

Gentleman squatters, 'self-made' men and soldiers: Masculinities in
nineteenth century Australia

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of the diversities of rural Australian colonial masculinities, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, moderated by place, religion, and class. Close-grained micro-histories have been produced about the two sites for this thesis, Mudgee in New South Wales and Gawler in South Australia. These micro histories, set within overarching movements in nineteenth - century society reveal both some general similarities and differences between the two towns, based upon their geography, economy and class structure and the religious and social values of their inhabitants. The different histories of the two colonies, along with all these factors affected the kinds of opportunities which were open to the six male subjects of this thesis. The micro histories are not intended to be a 'total historical account' rather, as Caroline Daley contends they 'offers insights into the meanings of gender in the lives'¹ of the six men, three from each town, presented in the individual biographical chapters.

The thesis argues that the two different environments made possible differing modes of masculinity. Furthermore, the subjects reveal more nuanced and diverse images of masculinity than what has been seen as the hegemonic ideal of masculinity for the period, namely - the lower class pastoral worker, or 'the bushman', which has been being articulated as the embodiment of the typical Australian.² The subjects with one exception did not make any reference to this celebrated representation let alone the much debated 'Coming Man'³ or the 'Australian type'. Rather, the British heritage was crucial. The thesis draws widely upon the literatures around masculinities, chiefly from Britain and the United States to present the six richly detailed biographical studies of these men, each set within his family, religion, class and community.

¹ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999). p. 2

² Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1966). pp. 2-3

³ Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988). p. 80

Introduction

Like many Ph.D. theses, this one arose out of my honours thesis when I came to appreciate the rich source of historical newspapers. A comment from my supervisor, Margaret Allen, regarding the considerable media debate, about late nineteenth century Australian masculinity, cemented the idea that a thesis on Australian masculinity was an ideal project. Encouraged by Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly's, argument that, 'the construction of various forms of masculinity has now become an important topic of historical research'⁴ I started my thesis.

The research however, took considerable time and 'the evidence' regrettably 'unfolded itself only slowly.'⁵ It became a large project with research into a multitude of sources, in two different states and two different towns and it has altered along the way. However, on the convoluted pathway the thesis became the exploration of the nuances of white Australian colonial masculinities in the rural towns of Mudgee, New South Wales and Gawler, South Australia. The thesis also became a comparative study. As Ida Blom argues, 'comparisons are inherent in historical research' and 'range from microcosmic to macrocosmic comparisons, and they may be made at different levels, from individual to the global'.⁶ Whilst Laura Putnam argues that 'macro level data can be crucial for determining fruitful axes of comparison',⁷ and this indeed proved to be the case. With the volume of information I accrued, I have taken counsel from Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee, who advocated that 'studying history is like looking through a window. 'What you see depends on which window you decide to look through'.⁸ I thus, decided the thesis parameters would be place, religion, and class.

Following an introductory/literary review chapter, and before the biographical and the concluding chapters, there are two chapters, on Mudgee and Gawler which are close-grained, gendered micro-histories that 'sets the scene' for this thesis. John Tosh, amongst other researchers has argued that a gendered view of history is 'much the established approach' stimulated by 'feminist scholarship' that had demonstrated 'beyond question that gender permeates all cultural and social forms and all human experience'.⁹ Caroline Daley used a 'gendered lens',¹⁰ because she contends, 'gender is about relations

⁴ Patricia Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation; 1788 -1907* (Perth: API Network, Australia Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology, 2006). p. 4

⁵ Jill Liddington, *Rebel Girls; Their Fight for the Vote* (London: Virago, 2006). p. 325

⁶ I. Blom, "Gender and Nation in International Comparison," in *Gendered Nations; Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. I. Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall (Oxford: Berg, 2000). p. 5

⁷ Lara Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole; Microhistory and the Atlantic World," *Social History* 39, no. 3 (spring) (2006). p. 621

⁸ Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee, eds., *Constructing Culture; A Peoples History of Australia since 1788* (Fitzroy: Mc Phee Gribble Publishers Pty Ltd, 1988). p. xiv

⁹ John Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850," in *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michele Cohen (London and New York: Longman, 1999). p. 217; ———, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain;*

between people, it is an ideal concept for examining local communities'.¹¹ Whilst Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law, in a collaborative study of Dunedin, New Zealand presented new ways of using gender as an analytical tool which provided an 'insight into how dominant ideas of what it meant to be a woman or a man were accepted, contested, or transformed in people's sense of themselves as individuals'.¹²

The micro-histories of the two towns are in keeping with Barry Reay's view that 'context' is vital and, I similarly contend that it is 'one of the dominant themes'.¹³ I also concur with Reay's observation that micro-history must be sensitive to local issues and cannot be 'written in isolation from the wider processes',¹⁴ or to use Audrey Oldfield's words it cannot be, 'fruitfully explored in a vacuum',¹⁵ a sentiment also shared by Greg Patmore. He argues that the 'focus on particular places, towns, cities, cannot be isolated from broader economic, social, political events and institutions'¹⁶ and in this thesis they include Australian Federation, woman's suffrage and the Boer War.¹⁷

After the 'setting of the scene' chapters, are the biographical chapters. There are six white male subjects, three men from each town, all of whom had rural or country town origins. The selection of these six figures allows for examination of a variety of masculinities nuanced by place, religion and class. In Gawler, where Methodism was influential and flourished,¹⁸ two subjects, Bruce May, a volunteer and Ephraim Coombe, an editor, were Methodists. They were native born, and middle-class, whilst, James Martin, a machinist, the third subject was an Anglican and member of the largest denomination, in South Australia. He had arrived from England as a young ambitious man who progressed to join the elite. Both the latter two married whilst Bruce the youngest, remained unwed. In Mudgee, the three subjects were all Australian born, and became married men and included the thrice wedded, James Loneragan, a merchant, who was of Irish ancestry and a Catholic, a faith, whose adherents endured considerable discrimination. The other two subjects, of English extraction, were

Essays on Gender, Family and Empire (London: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 6; R.W. Connell, *Gender & Power. Society, The Person and Sexual Politics*. (Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 1987; repr., 1991). pp. ix-x

¹⁰ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999). p. 2

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 7

¹² Barbara Brookes, "The Risk to Life and Limb: Gender and Health," in *Sites of Gender; Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin 1890 - 1939*, ed. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p. 4

¹³ Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge., 1996). p. 260

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 260-1

¹⁵ Audrey Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia; A Gift or a Struggle* (Melbourne: University of Cambridge, 1992). p. 4

¹⁶ Greg Patmore, "The Birmingham of Australia: Lithgow 1890-1914," in *Working The Nation: Working Life and Federation 1890-1914.*, ed. Mark Hearn and Greg Patmore (Annadale: Pluto Press, 2001). p. 185

¹⁷ Sometimes referred to as the South African War

¹⁸ Philip Payton, *The Cornish Farmer in Australia or Australian Adventure: Cornish Colonists and the Expansion of Adelaide and the South Australian Agricultural Frontier* (Redruth, Cornwall: Dyllansow Truran, 1987). p. 7; Derek Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. (Gawler: The Corporation of the Town of Gawler, 1989). pp. 210-11

George Henry Cox, Australian educated and a squatter, and Willoughby Vincent Dowling, English schooled, and a volunteer, well-to-do and Anglicans, the dominant Australian denomination.¹⁹

John Tosh credits R.W. Connell with providing ‘the framework of the most significant analysis of masculinity of the period to date’.²⁰ Researching the subject, Connell identified, ‘that there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere. We need to speak of masculinities’.²¹ As Connell further elucidates, there are many different types of masculinities, not only apparent between groups but also within communities, such as educational and employment institutions or particular classes or ethnic groups. Here, individuals acquire models, which includes ‘different ways of enacting manhood, different ways of learning to be a man, different conceptions of self and different ways of using a male body’.²² However, there is ‘definite social relation between them’ particularly in relation to ‘hierarchy’, leading to ‘some masculinities becoming the most desired type’ and this accrues precedence or ‘hegemony’ leaving others as ‘subordinated or marginalised’.²³ The ‘hegemonic’ form is not necessarily the most widespread form and many individuals may find that they at odds with the ideal, existing ‘in a state of some tension with, or distance from, the hegemonic masculinity of their culture or community’.²⁴

In a global view, in his key work *Masculinities*, Connell provides a comprehensive time line dating from 1450 to 1650, to the present, outlining the historical changes that have shaped gender.²⁵ Focusing on Europe, Connell sketches four developments that occurred, summarising each one and showing that, ‘masculinities come into existence at particular times and places, and are always subject to change’.²⁶ The fourth stage has particular relevance to Australian white settlement because during the ‘sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’ in a sustained European conflict between religious authorities and European monarchies, there resulted in a ‘new gender order’, and amongst other outcomes was the growth of a ‘strong centralised state’.²⁷ In turn this allowed for ‘absolute monarchy’ states to ‘institutionalise’ men’s increased power’ that gave the enlarged armies amassed during these ‘dynastic and religious wars and imperial expansion’ to develop masculinity closely linked to notions of ‘chivalry’ and ‘military prowess’.²⁸ The eighteenth century heralded a modern hegemonic masculinity (and some of its relations to subordinated and marginalized forms’) centred on ‘seaboard Europe and America’ that was characterised by a ‘gendered individual’ who was ‘defined in opposition with

¹⁹ Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2007).

²⁰ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 63

²¹ R.W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys*, (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2000). p. 10

²² Ibid. p.10

²³ Ibid. p.10

²⁴ Ibid. p.11

²⁵ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1995). p.186

²⁶ Ibid. p 185

²⁷ Ibid. p.189

²⁸ Ibid. p.189

femininity and institutionalised in economy and state'.²⁹ It facilitated the rise of the 'gentry', who gained a pre-eminence in society as large landowners, and their accompanying traditional heredity 'kinship' system that ensured an 'individual was the social unit'.³⁰ Relying on a system of 'patronage', these important families were able to 'control state apparatus' in such institutions as 'local administration (through justices of peace)', as well as 'staffing the military apparatus'. 'Gentry masculinity was closely integrated with the state' and 'at the intersection between this direct involvement in violence and the ethic of family honour was the institution of the duel'.³¹ In this ritual 'affronts to honour' were dealt with by a 'potentially lethal one-to-one combat' and 'this in a sense', demonstrated that the 'gentry were emphatic and violent'.³² The gentry had 'domestic authority over women' and with largest sector of the population, the agricultural workforce with whom they had a 'brutal relationship'.³³ This was characterised by 'violent discipline', involving 'imprisonment, the lash, hangings and transportation' to such places as Australia.³⁴ Expansion of 'industrial economies' and 'bureaucratic states' spelled the end of the gentry's 'economic and political power' though their battle was tenaciously fought.³⁵ Thus, society changed 'from personal to bureaucratic authority, from sociability to domesticity and from sexual licence to respectability'.³⁶ Even men from the 'landed classes' altered their ideals of masculinity, so by the mid-nineteenth century they had yielded to the ever more pervasive middle class gender ideals,³⁷ as they became dominant.³⁸

As Connell argues,

The history of European/American masculinity over the last two hundred years can broadly be understood as the splitting of gentry masculinity, its gradual displacement of new hegemonic forms, and the emergence of an array of subordinated and marginalised masculinities.³⁹

Further, Connell stresses, 'the fundamental point is that masculinities are not only shaped by the process of imperial expansion, they are active in that process and help to shape it'.⁴⁰ In the case of such white settler colonies as Australia, Connell notes that,

As hegemonic masculinity in the metropole became more subject to rationalisation, violence and licence were, symbolically and to some extent actually, pushed out to the colonies. On the frontier of white settlement, regulation was ineffective, violence endemic and physical conditions harsh. Industries such a mining offered spectacular

²⁹ Ibid. p. 189

³⁰ Ibid. p. 190

³¹ Ibid. p. 190

³² Ibid. p. 190

³³ Ibid. pp.190-1

³⁴ Ibid. p. 191

³⁵ Ibid. p. 192

³⁶ R.W. Connell, 'The big picture, masculinities in recent world history', *Theory & Society* 22, (1993). pp. 597-623

³⁷ Ibid. p. 64

³⁸ Ibid., p. 62 Connell, *Masculinities*. p. 185

³⁹ Ibid. p. 191

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 185

profits on a chancy basis. A very imbalanced sex ratio allowed a cultural masculinization of the frontier.⁴¹

By the end of the nineteenth century, Australia's land had come under the domination of white men, and 'frontiersmen were being promoted as exemplars of masculinity'.⁴²

Angela Woollacott has recently taken up the issue of frontier violence in white settler societies of the British Empire, including Australia. She argues there developed 'understandings of manliness forged on the frontiers [which] were woven into political manhood' in turn shaped 'the quest for manhood suffrage'. As Woollacott argues, in Australia, 'for settlers, racial hierarchies and land struggles', became vital concerns in the claim for suffrage. Yet, as she and others have noted, in the metropole during the early to mid-nineteenth century 'gender ideology shaped by the industrial revolution and religious evangelism in European and American societies' was at its zenith.⁴³ Violence was less acceptable as an integral aspect of masculinity. Rather what occurred in the industrialisation of society, was an increasing commercialisation in the middle-classes, and a movement whereby men made a quest for their inclusion in the political process in accordance with their blossoming in 'cultural authority'.⁴⁴ Woollacott focussed upon biographies of two Englishmen, one being Henry S. Chapman, a well-travelled lawyer, journalist, civil servant and parliamentarian in various colonies, notably Australia and New Zealand and the other subject being Thomas Murray-Prior, a pastoralist, plantation owner, public servant and parliamentarian in Queensland.⁴⁵ Woollacott notes that these men were examples of the discretion used regarding the general understanding of the violent conflict, committed on the frontier, which informed masculinity. As Woollacott argues, in connecting 'frontier violence to gendered authority, mid-nineteenth century ideas of manhood might look a less peaceable and restrained-both here and in other parts of the empire'.⁴⁶ So, 'if mid-nineteenth century masculinity then, was not a predominantly benign or domestic as it had been thought, perhaps political manhood itself needs to be seen as being less about disciplined reason and more about colonial conquest'.⁴⁷ Indeed, Marilyn Lake and Joy Damousi argue that, 'Warfare and military service have played key roles in national histories and in the fashioning of gender identities'.⁴⁸ Further, Woollacott further argues that until recently the 'legend that self-government in the Australian colonies was won by a progressive reform movement that operated in a purely political realm divorced from the messy realities of the frontier'.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 194

⁴² Ibid. p. 194

⁴³ Angela Woollacott, 'Frontier violence and settler manhood'. *History Australia* 6 (1) pp.11.1 to 11.15

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 11.1

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp.11.4-11

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 11.13

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 11.13

⁴⁸ Marilyn Lake and Joy Damousi, 'Introduction; Warfare, history and gender', eds., Lake and Damousi *Gender and War; Australians at War in the Twentieth Century* (Melbourne and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995). p. 1

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 11.4

The thesis focuses on the late nineteenth century although it covers much of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The last decades of nineteenth century Australia were characterised by unrest, drought and depression. In this troubled period however, there emerged what was to become a national representation of a typical Australian, the bushman who frequented an idyllic countryside, which was fast disappearing. Promoted by city media, particularly the well-known *Bulletin* and other assorted publications, masculinity ideals gathered around this ideal as the hegemonic masculinity of the Australian Pacific seaboard region - the working class pastoral worker, or 'the bushman'.⁵⁰ In the mid-twentieth century Russell Ward's account of nineteenth century masculinity described the man of the bush, who was later known as a 'lone hand' as being,

rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any affectation in others. He was a great improviser, ever willing 'to have a go' at anything, but willing too, be content with a task done in a way that is 'near enough' though capable of great excursion in an emergency, he normally feels no impulse to work hard without good cause. He swears hard and consistently, gambles heavily and often drinks deeply on occasions, though he is 'the world's best confidence man', he is usually taciturn rather than talkative, one who endures stoically rather than one who acts busily. He is a 'hard case', sceptical about the value of religion and of intellectual and cultural pursuits generally. He believes Jack is not only as good as his master but, at least in principle, probably a good deal better, and so he is a 'great knocker' of eminent people unless, as in the case of his sporting heroes, they are distinguished by prowess. He is fiercely independent person who hates officiousness and authority, especially when these are embodied in military officers and policemen. Yet, he is very hospitable and, above all will stick to his mates through thick and thin, even if he thinks they may be in the wrong. No epitaph in his vocabulary is more completely damning than 'scab' and 'pimp' unless used in its peculiarly Australasian slang meaning 'informer'. He tends to be a rolling stone, highly suspect if he should chance to gather moss.⁵¹

According to Ward the bushman was an enduring 'national myth'.⁵² Perhaps this is understandable in the light of the international research of Hugh Campbell, Michel Bell Mayerfield and Margaret Finney who argue, that 'masculinity is in a considerable measure constructed out of rural masculinity'.⁵³

A century after the turbulent 1890s decade, the idea of the bushman or 'Lone Hand' had become generally popular, indeed, so much, so that a journal with that title appeared. However, as second wave feminists brought new perspectives to the table, a debate developed,⁵⁴ regarding legitimacy of the 'Lone Hand' as the national icon. In 1986, Marilyn Lake argued that the dividing lines at the time in society were 'between men and women at the end of the nineteenth century for the control of the national culture'⁵⁵ under pinned by a 'sexual dynamic' characterised by 'respectability and unrespectability',

⁵⁰ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 2000). pp. 130-2

⁵¹ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1966). p. 2

⁵² Ward, *The Australian Legend*, pp. 209-11

⁵³ Hugh Campbell, Michael Bell Mayerfield, and Margaret Finney, "Masculinity and Rural Life: An Introduction," ed. Hugh Campbell, Michael Bell Mayerfield, and Margaret Finney, *Country Boys :Masculinity and Rural Life* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2006). p. 19

⁵⁴ Marilyn Lake, "Historical reconsiderations IV:The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context." in *Historical Studies* 22:86, (1986). DOI: 10.1080/10314618608595739. pp. 116-131.

⁵⁵ Lake, "The Historical reconsiderations IV:The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context." pp. 116-7

further complicated by a conflict over different 'ideals of masculinity'.⁵⁶ According to Lake, whilst some men subscribed to the lone bushman ideal, others subscribed to an alternate type of masculinity, known as the 'Domestic Man'. British in origin, it was integral to the 'cult of domesticity, revealed in Catherine Hall's research in England, where between 1780 and 1820 as Evangelicalism gained an influential position in society.⁵⁷ The evangelical adherents were in favour of the abolition of slavery, reforming social etiquette as well as 'champions of married life and the joys of domesticity'.⁵⁸ In Australia, the 'Domestic Man' ideal, gained prominence from about mid-century, and was championed by such groups as the self-improvement movement, while the male-dominated press such as *The Bulletin* ridiculed the ideal, commenting that 'home life trammelled a man's spirit and sapped his masculinity'.⁵⁹ Lake subsequently contended that the gendering of the 'Bushman', which 'embodied white masculinity,' had as a counter-balance, 'a feminine domesticity'.⁶⁰

Chris Mcconville critiqued Lake's article 'the Politics of respectability; Identifying the masculinist context' arguing that for the most part, it was about 'the power of women than about socializing men' and that she had indicated that 'Historians have ignored these battles because they mistook the feminised movement for social reform at the end of the nineteenth century as simply a crusade for respectability'.⁶¹ Rather, he argues that in the event that there was a late nineteenth century conflict, then it was between the 'social reformers' and the 'working class of the inner city' adding that 'in its relation to both national culture and to masculinism, reform must be seen as ambivalent'.⁶² Mcconville recognises however, the enduring nature of the Lone-Hand and comments that Lake, like other historians, aiming to find a fresh approach, has demonstrated another viewpoint that 'the *Bulletin* writers and readers were influenced by a masculinist ideology', although the 'important questions about the relations between men and woman' was raised.⁶³ This, Mcconville argues, does not become clear in researching Australian 'national identity and national culture', of the 1890s debate and subsequent periods. Rather, the solution lies in examining daily life.⁶⁴ Indeed, this thesis aims to demonstrate the point. However, the legend of the 1890s continued to be the subject of debate.

In a subsequent edited collection, where the Lone Hand was described as the 'freewheeling bushman, untrammelled by domestic ties, [who became] the symbol of Australian nationalism',⁶⁵ Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan, presented contrasting views of the bushman, challenging

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 117

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 117

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 117

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.118

⁶⁰ Marilyn Lake, 'Introduction', in Patricia Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation; 1788 -1907* (Perth: API Network, Australia Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology, 2006). p. 2

⁶¹ Chris Mcconville. "Rough Women, respectable men and social reform: A response to Lake's masculinism" in *Historical Studies*, 22:88, DOI: 10.1080/10314618708595760,(1987) . Accessed on-line, 29/05/2016. p. 432

⁶² Ibid. p. 440

⁶³ Ibid. p. 440

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 440

⁶⁵ Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan, "Introduction" in Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan eds., *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890's* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993). p. xvii

the supremacy of this much-respected icon. John Docker, saw the debate that Lake sparked in a different light and revisited the 1890s looking at the debate from a 1950s perspective between the 'radical nationalism,' which included Russell Ward, and the 1960-70s New Critics/Leavisites over this debate's particular character. He saw both these factions possessing a common ground 'of history'.⁶⁶ Docker argued both factions were 'equally historicist',⁶⁷ and that Lake's publication, the *Politics of respectability; Identifying the masculinist context* was but another in the explanatory fray. He contends that

the Feminist Legend is following the historicist side of Foucault, perceiving that there was domination everywhere in its chosen historical period of a single Power, produced by those associated with the *Sydney Bulletin*, and are presented as typical of the way culture in the Nineties is constructed as a whole.⁶⁸

He acknowledges that Lake, 'offered a striking reworking of Ward's account of the Australian national ethos'.⁶⁹ Docker however, disagreed with Lake's summary of the 1890s, when 'masculinist ideals, became typical,'⁷⁰ only to be superseded in the twentieth century, as a 'new vigorous women's journalism [which] grew and spread and male journalists historically lost out'.⁷¹ Social direction altered, spearheaded by the temperance movement which succeeded in implementing restrictive alcohol consumption legislation, which also met the captains of industry requirements of a 'sober, responsible and industrious' labour force that resulted in Australian culture becoming 'feminised' in the 1920s.⁷² Docker disagreed with Lake's interpretation, of the timing, that Australian women ventured from the domestic realm, querying if the 'Feminist Legend involves a slighting of "first wave" feminism of the Nineties? [as] Women were very much on the move in the 1890s'.⁷³ Indeed, the vibrant writing by women included the Mudgee writer and publisher of *The Dawn*, Louisa Lawson who was instrumental in this movement. Highlighting the most recent trends of the time, 'in the historiography of contemporary literary theory', Docker also argues that by relying on a narrow range of publications and not taking 'historiography and theory' into account, 'Lake's notion and language of a text possessing a single 'message' seems crude and reductive'.⁷⁴

Desley Deacon takes a different focus on the complex 1890s. She demonstrated how men possessing expertise, campaigned to improve their own prospects and exclude women workers by the means of the New South Wales Public Service Bill of 1895.⁷⁵ The Bill, she argues, was 'clearly to further male

⁶⁶ John Docker, "The Feminist Legend: A New Historicism?" in *Debutante Nation, Feminism contests the 1890s*, ed. Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993). pp.16-7

⁶⁷ Docker, "The Feminist Legend: A New Historicism?" p. 17

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 19

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 17

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 18

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 18

⁷² Ibid. p. 18

⁷³ Ibid. p. 25

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 26

⁷⁵ Desley Deacon, "Reorganising the masculinist context: Conflicting masculinisms in the New South Wales Public Service Bill Debates of 1895," in *Debutante Nation, Feminism contests the 1890s*, ed. Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993). pp.50-58

interests, was masculinist in a different way from the libertarian misogyny of the *Bulletin* of the 1880'.⁷⁶ Whilst it augured

and established the machinery for, the technocratic paternalism of the family wage concept two decades later, the concept was foreign to most of the men who debated the Bill, and was far more simplistic than the originators of the Bill ever intended.⁷⁷

By scrutinising aspects of change, Deacon pinpointed 'a coming together' of different notions of masculinity and femininity and the implementation of novel ideas which were applied in the succeeding decades.⁷⁸ The Bill was a long awaited response to civil servants' demands to regularise conditions in the public service about such issues as remuneration, promotion, and retirement in an age when patronage, then controlled by the 'political system' ended.⁷⁹ 'The Act was a paradoxical document'.⁸⁰ It was not only 'a charter for the merit principle and the abolition of privilege' but it also

set formal limits on women's public service employment for the first time in New South Wales. For the men in the service they received 'a high degree of autonomy from political and allowed them considerable control over their labour market participation'.⁸¹

There were 'two clauses' regarding women. One 'banned the employment of *married* women' a group, which had previously made a success at operating in Post Offices, along with the 'second clause [which] gave a proposed Public Service Board wide discretion to facilitate and make regulations for the employment of single women'.⁸² The legislation decreased the rights of married women to employment and caused amazement amongst some parliamentarians. Dissension and objections followed⁸³ however, as the chief issues were over 'the abolition of patronage and provision of equality of opportunity' the legislation succeeded.⁸⁴ Opponents of the legislation included parliamentarians from country seats who were *au fait* with the methods used by country folk to make a living and though they understood the same impetuses for which the lauded bushmen was noted, their reactions and interest were at odds with the icon. They had witnessed the many difficult, hard lives country people endured including women who laboured in various capacities, some of which are noted in this thesis. Increasingly people moved to the cities for a better life or a 'female' 'Push from the Bush' as Deacon declares which included Mudgee born Louisa Lawson.⁸⁵ She was a typical example of a selector's wife, frequently coping on her own and working hard to make ends meet, eventually moving to Sydney.⁸⁶ As Deacon notes, it is a challenge to comprehend how such a situation could have arisen, as there was general, widespread support for women's cause in society, including the media. The Act certainly strengthened men's right to employment over women. Deacon attributes the retrograde situation of the 'masculinism' inherent in

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 50

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 50

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 50

⁷⁹ Ibid. pp. 50-1

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 51

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 51

⁸² Ibid. p. 51

⁸³ Ibid. p. 51

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 53

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 54

⁸⁶ Ibid. pp. 54-5

the Bill, and to the feeble commitment of the leader of New South Wales, Premier, Reid.⁸⁷ He was not on his own however, as Deacon suggests, for behind the scenes, the authoritative force of the Government Statistician, T.A. Coghlan plotted. He came armed with firm views on 'women's place couched in the rationalism of the professional expert' and working with other like-minded civil servants, implementation of his view of 'rational gender role which protected male jobs without unduly discriminating against single women' proceeded.⁸⁸ Crucially, Coghlan managed to 'regulate women's employment in line with his ideas on a prosperous labour market and proper gender relations'.⁸⁹ Married women were denied employment in secretarial and skilled jobs for the Public Service Board and single women had their equal pay conditions curtailed whilst Coghlan organised a system which disadvantaged women in the succeeding decades making the New South Wales Public Service Act a 'pivotal point in the history of masculinism, feminism and women's work in Australia'.⁹⁰

Allison Bashford's text on British medicine and nursing in the Victorian age was reflected in Australia. Bashford, underlines a similar issue which Deacon highlights that took place in the public domain in the period, as male medical practitioners sought to safeguard their knowledge and expertise, increasingly as the wealth of the knowledge expanded and they concurrently 'gained more political and economic power'.⁹¹ However, women were able to argue convincingly that they had the expertise to enter the public sphere armed with their knowledge and understanding stemming from caring and nurturing in the private domain. This qualified them to make improvements in the public health area.⁹² As Bashford notes, there was a connection between domesticity and femininity, which placed the topic of women as sanitary reformers, or 'domestic officers of health' outside the interest of a largely masculine tradition of public health as it originated in the 'private' domain.⁹³ Instead of power and economic power 'middle class women were culturally compensated, with a heightened moral and spiritual place' in which 'religiosity' coupled with their 'special moral sensibility, became vital aspects of their femininity'.⁹⁴

Lake and Docker both continued researching and writing about the 1890s. Indeed, Docker studied the extensive artistic and literary material available to the expanding reading public in the period to produce a cultural record, which demonstrated 'a history of transformation'⁹⁵. He discerned that international influence in Australia was wide and diverse whilst the impact of such information was

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 55

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 56

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 56

⁹⁰ Ibid. pp. 57-8

⁹¹ Allison Bashford, *Purity and Pollution; Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine*, (London and New York; Macmillan, 1998). p. 16

⁹² Ibid. p. xiii

⁹³ Ibid. p.1

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 16

⁹⁵ John Docker, *The Nervous Nineties; Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s*, (Melbourne; Oxford University Press, 1991). p. xi

correspondingly far-reaching and varied.⁹⁶ Sydney based, Louisa Lawson features, in one chapter in which Docker demonstrates how she drew upon the international sources such as Americans, Charlotte Gilman and Edward Bellamy who possessed new ideas aimed to improve society. In turn, Lawson used them and disseminated them to inspire changes in Australian society,⁹⁷ in the realm of ‘intellectual life, political argument and journalism’.⁹⁸

Lake, a prolific historical researcher and writer has contributed to an expanding array of projects. She more recently was a contributor to the already mentioned, *Creating a Nation, 1788- 2007* project in which, women’s story became purposely integrated into Australian history. Writing the introduction, Lake, notes, that ‘creating a nation always involves conflict in the encounter between diversity and the incitement to national uniformity’.⁹⁹ She argues however, that in the process of Australian Federation ‘white men’s’ dogged insistence meant the development of a male dominated white society in which a ‘founding principle’ of Australian nationality, known as the White Australia policy resulted in the exclusion of groups, notably Aborigines, to ‘citizenship’.¹⁰⁰ This in effect meant that Australians of ‘different sexes, sexualities, races, class interests, experiences and desires’ were coerced into being a unified people by the requirements and demands of the ‘dominant interests’.¹⁰¹ Lake noted the effects of this development and the general unease in other white settler societies, such as the United States of America who had as a leader, President Roosevelt. He ‘was an ardent advocate of imperialism, as the white man’s racial destiny’ an idea held by many ‘Australian political leaders’.¹⁰² Lake notes that this in turn, had an effect in Australia notably on men’s remuneration, enshrined in the ‘Harvester judgement’ which ‘did not just reward manhood’, rather, ‘it empowered white manhood’.¹⁰³ As Lake argues,

the Harvester Judgement of 1907 was justified in terms of the worker’s ‘needs’ as an ‘average employee’ living in a ‘civilised community’. By the late 1920s, when white working men were confronted by new challenges, from feminists and employers, who sought for different reasons to dismantle the living wage, the labour movement shaped a new political discourse which translated their needs’ into ‘rights’, rights which they Lake argues, and ‘accrued to workers in their capacity as men’.¹⁰⁴

Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan, argued in that the enduring nature of ‘the bushman’ image, has resulted in a kind of ‘history writing [that] has been historicist and parochial...’ and the publication demonstrates more complexity in a whole range of life’s activity as well as ‘masculinity

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. xii

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 21

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 21

⁹⁹ Marilyn Lake, ‘Introduction’, in Patricia Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation; 1788 -1907* . p. 2

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 2

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 2

¹⁰² Marilyn Lake. "Translating Needs into Rights: The Discursive Imperative of the Australian White Man, 1901-30." In *Masculinities in Politics and War; Gendering Modern History*, edited by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh.. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004. p. 202

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 199

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 217

and femininity, than “the legends of the nineties” would ever allow’.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, from a South Australian perspective, Margaret Allen demonstrated that nineteenth century colonial women writers had an agenda, which rivalled the usual celebratory male effort in taming the Australian frontier and the 1890s emergence of the ‘the Australian Legend’.¹⁰⁶ Her research demonstrated that there is a ‘regional specificity’ and a ‘South Australian-ness’.¹⁰⁷ Richard White adopted a broader perspective, arguing that Australia’s identities were part of a wider Western movement, informed by such ideas as scientific discoveries, which influenced racial understandings, and nation building.¹⁰⁸ White also argues that a debate developed over whether British or American characteristics had most salience for Australians, or ‘between the impulse to be distinctly Australian and a lingering sense of a British Heritage’¹⁰⁹ however, for most of the nineteenth century, across Australia, he believed, no particular identity characterised a typical Australian, which was distinguishable from Britain.¹¹⁰

Throughout the nineteenth century, many British migrants continued arriving in Australia.¹¹¹ Diana Archibald reports that over ‘five and a half million British citizens’ departed the British Isles during Queen Victoria’s reign.¹¹² Migrants came with all kinds of baggage,¹¹³ including their British identity. Despite the distance between colonies,¹¹⁴ people remained ‘politically, culturally and economically’ powerfully bonded to Britain,¹¹⁵ which made for close ties with the motherland for most of the nineteenth century’.¹¹⁶ In Beverley Kingston’s words, there was the general understanding that ‘civilisation was basically British’.¹¹⁷ However, as Miriam Dixson highlights, from the beginning of Australian settlement, ‘there was always a time lag between major social developments’ occurring ‘in the rest of the Western world, and in Australia’, particularly in relation to gender.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁵ Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan, eds., *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890's* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993). p. xv

¹⁰⁶ Margaret Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin" (Ph.D., Flinders University of South Australia, 1991). p. 50

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 8

¹⁰⁸ Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988). p.62

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 47

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 62

¹¹¹ James Jupp, "Ethnicity, Race and Sectarianism," in *1901, The Forgotten Elections*, ed. Marian Simms (St Lucia: Queensland University Press, 2001). p.135

¹¹² Diana C Archibald, *Domesticity, Imperialism and Emigration in the Victorian Novel* (Columbia & London: University of Missouri, 2002). p. 1

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1 United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand which were the most common countries which British immigrants moved to in the nineteenth century

¹¹⁴ Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to be Rich; A History of the Colony of Victoria 1883 -1889* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1971). p. 190

¹¹⁵ Rita Farrell, "Women and Citizenship in Colonial Australia," in *Women as Australian Citizens*, ed. Patricia Crawford and Philippa Maddern (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2001). p. 115

¹¹⁶ Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin.", p. 18

¹¹⁷ Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988). pp. 57- 9 the other was that of ‘progress’.

