage Around the Circumference".


13. George Bowering, "Reaney's Region", in *A Way With Words* (Canada: Oberon Press, 1982).


16. Overton, "A Newfoundland Culture".


ENDNOTES

19. Elizabeth Ferrier, Ibid., following Edward Said, uses this term to represent the way in which the house becomes emblematic of a collective ethos and identity.


Chapter 12


4. "No sex please, we're in the public service", Sunday Mail, 22 December 1991.


7. Ibid., p. 5.


ENDNOTES


17. Ibid., p. 174.


19. Ibid., p. 177.


23. Ibid., p. 172.


25. Ibid., p. 179.

26. See Thornton, The Liberal Promise, p. 178 for a discussion of how constitutional argument can be advantageous to respondents.


32. Ibid., p. 150.


40. Ibid., p. 1.


42. Ibid., p. 157.


45. Ibid., p. 16.


49. Pateman, The Disorder of Women, p. 78.
ENDNOTES

53. Ibid., p. 27.
54. "I am a scapegoat, says $7000 harassment-order man", Courier Mail, 10 March 1987.
57. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 647.
61. Ibid., p. 1.
64. Thornton, The Liberal Promise; Sullivan, "Sex Equality and the Australian Body Politic".
65. Applegarth, "Civil Liberties".
67. Whitton, Hillbilly Dictator.

Chapter 13

Many thanks to rape crisis workers in Queensland (past and present) who provided archival material, information and stories. Particular thanks to the present Women's House collectives for access to their archives.

10. Funding for these sexual assault programs is generally administered through state health departments. A few rape crisis centres have been maintained alongside these programs (e.g., Sydney, Geelong, Adelaide, Darwin). In some of these situations, funding for rape crisis centres is administered through health departments, in others the rape crisis centre remains the responsibility of the relevant state family services department through a national program called the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP).
12. Chapman, "Women's Community Centres".
21. Courier Mail, 11 June 1975; Sunday Sun, 26 October 1975; Sunday Sun, 12 October 1975.

30. Irene, a single mother, was raped in her home. She reported the rape to the Beenleigh police and was subsequently examined by the government medical officer. After speaking with the man who Irene claimed had raped her, the police decided not to prosecute him but to charge Irene with false complaint. She was convicted and given one year probation. The following week a similar charge was laid in Caboolture against Margaret, who claimed to have been gang raped. The charge was dropped.

31. Leaflets, newsletters, and correspondence in Brisbane Rape Crisis Centre Archives.
32. Submission by WCAA to Department of Children's Services, 13 May 1982.
33. Brisbane Rape Crisis Centre archival material.
40. The experience of feminists in the early days of entry into federal policy departments and other influential political public servant positions may be worthy of consideration in this context. The spaces opened by feminists and the respectability of the new positions encouraged women other than feminists to enter the field. The result was a watering down of feminist demands and practice.
41. Kate Gilmore, CASA House Rationale Paper, no. 3, "The Counsellor/Advocate's Role in the Provision of Crisis Care to Victims of Sexual Assault", 1989; "CASA
ENDNOTES


Select Bibliography


SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


262
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


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SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


