

Rivers and resorts: how rivers and sheltered waters influenced the location of the Sunshine Coast's resort towns.

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In the case of beach resorts, the connection between landscape and place seems obvious: a wonderful beach plus proximity to a population centre equals a resort. However, the development of the North Coast's (Sunshine Coast's) resorts was not so simple. Two out of three of the oldest and largest resort towns are located at river mouths. Tewantin/Noosa is located on the Noosa River and Maroochydore on the Maroochy River. The third, Caloundra, is located at the junction of the Pumice Stone Passage and the open ocean of the Coral Sea, sharing certain vital geographic attributes with the river mouth resorts further north. Rivers and a sheltered waterway played important roles in the positioning of these resorts. How and why did this occur? The answer is proposed as a model that could inform our understanding of the development of other similarly situated resorts in Australia.

Rivers were fundamental to the development of the North Coast region from the beginning of settlement because they were the location of a prized resource, cedar, and they provided the means of access into the interior for timber getters.

At the beginning of settlement, timber getting was the main industry in the region. Although some graziers established runs in the region by 1860, the area did not have a reputation for being prime grazing land. Thomas Archer, who entered the area probably as far as the Mooloolah River in 1843, described what he saw as 'poor, sandy, densely timbered ridges and boggy melancholy flats.'¹ Timber offered a more secure financial future than grazing. Timber getters, seeking cedar and other valuable timbers, entered the region at least as early as the pastoralists, probably prior to the 1860s. Moreover, it is probable that most, if not all, graziers were also involved in timber getting.²

Why was timber getting the earliest industry? Timber was the most commercially viable and easily accessible natural resource for the non-Indigenous settlers. Queensland had a seemingly unlimited supply of fine cabinet timber including cedar, maple, mahogany, walnut and silky oak, together with excellent general utility pine including hoop, bunya and kauri. In addition to soft woods, the colony possessed a great range of constructional hardwoods.³

¹ Cited in EG Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen: a survey of early settlement in the Maroochy district up to the passing of the Crown Lands Alienation Act, 1868', *Queensland Heritage*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 1965 and no. 5, November 1966, p. 4.

² Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', p. 7.

³ T Blake, 'Queensland cultural heritage context study', Brisbane, Environmental Protection Agency, 2007, pp. 16–17; M Kowald, 'Historical overview of the south east Queensland biogeographic region with particular reference to forested areas', Environmental Protection Agency, 1996, p. 8; R Fisher and R Johnston, 'Historical heritage essay', in *South East Queensland 2001 region cultural heritage places study*, vol. 2, St Lucia, The University of Queensland, 1995, p. 22.

The monetary value of Queensland timber as a commodity was recognised from the beginning of settlement. In 1824, Oxley noted the 'great quantities of pine' growing along the Pine River. Timber cutting in the Pine Rivers district commenced as early as September of that year; timber was the first commodity to be exported from the colony. In 1825, Edmund Lockyer commented that the timber of the area north of Brisbane was the finest that had been found in New South Wales and that several ships that year had been 'principally loaded with it on their return voyages'.⁴

The North Coast region was particularly rich in timber. Andrew Petrie, who arrived at Moreton Bay in 1837, made a number of trips into the North Coast area identifying large stands of Bunya Pines especially in the Blackall Range. He is credited as being the first to bring samples of the timber out of the area. His son, Tom Petrie, entered the area in 1862 via the Maroochy River and explored the Buderim and Eudlo Creek areas cutting over 200 cedars.⁵

In 1865, the Brisbane based saw miller and timber entrepreneur, William Pettigrew, travelling through the Nambour area observed:

The country is all very densely timbered. The tops of the ridges only are grassy and some not even that. The low ridges near watercourses are covered with oak, box, turpentine, blackbutt etc. The scrubs on the creeks contain cedar (if not cut) flooded gum, toolun, and bunya ...⁶

His observations that much of the cedar in the area was already cut indicates the extent to which timber getting activities had penetrated the region by the mid-1860s and the identity of their prime target.

Timber getting centred on the rivers. EG Heap's *Queensland Heritage* article, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', provides a list of timber getters on the North Coast by the mid 1860s:

Mooloolah River: six men;
Lower Maroochy River: seven men;
upper Maroochy River: seven men;
Noosa River: three men;
Petrie's Creek: one man;
Eudlo Creek: two men;
Coochin Creek (south of the present Caloundra): two men;
Buderim: three men.