¹¹⁸ Miriam Dixson, *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia, 1788 to 1975* (Ringwood: Penguin 1976). p. 17

There is a plethora written on the ‘bushman’ and Australian working class masculinities, and whilst Lake’s idea of the ‘ Domestic Man’ was useful, much of the literature has been of a general, rather than a specifically localised nature. In this study of masculinity in the two locations of Mudgee and Gawler, I have found the literature dealing with Anglo-American masculinities more useful and pertinent than the specifically Australian notions of the ‘bushman and the ‘lone - hand’. John Tosh’s texts have been useful, particularly, *A Man’s Place; Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*.¹¹⁹ He, like others have argued that masculinity ‘is made in the historical sense of being a changing construct over time’,¹²⁰ although he latterly takes uses a cautionary note saying ‘masculinity has fractured into a spectrum of identities’¹²¹ which ‘like, femininity, is historically expressed in complex and confusing variety, with comparable dangers to conceptual coherence’.¹²² The other inspirational publications include Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class; The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*.¹²³

Leonore Davidoff argues that class changes in the early nineteenth century had an impact on ‘all social relationships including gender divisions’ and in due course, ‘class designations came to carry gender overtones’.¹²⁴ This, as Tosh argues was because there was, the growing understanding of ‘masculinity in the context of a growing polarisation of sexual difference, embracing body, mind and the gendering of space’.¹²⁵ Davidoff agrees, noting that the ‘same forces which produced a world view dividing society between masculine and feminine, working class and middle (upper) class, urban and rural also separated physicality’.¹²⁶ She explains further that what happened was a perception of society as ‘hierarchically ordered but interdependent parts. The adult middle-class (or aristocratic) man, representing the governing or ruling group, was seen as the head of his household which was in turn a society in miniature’. The people or ‘Hands were the unthinking, unfeeling “doers” without characteristics of sex, age or other identity...’ Because work was central to Victorian society, the implication was that, ‘Middle-class men did brain work while the hands did menial work’.¹²⁷ As Davidoff and Hall argue, these men had to be ‘dependent on their ability to operate as economic

¹¹⁹ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹²⁰ ———, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 14

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 14

¹²² Ibid. p. 62

¹²³ Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865* (Cambridge, New York.: Cambridge University Press., 1998).; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850* (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹²⁴ Leonore Davidoff, "Class and Gender in Victorian England," in *Sex and Class in Women's History*, ed. Judith Newton, Mary P. Ryan, and Judith P. Walkowitz (London, Boston, Melbourne: Routledge and Kegan, Paul, 1983). pp. 17-8

¹²⁵ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 62

¹²⁶ Davidoff, "Class and Gender in Victorian England." pp. 17-8

¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 19

agents', in the expanding and changing face of the market economy¹²⁸ where 'rich new opportunities' were opened up for them in the world of commerce, manufacturing and the professions leading to a 'bourgeois masculinity attuned to the market'.¹²⁹

Australia welcomed such men, and as White argues, economic improvements changed the colonies' reputations, previously tainted by the convict system,¹³⁰ and between 1830 and 1850 it was transformed into, 'a land of opportunity,' and a 'workingman's paradise.'¹³¹ Mary Ryan notes that the 'self-made man' became evident in America around in the mid-nineteenth century,¹³² because earning a living became imperative, only achieved after unrelentingly toil, a 'finely tuned aptitude for businesses',¹³³ and single-mindedness to establish a 'career'.¹³⁴ Indeed, as this thesis will explore Australia was a rich location for a man, who could make the most of his opportunities to become a self – made man. American researcher, Anthony Rotundo has described further 'ideals of manhood held up to middle-class men in the period'.¹³⁵ These include the 'Masculine Achiever',¹³⁶ along with the 'Christian Gentleman', who arose because of 'Evangelical' religious philosophy and the declining 'moral order',¹³⁷ whilst the 'Muscular Primitive' type appeared later in the nineteenth-century.¹³⁸

The most enduring outcome of the period was the partitioning of society into the 'public world and the private arena'.¹³⁹ Ryan, accounts for the 'separation of the place of work, from the place of residence' as being of 'central historical importance'¹⁴⁰ when the 'social construction' of a 'doctrine of privacy' developed because of changing 'social relations and functions'.¹⁴¹ It meant that the privacy for the individual male and his family in their home became a priority, 'a reflexive reaction',¹⁴² and 'more than the last refuge of beleaguered individuals fleeing a hostile environment'.¹⁴³ Men no longer frequented male bastions rather, they preferred life at home.¹⁴⁴ The 'Domestic Man of the nineteenth century became a widely diffused and important masculinity, associated with public/ private sphere and with

¹²⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 229

¹²⁹ Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850." p. 219

¹³⁰ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 22

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 29

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 147

¹³³ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. p. 153

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 167

¹³⁵ Anthony Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America. 1800 - 1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James. Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). p. 36

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 37

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 38

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 42

¹³⁹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 319

¹⁴⁰ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. p. 231

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 154

¹⁴² *Ibid.* p. 147

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 154

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 147

the endorsement of 'Evangelical Christianity' the masculinity gained further credence.¹⁴⁵ Margaret Allen's research into South Australian nineteenth century literature discerned, colonial self-made man masculinity, and was apparent in the publications of Matilda Evans, in *The Master of Ralston*,¹⁴⁶ as well as in Catherine Helen Spence's novels.¹⁴⁷

Davidoff and Hall argue, 'Men had to come to terms with the private world. Many men valued and enjoyed domesticity; others defined themselves in opposition to it.'¹⁴⁸ Tosh similarly argues that the Domestic man appellation had become an 'ambivalent marker',¹⁴⁹ by century's end, with a sizeable proportion of men 'postponing marriage as long as possible, or to avoid it altogether'.¹⁵⁰ They preferred bachelorhood for a variety of reasons, often going out to seek work and adventure within the empire.¹⁵¹ There was a break with masculinity and domesticity resulting in masculinity became increasingly related to Empire.¹⁵² Whilst Francis Martin argues,

Male responses to domesticity remained complex and ambivalent throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and that it was possible simultaneous to both embrace and reject the attributes of domestic manliness. Men constantly travelled back and forward across the frontier of domesticity, if only in realm of imagination, attracted by the responsibilities of marriage or fatherhood, but enchanted by fantasies of the energetic life and homosocial camaraderie of the adventure hero.¹⁵³

Greg Patmore argues, 'place does matter'¹⁵⁴ and it is vital as a thesis parameter. Brookes, Cooper and Law, argue 'places such as a locality, may occur at any scale (global, national, regional and so on)',¹⁵⁵ and further that they 'are now more often understood in terms of fluid and overlapping boundaries (social, and spatial) created and maintained by practises of power and exclusion'.¹⁵⁶ Indeed this is particularly relevant for the Indigenous people. This thesis does not address Indigenous history however; it acknowledges the part that Aboriginal people have endured in Australia's story. Prominent in their many

¹⁴⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 5

¹⁴⁶ Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin." p. 144

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 234

¹⁴⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 33

¹⁴⁹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 108;

¹⁵⁰ ———, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 193.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 177

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 175

¹⁵³ Francis Martin, "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century British Masculinity," *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3133500>. p. 643

¹⁵⁴ Patmore, "The Birmingham of Australia: Lithgow 1890-1914." p. 185

¹⁵⁴ Brookes, "The Risk to Life and Limb: Gender and Health."; Annabel Cooper and Robin Law. Barbara Brookes, "Situating Gender," in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890 -1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p.10

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.10

¹⁵⁷ G.H.F. Cox, *The History Of Mudgee* (Unpublished Manuscript, 1913). p. 8, The documentation of family memories of their encounters with the local Aborigines in the Mudgee area.; David Lowe, *Forgotten Rebels: Black Australians Who Fought Back* (Melbourne: Permanent Press, 1994). pp. 3-6, documents the encounter

injustices, was white settlers' acquisition of their country,¹⁵⁷ although in South Australia whilst the founders considered Indigenous peoples' rights, the results were alike and occupation of their land proceeded.¹⁵⁸ Janette Hancock argues, foundational histories 'validate colonial expansion and white occupation by normalising the position of the white settler subject while simultaneously marginalising the "disorderly" Aboriginal presence'.¹⁵⁹

Stuart Macintyre contends that New South Wales settlement was 'underwritten by the British authorities' who 'took possession', of the land, 'according to the doctrine, derived from international law, that it was *terra nullius*, 'land belonging to nobody',¹⁶⁰ which had a lasting legacy. The New South Wales colony came into existence in 1788 and has a vigorously debated rationale for its establishment.¹⁶¹ As a penal colony, it was initially, a very masculine enterprise,¹⁶² with few women amongst one thousand males, the military authorities, the Marines,¹⁶³ and the British and Irish convicts,¹⁶⁴ who all struggled to survive in unfamiliar climatic and geographical situations.¹⁶⁵ As J.B. Hirst argues, 'at its foundation New South Wales was the most bizarre of England's colonies...'¹⁶⁶. Grazing upon government land, once belonging to Aborigines, the settlers, either illegally or under the land grant system and other subsequent schemes,

between the Wiradjuri and white settlers in the 1820s, in the Bathurst area.; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 38

¹⁵⁸ Eleanor Bourke and L.W.A. O'Brien, "South Australian History," ed. David Horton, *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands History, Society and Culture* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for the Institute of Aboriginal Torres Strait Island Studies, 1994). p. 1007 ; Robert Foster and Amanda Nettelbeck, *Out of the silence: the history and memory of South Australia's frontier wars* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2012).

¹⁵⁹ Janette Helen Hancock, "A Not So Innocent Vision; Revisiting the Literary Works of Ellen Liston, Jane Sarah Doudy and Mrytle Rose White (1838 -1961)" (Ph. D. University of Adelaide, 2007). p. 14

¹⁶⁰ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 34

¹⁶¹ Garran and White cite the evidence of Martin, G. (ed). *The Founding of Australia: The Argument about Australia's Origin*, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1978 and Steven, M. [M.J.E.] *Trade Tactics and Territory; Britain in the Pacific 1783-1823*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1983; *ibid.* p. 18, & p. 30; Beverly Kingston, *A History of New South Wales* (Port Melbourne, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). p. 6, 'generations, of historians have puzzled over the reasons why the British government chose 'the Eastern portion of Australia to establish a colony'; cited in W. Prest, *Albion Ascent*, p. 223 'Heads of a Plan' (1786) In C.M.H. Clark (ed) *Selected Documents in Australian History, 1788-1850* (1950) p. 34

¹⁶² Clive Moore, "Colonial Manhood and Masculinities," *Journal of Australian Studies* 56(1998). pp.35-50.

¹⁶³ R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1992). p. 35 in 1791 the New South Corps replaced marines; J.B. Hirst, *Convict Society and its Enemies; A History of Early New South Wales* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1983). p. 78, & p. 80

¹⁶⁴ Peter Taylor, *Australia; the First Twelve Years* (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1982). p. 46; Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police; the Colonisation of Women in Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1994). p. 313 numbered 1,470 people.; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 30 & p. 70, between 1821 and 1840 55,000 convicts landed in New South Wales

¹⁶⁵ ———, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 32 & p. 37

¹⁶⁶ J.B. Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988). p. viii

made a lucrative occupation, well documented in many texts on squatting and pastoralism,¹⁶⁷ in a period that blossomed from 1836.¹⁶⁸ Hereafter, regardless of class, a landholder became a ‘squatter’,¹⁶⁹ and the ‘legally recognised occupant of land in the interior’.¹⁷⁰ Sheep husbandry for wool became the major economic pursuit and various legislative measures in Britain gave colonial sheep producers’ advantageous conditions,¹⁷¹ and numbers rapidly rose.¹⁷² By 1822, colonial wool producers received the affirmation that their wool quality had no equal.¹⁷³ In New South Wales, rules and regulations were ever changing and caused uncertainty, concerning procedure of settlement,¹⁷⁴ tenure, fees,¹⁷⁵ and land use.¹⁷⁶ Apart from the depression of the early 1840s,¹⁷⁷ there was a continuing demand for wool, from Britain, and this export, underpinned growth and development in Australia.¹⁷⁸

The colony of South Australia, established in 1836, had its genesis for different reasons and stood as a ‘critique of the convict colonies.’¹⁷⁹ Unlike New South Wales, it was not a British government initiative;

¹⁶⁷ Such as Edward M Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria; Then called Port Phillip District (from 1840 to 1851)*, reset 1965 ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1883).

¹⁶⁸ Stephen Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia; 1835-1847* (Parkville: Melbourne University Press, 1964) p. 4-5

¹⁶⁹ Elizabeth H Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899" (MA. thesis course work., University of Sydney, 1979). p. 1 Initially ‘the term “squatter,” denoted a small, illegal settler, poor low class, possibly an ex-convict, possibly thieves of “clean-skin” calves, a serious nuisance to the authorities, and to the “legitimate” settler. “Settlers” were those respectable people with capital for stock, and the use of assigned convict servants. Mudgee’s first white settlers came from this class. When Governor Bourke legalised squatting in 1836, the term squatter soon assumed respectability.

¹⁷⁰ Roberts, *The Squatting Age In Australia; 1835 -1847*. pp. 49-69

¹⁷¹ Alan Frost, "Pastoral Expansion in Eastern Australia," in *Australia's Outback Heritage; Frontier Country*, ed. Sheena Coupe (North Sydney: Weldon Russell, 1989). p. 52

¹⁷² Jan Kociumbas, ed. *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*, 5 vols., vol. 2, *The Oxford History of Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992). p. 125, From 1803 to 1808, sheep numbers nearly trebled; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 59, by 1850, sheep numbers had increased to ‘thirteen million’

¹⁷³ Roberts, *The Squatting Age In Australia; 1835 -1847*. p. 41, Saxony previously been the world’s leading wool producer

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.50. Initially the population was ‘concentrated’, along the seashore environs of Sydney before spreading towards the Blue Mountains. Concentrating the population failed and in 1829, the government decreed there was to be no further movement across an arbitrary line, enclosing the ‘Nineteen Counties’, however, by 1835 its whole length was traversed.

¹⁷⁵ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 75, p. 77 ‘the Governors tried to control squatters with license fees and in 1844, an obligation to purchase, but this threat to their privileges’ was set aside by the British government when in 1847 it gave them 14 year leases.’

¹⁷⁶ Hirst, *Convict Society and its Enemies; A History of Early New South Wales*. p. 51, the pastoral gentry expanded their landholdings firstly by ‘freehold title,’ but rapidly, land acquisition took place through the ‘ticket of occupation,’ scheme; which continued to be changed, from the initial land grants; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 75, a ‘grace and favour system,’ to changes to an ‘auction’ system with the ‘impersonal operation of an open market’

¹⁷⁷ Roberts, *The Squatting Age In Australia; 1835 -1847*. pp. 198-141. ; Michael Pearson and Jane Lennon, *Pastoral Australia: Fortunes, Failures and Hard Yakka; A Historical Overview* (Collingwood: CSIRO Publishing in association with the Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts and the Australian Heritage Council 2010). p. 37

¹⁷⁸ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 11

¹⁷⁹ Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857* (Melbourne Longmans, Green & Co., 1967). p. 283; Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin.", p. 10

rather it arose, from the contemplations and planning of ‘ambitious middle-class townsmen,’ who subscribed to the notions of ‘civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions.’¹⁸⁰ English author, E.G. Wakefield, promoted his philosophy of ‘systematic colonisation’, that included the encouragement of young adults to migrate in equal proportion’.¹⁸¹ Thus, ‘family and class’ became cornerstones of the colony that in turn, toppled the long held ‘connection between Australia and convicts’, and engendered a South Australian ‘standoffishness’ in regard to other Australians for much of the nineteenth century.¹⁸² Important to these colonialists was the ‘self-supporting’ principle in which they aimed to reduce costs in establishment so that there was ‘no cost to the Treasury and the taxpayer’.¹⁸³ By instigating these ideals, a more egalitarian society was envisaged obliterating ‘the place-hunting and social snobbery of an officer class’¹⁸⁴ that was so evident in New South Wales.

In South Australia, no land was granted to pioneers, rather, the ‘land was to be sold at a fixed minimum price; the purchase money, after deductions for surveys’, supported British labourer’s passage to South Australia where they then worked for an employer until they had accumulated resources to operate on their own account.¹⁸⁵ One exception in land acquisition however, was the ‘Special Survey’ scheme, where-by would-be proprietors could have 15,000 acres surveyed at their direction, anywhere in the Colony under an obligation to purchase 4,000 acres.¹⁸⁶ With the minimum price at one pound, an acre, and the most desirable country located within reasonable distance to Adelaide, this attractive proposition was well subscribed,¹⁸⁷ and contributed to ‘closer settlement’ of the country-side.¹⁸⁸ By the 1840s, in South Australia large land-holders, or squatters as they continued to be called, operated on land,

¹⁸⁰ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 145 & p. 3; J.M. Main, "The Foundation of South Australia," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Political History*, ed. Dean Jaensch (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). pp. 5-6 Main argues men involved with South Australia’s establishment initially promulgated the quite revolutionary notion to establish a colony unencumbered by regulations from the Imperial government; such was their desire for a new society in South Australia. The British authorities refused to entertain these democratic notions; Gordon D. Combe, *Responsible Government in South Australia* (Adelaide: Government Printer, 1957). p. 5 ‘The Imperial Government at length felt constrained to agree that a colony should be founded, but on the condition that the Colony should be placed under a Governor, to be appointed by the Crown’.

¹⁸¹ Main, "The Foundation of South Australia.", p. 2 & p. 9, Migration for poorer classes gave opportunities and reduced overcrowding in Britain

¹⁸² Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin.", pp. 10-2, colonies; Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania

¹⁸³ Main, "The Foundation of South Australia.", p. 1 & p. 9

¹⁸⁴ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 283

¹⁸⁵ Main, "The Foundation of South Australia.", p. 2 & p. 9,

¹⁸⁶ Eleanore Williams and Micheal Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Social History*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 515; J.M. Main, "Social Foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Social History*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 97

¹⁸⁷ J.B. Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973). p. 11; Peter Morton, "Adelaide," in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, ed. Wilfred Prest (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2001). pp. 22-3 The city was laid out by William Light, 12 kilometres from the sea on a ‘grid pattern’ with parklands around the ‘‘square mile’ of the commercial centre’ and suburbs developed beyond.

¹⁸⁸ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 261

purchased from the government, so they owned their land,¹⁸⁹ or on leaseholds that spread across the colony outside surveyed areas'.¹⁹⁰

As J.M. Main however, explains, the 'better-off' believed not only should they enjoy 'the advantages of a free society' but this should extend to those who had an assisted passage and whilst they were expected to work for some time, eventually with thrift and hard work, land ownership was within their reach.¹⁹¹ 'A minority' purchased land after landing.¹⁹² However, surveying was mandatory before 'hundreds' became open for selection and occupation.¹⁹³ 'Selectors' could buy eighty acres,¹⁹⁴ by paying one pound an acre, cash, or even a higher price at auction.¹⁹⁵ In 1857, according to one report, 'many people who had come to the colony as assisted immigrants were settled on small farms'.¹⁹⁶ Wheat became the most successful crop,¹⁹⁷ even though there were many problems.¹⁹⁸ However, colonial farm sizes progressively grew,¹⁹⁹ and new technologies were introduced²⁰⁰ which ensured viability. In the first settlement decades the 'Wakefieldian ideal of a self-supporting yeomanry appeared to work well'.²⁰¹ However, expansion of cereal cropping slowed because of well-established pastoralism, northward and unsuitable mallee country to the east and west. After considerable agitation, the 'Strangways Act' of 1869 came into effect allowing for an 'amount to credit' with the proviso that yearly land-clearing as dictated proceeded.²⁰² Farmers in the 'eastern colonies' were not so fortunate.²⁰³ In New South Wales, would-be selectors saw redress with the introduction of the 'Selection Acts' in 1861 which enabled them to buy inexpensive land, of up to '250 hectares of vacant crown land or portions of runs,' operated by squatters.²⁰⁴ As expected the squatters opposed the plan however, ironically, they benefitted by the new legislation, as

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 262

¹⁹⁰ Main, "Social Foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital." p. 98

¹⁹¹ Ibid. pp. 102-3

¹⁹² Eric Richards, "The Peopling of South Australia, 1836 - 1986," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Social History*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 128

¹⁹³ Williams and Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century.", p. 515

¹⁹⁴ D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1968). p. 121

¹⁹⁵ Williams and Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century." p. 516

¹⁹⁶ John Cashen, "Social Foundations of South Australia: 'Owners of Labour'," in *The Flinders History of South Australia*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986, 105 -113). p. 112

¹⁹⁷ Cited in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 325, S.A.P.P. 1917 No. 3a. In 1845 the 'proportion of grain exported to total South Australian exports,' increased from '10 percent to 43 percent in 1857'; James Laurence Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1985). p. 43

¹⁹⁸ Jeff Daniels, ed. *Roseworthy Agricultural College; A Century of Service* (Roseworthy: Roseworthy Agricultural College, 1983). p. ix, Roseworthy College, the first Australian Agricultural College was established near Gawler in 1883 to educate farmers and promote research and development.

¹⁹⁹ Cited in Williams and Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century." p. 523 SAPP, 1867, no.10 and 1893, no.74, in 1866-7 the predominant acreage was 100 to 200 acres, (26 percent of all farms), 1891, farm sizes increased to between 251 to 500 acres, (22 percent of all farms) and in the same year, 7 percent of farms were over 2001 acres.

²⁰⁰ Michael Williams, *The Changing Rural Landscape of South Australia* (Netley: State Print, 1992). p.8

²⁰¹ Ibid. p.8

²⁰² Ibid. p. 9

²⁰³ Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917*. p. 13

²⁰⁴ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 99

unforeseen outcomes and circumstances, eventually, enabled them to retain the best areas of the land they had leased, and now could own.²⁰⁵ What they did not lay claim to, became open for selection.

Daley argues that 'the geographical boundaries and the landscape features of the place have shaped its history',²⁰⁶ and this so, in this thesis. Gawler, or 'Gawler Town' as it was initially known, was one of the many towns, established in South Australia before 1865 as a 'private speculative venture' in which the government saw such development 'as just as much a private matter as the making of a farm'.²⁰⁷ As Ephraim Coombe's local history recounts, in 1839, the wealthy Mr Henry Dundas Murray and Mr John Reid lead a group, who acting upon Colonel Light's advice,²⁰⁸ undertook the 'Gawler Special Survey' in an area north of Adelaide around where the North and South Para rivers form the Gawler River.²⁰⁹ By 1840, the Surveyor-General's report revealed 'exclusive of special surveys' that 'on the Gawler, 3,440 acres had been surveyed and 400 selected'.²¹⁰ Wheat was the most successful crop established providing growth impetus for Gawler and because Adelaide was close-by, with the comparative early adoption of modern transport and communications, Gawler blossomed.

Isolated and remote Mudgee, the other site of this study, in the central west of New South Wales grew in response to squatting, the land grant system, and pastoralism. Mudgee became the second settlement over the Blue Mountains,²¹¹ following the building of a rudimentary thoroughfare through this challenging region by William Cox (grandfather of thesis subject, George Henry Cox) and a convict gang in 1815, and the subsequent establishment of Bathurst.²¹² The British government authorised land grants initially mostly to those on the government pay roll, later augmented by increasing numbers of 'wealthy and respectable' migrants, having similar status,²¹³ as the gentlemen with the military connections²¹⁴ and this group facilitated agricultural enterprises.²¹⁵ The desire for more grazing land spurred on by the exploring impulse, eventuated in new pastures being 'discovered' in the isolated, fertile Cudgegong valley to Bathurst's north. James Blackman and his party became the first white men to arrive in the district, closely followed by William Lawson.²¹⁶ Later, the sons of William Cox, George (father of George Henry Cox) and Henry, along with William Lawson agreed to divide the area along the Cudgegong River for

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 99

²⁰⁶ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930*. p. 8. ; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. xiv

²⁰⁷ Williams, *The Changing Rural Landscape of South Australia*. p. 51

²⁰⁸ Ephraim Henry Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. (Gawler: Gawler Institute 1910; repr., Austprint, Hampstead Gardens. 1987). p. 8

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 10

²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 13

²¹¹ Cynthia Robinson, "Introduction-a Chain of Fine Large Meadows," in *Travelling Down The Cudgegong*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Mudgee Visitors Centre, 1997). p. 11

²¹² Ken Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848* (Bathurst: Crawford House Press, 1993). p. 220

²¹³ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 59

²¹⁴ Ibid. p. 59

²¹⁵ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 38

²¹⁶ Bernard Greaves, "Blackman, James (1792?-1868)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006- Accessed online 28/11/2009), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010104b.htm>.

themselves.²¹⁷ Eric Fry argues, in his Bathurst areas history, that there was ‘a considerable degree of autonomy, at an individual local level, to further up the chain of command, to the Governor’.²¹⁸ Further, with ‘the natural phenomena of time, space and geographical location’ these aspects were important ‘to the opportunities and obstacles, which confronted the early settlers’...²¹⁹ It was a very satisfactory situation for settlers. However, as local historian Elisabeth Curtis highlights Mudgee’s development was slow, originating from its ‘squatter/convict beginnings, comparative isolation and freedom from, or awareness of competition from outside until the advent of the railway’.²²⁰ John Blackman, brother of William built the first hut in Mudgee and gradually expanding his businesses, to cater for local needs.²²¹ According to G.H.F. Cox, son of George Henry Cox, who compiled an unpublished history of Mudgee, in the district in 1836 between 500 and 600 people, lived²²² and by the end of the decade, gazetted town allotments appeared.²²³

R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving argue that ‘Over the last century social theory, in political science, sociology, economics, history and many related fields, has concerned itself more with class than any other issue’.²²⁴ Further they argue that a ‘historical understanding of society’ provides an understanding of the type of society that has developed from the ‘formation, interplay and construction of classes from white settlement’ to the present.²²⁵ In New South Wales, the society that developed, how different institutions formed, and the people, who were involved, had prolonged consequences for the settlement.²²⁶ As they argue, the foundation decades were a salient period because of the

construction in Australia of the key institutions of class (the labour market, the state, the company) which in later generations were the arenas or stakes of social conflict and compromise.²²⁷

Connell and Irving assert that in the penal period two distinct groups arose. One group centred on a less organised mercantile sector,²²⁸ under the control of the military, who entrepreneurially, launched into buying and selling endeavours.²²⁹ The other group was the ‘sharply polarised structure centred on the assigned relation in the pastoral industry’ of the ‘working convicts and the pastoral gentry’.²³⁰ In time, because of the manner in which the increasing numbers of convicts were treated, in accordance

²¹⁷ E.W. Dunlop, "Lawson, William (1774-1850)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-Line Edition, Australian National University, Accessed online 16/08/2008(2006-),* <http://www.adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020081b.htm>. p. 1

²¹⁸ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. 10

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 220

²²⁰ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee,1821-1899." p. 35.

