

Reinventing the heights: the origins of rockclimbing culture in Australia

Michael Meadows*

School of Humanities, Griffith University, Nathan Campus, Nathan, Brisbane 4111, Australia

Australian rockclimbing culture and climbers have been imagined in a particular way with the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century press playing a key role. Australian landscapes, including mountains, were incorporated into Indigenous cosmology for millennia before Aboriginal people discovered Europeans. But with the colonial invasion, the very nature of the landscape in the new colony meant that climbing culture was bound to take on a different persona from its European antecedent and undergo a rethinking or reinvention process. Figuring strongly in this discursive reconstruction was the particular geography of one region in Australia – southeast Queensland – with its diverse collection of volcanic peaks within range of a major population centre, along with a climate that encouraged the emergence of a set of complementary leisure activities. This article explores the emergence of rockclimbing culture in Australia from a range of often competing and contradictory discourses – Aboriginal cosmology, a unique landscape, the influence of the European idea of climbing and charismatic, visionary individuals. From the turn of the twentieth century, the role of local newspapers and magazines was a crucial element in this imagining process creating briefly a space for female climbers that has only recently been reclaimed. From the late 1880s, and particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, press reports of climbing and associated activities offered new ways of conceptualizing mountains and their place in shaping Australian culture.

Climbing a mountain has become a way to understand self, world, and art. It is no longer a *sortie* from but an act of culture. (Solnit 2000, 113)

Introduction

There is little scholarly literature on the history of climbing in Australia, possibly because it has been seen as more culturally peripheral than its European and American incarnations and other local popular outdoor activities, such as organized sport and surfing. This is odd, considering that one of the most identifiable landforms in eastern Australia is the 3500-kilometre Great Dividing Range. This complex chain of mountains, hills, cliff lines and valleys has been both a practical and intellectual barrier from the time of European invasion. Climbing it – or perhaps more accurately, crossing it – was the impetus for much of the early exploration in the colony (Steele 1972). It seems incomprehensible that this significant mountain landscape did not impact in some way on Australian culture. Abrahamsson (1999, 51) reminds us that cultural groups transform the physical environment into landscapes through the use of symbols that bestow different meanings on the same physical objects, a theme taken up by Bonyhady and Griffiths (2002, 6) who suggest: ‘Landscape does not just shape language; the land itself is transformed by words, phrases and ways of telling’. Despite this, Australia has been overwhelmingly imagined in terms of ‘the bush’ and/or ‘a wide brown land’, effectively ignoring the influence of mountain landscapes and associated

*Email: m.meadows@griffith.edu.au

50 cultural activities. This is the result of an almost exclusive analytical focus thus far on
 51 literary and visual images (Bonyhady 1985, 2000; Whitlock and Carter 1992; Bonyhady and
 52 Griffiths 2002; Horne 2005). I will argue that the textual discourses in local newspapers – all
 53 but ignored in scholarly considerations of Australian landscapes thus far – played a critical
 54 role, primarily because of their accessibility and pervasiveness. And it is through such
 55 popular discursive formations that mountains, and more importantly, their representations
 56 and the activities associated with them, played – and continue to play – a central important
 57 role in imagining Australia (Anderson 1984).

58 The emergence of Australian climbing culture was influenced by the unique
 59 geographical make-up of particular regions – specifically, the igneous outcrops and
 60 mountains of southeast Queensland and the seemingly endless sandstone cliffs of the Blue
 61 Mountains. But importantly, ideas of mountains and their place in Australian culture found
 62 their way into the imagining process primarily through representations of these landscapes
 63 and the associated activities by climbers in local newspaper articles and images. This
 64 ‘authorization’ by the press resulted in the discursive incorporation of mountain landscapes
 65 [Q3] and associated leisure activities into the everyday culture and life in Australia. In the 11 years
 66 from 1927, the *Brisbane Courier* and the *Queenslander* alone featured around 150 articles –
 67 many accompanied by photographs – on climbing exploits of a passionate southeast
 68 Queensland-based group, dubbed ‘The Crowd’. In Queensland, and to some extent in New
 69 South Wales and Tasmania, the idea of climbing was enshrined in popular culture during the
 70 1920s and 1930s. For the rest of Australia, it would remain a post-war phenomenon.

71 The space that women created in this activity – still regarded as a high-risk activity –
 72 ended with the Second World War and was not to re-emerge for another 50 years. Apart
 73 from the extraordinary achievements of some notable individuals such as US Brisbane-
 74 based climber, Coral Bowman and Victoria’s Louise Shepherd during the 1980s, the re-
 75 engagement of a number of women with regular rockclimbing activity is a relatively
 76 [Q4] recent phenomenon.

79 **Imagining the heights**

80 Australian rockclimbing culture has emerged in a particular way and in a particular
 81 context. All landscape features, including mountains, were incorporated into Indigenous
 82 cosmology for millennia before Aboriginal people discovered Europeans (Steele 1984).
 83 There seems little doubt that Aboriginal people could have climbed most, if not all, of the
 84 mountains in Australia – if they needed or wanted to. It is Indigenous people’s *interest*
 85 in climbing that is more problematic (Tuan 1974; Child 1998; Meadows 2002). During a
 86 return visit to this country in 1993, one of the doyens of Australian rockclimbing, John
 87 Ewbank, alluded to the importance of context in considering Australian climbing culture.
 88 Drawing on Indigenous concepts of the ‘sacred’, he argued that an acknowledgement of
 89 what made a particular location ‘sacred’ for Indigenous people – ritual, belief and tradition
 90 – was also central to understanding rockclimbing culture. While acknowledging the clear
 91 differences in interpretation and meaning between Indigenous and non-Indigenous
 92 cosmologies, he suggested an analogy: that the act of climbing could be seen as ‘turning a
 93 piece of rock into a sacred site’ and ‘it is then that we superimpose special values on it, even
 94 if these values are comprehensible only to other climbers’. He concluded:

95 I think it is becoming increasingly important for climbers to see cliffs and mountains within
 96 the context of a broader landscape and to realise that these outcrops, these ‘bones of the
 97 planet’ *are already sacred, just as they are to many people other than climbers.* (Ewbank
 98 1993, emphasis in original)

99 However, the different sets of values involved here create an obvious conflict: the very
100 process of climbing in some areas deemed to be of significant importance to Indigenous
101 people pays scant respect to their cultural significance. This is perhaps most evident in the
102 very public pleas by the central Australian Anangu (Pitjantjatjara) for decades for people
103 to not climb Uluru because of its sacred status (Parks Australia 2009). It is apparent, too, in
104 other creation stories of high places (Tuan 1974, 70; Boardman 1982, 181; Steele 1984).

