

The Curious Case of the Disappearing Gold Mining Town: The Cultural Landscape of the Clohesy River Gold Field, North Queensland

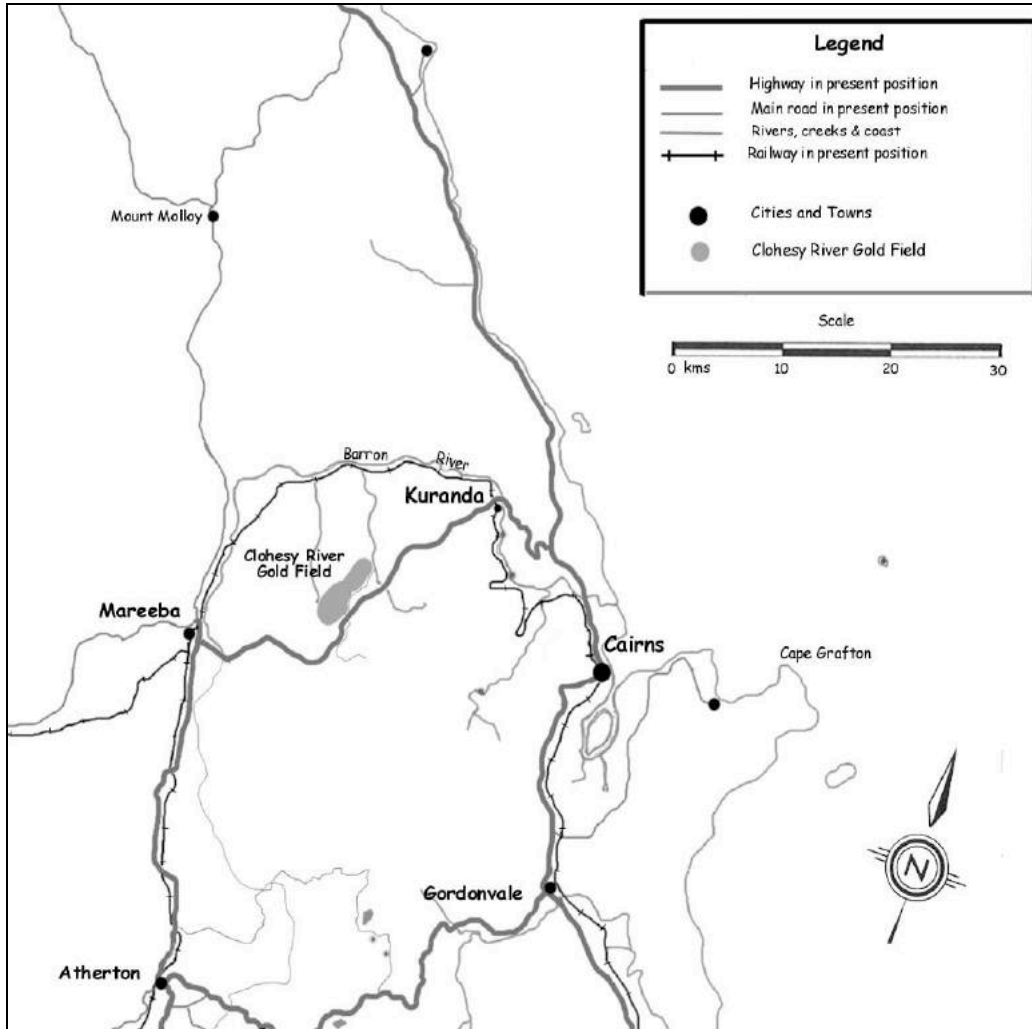
By JUSTINE THORP
James Cook University

Locating a definition of ‘cultural landscape’ is not difficult. The notion is, however, like sand blowing in the wind. It swirls seemingly without direction or purpose. This is because it is a concept of importance to many disciplines ranging from the sciences through to the humanities. Accordingly, it can be defined as the material manifestation of the relation between humans and the environment where the cultural landscape manifests the contradictory resolution between human acts and acts of nature.¹ It is not a static concept; movement of people, information or crops across the landscape is inherent in this dynamic process of change. A cultural landscape can be viewed thematically in an effort to understand its complexities – as nature, as wealth, as an artefact, as a habitat, as an ideology, as history or as heritage.² In this context it is possible to see quite clearly how people allocate value and meaning to a landscape and equally how ‘contested meanings’ arise. When a ‘place’ loses its meaning and value and is not recreated, is ‘forgotten’, when it ‘disappears’, one has to consider what happened to it. Conventional analysis does not allow us to do this.