265
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


Index

Aborigines
appearance of women, 51, 60
attitude towards, 3-4, 13, 16, 36, 52, 60
autobiographies of, 46
as historians, 6-7, 42-44
infant welfare movement, 82, 93-95
as midwives, 16
self-determination for, 140
as servants, 13, 43, 74
sexual violence, 40
women stockworkers, 77
WWII mobilisation, 125
abortion, 3, 19, 20-21, 50, 195, 203
accidental injury or death, 17, 69, 78
Adelaide, 56
Ahearne, Dr. Joseph (Townsville), 57
Air Raid Precaution work, 117, 123
Aldridge v. Booth 1986, 181-196
Allen, Mary (Rockhampton), 75
Alpha station, 47
Amalgamated Engineering Union, 118
American servicemen, 18-19, 42
Archer, Winifred, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109
architecture. See houses
Arden, Dr. Felix, 88
Argus, 117
art, 47, 138, 150
Atherton family, 164-165
Australian Book Review, 170
Australian Labor Party
attitude to sexual violence, 196, 201, 204
attitude to women's voting rights, 22
Queensland's infant welfare movement, 80-96
radical nature in Queensland, 11
women's union activity, 49
Australian Literary Studies, 170
Australian Women Against Rape, 202, 203
Australian Women's Army Service, 109
Australian Women's Land Army, 119, 124, 125
Australian Women's Weekly, 115, 116, 122, 127
authors. See also entries on specific authors
Aboriginal, 6-7, 46
identifying with regions, 171, 173
influence on gender ideology, 132
as producers of historical sources, 34, 44-47, 51
on Queensland, 44-46, 66, 171, 173
racial perspectives of, 6-7, 13-15, 42-44, 46
on Western Australia, 171
autobiographies as historical sources, 28, 45-46, 150
baby clinics. See also infant welfare movement
home visiting service, 90-91
mothercraft advice, 86-88, 91
other states, 83, 86
as social venues, 89
travelling railway service, 85
Bandler family, 44
Bardesley, Jane, 46-47, 152, 154, 161-162, 164, 166
Barron, Ellen, 91
bathrooms, 163-164
bedrooms, 162-163
Beit, Alicia (Drayton), 75
Berry, Jessie Sarah, 46
biographies as historical sources, 28
birth rates, 12, 37, 68, 69, 99, 100, 151-152
Bjelke-Petersen, Johannes, 11, 20, 183, 191
Bjelke-Petersen, Flo, 200
Boomerang, 57, 72, 74
Boonah, 14, 92, 103

271
INDEX

Bowers, Barbara, 201
breastfeeding, 90
Brisbane
  abortion clinic, 21
  Air Raid Precaution classes, 117
  American servicemen, 18-19
  artists, 47
  contagious diseases legislation, 20
  etiquette, 59, 153
  fashion and clothing, 55-56, 57, 58, 63, 64
  general strike of 1912, 49
  Hospital For Sick Children, 88
  immigrants, 14
  infant mortality, 69
  infant welfare training centre, 83
  need for female labour in World War II, 128
  population density, 17, 113, 148
  Rape Crisis Centre, 187-188, 199, 200, 201, 203, 205
  women's centres, 200-203
  Women's National Emergency Legion, 115
  Brisbane Courier, 63
  Bulletin, 197

cattle mustering, 71
Centres Against Sexual Assault House, Melbourne, 207
Cherbourg Aboriginal Reserve, 125
child abuse, 39
childbirth. See pregnancy
child care, 69, 86-88, 90. See also baby clinics; infant welfare movement
children. See also baby clinics; child care; education; infant welfare movement
abuse, 39
  effect of population growth on, 17
farm work, 100, 101-103
  gender ideology in schooling, 39-40, 40
  welfare, 39
Chinese, 43, 140

Chuter, Charles, 84, 91
citizenship, 109
civil rights, 191, 195-196, 203. See also discrimination
"Claremont" (Ipswich), 160-161
Clark, Colin, 118
class. See social class
climate, 17, 52, 53-54, 56-57, 64, 161
clothing, nineteenth century
  association with domesticity, 53, 55
  Australian distinctiveness, 56
  effect on health, 57
  fabrics, 57, 58, 63
  fashionable, 17, 52, 55, 62, 161
  foreign influence, 5, 55, 62, 63
  historical treatment of, 51-53
  indicative of class, 53-54, 161
  influence of climate, 17, 52-53, 56-57, 64
  mailorder, 55-56
  non-conventional, 61
  seasonal influence on style, 58-59
  trousers for women, 60, 61
  underwear, 56, 57-58, 61
  updating of, 55, 61
  urban/rural comparison, 5, 55, 61, 64
  women's attitude to, 52, 64
Code of Working Conditions for Women, 128
Comforts Fund, 117
Commonwealth War Service Homes Commission, 149
Communist Party, 22, 48
Congregational church, 107
Country and Progressive National Party (1929-1932), 85
Country Women's Association, 16, 85, 91, 110, 116
Courier Mail, 112, 116, 122, 123
  crafts, 106, 108, 150. See also dressmaking
  crinolines, 56
Culpin, Millais, 63-64
cultural organisations, 30. See also entries for particular organisations
## INDEX