²²¹ *Ibid.* p.1

²²² Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 28, this figure mentioned in a letter from Geo Cox, J.P., William Lawson J.P., Henry Cox J.P. and N.S. Lawson, to Captain King requesting police for the district

²²³ *Ibid.* p. 28

²²⁴ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 2

²²⁵ *Ibid.* p. vii

²²⁶ *Ibid.* p. viii

²²⁷ *Ibid.* p. viii

²²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 57

²²⁹ Moore, "Colonial Manhood and Masculinities." p. 38

²³⁰ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 57

with the changing British government decrees and in turn administered in the penal setting, there arose an enduring loathing and hostility between convicts and masters or, as they were called, ‘emancipists’ and the ‘exclusives.’²³¹ As more colonial born grew to adulthood, coupled with increased numbers of free settlers, the hold the powerful exclusives had on society became more widely resented and agitation to create a more democratic community took hold although it was a considerable period before the emancipist/exclusive division was finally laid to rest.²³² The gentry, David Denholm argues, believed in their own importance as ‘gentlemen’ expecting deference from everyone.²³³ Kingston says it was ‘ingrained deference’.²³⁴ Significantly, what mattered to them was the maintenance of a ‘hierarchical order based on; origin, occupation, financial success, and – the final accolade-ownership of rural landed property’.²³⁵ This certainly was the case in Mudgee.

In South Australia, as Van Dissel argues, within four decades a cohesive gentry-class had emerged,²³⁶ where society was ‘open’ with no tight demarcation,²³⁷ and flexible criteria for inclusion.²³⁸ Unlike their other colonial counter-parts however, where the gentry worked hard to maintain their superior position in society as Penny Russell argues,²³⁹ in South Australia this was less of a concern. Here the gentry recognised that few of their group could expect to belong to the same class back ‘home’²⁴⁰ however, they were quietly confident of their position in society because most of them owned their property.²⁴¹ These squatters less often lived on their properties, and many called Adelaide ‘home,’²⁴² for it was here, ‘as big capitalists,’²⁴³ at the colony’s centre that they could attend their other interests in ‘economic’ affairs and social life flourished.²⁴⁴ Generally, successful squatters expected to be the rulers of their domains and assumed a gentry-like role, demonstrated by their abodes, which had become a reproduction of an ‘English country house’.²⁴⁵ By mid-nineteenth century ‘two thousand’ or

²³¹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 44 & p. 56

²³² Ibid. pp. 74-5

²³³ David Denholm, *The Colonial Australians* (Blackburn: Penguin, 1979). p. 162

²³⁴ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 265

²³⁵ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 69

²³⁶ Dirk Van Dissel, "The Adelaide Gentry, 1850-1920," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Social History*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 334

²³⁷ Ibid. p. 333

²³⁸ Ibid. p. 337 Loose criteria for joining this association, usually included; arrival as unassisted migrants prior to the mid-century, a substantial fortune amassed from ‘pastoral , agricultural and mining interests’ by 1875, thereby ensuring that until the turn of century about three generations had sufficient resources to maintain their privileged lifestyle in Adelaide society.

²³⁹ Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction; Colonial Gentility and Femininity* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994). p. 57

²⁴⁰ Van Dissel, "The Adelaide Gentry, 1850-1920." p. 335

²⁴¹ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 262

²⁴² Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917*. p. 15 & p. 37

²⁴³ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 262

²⁴⁴ Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917*. p. 37 & p. 225; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 503

²⁴⁵ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 100

so had spread out creating an arch from 'Brisbane to Melbourne and over to Adelaide',²⁴⁶ and they came 'closest to recreating the social order of the mother country'.²⁴⁷

R.J. Holton argues that, the meaning of 'class' in the 'scholarly literature' is 'fraught with ambiguity and confusion',²⁴⁸ whilst Connell and Irving argue that middle-class development is 'a particularly vexed issue'.²⁴⁹ Fry however, argues that 'Australian historiography has traditionally treated the middle class as emerging from the gold rush era'.²⁵⁰ He argues that in colonial Bathurst a 'unique new development in class formation' with 'changing class patterns and class alliances'²⁵¹ arose. A small but growing middle class that 'represented an important component in the process of class formation as a third force emerging in between the convict servant class and the landed gentry'.²⁵² Moore similarly notes that from 1830, a third group, the yeomen, labourers in the country and artisans in more settled areas became numerically dominant'.²⁵³ The 'new sales-regulations' in New South Wales, from the 1830s made funds available for migration, and many more free citizens arrived in the colony filling a discrete position and increasing the numbers in this middle group.²⁵⁴

In rural South Australia, class, as Pike argues 'scarcely existed'²⁵⁵ Jim Moss however, claims,

From the time of South Australia's foundation, when capital and wage-labour were combined in rural and mining pursuits, the workers experienced insecurity and unemployment and so they immediately began their efforts for industrial and political reform. As industry developed so did the labour movement and with it the striving of workers for the 'full fruits of their labour'.²⁵⁶

Moss however, concedes that 'workers' did not experience the 'deep class divide' that existed in New South Wales.²⁵⁷ The general South Australian ethos made for a much more egalitarian community in which as Main argues, the 'rewards of energy and enterprise', produced an environment 'in which the interests of the richer and poorer were not grounds of conflict but the basis of harmony, a society in which all might share the advantages of a free society'.²⁵⁸ For the most part South Australians developed a 'respectable' society, in which there were a 'set of associated values and ideologies linked with middling social groups of Protestant backgrounds...'.²⁵⁹

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 59

²⁴⁷ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. viii

²⁴⁸ R.J. Holton, "Twentieth Century South Australia: From a Patrician to a Plebeian View," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Social History*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 565

²⁴⁹ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 9

²⁵⁰ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. vii

²⁵¹ Ibid. p. 11

²⁵² Ibid. p. 83

²⁵³ Moore, "Colonial Manhood and Masculinities." p. 36

²⁵⁴ Roberts, *The Squatting Age In Australia; 1835 -1847*. pp. 9-12

²⁵⁵ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 502

²⁵⁶ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 391

²⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 65

²⁵⁸ Main, "Social Foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital." p. 103

²⁵⁹ Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin." pp. 190-1

In the 1850s, gold discoveries in Victoria and New South Wales heralded changes across Australia. Paul Pickering argues that gold, promised economic benefits, improved Australia's international reputation,²⁶⁰ and saw squatters' power diminish.²⁶¹ New ideas abounded none more pervasive than Chartist ideals that had arisen in Britain from the 1830s.²⁶² Both Gawler and Mudgee felt the impacts of newfound wealth, and the feeling of self-assurance, coupled with recently acquired knowledge and progressive technologies, such as the railways.²⁶³ There was the impetus to make changes in society to which many had longed aspired. D.B. Waterson argues in his Queensland regional history that they were the 'storekeeper, millers, artisans, doctors, lawyers, teachers, civil servants and clerks, who became residents in rural towns'.²⁶⁴ These new arrivals though came from 'a more urban background and as such had new set of ideas and agendas which 'were the complete antitheses of the old concepts and patterns of all rural participants in the pastoral age'.²⁶⁵ In Mudgee, the squatters felt the challenge to their power, privilege and influence whilst in Gawler ordinary men shaped their own destiny.

The other development which fuelled change in both towns studied in this thesis was the '1850 Enabling Act' which allowed 'the Australian colonies a common base for constitutional development'.²⁶⁶ In New South Wales, the 'conservative elite made the laws,' as they expected, however, 'they did not rule,' rather, it was the British appointee. In 1852, the British finally submitted to colonists' self-governing calls, which was acted upon by the squatter controlled 'Legislative Council' and a 'constitution' was formulated.²⁶⁷ Peter Cochrane argues the gentry or squatters, 'plotted to transfer power from Downing Street to themselves', only to be outwitted by 'the artisans, shopkeepers, merchants and renegade gentry whose power base was in Sydney'²⁶⁸ and they 'lost direct political power',²⁶⁹ after dominating the colony for over four decades.²⁷⁰ In 1856, the governor became the formal head of state, taking advice from ministers who in turn became the elected representatives of the citizenry.²⁷¹ Theoretically, it was a 'democratic' form of government.²⁷² In the 1857 election, 'radical amendments'²⁷³ were undertaken. The granting of 'Manhood Suffrage' in 'what is known as the first parliament of New South Wales under the Electoral Reform Act of

²⁶⁰ Paul Pickering, "'The Finger of God'; Gold's impact on New South Wales.," in *Gold, Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, ed. Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook, and Andrew Reeves (Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 2001). p. 44

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 43

²⁶² Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation; 1788 -1907*. p. 95

²⁶³ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 87

²⁶⁴ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 23

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 23

²⁶⁶ Combe, *Responsible Government in South Australia*; p. 18

²⁶⁷ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. viii

²⁶⁸ Peter Cochrane, *Colonial Ambitions: Foundations of Australian Democracy* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2008). p. xii

²⁶⁹ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. p. 184

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 62

²⁷¹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 92

²⁷² *Ibid.* p. 95

²⁷³ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. pp. viii-ix

1858,²⁷⁴ enabled men to vote,²⁷⁵ and ‘the most rapid political transformation in Australian history’ occurred.²⁷⁶ In essence, the different agreements organised by the bourgeoisie with other factions in the 1850s had set the stage for change,²⁷⁷ and the ‘bourgeoisie dominated politics and society for the rest of the century’.²⁷⁸

The South Australian Colony received the self-government papers as the gold rushes gathered momentum.²⁷⁹ In 1851, the first elections, included a limited franchise,²⁸⁰ and by 1856, the ‘constitution bill’ came into effect, resulting in ‘the South Australian parliament’,²⁸¹ a two chambered institution of an ‘Assembly and a Council’ with the ‘popular chamber,’ the Assembly ‘elected on a wide male franchise’.²⁸² From the start, South Australia legislated ‘that all men could vote for the Assembly’.²⁸³ Many of the hopes and dreams of the founders thus came to fruition. These were; diminished ties with the British authorities, the state that they desired, an inexpensive and largely cooperative work force, and their ‘own government’ which incorporated the civil and religious liberty they held so dear, as well as the separation of secular, from religious matters.²⁸⁴

From the middle of the 1880s, economic decline in New South Wales became apparent²⁸⁵ and as the 1890s dawned British investors largely withdrew their financial support that coupled with serious local droughts, precipitated an Australian economic depression,²⁸⁶ which the ‘bourgeois democracy’, the ‘bourgeoisie and the workers confronted one another’.²⁸⁷ The ‘class hostility between pastoral employers and employees,’ resulted in the ‘disastrous and bitter strikes of 1890-1894’.²⁸⁸ In South Australia, ‘class contradictions were less intense, even with the effects of the 1890 strike.’²⁸⁹ The country-workers, the shearers, as a cohesive group, demanded an improved employment environment and in 1886 the Shearers Union was formed which progressively evolved into the ‘Australian Workers’ Union,’ and in ultimately ‘the Australian Labour Party.’²⁹⁰

²⁷⁴ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 48

²⁷⁵ Cochrane, *Colonial Ambitions: Foundations of Australian Democracy*. p. 286

²⁷⁶ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. xi

²⁷⁷ D.N. Jeans, "The Formation of a Modern Society in New South Wales, 1788-1901," in *The Australian Experience: Essays in Australian Land Settlement and Resource Management*, ed. R.L. Heathcote and NSW International Geographical Congress 26th :1988 : Sydney (1988). p. 12

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 7

²⁷⁹ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 463

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 421

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 480

²⁸² Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. pp. 92-3

²⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 93

²⁸⁴ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 3 & p. 480

²⁸⁵ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 88

²⁸⁶ Jeans, "The Formation of a Modern Society in New South Wales, 1788-1901." p. 3

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 3

²⁸⁸ Ward, *The Australian Legend*. p. 4

²⁸⁹ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p.166

²⁹⁰ Paul Williams, *Ramming The Shears; the Rise and Demise of the Australian Shearer and His Culture; the Origins of the Shearers' and Rural Workers Union; an Historical and Contemporary Study of the Australian Shearers' Union and Industry* (Ballarat: Shearers' and Rural Workers' Union, 2004). p. 1

The nineteenth century, as Ronald Hyam argues was 'one of the most religious the world has ever known', excepting the working classes.²⁹¹ Religion gave men the opportunity to develop different masculinities. It 'reproduced the familiar and secure' as well as giving people, 'a piece of surrogate homeland'.²⁹² Indeed, as D.B. Waterson argues,

Few colonists struggling to establish themselves in an alien environment could afford the luxury of religious doubt. In an age when orthodox religious belief was the great prop of moral and social order, of the civilisation that they were attempting to build, only a handful were willing to question the assumptions behind, and the necessity for Christian salvation and observance.²⁹³

Initially however, the British authorities had scant concern for the religious welfare of migrants to New South Wales, rectified according to Tom Frame, by a few evangelical Englishmen who arranged for Richard Johnson (1755-1827), to be Anglican chaplain on the first fleet.²⁹⁴ His unrewarding task was ministering to a congregation unaccustomed to religious practises.²⁹⁵ This situation endured, driving Samuel Marsden, his assistant, to turn his attention to agricultural and magisterial duties, enforcing penal law, which undermined his spiritual influence.²⁹⁶ Archdeacon Thomas Scott arrived in 1825, followed two years later by William Grant Broughton (1788-1853), the initial and only Anglican 'Bishop of Australia' whose installation severed the Bishop of Calcutta's control.²⁹⁷ Of a scholarly nature, Broughton found the importation of competing doctrinal movements divisive however, he championed church building, and travelled through the expanding settlement as ex-convicts, and free men 'took up' land.²⁹⁸ In 1836, Anglicanism's dominance ended when government grants became available to the Catholic and Presbyterian faiths.²⁹⁹ 'The English Church Temporalities Act (1837) placed parochial Anglicanism on a firm foundation'³⁰⁰ and within half a century, Anglicans had become established in the 'eastern' portion of the colony.³⁰¹ Largely indifferent to matters of faith, Anglicans nonetheless, contributed to church funds, excepting some of the elite who declined, believing it was a government responsibility.³⁰² In Mudgee however, members of the elite, were generous benefactors.³⁰³ By 1911 the 'census showed that 46 percent of the population of New South Wales nominally' belonged to the Anglican Church.³⁰⁴

²⁹¹ Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815 -1914; A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1995). p. 90

²⁹² Ian Breward, *A History Of The Australian Churches* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993). p. 218

²⁹³ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 67

²⁹⁴ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*. pp. 49-52

²⁹⁵ K.J. Kable, "Broughton, William Grant (1788-1853)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-Line Edition, Australian National University, Accessed on line 30/07/2014*(2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broughton-william-grant-1832/text2107>. Accessed on line 30/07/2014 p. 1

²⁹⁶ A.T. Yarwood, "Marsden, Samuel (1765 - 1838)," *The Australian Dictionary of Biography On - Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.anu.edu.au/biography/marsden-samuel-2433/text3237>. Accessed on-line 1/11/2014

²⁹⁷ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*. p. 52

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 52

²⁹⁹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 82

³⁰⁰ Kable, "Broughton, William Grant (1788-1853)".

³⁰¹ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*. p. 59

³⁰² *Ibid.* pp. 62-3

³⁰³ Cynthia Robinson, *125 Years of Parish Life at St John's Mudgee, 1841 - 1991* (Mudgee: St John's Baptist Anglican Church, 1991).

³⁰⁴ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 113

New South Wales Catholics continued living with discrimination, as in Britain.³⁰⁵ A ‘third’ of the convicts, were Catholics,³⁰⁶ ensuring as Edmund Campion argues, the ‘victim’, designation however, Catholicism, ‘survived and took root,’ because there was a general sense of grievance, based on the shared Irish cultural and historical memory, that eventually was a catalyst in developing, ‘Australian nationalism.’³⁰⁷ By the nineteenth-century’s end, as he contends, for Irish-Australians ‘republicanism was a popular alternative to imperial loyalty.’³⁰⁸ The orchestrated effort in Australia, to bond Catholicism with Irishness, provided a welcome refuge for a maligned people, championed by mainly Irish clergy, who throughout the nineteenth century ‘exercised a dominating monopoly’,³⁰⁹ a situation very apparent in Mudgee.

Friction and mistrust typified Catholics’ experience throughout the nineteenth century, exacerbated by increasing numbers of Irish assisted migrants arriving. Their disadvantaged backgrounds confirmed their low social status and fuelled animosity, causing a significant sectarian divide, which according to Patrick O’Farrell was the ‘longest divisive issue in Australian history’.³¹⁰ The mid nineteenth-century cessation of government aid to churches,³¹¹ added to the friction, which had prolonged consequences. Until this period, education was almost exclusively the domain of the churches. In 1880, education became compulsory for all children in New South Wales however, the Catholic Church refused to participate. Here the line was drawn ‘the Catholic community were unwilling to give up without a fight’,³¹² and although hampered by a severe lack of resources, the Catholic Church mobilised religious orders to organise their schools.³¹³ As the century ended, the well-established Australian Catholic education system,³¹⁴ served as a link between ‘Irishness,’ and furthered the divide.³¹⁵ Overall, sectarianism became a feature in Australian society, as M.C. Hogan argues, and the situation was widespread.³¹⁶ In Mudgee, latent sectarianism simmered, however, there were exceptions as will be shown. A.W. Maher’s Mudgee Catholic Church history outlines parish progress, of adversity and celebration reflecting general trends,³¹⁷ and it was here James Loneragan

³⁰⁵ Patrick O’Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 1987). p. 70, & p. 40, The Emancipations Act of 1829 in which ‘various bars and disabilities’ were removed’ that ‘applied to Catholics’; Elisabeth H. Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*, ed. (Collaroy, N.S.W.: E. Curtin., 1991). p. 19, in 1831 in Britain the ‘Repeal of the Penal Laws’ were enacted

³⁰⁶ Beward, *A History Of The Australian Churches*. p. 15

³⁰⁷ Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics: The Contribution of Catholics to the Development of Australian Society*. (Ringwood, Victoria: Viking, 1987) . p. 6

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 61

³⁰⁹ O’Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*, p. 105; ‘about 2000 Catholic priests came to Australia in the nineteenth century. Nearly all were Irish and increasingly so from the 1860s

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 12

³¹¹ Campion, *Australian Catholics: The Contribution of Catholics to the Development of Australian Society*. p. 31

³¹² *Ibid.* p. 34

³¹³ *Ibid.* p. 35

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 45

³¹⁵ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 83

³¹⁶ Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand; Religion in Australian History* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1987). p. 4

³¹⁷ A.W. Maher, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century* (Mudgee: Mudgee Centenary Committee, 1952).

worshipped. New South Wales Catholics in 1911, 'made up 25.54 percent of the population a drop of 'half a percent' from 1901.³¹⁸

Clancy and Wright's history of Methodism in New South Wales Methodism charts the establishment of the denomination from white settlers' arrival,³¹⁹ early in the nineteenth century despite initial difficulties.³²⁰ The Methodists prospered by utilising an 'itinerant ministry' and 'local preachers'.³²¹ In the extensive Mudgee circuit, as Paul Chivers poignantly records, zealous hardy souls laboured diligently, finally amassing funds for their church.³²² During the nineteenth century and beyond Methodist numbers remained comparatively small, and they never were influential as South Australia. In New South Wales, in 1881, there were 64,352 adherents of the combined Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist denominations,³²³ which, increased to 94,871 by 1889.³²⁴

South Australian pioneers, on the other hand, held firm views on religion, and aspired to a 'utopian dream of civil and religious liberty.'³²⁵ A founder and Baptist, George Fife Angas,³²⁶ held 'religious liberty'³²⁷ as a most important objective, appointing like-minded men into key positions.³²⁸ Religion was organised on the 'voluntary principle'³²⁹ particularly in the funding of church buildings and for church personnel³³⁰ however, the principle received poor support,³³¹ and whilst there was State aid to religion, the 1851 Colonial Legislative Council passed legislation that discontinued the practice.³³² As Pike points out, most colonists 'regardless of their particular denomination or the intensity of their interest in religion,' agreed there was to be no 'politically dominant church such as they had left behind in England.'³³³ Derek Whitelock argues however, that 'There was a strong sense of what was proper and improper for discussion and writing in colonial South Australia' and some subjects such as 'religious frictions between denominations' barely rated

³¹⁸ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 114

³¹⁹ Don Wright and Eric Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993). p. 93

³²⁰ *Ibid.* p. xvii

³²¹ *Ibid.* p. 36

³²² Paul Chivers, *Mudgee Methodism; Not Lost but Gone Before* (Mt Tomah, NSW: Self-Published, 2000).

³²³ Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales*. p. 49 Primitive Methodists served working class areas of the coalfields, especially Newcastle.

³²⁴ T.A. Coghlan, *Australian Bureau of Statistics; Australia, New Zealand Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia. 1804-1901*.

³²⁵ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 495

³²⁶ "Angas, George Fife (1789-1879)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-line Edition*, Australian National University (2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010018b.htm> Accessed on-line 14/07/10.

³²⁷ ———, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 136

³²⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 124-137

³²⁹ David Hilliard and Arnold D. Hunt, "Religion," in *The Flinders History of South Australia*, ed. Eric Richards (Adelaide: Wakefield, 1986). p. 200

³³⁰ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 249

³³¹ *Ibid.* p. 279

³³² Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 62

³³³ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 249

a 'mentioned in the Press and early histories', such was the desire to present a positive picture.³³⁴ But as the thesis demonstrates, there was religious discord in the Gawler community.

The Anglican Church was the dominant religion in South Australia.³³⁵ In 1844, 54.2 percent of the population claimed membership. However, whilst developing a numerically large congregation, it never attained a general preponderance in the local population as it was in Britain.³³⁶ Efforts to expand congregations, met with little success,³³⁷ and 'from 1870 their proportion was lower than elsewhere in Australia'.³³⁸ By 1901, adherents fell to 29.5 percent of the total population,³³⁹ partially because of the mobile population, and the British parish system that suited larger centers. Anglicans came to emphasize their superior status, setting great store upon 'tradition, good order, patriotism, and dignified worship, and its social freedoms' and this attracted the upwardly mobile people from other denominations' some of whom were formerly 'Dissenters' and 'as the social leadership of South Australia became predominantly Anglican, so the public image of the Church of England became more upper class'.³⁴⁰ Frame argues that in the last decade of the nineteenth century the Anglican generally 'strove to be more inclusive, claiming that its forms of worship and corporate temperament most closely resembled the spirit of the Australian Colonies and embodiment of their collective aspirations'. The other denominations naturally were at odds with this notion.³⁴¹

South Australian Catholics suffered as they had in New South Wales, however, in a broadly innovative new society, whilst there were future uncertainties, the proclaimed religious tolerance, made life generally more agreeable. The denomination was however, plagued with a large poor Irish flock, few prosperous men with leadership skills and lacking in clergy, who were divided by factional issues, and no state aid compounded by financial mismanagement, which made establishment difficult.³⁴² Despite these problems, a niche in society formed and by avoiding 'confrontation' with their fellow non-Catholic citizens, they prospered.³⁴³ This is substantiated by Patricia Sheehan's Gawler Parish history in which she documents the congregation's united efforts under the guidance of various priests, to build a viable parish, complete with

³³⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. pp. 16-7

³³⁵ David Hilliard, "Anglican Church," in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, ed. Wilfred Prest (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2001). p. 38

³³⁶ Hilliard and Hunt, "Religion." p. 194

³³⁷ "Report of The South Australian Church Society for the Year 1847, 1849, 1850," (Adelaide: G. Dehane). p. 13 for example, in South Australia in 1850 about one thousand children were taught by one hundred teachers in twelve Sunday Schools.

³³⁸ Hilliard, "Anglican Church." in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, pp. 37-8

³³⁹ Hilliard and Hunt, "Religion." in *The Flinders History of South Australia*, p. 229 figures taken 'from censuses of South Australia, 1844-1901'.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 203; according to Van Dissel, "The Adelaide Gentry, 1850-1920," p. 364, 41 percent of the founders of the older gentry families, and 75 percent of the founders of the newer gentry families were nonconformists'.

³⁴¹ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*. p. 65

³⁴² Hilliard and Hunt, "Religion." in *The Flinders History of South Australia*. pp. 212-3

³⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 212

an impressive edifice.³⁴⁴ South Australian Catholics, in 1844 represented 6.1 percent of the total population, which by 1901 had increased to 14.1percent.³⁴⁵

South Australian non-conformists had a major impact in society with Methodism the ‘most potent’.³⁴⁶ Members aimed at the amelioration of past British religious inequity, determined to have ‘religious equality’.³⁴⁷ Indeed, with its ‘strong emphasis on evangelism’, this eventuated.³⁴⁸ It was, as Arnold Hunt describes, an ‘experimental’ religion of the ‘heart’ not to be taken lightly, rather members embraced it with a ‘passion’,³⁴⁹ wholeheartedly participating in their distinct Methodist calendar’.³⁵⁰ Copper mining, north of Adelaide, stimulated immigration particularly from Methodist Cornish mining communities and amidst these migrants, were the May family, who were amongst the 8 percent of Cornish migrants, and they were mostly Methodists, who arrived between 1836, and 1886. Bruce May, a descendant is a thesis subject. In 1844, Wesleyan Methodists represented 9.6 percent of the population.³⁵¹ Establishment and proliferation followed the lead of New South Wales where ‘localised, less hierarchical forms of government and the greater involvement of their laity’ result in ‘higher rates of worship’³⁵² Farmers were mainly attracted to Methodism,³⁵³ which ensured it becoming the ‘rural church of South Australia’,³⁵⁴ and because of closer settlement, country chapels abounded. Nonconformists along with Baptists and Lutherans in South Australia were able to influence many facets of social life, however, with the increasing challenge of ‘science and reason,’ numbers decreased.³⁵⁵ In 1901, the Methodist Union formed³⁵⁶ and in South Australia, the Nonconformist Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists stood at 34.5 percent, whilst 29 percent of citizens were Anglicans, Roman Catholics comprised 14 percent, and Lutherans comprised 7 percent of the population.³⁵⁷

Davidoff and Hall argue that religious conviction had its price, because ‘serious Christian men were caught between the desire for a religious life and the need for success in the commercial and public world if they were to adequately provide for and represent their dependants’.³⁵⁸ However, ‘religious

³⁴⁴ Patricia Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901* (Gawler: Catholic Parish Of Gawler, 1998).