In order to capture the essence, complexity and depth of a cultural landscape or a ‘place’, rather than just its appearance, it is necessary to explore the messages and emotions contained within a landscape. One means by which this may be achieved is through a postmodern approach, which allows us to problematise and pose questions without offering a definitive answer. This approach, labelled by one commentator as ‘... a dash surrounded by a contradiction ...’,³ also swirls seemingly without direction or purpose. Its value lies in the fact that it allows a multi-faceted view of an area to be sketched; its function is as a vehicle toward understanding. It allows us to ponder the fate of the Clohesy Township and to consider whether it really was a ‘place’ with attached meanings and emotions, or did Eurocentric bias toward economic viability discard it, with our emphasis on the physical facts of houses and shops and scant regard for their temporal relations. It is important to note that it is impossible to obtain a layered view of a ‘place’ without the facts or the canvas, that is, the physical components of the landscape.

The Clohesy gold field is located on the Atherton Tableland, approximately 30 kilometres west of Cairns as the crow flies (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: *Sketch map indicating location of the Clohesy River Gold Field*



Interest in the field has waxed and waned over the past century. This field formed part of the Mareeba gold field and was proclaimed in June 1895. The years 1894 – 98 were the Clohesy gold field’s most significant mining era. This was a minuscule field, raising a total of 3,063 tons of ore, to produce an average of 1,221 ounces for each of the five years that government records were maintained.⁴ It is difficult to locate population figures specific to the Clohesy gold field for this period. Department of Mines records for 1895, the Clohesy gold field’s ‘boom year’, provide population details for the Mareeba gold field as a whole at 250. This comprised 65 miners, 8 storekeepers, 25 machine hands, carters and timber getters, 37 women, 90 children and 25 people not directly involved with mining. Twenty of these miners were working at

the battery at Clohesy gold field.⁵ It appears that approximately 30 per cent of the Mareeba gold field's miners were working on the Clohesy gold field, making it is unlikely that the population exceeded 100.

Attempts to resume mining after 1900 failed due to lack of capital and poor gold yields. Those prospectors and small miners who remained became fringe dwellers particularly during the depression years of the 1930s when many fossicked in the area and received government assistance for gold prospecting.⁶ Few would have found employment in the adjacent agricultural/grazing area of Koah. This was a marginal area. Cultivation of crops was an erratic business for the period 1900–1920. In some years, no crops appear to have been cultivated or transported from the area⁷ and in other years less than a ton was cultivated for outside markets.⁸ Because of high levels of unemployment and the need to settle returned soldiers (an initiative that met with limited interest), the government in the 1920s threw open blocks of land for selection.