A number of these timber getters were active in more than one area. For example, James Low was cutting at the Mooloolah River, and the upper and lower Maroochy Rivers. It can be seen from this list that, almost without exception, the activity was concentrated around the main coastal rivers: the Mooloolah, Maroochy and Noosa Rivers, and their tributaries.

⁴ L Barter, *Pioneering the Pine: a short history of the Pine Rivers Shire*, Strathpine, Pine Rivers Shire Council, 2005.

⁵ *ibid.*; E Long, 'A history of the timber industry in the Pine Rivers district', University of Queensland, 1998; Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', p. 5.

⁶ Cited in Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', p. 13.

Coochin Creek, to the south of these rivers flows into the Pumice Stone Passage which provides convenient sheltered water access to Moreton Bay.⁷

Waterways shaped the early timber industry because they provided the means of access to the resource. Timber getters were often the first non-Indigenous people to enter a region: exploration was frequently prompted by a desire to find timber. Consequently they entered areas where there were no roads beyond Aboriginal pathways or primitive tracks. Waterways were often the only viable means of access in difficult country.

They were also the most efficient means of transporting timber from the logging areas. Softwoods were the main target not only because they were easy to work with but also because they floated and so could be easily transported along the rivers. More often than not, cedar was located near a stream into which it could be rolled. Otherwise, logs were hauled (snigged) by bullock or horse to a rafting ground. Here, the logs were tied together five abreast to form a raft. The rafts were joined and left in shallow water until the high tide floated them via tributaries and river to the ocean. In the North Coast region, Coochin Creek, Mooloolah River, Maroochy River and the Noosa River became centres from which logging activity radiated inland. Timber cutting started in coastal areas near rivers with cutters only moving inland as reserves of timber became depleted.⁸



Rafting logs down the
Noosa River c1889,
John Oxley Library
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⁷ Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', p. 13.

⁸ J Kerr, 'Forest industry heritage places study: sawmills and tramways, south eastern Queensland', Brisbane, Queensland Department of Environment, 1998, p. 22, and p. 25; Blake, 'Queensland cultural heritage context study', pp. 73–74 and pp. 16–17. K Frawley, 'Historical survey of Australian logging technology and forest cutting practices', Campbell, ACT, Heritage Commission, 1990, p. 31.

Ports and small settlements developed at the mouths of the Maroochy and Noosa Rivers based on the timber industry. Brisbane saw miller, William Pettigrew, the dominant player in the industry, established depots near the mouth of the Mooloolah and Maroochy rivers. A network of tracks provided access from the logging areas to these depots. The depot at the Mooloolah River eventually failed because of a lack of timber supplies. However, by the mid 1870s, with the onset of closer settlement, the embryo port of Maroochydoore developed into a centre for supply of the Maroochy region. A small community was developing there by 1884 when Pettigrew built cottages for workers servicing the steamers.⁹

A similar process led to the development of Tewantin. Pettigrew pioneered the timber industry in the Noosa region, exploring the Noosa River and its lakes in 1863. Captain Heath, the Queensland Portmaster, had already in 1861 identified the Noosa River as being the most viable port in the region. By the mid-1860s timber getters were active in the region penetrating inland along the Noosa River and Kin Kin Creek.¹⁰

The discovery of gold at Gympie in 1867 brought a rapid increase in the region's population and stimulated the demand for timber especially in the vicinity of Gympie. Circa 1868, Pettigrew built a wharf on the Noosa River at Tewantin to facilitate the extraction of timber from the area. By the 1870s Tewantin became an important port for the area with steamships transporting timber, oysters and fish to Brisbane and returning with supplies.¹¹

The transition from small timber and supply depots into nationally and internationally recognised tourist resorts occurred over many decades; much of the development taking place after World War II. However, their potential as resorts was recognised as early as the 1860s and 1870s. John Francis Buckland, travelling from Gympie to Brisbane via the wharf on the Maroochy River in 1868, walked down the beach to rendezvous with Pettigrew's steamer, the *Gneering*, at Mooloolah. He recorded the earliest known observation of the location's resort potential: 'By-the-way I may observe that this spot possesses all the natural features of an attractive watering place.'¹²

Similar observations were made further north at the port of Tewantin. A journalist sent north from New South Wales in the 1870s to report on the timber industry remarked: 'the scenery

⁹ R Fisher, C Loch and J Rechner, 'South east Queensland 2001 cultural heritage places study - volume 2', Heritage Branch, Environmental Protection Agency, 1995; H Gregory, *Making Maroochy: a history of the land the people and the shire*, Brisbane, Boolarong for the Maroochy Shire Council, 1991, p. 16, p. 32 and p. 34.