culture
- centralisation in Sydney/Melbourne, 169-170
- feminisation of, 169
- masculinity in, 3, 4, 15, 17-18, 38, 53, 134, 168
- "regional sign systems" in, 173

da Costa-Roque, Sylvia, 201

dairying, 61, 77, 100-101

Darling Downs, 67, 75, 76

demography
- birth rates, 12, 37, 68, 69, 99, 100, 151-152
- density, Brisbane, 113, 148
- effect on women's lives, 18-19, 23
- immigrant patterns, 14-15, 37, 68
- marital statistics, 18, 66-67
- rural male/female distribution, 18, 67, 98-100
- depression, 1930s, 109, 118
- diaries as historical sources, 26, 51, 60
- Dick, Mary Alice, 68
- discrimination, 109. See also racism; sex discrimination

District Nursing Association, 16

divorce, 3, 21, 72

domestic architecture. See houses

domestic violence, 37-38, 78, 201, 206.
  See also sexual harassment

domestic work
- dressmaking, 55, 56, 61, 62, 74
- effect of technology on, 74, 158
- expert advice on, 73, 74, 81-82
- footwear manufacture, 62
- handicrafts, 106, 108
- household chores, 73, 74, 76-77, 150-51, 157-158
- household management, 2, 73, 77, 78
- as paid employment, 74, 75
- schooling for, 39-40
- as supplement to family income, 75, 76, 158

Drake, Jane (Rockhampton), 165

Drayton, 55, 56, 58, 75

dress. See clothing, nineteenth century

dressmaking, 55, 56, 61-62. See also
  handicrafts

drought, 77, 101

Economic News, 118

economy, structure of, 15. See also entries
  for particular industries:
  - manufacturing; primary industry

Eden, Charles, 56

education, 31, 39-40, 102, 106

educational organisations, 30. See also
  entries for particular organisations

Edwards and Chapman (Brisbane), 63

Ellis, Constance Jane, 46, 61

employment. See men's work; women's work

entertainment, 107, 160-161

Esk, 61

etiquette, 51, 52, 54, 58-60, 147, 160

Evangelical church, 109

Exmoor station (Mackay), 51, 53

families
- immigrant, 14-15, 17, 37
- income, 75
- influence of infant welfare movement, 81, 86-88
- male authority in, 72, 78, 98, 100, 118
- as units of production, 15, 62, 78
- urban/rural size, 68-69, 69, 151

family papers as historical sources, 26-27

fashion. See clothing, nineteenth century

Federal Human Rights Commission, 191

feminism
- Australian culture and, 169
- in Canada, 9, 170-171
- ethics, 133
- legislation for equal rights, 3, 19-22
- liberal versus radical view, 202-203
- literature on, 205
- in Queensland historiography, 8-12, 23-24, 32-50
INDEX

rape crisis service and, 206-207
renegotiation of identity, 135, 138, 143
subjectivity to space and time, 9, 134, 141, 143
suffrage movement, 22, 72, 78
women's movement, 9, 21-22, 48-50, 200, 205
in World War I, 37
feminist historiography
methodology, 23-24
racial perspectives in, 6-7, 13-15, 42-44, 46
recent trends, 9, 12, 40
sources, 25-31
value, 8-12, 32-50
fertility, 12, 37, 68, 69, 99, 100, 151-152
Finney Isles and Company (Brisbane), 55, 57
Fitzgerald Report (1989), 187
footwear, 61, 62, 63
Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 171
Freudian psychology, 138, 179-180, 205
furnishings, 138, 146-147, 159-160
Gair, V.C., 129
gardens, domestic, 154, 164-166
gender ideology. See also feminism in childhood, 39-40
declared by clothing, 53-54
declared by work in marriage, 72, 75
domestic space and, 4, 146, 149-155, 174-177, 179
in legislation, 204
in literature, 132, 173-180
neutrality in workplace, 194
promoted by YWCA, 105, 111
in rural division of labour, 2, 77, 152-153
sex drive and, 184-185
significance in regional studies, 23
wartime mobilization and, 3, 42, 113, 116, 117, 121, 122
women's marital subservience, 3, 38, 68, 71, 73