105 From its earliest emergence as a recreation, 'the unruly assemblages recognised as
106 climbing' today find themselves straddling leisure and sport in the panoply of popular
107 cultural activities (Rossiter 2007, 304). The term 'rockclimbing' now refers to a wide range
108 of activities which could range from visiting a local gym, 'bouldering' on small rock
109 outcrops, 'traditional' or 'trad' climbing outdoors on cliffs and peaks or 'sport' climbing and
110 its variations. Rockclimbing emerged in Europe as a pastime, separate from its predecessor
111 – mountaineering – late in the nineteenth century. Described by some as a form of 'vertical
112 colonialism', it was a peculiarly European phenomenon with a strong British influence
113 (Donnelly 1982; Morgan 1994; Nettlefold and Stratford 1999, 132). But there are many
114 other 'historically produced and socially constructed' elements that have defined both the
115 idea and the practice of rockclimbing in Australia and beyond (Bricknell 1994, 45).

116 Climbing in its many forms has become a community and communal cultural practice –
117 one might even argue a culture industry – with its own language, symbols and style, 'signified
118 in both epic and environmental terms' with a distinctly 'playful' element (Abramson and
119 Fletcher 2007). Rockclimbing incorporates 'constructed and fluid' notions of identity –
120 elements identified in Bennett's (1999, 614) concept of neo-tribalism, although he developed
121 the idea to explain the relationships between youth, music and style in the UK. The relatively
122 recent scholarly attention paid to rockclimbing offers a range of variations on this broad theme.
123 For example, Williams and Donnelly (1985, 14) identify the importance of the individual as the
124 'potential agent of change' in rockclimbing practice, operating within the social constraints
125 of local climbing cultures. And while Rapelje (2004) enlists the notion of 'sub-world groups' to
126 explore the nature of climbing communities in North America, a more functional view is
127 offered by climber-writer, Lito Tejada-Flores. In perhaps one of the most cited essays on
128 climbing, 'Games Climbers Play', written for *Ascent* magazine in 1967, he muses:

129
130 Climbing is not a homogeneous sport but rather a collection of differing (though) related
131 activities, each with its own adepts, distinctive terrain, problems and satisfactions, and
132 perhaps most important, its own rules. (Tejada-Flores 1967)

133 Building on this broad idea, albeit from a leisure studies perspective, Stebbins' (2007, 5)
134 concept of 'serious leisure' is helpful, defining it in terms of participants engaging in
135 leisure activities with the aim of 'acquiring and expressing a combination of its special
136 skills, knowledge and experience'. But it is perhaps closer to home where the most
137 appropriate theorizing of rockclimbing practice in Australia is taking place. Kiewa (2001,
138 380) identifies not only the importance of the creation of personal space as a central
139 defining element in climbers' leisure experiences, but also that 'identity forms a major
140 motivation for behaviour'. Building further on the idea of serious leisure, Rossiter (2007,
141 303) – who, like Kiewa, is a climber – argues that rockclimbing, along with other
142 adventurous activities, is 'usually understood as a way of being in space or as a mode of
143 experiencing or dwelling within natural spaces'. She continues:

144
145 Alternatively, though, climbing may be understood as the production of new spaces through
146 moving encounters between the human and various nonhumans. These are complex spaces
147 that are at once technocultural, material, natural, disciplinary, resistant, and discrete yet
constantly changing. (Rossiter 2007, 303)



170 Figure 1. An unusual alliance of women, rockclimbing and the Australian Stock Market. (*Courier-Mail* 2011, p. 39).

172 While the history of climbing within a masculine framework continues its cultural
173 influence in the new millennium, there have been – and continue to be – some significant
174 challenges to that (Robinson 2002; Rossiter 2007). Images of female climbers abound,
175 perhaps predictably, on the covers of the Australian climbing magazine, *Rock*. Perhaps less
176 predictably, they have been enlisted in advertisements for a diverse range of
177 organizations – including airlines, insurance companies, a manufacturer of contact
178 lenses – and even to illustrate a newspaper article on stock market growth.^[95]

179 Considering climbing as a gendered space is not a new phenomenon. Prominent female
180 climbers such as Elizabeth Burnaby LeBlond were active in late nineteenth-century Europe,
181 at a time when the mountains were considered no place for women. Three years after the
182 Ladies Alpine Club was formed in England in 1907, Australia's first mountaineer Freda Du
183 Faur became the first woman to climb Aoraki-Mt Cook. Over the next few years, this
184 exceptional young climber made several more first ascents in the New Zealand Alps,
185 including the first Aoraki-Mt Cook/Mt Tasman traverse (Du Faur 1915; Irwin 2000). But it
186 was on the volcanic peaks of southeast Queensland that Australia's first mass rockclimbing
187 movement was born with women playing a central role in it. Despite women in significant
188 numbers reclaiming a space in Australian rockclimbing culture from the early 1990s – albeit
189 primarily in urban climbing gyms – women's place on the heights remains contentious,
190 situated, as many are, between discourses such as 'mountaineering and motherhood'
191 (Frohlick 2006). And while this term was coined from the perspective of mountaineering,
192 female rockclimbers have expressed similar views (Jackie Kiewa, Interview, 6 May 2004,
193 Brisbane; Bernie Manly, Telephone Interview, 13 February 2004). 'Spatial information'
194 such as climbing guidebooks are also part of the process of the conversion of 'space into
195 place' (Nettlefold and Stratford 1999, 137–138), but accessing climbing landscapes
196

197 involves moving across a range of texts: indigenous histories; environmental writings;
198 scientific discourses; tourist brochures; and more recently, regulations governing access to
199 specific climbing locations (Meadows 2002; Taylor 2006, 213; Qurank 2011).

200 It is difficult to say categorically why the earliest significant rockclimbing activity in
201 Australia was confined to southeast Queensland and to a lesser extent, the Blue Mountains and
202 the Tasmanian wilderness. In Queensland, it may have been quite simply synchronicity: a
203 juxtaposition of easily accessible peaks near a thriving population centre (Brisbane), a
204 charismatic ‘leader’ (Bert Salmon), an enthusiastic cohort and year-round good climbing
205 weather! Climbing activity in the Blue Mountains seems to have been confined to a small
206 circle of friends of Dr Eric Dark living in the immediate vicinity (E. Lowe 1931; Clio 1990).
207 The very low population of Tasmania, the weather and the difficulty of merely reaching peaks
208 there, let alone climbing them, most likely mitigated against widespread activity.
209 What emerges from the earliest known Tasmanian accounts of climbing between the wars
210 and post-Second World War is a sporadic quest for summits – mingled with bushwalking
211 and hunting cultures – rather than a climbing movement (Emmett 1935; Luckman 1949;
212 Frauca 1958).