¹⁰ Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South East Queensland', p. 42; E Brown, 'Nineteenth century Cooloola: a history of human contact and environmental change', Heritage Branch, Environmental Protection Agency, 1995, pp. 302–311.

¹¹ Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South East Queensland', p. 42; Cultural Heritage Branch, '601280 Mill Point Settlement Site', Brisbane: Environmental Protection Agency, 2004; Kowald, 'Historical overview of south east Queensland', Heritage Branch, Environmental Protection Agency, p. 13.

¹² Cited in Heap, 'In the wake of the raftsmen', p. 10.

on the lakes and river is very beautiful; the shores are lined with noble scrubs, and the waters teem with fish.¹³ A journalist from Brisbane wrote:

once around the sandspit which has formed one side of the bar, [where the river enters Laguna Bay] the beauties of the river and its surroundings began to open up, and a run of about half-a-mile brought us in view of a lovely reach of the river opposite the peninsular formed by Lake Waibah [sic] on the left, and the Noosa River on the right, on which peninsular is situated the future Scarboro' of Brisbane – Tewantin.¹⁴

The establishment of river ports at Maroochydore and Tewantin to serve the timber industry, and the resultant traffic between the ports and Brisbane, had brought the resort potential of these locales to the attention of a wider audience.

Unlike Maroochydore and Noosa, Caloundra was not a transport node for servicing the timber industry. But it does have the advantage of being linked to the capital via a sheltered waterway, the Pumice Stone Passage, later to become a thoroughfare for passenger steamers serving resorts at Redcliffe and Bribie Island. One of the well-known Archer brothers, Alexander, travelled up the passage in 1865 to Caloundra and after enjoying a swim in the surf with his companions returned to Brisbane. He later wrote to his niece in England:

[Caloundra] would make a capital sea bathing place, as there are beautiful sites for houses and there is good garden soil, but it is too far from Brisbane to be much frequented for such a purpose, for many years to come.¹⁵

Like Maroochydore and Tewantin, Caloundra's potential as a resort was recognised well before the end of the 19th century.

Caloundra and the river ports and settlements at Tewantin and Maroochydore had the requisite appeal to become seaside resorts but to fulfil their potential they needed to be accessible to population centres, especially Brisbane. Accessibility was fundamental to the development of resorts in the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th because leisure time was so limited. It matters little how attractive the place may be to holiday makers if they cannot get there in the time they have available.

Road access into the North Coast remained very difficult until well into the interwar period. No road passed through the area until the end of the 1860s when one was formed to the Gympie gold fields. However, this road was notoriously difficult and deteriorated to the point where it was hardly used by 1879.¹⁶

¹³ Cited in RJL Adams, *Noosa horizons: a history: timber, tradition, and tourism*, Broadwater, Qld, Utreya Publications, 2004, p. 168.

¹⁴ Cited in *ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁵ G McKay, *Times of change: a history of Caloundra city*, Caloundra, Caloundra City Council, 2007, p. 32.

¹⁶ M Pullar, 'Historic routes of Queensland', Brisbane: National Trust of Queensland, 1995, p. 12; J Spearritt and P Davidson, *Holiday business : tourism in Australia since 1870*, Carlton, Miegunyah



Gneering berthed at Pettigrew's Wharf, Brisbane, ca 1895
John Oxley Library 64740r

This meant that the established ports at Tewantin and Maroochydore and the relative ease of access to Caloundra via the Pumice Stone Passage lent these locations a decided advantage over other, equally attractive North Coast locations. Because of the poor road access, many people preferred to travel north using coastal steamers to the timber ports. The steamer service to Gympie via Tewantin on the *Culgoa* was advertised as the shortest route in 1877. The ketch *Enterprise* also ran a service. Pettigrew's steamer, *Gneering*, regularly travelled to Maroochydore. To all practical intents, Tewantin and Maroochydore were the only readily accessible locations because of their established ports and regular sea traffic.