³⁴⁵ Cited in Hilliard and Hunt, "Religion.", in *The Flinders History of South Australia*. p. 229, figures taken ‘from censuses of South Australia, 1844-1901’.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 204-5

³⁴⁷ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 146

³⁴⁸ Breward, *A History Of The Australian Churches*. p. 96

³⁴⁹ Arnold D. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985). p. 1

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 123

³⁵¹ Hilliard and Hunt, "Religion.", in *The Flinders History of South Australia*. p. 206

³⁵² Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p.116

³⁵³ Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia*. p. 128

³⁵⁴ Hilliard and Hunt, "Religion." in *The Flinders History of South Australia*. p. 207

³⁵⁵ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 116

³⁵⁶ Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales*. p. 65

³⁵⁷ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 197, cited in Commonwealth Year Book

³⁵⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 450

belonging grew to be a central plinth of middle-class culture',³⁵⁹ and it played an important part in marking off the middle class, separating it off from other classes and creating strong links between disparate groups within that class-Nonconformists and Anglicans, Radicals and conservatives, the richer bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie. There was sufficient shared understanding regarding the 'separate spheres of male and females, which provided the basis for a shared common culture among the middle class by mid-century'.³⁶⁰

Biographies

The use of biographies in this thesis is pivotal. Davidoff and Hall argue the only way to track the alteration 'in middle-class society and gender relations was to look in detail at local communities and particular individuals'.³⁶¹ Tosh, too has successfully utilised this method and argues that the 'small, confined and 'private', 'domestic lives of men lend themselves to individualistic treatment, in the manner of biography'.³⁶²

To construct the biographies, I have used a wide variety of sources, mindful of Fry's caution that factional sympathies needed recognition.³⁶³ Newspapers are the primary source and they were vital in the 'setting of the scene' chapters and the biographies. Without newspapers information about the two volunteers, as they served in South Africa in the Boer War their histories would have been impossible to locate. The Mudgee media, caught-up in the euphoria at the outbreak of the Boer War considered no detail concerning the conflict and thesis subject, Willoughby Dowling, too insignificant for inclusion. Gawler's volunteer, Bruce May's informative letters passed on to *the Bunyip* by his parents were vital, indeed it revealed as a paper by Michael Roper of World War One argues that 'war was significant in the passage to manhood'.³⁶⁴ Elizabeth Milburn, discerned,³⁶⁵ in her research in South Australia's mid-North, that the elite where newsworthy and featured often in newspapers. I found that this was the case in Mudgee however, Gawler's original wealthy citizens soon disappeared from view replaced by the 'ambitious townsmen' who became the centre of attention rather as Catherine Hall discerned in England where 'Men had moved to the centre of the story.' This occurred because 'to be a middle-class man was to be a somebody, a public person'.³⁶⁶ Tosh also argues that 'many historical situations cannot be fully understood without articulating the

³⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 73

³⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 74

³⁶¹ Ibid. p. xiii

³⁶² Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 1

³⁶³ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. 228

³⁶⁴ Michael Roper, "Maternal relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War," in *Masculinities in Politics and War; Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). p. 310

³⁶⁵ Elizabeth Milburn, "Clare 1840 to 1900: Changing Elites within a South Australian Community" (MA, Adelaide, 1982). p. 4

³⁶⁶ Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992). p. 17

masculinity of the participants',³⁶⁷ because, 'men have historically been dominant in the public sphere, masculinity carries public meanings of great political moment, in addition to its bearing on personal conduct and self-imagining' ...³⁶⁸

Davidoff and Hall assert that, 'central to our argument is the language of public and private spheres, a language which comes from tracts, poems, letters and diaries of the men and women whose story we are telling'.³⁶⁹ This is so in the thesis where material housed in various venues such as state archival centres, state and local libraries, historical societies, schools or private hands and so on has been invaluable. Dowling family information came from the Rylstone Historical Society for example, whilst the unpublished manuscript of G.H.F. Cox, transcribed and held at the Mudgee library gives much information regarding the subject, George Henry Cox. The published volume of the 1840s letters,³⁷⁰ of George Cox senior, squatter, and father of George Henry Cox was an insightful addition in writing the biography. The letters were found decades after George Cox's demise and published, after collation by descendants, and include contextual comments, which clarify events and cast light on the family activities. Not only does this correspondence give an account, of relationships between a father and his son, it also gives a glimpse the changing nature of masculinities. It is unusual for there to be such a publication. As Colin Roderick observes, in the realm of the squatter, 'records of everyday life on a nineteenth Australian sheep station' are few and far between, and not many, 'have survived', and 'hardly any come from the master', it was rather, 'as much as he could do to record its business affairs'.³⁷¹

Novels too of the period have also been utilised in the thesis. Elizabeth Foyster has argued that literature has 'a crucial role in the making of history'.³⁷² Margaret Allen expresses a similar view arguing that

more recently historians influenced by post-modernism have contested the sharp and hierarchical division between fact and fiction and other divisions such as those between history and literature, text and context and literary form and content. They point out that while empiricist historians see their work as factual and very different from literary work, which they classify as fiction, that history is also in a sense a creation, that historians impose meaning on history.³⁷³

The increased interest in family genealogy has resulted in a plethora of family histories. As Alan Mayne notes, 'grass root interest in local history and heritage goes deep'.³⁷⁴ A descendant of the May

³⁶⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 18

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 62

³⁶⁹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. xiv

³⁷⁰ Marion Dormer, ed. *Travelling Down The Cudgegong; Pioneering the Mudgee-Gulgong District* (Mudgee: Mudgee Visitors Centre, 1997). p. 31

³⁷¹ Colin Roderick, ed. *Rose Patterson's Illalong Letters, 1873-1888* (Roseville: Kangaroo Press, an imprint of Simon and Schuster, Australia, 2000). p. 7

³⁷² Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England; Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London, New York: Longman, 1999). p. 15

³⁷³ Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin.", Appendix. p. 353

³⁷⁴ Alan Mayne, *Hill End: An Historic Australian Goldfields Landscape* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2003). p. 48

family³⁷⁵ published a novel-like account of the family's Australian journey and their lives in South Australia in which as notable contributors to colonial industry, Frederick and his younger brother, Alfred, (father of Bruce May) take centre stage. Elisabeth Curtis, a descendent of James Loneragan, a Mudgee subject, not only completed a thesis on Mudgee's history, she also wrote his biography,³⁷⁶ which proved useful in the thesis.

As my research progressed, it became easier to obtain all kinds of information from the internet. The online resource, *the Australian Dictionary of Biography* provided access to information regarding well-known Australians and included some of my subjects as well as others whose biographical details added interesting notes to the thesis. The launching of the Trove Web site also enabled me to access all kinds of information on the subjects' lives. These developments make it easier to access a variety of sources, without making costly visits to far-flung libraries and archives.

The lack of material written by women, close to a particular subject was a disappointment, even though I had taken account of Marjorie Theobald observation that 'women's history remains the rich ethnographic detail of women's' lives which must be retrieved with infinite patience from widely scattered sources.³⁷⁷ I had been encouraged by Katie Holmes who argued, that comfortably endowed women 'from the middle to upper class' often had the time to write about their life,³⁷⁸ and I hoped that something would materialise. As it transpired, my only 'find' was Elizabeth Tierney's diaries and whilst there was no relationship to any subject, they were useful. Compiled in a succinct style, probably a reflection of German origins, and basic education, they gave a unique view of life, on a selector property, near Mudgee where as a widow and mother of seven children she combined housekeeping, and mothering with farming, a very masculine field. Elizabeth's diary is unusual. As Holmes argues, poorer women with little schooling not only lacked the time and money to write, they also did not consider that their lives were not of any importance or consequence in the scheme of things.³⁷⁹ Sometimes, there have been frustrating difficulties in completing the biographies, for various reasons such as the loss of newspaper records in Mudgee. As Catherine Hall points out, however in writing, these gaps are 'necessarily partial, full of absences and silences, marked by its attempt to tell a coherent story, to make sense of tensions and contradictions which in life cannot be so neatly resolved.'³⁸⁰

A subject's birth and family life seemed a logical place to commence my biographies. The 'ideal of home' became the 'cultural norm between the 1830s and 1840s'³⁸¹ gradually becoming incorporated

³⁷⁵ Mervyn Evans, *The Days of May* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1981).

³⁷⁶ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.*

³⁷⁷ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Woman; Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth Century Australia.* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996). p. 4

³⁷⁸ Katie Holmes, *Spaces In Her Day: Australian Women's Diaries of the 1920s and 1930s* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1995). p. xiv

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. xiv

³⁸⁰ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History.* p. 1

³⁸¹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England.* p. 30

into the cultural identity of the English,³⁸² before crossing class boundaries'.³⁸³ As Tosh argues, for a boy the inculcation of the overarching 'manliness' spanned a particular three stage developmental course,³⁸⁴ in which the initial shaping of masculinity occurred within the home, for 'family life' was salient, within an environment of 'intimate relations of desire and dependence'.³⁸⁵

I have also delved into a subject's education for this is where the second stage of masculinity development takes place. According to Tosh is at about the time of 'puberty' when 'masculine identity is developed and partly validated, through participating in male peer groups, school usually being the first arena in which boys are exposed to a competitive masculine ethos'.³⁸⁶ Two subjects were educated in the United Kingdom, James Martin, and Willoughby Dowling. The others, George Henry Cox, James Loneragan and Ephraim Coombe, had a colonial church education. Bruce May was the only one schooled in the efficient, inexpensive, 'compulsory elementary education' that was commenced 'between 1872 and 1893 in each colony' and controlled by an educational department that 'managed all facets of primary schooling'.³⁸⁷

Mangan and Walvin, argue that from 'the mid to late nineteenth-century English public schools, [adopted] a neospartan ideal of masculinity [that] was diffused throughout the English speaking world with unrelenting and ethnocentric confidence of an imperial race'.³⁸⁸ Gradually this hegemonic masculinity became well entrenched and regarded as 'common sense'.³⁸⁹ This hegemonic masculinity as Martin Crotty argues duly arrived in Australia.³⁹⁰ All the subjects of this thesis subject's lived by middle class ideals of masculinity prevailing during their life-time and which, 'formed, in effect a distinctive and powerful moral code; [and] offered a set of values applicable to each and every facet of personal and collective life'.³⁹¹

Crotty's research used 'three sites for the construction and dissemination of ideals of manliness',³⁹² elite Australian schools, boys' organisations and literature. He found that generally inculcation of

³⁸² Ibid. p. 5

³⁸³ Ibid. p. 4

³⁸⁴ ———, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 105

³⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 105

³⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 105

³⁸⁷ Pavla Miller and Ian Davey, "The Common Denominator; Schooling the People," in *Constructing a Culture; A Peoples History*, ed. Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee (Ringwood: Mc Phee, Gribble, Penguin, 1988). pp. 19-20

³⁸⁸ J.A. Mangan and James. Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality; Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America.1840-1940*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). p. 3

³⁸⁹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. pp. 42-3

³⁹⁰ Martin. Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press., 2001). p. 34

³⁹¹ Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality; Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America.1840-1940*. *Manliness and Morality*. p. 2

³⁹² Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. p. 8

ideals of masculinity altered as ‘the nation rather than God, became the dominant paradigm’,³⁹³ and by the end of the nineteenth century there was the change of the ‘inculcation of character ideals from godliness and good learning to athleticism’.³⁹⁴ Gradually too ideas of ‘the new Imperialism’ developed with ‘imperial loyalty’ which took a central position ensuring the ‘British Empire became an ever more insistent object of loyalty for middle class Australians’.³⁹⁵ Margaret Scott also researched gender in Adelaide Secondary Schools from 1880 to 1919. She found that ‘boys schools’ (Anglican, Methodist and Catholic and the co-educational Adelaide High School) had a ‘strong awareness of their role in the construction of masculinity’,³⁹⁶ and that it was ‘a central educational concern’.³⁹⁷ However, ‘gender ideals espoused’ from a particular institution, ‘were strongly influenced by the discourses of British Imperialism’ overlaid by, ‘denominational and ethnic influences’ resulting in ‘their own variants of masculinity and femininity’.³⁹⁸

The important link between the inculcation of the ‘cult of manliness’ through particular sports at boys’ schools was vital in the longer term, as boys took into manhood these notions of the desirable characteristics or ‘moral training’ that the ‘games cult in the public schools and universities’ imparted.³⁹⁹ According to Ian Bradley the ‘cult of manliness grew out of muscular Christianity,’ and came to ‘undergird British Imperialism in its high noon.’⁴⁰⁰ ... As this filtered through the British Empire, this ‘dominant vision of athletic masculinity was according to Patrick McDevitt marked by ‘ideals of sportsmanship, strength and endurance.’⁴⁰¹ This was underpinned by the pervading attitude of ‘may the best man win,’ and an ‘expression of a world view’ that saw playing sport as an indicator of the ‘worth of a man *as a man*.’⁴⁰² In Australia from mid-century, the ‘development of uniform British games codes’, influenced Australian sport as well as cementing ‘cultural ties’ between the two countries.⁴⁰³ Daly’s text has been useful for he selected three towns to research in more depth, one of which is Gawler.⁴⁰⁴ He points out, that as in Britain, the playing of different sport in Australia indicated class. Throughout the nineteenth century, cricket was described as a ‘manly and moral pastime’,⁴⁰⁵ becoming more important as the century passed,⁴⁰⁶ so much so that it was a ‘a particular phenomenon’ of the age, which resulted in ‘mass

³⁹³ Ibid. p. 24

³⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 34

³⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 34

³⁹⁶ Margaret Scott, "Engendering Loyalties: the construction of masculinities, femininities, and national identities in South Australian secondary schools 1880 -1919." (PhD., University of Adelaide, 2000). p. 170

³⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 233

³⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 358

³⁹⁹ J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism; Aspects of the Diffusion of the Ideal* (Viking, 1986).

⁴⁰⁰ I Bradley, *Believing In Britain; The Spiritual Identity of Britishness* (London: B. Tauris & Co, 2007). p. 149

⁴⁰¹ Patrick F McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). p. 7

⁴⁰² Ibid. p. 2

⁴⁰³ Brian Stoddart, "The Hidden Influence Of Sport," in *Constructing a Culture; A People's History of Australia since 1788*, ed. Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee (Fitzroy: McPhee Gribble/ Penguin Books, 1988). p. 125

⁴⁰⁴ John A. Daly, *Elysian Field; Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836 -1890* (Adelaide: Self Published, 1982). pp. 145-161

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 29

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 29

entertainment'.⁴⁰⁷ As the century 'progressed, games, particularly team games were endorsed and overtly encouraged as suitable for *all* young men, especially the lower classes'.⁴⁰⁸

'Work and all-male associations',⁴⁰⁹ further informed masculinity. This period of a subject's life forms the bulk of the biographies, and the hegemonic masculinity or 'culturally authoritative' version,⁴¹⁰ prevailed.⁴¹¹ It was variously termed as 'manliness' 'manhood', or 'the cult of manliness' which encompassed a general common theme, comprising of 'masculine attributes' that was subscribed to by most members of society,⁴¹² thus becoming widely circulated.⁴¹³ 'Respect for physical vigour, courage and independence were manly values which transcended class, and which informed the standards by which one man judged another, whatever class he belonged',⁴¹⁴ although it was mainly used by the middle classes and how they lived.⁴¹⁵ Socially throughout a man's life, how a man conducted himself was also important 'because masculinity is inseparable from peer recognition, which in turn depends on performance in the social sphere.'⁴¹⁶ 'Be a man' became the clarion call of the century.⁴¹⁷

Micro-histories

Reay describes micro-history as:

Historical research on a reduced scale, under the microscope so to speak, with the conviction that detailed observation and analysis will not only uncover unknown complexities and 'reveal new meanings' in structures, processes, belief systems and interactions...⁴¹⁸

In fact, Reay has much to say on writing micro-histories. He argues that 'all history is micro-history, as the 'local is central to the historical process',⁴¹⁹ and that 'it is impossible to understand society and culture without examining local contexts', and 'we will never fully understand the social and cultural processes of our past (and our present) until we recognise them as micro-histories'.⁴²⁰ He too argues,

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 25

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 29

⁴⁰⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 2

⁴¹⁰ Connell, *The Men and The Boys*. p. 30

⁴¹¹ J.A. Mangan, "Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in late Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Manliness and Morality: middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800 -1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James. Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).; Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 112

⁴¹² Connell, *Masculinities*. p. 191; Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 14

⁴¹³ Tosh———, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 31

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. p. 95

⁴¹⁵ Ibid. p. 91

⁴¹⁶ Ibid. p. 51

⁴¹⁷ Ibid. p. 31

⁴¹⁸ Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*. p. 260, amongst other publications Reay refers to G. Levi 'On Microhistory' in P, Burke (ed.), *New perspectives on historical writing*.(Oxford, 1991). p. 96

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. p. 262

⁴²⁰ Ibid. p. 262

the advantage thus, of placing a small community under the microscope is that it becomes possible to see and explore the complexity of social interaction and social and economic processes'.⁴²¹

Reay also argues that 'the local is the site for exploring significant social change and for teasing out important historical issues'⁴²² whilst D.B. Waterson similarly argues that

Every regional historian soon realizes that, however small his own original research, colonial and even local history is much less simple and the paramount issues, much more open to discussion, re-interpretation and expansion than some of the many closed circuit practitioners would have us believe.⁴²³

Putnam argues 'micro level examination is almost always necessary' as it 'is ideal for tracking the movement of people, goods, money, or ideas to form a considered judgement about a unit of study and spatial frame of reference that makes sense for a particular research topic.'⁴²⁴

Both towns have their share of history publications. In Mudgee, G.H.F. Cox's unpublished manuscript brings together the family records and local nineteenth century account which subsequent local history authors including Elisabeth Curtis and C.J. Connelly have utilised. It charts various developments of institutions, such as the justice system, courts and policing and communication services.⁴²⁵ Recently, a community-writing group has produced a popular account of life in Mudgee, from the town's inception to late the twentieth century⁴²⁶ that encompasses pioneer and settler history, including George Henry Cox⁴²⁷ and James Loneragan.⁴²⁸ As Norman McVicker has recently collated and published his short historical articles pertaining to Mudgee.⁴²⁹

As early as the 1860s, Gawlerites attempted to have a local history published however, the project did not come to fruition.⁴³⁰ George Loyau incorporated Dr Nott's historical account of the town into his text, which was published in 1880.⁴³¹ Written in an informative manner, the text documents the town's

⁴²¹ Ibid. p. 258

⁴²² Ibid. p. 260

⁴²³ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 1

⁴²⁴ Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole; Microhistory and the Atlantic World." p. 621

⁴²⁵ C. J. Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town*. (Glebe: Fastbooks, 1993).

⁴²⁶ Dormer Marion, ed. *Travelling Down The Cudgegong; Pioneering the Mudgee-Gulgong District*. (Mudgee: Visitors Center, 1997).

⁴²⁷ ———, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers," in *Travelling Down the Cudgegong; Pioneering in the Mudgee - Gulgong Districts*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Visitors Center, 1997). pp. 17-28

⁴²⁸ ———, "The Development of Mudgee Village," in *Travelling Down the Cudgegong; Pioneering the Mudgee - Gulgong District*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Visitors Centre, 1997). pp. 37-9

⁴²⁹ Norman McVicker, *Tales from Along the Wallaby Track* (Mudgee: Self-published, 2009). pp. 142-5 such as Elizabeth Tierney, or pp. 72-3 Louisa Lawson.

⁴³⁰ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*, pp. 77-9 a competition for the best history of the area was organised to mark the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Gawler Mechanics' Institute. Mr H. Hussey presented the most promising, but due to an incomplete manuscript, the competition lapsed and George Angas subsequently acquired the work. Eventually the manuscript, passed to Mr Edwin Hodder who revised the text which was published in 1893 as *The History of South Australia*.

⁴³¹ George Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott* (Hampstead Gardens: Austprint, 1978).

progress, including the celebrated ‘Humbug Society’⁴³² as well as the usual adversities and triumphs of townsmen. Ephraim Coombe followed suit in his classic evocative and celebratory history of Gawler that has been fondly consulted by succeeding generations, including Derek Whitelock who also wrote in a celebratory manner.⁴³³

Following Davidoff and Hall, I have researched Mudgee and Gawler by means of ‘a comprehensive – although not definitive - range of sources aimed at painting’ these two rural areas, from many different angles.⁴³⁴ Like them, too I have used ‘some texts in detail’ whilst others sources take a ‘wider and eclectic sweep’.⁴³⁵ In using the wide variety of sources for the research, I have been mindful that ‘official records, biographical writing, traditional histories, and the media of the day, tend to reflect dominant class views and attitudes.’⁴³⁶

Newspapers were significant institutions in Australian society during the nineteenth century⁴³⁷ and they have been vital in this thesis in writing both the biographies and the micro-histories. In Mudgee, there was an eclectic and a passing parade of newspapers. *The Mudgee Liberal* for example, was a newspaper particularly in evidence in the 1860s proudly announcing, it was for ‘Freedom of thought! Liberty of language! Love of justice’!⁴³⁸ The Mudgee area squatters had their own organ, *The Western Post*.⁴³⁹ There was *The Mudgee Times*, after which the *Independent* appeared on the scene⁴⁴⁰, whilst *The Mudgee Guardian* started publishing in the 1890s and continues to this day.

Rod Kirkpatrick has researched the nineteenth century colonial press and in New South Wales. He argues that it was characterised by;

The multiplicity of newspapers, [which] meant a wide range of viewpoints, but the quality of the debate they promoted, was not enhanced by the editors’ confrontation with economic uncertainty. The pioneering provincial newspapers were often short-lived enterprises and many of those that survived the first few years of publication did so only because the editor exploited alternative sources of income to subsidize publication. The editors were often not independent financially and so their expressions of opinion on community and colonial affairs generally reflected those of their supporters.⁴⁴¹

In South Australia ‘the average newspaper editor’ was,

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*.

⁴³⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. xiv

⁴³⁵ Ibid. p. xii

⁴³⁶ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. 228

⁴³⁷ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 89; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 118; Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. pp. 212-7

⁴³⁸ ‘Our Own Colony,’ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 19 December 1862

⁴³⁹ *The Western Post*, Printed and Published by William Ranwell, Mudgee

⁴⁴⁰ ‘The Late Edwin Richards, Picturesque Personality, Able Journalist, Sound Politician’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 24 January 1927

⁴⁴¹ Kirkpatrick Rod, "Advocate or supplicant? Survival in the New South Wales provincial press to 1900," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 3, no. 1 (2001). pp. 77-99

Of English birth, male as there was no females involved in the ownership structure of newspapers, a religious 'Non-conformist', who comes from a middle-class background. His father's occupation reinforced his 'middle-class' background and he was usually educated by either academic or apprenticeship training. He usually tended to have a variety of occupations besides that of a newspaper editor, but always these occupations were in the middle-class bracket. His association with newspapers often led to his entering politics on one level or another, and usually the money he made allowed him to stay with the upper-middle class range, although occasionally huge fortunes were made.⁴⁴²

Both descriptions ring true. My research discerned that newspaper criticism of my subjects was virtually non-existent with only rare occurrences in Mudgee although in both towns 'Letters to The Editor', the public expressed disapproving sentiments.

In Gawler, the best-known newspaper, *The Bunyip* began publication in the 1860s as a radical organ of the equally outlandish 'Humbug Society' that aimed to deride mid-nineteenth century respectable society. William Barnett subsequently purchased this newspaper. He employed successive editors, and gradually the newspaper became eminently respectable. One of these editors, townsman, Ephraim Coombe, and a subject of the thesis, succeeded as editor at *The Bunyip* in the last decade of the century and there were certainly aspects of the editor description that applied to him. This newspaper has been a rich source for the thesis, but particularly under Coombe's editorship, it contributed to rather an idyllic notion of Gawler and its community.

Ryan argues that by 'reducing the scope of research to one community, she discerned that the new social historians had uncovered patterns of everyday social life in local records that were far more resonant and variegated than the products of remote publishing firms'.⁴⁴³ Indeed, the local newspapers provided me with a defining moment as a researcher. It was here that I noticed how the Mechanics Institute establishment in the two different towns demonstrated the difference in how their respective societies operated. Kocumbias argues that the Mechanics Institutes were established in the Australian colonies where it was hoped, the would-be recipients, the 'skilled workers' would be educated 'politically and keep them in their place'.⁴⁴⁴ However, in New South Wales, in a society well used to the penal system there was little experience of the establishment of 'civilising forces' of the 'voluntary associations, civic, religious and recreational'.⁴⁴⁵ Here the movement was 'more likely to be imposed from above' and because of the long held resistance to authority, it meant that 'the civilising device' used 'was distorted by the coercive purpose to which it was put.'⁴⁴⁶ By '1835, the 'Sydney Institute' had 153 members and 263 by 1843, and by 1850 similar institutions had been formed in all capital cities and many country

⁴⁴² Carey, Susan, (1978) 'The prolific press: Newspapers in South Australia, 1836-1890', BA Honours thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, cited in Kirkpatrick Rod, "Advocate or supplicant? Survival in the New South Wales provincial press to 1900," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 3, no. 1 (2001). p. 48

⁴⁴³ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. p. xi

⁴⁴⁴ Kocumbias, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 218

⁴⁴⁵ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 82

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 82

centres'.⁴⁴⁷ Gawler and Mudgee Mechanics Institutes were both established later, and reflected the class situation. Mudgee's was instigated by two squatters whilst in Gawler, ordinary men commenced the institution and once started, there was no stopping townsmen's commitment and enthusiasm and contrary to Kocumbias' assertion that workers avoided the organisations,⁴⁴⁸ it became the heart of the town. As Laura Putnam argues a 'micro history has excelled at demonstrating connections'.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ Kocumbas, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 218

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 218

⁴⁴⁹ Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole; Microhistory and the Atlantic World." p. 2

Setting the Scene - Mudgee

Mudgee on the Cudgegong River in the isolated central western tablelands of New South Wales was surrounded by extensive, rugged, hill country¹ and until the railway arrived in 1884,² remained remote from Sydney, located some one-hundred and fifty miles away. The local Wiradjuri people,³ traditional landholders of the area described the landscape as a 'nest'.⁴ Their world was devastated when in the 1820s land-hungry white men came 'exploring', led by James Blackman⁵ and W. Lawson, (1774-1850).⁶ At Lawson's behest, George and Henry Cox subsequently ventured to this idyllic place and agreed with Lawson that land should be acquired along-side the Cudgegong River.⁷ These white men were a part of the 'rapid extension of the pastoral frontier' which precipitated a 'succession of sudden, traumatic encounters,'⁸ with the Wiradjuri people, as 'ideologies of racism developed' where-by the white community assumed 'superiority' and 'solidarity' in opposition 'to other races'.⁹

In this isolated area, with a cheap,¹⁰ convict labour force, until 1840,¹¹ gentlemen,¹² or squatters,¹³ on their land grants, developed and extended their pastoral properties.¹⁴ George

¹ John Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson," (1999), JohnBroadley.cm/epe/download.php?m..1...f=mudgee. p. 1 for a description of the extensive area

² Margaret Wilson, "Wheels of Progress; By wagon, coach, rail, motor and air," in *Travelling Down the Cudgegong; Pioneering in the Mudgee - Gulgong District*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Visitors Center, 1997). pp. 50-2

³ David Horton, ed. *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands History, Society and Culture*, vol. 2 (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies, 1994). D.H.R., 'Wiradjuri' pp. 1189-90. The Wiradjuri lived in the 'Riverine region on the central-west slopes and plains from Nyngan to Albury and Bathurst to Hay' in N.S.W.

⁴ Robinson, "Introduction-a Chain of Fine Large Meadows." p.11 'Mudgee' from an Aboriginal word 'Moothi'

⁵ Greaves, "Blackman, James (1792?-1868)."

⁶ Dunlop, "Lawson, William (1774-1850)". p. 1

⁷ Robinson, "Introduction-a Chain of Fine Large Meadows." p.11; Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town.*, pp. 1-7 ; *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*, (Commonwealth Jubilee Committee for the Mudgee Municipal Council, 1951). p. 8

⁸ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 66; Mayne, *Hill End: An Historic Australian Goldfields Landscape*. pp. 60-3

⁹ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 12

¹⁰ James S. Hassall, *In Old Australia; Records and Reminiscences from 1794* (Brisbane: R.S. Hews & Co, 1902). p. 41 'a convict servant could be fed and clothed comfortably for perhaps £5 a year'

¹¹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 70 & 77 ; *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide to Mudgee: Past and Present*. p. 4; Jan Roberts, *Massacres to Mining: The Colonisation of Aboriginal Australia* (Blackburn: Dove Communications, 1981). pp. 15-6 ; Kociumbas, *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 149; Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. viii

¹² see Duffy, chapter 'Marks of Distinction' for an account on gentlemen, pp.106 - 119

¹³ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee,1821-1899." p. 1 provides a description of how the term 'squatter' came into use. When Governor Bourke legalised squatting in 1836, the term squatter soon assumed respectability.

¹⁴ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 72 & p. 75 for various descriptions of land grants to Mudgee squatters.

Cox, (father of a subject of the thesis), established, Burrundulla Station, whilst Lawson, built Bombira Hill,¹⁵ and by the 1830s, they had established self-contained villages where almost every requirement for life was produced.¹⁶ Other squatters followed,¹⁷ from assorted backgrounds, although usually having a common family history of military service,¹⁸ and enough capital to provide basic commodities for themselves and their men, to buy stock, as well as the capacity to raise loans from financial institutions for expanding their enterprise.¹⁹

Wool and its sale to Britain became the Mudgee area's most profitable commodity, contributing to the colony's entrée to the global market system,²⁰ and an ever expanding market ensured it becoming the leading export for Australia through much the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.²¹ Economically, 'the value of wool exported from Australia rose 100 percent'²² in the second half of the nineteenth century.'²³ It made the Mudgee squatters very wealthy and their reputations grew, as the demand for their sheep used in Australian 'fine wool flocks' expanded, remaining until the mid-1870s when there was increased competition from elsewhere as well as the demand for different merino types.²⁴ The economic and social power of these squatters and the great gulf to the pastoral workers below them, made for a society very different from the more egalitarian Gawler.

Like Gawler, initial progress and development of Mudgee was slow.²⁵ In 1837, Blackman had a 'slab hut' which was his home and store, Doctor Toogood had another and the hospital occupied the third and by 1841 '7 brick houses and 29 slab ones' had arisen.²⁶ The town was

¹⁵ Dunlop, "Lawson, William (1774-1850)".

¹⁶ For example, William Cox's, activity at 'Clarendon', Windsor, N.S.W. cited in Eric Charles Rolls, *Visions of Australia; Impressions of the Landscape, 1642 -1919* (South Melbourne: Lothian Books, 2002). p. 54

¹⁷ *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*, pp. 8-9 E. Cox brother of G and H. Cox who took 'Rawdon', Robert Fitzgerald, 'Dabee'; Billy Hayes, 'Havilah'; Robert Lowe, senior, 'Wilbetree'; George Cox took 'Guntawang', then acquired by Edwin and George Rouse ; Connelly, p. 3 others included W. Lowe

¹⁸ Richard Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005). p. 20 Until 1826, land grants awarded to free settlers, officers and emancipists after which 'the land policies of the colonial, and imperial authorities became more complicated, comprehensive and contradictory'; Terry Kass, *Soils To Satellites: The Surveyors' General of New South Wales, 1786 - 2007* (Bathurst: New South Lands Department , 2008). p. 26 in 1833 the 'Limits of Location' Act was passed to protect crown land from further encroachment by the squatters

¹⁹ Manning Clark, *A Short History of Australia*, 1963 ed. (Camberwell: Penguin, 2006). pp. 100-1

²⁰ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 11; Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. 94

²¹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p 60: Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. pp. 38-44

²² Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 9

²³ *Ibid.* p. 11

²⁴ cited in Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee,1821-1899." p. 138 Ernest Hume, " History of Mudgee; Historical Notes on Mudgee and District N.S.W.," (Held at Mudgee Library, 1970).