Germans, 14-15, 37
Golden Casket, 83, 84, 85
Gores family (Lyndhurst), 59
Goss, Wayne, 21
Gray, Robert (Stratmore station), 56
Great Exhibition of London (1851), 157
Griffith, Mary, 105

hairdressing, 63
handicrafts, 106, 108, 150. See also dressmaking
headware, 64
health. See also public health
beauty, 53-54, 109
clothing's effects on, 57
historical sources on, 31
physical, 109
health education, 109
Hecate, 35, 42, 43, 50
Heighway, Dorothy, 104, 110
Henning, Rachel (Exmoor station), 46, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 60, 62, 76, 77-78, 154, 165
Herbert, Robert, 157
historical sources, 25-31, 33-50. See also entries for particular sources; literature of domestic life, 150
gender ideology in, 132, 141
male dominance in, 8, 32, 36, 132
racial perspectives in, 6-7, 42-44
historiography. See authors: feminist historiography
Holt, Harold, 118
home decoration, 138, 146-147, 159-160
home economics movement, 74, 158-159
Horan, Gabby, 201
Hospital For Sick Children (Brisbane), 88
hospitals, 31. See also entries for particular hospitals

houses
class distinctions in, 149
design, 147-149
distinctive features, 17, 145-146, 167
as ecosystems, 176

274
flexible use of space in, 146

gender ideology in, 4, 146, 149-155, 174-177, 179

Government building incentives, 149
importance to colonial women, 147
as interface between private and public space, 4, 146, 167
privacy, 162-164
regional identities in, 173-176
renovation, 166-167
human rights, 191, 195-196, 203
Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 181, 189, 192, 193
Hume, Katie (Drayton), 47, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 69-70
Hunter, James, 63

immigrants. See also entries for particular immigrant groups
demographic patterns, 14-15, 37, 68
in historiography, 14, 37
houses, 146, 148
land grants, 149
lifestyle in Brisbane, 17
prostitutes, 14, 17, 20, 41
rural workers, 97, 100, 103, 107
servants, 74
industrial arbitration, 190
infant mortality, 38, 39, 69, 70-71, 82, 84, 88
infant welfare movement (1918-1939). See also baby clinics
Aboriginal experience of, 93-95
comparison to other systems, 86
Golden Casket funding, 83, 84, 85
historical bias, 50, 82-83
ideology, 86-88
male influence, 82
publicity, 91
success of, 3, 19, 38-39, 81-82, 89-93
urban/rural comparison, 5, 92-93

Irving, Lt.Col.Sybil, 122

Japanese, 13-14, 41, 112, 122

John Oxley Library, 25, 34

Kennedy district, 67
Kingaroy, 61
Kirwan, Michael, 87
kitchen appliances, 157-158
kitchens, 17, 147, 157-159
Kookaburra station, 151

Labor Party. See Australian Labor Party
labour movement, 46, 49, 118
Lahey, Vida, 47
land schemes, 75, 76, 149
Lane, William, 72
laundry work, 75
legal rights, 3, 19-22
lesbianism, 202, 203
letters as historical sources, 26-27, 46-47, 51, 60
Liberal Party, 201
life expectancy, 78
lifestyle, 52, 53, 110
literature. See also authors; historical sources
continuity of regional and national boundaries in, 9, 172-173
female bonding in, 179-180
gender ideology in, 132, 141, 173-180
as historical source, 44-46
Lizard Island, 62
Lochiel station (Roma), 125
Lockyer Valley, 97-111
Lutheran church, 107-108
Lynch family (Kingaroy), 61
Lyndhurst, 59