They were also readily accessible from the North Coast hinterland. The ports developed into transport nodes from where traffic radiated throughout the region. This is important because Maroochydore and Tewantin initially developed as resorts serving the local population. There were well trodden tracks from the hinterland to the ports including an established

Press at Melbourne University Press, 2000, p. 154; J Richardson, *A history of Australian travel and tourism*, Melbourne, Hospitality Press, 1999, p. 1 and p. 68; T Blake, 'At the beach: the cultural significance of beach settlements and beach houses', Brisbane National Estate Program 1995/6, 2001, p. 7 and chapter 2; T Blake, 'Redcliffe City Council cultural heritage study', 2002, pp. 29–30; Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South east Queensland', p. 31; McKay, *Times of change*, p. 35; Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, p. 21 and p. 34.

route between Tewantin and the prosperous regional centre of Gympie. Tewantin later became the favourite resort of Gympie residents.¹⁷

Caloundra, Maroochydore and Tewantin had in their favour an important additional factor: they appealed because they accommodated the popular tastes of the time in bathing and water based recreation. The seaside was a popular place of resort during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Aesthetics and health were prime considerations: sea bathing was considered therapeutic. However, though the seaside was desirable, few people could swim. The emphasis was on safe bathing. People liked their feet to be well connected with the sandy bottom. Still or calm water was preferred; long surf beaches were valued by only a few. The favoured locations offered sheltered water at, or near, the seaside. The popular resorts of the period were at Sandgate and Southport, both offering calm water protected by the Moreton Bay islands.¹⁸

The sheltered waters of the Maroochy and Noosa rivers and the Pumice Stone Passage were ideal. There was a wide expanse of calm water inside the bar in the Maroochy River. One of the state's oldest camping grounds is located at Cotton Tree inside the mouth of the river. From the 1880s, the Salvation Army organised an annual Christmas camp there. A key to its longevity is that it originally offered safe bathing in the river, but its proximity to the surf beach meant that it was able to adapt as preferences later shifted to surf bathing. At Tewantin, the Noosa River was an obvious attraction, but the area had the added attraction of nearby lakes: Cooroibah Lake and Lake Cootharaba which offered safe bathing and boating. Many of Caloundra's beaches were protected by the nearby Bribie Island.¹⁹

Tewantin, Maroochydore and Caloundra began their transition into recreational destinations from the 1880s. All three settlements remained small before World War I, mainly used by their small hinterland populations rather than visitors from Brisbane.

The development pattern at Maroochydore and Tewantin reflected the bathing preferences of the time: in both locations, attention initially focussed on the still waters upstream from the bar at the river mouth.

At Maroochydore, development commenced on the edges of the Maroochy River inside the bar near the present location of Cotton Tree. Further up-stream, cottages that were built for Pettigrew's failed Maroochy sawmill venture were purchased by Thomas O'Conner and rented to holiday makers from 1898.²⁰ By World War I, a small resort was developing at Maroochydore. While the river dominated recreational activities, by 1908, swimmers were

¹⁷ Adams, *Noosa horizons*, p. 92 and p. 98; *Brisbane Courier*, 13 and 17 July 1877.

¹⁸ Blake, 'At the beach', p. 6, p. 7 and p. 74; Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, p. 81.

¹⁹ Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, p. 81.

²⁰ *ibid.*

also visiting the surf beach where the council installed a life-saving reel. The Club Hotel opened in 1912 and about this time the shire council erected 'sanitary' and bathing facilities. Land at the beach near Cotton Tree was auctioned by the Government in 1915 with the first house being built there in 1916. A School of Arts with holiday lending library opened in 1916, and Mrs A Tucker's boarding house, refreshment rooms and a shop in 1919.²¹

Further south, but within easy reach of Maroochydore, Mooloolah Heads, was surveyed in 1915. Again, the development of a resort at the mouth of the Mooloolah River reflected bathing preferences with swimming an option in the sheltered river or, for the more stout hearted, in the surf. It was renamed Mooloolaba in 1920. Twenty two allotments were sold in December 1919. Predictably, the most desirable location was along the Mooloolah River and prominent Buderim residents built cottages there. Progress associations were formed at Maroochydore and Mooloolaba in 1920. These oversaw the construction of gravel roads along the beachfront linking the two townships and the development of public facilities. The Mooloolaba progress association also arranged the construction of a public jetty by voluntary labour.²²