213 214 215 **The emergence of climbing as leisure**

216 There are many Indigenous stories about mountains in Australia based on strong cultural
217 beliefs that discourage or forbid people from climbing them (Wise 1916; Steele 1972).
218 However, there are contradictory accounts of Aboriginal ascents of many high places, well
219 before Europeans set eyes on the colonial ‘mountains of the mind’ (Lang 1861; *Brisbane*
220 *Courier* 1872; Pears 1923; MacFarlane 2003). Exploration was the dominant frame
221 through which mountains were viewed by Europeans in the colony of New South Wales
222 for more than half a century before the first claimed ascents – as a leisure practice – were
223 made. The very knowledge of the existence of the European Alps meant that mountains in
224 Australia would inevitably become a lure for settlers (Horne 1991). This process was
225 triggered in 1813 when explorers Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth found a way across
226 the Great Divide west of Sydney. Most, if not all, of this early exploration relied heavily on
227 ‘re-discovering’ existing Aboriginal tracks through the mountains that had existed for
228 probably thousands of years (McKenna 2002).

229 Newspaper accounts of mountaineering exploits in the European Alps began to appear
230 regularly in the colonial press from the 1870s, and a new reason for climbing mountains in
231 the colony began to emerge. It was no longer necessary to justify ascents in terms of
232 exploration or scientific discovery. One of the earliest published newspaper items in the
233 Australian press on mountaineering, ‘The Mania For Alpine Climbing’, was a report of a
234 disaster on Mont Blanc (*Queenslander* 1866, 2). It was followed five years later by a brief
235 account of what was probably the first European ascent of Mt Warning, known by the local
236 *Bandjalang* people as *Wollombin*. Botanist, author and landscape gardener William
237 R. Guilfoyle was one of the four young men who spent three and a half days climbing to
238 the summit where they became ‘embosomed in mountains of indescribable splendour’
239 (*Queenslander* 1871, 11). The appropriation of these spaces as places in popular culture is
240 evident in the earliest accounts of climbing activity.

241 From the mid 1880s, articles on mountaineering and climbing were regular fare in
242 Queensland newspapers. This was accompanied by a broad redefinition of European ideas
243 of leisure and recreation in their various forms in settled Australia (Hamilton-Smith 1998).
244 In 1886, the first extensive body of writing about local climbing *as a recreational activity*
245 was published. In a three-part newspaper feature, Brisbane-based adventurer Thomas

6 *M. Meadows*

246 Welsby recounted his exploits climbing in the Glasshouse Mountains, making what was
 247 possibly the first European ascent of one of the peaks, Tibrogargan. Keen to announce his
 248 success to a waiting throng at a guest house more than 300 metres below, Welsby lit a fire
 249 on the summit. By the time he had descended, the mountain was ablaze in the twilight:

250 The moon did not rise until 8 o'clock. By that time, the place was all aglow, and as the moon
 251 rose from out of the eastern sky and threw its flooding rays over the hilltops, the blending of
 252 the two lights mellowed the scene with a 'dim religious' colouring of beauty none of us can
 253 ever forget. (Welsby 1886, 933)

254 Despite his contribution to plant species that require intense heat to regenerate, the practice
 255 of setting summits alight is a recurring one in Australian climbing history as is the
 256 incorporation of such places into the popular imagination. Around this time, there were
 257 reports of claims of first ascents in tropical North Queensland, including all of the peaks on
 258 Hinchinbrook Island in 1881 (Meston 1894) and in the Bellenden Ker Range – the highest
 259 in the state (*Queenslander* 1887). Journalist, newspaper editor, politician and Protector of
 260 Aborigines Archibald Meston made numerous expeditions to North Queensland and the
 261 voluminous collection of writings from this time represents, arguably, the first significant
 262 body of journalism focussing on wilderness to be published in Australia. Meston wrote in
 263 the style of the romantics, evident in this description of the summit of Queensland's
 264 second-highest peak, Mt Bellenden Ker, in 1889:

265 We were silent in the awful presence of that that tremendous picture that had laid there
 266 unaltered since Chaos and the Earthquake painted it in smoke and flame and terror in the dark
 267 morning of the world! It was a hall of the Genii of the Universe, the Odeon of the eternal gods
 268 with its immortal floor paved with the green mosaic of land and ocean, and overhead the
 269 arched blue roof flashing in diamonds and prismatic radiance to the far skyline on the edge of
 270 the dim horizon. (Meston 1889a, 7)

271 Meston's collection of writings about mountains and his ascents inscribes them with
 272 characteristics of the sublime, while at the same time 'normalizing' them as culturally
 273 relevant places. Both Welsby and Meston acknowledged an Aboriginal presence in the
 274 landscape in their writings – but with qualification. Meston (1889b) made a spirited call
 275 for the retention of Aboriginal place names for the North Queensland mountains and it is
 276 only in recent times that the Noongyanbudda Ngadjon people's original names for Mt
 277 Bartle Frere (Chooreechillum) and Mt Bellenden Ker (Wooroonooran) have been revived
 278 (Wet Tropics Aboriginal Plan Project Team 2005).

279 In southern Queensland in the following year, 26-year-old immigrant Norwegian
 280 naturalist Carstens Egeberg Borchgrevink joined a local man to make what they believed
 281 would be the first European ascent of Mt Lindesay, unaware that it was actually the third.
 282 Reports of the climb in the *Queenslander* featured the first-known published image of
 283 climbers in action in Australia by artist E. Bihan. Perhaps influenced by Meston's early
 284 descriptions, depictions of mountains in the colonial press at this time were clearly
 285 influenced by romantic notions of 'the sublime'. But at the same time, the frequency of
 286 climbing accounts and ensuing debates in letters to the editor of the *Brisbane Courier*, in
 287 particular, suggested an engaged public.