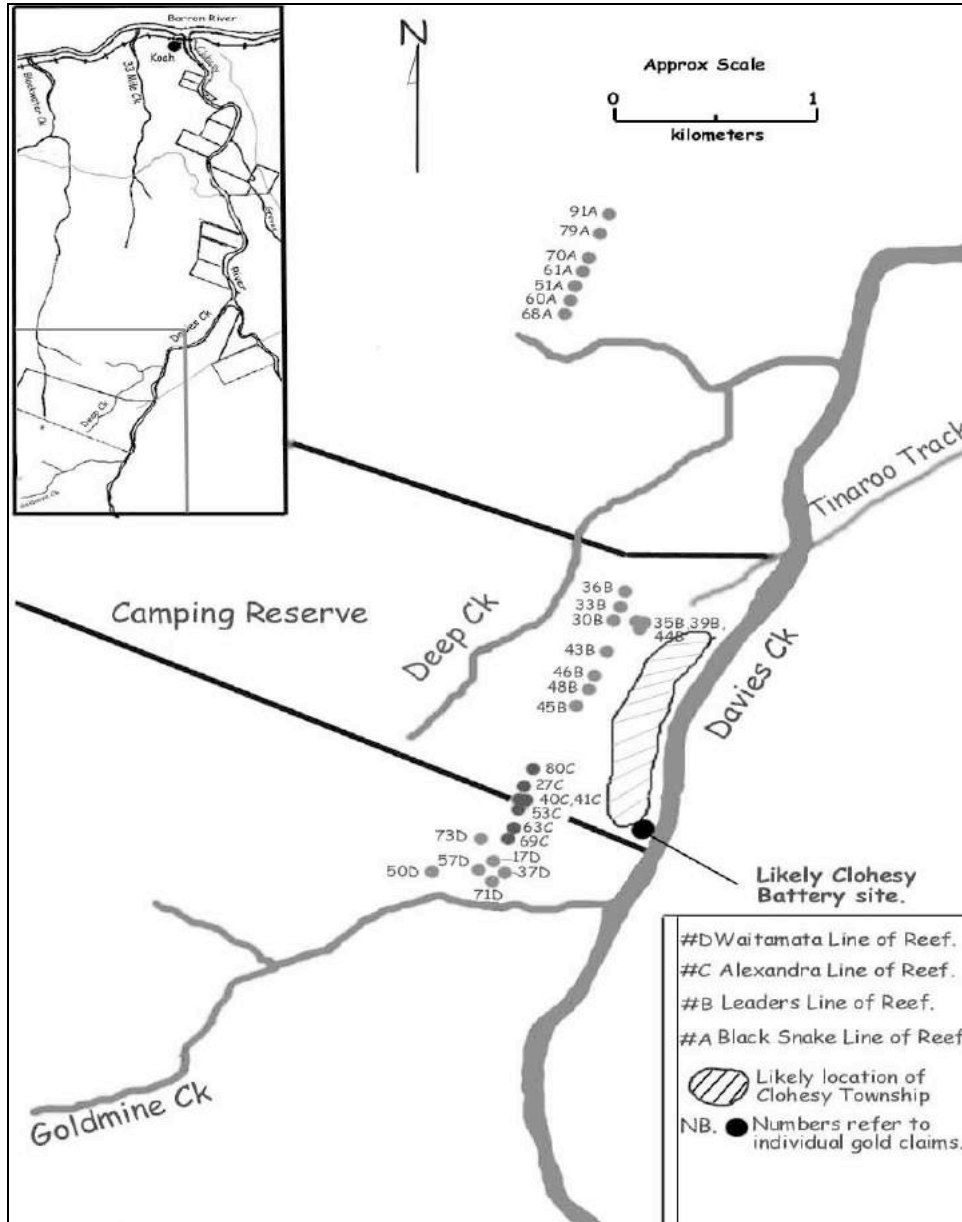
Employment prospects for the miners would not have improved until the 1930s when the farmers in the Koah area embraced the new dream of tobacco cultivation. The residential arrangements of these fossickers into the 1930s remain unclear. It is likely that they lived in 'camps' adjacent to their fossicking activities. These men may have worked some of the smaller shafts remaining in the area.

In the 1980s, the Waitemata Reef was revived again when V. Nettle sank a shaft. This shaft remains in good condition with the shaft timber still intact and provides an excellent example of a shaft sunk on the underlie. There are mullock heaps and a dam on the site. It is difficult to ascertain the mining era with which the dam is associated and whether it is located on the original dam site. It is unlikely to be from the 1890s as dams were normally constructed from earth and disappeared over time.

During the 1890s, investors, miners and enthusiasm were responsible for the purchase of machinery on the field despite the fact that no deposit of gold had been proved below 126 feet (38 metres) and the field was too underdeveloped to predict its future. During these halcyon times the machinery on the field amounted to a five-stamp battery driven by a water wheel.⁹ The battery was located '... alongside the Clohesy River ... within half a mile of the mine and was accessed by a level road'.¹⁰ It was furnished with three berdan pans and a twelve-horse power engine to pump water from the shafts.¹¹ One steam engine was located on the Clohesy field.¹² Remains of a battery have been located on the banks of Davies Creek¹³ (see Figure 2). In the past, local inhabitants referred to Davies Creek, named after pioneer settlers, as the Clohesy River.

The Clohesy River proper was variously referred to as the Lower Clohesy, Moochan Creek and Davies Creek.¹⁴

Figure 2: Sketch map showing the approximate location of claims on the Clohesy gold field, 1890s, and the likely location of the Clohesy gold field battery and Township, 1890s.



Source: Clohesy Gold Claim Register, Queensland State Archives

The foundation, constructed as it is from mortar and stone may be from the 1890s mining era, but the engine foundation appears to be from a later mining period. Limited physical remains on the sites of small mills are not uncommon in North Queensland. All that remains from the Railway Mill on the Croydon gold field for example is a slight

change of soil colour indicating the presence of an ash pit, and half a boiler fire-bar. This mill, like the Waitemata battery, was located in an area with little grass cover.¹⁵

Despite the marginal and under-developed nature of the Clohesy gold field, at least two companies were operating on the field by 1895: The Clohesy Quartz Crushing Company,¹⁶ that was formed to take over the Waitemata mine, the most successful mine on the field, and the Clohesy Syndicate Gold Mining Company.¹⁷ The former company owned the battery, and in the field's 'boom' times in mid-1895 the demand for crushing was such that the battery was working two shifts and employed 20 men.¹⁸ The latter company was unusual for North Queensland in that it engaged men on contract to carry out all works.¹⁹ Ultimately both companies were put into liquidation by poor gold yields, high extraction costs, and as the local media wit stated '... the want of capital kept the water in ...'.²⁰

There were at least four lines of reef on the Clohesy gold field, which could be identified and located through reference to archival materials and Department of Mines and Energy maps.²¹ These were the Waitemata Line, the Alexandra Line, Leader's Line and the Black Snake Line (see Figure 2).