By the late 19th century, Tewantin and Noosa were developing as the favoured seaside resorts of Gympie residents. Again, development focussed on the river, commencing at Tewantin and moving downstream. Gympie people built holiday cottages on the edge of the river at a location that became known as 'Gympie Terrace'. The first Royal Hotel at Tewantin was built in the 1890s.²³

The lakes in the Tewantin hinterland were among the most popular attractions of the area and early holiday makers took trips up the Noosa River to visit them. By the early 20th century, it was possible to stay in holiday cottages at Boreen Point on the banks of Lake Cootharaba.²⁴

The town of Caloundra was surveyed in 1883. Development initially took place between Moffat Head on the north and Wickham Head on the south. Its first hotel was the Hotel Caloundra (1885 – 1906) at Shelly Beach and its first guesthouse was the Sea Glint (1888 - 1899). In 1899, Alan King and family moved to the present King's Beach to run a boarding house. By the turn of the century, there was another boarding house (Bulcock's The Homestead), a lighthouse (1896) and a few cottages.²⁵

Meanwhile a new transport option appeared on the coast which dramatically improved the prospects for tourism development in the area. The North Coast Railway, opening to Caboolture in 1888 and linking with Gympie by 1891, made the North Coast beaches more accessible to the

²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

²² *ibid.*, pp. 83-87; Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South east Queensland', p. 121.

²³ Adams, *Noosa Horizons*, p. 115, pp. 170-176 and p. 224.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁵ McKay, *Times of Change*, pp. 64-66; *Telegraph*, 1 May 1914; Blake, 'At the Beach', p. 7.

capital than ever before. The return trip between Brisbane and Gympie could now be completed in a day. However, road access to coastal settlements from the railway remained very poor and, because of this, the rivers ports retained their importance serving regular coastal steamer services. The steamers were also a much more comfortable option.

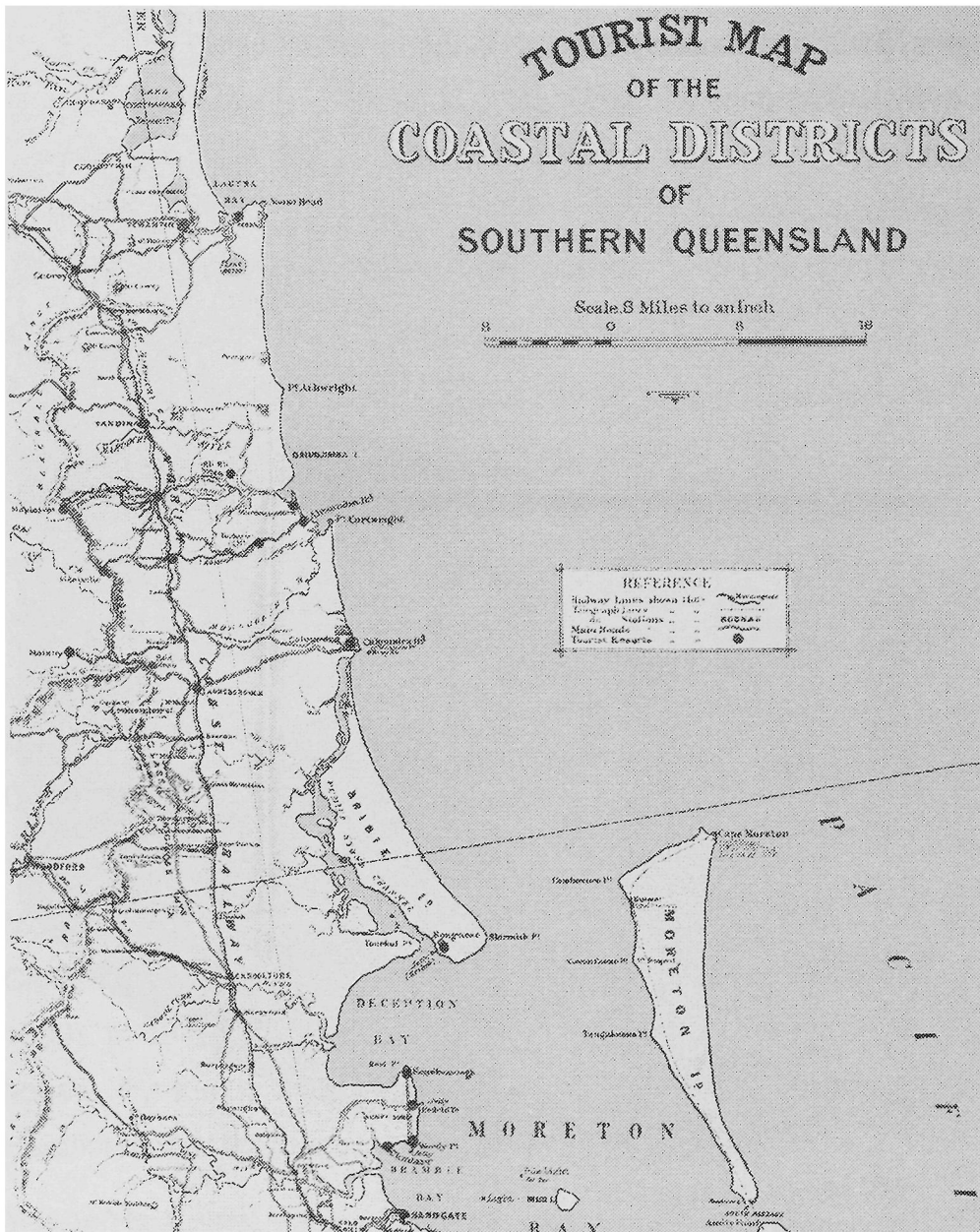
In addition to the steamer services to the river ports of Maroochydore and Tewantin, regular services also ran through the Pumice Stone Passage to Caloundra. By 1883, James Campbell's steamer, *Bribie*, plied a route between Brisbane and Caloundra. The popular SS *Koopa* and SS *Doomba* steamer services to Redcliffe and the southern end of Bribie began in 1911, run by the Brisbane Tug Company. Andrew Tripcony's *Grace*, sailing three times a week from Caloundra, carried goods and passengers, linking up with the *Koopa* at Bongaree on Bribie.²⁶