288 One of the last great challenges for climbers in southeast Queensland – the trachyte
 289 spire of Coonowrin (Crookneck) in the Glasshouse Mountains – was first scaled in 1910
 290 by 23-year-old Henry Mikalsen who had grown up in the shadow of the mountain. It has
 291 been identified by some as the beginning of rockclimbing 'as a pastime' in Australia (Lack
 292 1938). Two years later, sisters Sara, Jenny and Etty Clark were the first-known women to
 293 reach the summit. Two of the sisters had cycled 80 kilometres from Brisbane two days
 294 earlier. They wore 'voluminous gym clothes' for the climb and cycled back to Brisbane on



Figure 2. Artist E Bihan's impression of Mount Lindesay, accompanying an article of an early ascent of the peak by Norwegian explorer Carstens Borchgrevink. (*Queenslander* 1890, p. 189).

the same day (Whitehouse 1966, 77). Full-page newspaper coverage of their adventure featured a series of photographs – the first-known climbing photographs published in Australia (Rowley 1912, 13). The following year, Thomas Welsby featured the photographs again in his book, *The Discoverers of the Brisbane River* – the first publication of its type in the country to include a significant section on climbing, along with his sailing adventures in Moreton Bay (Welsby 1913).

By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, climbing and leisure in Australia were closely allied, although this 'act of culture' was restricted to individuals or small local groups (Solnit 2000). But change was in the air.

Climbing with the 'spiritual father'

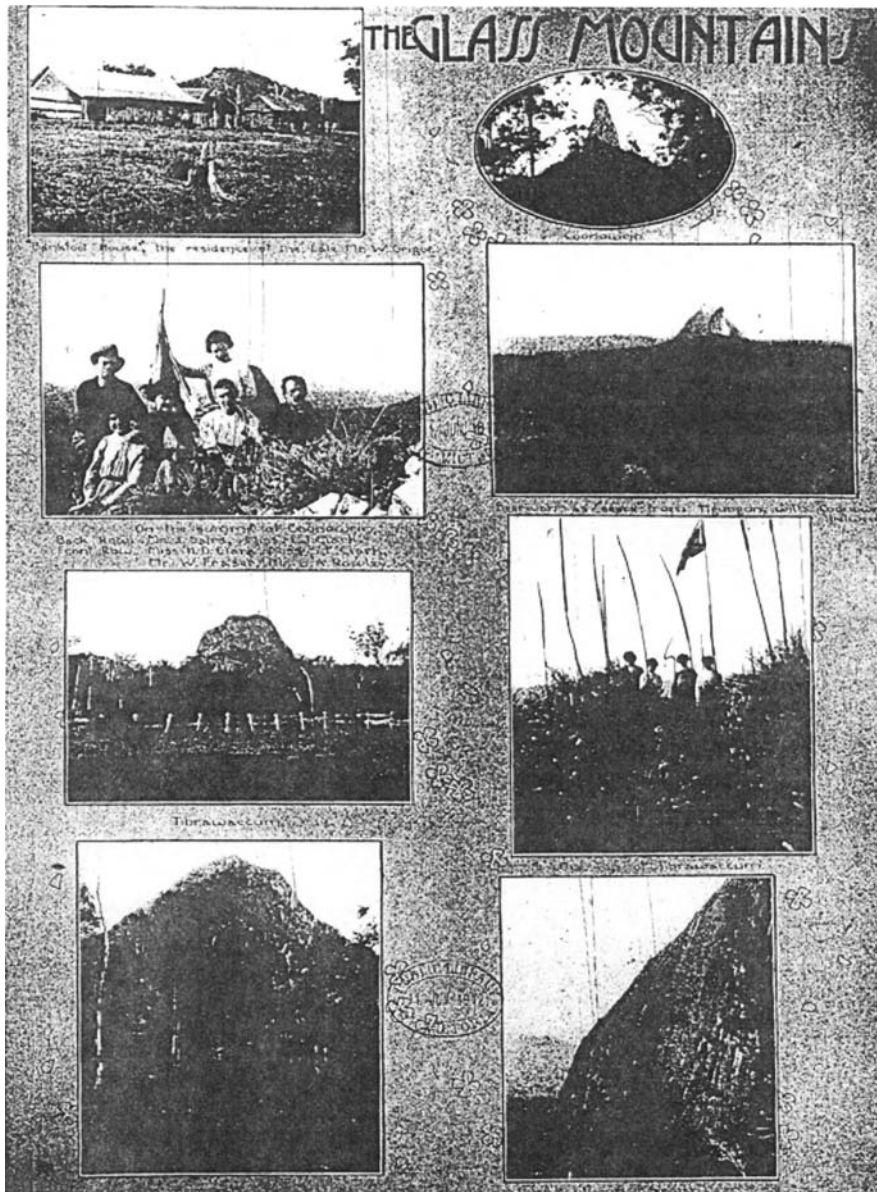
Albert Armitage Salmon, dubbed the 'spiritual father' of Queensland climbing (Benuzzi 1953), made his first ascent in 1923. Three years later, he formed a 'mountaineering club' in southeast Queensland – dubbed 'The Crowd' – incorporating both climbing and walking with a penchant for the most challenging ascents then known. It was the first of its kind in Australia and was indicative of a growing desire by a small number of leisured citizenry to push the limits of the possible (Lack 1938). Salmon made many ascents of the peaks in southeast Queensland over the following decade and soon introduced women to the joys of mountaineering, Queensland style (*Queenslander* 1927; Easton 1928; Salmon 1928).

The Queensland-based climbers generally eschewed the use of rope (and any other form of artificial aid) except as 'moral support'. It seems likely that Salmon was influenced by the ethics of early British gritstone climbers, such as Dean Frankland and Fergus Graham, renowned for their preference for soloing climbs in the Lake District around this time, along with approaches adopted by the American environmentalist-climber John Muir (Smith 1978; White 1999; Meadows 2002).

The Blue Mountains, west of Sydney, were also a focus of climbing activity for a small cohort of friends during the 1930s with the charismatic Dr Eric Dark as the main protagonist. He and Salmon were the most influential in fostering an Australian climbing culture during this 'golden era', although the two did not meet until 1934. Dark was the first in Australia to use a rope for protection in the European sense, but he and his climbing partners were not averse to using what they called 'an unethical instrument' – a two-metre long ice axe with a deeply curved pick and a

344 notch to hold the rope where the shaft entered the head – that they used to haul themselves past
 345 difficult sections of a climb (Clio 1990, 18). Their first major achievement was an ascent near the
 346 Arethusa Falls in the Grose Valley in 1931, duly reported by the *Sydney Mail* (E. Lowe 1931).

347 Eric Dark and his cohort held to British climber Albert Mummery's edict that a rope
 348 should never be used for direct aid on a climb (Clio 1990, 18). Dark was a socialist and
 349 began climbing before Salmon, a staunch monarchist, and while they climbed
 350 contemporaneously, their methods could not have been more different. Dark was the
 351



390 Figure 3. The first climbing photographs published in the Australian press: the Clark sisters make
 391 the first female ascent of Crookneck in the Glasshouse Mountains near Brisbane. (*Queenslander* 8
 392 June 1912, p. 27).