The Waitemata Mine, which was the most enduring and successful on the field, is located at Goldmine Creek approximately 100metres from the Kennedy Highway. This is not a typical inland mining site, being flat, lightly timbered with Eucalypt trees and little undergrowth. There are a number of mullock heaps evident and a collapsed shaft reputedly from the 1890s remains²² (see Figure 3). There are remains from later mining eras including tramlines, a mortar box and a drum mill probably from the 1930s (see Figures 4, 5 & 6), and costeans and an underlie shaft from the 1980s (see Figures 7 & 8). One certainly gains no sense of what the mining infrastructure would have been like in the 1890s.

The Black Snake mine is located approximately two kilometres NNW of the Waitemata on the top of a relatively steep hill. It is a gravelly, rocky and gully-ridden site, covered in Eucalypts and native grasses, and a source of water is not evident. This is a more desolate area, more akin to a typical inland mining site. A shaft reputedly sunk in the 1930s is located on the southern end of the Black Snake line of reef (See Figure 9).

The miner's needs were well served by the businesses of the Clohesy Township: the post office,²³ a bakery,²⁴ a general store,²⁵ and at least two hotels.²⁶ Services

Figure 3: *A collapsed shaft on the Waitemata reef, reputedly from the 1890s*



Figure 4: *Tram lines on the Waitemata mine site*



Figure 5: *A mortar box on the Waitemata mine site*



Figure 6: *A drum mill on the Waitemata mine site*



Figure 7: *A costean on the Waitemata mine site*



Figure 8: *An example of an underlie shaft sunk in the 1980s on the Waitemata mine site*



Figure 9: *a shaft sunk on the southern end of the Black Snake line of reef in the 1930s*



provided to the fledgling township included a weekly meat²⁷ and newspaper delivery,²⁸ and the field's spiritual needs were attended to on a monthly basis by the Reverend Mr. Nock of Cairns.²⁹ That the town existed is not in dispute. However, what is interesting is that little of the miner's presence is imprinted on the cultural landscape or retained in local memory, and both government departments and descendants of early residents of the area are unable to pinpoint its location.³⁰ A 1910 survey map (Figure 10) of the township offers little assistance in identifying the location of the town site, as it was not surveyed with reference to a geographic point.³¹ This map indicates that the township was located adjacent to Gold Mine Lease 2 owned by the 'New Waitemata Company'. The file attached to this lease was reported as lost by the Mines Department.³² In addition, the files attached to the Miners Right numbers indicated on the survey map yielded no useful information in locating this township.³³

There is normally evidence of building remains. One account of a substantial domestic dwelling has been located: a weatherboard house owned by Murdoch McKenzie of the Waitemata Mine. It was described as being '... a nice little oasis in the wilderness, [with] creepers and a pretty little flower garden being in evidence ...'.³⁴ Former towns in North Queensland are usually marked by artefact scatters, particularly

glass and ceramic fragments and the remains of tin cans and sheets of corrugated iron. Stumps, fencing wire and netting, and wire building ties commonly remain. However nothing of this nature has been found.