SS *Koopa*, Moreton Bay, c. 1912
John Oxley Library 158494r

²⁶ McKay, *Times of change*, pp. 57–58 and p. 75; Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South east Queensland', p. 58; Richardson, *A history of Australian travel and tourism*, pp. 23–27; Davidson, *Holiday business*, p. 38.

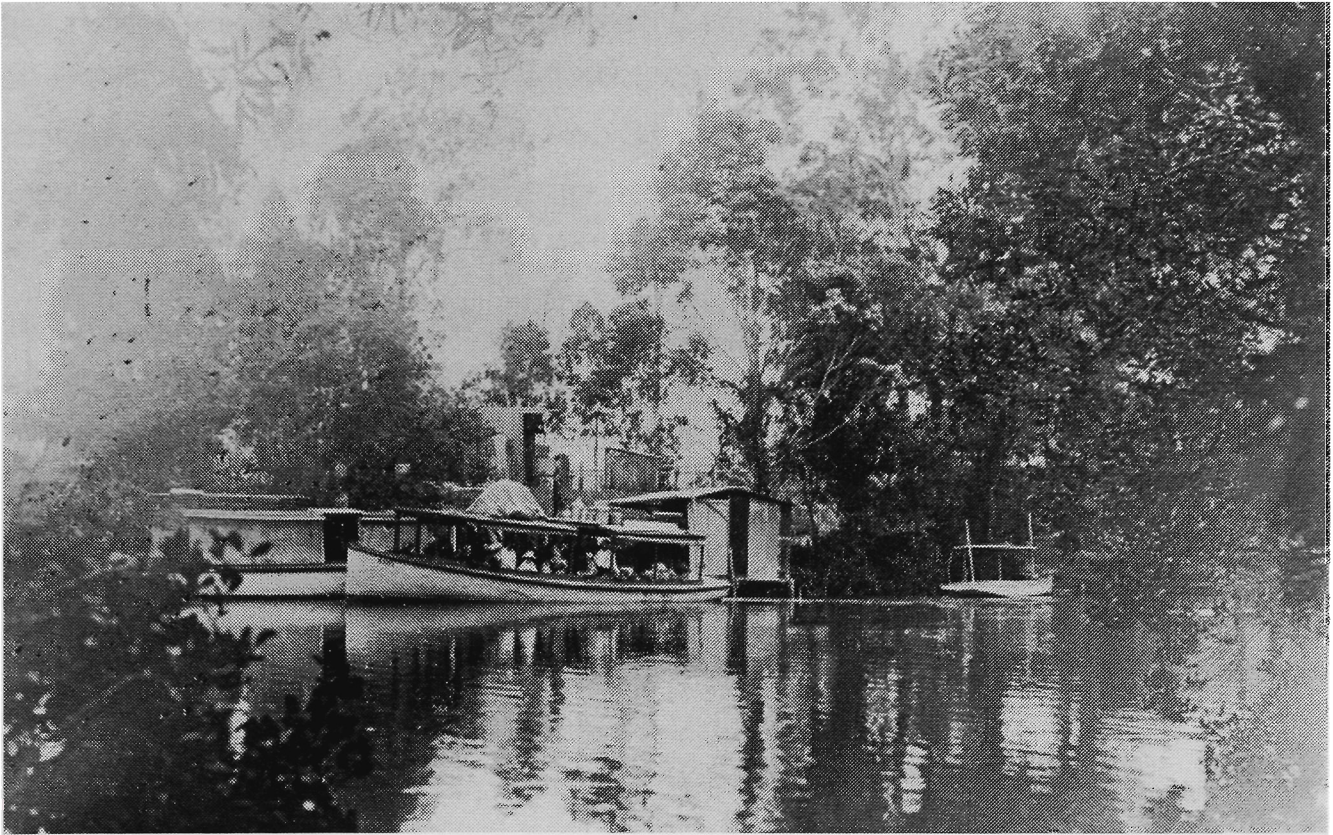
Even after the advent of the railway, rivers remained important in providing a link between the railway stations in the hinterland and the coastal resorts. In 1917, visitors to Maroochydore could first travel to Nambour by train. From here, they travelled by tram to Dean's Landing and then WE Evan's motor launch along Petrie Creek and the Maroochy River to Maroochydore. An alternative route was via William Coulson's motor launch along the Maroochy River from Yandina railway station. Coulson's motor launches provided a service along the river until 1969. Noosa was accessed by train to Cooroy, motor coach to Tewantin and motor launch along the Noosa River to Noosa.²⁷



Tourist map of near north coast, 1917

Mountain and Seaside Resorts of Southern Queensland: From Noosa to the Tweed / Compiled and Issued by the Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau. (Brisbane: Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1917).

²⁷ Adams, *Noosa horizons*, p. 175; McKay, *Times of change*, p. 105; Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, pp. 87–91; Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, *Mountain and seaside resorts of southern Queensland: from Noosa to the Tweed*, Brisbane: Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1917; Adams, *Noosa horizons*, p. 116 p. 189 and p. 198; Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, pp. 39-40; Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South east Queensland', pp. 79–80.