MacDonald family (Rockhampton), 153
manners, 51, 52, 54, 58-60, 147, 160
Manpower and Resources Survey Committee Report (1941), 119, 120
manufacturing, 15, 98, 113, 129, 130
Maroon station, 66
marriage
adultery, 72
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as economic and sexual protection</td>
<td>3, 18, 67, 72-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternity</td>
<td>70-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patterns</td>
<td>4, 12, 37-38, 66-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property surrender</td>
<td>21, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marxism</td>
<td>50, 202, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculinity. <strong>See men; men's work</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal welfare. <strong>See infant welfare movement; pregnancy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternity. <strong>See pregnancy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternity hospitals</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathewson, Dr.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maunsell, Evelyn</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McConachie, Mary (Brisbane)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McConnell, Mrs. (Brisbane)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McConochie, Helen</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>5, 19, 38, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanesians</td>
<td>13, 42-44, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>56, 83, 170, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memoirs as historical sources</td>
<td>27-28, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to women's rights</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>authority in families</td>
<td>72, 78, 98, 100, 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing</td>
<td>52, 58, 161-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural status</td>
<td>3, 4, 15, 17-18, 38, 53, 134, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominance in literature</td>
<td>8, 32, 36, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominance in workforce</td>
<td>15, 38, 72, 113, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>influence on infant welfare</td>
<td>5, 19, 38, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life expectancy</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power in rural communities</td>
<td>2-3, 16-17, 97-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexuality</td>
<td>18, 68, 71, 72, 194, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexual violence toward women</td>
<td>40, 184, 199, 205, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men's work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in rural communities</td>
<td>2-3, 15-16, 97, 98, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seasonal</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in World War II</td>
<td>114, 116, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menzies, Robert</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist church</td>
<td>107-108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlothian station (Normanton)</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles, Mrs. (Natal Downs station)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Emma</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mining</td>
<td>15, 36-37, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscarriage</td>
<td>69, 70, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mornington Island</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motherhood</td>
<td>2, 38-39, 70. <strong>See also child care; infant welfare movement; pregnancy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray-Prior, Nora (Maroon station)</td>
<td>66, 70-71, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray-Prior, Thomas Lodge</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal Downs station</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Council of Women</td>
<td>21, 22, 49, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National (Female Minimum Rates) Regulations (1944)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nationalism</td>
<td><strong>See culture</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Party</td>
<td>5, 11, 20, 183, 191, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neville-Rolfe, Harriet (Alpha station)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicklin, Reuben (Brisbane)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Queensland Guardian</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Queensland Medical Society</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nursing</td>
<td>16, 38, 49, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oppression of women</td>
<td>35-44, <strong>See also sex discrimination</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oral history</td>
<td>43, 46, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizations</td>
<td>28-30, 48-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islanders</td>
<td>13, 42-44, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer goldfields</td>
<td>68, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker, Bette</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parlours</td>
<td>159-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philanthropic organisations</td>
<td>30, <strong>See also entries for particular organisations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip, Annabel</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>photographs as historical sources</td>
<td>61, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pioneers. <strong>See also rural life</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidents</td>
<td>17, 69, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commitment to etiquette</td>
<td>60, 147, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diet</td>
<td>154, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic violence</td>
<td>37-38, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fertility</td>
<td>37, 68, 69, 151-152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harding and isolation</td>
<td>2, 3, 16, 97, 104, 108-109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>154-155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land schemes</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the house</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s role</td>
<td>9, 16-18, 36-37, 60-62, 74-75, 100, 103, 137, 150-151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>187-188, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political organisations</td>
<td>28-29. See also entries for particular organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population studies</td>
<td>See demography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praed, Rosa</td>
<td>45, 47, 66, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pregnancy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal midwives</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate facilities</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal death</td>
<td>38, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resentment of</td>
<td>2, 38, 70, 71, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary industry</td>
<td>15-16, 23, 98, 100, 113, 127, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>3, 14, 17, 20, 41, 193, 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant church</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public health</td>
<td>19-20, 38, 69, 163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Queensland**

| Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders’ Act (1897) | 13 |
| Building Revival Scheme (1932) | 149 |
| Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Women (1973) | 50, 190 |
| Contagious Diseases Act (1868) | 3, 19, 41 |
| Department of Children’s Services | 204 |
| Department of Education | 106 |
| Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs | 204 |
| Department of Health | 204, 208 |
| Division of Infant Welfare | 85 |
| Education Act (1875) | 39 |
| Housing Commission | 149 |
| Married Women’s Property Act (1890) | 21, 76 |
| Maternity Act (1922) | 19, 83, 84 |
| Police Department | 187-188 |
| Restriction of Employment of Domestic Servants Orders | 125 |
| Supported Accommodation Assistance Program | 198 |
| Undue Subdivision of Land Prevention Act (1885) | 149 |
| Women’s Health Policy Unit | 204 |
| Workers’ Dwelling Act (1909) | 149 |
| Workers’ Home Act (1919) | 149 |