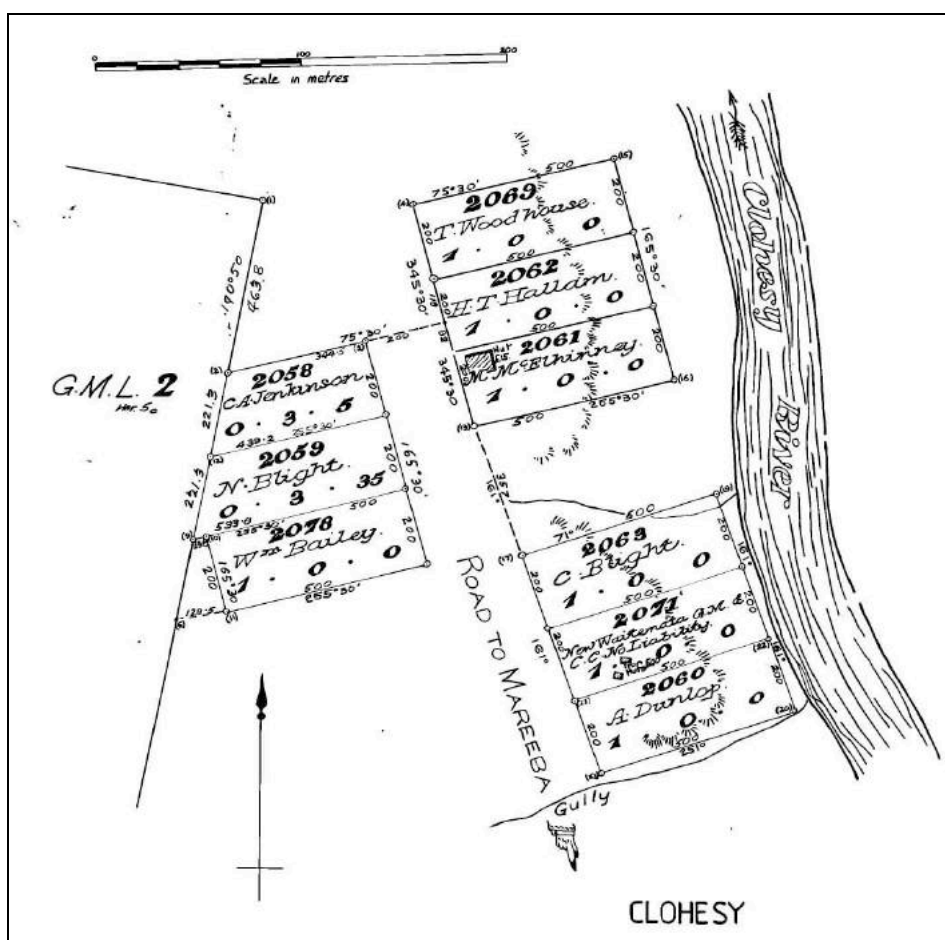
Hooper offers latitude and longitude positions for the township's location. Anecdotal and governmental evidence do not support the township being located as he indicates. When his readings are plotted, they place the township approximately eight kilometres north-west of the gold field, on the northern side of the modern day Clohesy River and outside of the proclaimed Mareeba gold field.³⁵ A mining town was usually located close to a water supply and to a feature of economic importance such as a transport node or a cluster of mines.³⁶ Anecdotal evidence indicates that the township was located within a mile of the battery, which was probably on the banks of Davies Creek. An 1895 map of the Clohesy gold field³⁷ indicates the presence of a Camping Reserve on the banks of Davies Creek, the area where the bulk of mining activity occurred. The likely site of Clohesy Township is between modern day Davies Creek Road Bridge and Gold Mine Creek on the western bank of Davies Creek, an area that includes the battery site and the Camping Reserve (see Figure 2). No remains of the township have been located in this area. It is likely they were destroyed in the realignment of the Kennedy Highway.

The township's 'disappearance' can be accounted for. Miners in the Clohesy area were very small in number and a solitary lot with erratic lifestyles; '... they arrived, tapped a few stones here and there ...'³⁸ and departed again in response to rumour regarding the next big 'rush'. The people serving their needs tended to be more stable and were more likely to have families but they followed the miners. Their experience of the area was quite different to nearby pastoralists and farmers. Farming in the Clohesy area cannot be seen to have been influenced by mining. Agricultural settlement, mining activity and establishment of the railway occurred simultaneously, seemingly independently of each other, in the sense that none of these activities occurred initially due to the others. Mining activities spawned the Clohesy Township, a town quite different to Koah located eight kilometres away. Koah Township was established to serve the needs of railway workers and later the farmers. It is likely, however, that agricultural settlement of the area was increased to some extent by the number of selectors who were also involved in mining activities. Fourteen selectors took up land prior to 1900. Six selectors abandoned or forfeited their land during this period and of these, three were involved in mining activity on the Clohesy gold field.³⁹ It is possible

that the small numbers of miners and the erratic nature of their lifestyle rendered them and the township invisible in the cultural sense.⁴⁰

Another explanation for the township's 'disappearance' was that it was more than its physical components, that is, it was more of an 'event' than a 'thing'.⁴¹ In this context, the town may have 'disappeared' from collective memory because not only was it ephemeral, but it also may have only been relevant to those involved in the heady days of Clohesy's gold 'rush'. As indicated earlier there was little contact between

Figure 10: Survey plan of Clohesy Township, 1910.