*Boat leaving Yandina for Maroochydore c. 1918
John Oxley Library 45143r*

However, the 1920s saw the beginnings of fundamental change. The importance of rivers and river ports to the development of resorts began to decline in the face of improved roads and other land based transport options, and increased, though still small, car ownership. More locations along the coast began to become accessible to land based transport. At the same time a shift in bathing preferences from still water to the surf became more established though bathing in still water, fishing and boating remained popular holiday activities. Resorts began to develop elsewhere along the coast, though Caloundra, Maroochydore and Noosa continued to be popular because they adjoined surf beaches and could accommodate the changing preferences.

By the 1920s, tramways, extensions of the existing light rail system supporting the sugarcane industry, were an important part of the transport network on the North Coast. Apart from the tramway to Dean's Landing, tramways also existed between Nambour and Mapleton (c1915-1944) and Palmwoods and Buderim (1913 – 1935). From Buderim, a road provided access to Alexandra Headlands. By 1927, a branch of the tramway from Nambour was constructed to provide access to new subdivisions at Coolum Beach.²⁸

²⁸ Adams, *Noosa horizons*, p. 181; *From Noosa to the Tweed, 1917*; Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, *Mountain and seaside resorts of southern Queensland: from Noosa to the Tweed*, Brisbane, Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1927.