393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441



Figure 4. The ‘spiritual father’ of Queensland climbing, Bert Salmon, on the first ascent of Egg Rock in southern Queensland in 1927. (A. A. Salmon collection).

442 inaugural president of the Blue Mountaineers, a climbing club formed in 1929 and based,
443 as the name suggests, in the Blue Mountains. It also carried the nickname of the
444 'Katoomba Suicide Club' (Allen 1963; Clio 1990). The club was active throughout the
445 1930s but it did not attract the level of popular support evident in Queensland.
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488



489 Figure 5. Eric Dark (top) watches Queensland climber George Fraser make the first unroped ascent
490 of the Fly Wall at Katoomba in the Blue Mountains in 1934. (A. A. Salmon collection).

491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539



Figure 6. Queensland climbers Jean Easton (top) and Muriel Patten on the east face of Tibrogargan in the Glasshouse Mountains in 1934. (Cliff and Lexie Wilson collection).

540 Nevertheless, the Blue Mountains was the only other place in Australia where a significant
 541 level of climbing was taking place at this time, although it was confined to a small cohort
 542 centred on Eric Dark and his wife, novelist Eleanor Dark. Regardless, it was promoted as
 543 ‘a health-giving sport for women’ in a Sydney magazine (N. Lowe 1931, 22).

544 In January 1934, 16 climbers from Queensland made a pilgrimage south to the Blue
 545 Mountains, meeting up with their New South Wales’ counterparts for Australia’s first-ever
 546 climbing meet. Within days, 21-year-old Muriel Patten became the first woman to climb
 547 the First Sister, applying her tried and tested Queensland climbing style, making the ascent
 548 unroped. Newspapers in Brisbane (*Courier-Mail* 1934) and the Blue Mountains were
 549 impressed:

550 Miss Muriel Patten, a petite and daring Brisbane girl, claims a record: that she is the only
 551 woman to scale the first of the Three Sisters. One section of this climb is extremely difficult
 552 and hazardous: particularly for a lady. (*Katoomba Daily* 1934, 1)

553 For his next climb, Eric Dark took the visitors to the testing ‘Fly Wall’ – a 10-metre high
 554 vertical cliff that aspiring members of the Blue Mountaineers had to climb to gain
 555 admission to the club. Much to Dark’s consternation, Salmon and another of the
 556 Queenslanders, George Fraser, scaled the wall refusing to use a safety rope from above
 557 (Lack 1938, 3). Despite the interaction at Katoomba, neither Salmon nor Dark changed
 558 their approaches to climbing. In 1936, Dr Eric Dark and a barefoot Dorothy English – a
 559 ‘qualified masseuse and remedial gymnast’ – made the first ascent of Crater Bluff in the
 560 Warrumbungles Range in western New South Wales (Butler 1992, 64). They lit a small
 561 fire on the summit to announce their success to the world but like Thomas Welsby’s
 562 experience on Tibrogargan, 50 years earlier, it spread and soon the entire summit was
 563 ablaze. It was probably the hardest climb in Australia at that time.

564 By the end of 1935, the spate of climbing activity north of the border, along with an
 565 ever-increasing supply of photographs, prompted the *Queenslander Annual* to run a feature
 566 article entitled, ‘Let’s Go Mountaineering’. Climber–journalist Nora Dimes captured the
 567



587 Figure 7. A record 15 members of ‘The Crowd’ on a narrow ledge on the south side of Crookneck
 588 in the Glasshouse Mountains in 1933. (Cliff and Lexie Wilson collection).

589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637

ON TOP of the WORLD

To see them scaling down Queensland's high peaks, you would never believe that the girls who grasp this rope are made of delicate stuff from the ordinary girl—that their minds are occupied with anything more exciting than dress and dancing, or tennis, golf.

But they're a doublet lot—they can't really rely on their looks at all...For they are Dianas in disguise, and their idea of fun is to don chain and steel axes, and climb the most dangerous mountain-side in reach of the knee as a girls' track-and-exercise.

But their ambitions are not crushed. Like Dianas, on being told by the members of the National Parks Association, and pledged to protect the native flora and fauna of the country they explore, and guard the national heritage of mountains, gorges and glens.

Most of them work in offices, but their minds are above typewriters and ledgers to tell blue mountains, where there are cliffs to be found and peaks passed, and for reward—the world at their feet.

No Stair in Australia can compare with Queensland for its girl mountaineers, for a group of hardy girls have established in Brisbane clubs are keen and energetic, and have no fear of their cliffs, and narrow ledges and deep heights.

They have climbed one peak after another till there are few mountains of any size in the southern corner of the State which women do not scale. They have mastered the ascent of such climbing, but they also have a wonderful knowledge of the four-galvanized gorges and up the well-wooded slopes of the Macpherson Range.

Although the leaders of these climbing expeditions are men, and all most noteworthy and experienced guides, the girls have distinguished themselves time after time for courage and audacity, and are considered the equals of all but the few outstanding men climbers.

Below right: Dorothy Reid is a thorough out-of-door girl and an excellent "climber" in mountain country.

Below center: Young, charming and active, Jean Hynes is also a first-class mountaineer.

—Photographs by Neil Mallard.

Below left: Jean Dixon is the "rapid" rock climber who conquered the peaks of Katoomba, and has been many times up the Glass House Mountains. She is dainty and polite, and doesn't look at all athletic.

Above: A party led by Mr. A. A. Salmon climbs the face of Crankrock like flies on a window-pane. They do not fail to ascend the last sheer 500 feet cliff. Crankrock (1000 feet) is in the background.

Left: Not generally an outdoor-loving, Marie Willson is an enthusiastic explorer of the National Parks, and has climbed many difficult peaks.

Left center: New Dianas demonstrate the use of a rope on the climb on Crankrock. She is a clever and fearless climber.

Extreme left: Win. Flaherty is small, slight and delicate, a "brisk" climber, and usually only works in rough country.

Neil Mallard writes.

Below: Though the looks are sweet and demure, Marie Willson is a fearless rock climber, and was the first girl in Australia to climb one of the Three Sisters at Katoomba. Photo by Flaherty.

The rock climbing pictures on this page are the work of Mr. A. A. Salmon, who has had many parties up the precipitous cliffs of the Glass House Mountains.

A party has been arranged to make another ascent of the Tarragona ridge, led by Mr. Salmon, who has been many times up the precipitous cliffs of the Glass House Mountains.

In all the tops which have been organized for climbing, the Glass House Mountains, for example, the girls have been knocked up, or tossed back from lack of nerve, but many more have failed to see a top, and have found the high places of the world too exciting on muscle and will-power.