Source: Colin Hooper, *Angor to Zillmanton: stories of North Queensland's deserted towns*, AEBIS Publishing, Brisbane. 1993, p. 374.

miners and farmers with only three settlers holding mining leases. As gold reserves were exhausted, the miners moved on and Clohesy Township's reason for being no longer existed. The 'event' had moved on so to speak. A place is something that we have to continually revise or develop new forms by which to understand it. This process is dynamic, intensely personal and fluid. It is feasible that a number of miners remained

in the area, a situation that raises interesting questions regarding the relevance to them of their mining activities on Clohesy gold field. The lack of retained local memory for this event is worthy of further investigation and may well have a bearing on the fact that Clohesy Township was unable to reinvent itself. More prosaically, the buildings could have been easily moved onto the next ‘rush’, destroyed by termites or if abandoned, salvaged by selectors or fossickers. By the 1890s, even quite substantial mining towns in North Queensland were being constructed of timber frames with corrugated iron walls and roof, materials that are easily dismantled and leave few traces. The area is subject to flooding and erosion during the wet season so physical remains were easily washed away. In addition, mining towns only tended to survive as physical entities if they were serving developing agricultural or pastoral districts. Koah Township located some six to seven miles away on the Kuranda – Mareeba railway was already fulfilling this role.

So did Clohesy Township ‘disappear’? That it actually existed is not in doubt. but when one looks at whether it was a ‘place’ in the context of this paper, it would depend very much upon who you are. For settlers adjacent to the gold field, Clohesy Township had little relevance as their needs were adequately served by the township of Koah on the Kuranda – Mareeba rail line. The timber getters in the area viewed it as ‘rubbish country [and] bandicoot country’⁴² as the timber had very little value, and for the miners it was probably a ‘place’ in the physical sense, but it was largely also an ‘event’. The ephemeral nature of this field did not encourage the miners to form a strong, long lasting association with the landscape. These miners were newcomers to the area and as such did not have an historical association with it and lacked the ‘repository of memories’ that commentators such as Tuan see as being a vital ingredient in forming a persistent relationship with the landscape.⁴³ By implication a ‘repository of memories’ can only be gathered over time and it would appear that in this instance the primacy of Western bias requiring an economic return from the landscape won out over any emotion or meanings that miners may have attached to the Clohesy gold field.

As indicated above, much of our view of a landscape would appear to be slanted by how well we do out of it financially. Market forces shaped the Clohesy gold field. It is unlikely that the majority of miners would have had the expectation that they were going to remain in the area after the gold mines were worked out. The ephemeral nature of many of Far North Queensland’s smaller gold fields is well documented. In Western eyes, the value of a landscape is invariably linked to its economic worth. Clohesy gold

field failed to live up to expectations and no new meaning or value was quickly attached to it. Peter Read draws attention to our emotional attachment to a place; feelings Western Europeans tend to ignore.⁴⁴ Following Read, a study of Clohesy Township begs the question what happens to a 'place' when there is no obvious emotional attachment. The Australian landscape is littered with deserted and unprosperous mining towns and fields, many of which remain in the local memory and are of significance to the local inhabitants. This is not the case for the Clohesy Township and as such has implications for the identification of heritage places and indicates the need for more research in this area.

In recent years, interest in the Clohesy area has resurged with a safari park featuring African lions, Sumatran tigers, rhinoceros, giraffes, zebras and primates being established,⁴⁵ and land adjacent to this area was identified as a suitable site for an airport reserve to meet future Cairns International Airport requirements.⁴⁶ It is anticipated that the park will open in November 2003.⁴⁷ These developments hold promise for the economic future of the area, with the 'bandicoot' country now considered eminently suitable for African animals and future airport needs. Despite these projects occurring adjacent to the Clohesy gold field, the Clohesy area appears destined to remain in the shadows historically if the naming of the park, the 'Mareeba Wild Animal Park', is used as an indicator. Commentators such as Paul Carter see that the act of naming brings a place into being in an historical sense. Following this the Clohesy Township was created and transformed by the application of language,⁴⁸ and it is discerned through the texts and intentions contained within those texts left by the narrators.⁴⁹ The muted nature of these narrators' voices is of interest. The township's 'disappearance' in the context of Carter's argument lends greater weight to the notion that Clohesy was more of an 'event' than a 'place', despite the documentary and anecdotal evidence indicating the presence of the physical facts of a small ephemeral mining town.

Endnotes

¹ C. Crumley, 'Historical Ecology. A Multidimensional Ecological Orientation', in C. Crumley (ed.), *Historical Ecology: Cultural Knowledge and Changing Landscapes*, New Mexico, 1994, p. 6.

² A. Ross, 1996, 'Landscape as Heritage', *Tempus*, vol. 5, p. 10. Ross sees heritage as an integration of the latter four themes.

³ D. May, PL3250 & PL3251 [Politics Department], Australia and World Politics, James Cook University, 1996.

⁴ Government records for the field were maintained for the period 1894 – 1898 inclusive. Department of Mines and Energy, Brisbane, Gold-Clohesy-4-4-49, Commodity File.