Alexandra Headland developed largely as a collection of holiday cottages. Together with these cottages, Tommy O'Connor's Alexandra Hostel, a large guesthouse located at the present site of the Alexandra Park Conference Centre, had a capacity of 70 guests, a dance hall and huge dining room. It was surrounded by some 36 acres of sporting fields including tennis courts, croquet lawns, a cricket pitch, a football field, a small golf course, a beachside horse-riding track and an indoor tennis court in an old storage shed.²⁹

At Coolum, development began in 1922 with the sale of allotments. The developer also provided bathing sheds, lavatories, a maypole and swings which were handed over to council. A guesthouse, the Seaview, was located there and Bennett's Coolum Beach Store rented cottages as well as selling supplies to campers. Coolum became very popular with day trippers from Brisbane as well as the Maroochy area.³⁰

While motoring remained the preserve of the affluent, it was becoming apparent by the 1920s that good road access for motor vehicles would determine the future of tourism in the region. New roads were built into Maroochydore and Tewantin (1928). In 1929, bridges were built across the entrance of Lake Doonella and Wyba Creek and a road was built to provide vehicular access to Noosa.³¹

At Caloundra, a new gravel road was built in 1935, and was bituminised in 1937. This accelerated the development of the small resort. With improved access for visitors from Brisbane, it was not unusual to see six or seven hundred cars parked on Caloundra's foreshores. Building activity included: a new subdivision of housing allotments at Moffat Head; the Amusu picture theatre (1935) (now replaced by The Strand shopping complex) in Bulcock Street; the Kings Beach Pavilion with kiosk and changing sheds (1937) designed by architect Clifford E Plant; the Queensland Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson's Girramundi House in Wilson Avenue at Dicky Beach (1936); and the Semloh, café, store and guesthouse (c. 1937).³²

The most important of the North Coast roads, the Bruce Highway, was built in 1934 with government funding. It was the fruit of many years of agitation by the RACQ and North Coast councils.³³ The Bruce Highway was the harbinger of a new beginning on the North Coast; a new freedom for holiday makers who would no longer be bound to train, tram or

²⁹ Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, p. 89.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 90–91; Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, *Mountain and seaside resorts of southern Queensland : from Noosa to the Tweed*, Brisbane: Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, c. 1930, pp. 14–15.

³¹ Adams, *Noosa horizons*, chapter 3.

³² Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South east Queensland', p. 121; McKay, *Times of change*, p. 86, pp. 89–90, p. 98, p. 103, pp. 105–107 and p. 115.

³³ Adams, *Noosa horizons*, p. 177, p. 201, p. 205 and pp. 234–5; McKay, *Times of change*, pp. 111–113; Fisher, Loch, and Rechner, 'South east Queensland', p. 121; S O'Keeffe, 'The great north coast road: the Bruce Highway's early development and features of its cultural landscape', Independent Research Project, University of the Sunshine Coast, c. 2007, p. 5, pp. 13–16.

ship timetables or tied to destinations within reach of a port or railway station. The construction from 1959 of the coastal road linking the major resorts, at the instigation of Maroochy Shire Chairman David Low, cemented this transition.³⁴

Roads access and the location of the best surf beaches have determined the development of the North Coast since World War II but this was not always the case. Rivers and the sheltered Pumice Stone Passage determined the location of the coast's oldest resorts. The rivers and the passage provided the means of access for early timber getters who established ports and regular steamer services to the capital, centred on the river mouths and the passage. This infrastructure made it possible for holiday makers to visit these places from the late 19th century. By happy coincidence, the river mouths and the passage also accommodated the holiday makers' preference for calm water bathing and recreation. Hence, because of their location at river mouths or on the Pumice Stone Passage, Tewantin/Noosa, Maroochydore and Caloundra each had two vital pre-requisites for the success of a resort: they appealed to holiday makers' tastes and they were readily accessible.

With the growth of an improved road network from the late 1920s and a shift in bathing preferences to surf beaches, rivers and sheltered waterways were no longer a factor in determining where resorts developed. From 1959, the coastal road opened the way for the present intense development of the coast between Caloundra, Maroochydore and Noosa. The balance of power had changed: no longer would natural landscape determine so influentially the location or shape of the place of resort; henceforth, road and resort would fashion landscape. The writer proposes that the pattern of development of Tewantin/Noosa, Maroochydore and Caloundra models the establishment and development of similarly situated resorts elsewhere in Australia.

³⁴ Gregory, *Making Maroochy*, pp. 151–152; McKay, *Times of change*, pp. 149–150; Adams, *Noosa horizons*, p. 256.