²⁵ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee.*; Marjorie Tipping, "Hoddle, Robert (1794 -1881)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-),

<http://www.adb.online.anuedu.au/biogs/A010505b.htm>. Accessed on-line, 12/10/2009

²⁶ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 30

laid out at about the same time as Gawler in a grid like pattern, close to the Cudgegong River and was gazetted in 1838.²⁷ In 1840 convict transportation to New South Wales stopped,²⁸ and convicts were withdrawn, leaving ‘ticket of leave’ people residing in the area until the 1860s.²⁹ There were many consequences of this convict period including a lingering animosity between assigned servants and ‘their masters’.³⁰ There were few women in the district, probably the ‘56 domestics,’ included in the statistics of the time and reflecting the general colonial gender imbalance, along with ‘26 landed proprietors, merchants and professional persons,’ as well as ‘4 shopkeepers’ and ‘4 mechanics’³¹ whilst in the country-side most people worked in the pastoral industry.³² The population was divided into a ‘working class’ and the squatters who set the tone of the Mudgee district.³³ What mattered to them was the maintenance of a ‘hierarchical order based on; origin, occupation, financial success, and – the final accolade-ownership of rural landed property’.³⁴ For those not included in this select group, the report in the local liberal newspaper of the ‘Municipal Ball’, speaks volumes as to the class tensions prevalent in Mudgee;

it is most pleasing to note that the whole affair passed off most harmoniously, all parties making themselves as affable as possible, without any of those class distinctions which have nearly always pervaded the semi-aristocratic balls hitherto held-in individuals who are in fact nobodies either by birth or education, assuming to themselves a ridiculous superiority without any conceivable attainments.³⁵

Like Gawler, great changes occurred in Mudgee in the early 1850s with gold discoveries. In New South Wales, the Turon district close to Mudgee enticed many to seek their fortune. For an apprehensive colonial government the concern was ‘it would excite the passions of the criminal class and distract men from honest labour.’³⁶ It certainly did enthuse and take men from their employment and the population in Mudgee declined.³⁷ The gold miners too experienced an intermingling of many different nationalities which allowed an exchange of information and ideas and camaraderie amongst gold-diggers. This sentiment was not

²⁷ *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*. p. 9, Hoddle surveyed squatter leases; Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town*. p. 3 cited from New South Wales Government Gazette, Mudgee village in the ‘County of Wellington’; Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 1

²⁸ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 44

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 44 a ticket of leave enabled a person to work on their own account if well behaved ; cited in Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 30 Bayly, Edward ‘Notice to ticket of leave holders at Mudgee,’ in 1848

³⁰ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 70; Patsy Adams-Smith, *The Shearers* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1986). p. 2, largely squatters were unused to management, as the United Kingdom’s ‘gentry’ were accustomed

³¹ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 22 ; Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town*. pp. 10-4

³² Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 22, including 355 shepherds as well as gardeners and labourers.

³³ John Manning Ward, *James Macarthur; Colonial Conservative, 1798-1867* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1981). p. 9, provides a description on how this situation came to pass

³⁴ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 69

³⁵ ‘Municipal Ball’, *The Mudgee Liberal* , 9 May 1862

³⁶ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 87

³⁷ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p.15. ; *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*. p. 10 six men remained amongst women and children

however extended to the '40,000'³⁸ maligned and abused migrant Chinese,³⁹ gold-seekers of whom over 12,000 remained in the colony,⁴⁰ some in and around in Mudgee adding to social division.⁴¹ And whilst gold continued to have an impact on Mudgee's development at least until the end of the century, wool remained the economic mainstay and combined with the introduction of new technologies, such as the telegraph,⁴² more men settled in Mudgee. By the late 1850s, merchants, and 'tradesmen' arrived, setting up all kinds of businesses, like the twenty or so hotels in the district,⁴³ and many of these men were imbued with a new and different view of the world, wanting improvements to their opportunities and an egalitarian society.

One change which certainly improved New South Welshmen's position in society was self-government, in 1855. This included a constitution, whereby the governor became the formal head of state, taking advice from ministers who in turn were elected by male citizens.⁴⁴ In theory it was a 'democratic' form of government.⁴⁵ The granting of 'Manhood Suffrage' and 'for what is known as the first parliament of New South Wales under the Electoral Reform Act of 1858,'⁴⁶ ordinary men received 'the 10 pound franchise,' enabling them to vote.⁴⁷ This was both a triumph and an exciting development especially in Mudgee where prior to the legislation, any political discussion about social inequalities could result in dire consequences for the lowly. The local newspaper later recounted;

Manhood suffrage as we now have it was only talked about, and then only where it was safe to do so. Of course there was no Bastille or subterranean dungeons in perspective for the demagogue of those days, but all the same, the upper ten found means of getting even with one whose tongue wagged too freely against their interests.⁴⁸

One Mudgee man on one occasion was too forthcoming with his opinions and had to walk the ninety-six miles to Bathurst 'to answer a trumped up charge', because in those days that was

³⁸ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. pp. 87-91

³⁹ There were exceptions such as: 'Court of Quarter Sessions,' *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 October, 1861.

⁴⁰ 'The Census Returns,' *The Mudgee Liberal*, 8 August 1862

⁴¹ For example see; 'Mudgee Debating Society', *The Western Post*, 27 October 1860 The Society debated, 'is the introduction of the Chinese calculated to be beneficial or prejudicial to this colony?' One participant spoke of the Chinese as 'dirty in their habits, so immoral and heathenish, were unfit to associate with Christians,' whilst the opposing voice thought that as Christian they had 'duties to all nations and creeds.' The outcome to the 'opener'.

⁴² Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 87 such as the first railway lines started, the first steamships plied between Europe and Australia. ; Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 21 in Mudgee a mill was converted from 'horse power to steam power'

⁴³ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 37

⁴⁴ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 92, New South Wales had a 'partly elected legislative council in 1842'.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 95

⁴⁶ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 48

⁴⁷ Cochrane, *Colonial Ambitions: Foundations of Australian Democracy*. p. 286

⁴⁸ 'Old Electioneers, First Big Fight', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

the closest 'Police Court'.⁴⁹ The squatters, influential and powerful were well versed in the ways of the law having initially been responsible for law and order and were prepared to enforce the law as they saw fit.⁵⁰ The original 'inhumane' lock-up or 'logs', as it was called was on squatter, Henry Cox's property at 'Menah'.⁵¹ A permanent police force arrived in 1833,⁵² later obliged to vacated the area, through lack of horse fodder. This situation did not go unnoticed by convicts who took advantage of the situation, causing squatters to contact authorities. The Cox brothers and Lawson eventually wrote to authorities explaining the situation and offering a solution.⁵³ In 1840 police magistrate, Captain Furlong arrived, accompanied by a 'chief constable, a watch keeper, three ordinary constables and a scourger whose duty was to flog deserting or disobedient assigned servants', and the building of infrastructure including, police barracks, a rudimentary court house and prison.⁵⁴ In this period Mudgee became a site for the Court of Petty Sessions and 'Justices of the Peace' were appointed in 1840.⁵⁵ By the 1860s local squatters were serving as 'Magistrates of the Territory' in the Mudgee District,⁵⁶ and were sworn in as 'new magistrates at the Court of Quarter Sessions'.⁵⁷

The first election day in 1859 finally arrived and men were naturally pleased to express their political opinion without fear of retribution and whilst the 'ballot box was used'; for the most part the public 'displayed their colours so prominently' as well as their voices, in effect the result was well-known by election day.⁵⁸ Mudgee had a 'member all to itself',⁵⁹ and it clearly demonstrates the class divide and the political climate. 'Mudgeeites of the day were divided into two sections-the landed proprietors with all those whom they could cajole or coerce and they were known as the 'Cocktails'.⁶⁰ The other faction was the mass of the people and they

⁴⁹ 'Old Electioneers, First Big Fight,' *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁵⁰ *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*. p. 4

⁵¹ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 30

⁵² Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 32

⁵³ Letter 'To His Excellency, Sir George Gipps', cited in *ibid.*, p. 27, sent to Governor Sir George Gipps in the late 1830s followed by a 'Letter to Captain King, 12 August 1836', cited in *ibid.*, p. 28 The Cox Brothers and Lawson followed this with a letter to Captain King saying a resident magistrate would suffice 'instead of the return of the mounted police and party' and as well because there were less 'convict servants' to control but more 'free servants' which made it 'more imperative that we should have the means of keeping them under control by a bench of magistrates on the spot.'

⁵⁴ 'Fifty Years Ago', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890; *ibid.* pp. 29-30

⁵⁵ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 29

⁵⁶ *The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, Tuesday, 30 July, 1861, p. 3

⁵⁷ 'Court of Quarter Sessions', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 October 1861; appointed were; N.P Bayly, G.H. Cox, R. Lowe and G. Rouse

⁵⁸ 'Old Electioneers, First Big Fight', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁵⁹ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 48

⁶⁰ For an explanation of 'cocktails' see; Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford University Press, URL; http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/cgi/entry/50042923?query_ty... Accessed on-line 21/03/2010

generally were ‘Liberals’.⁶¹ They were mostly ‘working men who had previously voted anti-Liberal for the sake of their leaseholds or their jobs and would be free to vote according to their consciences. They naturally voted for ‘progress’.⁶² It was noted that between the two factions

was a wide gulf as that recorded between Lazarus and Dives, and equally impassable. No coterie in this world was ever so adapt or so well guarded as that of ‘Uppah Suckles’.⁶³

The ‘cocktails’, selected Robert Lowe, a local squatter, as a candidate to represent them in the Assembly.⁶⁴ An attempt was made to influence the election outcome when a women supporter of Mr Lowe, a Mrs Oliver, the bank manager’s wife, ingeniously contrived to influence a town’s artisan, a Mr Branscombe to vote as she directed.⁶⁵ Mrs Oliver asked Mr Branscombe to mend a broken coffee pot however, this work came with the request that he vote for Mr Lowe. The artisan declined and hastily the coffee pot was removed from the artisan’s premises causing considerable personal loss to him.⁶⁶ However, the ‘liberals’, ‘laced with Irish humour’, mocked the corrupting efforts of the cocktails and commissioned a large symbolic coffee pot to be made for use as a mascot during their successful campaign.⁶⁷ The Mudgee liberals’ candidate, the newly arrived immigrant, Mr Lyttleton Holyoake Bailey,⁶⁸ won the election with 496 votes, to Robert Lowe’s 231.⁶⁹ For ordinary men it was a wonderful victory and the expectation that they would have better opportunities and improved status.

Indeed, an occasion some-time after the elections illustrates the hope that ordinary men had that their class was every bit as respectable as the so called ‘betters’. At a Juvenile Fete hosted by a Mr Cochrane and held at G.H. and A.B. Cox’s paddocks, between six and seven hundred children and three hundred adults enjoyed refreshments followed by ‘foot races, dancing and cricket’, and so on.⁷⁰ A band accompanied everyone as they sang ‘the national anthem’, and this was followed by G.H. Cox who addressed the children and thanked Mr

⁶¹ ‘Old Electioneers, First Big Fight’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁶² Alan Atkinson, *Camden* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988). p. 107

⁶³ ‘Old Electioneers, First Big Fight’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁶⁴ ‘Old Electioneers, First Big Fight’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁶⁵ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 48, Mrs. Oliver, was wife of the local, Bank of N.S.W. manager.

⁶⁶ ‘Old Electioneers, First Big Fight’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁶⁷ ‘Old Electioneers, First Big Fight’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁶⁸ ‘Old Electioneers, First Big Fight’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895 L.H. Bailey became New South Wales Attorney General in the Cowper government and subsequently had an illustrious career.

⁶⁹ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 48

⁷⁰ ‘Children’s Fete at Burrundulla’, *The Western Post*, 19 January 1861

Cochrane on their behalf.⁷¹ The newspaper touched on the anxious subject when it reported that the invitation was ‘general’ and we are glad they noted, ‘to see that it was accepted in the same spirit’ there was ‘not a single accident’ and that ‘the young people behaved remarkably well’.⁷²

An important symbol of progress in this isolated conservative area was the Mechanics Institute movement which had originated in Britain in the 1820s and duly arrived in Australia. Commonly organised by men for further education, the movement in Australia had a range of objectives, generally encompassing, middle-class notions of ‘useful knowledge,’ which for mechanics,⁷³ was scientific and technical information, and ‘mental and moral improvement’ and rational recreation’.⁷⁴

The Mudgee Mechanics’ Institute was founded in 1857,⁷⁵ by two squatters, George Rouse, and George Henry Cox⁷⁶, a subject of the thesis. Mechanics’ Institutes being founded by such upper-class men was customary when ‘grass root’ interest was not forthcoming.⁷⁷ Like others across the Australian colonies ‘in its formative years,’ it ‘represented the essence of Victorian patriarchal society’.⁷⁸ George Henry Cox, was the one squatter who was well disposed towards involving himself in the affairs of the town, and contributed financially,⁷⁹ loaning library books as well as participated in the lecture program.⁸⁰ As the local parliamentarian,⁸¹ he facilitated government grants to purchase the land⁸² and the mechanics’ institute building.⁸³

⁷¹ ‘Children’s Fete at Burrundulla’, *The Western Post*, 19 January 1861

⁷² ‘Children’s Fete at Burrundulla’, *The Western Post*, 19 January 1861

³² Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 6, mechanics occupations reflected the agricultural nature of the area and included; ‘blacksmiths, farriers, wheelwrights, and shearers, timber and shingle cutters, thatcher’s, fencers, brick makers, coopers, laborers, shepherds and cattlemen, and carriers’ ; Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 14 Four shopkeepers ; Robinson, "Introduction-a Chain of Fine Large Meadows." p. 13 The 1860s saw increased mechanic numbers, working in 4 coach factories (20 to 50 men), 2 iron foundries and 1 tinsmith

⁷⁴ Philip Candy “The Light of Heaven Itself’: The Contribution of the Institutes to Australia’s Cultural History’ In P.C. Candy and J. Laurent, eds., *Pioneering Culture: Mechanics’ Institutes and School of Arts in Australia* (Adelaide: Auslib Press, 1994). pp. 6-7

⁷⁵, ‘Mechanics Institute’, *Western Post & Mudgee Newspaper* 16 April 1862 First meeting held in St John’s Schoolroom in May 1857; ‘Old Mudgee Views and Their Associations’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

⁷⁶ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. pp. 60-1 they were trustees along with Dr. McDonald

⁷⁷ Candy, “The Light of Heaven Itself’: The Contribution of the Institutes to Australia’s Cultural History’. p. 4

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 6

⁷⁹ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. pp. 60-1, G. H. Cox and S.H. Terry donated 50 pounds towards the project.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 61, lecturers included; Reverends A. McEwen, and Laughton, B.A., Father McCarthy, G.H. Cox, Dr. McDonald and J.W. Hardwicke

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 48

⁸² *Ibid.* p. 61, £500 granted for purchase of an allotment

⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 62 G.H. Cox was ‘instrumental in obtaining a further grant of one thousand pounds’.

Between the time the Mudgee Mechanics' Institute was established and the opening of the actual Institute building, the population almost doubled from 803 to 1507 citizens, as occurred in the similar period in other Australian towns.⁸⁴ These new-comers generally included; skilled workers, merchants, professional men and government officials who formed part of 'the new urban hierarchy and had little in common with the representatives of the old order'.⁸⁵ *The Mudgee Guardian* later recalled, these men were in for a surprise for

the new arrivals, fresh from other scenes, where popular will moulded the laws, found themselves out of touch with the landed proprietors and their henchmen, who till then did pretty much what they pleased so long as the laws were not strained too much.⁸⁶

In 1860, the Institute building was proposed and without the representation of any working men on the 'building committee' the clergymen and squatters set to work.⁸⁷ In 1861 the Institute with a membership of 166 and with government monetary assistance assured, the foundation stone laying ceremony was held. George Henry Cox, President of the Institute, performed the ceremony. It must have been a wonderful diversion in an otherwise monotonous routine as men including 'Masons, the Odd-fellows,' and 'the Union Benefit Society' members, formed a procession to walk 'to the spot'.⁸⁸ The prominence of Mr Cox in the ceremony at first glance would have seemed natural to some for he had a high public profile however, the 'deference' required was particularly resented by others. As *The Mudgee Guardian* recounted,

Goodness help the daring tradesman who presuming on his cash balance, ventured to make too free with his superiors. Enough for him to remain thankful for his position in life, in which his Maker had placed him without endearing to commit blasphemy by "putting himself between the wind and their nobility".⁸⁹

The Mudgee Institute foundation laying ceremony particularly highlighted how some townsmen felt about their low status in society. In a letter to the newspaper, a correspondent complained how much dissatisfaction was expressed by the members of The Odd Fellows' and Union Benefit Societies because of the 'low estimation in which their presence was held by the President of the Institute, Mr Cox as compared to the Free Masons.'⁹⁰ While the latter

⁸⁴ Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town*. p. 9; 'The Census Return,' *The Mudgee Liberal*, 8 August 1862; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 109

⁸⁵ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 23

⁸⁶ 'First Big Fight, Old Electioneers,' *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

⁸⁷ 'Mechanics Institute', *The Western Post*, 1 December 1860. members included; Anglican, Reverend J. Günter, Methodist, Reverend W.J. K. Piddington, squatters, G. Rouse, N.P. Bayly, and G.H. Cox

⁸⁸ 'Foundation Stone of Mechanics Institute', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 October 1861.

⁸⁹ 'Old Electioneers, First Big Fight', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

⁹⁰ A Member of One of The Public Bodies Present, 'Original Correspondence', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 October 1861

were permitted to place the names of officers under the foundation stone, and they were two or three times individually mentioned by Mr Cox, the names of the Union Benefit Society and Odd Fellows were never mentioned, and according to the affronted man 'they might just as well been absent.'⁹¹ Further he alleged, 'working men were more entitled to honourable mention because they had left their work and lost their half-days' pay,' that some may not have been in a position to afford whilst for the Masons, who had 'means and position,' the occasion meant little them, because their attendance was of 'no loss whatever.' Overall though he noted 'on this occasion, all were equal, and ought to have been equally treated.'⁹² This was the crux of the matter for the ceremony had scant regard for the egalitarian and democratic forces at work in society.

In April 1862, the Mudgee Institute held an 'inauguration',⁹³ and a soirée, was held for 'upwards of 300 persons'.⁹⁴ It demonstrated that the community had indeed 'visible and tangible evidence' of 'progress and achievement,'⁹⁵ in this squatter, dominated society.⁹⁶ Wives of members were invited and their contribution acknowledged in the speeches and toasts which were *de rigueur* on such an occasion and then the couples listened to the music performed by the Philharmonic Society, and danced until dawn. The building remained opened for four nights allowing everyone to view their new civic amenity, with free admission on the last day. The local newspaper reporting on the soirée, and, reflecting on how fragile community relations were commented, 'we are happy to say that the evening passed off without a single faux pas, and that all appeared to enjoy themselves to the utmost'.⁹⁷

⁹¹ A Member of One of The Public Bodies Present 'Original Correspondence', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 October 1861

⁹² A Member of One of The Public Bodies Present 'Original Correspondence', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 October 1861

⁹³ 'Mechanics Institute', *Western Post & Mudgee Newspaper*, 16 April 1862

⁹⁴ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 62

⁹⁵ Tessa Raath, "Foundations and Fortunes of the Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts in New South Wales," ed. P.C. Candy and J. Laurent, *Pioneering Culture: Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts in Australia* (Adelaide: Auslib Press, 1994). p. 239

⁹⁶ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 18; Cox family; Ruth Teale, "Cox, George Henry," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030452b.htm?hilite+mudgee>. Accessed on-line 26/02/2008; J.L. Stewart, "Bayly, Nicholas Pagent (1814 - 1879)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), [http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030115b.htm?hilite=Bayly](http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030115b.htm?hilite=Bayly;).; Rouse Brothers - Marjorie Lenahan, "Rouse, Richard (1842 - 1903)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A0600073b.htm?hilite=Rouse>. Accessed on-line 16/08/2008 p.1. ; Lowe family - Vivienne Parsons, "Lowe, Robert (1783 -1832)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition*, (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A0201b.htm?hilite=Lowe>.; Lawson family- Dunlop, "Lawson, William (1774-1850)". As well as Bowman, Dulhunty, Walker

⁹⁷ 'Soiree', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 12 September, 1862

Sometime after the opening the newspaper claimed the Mechanics Institute ‘was as free as any-institution of the kind in Australia, from political animosity and religious sectarianism’.⁹⁸ Outwardly this may have been so however, the manner in which one individual later described the building perhaps, reflects better how some members of the community really felt about their Mechanics’ Institute when he said ‘that well-built, badly planned, ugly, unsightly building – a building devoid of all architectural pretensions,’⁹⁹ Well-built it was; it still stands today in Mudgee, however, maybe the influence the elite of the town had exerted ensured that it did not have any pretensions and was a reflection of the place in society they considered appropriate for Mudgee men who frequented this new organisation.

In the 1860s, newly enfranchised men flexed their muscles and pushed for a voice in their local government¹⁰⁰ and whilst the Mudgee Shire District had been established in 1843 when 133 property owners had the right to vote, now the dynamics had changed.¹⁰¹ Landowners, worried as to how and where rate revenue would be spent and reluctant to contribute to the town of Mudgee’s costs, campaigned to have their own separate institution which resulted in the establishment in 1860 of two institutions; the Cudgegong Council and the Mudgee Municipal Council.¹⁰² However, this situation of two organizations created problems which inhibited progress. The Cudgegong Council members were educated, well acquainted with each other and or related, ensuring that this select group only voted in their own self-interest. In 1863 the editor of *The Mudgee Liberal* suggested an infusion of ‘new blood’ would be advantageous because without it, if another of the Lowe family was elected, their road, the newspaper wickedly suggested, would be as ‘level as a bowling green.’¹⁰³ Unfortunately, the men of the Mudgee Municipal Council lacked education and experience.¹⁰⁴ When compared to their counterparts, on the Cudgegong Council¹⁰⁵ they were at a distinct disadvantage when it came to the intricacies of the business and politics and they often became bogged down in petty distractions.¹⁰⁶ The two councils worked independently on the same or similar problem, and made improvements (including building their own council chambers)¹⁰⁷ as they saw fit. The major issues of such infrastructure initiatives as roads and water supplies were not

⁹⁸ ‘Our School of Arts’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 18 July 1862

⁹⁹ ‘Tribute To Prince Albert’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 13 June 1862,

¹⁰⁰ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." pp. 41-2

¹⁰¹ Ibid. pp. 41-2

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 42

¹⁰³ ‘The Elections for the Municipalities of Mudgee and Cudgegong’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 6 February 1863

¹⁰⁴ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 41

¹⁰⁵ ‘The Cudgegong Council,’ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 April 1862 ; Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village". p. 42

¹⁰⁶ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 36

¹⁰⁷ ‘Mudgee Municipalities’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 25 December 1895 a hypothetical discussion on why the area had two councils

adequately addressed and progress faltered. By comparison to other towns in the colony, Mudgee was seriously disadvantaged.¹⁰⁸ There was a continuing friction between the institutions as 'the perpetuation of class distinction and rivalry, and town versus country dichotomy' endured.¹⁰⁹

The ongoing jousts between the squatters and the rest of society continued. It was now usually conducted in subtle and clandestine ways by the squatters as in 1862 concerning the Cudgegong Council tenders for road maintenance. The councillors decided they would no longer afford to put advertisements for road-work tenders in both local newspapers, citing the prohibitive cost of advertising for this decision. They would use one paper only; *The Western Post*,¹¹⁰ not *The Mudgee Liberal*, 'a working mans' paper. However, complaints soon arose because working men (if they could afford it at all) only bought 'their' newspaper and therefore they were unaware of when tenders were being called. *The Mudgee Liberal* management in a sardonic vein, reported on their communication with the Cudgegong Council noting that

We do not for one moment accuse either Mr Cox or Mr Bayly of having interested motives in refusing our application. We are quite certain that neither of those gentlemen-though one of them may have been interested in a rival journal-would suffer their private feelings to interfere with their public duty. No, we give them every credit for ingenuousness and believe that a desire to keep down the expenses of the Municipality was their only motive.¹¹¹

From the 1860s there was generalised movement by ordinary men, who wanted a share of the land, and they now clamoured for their own farms, and like the 'land reform liberals' wanted 'to remove special privilege and open opportunity to all'.¹¹² Their aspiration was granted when the colonial government, introduced the Selection Act in 1861.¹¹³ The local newspaper declared that

The Bill on the whole is thoroughly practical, and is admitted on all sides to be the best yet introduced on the question. That it will conduce to the prosperity of the community there is no doubt.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 41; Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee,1821-1899." p. 13

¹⁰⁹ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee,1821-1899." p. 36

¹¹⁰ 'Cudgegong Municipal Council', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 April 1862

¹¹¹ 'The Cudgegong Council', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 April 1862 The amount per quarter apparently amounted to one or two pounds. *The Mudgee Liberal* ran the advertisements gratis to help working men find employment saying, 'it would do so until the Council is in a better placed position.'; Stewart, "Bayly, Nicholas Pagent (1814 - 1879).": In a letter to the editor a reader disclosed that Mr Cox 'was one of the proprietors and *The Western Post*' the 'squatters' organ,' 'Original Correspondence,' *The Mudgee Liberal*, ' 18 April 1862

¹¹² Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884.* p. 114

¹¹³ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia.* p. 98

¹¹⁴ 'Saturday, October 20; The Land Bill', *The Western Post*, 20 October 1860

The squatters as the 'large and important class,'¹¹⁵ naturally were not well disposed to the land selection scheme although eventually it was beneficial for them and they were able to buy their most productive country, and areas they did not want could be chosen by selectors. 'Yeoman farmers' thus could select from either vacant crown land or portions of runs held by pastoral lessors.¹¹⁶ In Mudgee the 'Crown Land Sales' showed the small acreages of land for selection,¹¹⁷ and across the colony, 'no less than 2,000 people,' selected land whilst in the Mudgee district 72 selectors took up about 60 acres each amounting to 4349 acres.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately in the longer term, much of the land was either heavily timbered, having impoverished soils, and in isolated locations, which made developing a profitable economic unit, near impossible.¹¹⁹ The general disorder, predicted because of the changes to land ownership, did not eventuate. In 1862, *The Mudgee Liberal* in a scornful note reported that,

When we think of the prognostications of the interminable disputes, the destruction of order and commercial prosperity, the foundation of an independent order or cattle stealing, and the general convulsion of society that would follow the adoption of the Robertson Land Bill-of "free selection before survey" we are somewhat astonished to find that five months after the Land Act came into force the colony is in a state of progress, order and prosperity.¹²⁰

It was a victory for selectors, and they must have been especially pleased to learn that the instigator of such changes, Mr Charles Cowper was scheduled to come to Mudgee in 1862 as premier, of New South Wales. He was originally a 'pastoralist' who had commenced his political career as a 'moderate conservative' and progressively shifted his position to become 'more liberal'.¹²¹ In the late 1850s as *The Mudgee Liberal* proudly proclaimed the Cowper Government had achieved, 'Manhood Suffrage - Vote by Ballot - District Courts - Municipalities - the Chinese, the Publican's and the Land Acts.'¹²²

Premier Cowper thus made the five day journey from the colonial capital, Sydney, usually an arduous expedition over the Blue Mountains, across rough hill country, climbing 1500 feet

¹¹⁵ 'Assembly, The Land Bill', *The Western Post*, 27 October 1860

¹¹⁶ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 99

¹¹⁷ 'Crown Land Sales', *The Western Post*, 27 October 1860 reprinted from *Government Gazette*, No 177 For example; '30 acres on the road from Wellington to Mudgee, near 'Guntawang,' lying between R. Rouse's 1147 acres and his 1195 acres, portion G-vii; 4 lots (30 to 89 acres) on the left bank of the Cudgegong River, opposite and near R Rouse's 1053 acres, at the confluence of the Puggoon Creek, and so on...

¹¹⁸ 'Free Selection', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹¹⁹ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 33.

¹²⁰ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹²¹ John M. Ward, "Cowper, Sir Charles (1807 - 1875)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030447b.htm>., p. 2 Accessed online 2/12/2009.

¹²² *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

above sea level,¹²³ to reach, ‘the prosperous and flourishing...handsome little town of Mudgee,’¹²⁴ where his arrival was greatly anticipated. To ensure a ‘hearty welcome’, a special organising meeting was convened in which gentlemen, regardless of their political views agreed to ‘make the necessary arrangements.’¹²⁵ Although as the newspaper noted, one gentleman attempted to ‘give the dinner a political bearing which was very properly discountenanced by nearly all present’ and they all resolved to put aside ‘party politics.’¹²⁶ But in the event, it was a vain hope.

Mr Cowper’s arrival caused quite a commotion as the squatters jostled for his attention. The *Mudgee Liberal*, reported, in a sarcastic tone,

[the] rather strange sight of the welcome of the Peoples’ Advocate by a number of gentlemen holding opinions totally opposed to the popular notion of the peoples’ welfare, and who may be called the peoples’ enemies, and many of whom had they the power, would banish Mr Cowper and colleagues from the country, upset Responsible Government and reduce colonial affairs to their pristine order. To those who like ourselves, have for some past years, been acquainted with all the sayings and doings of the Mudgee aristocratic mob, it was especially amusing to notice one or two of those who paid Mr Cowper the most attention—who took upon themselves the honour of representation of both town and district, were Mr Cowper’s greatest enemies—men we have heard call him by a vulgar familiar name, and men who in the event of an election would do their utmost to return an opponent to the present government.¹²⁷

Proceedings deteriorated. Unscheduled, Cudgegong Councillor, George Henry Cox, made a welcoming speech, probably under the presumption that, as before, it was his responsibility and right to do so. However, in this new age of egalitarianism and democracy, this raised the ire of many townspeople. In a letter to the newspaper, a correspondent wrote that it was an ‘impertinent officiousness in Mr Cox presuming to sign an address on behalf of the town’.¹²⁸ The dinner to mark the visit of Mr Cowper further inflamed the indignation of the non-squatter faction, and shattered any sense of community cohesion. The occasion, organised in a period when ‘good’ manners were considered *de rigueur*, was described by the reporter from *The Mudgee Liberal* as ‘very discreditable; several of the country gentlemen who were supposed to know how to behave themselves, having taken too much wine, became noisy and

¹²³ *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*. p. 2; ‘Advertisement’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 April 1862

¹²⁴ Stranger, ‘Pro Bono Publico, To The Editor’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 July 1862, an English visitor’s description of Mudgee

¹²⁵ ‘Mr Cowper’s Visit’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 9 May 1862, The Mayor of Mudgee, chairman of this meeting

¹²⁶ ‘Mr. Cowper’s Visit’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 9 May 1862, The Mayor, Alderman Healy and Mc Cauley represented Mudgee Council whilst Councilors Cox and Foreman, the Cudgegong Council with Messer’s Dickson and Charlton the business interests whilst, Mr. Marley, represented the agricultural interests

¹²⁷ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹²⁸ Venienti Occurrite Morbo, ‘Letter to the Editor of the Mudgee Liberal’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

rude and a very unfavorable impression' was created.¹²⁹ One gentleman squatter, Mr Bayly, took it upon himself to make an impromptu speech, in response to the toast for the 'Pastoral Interests,' and his harping on a familiar squatters' complaint, that of 'cattle thieving,' caused outrage.¹³⁰ The indiscretion was described as 'extraordinary one even for that gentleman and his statements ought not to go un-contradicted'.¹³¹ The situation, it was claimed, was saved by 'the townspeople present showing that they knew how to behave themselves, or else the affair would have been a perfect disgrace.'¹³² The visitation of Mr. Cowper, a noted mediator,¹³³ reflected both the past social and political situation in Mudgee when the squatters had power and influence, and their current experience of the undermining of their former position. It was an entirely new situation which not unsurprisingly they found difficult to accept.