⁵ Report of the Gold Warden for 1895 for the Mareeba, Russell & Russell Extended Gold Fields, in 'Report of the Department of Mines Queensland', *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1896, vol. 4, p. 107.

⁶ Twelve men were prospecting in the Clohesy area and receiving 'gold relief assistance' for the period November 1934 to March 1936. A/44563, Record of Payments for prospecting assistance and unemployment relief, Queensland State Archives [hereafter QSA].

⁷ No crops were transported from Koah siding for the years 1900, 1903, 1907 & 1909. Details of paying traffic forwarded from and goods traffic received at Koah station for the 12 months ended 30 June, in 'Report of the Commissioner for Railways', *Queensland Votes and Proceedings* [hereafter *QVP*], vol. 3, 1900, p. 31; vol. 2, 1903, pp. 1096 – 1097; vol. 2, 1907, pp. 902 – 903; & vol. 2, 1909, pp. 674 – 675.

⁸ Less than a ton was transported from Koah siding for the years 1908, 1912 & 1916/17. Details of paying traffic forwarded from and goods traffic received at Koah station for the 12 months ended 30 June, in 'Report of the Commissioner for Railways', *QVP*, vol. 3 1908, pp. 902 – 903; vol. 3, 1912, pp. 466 – 467; & vol. 3, 1916/17, pp. 294 – 295.

⁹ *Cairns Argus*, 8 June 1895.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 July 1896.

¹¹ Report of the Gold Warden for 1895 for the Mareeba, Russell & Russell Extended Gold Fields, 1896, vol. 4, p. 107.

¹² 'Report of the Department of Mines', Queensland, for the year 1895, *QVP*, 1896, vol. 4, p. 30.

¹³ This consists of a 6-foot [1.8m] U shaped stone and mortar foundation and 3 feet x 18inch [0.91 x 0.45m] engine block built into the bank of the river. Off to the side is a 4 x 15m terraced area. A 15m long, 1.5 x 1.5 metre trench drops 3 metres from this point to the creek bed. Off to one side of the trench is another terraced area measuring 10 x 20m. Below this terraced area are at least two ash pits.

¹⁴ *Around the Campfire*, Cairns Historical Society, 25 April 1953 & 19 December 1953.

¹⁵ Personal communication, Dr. J. Wegner, James Cook University, Cairns, 8 August 2003.

¹⁶ CPS 12A/1, Register of Local Companies, Herberton, no. 11, book 1. QSA. This company was owned and operated by the McKenzie Bros. Shareholders in the company included Peter Byrne, a hotel keeper from Mareeba, Michael Kearney, Thomas McBride, James Adams and James Newbury. *Cairns Argus*, 9 July 1897. The company was liquidated in May 1897 due to the Waitemata mine being closed down as the stone was no longer payable. *Ibid.*, 8 May 1897. In October 1897, the Clohesy Record Gold Mining and Quartz Crushing Co. Ltd. was registered. It is assumed that this Company was a reconstruction of the Clohesy Quartz Crushing Co. as Murdoch McKenzie remained involved in this new company as evidenced by his presence at the Shareholders' meetings. 'Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Clohesy Record Gold Mining and Quartz Crushing Co, Ltd', A/58587, Registrar of Joint Stock Companies. This company was issued with Miners Right no. 121183 in September 1897, MWO 12B, Register of Miners Rights, QSA.

¹⁷ *Cairns Argus*, 7 August 1895 & 25 September 1895. The Syndicate was comprised of 24 Mareeba and Cairns men. The provisional directors included A.J. Draper, past mayor of Cairns, C. Sandilands, hotel keeper at Clohesy, J. Davies, one of the early selectors in the Clohesy area, G.R. Mayers, R. Muhldorff, E. Donegan & A. Hohenhausen.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7 August 1895 & 'Report of the Gold Warden for 1895 for the Mareeba, Russell & Russell Extended Gold Fields, 1896, vol. 4, p. 107.

¹⁹ *Cairns Argus*, 11 September 1895 & 21 April 1896.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 July 1896.

²¹ A /4459, Gold Claim Register, Clohesy Gold Field. QSA, & 'Mineral Occurrences Cairns 1:100 000 Sheet Area, North Queensland', 1994, Compiled by P. Dash & D. Morwood, Geological Survey Division, Department of Mines & Energy.

²² Personal communication, N. Richardson, Kanervo Road, Koah, 18 June 2000.

²³ A Receiving Office for mail was in existence for the period 1895 – 1898 and is described as being located on the Clohesy River, 11 miles north east of Mareeba. J. Frew, *Queensland Post Offices and Receiving Offices, 1869 – 1927*, Brisbane, 1981, p. 239.