Some of the best players and football stars have been seen "climbing" at the end of a summer day, while his of girls, free-climbing, have been seen full of energy and cheerfulness. They are a great crowd, these girl mountaineers you can't help but admire them.

Here are some of the outstanding performances in Queensland, all belonging to the finest rock of climbers and hikers.

A FEW months ago two Queensland girls walked the South by climbing the west peaks at Katoomba, which had never been scaled by women before. Marie Willson went up with a party led by Ben Salmon, and climbed the face of the Three Sisters. Since

has been a keen National Parks for nearly three years, and counts Mr. Manning, Mr. Goodfellow, Mr. Ewart and Castle Mountain among her "achievements". Rock climbing and scrub ascending both come easy to her.

Another excellent all-rounder is Jean Hynes, who is climbed among the "fliers" at Glass House, where she has been exploring for some time. She is one of the chosen few who have done the strenuous Lamington, Glass and Natural Bridge trips, and she has also been her share at rock climbing on Mt. Barney, Mt. Minnie and Mt. Cope.

One of the energetic spirits is Marie Willson, looking as if they had been modified by some "primal" Titan, and had carefully done when he had ceased of playing with them.

In reality they are the sons of vibrant volcanoes, left as monuments in a long-past age when the molten waters levelled the surrounding country. Their weird charm was felt by a Victorian writer, Nevius Palmer, who lived in sight of the Glass Houses for some

Figure 8. Newspaper coverage of Queensland's female climbers. (Truth 29 July, 1934, p. 25).

638 competitive spirit of the age in a tongue-in-cheek description of climbing in Queensland as
 639 ‘mountaineering on molehills’ (1935, 18). Women made up a substantial proportion of
 640 climbers in Queensland from the late 1920s until the Second World War, sometimes
 641 outnumbering their male companions on climbs (Meadows, Thomson, and Stewart 2000).
 642 Their abilities were clearly recognized, as this excerpt from *Walkabout* magazine suggests:

643 Surprise that women should care to tackle such climbs has been expressed, but in the view of
 644 Mr A. A. Salmon, of the Department of Agriculture and Stock, who has led climbs to the top
 645 of each Glass House peak more than 20 times, women are good climbers, and as novices give
 646 less trouble than men. (Brammall 1939, 40)

647 The involvement of significant numbers of women in climbing in Queensland was
 648 unique – nowhere else in the country was this evident. Climbing parties of 10–20 people
 649 were common with a record 33 men and women climbing the difficult south face of
 650 Coonowrin on one occasion in 1933. The achievements of Jean Easton and Muriel Patten,
 651 in particular, received significant coverage in local newspapers and magazines. One
 652 newspaper article featured profiles of the ‘top 15’ female climbers at the time, concluding
 653 that ‘the Queensland girls have left the rest of Australia far behind in this exacting and
 654 exciting sport’ (*Truth* 1934, 25).

655 Despite the hyperbole of some accounts, the Queensland climbing cohort seemed to
 656 place a strong emphasis on the social – creation of personal space and notions of identity
 657 (Kiewa 2001) – rather than the technical side of climbing. This is evident in the multitude of
 658 photographs that survive and newspaper accounts from the period in question. The early
 659 1930s was also a time when a hiking boom in the UK and Australia enabled women to
 660 escape to ‘the bush’ – arguably one of the few non-chaperoned spaces easily accessible. At
 661 the end of such ‘mystery’ train rides, the mountains were never far away in southeast
 662 Queensland. Perhaps this was an important element that helped create the conditions of
 663 existence for the first mass climbing movement in the country with a significant
 664 involvement by women in creating a ‘less gendered space’, or, perhaps, a less masculine
 665 space (Rossiter 2007). But importantly, Rossiter (2007, 303) suggests that such
 666 dichotomous conceptualizations – feminine–masculine, for example – may be too
 667 simplistic because they fail to encompass the contextual complexity in which climbing
 668 occurs: ‘the moving encounters between the human, non-human natures and other non-
 669 humans that come into being through rockclimbing’. Such a perspective further
 670 problematizes a conclusion as to why particular climbing movements in Australia started in
 671 particular places at particular times.

672 Accounts of climbers’ experiences as represented in newspapers and magazines for a
 673 decade from the late 1920s imagine rockclimbing as part of everyday, albeit ‘edgy’, culture.
 674 These accounts in the Queensland press – as was the case elsewhere in Australia at this
 675 time – paralleled the emergence of a mediatized national parks’ movement, further framing
 676 rockclimbing activity as (albeit serious) leisure and unproblematically ‘authorizing’ it as an
 677 integral part of popular culture. The first ‘wild’ national parks in the world were proclaimed
 678 in Australia, again providing contextual support for the acceptance of rockclimbing
 679 activities in such places as ‘normal’ (Hamilton-Smith 1998, 45).

680
 681

682 **Conclusion**

683 By the late 1940s and early 1950s, there were few unclimbed peaks or large rock outcrops
 684 left in Australia. This period was marked by the expansion of rockclimbing and
 685 bushwalking clubs, and appearance of the first climbing route guides, coinciding with
 686 articles about climbing being banished from the pages of the popular press. It was a

687 significant discursive shift in ways of constituting the landscape through rockclimbing as a
 688 cultural activity. In a sense, control of the process of representation was relegated to
 689 editors of outdoors' club newsletters and magazines with mainstream newspapers now
 690 interested in climbing only when it complied with post-war news values that tended to
 691 centre on nation-building and sensationalism. Post-war rockclimbing remained a
 692 relatively peripheral 'act of culture' (Solnit 2000) in Australia until the late 1980s/early
 693 1990s when globalization and the spread of indoor climbing centres triggered an explosion
 694 in the number of participants, capturing the attention of the popular media once again –
 695 and enabling women to reclaim their place on the heights to an extent.