It was understandable that selectors should give fulsome support to Mr Cowper as 'making money' to become their own master on their own piece of land, was their ambition.¹³⁴ Usually, they first built a 'home' for the family who later joined him. For a woman in these circumstances as Waterson describes, life was difficult.

A few sticks of jealously guarded furniture were sometimes a woman's only reminder of the comforts she had left behind and a symbol of femininity in what was essentially a brutal, primitive male world.¹³⁵

Louisa Lawson, née Albury had been born into this masculine world in 1848 and had a first-hand experience of such an existence. She suffered adversity and deprivations during her childhood and young adulthood.¹³⁶ Hoping to make something of her life and provide economic security for her family in 1883, aged 35 years, she moved to Sydney and launched a successful career in publishing and writing. It was her magazine, *The Dawn* which she commenced publication in 1888, in which she utilised her Mudgee experiences,¹³⁷ and presenting a perceptive view of nineteenth century womanhood as well as campaigning to rectify 'women's wrongs, fight their battles and sue for their suffrage,'¹³⁸ which resulted in

¹²⁹ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹³⁰ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹³¹ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹³² *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹³³ Cochrane, *Colonial Ambitions: Foundations of Australian Democracy*. p. 270 ; Ward, "Cowper, Sir Charles (1807 - 1875)." p. 5

¹³⁴ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. 87

¹³⁵ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 149

¹³⁶ Heather Radi, "Lawson, Louisa (1848 - 1920)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100019b.htm>., Accessed online 17/10/2009. p. 1 Louisa Lawson was born on the squatter, Edwin Rouse's 'Guntawang' station near Mudgee

¹³⁷ Olive Lawson, ed. *The Voice of Australian Feminism; Excerpts From Louisa Lawson's, The Dawn, 1888 - 1895* (Brookvale: Simon Schuster in association with New Endeavour Press, 1990). pp. 2-3

¹³⁸ Radi, "Lawson, Louisa (1848 - 1920)." p. 1

‘considerable political influence and social impact.’¹³⁹ Her publications reached a wide audience and even in Mudgee the descendant of one of the original Mudgee squatters, Miss Cox of Cullenbone,¹⁴⁰ paid the three shillings annual subscription to renew her copy of *The Dawn* in 1899,¹⁴¹ such was the resonance Lawson’s writing had in society. The disadvantages of women’s situation prompted Lawson in 1891 to write, “‘Will it be believed, a hundred years hence, that such a state of things existed’”.¹⁴² Such was the inequities of women. Louisa Lawson is remembered in Mudgee for ‘vigorous agitation,’ in establishing the local school of Eurunderee, near Mudgee where her later famous son Henry attended and was taught by neighbour and selector, John Tierney.¹⁴³ Henry frequented the Mudgee Mechanic’s Institute, finding it a haven in his otherwise troubled formative years.¹⁴⁴ Lawson’s flight from Mudgee to Sydney to make a living was so different from those in Gawler, like Laura Marsh who could make their own way socially and politically through local institutions and with local support.

Many selectors soon realised it was a hard and difficult life, and subsequently joined the growing ranks of the rural poor. The really unfortunate selector found they could even be subjected to additional harassment, for some squatters were not going to give up their domain lightly. In a letter to the editor of *The Mudgee Liberal* an ‘advocate of the needy,’ wrote complaining about the selectors experience in the adjacent area of Rylstone. The surveyor’s arrival to formalise their selection, had been delayed and a few selectors were having problems with their enemies, the ‘Australian Lords’ who had instigated ‘a common practice,’ of having their staff ‘fly around in all directions’ starting fires to grass lands in the dry season which left little hope of them regenerating until the winter rains came.¹⁴⁵ When the selector filed a complaint to the run holder concerned they were told, ‘It’s my run and I will burn anywhere I like.’¹⁴⁶ It must have been very alarming experience, to say nothing of the economic hardship for the selector and his family. The hapless selector, even with the help of

¹³⁹ Lawson, *The Voice of Australian Feminism; Excerpts From Louisa Lawson's, The Dawn, 1888 - 1895.* p. 1

¹⁴⁰ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee.*, p. 41, Cullenbone Stud a famous Merino Stud, owned by the Cox family.

¹⁴¹ Lawson, *The Voice of Australian Feminism; Excerpts From Louisa Lawson's, The Dawn, 1888 - 1895.* p. 17

¹⁴² Ibid., cover page & p. 15. It was ‘the first clear, loud voice of feminism in Australia’; Brian Matthews, "Lawson, Henry (1867 -1922)," *Australian Dictionary of Biograph On-Line Edition*, Australian National University(2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A1000016b.htm>. Accessed on-line 17/10/2009

¹⁴³ Radi, "Lawson, Louisa (1848 - 1920)." p.1

¹⁴⁴ Stan McGrath, "The Young Henry Lawson: Mudgee's Most Famous Son," in *Travelling Down The Cudgegong, Pioneering in the Mudgee-Gulgong District*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Visitors Centre, 1997). p. 146

¹⁴⁵ ‘A Stupid Free Selector, To the Editor of the Mudgee Liberal, original Correspondence’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 9 January 1863

¹⁴⁶ ‘A Stupid Free Selector, To the Editor of the Mudgee Liberal, original Correspondence’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 9 January 1863

his whole family was hampered by inexperience, primitive equipment, little money for development and a poor communication system and many failed.¹⁴⁷

It is not surprising that Mudgee's isolation and distance from markets was a difficult problem. The roads through-out the district were notorious and people 'only visited if there was a pressing reason to do so'.¹⁴⁸ With the area, cut off from the outside world, except by horse and oxen transport, development was hampered, unlike Gawler where train services began in 1857. In the 1860s, the local politician, Mr Terry,¹⁴⁹ complained to Parliament on the town's behalf, to no avail.¹⁵⁰ After much agitation, money became available for a railway line to Mudgee which was greeted with much delighted anticipation and finally, in 1884 amid great rejoicing, the town greeted the arrival of the first train.¹⁵¹ This was one of the few issues which attracted men from all classes to unite and work towards, as without it everyone's progress was jeopardised.¹⁵²

Mere survival however, became the outcome for some selectors, they produced precious little to sell in the local market let alone through the railways. A few were stretched to the very limits of endurance which encouraged them to resort to illegal methods of gaining a living and in the Mudgee area the courts were particularly busy with many people appearing for a multitude of offences. Indeed in the 1870s the local prison had up to 60 prisoners on occasions.¹⁵³ For some, their past convicts status made them suspects when an offence was committed as the Mudgee Court records demonstrate.¹⁵⁴ As well there were criminals who had migrated to the area during the gold rushes,¹⁵⁵ and bushrangers reappeared,¹⁵⁶ conceivably because 'there was much more to be robbed,' than previously,¹⁵⁷ or because people were more desperate. The stealing of stock was particularly evident, reinforced by the persistent

¹⁴⁷ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 99

¹⁴⁸ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 36

¹⁴⁹ G.P. Walshe, "Terry, Samuel Henry (1833 - 1887)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-),

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060276b.htm?hilite=Terry%3BS>. Accessed on-line 14/12/2009. Mr Terry an 'energetic' M.P. for Mudgee in 1880, and he then stood aside for Sir John Robertson.

¹⁵⁰ 'Alignment of Mudgee', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 8 August 1862

¹⁵¹ Wilson, "Wheels of Progress; By wagon, coach, rail, motor and air." pp. 50-2

¹⁵² *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 April 1862

¹⁵³ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 30

¹⁵⁴ For example, 'Court of Quarter Sessions', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 October 1861 larceny case of ticket of leave man, John Riter

¹⁵⁵ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 8 & p. 35

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 12; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 99 In one edition of *The Mudgee Liberal* it was reported that the mail man travelling to Mendooran was held-up on his way into Mudgee and the infamous bushranger, Gardiner held up the mail coach at Windeyer.

¹⁵⁷ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. 126; In the Mudgee area for example 'The Robbery at Slapdash, Mudgee Police Court', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 16 February, 1863

conception amongst the squatters that the small farmers and selectors stole stock from them, in fact for them 'free selectors' were synonymous with 'cattle thieves'.¹⁵⁸ It was however, not a new problem or just a local issue.¹⁵⁹ Squatter N.P. Bayly had complained in 1860 in *The Western Post*, that 'within the last five years upwards of fifty head of horses have been stolen from me,'¹⁶⁰ and looking back to the 'good old days' when

two or three old mounted police were stationed in Mudgee, a thief would be captured or hunted out of the district in less than twenty-four hours; in those days, we had protection, but now that the population is about thirty times more numerous, we are left to the mercy of any ruffian who may be disposed to rob us.
¹⁶¹

Naturally Mr Bayly was not the only one to voice such a complaint.

Judge Ernest Brougham Docker,(1842-1923) a native born son of a squatter in the Hunter Valley region, who became the 'judge of the District Court and chairman of Quarter Sessions for the north-western district in 1881', which included Mudgee, certainly had an opinion on stock stealing. Judge Docker was noted for his 'forthright manner, cutting wit and severe sentences upon hardened criminals,' as well as being 'conscientious on the bench, often working long hours, organising sittings conveniently for suitors'.¹⁶² He would have been a good ally of the local elite, who had a long association with the local judicial system. In 1890 Judge Docker, at the time in Dubbo, inferred that all selectors were 'thieves', a piece of information which was rapidly communicated throughout the 'bush.' Equally quickly the Mudgee press commented that there were dishonest people in both classes but to tar all selectors who 'form the marrow of the country,' with the same brush,' was 'overstepp[ing] the bounds of propriety.'¹⁶³ The newspaper wrote, 'Now we ask, is the man who can go so far forget himself as to give an utterance to a serious insinuation of that sort in his judicial capacity, the class of men who should be permitted to retain a seat on the Bench.'¹⁶⁴ Given the past reputation of the local judiciary, it was not unsurprising that the media did not let the judge's contentious remark go un-commented upon.

¹⁵⁸ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

¹⁵⁹ Advertisement, 'Association for the Suppression of Cattle-stealing', *The Western Post*, 27 October 1860

¹⁶⁰ N.P. Bayly, 'To the Editor of the Western Post,' *The Western Post*, 10 November 1860

¹⁶¹ N.P. Bayly, 'To the Editor of the Western Post,' *The Western Post*, 10 November 1860

¹⁶² Stewart Woodman, "Docker, Ernest Brougham (1842 - 1923)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition, Australian National University*.(2006-), <http://www.adb.onlinew.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080335b.htm>. Accessed on-line 4/11/2009

¹⁶³ 'Docker Again', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890

¹⁶⁴ 'Docker Again', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890

The respectable selectors, who were able to access the essential employment to supplement their income, found the effort had its rewards. John and Elizabeth Tierney survived the difficult years of establishment by using his teacher's salary in developing their Eurunderee farm. For those selectors who succeeded under the difficult conditions, the experience gained, eventually made them reluctant to make any changes to their agricultural practices, and with decreasing harvests, in the last decades of the century, severe economic effects for the selector and the wider community resulted.¹⁶⁵ However many selectors made the most of seasonal agricultural work, often shearing to augment their income and of course this meant they were often working for the squatters. For some selectors-cum-shearers, the shearing activity was their salvation; however the conditions and remuneration were often meagre which eventually precipitated a co-operative movement which in turn led to the country-wide establishment of the Shearers Union.¹⁶⁶

Thus in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, in Mudgee, already divided in so many ways, another division surfaced as the 'the numerically superior rural working class, the selector and small landholder,' came up 'against the numerically inferior but politically powerful and influential squatter.'¹⁶⁷ This latter group wanted their livelihood and way of life to remain and whilst there were exceptions,¹⁶⁸ the larger country faction just wanted to make a reasonable and fair living. The strikes in the 1890s were definitely a threatening development for the squatters as they came to realise, 'the potential strength of the unions and their own loss of bargaining power should union membership become universal'.¹⁶⁹ In Mudgee the presence and position of the Shearers Union was certainly apparent.¹⁷⁰ In a worsening national labour and economic climate, Mr. W.F. Drew from the union, wrote a letter to the local newspaper where he blamed the 'squattocracy for the problems in 1890' caused by 'shipping sailing under the British flag' and squatters for trying to use the 'iron hand notions of 100 years ago.'¹⁷¹ He hoped that members would not 'practice what the squatters had

¹⁶⁵ See for example 'Australian Farmers', *The Mudgee Independent*, 17 July 1891; Agricola, 'The Producer's Column, for those on the Land', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁶⁶ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. pp. 122-3

¹⁶⁷ Williams, *Ramming The Shears; the Rise and Demise of the Australian Shearer and His Culture; the Origins of the Shearers' and Rural Workers Union; an Historical and Contemporary Study of the Australian Shearers' Union and Industry*. p. 2

¹⁶⁸ See for example; 'Australian Bush Humor, The Typical Swagman, In Olden (Shearing Times)' *The Mudgee Guardian*, 17 November 1899

¹⁶⁹ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 47

¹⁷⁰ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890

¹⁷¹ 'Correspondence, The Burning of the Storm', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

practiced until the Union came into existence and that is, tyranny and oppression.’¹⁷² He argued that the squatters should

Extend the hand of friendship and brotherhood to their employees-and that they are masters of the situation and not practice what we are trying to suppress, injustice, show them a lesson that they haven’t hitherto learnt, and that is that you value your labour as much as they do their capital.¹⁷³

Mr Drew warned unionists not to go to work unless paid the union rate as it not only hurt themselves and families but also their fellow workers. He suggested to the sheep owners, ‘give the Unionists a trial during the coming season,’ and that they ‘did not wish to impose on you, we only want a true and just recognition of the A.S.U. and everything will go off satisfactory’.¹⁷⁴ Mr Drew added in a threatening tone,

We don’t want to be dictatorial (which we could do if we liked) but we don’t wish to do it, all we ask is to employ Unionists, give us rations at a fair rate and accommodation and a Pound in or out And in return for that we guarantee good work.¹⁷⁵

In finishing, Mr. Drew hoped ‘that the sheep owners will carefully consider this matter and finally agree to come to our terms without further friction.’¹⁷⁶ The letter showed the confidence of the expanding Shearers Union and a significant shift in the power and influence in the Mudgee district.

There remained however, poor and disadvantaged people in Mudgee society. The newspapers highlighted the situation in the area,¹⁷⁷ and occasionally reported on the activities of such organisations as the ‘Benevolent Society’ and the various women’s church groups.

Indeed, Judge Docker in March 1890 highlighted that there were such people about when he complained to the ‘Sherriff’s Office in Sydney’ about the ‘strong smelling Mudgee mob who congregate on the floor of the Court-house.’¹⁷⁸ He wanted people to be removed from the court, this disregarding citizens’ rights to attend the court in session as they had done in the town ‘for years and years’.¹⁷⁹ Naturally the townspeople were indignant. There may have been an element of truth in Judge Docker’s complaint however, and a graphic picture of the differences between the economic resources of the classes, in the district. The next month

¹⁷² ‘Correspondence, The Burning of the Storm’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

¹⁷³ ‘Correspondence, The Burning of the Storm’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

¹⁷⁴ ‘Correspondence, The Burning of the Storm’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

¹⁷⁵ ‘Correspondence, The Burning of the Storm’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

¹⁷⁶ ‘Correspondence, The Burning of the Storm’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

¹⁷⁷ Such as ‘Free Christmas Dinner’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895

¹⁷⁸ ‘Official Officiousness’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 March 1890

¹⁷⁹ ‘Official Officiousness’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 March 1890

there was a suggestion in the newspaper that as ‘cleanliness was next to Godliness,’ a common saying in the time,¹⁸⁰ the council should consider the idea of providing public baths for the ‘hundreds of our people’ who could not afford such a luxury like the

opulent comfortable [who] can enjoy their bath at home the poorer brethren must wait til the shades of darkness enshroud them, then hie [hike] to the river and in secrecy and discomfort cleanse the pecks of dirt from their limbs.¹⁸¹

Catholics in Mudgee generally belonged to the poor in society too, having been ‘never welcome’ to the colony,¹⁸² and were left very much on the outer edges of society. In the 1840s, there were about ninety adherents in the total population of 250 in Mudgee making a comparatively large disadvantaged congregation. They experienced, as almost all Catholics did, the depravations of early colonial life, as well as the sectarian division which undercut nineteenth century white settler society. The drowning of Father Dunphy in the Cudgegong River and the refusal to hold his body until a burial could be arranged, reflected sectarianism of the age and Mr Blackman, though not a Catholic assisted with the funeral and donated ground for a cemetery. Mudgee was initially serviced by priests from Bathurst, and Father O’Reilly who, like many of his colleagues and congregation, was Irish, conducted the first Mass in 1839.¹⁸³ In the 1850s a permanent priest, Father McCarthy arrived. He, like other priests assumed a ‘central position of great power and influence’¹⁸⁴ in the community. He stayed for fifteen years, establishing a church which was opened in 1860 and developing an apparently harmonious relationship with ‘all creeds and classes,’ of the Mudgee community. This was exemplified when he left the district for ‘a testimonial’ was presented to him, by Daniel Cassin, the then treasurer of the ‘prominent Orange Fraternity’.¹⁸⁵ Monsignor, O’Donovan became the incumbent at the end of the 1860s and on the whole inspired his congregation to follow down a separatist path as he cajoled and encouraged his parishioners to expand Catholic educational facilities, and build an imposing new church,¹⁸⁶ across the road from the Anglican edifice, symbolic of the divide in the community. His parishioners repaid his efforts generously making it possible for him to return three times to Ireland and giving him a carriage to attend to his duties.¹⁸⁷ He was a forceful leader and had a great impact on his congregation including a rising self- made man, James Loneragan, a subject of

¹⁸⁰ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning.* p 79

¹⁸¹ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 May 1890

¹⁸² O’Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present.* p. 74

¹⁸³ Maher A.W, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century.* (Mudgee; Mudgee Centenary Committee 1952). pp. 8-9

¹⁸⁴ O’Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present.* p. 87

¹⁸⁵ Maher, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century.* p. 14

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 19

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 18-9

this thesis.¹⁸⁸ However, no matter that there was polite intermingling of the different religions occasionally,¹⁸⁹ the fact remained there was an entrenched sectarian divide exemplified in the coverage given to the 'Orange Celebration' in 1891 when the guest speaker, pressed members, 'to stand to their guns and maintain their liberties without infringing those of others'.¹⁹⁰ He asserted that Protestant ascendancy was the 'best for the whole community,' and whilst 'they could not however, forget the past', although 'Protestants extended to others, the rights they themselves enjoyed'.¹⁹¹

In Mudgee the dominant denomination was Anglicanism. German born, Reverend James William Gunther initially was a missionary at the Wellington Mission,¹⁹² making occasional visits to Mudgee. He became the first incumbent of St John's the Baptist Church in 1843 in the parish established in 1838.¹⁹³ Reverend Gunther faithfully served his flock from all classes within the bounds of the tenets of society at the time and with religion considered a basis of establishing a civilising society in the era, he assumed an important position in society serving on various committees beyond his religious responsibilities. The squatters formed the nucleus of the congregation, leading by example, as they arranged funds and donated money, time and effort to ensure their church reflected their social position. The first church designed to seat 200 convicts was 'consecrated' in 1841.¹⁹⁴ A new church was built in 1860 for 500 worshippers,¹⁹⁵ and Dr. Barker, Bishop of Sydney,¹⁹⁶ preached an 'impressive discourse' at the consecration ceremony.¹⁹⁷ The wealthy congregation donated impressive accoutrements such as the organ and church bell, which was amazingly transported over the Blue Mountains, giving parishioners a taste of culture.¹⁹⁸ Costing the enormous sum of £10,000,¹⁹⁹ it

¹⁸⁸ Peter Rheinberger, "Diary of Peter Rheinberger," (Sydney: Mitchell Library, various years). 16 January, 1871, Vol 1, many references to his occasional visits, agisting horses and providing fodder,

¹⁸⁹ 'The Fancy Fair,' *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890 The Catholic 'Fancy Fair' was also another example of people from other classes and religious persuasions attending and contributing such as Dr Nickoll, the local medical practitioner and Anglicans, Mr C.D. Cox and Mrs H.A. Cox.

¹⁹⁰ 'The Orange Celebration', *The Mudgee Independent*, 22 July 1891, Mr J.W. Gallagher, guest speaker

¹⁹¹ 'The Orange Celebration', *The Mudgee Independent*, 22 July 1891, Mr J.W. Gallagher

¹⁹² K.J. Cable, "Gunther, William James (1839-1918)," *Australian Dictionary Of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040350b.htm>. Accessed on-line 7/05/2008

¹⁹³ Robinson, *125 Years of Parish Life at St John's Mudgee, 1841 - 1991*. pp. 5-7.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 14

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 15

¹⁹⁷ 'Consecration of St John's the Baptist Church', *The Western Post*, 24 November 1860

¹⁹⁸ Robinson, *125 Years of Parish Life at St John's Mudgee, 1841 - 1991*. p. 20

¹⁹⁹ 'Mudgee', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1863

symbolised the importance of religion in people's lives, especially country dwellers,²⁰⁰ and was 'probably welcomed as a ritual signifying civilisation.'²⁰¹

Other Protestant religions had considerably fewer adherents and struggled to become established, making the contributions of Anglican squatters, Mr G. H. Cox and Mr N. Bayly particularly appreciated.²⁰² In the early 1850s, the Methodist congregation welcomed the Reverend J. Pemell, as the resident minister for the 'Circuit' who ministered to his far-flung flock, all the while building a church which also served as his residence.²⁰³ Methodists made great strides and attracted some of the progressive men in the district,²⁰⁴ who were hardworking and enterprising, assisted by the 'ladies' who were both donors and collectors for church funds.²⁰⁵ This was desperately needed as the congregation had embarked on a very ambitious building program which saw the Church, Sunday School, and Manse established.²⁰⁶ Other denominations established themselves in due course, such as the Presbyterians, Primitive Methodists and the Salvation Army, and these different denominations co-operated in a variety of ways, such as supporting each other's events.²⁰⁷ The non-Anglican Protestant congregations however, with small congregations generally failed to have the same significant impact in society which their brethren had in Gawler.

There was one particular aspect that nourished the sectarian divide, and that was education. At a well-attended public meeting, regarding the issue in the early 1860s, Mudgee-ites agreed to end state aid.²⁰⁸ This seemingly cohesive attitude did not translate into a co-operative educational venture in the area. As in other places in Australia, the schools which developed reflected general society with the different denominations offering an education usually to fee-paying students. The Anglicans had started a 'bush school' in the late 1840s and from the 1860s the more prestigious co-educational Mudgee Grammar School opened.²⁰⁹ For affluent

²⁰⁰ Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand; Religion in Australian History*. p. 292

²⁰¹ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 156

²⁰² Stewart, "Bayly, Nicholas Pagent (1814 - 1879)." p.1, Mr Bayly gave 500 pounds in 1863, Mr. G.H. Cox donated land

²⁰³ Chivers, *Mudgee Methodism; Not Lost but Gone Before*. pp. 6-7 for example; Mr Lovejoy and Mr Bax

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* pp.7-8

²⁰⁵ 'Wesleyan Church Extension Society', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 15 August 1862

²⁰⁶ 'Mudgee Methodists, A Glimpse of the Past', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 January 1927

²⁰⁷ 'Odds and Ends', *The Western Post and Mudgee Newspaper*, 27 April 1883, the Presbyterians' held a 'Soiree,' which was well attended by 'pretty well every denomination,' and 'people of all classes in our midst were there'.

²⁰⁸ 'State Aid', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 July 1862 meeting chaired by G.H. Cox, J.P., sent a petition to the 'government against all future grants of money for the purposes of religion'; 'State Aid, Letter to the Editor of the Mudgee Liberal', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 27 June 1862

²⁰⁹ Beryl Haley, "Quiet Now the Bells; A Multitude of Little Bush Schools," in *Travelling Down The Cudgegong; Pioneering The Mudgee-Gulgong District*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Visitors Centre, 1997). pp. 122-4

parents, Mrs Coates Wilson's private school for young ladies offered an exclusive education which included, for successful students, end of year prizes which were, 'handsome and costly'.²¹⁰ The Catholics too had their schools,²¹¹ such as St Mathew's Convent, established in the mid-1870s,²¹² to provide an education for 'Young Ladies'.²¹³ Here Elizabeth Tierney's niece, Daisy Tierney attended and was the recipient of the 'silver medal' for 'Christian Doctrine,' donated by Mr James Loneragan,²¹⁴ reflecting his wealth and community status. The National School opened for students in 1855.²¹⁵ Here like other schools, gender determined the subject options.²¹⁶ However, for most children, education was a lottery from the earliest days of colonisation with distance, isolation and facilities being perennial problems. For those who lived in isolated circumstances and or were in dire financial straits, schooling was out of the question however, there were many 'little bush schools' which proliferated in country areas beyond Mudgee.²¹⁷ On the pastoral properties, squatter's children were schooled at home or attended boarding schools such as two of the thesis subjects, George Henry Cox and Willoughby Dowling. Two pastoral families established a school for their tenants, such as the Rouse family who opened one as early as 1829,²¹⁸ at Guntawang,²¹⁹ and G. H. Cox, who established one at Burrundulla.²²⁰ By the end of the century, a few lucky students won educational scholarships,²²¹ although educational opportunities in Mudgee continued to reflect the status and economic position of families, as well as the gender divide.

Leisure for most people earlier in the nineteenth century was a rare occurrence. An 1862 circus performance was such an occasion for Mudgee citizens although the local newspaper's critic patronisingly described the occasion as, 'very creditable and is free from the coarseness

²¹⁰ 'Bleak House', *The Western Post*, 25 December, 1896 ; advertisement, 'Braeburn School', *The Western Post*, 9 January 1899

²¹¹ Maher, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century*. p 14, Henry Lawson attended this school, staffed by 'Catholic laymen'.

²¹² 'A Quarter of a Century's Good Work', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 November 1899

²¹³ 'Advertisement', *The Western Post*, 16 January 1899 subjects included; music, painting, English, languages, arithmetic, history, algebra, geometry, geology, Christian Doctrine, and fancywork. Pupils in the 1890s were 'prepared for University, Trinity College and Sydney College of Music Examinations.' Boarders or day' pupils were accepted

²¹⁴ Mudgee Convent School', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

²¹⁵ Haley, "Quiet Now the Bells; A Multitude of Little Bush Schools." p. 124

²¹⁶ 'National School', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 25 July 1862, 170 pupils enrolled; Girls, were taught the customary needlework as well as being 'examined in reading, Scripture, History and Geography,' and boys were examined in 'Arithmetic and Mensuration, tested by twelve difficult questions', and other subjects, including Geography.

²¹⁷ Haley, "Quiet Now the Bells; A Multitude of Little Bush Schools." p. 121

²¹⁸ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 6

²¹⁹ Guntawang National School', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 25 July 1862, schooling for between 40 and 50 children

²²⁰ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 2

²²¹ 'Honours to Guntawang', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 March 1890 for example; John Graham was awarded a 'high school bursary which was valid for three years and enabled him to attend a high school or equivalent, plus a boarding allowance

which so frequently characterises this class of amusement'.²²² However, leisure activity progressively increased to include all classes. The 'manly sport,' of cricket,²²³ started from the 1860s,²²⁴ encouraged by the 'English touring side' making its first visit to Australia in 1862²²⁵ followed by more regular tours between Australia and England as the century passed. Scores and the games totals²²⁶ were relayed in the Mudgee papers, particularly the success of the 'Australians in London,' in 1890.²²⁷ Locally, teams were initially made up to suit the circumstances of the moment such as games between the married men against the unmarried men.²²⁸ As the century closed, class distinctions faded somewhat to allow some social interaction on the cricketing field at the Mudgee Cricket Club.²²⁹ Country social matches were played too, such as between, Tooraweenah and Tondeburine in which Willoughby Dowling, a thesis subject played. However, in this instance, the newspaper highlighted how the elite could 'improve the lower orders' use of leisure time with the newspaper reporter writing, 'J.L. Browne, jun., treated his visitors in a right royal manner, and it is a pity that more of our squatters do not follow his example, and encourage their employees to pass their spare time in this manly game.'²³⁰

Interest in all manner of aspects pertaining to horses was a vital concern for country people. They were important for transportation, during the nineteenth century making them a business commodity as well as a recreational activity. Horse-racing became very popular²³¹ and had 'quickly established and became more widespread in the Bush than other sport'²³² with many areas organising an annual meeting.²³³ In Mudgee the local newspapers devoted much space to advertising stock at studs, race meetings, and results. Horse-racing was considered a 'manly sport,'²³⁴ and like hunting, 'squatters used the sport to signal social differentiation and to introduce familiar "civilised" English ways.'²³⁵ The first organised races in the Mudgee district were held in 1842.²³⁶ The Cox family were keen horse breeders, as were other

²²² 'Ashton's Circus', *Western Post & Mudgee Newspaper*, 9 April 1862

²²³ 'Cricket Match', *The Western Post*, 27 October 1860

²²⁴ 'Cricket', *The Western Post*, 3 November 1860

²²⁵ Hirst, *The Strange Birth of Colonial Democracy; New South Wales, 1848 -1884*. p. 60

²²⁶ 'The Australian Eleven in England', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

²²⁷ 'Latest Telegraphic', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890

²²⁸ 'Cricket Match', *The Western Post*, 16 March 1861

²²⁹ 'Cricket', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

²³⁰ 'Cricket, Tondeburine v. Tooraweenah', *Christmas Number of The Mudgee Western Post*, 25 December 1897

²³¹ Peter Taylor, *Station Life in Australia; Pioneers and Pastoralists* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988). p. 225

²³² Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. (Freemantle Curtin University Press 2005). p. 132

²³³ *Ibid.* p. 133

²³⁴ 'Mudgee Memories; The late John Clarke; The Famous Jorrocks; Racing in Days Gone By', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 January 1900

²³⁵ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p.122

²³⁶ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 68

squatters in the Mudgee area.²³⁷ With their well-bred equines, and the best accoutrements, the squatters displayed their wealth, such as squatter Vincent Dowling, father of Willoughby. The Bligh Racing Club catered for the elite in society which in 1890, had a membership of about seventy to eighty, and held a racing event, lasting two days.²³⁸ The 'full-table' lunch costing 'eighteen pence' was reputedly 'equal to anything in Sydney'.²³⁹ The evening ball was a well-attended, 'grand affair' with the couples 'forming a giddy throng that went floating through the room.'²⁴⁰ Membership was rigidly controlled, reflected in the rejection of the application of James Loneragan, Catholic, and a successful merchant.²⁴¹ For a man who had a great affinity for horses, it must have been a humiliating experience however it was a demonstration of the lingering class and sectarian divide in Mudgee.