**Queensland Bush Book Club** | 16 |
| Queensland Bush Nursing Association | 16 |
| “Queensland difference”, reality of | 1-7, 10-12, 22-24 |
| Queenslander | 63, 74 |
| Queensland Figaro | 57, 63, 73 |
| Queensland house. See houses |
| Queensland Housewives Association | 201 |
| Queensland Mothers Book, The | 88, 91 |
| Queensland Society for the Prevention of Cruelty | 39 |
| Queensland Teachers’ Union | 46 |
| Queensland Trades and Labour Council | 49 |
| Queensland Women’s Historical Association | 49 |

**Racism**. See also entries for particular minority groups

| As exclusion from services | 4 |
| In historical methodology | 6-7, 42-44 |
| Railways as baby clinics | 85 |
| Rankin, Annabelle | 48 |

**Rape**. See also Sexual harassment

| Consent | 206 |
| Development of crisis centres | 3, 198-199 |
| Dismissal of charges | 20, 198 |
| Historical significance | 40 |
| Pack | 197-198, 201 |
| In pioneer communities | 9, 78 |
| As power | 205-206 |

*277*
INDEX

reporting, 209-210
sex-specific language needed, 206
rape crisis centres, Queensland
Brisbane, 187-188, 199-204
comparison to other states, 198
development of, 3, 198-199
funding, 198-199, 202, 203-204, 208
future directions, 208-210
politics, 5, 199-204
right wing opposition, 201, 202
recreation, 29, 106, 107, 108, 109
recreational organisations, 29. See also entries for particular organisations
refrigeration, 77, 157-158
refuges, 198, 201
region, as a concept
contemporary studies in, 2
definitive factors in, 1-2, 8-10
gender ideology and, 2, 6, 23-24
hardships and, 2, 4, 16
inadequacy of, 5
positive experiences of, 4, 146-147
racism and, 3-4, 6-7, 13-15, 42-44
relevance to feminist inquiry, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8-12, 22-24
"sign systems" in, 6, 172-173, 176
urban/rural factors, 2-3, 5
regional identities
as constructions, 168-169, 171
cultural suppression of, 170, 174
regionalism
in clothing, 17, 51-65
in colonial marriage, 4, 18, 21, 66-79
historiography and, 8-12, 25-50
in literature, 131-144, 168-180
in the Queensland house, 4, 145-167
rape, 20, 197-210
rural social isolation, 16, 97-112
sexual harassment and, 19-20, 181-196
World War II mobilization and, 19, 80-96
"regional sign systems", 6, 172-173, 176
religious discrimination, 109
religious organisations, 29-30. See also entries for particular organisations
reminiscences as historical sources, 27-28
Rockhampton, 75, 92, 107, 165
Rockhampton Morning Bulletin, 57
Rocklea Ammunition factory, 119, 124, 125, 128
Roman Catholic church, 109
Roughsey, Elsie (Mornington Island), 46
Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal, 49
Rudd, Steele, 76
rural life. See also pioneers, women's work
clothing, 5, 51-65
dairy farming, 61, 77, 100-101
dominance of rural economy, 3, 15, 23, 62, 98, 100
education, 102, 106
fertility rates, 99, 100
household size, 99
infant welfare movement, 92-93
men's power in, 2-3, 15-16, 97, 98, 99
religious life, 107-108, 109
shopping facilities, 54, 55, 61, 155
social isolation, 2, 3, 16, 97, 104, 108-109
women's unpaid labour, 16, 75, 76, 97, 99-101
in World War II, 123, 125
rural women. See pioneers; rural life; women's work
schools, 31, 39-40, 102, 106
Scott-Young, Dr., 202
secondary industry, 15, 98, 113, 129, 130
selectors, 75, 76, 149
servants, domestic, 13, 43, 54-55, 59, 74, 157
sewing, 55, 56, 61-62, 74. See also handicrafts
sex discrimination
girhood, 39-40
history, 32-33, 53, 131
industrial arbitration, 190