696 Throughout the 1950s, rockclimbing clubs – along with bushwalking clubs –
 697 expanded across the country, particularly at universities, paralleling a similar 'youth
 698 movement' in Europe (Donnelly 1982). After the Second World War, it was the
 699 introduction of modern climbing technologies from Europe, and later, the United States,
 700 that had a more powerful impact on the evolution of Australian rockclimbing culture –
 701 and associated perceptions of mountain landscapes. The so-called 'clean climbing'
 702 movement in Australia during the late 1960s – rejecting the use of damaging pitons and
 703 bolts in favour of more environmentally friendly protective devices – reflects this
 704 perceptive shift. It was accompanied by often heated ethical debates between individuals
 705 (and even interstate rivalries!), which inevitably invoked and influenced perceptions of the
 706 landscape and our place in it. It reminds us of the complexity of climbers' experiences and
 707 the danger in relying on dualisms to explain them (Rossiter 2007). A spiritual connection
 708 with landscape is something that is not universal among rockclimbers but the
 709 contradictions continue: for example, many of the tree-climbing protesters in continuing
 710 Tasmanian anti-logging campaigns are climbers. Arguably, the connection with place is
 711 becoming less dominant as rockclimbing genres (gym and sport climbing, bouldering,
 712 etc.) become further divorced from bushwalking, the most popular entry point for many
 713 into the sport up until the mid-1970s. Improved communication has enhanced the
 714 globalizing forces that continue to influence rockclimbing and climbers internationally
 715 with a diversification of Australian climbing into varied forms by the end of the 1980s.
 716 Although this has continued to distance many of activities called 'rockclimbing' from their
 717 original close association with ideas of landscape and the environment, their varied
 718 influence on perceptions of place remains (Abrahamsson 1999, 51; Meadows 2002;
 719 Abramson and Fletcher 2007). Climbers now make headlines most often either when they
 720 are involved in injury or death, or when they reach well-known (usually Himalayan)
 721 summits.

722 Climbing as a cultural practice emerged in Australia from a complex range of often
 723 competing and contradictory discourses – Aboriginal cosmology, differing landscapes,
 724 the influence of the European idea of climbing, gendered spaces and charismatic,
 725 visionary individuals. The role of local newspapers and magazines in Queensland, in
 726 particular, was a crucial element in the imagining process, particularly from the turn of the
 727 twentieth century. From the late 1880s and during the 1920s and 1930s, regular articles
 728 and images in the press offered audiences new ways of conceptualizing mountains, the
 729 men and women who climbed on them and their contribution to making Australian
 730 culture.

732 **Acknowledgements**

733 A special thanks to research assistant Robert Thomson who has done much of the archival work for
 734 this research. I also thank the anonymous reviewers who offered their valuable insights that helped
 735 sharpen my focus.

Notes on contributors

Michael Meadows began rockclimbing as a teenager in southeast Queensland and returned to the sport after an absence of almost 20 years in the late 1990s. His passion for climbing and bushwalking has recently merged with a new academic interest in the role of early newspapers in representing landscape and the environment in Australia.

References

- Abrahamsson, Kurt Viking. 1999. "Landscapes Lost and Gained: On Changes in Semiotic Resources." *Human Ecology Review* 6 (2): 51–61.
- Abramson, Allen, and Robert Fletcher. 2007. "Recreating the Vertical: Rock-Climbing as Epic and Deep Eco-Play." *Anthropology Today* 23 (6): 3–7.
- Allen, Bryden. 1963. *The Rock Climbs of New South Wales*. Sydney: Sydney Rockclimbing Club.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1984. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Bennett, Andy. 1999. "Subcultures or Neo-Tribes? Rethinking the Relationship Between Youth, Style and Musical Taste." *British Sociological Journal* 33 (3): 599–617.
- Benuzzi, Felice. 1953. "Scarponate Australiane: Sulle Glass House Mountains." *Lo Scarpone* March 1.
- Boardman, Peter. 1982. *Sacred Summits: A Climber's Year*. Seattle, WA: The Mountaineers.
- Bonyhady, Tim. 1985. *Images in Opposition: Australian Landscape Painting 1801–1890*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Bonyhady, Tim. 2000. *The Colonial Earth*. Melbourne: Miegunyah Press.
- Bonyhady, Tim, and Tom Griffiths. 2002. *Words for Country: Landscape and Language in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Bricknell, Louise. 1994. "Leisure? According to Who?" In *Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity, and Lifestyles*, edited by I. Henry, 39–52. Brighton: Leisure Studies Association.
- Brisbane Courier*. 1872. "Ascent of Mount Lindsay." *Brisbane Courier*, May 18.
- Butler, Dot. 1992. *The Barefoot Bushwalker*. Sydney: ABC Enterprises.
- Child, Greg. 1998. *Postcards from the Ledge: Collected Mountaineering Writings of Greg Child*. Seattle, WA: The Mountaineers.
- Clio. 1990. "Portrait of a Pioneer." *Rock*, January–June, 18–21.
- Courier-Mail*. 1934. "Scaled One of the 'Three Sisters': Miss Muriel Patten's Feat." *Courier-Mail*, February 6.
- Dimes, Nora. 1935. "Let's Go Mountaineering." *Queenslander Annual*.
- Donnelly, Peter. 1982. "Social Climbing: A Case Study of the Changing Class Structure of Rock Climbing and Mountaineering in Britain." In *Studies in the Sociology of Sport*, edited by A. O. Dunleavy, A. W. Miracle, and C. R. Rees, 13–28. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press.
- Du Faur, Freda. 1915. *The Conquest of Mount Cook and Other Climbs: An Account of Four Seasons' Mountaineering on the Southern Alps of New Zealand*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Easton, Jean. 1928. "Tibrogargan: One of the Glass Houses." *Queenslander*, June 28.
- Emmett, E. T. 1935. "Climbing the Frenchman's Cap." *Walkabout*, August 1, 39–40.
- Ewbank, John. 1993. "Ironmongers of the Dreamtime." Keynote address delivered at The Escalade Festival, Mount Victoria, Blue Mountains, New South Wales, April.
- Frauca, Harry. 1958. "The Hartz Mountains National Park." *Walkabout*, January 1, 31–33.
- Frohlick, Susan. 2006. "Wanting the Children and Wanting K2: The Incommensurability of Motherhood and Mountaineering in Britain and North America in the Late Twentieth Century." *Gender, Place and Culture* 13 (5): 477–490.
- Hamilton-Smith, Elery. 1998. ". From Cultural Awakening to Post-Industrialism: The History of Leisure, Recreation and Tourism in Australia." In *Time Out?* edited by H. Perkins, and G. Cushman, 34–50. Auckland: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Horne, Julia. 1991. "Travelling Through the Romantic Landscapes of the Blue Mountains." *Australian Cultural History* 10: 84–98.
- Horne, Julia. 2005. *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. Carlton: Miegunyah Press.
- Irwin, Sally. 2000. *Between Heaven and Earthy: The Life of a Mountaineer, Freda du Faur*. Hawthorn: White Crane Press.