Horses remained important in many facets of life into the twentieth century. They had an added importance as the British Army bought from Australian breeders like Vincent Dowling and sent 'walers', as they were called to India.²⁴² In Mudgee and district, militarism had been growing in the last decade of the nineteenth century with increasing numbers joining army-like groups such as the cadets at The Mudgee Superior School as well as the New South Wales Lancers, a mounted force who were ready and waiting when the opportunity arose.²⁴³ Before the century ended war, erupted in South Africa.²⁴⁴ There were many keen young men queuing to be selected from the Mudgee area including Willoughby Dowling who went to the South Africa returning a hero, whilst other volunteers returned with less fanfare but their war experience were keenly followed by Mudgee district citizens.²⁴⁵

In Mudgee, as in Gawler, in the last decade of the nineteenth century there were many changes. Droughts, and depression, and the consequences caused a general call to reassess many of the old ways across a multitude of arenas as well as looking towards the future. The

²³⁷ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p. 6

²³⁸ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian* 12 January, 1890 Mr Vincent Dowling, the starter whilst Mr A.H. Cox the judge and Mr M.R. Lowe, the clerk of the course.

²³⁹ 'Bligh Amateur Race Meeting, First Day', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 January 1890

²⁴⁰ 'Bligh Racing Impressions, Ditto The Club Ball', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

²⁴¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 152-3

²⁴² Martha Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040096b.htm>. Accessed online 27/4/2014

²⁴³ 'New South Wales Lancers', *The Mudgee Guardian* 17 October 1899; 'Australians For The Transvaal, A Contingent to be Sent, Mudgee Volunteers', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

²⁴⁴ 'WAR DECLARED' Sydney, Admiral Pearson has received a cable that with the Transvaal War has been declared', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 17 October 1899

²⁴⁵ Such as 'War News, The South Wales Lancers Arrive, They Go Straight to the Front, Operations in Natal' Kimberley Surrounded but Safe, British Successes, Why Colenso was Abandoned, Word from Kimberley and Mafeking', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 November 1899

federation debate in Mudgee was largely centred on the question of protection versus free trade, or Laissez- faire. It was an entrenched method of international trading and was a vital component of the British and their Empire. New South Wales, the oldest colony was the major advocate of the latter stance and for the few commodities that were being successfully exported from Australia and sold on a world market, such as wool, it had worked well. Imports on the other hand from an increasingly industrialised society in Britain and Europe, were sold at a lower price than could be produced in the Australian colonies, thus undermining fledgling manufacturing industries. As a result, tariffs were introduced to obtain a competitive edge. It was a contentious issue however, and requiring resolution before federation and it precipitated the divide in the general population across the continent between those who supported ‘free trade’ and those who saw the merit in ‘protection.’²⁴⁶

In the Mudgee and surrounding area which relied heavily on gold and the wool industries, the free trade position was the accepted stance. There were those however, who were engaged in manufacturing goods for local needs, such as in saddlery, milling and so on. They recognised that their jobs were at risk and the benefit that the protectionist stance offered. The local media began in this depressed era, calling for the government to adopt more long term and constructive employment strategies in relation to the area’s needs. Sending unemployed men ‘to cut scrub’²⁴⁷ was highlighted as a futile exercise. Value-adding was advocated, to

our splendid wool [which] passes through the streets of Mudgee on its way to be worked up by the inhabitants of other lands, while able-bodied men do not know which way to turn to earn the price of a meal.²⁴⁸

The notion that imported products were having a depressing effect on any new industries was highlighted and that ‘until the Legislature relieves local enterprise from the crushing competition of countries older in years and far older in wisdom and experience,’²⁴⁹ there was little promise of future local developments in the area, ‘when Mudgee should begin to build up itself in place of enriching foreign lands.’²⁵⁰ At the end of the decade the debate continued,²⁵¹ with a ‘Protection League’ more active in the area,²⁵² and made plans to field a

²⁴⁶ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. pp. 150-151; Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 - 1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 274

²⁴⁷ Candour, ‘The Good Time Coming’, *The Christmas Number of The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁴⁸ Candour, ‘Gossip, A Most Desirable Coalition’, *The Western Post*, 3 January 1898

²⁴⁹ Candour, ‘The Good Time Coming’, *The Christmas Number of The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁵⁰ Candour, ‘The Good Time Coming’, *The Christmas Number of The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁵¹ Such as ‘Re-organising the Protection League’, *The Western Post*, 27 January 1898, or ‘Protection v Free – Trade’, *The Western Post*, 17 February, 1898

²⁵² ‘Mudgee Protection League’, *The Western Post*, 27 January 1898

candidate in the general elections.²⁵³ There were some who doubted the politicians' integrity, with calls for them to be 'honest, straightforward and candid,'²⁵⁴ regarding the colony's overall financial situation. Few industries were ever established, ensuring the area continued to rely on wool as the major source of income.

Shearers continued to raise their profile in the district by organising events such as the 'shearers demonstration,'²⁵⁵ or sporting events, such as the 'Shearers Union Sport and Demonstration,' followed by a ball in which eighty gentlemen purchased tickets, however, 'ladies' did not have to pay for their ticket.²⁵⁶ This seems to be a reflection of the labour movements' most powerful faction, as the Shearers' Union, endorsement of 'women's equality' was within the confines of traditional ideology posing, 'no threat to the dominant male sphere'.²⁵⁷ In contrast to Gawler, Mudgee women saw little in the newspapers about themselves or their activities. In 1890 the newspaper made passing reference to 'female suffrage' which the legislators were to consider as part of 'electoral reform' in the new session of parliament.²⁵⁸ However, perceptibly, there were changes and a noticeable increase in coverage of news about women,²⁵⁹ such as about Miss Jessie R. Ackerman, the American, world missionary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU),²⁶⁰ as well as the changing role of women in marriage.²⁶¹ Women did become visibly active in the public domain, earning a wage. Some were in businesses,²⁶² advertising their enterprise in the newspapers, or their skills in pursuits such as teaching, in subjects such as music, or painting.²⁶³ Others promoted their sewing skills. State school teachers' career paths were documented in the newspapers as marriages and or transfers occurred whilst the other most commonly undertaken job, nursing, likewise had a newsworthy appeal. It was in marked

²⁵³ *The Western Post*, 27 January 1898

²⁵⁴ Candour, 'False Appearances, Gossip', *The Western Post* 13 January 1898

²⁵⁵ 'The Union Banners', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 March 1890

²⁵⁶ 'Shearers Union Sports and Demonstration', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May, 1890

²⁵⁷ Liza Dale, *The Rural Context of Masculinity and the 'Woman Question': An Analysis of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union Support for Womens' Equality, N.S.W., 1890 -1895*, Monash Publications in History (Department of History, Monash University, 1991). p. 48

²⁵⁸ 'Opening of Parliament', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890

²⁵⁹ 'An Appeal to Women, "The hand that rocks the cradle rocks the world"', *The Mudgee Independent*, 16 July 1890

²⁶⁰ Ian Tyrrell, "Ackerman, Jessie (1857?-1951)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10003b.htm>. Accessed on-line 30/11/2009; or 'Contributed WCTU Item,' *The Western Post*, 25 December 1896; 'Contributed, WCTU Item', *The Western Post*, 12 January 1899

²⁶¹ Candour, Gossip, 'Rules for A Wife', *The Western Post*, 13 January 1898

²⁶² 'Christmastide', *The Western Post*, 25 December 1896. Women worked in management in 5 of the 17 Mudgee area hotels, Miss Schnalke had a millinery business and Mrs Bucholtz operated 'the Frederiksberg Wine and Fruit Dept.'

²⁶³ Such as , 'advertisement' for an Art Classes, *The Mudgee Independent*, 17 July 1891

contrast to Gawler where women and their issues, in such activities as suffrage were given prominence.

As the twentieth century dawned, the 'Municipality of Mudgee had a population of 2791 people'²⁶⁴ many of whom continued to be employed in servicing the surrounding farming and pastoral industries. The reliance on wool remained. Everyone was affected by the fluctuating income from the commodity and the wool sales in the large metropolitan cities were closely followed. In 1899 'wool growers were jubilant' with their returns and there was 'eager enquiry for Mudgee wool.'²⁶⁵ There was hope for the future. Generally though, the class structure endured in Mudgee. As Denholm argues, contrary to a general understanding that Australia had become a democracy imbued with a 'strong egalitarianism' this was not the case, for in reality the power and influence of the Australian gentry continued for decades into the twentieth century.²⁶⁶ However, there was disquiet amongst 'old time squatters' who lamented the lack of energy, ambition and interest, their sons demonstrated in following them and becoming pastoralists.²⁶⁷

Communications to Mudgee had improved with modern technologies however, the challenging geographical barrier still remained and this community remained comparatively isolated. Stock continued to be stolen,²⁶⁸ however, lawlessness was decreasing which the newspaper noted, saying that the gaol needed repairs, was underused and had 'vacancies',²⁶⁹ and even had a woman 'warder.'²⁷⁰ Mudgee had a variety of shops, including 'three large emporiums,' along with 'eight fine hotels'. The churches St John's Church of England, St Mary's Roman Catholic, as well as the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Salvation Army were centrally located as were the numerous schools, including a Grammar School²⁷¹ and a Convent, Post and Telegraph Offices, Police Barracks, Mudgee and Cudgegong Council Chambers, Court House and Goal.²⁷² The Mechanics Institute was in use, often for social functions, and unlike Gawler, it was not until 1902 that 'The Mudgee Literary and Debating Society' was initiated. The newly arrived, and experienced literary and debating society

²⁶⁴ Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town*. p. 9

²⁶⁵ 'Local Brevities', and 'High Prices and Bright Prospects, Another Record Put-up', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

²⁶⁶ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. p.161

²⁶⁷ 'Variety Items', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

²⁶⁸ 'Alleged Wholesale Sheep-Stealing, Messrs. J and W. Parkinson Victimized', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

²⁶⁹ 'Mudgee Goal', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 5 May 1890

²⁷⁰ 'Come at Last', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 March 1890

²⁷¹ 'Stores Versus Grammar School', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899

²⁷² 'Mudgee, Round about the Town', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

organiser, Reverend W. Hough said at the inaugural meeting that he was surprised Mudgee did not have such an organisation as many other towns had, 'for' as he said, 'the formation of a strong society and the benefits and usefulness of such were so apparent as to need no comment'.²⁷³ A 'gentleman who frequently visited Mudgee,' highlighted the past conflict of the town when the newly formed racing club was launched. He wrote,

Surely this will show Mudgee people that by combining in other things and working heartily together the old town will assuredly in time, occupy the position she is entitled to by virtue of her agricultural and mineral wealth, The city of the interior. Aye, that's it. It is the lack of hearty co-operation in public matters that has kept us so far behind other more progressive towns.²⁷⁴

Change to social attitudes and the class divide remained entrenched in society well into the twentieth century so much so that even in 2009 the well-known television broadcaster, Ken Sutcliffe who spent his early life in Mudgee recalled 'Mudgee as a town of haves and have-nots,' in which the areas 'rural squattocracy reigned'.²⁷⁵

Mudgee had remained remarkably unchanged in its reliance on wool, remaining as an agricultural service centre. True, there were horticultural activities and lucerne grown in the river flats as well as cereal production beyond which provided a cornerstone to local manufacturing. The tardy railway development provided a reliable connection to outside markets particularly for perishable goods however, the importation of manufactured goods, had a detrimental effect on the fragile small local industry. Gold mining influenced the town and its people in a more substantial way than in Gawler however, its impact in both towns provided the impetus for change in political, economic, and social fields. The radical political changes at a legislative level in New South Wales resounded in Mudgee and enabled ordinary men to have a voice in many fields. The most far-reaching effect was the eventual success of selector farmers, which caused the breakup of many large landholdings, and with the challenge of trade unionism to the squatters, it slowly undermined their position, power and wealth.

²⁷³ 'Mudgee Literary and Debating Society', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 July 1902

²⁷⁴ 'A Word From Afar', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

²⁷⁵ Ken Sutcliffe and Ian Heads, *The Wide World Of Ken Sutcliffe* (Crow's Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2009). p. 11

Cox, George Henry (1824 -1901)

Pastoralist, Parliamentarian and Philanthropist

George Henry Cox was a member of the colonial gentry whose family dominated Mudgee and district during the nineteenth century. He was born in the penal colony of New South Wales at Richmond, on the 18th October, 1824¹ the eldest son of ten children,² of Elizabeth nee Bell, (d. 1874) and George Cox,³ (1795-1868). He had a privileged childhood at 'Winbourne',⁴ Mulgoa 'forty miles from Sydney on the Nepean River'⁵ before he took over the running of the family's isolated Mudgee pastoral enterprise, which he subsequently successfully expanded. As a wealthy pastoralist he could have concentrated on his own interests however, unlike most of the Mudgee district squatters, inspired by his Anglican faith, he donated his time, effort and money, to a wide range of causes locally and beyond, often with a noble d'oblige demeanour, none-the-less earning a reputation as a 'friend to mankind, always'.⁶ As a philanthropist and leader, he served on a wide range of clubs and associations, the local council as well as an independent colonial parliamentarian. He took pride in his family's colonial heritage, enjoyed his gentlemanly status and life-style, desiring to maintain the status quo which bought his family advantage yet, he had an appreciation for most changes in society and adapted accordingly. He had an inquiring mind, a broad general knowledge, and was well-travelled, and had much to contribute in the public domain. He may have become the epitome of the 'gentry', as Eleanore Williams, describes, with 'outward and visible signs of the British ruling class' who 'stood for parliament, kept open house and were extremely generous with their public gifts,⁷ yet there was more to the man than this, as this thesis will demonstrate.

George Henry's advantaged position originated from his ancestors' success in using the opportunities that the penal system allowed New South Wales Corps officers, of which his

¹ L.M Mowle, ed. *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia*, 5th ed. (Sydney: Rigby, 1978). p. 117

² Marion Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers," in *Travelling Down the Cudgegong; Pioneering in the Mudgee - Gulgong Districts*, ed. Marion Dormer (Mudgee: Visitors Center, 1997). p. 22; Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 3 states there were eleven children

³ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 1.

⁴ Winbourne sometimes spelt without an 'e'

⁵ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 3

⁶ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', *The Mudgee Guardian*, reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

⁷ Eleanore Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia* (Adelaide: Adelaide University Union Press, 1980). p. 16

grandfather, William Cox (1764-1837)⁸ was one. The William Cox family arrived in New South Wales in 1800 and after initial difficulties, the family prospered. Amongst William's many activities, was construction of colonial infrastructure including, the road over the Blue Mountains for which he received from the government, a land grant of 2000 acres, 'Hereford' near Bathurst.⁹ This 'reward' provided a bridgehead for more land acquisitions.¹⁰ In 1818 the Cox family were part of the 'emerging elite in New South Wales and were already interlocking in one clan by marriage',¹¹ and by 1821, they were in a small group of 'about eighty men' who 'held 60 per cent of all alienated land in New South Wales, working it with assigned convicts'.¹² George Henry's father, George aged 26 years and his brother, Henry, with the encouragement of William Lawson claimed land in the newly 'discovered' area of Mudgee,¹³ north of Bathurst. According to Roberts, with the 'grant' system,¹⁴ they laid claim to areas in the isolated, Cudgegong River Valley taking up the land on the southern river bank. George saw the area for the first time in 1821,¹⁵ but did not live there, however, he received a 'ticket of occupation for his station, Burrundulla in 1822'.¹⁶ The choicest land was accounted for 'between Bathurst, Mudgee and the Talbragar River' by 1826.¹⁷ In 1843, they obtained a 'pasturage licence' to 'depasture stock beyond the limits of location'.¹⁸ Thus, they 'kept in advance of settlement and in advance of the law. It was a profitable arrangement.'¹⁹

George Henry's birth in October 1824 coincided with a period of 'Martial Law' in the Bathurst area, as the Aboriginal people became increasingly assertive over ownership of

⁸ Edna Hickson, "Cox, William (1764 -1837)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010248b.htm>. Accessed on-line 26/02/2008

⁹ Ibid. p. 1; Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 2

¹⁰ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*., pp. 1-3; Powell J.M "Patrimony of the People; The role of government in land settlement" in *The Australian Experience: essays in Australian land settlement and resource management*, in eds R.L Heathcote and N.S.W International Geographical Congress (26th) Sydney. (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire 1988). p. 14-36, this was common practise in the early days of white settlement where many people received land grants; See also John C Weaver, "Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and Occupation of Australia, 1826 to 1852," Vol 101, No 4 (Oct.,1996), no. 10/07/2008 (1996), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2169631>. Has a discussion of squatting phases and development in Australia.

¹¹ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. p. 11

¹² Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 57

¹³ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 6

¹⁴ Roberts, *The Squatting Age In Australia; 1835 -1847*. p. 134

¹⁵ 'George Cox, from Bathurst, New South Wales To The Talbragar River Near Craboon, 1821' cited in Rolls, *Visions of Australia; Impressions of the Landscape, 1642 -1919*. p. 77

¹⁶ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." pp. 21-3

¹⁷ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." pp. 21-3

¹⁸ 'Pasturage Licences, Government Gazette', *The Maitland and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 4 November 1843, p. 4

¹⁹ 'George Cox, from Bathurst, New South Wales To The Talbragar River Near Craboon, 1821' cited in Rolls, *Visions of Australia; Impressions of the Landscape, 1642 -1919*. p. 77

resources and land. On the Cox, Mudgee land-grant, the conflict escalated,²⁰ aggravated by the racist overseer, Chamberlain, and eventuating in bloodshed in both opposing camps.²¹ At the time George, was working at ‘Hereford’ Bathurst and alerted by the overseer, a posse assembled which resolved the situation,²² which meant that the Wiradjuri people were defeated or at least intimidated. The reliable ‘government man’, and peacemaker, Michael Lahy,²³ was installed in 1825 and an uneasy peace was established.²⁴ Station infrastructure was built at Burrundulla, and a ‘small self-contained village’ arose using convict labour,²⁵ supervised by Lahy.²⁶ Sheep, from Mulgoa arrived in 1830,²⁷ and their profitable husbandry was stimulated by an increasing wool demand.²⁸ With some cross-breeding from the descendants of the ‘King of Saxony’s flock’ which the family had acquired,²⁹ desirable wool resulted. The Cox brothers became known as excellent ‘breeders of fine-woolled merino sheep’, as their family friend, James Hassall recalled, and they were ‘worthy types of the graziers’,³⁰ a tradition the next generations followed.³¹

George Henry spent his formative years at ‘Winbourne’, Mulgoa, a ‘happy’ home built like an English mansion’.³² His father, George recalled ‘among his many blessings, the greatest and most satisfactory was that of an affectionate, industrious and dearly loved family’.³³ It was here too that George Henry’s masculinity was shaped.³⁴ His mother, Elizabeth ran ‘domestic transactions’³⁵ and took on other tasks, such as in one year when she picked ‘all the Burgundy grapes’.³⁶ She could easily be regarded also as a ‘help-mate’, a ‘puritan’ notion, noticeable

²⁰ Richard Hubert Cox, *William Cox: Blue Mountains Road Builder and Pastoralist* (Dural: Rosenberg Publishing Pty, Ltd., 2012). p. 10 there are unproven allegations that William Cox encouraging the massacre.

²¹ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 8

²² Ibid, p. 24, men of the posse included: the Commandant, magistrates, soldiers and settlers

²³ Michael Lahy (c1793 -1851). Information from the Mudgee Library: Mudgee. Irish born, Lahy was convicted in 1815 and sentenced to 14 years in N.S.W. He was conditionally pardoned in 1821, and he obtained his ‘Certificate of Freedom’ in 1830.

²⁴ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. pp. 8-9

²⁵ Ibid., p.10, & p. 22 a granary built in 1833, p. 21 a mill built in 1840

²⁶ *A Commonwealth Jubilee Guide To Mudgee Past and Present*. p. 8

²⁷ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 39

²⁸ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 10

²⁹ ‘Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox MLC.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1901

³⁰ Hassall, *In Old Australia; Records and Reminiscences from 1794*. p. 27

³¹ George Henry became ‘one of the most successful sheep breeders in Australia’, ‘Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox M.L.C.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1901

³² Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 20 cited from a ‘Tribute’ in the *Sydney Morning Herald* following the death of George Cox in 1863

³³ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 3

³⁴ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 51

³⁵ G. Cox, letter to ‘My Dear George Henry,’ 18 June, 1848, Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 57

³⁶ G. Cox, letter 8 February, 1846, Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 7

‘within the Evangelical movement, many of whom came from the margins of the gentry,’ [and] encouraged forms of domesticity which had much in common with middle class practice’.³⁷ This meant that women were by ‘nature ‘home-centred’³⁸ which indeed was so. Ten children were born over a sixteen years period, and even with servants, including nurses,³⁹ and a needlewoman,⁴⁰ life was full. Elizabeth enjoyed entertaining too however, George perhaps less so, if the comments that ‘as usual there is a full house’,⁴¹ or that the house was ‘like an inn’,⁴² are any indication. Winbourne, none-the-less afforded hospitality to many - neighbours, family and friends.⁴³ There were parties where ‘they danced til dawn’, shooting parties, a ‘young peoples’ party such as the one in 1848 when the girl George Henry later married, celebrated her fifteenth birthday,⁴⁴ and so on.⁴⁵ Informality seemed to be a feature of entertaining rather than the decorum later noted in the nineteenth century,⁴⁶ and with cordiality extended to many, it was no wonder that George was well known as ‘kind and generous dispenser of hospitality’.⁴⁷

George Henry seems to have had a childhood characterised by the nineteenth century ‘Romantic idea that childhood is a state which should be enjoyed for itself’...⁴⁸. He had siblings as well as neighbourhood cousins for ‘companionship’,⁴⁹ and probably had a childhood similar to other well-to-do New South Wales families.⁵⁰ As a child George Henry became accustomed to a social hierarchy, dominated by his family and other similar families. There were assigned servants to do the chores, and ‘sons were expected to devote themselves to supervised amusements which closely approximated those of their fathers’,⁵¹ in a grown-up world.⁵² George Henry followed in his father’s footsteps, learning the ways of country-life recalling, ‘he had always been accustomed to keeping rabbits as a boy, and he knew a good

³⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 21

³⁸ Ibid. p. 323

³⁹ G. Cox, Letter ‘My Dear Boys’, 25 May 1848. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 45

⁴⁰ ‘The Mother of Henry Lawson, Woman of Courage’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday, 12 March, 1932, p. 9.

⁴¹ G. Cox, letter, 8 February, 1846. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 5

⁴² Ibid. p. 10

⁴³ George Cox counted James Hassall’s father as his oldest friend, as well as Joseph Montifore, a well-known Jewish identity

⁴⁴ G. Cox, letter to ‘My Dear Children’, 8 July, 1848. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 65

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 56

⁴⁶ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 23

⁴⁷ Cited in Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 20 from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, in 1863

⁴⁸ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinity*, 2005. p. 163

⁴⁹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 343

⁵⁰ Kociumbas, *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 224

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 224

⁵² Ibid. p. 224

deal about their habits'.⁵³ He also had to learn about 'which social spaces belonged to certain social groups,' and 'to use his body to express class and gender boundaries'.⁵⁴ Until his teenage years, assigned servants were part of the household, so much so that, 'a good deal of one's success and comfort depended on servants.'⁵⁵ As in Grandfather William's day, convicts were reputed 'justly and humanely,' treated, to which 'the servants reciprocated such kindly feelings'.⁵⁶ George was 'master' to servants and was reputed to have inspired a lasting fidelity.⁵⁷ George Henry was called, 'master George' and was well regarded too, as evidenced in his father's letters.⁵⁸ George Henry's formative years saw the development of many attributes that evangelical parents prized in children and 'his mind' was later described as being, 'so pure and clean and childlike',⁵⁹ and 'his life was sweet and pure, and his influence was on the side of good'.⁶⁰ He later was known as having a 'deep love for his fellows' and he was a man who did not speak 'ill of neighbours, but helped every deserving case, and lots of undeserving ones', and it was said, 'there is no man living who is more easily taken down than was G.H. Cox. He couldn't believe that men were liars or knaves'.⁶¹

George Henry's father was a sincere Anglican with an Evangelical bias, and a noted benefactor,⁶² gifting land and money to Mudgee's St John the Baptist Anglican Church. He was known as a 'liberal large hearted Christian' loved and respected by many which was 'the lot of so few men to win in so large a measure'.⁶³ In this period, religion was particularly influential,⁶⁴ and as Davidoff and Hall argue, 'religious belief offered individuals, a sense of identity and a community', in a time when there was increasingly uncertain and thwarted by many dangers.⁶⁵ Certainly George coped with many problems however, his English mid-century, Evangelical adherence to, 'church going, family worship, the observance of the

⁵³ 'Rabbit Nuisance Bill', *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, March 1883 [Council] p. 998

⁵⁴ Davidoff, *Class and Gender in Victorian England*, p. 27

⁵⁵ Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria; Then called Port Phillip District (from 1841 to 1851)*. p.173

⁵⁶ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 6

⁵⁷ Cited in *Ibid*. p. 20 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, in 1863

⁵⁸ G. Cox, letter 8 February, 1846. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 7

⁵⁹ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', *The Mudgee Guardian*, reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

⁶⁰ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

⁶¹ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

⁶² N. Gunson, "Hassall, Thomas (1794-1868)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.au/biogs/A010481b.htm?hilite=Hassall>. Accessed online 12/ 11/2009

⁶³ Cited in Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 20 from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, in 1863

⁶⁴ Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815 -1914; A Study of Empire and Expansion*. p. 90

⁶⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 77

Sabbath, and an interest in religious literature’, provided the corner-stones of life.⁶⁶ Regular Sunday attendance at St Thomas’s, Anglican Church at Mulgoa,⁶⁷ which included extended family⁶⁸ ensured it was also a social occasion.⁶⁹ In 1839, the Reverend T.C. Makinson was installed,⁷⁰ with whom George had an apparently amicable relationship,⁷¹ and whilst Makinson, subsequently converted to Catholicism, in the interim, he established a ‘most respectable boarding school’ for twelve pupils, which George Henry and his brothers attended as ‘day’ scholars.⁷²

Subsequently for three years, George Henry attended the prestigious King’s School in Parramatta.⁷³ The school opened in 1832,⁷⁴ and under the English headmaster, the Reverend R. Forrest⁷⁵, it expanded rapidly.⁷⁶ As Tosh argues, in educational institutions, ‘masculine identity was partly validated, through the participation in male peer-groups’, and provided ‘a competitive male ethos’.⁷⁷ Forrest, like other masters,⁷⁸ brought experience of the ‘English public school system’.⁷⁹ According to a student and later colleague, Reverend John Waterson, Forrest was ‘of noble bearing, a thorough scholar and a most successful teacher’.⁸⁰ However, he had a tough reputation and did ‘not spare the rod’,⁸¹ and as James Hassall recounted, Forrest ‘worked the boys hard’ then would abruptly, ‘dismiss’ them for about a week before recalling them.⁸² During Forrest’s tenure, the school ‘offered a classical education’ in which

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 76

⁶⁷ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 1. St Thomas’s Anglican Church at Mulgoa, established in 1838 at George’s instigation

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 1, Henry Cox had the Glenmore Estate and his brother Edward the Fernhill Estate

⁶⁹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 76

⁷⁰ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 1

⁷¹ G. Cox, letter to ‘My Dear George Henry’, 10 June, 1848. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 50 Makinson was ‘godfather to George’s youngest son, Albert’, born in 1840

⁷² Daly, R.A. “Makinson, Thomas Cooper (1809-1893)” *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition*, (Australian National University, 2006-) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogsA020166>. Accessed online 6/08/2008; Kable *Anglicans in Australia*. p. 57; Hassall, *In Old Australia; Records and Reminiscences from 1794*. p. 26 & p. 35 James Hassall also attended this institution

⁷³ Teale, "Cox, George Henry."