²⁴ The bakery was known as 'Hooley's Bakery'. H. Borland, *Mareeba: meeting place of waters, 1893 – 1946*, undated, no publisher, p. 21. There was a William Hooley and a K. Hooley involved with mining on the Clohesy field and it would appear that this is the same family. Both of these men were issued with Miners Right Numbers: 113050 to W. Hooley and 113051 to K. Hooley. MWO 12B/40, Register of Miners Rights. QSA. Both men were also listed in the gold claim register. Claim nos. 60 & 68 in A/44591, Gold Claim Register, Clohesy Gold Field, QSA.

²⁵ This business was located in the house of J.K. Lawson who went on to found one of the Mareeba sawmills. The store was operated by Alfred Street who was a pioneer coffee and tobacco grower in the Kuranda area. *Cairns Argus*, 10 August 1893, 11 October 1893, 9 June 1894 & 3 August 1894.

²⁶ These hotels were known as the Miners Home, better known as Sandilands Hotel, and the Diggers Arms. The licensee for the Miners Arms was Charles Sandilands for the period 1896/97. The licensee for the Diggers Arms was Alexander Shearer for the period 1895/97. See the town of 'Clohesy' in 'Queensland Hotels and Publicans Index', Cairns Historical Society.

²⁷ *Cairns Argus*, 20 December 1893.

²⁸ Advertisement in *Ibid.*, 31 August 1893.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4 September 1895.

³⁰ Personal communication, Bill Kitson, 9 June 2000, Museum of Lands, Mapping & Surveying, Brisbane; the McElhinney family, Cairns, 15 May 2000; Sam Musumeci, Koah, 21 October 1998; N. Richardson, Koah, 18 June 2000; & the Veivers Family, 10 June 2000, Clohesy River Roadhouse. A descendent of John McElhinney who was a resident of Clohesy Township around 1910 according to the town survey, recalled the township being pointed out to him as a child. He indicated that it was located around present day Davies Creek Bridge. He was disinterested in recalling his memories of the area. It is unlikely that his memories will survive him. Sam Musumeci and the Veivers' family also recall being told that the township was located around this area.

³¹ Personal communication, Bill Kitson, 9 June 2000.

³² Personal communication, 'Julie', Department of Mines, Mareeba, 9 June 2000, & Jim Bell, Department of Mines, Brisbane, 9 June 2000.

³³ Personal communication, Bill Kitson, 9 June 2000.

³⁴ *Cairns Argus*, 20 July 1893. It is unlikely that comfortable weatherboard houses were extended to any other miners on the field, other than the McKenzie family due to the Waitemata mine being the only mine on the field to produce anything approaching a profit. In addition, the family appears to have had other financial interests.

³⁵ Hooper locates Clohesy Township at Latitude 16° 53' 24", Longitude 145° 32' 43". Colin Hooper, *Angor to Zillmantion: stories of North Queensland's deserted towns*, AEBIS Publishing Brisbane, 1993. p. 375.

³⁶ P. Bell, *Timber and Iron: Houses in North Queensland Mining Settlements, 1861 – 1920*, St. Lucia, 1999, p. 31.

³⁷ A/41600, Mining Department Correspondence file, Papers relating to the Clohesy River Gold Field Paddock, QSA.

³⁸ *Cairns Argus*, 10 August 1893.

³⁹ A/44591, Mining Department correspondence file. Papers relating to the Clohesy River Gold Field Paddock. Gold Claim Register, QSA. Selector William Thomas Burdett of Farm 351, Portion 162v, was involved with Gold Claim nos. 33 & 34. Selector Albert George Burdett of Farm 352, Portion 163v, was involved with Gold Claim nos. 33, 36 & 54. Selector Thomas Thompson of Farm 312, Portion 83v, was involved with Gold Claim no. 32.

⁴⁰ P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay. An Essay in Spatial History*, London, 1987, pp. xvi & 305.

⁴¹ E. Casey, 'How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time', in S. Feld & K. Basso (eds), *Sense of Place*, New Mexico, 1996, p. 26.

⁴² Personal communication, Clive Veivers, 22 November 1999, Cairns.

⁴³ Y. Tuan, *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*, New Jersey, 1974, p. 97.

⁴⁴ P. Read, *Returning to Nothing: the meaning of lost places*, Melbourne, 1996, pp. vii – xii.

⁴⁵ *Cairns Post*, 19 January 2001.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 December 2000, p. 13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 August 2003, p. 3.

⁴⁸ P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, pp. xxiv – xxv.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.