- 785 *Katoomba Daily*. 1934. "Brisbane Girl Climbs the Sisters! Is it a Record?" *Katoomba Daily*, January
786 28.
- 787 Kiewa, Jackie. 2001. "Control Over Self and Space in Rockclimbing." *Journal of Leisure Research*
788 33 (4): 363–382.
- 789 Lack, Clem. 1938. "Mountain Climbers of Queensland." *Sunday Mail*, July 10.
- 790 [Q14] Lang, John Dunmore. 1861. *Queensland, Australia*. Brisbane.
- 791 Lowe, Eric. 1931. "Ascent of the Arethusa Falls." *Sydney Mail*, September 16.
- 792 Lowe, Nina. 1931. "Rock-Climbing: A Health-Giving Sport for Women." *Australian Woman's*
793 *Mirror* December 22.
- 794 Luckman, J. S. 1949. "Federation Peak, Tasmania." *Walkabout*, April 1, 18–28.
- 795 MacFarlane, Robert. 2003. *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination*. London: Granta
796 Books.
- 797 McKenna, Mark. 2002. *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: an Australian History of Place*. Sydney:
798 University of New South Wales Press.
- 799 Meadows, Michael. 2002. "The Changing Role of Queensland Newspapers in Imagining Leisure and
800 Recreation." *E-journalism*, Accessed November 2, 2011. <http://ejournalist.com.au/v1n2/MEADOWS.pdf>
- 801 Meadows, Michael, Robert Thomson, and Wendy Stewart. 2000. "Close to the Edge: Imagining
802 Climbing in Southeast Queensland." *Queensland Review* 7 (2): 67–84.
- 803 Meston, Archibald. 1889a. "Exploring the Bellenden Ker II." *Brisbane Courier*, May 25.
- 804 Meston, Archibald. 1889b. "Exploring the Bellenden Ker." *Brisbane Courier*, May 18.
- 805 Meston, Archibald. 1894. "Hinchinbrook in 1881." *Telegraph*, January 6.
- 806 [Q15] Morgan, Dan. 1994. "It Began with the Piton. The Challenge to British Rock Climbing in a Post-
807 Modernist Framework." In *Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity, and Lifestyles*, edited by Ian
808 Henry, 341–342. Brighton: Leisure Studies Association.
- 809 Nettlefold, Peter A., and Elaine Stratford. 1999. "The Production of Climbing Landscapes-As-
810 Texts." *Australian Geographical Studies* 37 (2): 130–139.
- 811 Parks Australia. 2009. "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Note: Please Don't Climb." Department of
812 Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities' website. Accessed
813 November 25, 2011. <http://www.environment.gov.au/parks/publications/uluru/pn-please-dont-climb.htm>
- 814 Pears, P. W. 1923. "Mt Lindesay. Letter to the Editor." *Brisbane Courier*, November 22.
- 815 *Queenslander*. 1866. "The Mania For Alpine Climbing." December 29.
- 816 *Queenslander*. 1871. "The Southern Border." April 1.
- 817 *Queenslander*. 1887. "Mount Bellenden-Ker." July 9.
- 818 *Queenslander*. 1927. "Ascent of Crookneck: Thrilling Trip." December 29.
- 819 Qurank. 2011. "Access Issues." Queensland Cranking [Climbing] Online Community website.
820 Accessed April 8, 2011. <http://www.qurank.com/>
- 821 Rapelje, Brandon Wayne. 2004. "August. Rock-Climbing Sub-Worlds: A Segmentation Study."
822 Master of Science diss. Texas A&M University.
- 823 Robinson, Victoria. 2002. *Men, Masculinities and Rock Climbing*, Everyday Cultures Working
824 Papers No. 5. Milton Keynes: Open University.
- 825 Rossiter, Penelope. 2007. "On Humans, Nature and Other Nonhumans." *Space and Culture* 10 (2):
826 292–305.
- 827 Rowley, George. 1912. "A Week-End at Glass-House Mountains: Successful Ascent of Coonowrin." *Brisbane Courier and Observer*, June 1.
- 828 Salmon, Albert Armitage. 1928. "Captain Cook's Glasshouses." *Queenslander*, March 1.
- 829 Smith, K. 1978. "Epitaph to a Cragman." *Climber and Rambler*, February, 1–26.
- 830 Solnit, Rebecca. 2000. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. New York: Viking.
- 831 Stebbins, Robert A. 2007. *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time*. London: Transaction
832 Publishers.
- 833 Steele, J. G. 1972. *The Explorers of the Moreton Bay District 1770–1830*. St Lucia: University of
834 Queensland Press.
- 835 Steele, J. G. 1984. *Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River*. St Lucia:
836 University of Queensland Press.
- 837 Taylor, J. 2006. "Mapping Adventure: A Historical Geography of Yosemite Valley Climbing
838 Landscapes." *Journal of Historical Geography* 32: 190–219.

- 834 Tejada-Flores, Lito. 1967. "Games Climbers Play." *Ascent* Accessed August 8, 2001. http://web.mit.edu/lin/Public/climbing/Games_Climbers_Play.txt 23–25.
- 835 *Truth*. 1934. "Modern Maids of the Mountain: On Top of the World." *Truth*, July 29.
- 836 Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1974. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. New
- 837 York: Columbia University Press.
- 838 Welsby, Thomas. 1886. "To the Top of the Glass Mountains: No. 1." *Queenslander*, June 12.
- 839 [Q16] Welsby, Thomas. 1913. *The Discoverers of the Brisbane River*. Brisbane.
- 840 Wet Tropics Aboriginal Plan Project Team. 2005. *Caring for Country and Culture: The Wet Tropics*
- 841 *Aboriginal Cultural and Natural Resource Management Plan*. Cairns: Rainforest CRC and FNQ
- 842 NRM.
- 843 White, Graham. 1999. *Sacred Summits: John Muir's Greatest Climbs*. Edinburgh: Cannongate.
- 844 Whitehouse, Fred W. 1966. "Early Ascents of the Glasshouses." *Heybob* 8: 72–77.
- 845 Whitlock, Gillian, and David Carter. 1992. *Images of Australia*. St Lucia: University of Queensland
- 846 Press.
- 847 Williams, T., and P. Donnelly. 1985. "Subcultural Production, Reproduction and Transformation in
- 848 Climbing." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 30 (3): 3–16.
- 849 Wise, Reginald. 1916. "A Climb Up Coonowrim (*sic*)." *Queenslander*, September 23.
- 850
- 851
- 852
- 853
- 854
- 855
- 856
- 857
- 858
- 859
- 860
- 861
- 862
- 863
- 864
- 865
- 866
- 867
- 868
- 869
- 870
- 871
- 872
- 873
- 874
- 875
- 876
- 877
- 878
- 879
- 880
- 881
- 882