278
INDEX

land purchase, 76
legislation, 19-22, 182-183, 185-186, 189-190, 199
literature, 132
as oppression of women, 35-44
as women's marginality to history, 8, 15, 32-33, 36, 53, 131
Sex Discrimination Act (1984)
complaints under, 188-189, 192
constitutional validity, 181-182
definition of sexual harassment in, 183-184
gender neutrality in, 194
Sex Discrimination Commission, 192
sex roles. See gender ideology
sexual assault services, other states, 206-208
sexual division of labour. See men's work; women's work
sexual harassment. See also rape
attitude of Australian Labor Party, 196, 201, 204
consent, 191-193
definitions in workplace, 182-184
form of male dominance, 183-185, 193, 194
legislation, 3, 5, 181, 183, 189-190, 195
monetary damages awarded, 183, 194
more detailed data needed, 182
police involvement, 187, 192
private conciliation in workplace, 182-183, 186
statistics, 187-189, 197
trauma, 195
under-reporting, 184, 187
sexuality. See also gender ideology; sex discrimination
men, 18, 68, 71, 72, 194, 205
women, 20, 40, 41
shoes, 61, 62, 63
Social Alternatives, 11
social behaviour. See etiquette; social class
social class. See also etiquette
influence on clothing, 53-54, 161-162
influence on home entertainment, 160-161
influence on house design, location and furnishings, 149, 160
use of household appliances, 74
social work, 82, 200, 206-207
sports, 106, 109
Springsure Hospital Board, 94
Sterne, Mrs., 116
Stopford, James, 87
stoves, 157
Strathmore station (Bowen), 56
sugar industry, 13, 43-44, 135, 136
support networks, 2, 16, 37, 49, 82
Sydney, 17, 51, 53, 55, 83, 170
Taylorism, 158-159
technological change, 74, 77, 110, 154, 157-158
Toowoomba, 60, 67, 106, 109
Townsville, 123, 128, 202, 203
Townsville Daily Bulletin, 123
Townsville Women's Centre, 202
Townsville Women's Progress Club, 115
trade unions, 46, 49, 118
Travellers' Aid Society, 16
Tresillian Training School (Sydney), 84
Tribune, 136
Trollope, Anthony, 58
Turner, Dr. Alfred Jefferis, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91
Twopeny, R.E.N., journalist (1883), 56, 161
venereal disease, 3, 19, 41
verandahs, 17, 147, 148, 155-156
Waddell, Mrs. William (Kookaburra station), 151
Ward, Vilma, 201
Watson, Mary (Lizard Island), 62
Weale, Isabel, 77
Westerly, 171
Whitlam, Edward Gough, 201
Wickham, Anna, 46
Williams, Margaret (Esk), 61, 76-77
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 22, 49, 110
Women's Action Group, 201
Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force, 120, 121
Women's Auxiliary Transport Service, 116
women's centres, philosophy, 199-200
Women's Community Aid Association (Brisbane), 200, 201, 202
Women's Employment Board, 122
Women's House (Brisbane), 200-203
women's movement. See feminism
Women's National Emergency League, 115
women's organisations, 48-50. See also entries for particular organisations
Women's Progress Clubs, 16
Women's Progress Club (Townsville), 115
women's refuges, 198, 201
women's rights. See feminism
Women's Voluntary National Register, 114, 115, 128
women's work. See also domestic work
child care, 38, 68, 80-96, 99
exclusion from industry, 3, 15, 99, 118, 120, 124
paid, 3, 67, 75, 118, 121, 124, 125
role expectations, 39-40, 99, 104, 117
seasonal, 75
as supplement to family income, 75, 76, 158
as unpaid farm labour, 16, 75-76, 97, 99-101
in World War II, 112-130
as YWCA role models, 104, 111
"Woonon" (Mackay), 166
World War I, 21, 37, 42, 50, 84, 116
World War II
American servicemen, 18-19, 42
collective child care in, 126
evacuations, 117, 122, 123
labour shortage, 126-129
mobilization, 112-115, 117, 119-120, 122, 126, 127, 129
paid employment of women, 4, 120, 124, 125, 127-128
sexual activity in, 18-19, 20, 40
women's status, 41-42, 113, 115, 118-130
Young Women's Christian Association, Queensland
activities, 4, 106-109
funding, 107, 109
history, 104-106, 109
logo, 106
philosophy, 105-106, 107, 109, 110, 111
regional variations, 110
religious bias, 109, 110

280