⁷⁴ Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St Peter, Adelaide*, p. 136 says it was established in 1824

⁷⁵ K.J. Cable, "Forrest, Robert (1802 - 1854)," *Australian Dictionary of Biograph On-Line Edition*, *Australian National University*(2006-), <http://www.adb.anu.edu.au/biography/forrest-robert-2055>., Accessed on-line 13/09/2011

⁷⁶ Kociumbas, *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 226, ‘by mid 1832 there were over one hundred day and boarding pupils’

⁷⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 105

⁷⁸ Kociumbas, *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 227

⁷⁹ Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. p. 34

⁸⁰ Cited in Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St Peter, Adelaide*, p. 138, Waterson was later influential in Wesleyanism in Australasia

⁸¹ L.D.S. Waddy, *The King's School Parramatta, 1831-1981 An Account* (Parramatta: The King's School, 1981). p. 41

⁸² Hassall, *In Old Australia; Records and Reminiscences from 1794*. p. 44 Hassall spent two ‘happy years’ there and was sorry to leave’,

in the final year students were expected to ‘read The Xenophon; a tragedy by each of Sophocles and Euripides; study Thucydides and Tacitus; conquer Differential and Integral Calculus, and continue religious instruction.’⁸³ George Henry’s school record is unknown however, the ethos promulgated by the Anglican Church in which ‘refinement religious devotion and intellectualism,’ were well instilled,⁸⁴ and while there ‘had never been any pretensions about high intellectual achievement amongst the oldest families’.⁸⁵ George Henry’s ‘intellect remained bright and clear up to the end of his life’.⁸⁶

George Henry followed his father into squatting. In 1846, aged twenty-two years, he assumed management of isolated Burrundulla adjacent to present day Mudgee, comprising 3,510 acres.⁸⁷ It seems a huge undertaking for one so young however, in England, Davidoff and Hall argue, fathers made an ‘early withdrawal’ from enterprises’ as this ‘reduced potential conflict’.⁸⁸ Not that there seemed to be any problems between this father and son, rather the opposite, as letters demonstrate. ‘My dear boy’ was the usual salutation, whilst, ‘God Bless you my son, prays your affectionate father’, the typical finish. George Henry was to continue this letter-writing tradition in years to come.⁸⁹

It was at the end of a difficult period to take responsibility too because ‘the price of wool and stock’ had fallen, ‘the Bank of Australia’ had folded and a ‘severe drought set in’.⁹⁰ Servant numbers declined⁹¹ and employer-employee relations, altered as workers had different expectations, in a changing political and economic climate, making disciplining and instructing them more challenging.⁹² As Kingston notes, employers expected deferential attitude although this progressively declined.⁹³ George Henry’s knowledge developed under his father’s tutoring and there appears to have been little complaint on his son’s part, regarding instructions, freely given. One recommendation advised against putting the ‘horses and cattle

⁸³ Waddy, *The King's School Parramatta, 1831-1981 An Account*. p. 26 & p. 49, A decade into the school’s existence the curriculum for the older boys was listed as; ‘Classics, General literature, Science, Geography, History Ancient and Modern and Divinity’.

⁸⁴ Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. p. 38

⁸⁵ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 82

⁸⁶ Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox M.L.C.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1901

⁸⁷ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." p. 22

⁸⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 345

⁸⁹ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. references throughout book

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 3

⁹¹ G. Cox, letter, 8 February 1846. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 8

⁹² Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 270

⁹³ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 265

into the self-sown crops to keep them down'.⁹⁴ 'Sheep' he wrote, 'I am sure are the only thing that will do it effectively' and he added, 'Remember your failure last year attempting with the same stock'?⁹⁵ George Henry however, usually made encouraging remarks like 'You know how much can be done by a willing mind and perseverance'.⁹⁶ George relayed fluctuating stock prices,⁹⁷ and tried organising labour, reflected in the forlorn 1846 admission that 'Moss did not succeed in getting any shepherds for us, which I am sorry as I am sure you will be short'.⁹⁸ In the 'first half of the nineteenth century' Tosh argues, the 'entrepreneurial element increased most rapidly' in England,⁹⁹ and through-out the 1840s, George and his son like-wise implemented innovative strategies. At Winbourne, tallow-production for export¹⁰⁰ was undertaken whilst Burrundulla's flour-milling operation provided as George noted, 'our best stand by for this year to meet small funds'.¹⁰¹ There was never any suggestion that they emulated eighteenth century English gentry in finances, in which there was a 'distain for sordid money matters' or a 'casual attitude to debt',¹⁰² far from it. Financial concerns were paramount, and George Henry was counselled that it was 'doubly necessary to be very strict in the expenditure' and of the imperative to 'make the most of everything we have to sell'.¹⁰³ Gradually, the situation improved especially after the gold discoveries in the 1850s, near Bathurst, which provided financial relief, and, 'everything' altered.¹⁰⁴ George Henry too, joined the gold rush, and whilst his prospecting group were successful,¹⁰⁵ he also hoped that local Mudgee discoveries would stimulate migration, especially providing the desperately needed rural workers. Like others,¹⁰⁶ he instigated a tenant farming initiative,¹⁰⁷ in operation between 1847 until 1851-2,¹⁰⁸ subdividing a portion of the Burrundulla's fertile river flats,¹⁰⁹

⁹⁴ G. Cox, letter to My Dear George Henry, 21 February 1847. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 27

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 27

⁹⁶ G. Cox, letter to My Dear Boys, 8 December, 1849, Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox of Mulgoa and Mudgee Letters to his sons, 1846-9*. p. 84

⁹⁷ G. Cox, letter to My Dear Sons, 2 July, 1848, Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox of Mulgoa and Mudgee Letters to his sons, 1846-9*. p. 63

⁹⁸ G. Cox, letter to My Dear George Henry, 7 March 1846. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 11; Hassall, *In Old Australia; Records and Reminiscences from 1794.*, p. 60

⁹⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 12

¹⁰⁰ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 53

¹⁰¹ Ibid. pp. 23-4

¹⁰² Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 21

¹⁰³ G. Cox, letter to my dear son, 31 January, 1847. Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 22

¹⁰⁴ Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria; Then called Port Phillip District (from 1841 to 1851)*. p. 175

¹⁰⁵ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. pp. 15-6

¹⁰⁶ Atkinson, *Camden.*, p. 68; Cox, *William Cox: Blue Mountains Road Builder and Pastoralist*. p. 277 states the system was based on Edward Gibbon Wakefield's scheme,

¹⁰⁷ Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., 'Sydney Morning Herald', 30 November 1901

¹⁰⁸ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 71

¹⁰⁹ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." ; Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p.79 'rents amounted to £110 per annum'.

offering purchase options,¹¹⁰ that thirty tenant farmers accepted, thereby obtaining 'comfortable farms'.¹¹¹

Similar to other successful squatters who had established gentry-like pastoral estates, and 'planted the amenities and institutions of English landed society',¹¹² George Henry followed suit, hoping to establish a 'squirearchy on the English Model'.¹¹³ He treated his employees in a noblesse d'oblige manner, that included an 'interest in their spiritual and intellectual well-being',¹¹⁴ and throughout his life, small farmers and tenants regarded him as 'a good landlord in every sense of the term',¹¹⁵ 'widely respecting' him, and even though he was sometimes 'arbitrary'.¹¹⁶ It was said 'his voice was listened to with respect, always, and his influence was for peace and progress all the time'.¹¹⁷ In an age in which deference was still expected,¹¹⁸ workers' complimentary words are not unsurprising. One man who had both worked for him and served as a fellow councillor with him and might have expressed a less complimentary opinion recounted that as his 'landlord had known him as an employer, and in either capacity he did not know of a single action that reflected upon the good name he had left behind him'.¹¹⁹ George Henry was an influential man in society.

In 1853, aged twenty-nine years, George Henry married his cousin, Henrietta Jane, second daughter of George's brother, Henry of 'Broombee' at St Thomas's, Mulgoa.¹²⁰ Henrietta, was twenty years old, described as 'sweet and pleasant lady',¹²¹ who was well acquainted with pastoral life, and their union cemented, 'ties of marriage, family and kinship' which were vital 'in establishing a strong social web'.¹²² They initially lived in the original Burrundulla homestead.¹²³ Tosh argues, George Henry's home, confirmed his place in the adult male world, as it was 'integral to masculinity',¹²⁴ as well as being 'not only in the sense of being his

¹¹⁰ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." p. 22

¹¹¹ 'Death of Hon G.H. Cox, M.L.C.', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1901

¹¹² Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 78; Hirst, "Egalitarianism." p. viii

¹¹³ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 1

¹¹⁴ Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*. p. 16

¹¹⁵ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹¹⁶ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 2

¹¹⁷ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

¹¹⁸ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 280

¹¹⁹ 'Cudgong Council Sympathy, A Letter of Condolence', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

¹²⁰ Mowle, *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia.*, p. 117 'Broombee' near Mudgee

¹²¹ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero,' *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from the *Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

¹²² Russell, *A Wish of Distinction; Colonial Gentility and Femininity*. p. 15

¹²³ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. Postscript, p. 87

¹²⁴ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 1

possession or fiefdom, but also where his deepest needs were met'.¹²⁵ Together they had a family of five sons and seven daughters. George Henry, as the 'head of the household' had 'certain responsibilities and duties.'¹²⁶ In particular as Tosh argues he was expected to be a 'dutiful husband and attentive father', as well as a follower 'of hearth and family.'¹²⁷ The rite of passage of his sons to maturity would have been of great importance to George Henry. It was a central marker of his masculinity and his sons, as he guided them to maturity to face the challenges of the wider world. It was as Tosh argues 'not only his private satisfaction as a parent, but his social standing as a man'.¹²⁸ George Henry looked especially, to his eldest son, George Henry Frederick as his heir to 'carrying on his name and lineage'¹²⁹ and the family's pastoral enterprise however, his eldest son did not meet expectations.¹³⁰ Estranged,¹³¹ George Henry Frederick later joined the Imperial Bushmen in South Africa.¹³² Of their twelve children, four predeceased George Henry including his third son, Reginald Belmore Cox, who died in Adelaide en route to the Boer War.¹³³ His youngest and fifth son, Vincent Dowling Cox, inherited the family properties.¹³⁴

By the 1860s the Mudgee population had increased, underproductive land utilised, leading to more saleable agricultural commodities,¹³⁵ and Mudgee progressed.¹³⁶ George Henry meanwhile opportunistically expanded his holdings.¹³⁷ By 1866 he had interests in 848,000 acres, reaching into Queensland in conjunction with Archibald Bell and Vincent Dowling.¹³⁸ As Weaver argues, 'land was power,'¹³⁹ an important consideration for these men, coupled with the promise of rich remuneration. As an increasingly wealthy man George Henry

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 1

¹²⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 109

¹²⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 1

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 4

¹²⁹ Ibid. p. 4

¹³⁰ 'Conjugal Infelicity', *The Mercury*, Saturday, 27 May 1893, p. 4

¹³¹ John Broadley, "Introduction, Cox of Mulgoa," (2006). p. 6 G.H.F. was 'virtually disinherited'

¹³² 'The Hon G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian* 2 December 1901. G.H.F. Cox was still in South Africa when G.H. Cox died.

¹³³ Broadley, "Introduction, Cox of Mulgoa." p. 6 Named after George Henry's business partner and friend

¹³⁴ Death of Trooper Cox, Honoured by the Colonial Government; A Military Funeral', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February 1900

¹³⁵ Curtis, "A Brief History Of Mudgee, 1821-1899." p.10

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 8

¹³⁷ Cox, *William Cox: Blue Mountains Road Builder and Pastoralist*. p. 260

¹³⁸ 'Crown Lands Held By Members of Parliament', *The Mercury*, Friday 7 September 1866, cited in *the Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August, paying 'rent and assessment 5-11ths of a penny'.

¹³⁹ Weaver, J.C. "Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and Occupation of Australia, 1826 to 1852." In, Vol 101, No 4 (1996): pp 981-1007. <http://jstor.org/stable/216931>. p. 982 Accessed online 10/07/2006- ; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 450 ;Ward, *James Macarthur; Colonial Conservative, 1798-1867*. p. 252; Taylor, *Station Life in Australia; Pioneers and Pastoralists*.

was 'privileged with time and money',¹⁴⁰ and he and his family made their 'first voyage to Europe'¹⁴¹ in 1864, more than likely 'visiting famous sights, and meeting people and business associates.'¹⁴² During this sojourn with his penchant for the finer things in life, works of art were purchased for Burrundulla, the new double storied house, built during the absence. It was the exemplar of the Victorian age's ideal of a home, fulfilling the community's expectations of 'a superior centre of civilisation and culture.'¹⁴³ Indeed it was, designed by the 'architect William Weaver,'¹⁴⁴ it demonstrated, a certain 'refinement' with the 'main stair case lit by a stained glass window bearing the Cox crest and monogram, the living rooms were adorned with foreign works of art as well as items by Australian artists like 'Conrad Martens.'¹⁴⁵ George Henry had a fine appreciation of beauty however, it was not always confined to his own property for some time later he freely expressed his uncomplimentary appraisal of the decoration of the new Sydney General Post Office.¹⁴⁶ By century's end his domain reflected his wealth and assumed a 'comfortable'¹⁴⁷ ambience, in which his 'red house' amongst 'apple trees, the long low milking sheds, the haystacks and waiting herds, all combined to make a charming picture',¹⁴⁸ and it was reputed to be one of the colony's 'finest properties.'¹⁴⁹

Comfortably established, George Henry had time for periods of leisure, undertaken in a manner appropriate to his class.¹⁵⁰ Ever-popular, horse racing¹⁵¹ was a pastime he enjoyed and he had successful race-horses. In Mudgee, interest in racing crossed class boundaries and ensured that there was wide newspaper coverage devoted to stud and racing news in general, such as the 1863 meeting convened to discuss patrons' grievances over the new Mudgee Racecourse which had a tree-studded track, obstructing spectators views. Because of his social standing George Henry was voted to the chair and found a resolution.¹⁵² The prestigious Bligh Amateur Racing

¹⁴⁰ Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder, How Australia's Landscape was explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press an Imprint of Melbourne University Press. 2005). p. 21

¹⁴¹ 'Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox, MLC.,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November, 1901; Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 2

¹⁴² Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. p. 88

¹⁴³ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 265

¹⁴⁴ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." p. 23

¹⁴⁵ Teale, "Cox, George Henry."

¹⁴⁶ 'Architectural Decorations of General Post Office', *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, Legislature of New South Wales*, 17 April, 1887, p. 1542, he described the artist's endeavour as an 'entire failure, his productions being monstrous and distorted'.

¹⁴⁷ Nicholas Brown, "Making Oneself Comfortable; or More Rooms than Persons," in *A History of European Housing in Australia*, ed. Patrick Troy (Oakleigh: Cambridge University, 2000). p. 109

¹⁴⁸ 'Mudgee, Round and About the Town', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December 1895

¹⁴⁹ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." p. 23

¹⁵⁰ Taylor, *Station Life in Australia; Pioneers and Pastoralists*. p. 214

¹⁵¹ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 132; Taylor, *Station Life in Australia; Pioneers and Pastoralists*. p. 225

¹⁵² 'Mudgee Racecourse', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 6 February 1863

Club where he was a member however, clearly demonstrated his status in society. As Waterhouse argues, these elite organisations enhanced the club's reputations by staging balls and dinners making racing events 'even more select affairs',¹⁵³ as in Mudgee.¹⁵⁴ George Henry, was president in 1900 and he presented the bracelet prizes to the successful 'ladies' who had nominated the winner, as betting was forbidden.¹⁵⁵ It was an elitist environment, where the English marker of politeness 'continued to be synonymous with "breeding" and leisure; polite behaviour remained the surest indicator of breeding and the indispensable hallmark of sociability'.¹⁵⁶

George Henry's standing in the community was bolstered by his adherence to the dominant Anglican religion as 'memberships confer[ed] position and status.'¹⁵⁷ It also carried responsibilities. At the Anglican, St John's the Baptist Church in Mudgee,¹⁵⁸ he served as a trustee,¹⁵⁹ contributed financially towards many projects; some were gifts, others loans'.¹⁶⁰ He took a leading position as an Anglican layman becoming 'member of the Diocesan Councils at Bathurst and Sydney',¹⁶¹ and extending hospitality on behalf of the congregation to notables such as the Bishop of Sydney.¹⁶² His voice was listened to on various issues like the 'purpose of petitioning the government against all future grants of money for the purposes of religion',¹⁶³ and he became an advocate of state education.¹⁶⁴ He subsequently became a member of the 'Public School League',¹⁶⁵ and delighted in conducting visitors around Burrundulla's 'model school'.¹⁶⁶ In 1875 he lead a majority of parishioners in the decision to 'sell the site of the present church and erect a new building', defeating a fellow squatter's motion to enlarge the

¹⁵³ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 136

¹⁵⁴ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 January, 1890; 'Bligh Amateur Race Meeting, First Day,' *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 January 1890; 'Bligh Racing Impressions, Ditto The Club Ball', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1890

¹⁵⁵ 'The B.A.R.C. Annual Meeting' and 'Presentation of the Bligh Bracelets', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 7 May 1900

¹⁵⁶ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 86

¹⁵⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p.103

¹⁵⁸ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 2. Land, glebe, and cemetery donated by George Cox senior

¹⁵⁹ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 May 1900

¹⁶⁰ Robinson, *125 Years of the parish*. p. 15 in 1862, church income totalled £361, G.H. Cox and F. Cox received £235

¹⁶¹ The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹⁶² The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹⁶³ 'State Aid', *The Mudgee Liberal*, 11 July 1862

¹⁶⁴ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹⁶⁵ The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹⁶⁶ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 2

church instead.¹⁶⁷ He did not hold with sectarian belief, helping people from all walks of life, donating land to the Methodists in 1857,¹⁶⁸ and with his ‘deep love for his fellows’¹⁶⁹ in 1900, he collected money and goods for the Indian famine relief.¹⁷⁰ At his life’s end, a noted journal wrote the ‘poor have lost a friend’.¹⁷¹ In fact there were many compliments forthcoming upon his death, as would be expected for such a powerful family and man. He was described as a ‘pillar’ of the Anglican Church,¹⁷² who ‘believed in the teachings of his church’.¹⁷³ A memorial fund collection was launched upon his death ‘to ensure the erection of a fitting memorial’.¹⁷⁴

Dissimilar to his father,¹⁷⁵ George Henry was ‘a veritable public man’¹⁷⁶ being involved in an amazing array of organisations and movements. He supported such institutions as the hospital, as a committee member, giving his time and money,¹⁷⁷ and became a trustee.¹⁷⁸ Concerned in men’s welfare, he was a key participant in the Mudgee Mechanics Institute a movement which between 1850-1870s, gathered pace for ‘rational recreation in the bush’,¹⁷⁹ and in Mudgee, he was an initial organiser and the laid the foundation stone in 1861¹⁸⁰ donated, ‘volumes and journals’ from his extensive library and presented occasional papers, as well as arranging the land purchase through a government grant and became a trustee.¹⁸¹ By offering his expertise this, in turn enhanced his status,¹⁸² and his claim to be seen as the local squire. In 1843, the Mudgee Municipal Council was inaugurated, and he served the district until 1860, when landholders, ‘petitioned for a separate municipality’ fearing ‘disadvantaging’ taxation, and the ‘Cudgegong Municipal Council’ was established.¹⁸³ George Henry became a Cudgegong alderman between 1860-2 and became ‘first mayor of the Municipality of Cudgegong in 1868’

¹⁶⁷ ‘Mudgee’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 March, 1875, p. 5

¹⁶⁸ Connelly, *Mudgee, A History of the Town*. p. 39

¹⁶⁹ ‘Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, MLC, The Passing of a Hero’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 5 December 1901

¹⁷⁰ ‘The Indian Famine Relief Fund’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 25 May 1900

¹⁷¹ ‘Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero’, *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from the *Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

¹⁷² ‘Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero’, *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

¹⁷³ ‘The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹⁷⁴ ‘The late George Henry Cox, Proposed Memorial’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 December, 1901

¹⁷⁵ Cited in Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 20 from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, in 1863; George Cox was a reticent man, declining a parliamentary position. He was ‘retiring and unassuming’, not a ‘public character’, preferring ‘life away from the limelight’.

¹⁷⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 18

¹⁷⁷ ‘Subscription List Mudgee Hospital, 1897’, *The Western Post*, 7 April 1898

¹⁷⁸ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 60

¹⁷⁹ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 157

¹⁸⁰ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 62;

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 61-2

¹⁸² Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 425

¹⁸³ Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." p. 42

following alteration of designations.¹⁸⁴ His mostly fellow squatters and local councillors, later described him as ‘the best public man the Colony had ever had’.¹⁸⁵ He served too as a ‘Magistrate of the Territory’ in the Mudgee District¹⁸⁶ and in 1861, along with fellow squatters was sworn in as ‘new magistrates at the Court of Quarter Sessions.’¹⁸⁷ George Henry performed his duty, as newspapers reveal, maintaining an interest in such matters to his life’s end with his involvement of the ‘Friendly Appeal Court,’ in 1898.¹⁸⁸ Another civic activity was George Henry’s efforts to have a railway link built. In 1875 he became a member of the Mudgee Railway League, and spent much time lobbying the government for a railway extension, linking Wallerawang to Mudgee. Finally after repeated appeals, the difficult line was completed and in 1884 the first train arrived in Mudgee.¹⁸⁹ Yet, that was not the end of campaigning for in 1898 George Henry was still actively working to have an extension of the line beyond the Mudgee terminus.¹⁹⁰ He maintained life-long support to a wide range of clubs, organisations and movements, still adding to the list, like the Mudgee Young Men’s Club which had been ‘newly reorganised’, in 1890s,¹⁹¹ and becoming the foundation President of the Mudgee Gentlemen’s Club in 1900¹⁹² such was his desire to be involved in community activities.

Amongst the many public positions George Henry accepted, the ones related to agriculture were enduring, and ‘no important agricultural gathering would have been considered complete,’ without him as ‘he did incalculable service.’¹⁹³ He was ‘a member of the council of the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales,’¹⁹⁴ and in Mudgee he remained active in the Agricultural and Pastoral Show Society which were inaugurated in 1846.¹⁹⁵ For this organisation ‘he served for many years’¹⁹⁶ and as the leader he was considered a ‘worthy

¹⁸⁴ ‘The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

¹⁸⁵ ‘Cudgegong Council Sympathy, A Letter of Condolence’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

¹⁸⁶ *The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, Tuesday, 30 July, 1861, p. 3

¹⁸⁷ ‘Court of Quarter Sessions,’ *The Mudgee Liberal*, 4 October 1861, N.P Bayly, G.H. Cox, R. Lowe and G. Rouse, appointed

¹⁸⁸ ‘Friendly Appeal Court’, *The Western Post* 2 June 1898

¹⁸⁹ Wilson, "Wheels of Progress; By wagon, coach, rail, motor and air." p. 50

¹⁹⁰ ‘The Railway Commissioners; Visit Mudgee’, *The Western Post*, 2 June 1898

¹⁹¹ Young Men’s Club’, *The Western Post* 2 June 1898 George Henry sent apologies to this meeting

¹⁹² Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 1

¹⁹³ ‘Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox MLC.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald* 30 November 1901

¹⁹⁴ ‘Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox MLC.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald* 30 November 1901

¹⁹⁵ Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 54, first show not held until 1860; according to Peter Taylor in *Station Life in Australia* Agricultural shows started in the 1850s and were not usually popular until the 1860s. pp. 226-7

¹⁹⁶ ‘The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901; Ernest Hume, "History of Mudgee; Historical Notes on Mudgee and District N.S.W." (Mudgee, : Mudgee Library, 1970). G.H. Cox was first president serving until 1901.

president.’¹⁹⁷ Like other men, he honed his public speaking abilities and learnt ‘to speak for their interest group and later for their community’.¹⁹⁸ In 1900, he was ‘making vigorous efforts’ promoting local commodities with other citizens to ‘secure for the district exhibit at the Sydney Show, a thoroughly representative collection of products’.¹⁹⁹ He was a successful exhibitor himself, winning awards both at home and abroad with the pinnacle of his sheep breeding career being perhaps, when the flock’s fleeces won the Paris Exhibition of 1878 for the ‘best wool in the world.’²⁰⁰ He was also active in the New South Wales Sheep Breeders’ Association, both as vice president,²⁰¹ and ‘president’.²⁰² In 1898, the local newspaper recognising that George Henry had become widely known ‘throughout Australasia’ for his wool,²⁰³ suggested that a ‘few pounds’ of his ‘record wool be preserved at the Mudgee Town Hall’, would be appropriate, considering that ‘it brings to this district the honour of having raised the record wool of Australia’.²⁰⁴

New South Wales adopted a constitution in 1856,²⁰⁵ and ‘responsible government’ commenced.²⁰⁶ George Henry always maintained that ‘ownership of the land carried social and political obligations’,²⁰⁷ and in 1858, at the age 32 years he was elected when ‘the first Legislative Assembly’ of New South Wales, was established,²⁰⁸ serving the Wellington electorate.²⁰⁹ He did not seek re-election. It was the era when ordinary men gained the ascendancy after their enfranchisement. In 1862, George Henry made a welcoming speech to Charles Cowper,²¹⁰ visiting Mudgee, and an honour until this period reserved for influential squatters, as a matter of course however, this was no longer acceptable for some, demonstrated by a complaining letter at his presumption in the newspaper.²¹¹ In 1864 George Henry was appointed to the Legislative Council by Sir Charles Cowper, serving there for forty years.²¹² He performed his parliamentary responsibilities as a ‘zealous custodian of its privileges and

¹⁹⁷ ‘Very Thoughtful’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 May 1892

¹⁹⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 446

¹⁹⁹ ‘Good Support Accorded’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 30 March 1900

²⁰⁰ ‘The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²⁰¹ ‘The Sheep Breeder’s Association’, *The Mudgee Independent*, 16 July 1890

²⁰² ‘Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox MLC.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald* 30 November 1901

²⁰³ ‘Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox MLC.,’ *The Sydney Morning Herald* 30 November 1901

²⁰⁴ ‘Local Brevities’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 November 1898

²⁰⁵ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 237

²⁰⁶ Atkinson, *Camden*. p. 103 & p. 9 In 1859, Manhood suffrage was introduced in N.S.W.

²⁰⁷ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 1

²⁰⁸ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 87

²⁰⁹ ‘Death Of The Hon., G.H. Cox, M.L.C.,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November, 1901

²¹⁰ Ward, "Cowper, Sir Charles (1807 - 1875)."

²¹¹ Venienti Occurrere Morbo, ‘Letter to the Editor of the Mudgee Liberal’, *The Mudgee Liberal*, 30 May 1862

²¹² Dormer, "Pioneers and Founding Fathers." p. 23

fully realised the high responsibilities of the position'.²¹³ In a parliamentary debate on 'Privilege' he advocated that every member needed 'to maintain their dignity and usefulness'.²¹⁴ In Parliament he contributed to the debates drawing on his expertise and experience in many fields although country issues were his strength, such as in the debate of the 'Cattle Saleyards Bill'.²¹⁵ He did not forget the lean 1840s either, demonstrating a thriftiness',²¹⁶ whilst his travel overseas rendered a prosaic expertise evident in the 'Licensing Act' debate when the size of bedrooms in public houses was discussed with some members advocating for larger rooms. George Henry however, reminded members of ship-board life when they 'were quite content to sleep night after night for three or four months with two or three fellow passengers'.²¹⁷ During his time in politics he was 'a free trader'²¹⁸ not an unsurprising position for a squatter however, his vote for the 'divorce Extension Bill' and the 'abolition of primogeniture'²¹⁹ presents him as an advocate for progressive social change, rather than a typical conservative.

George Henry remained committed to supporting farmers throughout his life. 'He held that the interests of all men on the land were alike and for that he lived and worked'.²²⁰ At his demise he was described as 'a trusted leader' of the 'Farmers and Settlers'.²²¹ He actively encouraged small farmers to become involved in the Farmer's and Settlers' Association that was formed in 1873 to attract the 'non-unionised rural vote'²²² and he made every effort to promote the organisation, for he recognised that if farmers worked on a co-operative front they would enhance their position.²²³ To his consternation in his later years however, as more selectors acquired farms, some of his property was taken and resulted in 'disputes and litigations'.²²⁴ In 1897, he encouraged local producers to establish a 'Farmers' and Fruit-

²¹³ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²¹⁴ 'Privilege' *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, Legislature of New South Wales*, 10 July, 1890, p. 2094

²¹⁵ 'Municipal Cattle Sale-yards, Site Acquisition Bill', *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, Legislature of New South Wales*, 6 May, 1887, pp. 2204-6

²¹⁶ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, Legislature of New South Wales*, p. 2204

²¹⁷ 'Licensing Act Amendment Bill', *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, Legislature of New South Wales*, 27 April, 1890, p. 1825

²¹⁸ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²¹⁹ Cox, *William Cox: Blue Mountains Road Builder and Pastoralist*. p. 9 he may have been influenced by his grandfather, William Cox who realised that the English law of 'primogeniture and entail' was obsolete in Australia because land abounded.

²²⁰ 'Death of Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C.', reprinted from the Stock and Station Journal, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 5 December, 1901

²²¹ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', reprinted in the Stock and Station Journal, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 5 December, 1901

²²² Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 94, it was 'subsumed into the Country Party in 1922

²²³ 'The Federal Elections,' *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 August 1900; Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 2

²²⁴ Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 3, especially at his Pine Ridge property, north west of Dubbo

growers' Co-operative Society too.²²⁵ His efforts to help improve peoples' livelihoods caused complaints from Sydney merchants who alleged it 'stopped all the profits,' going to them making him 'the enemy of commercialism'.²²⁶

Opposing commercialism was not something George Henry contemplated. As Davidoff and Hall argue it was part of a 'masculine persona',²²⁷ to be engaged and successfully undertake business ventures, and increasingly, in a wider field as possible to reduce risk.²²⁸ In 1856 when a Mudgee branch of the Bank of New South Wales was established, he became a local director.²²⁹ Davidoff and Hall describe how in England there was an understanding that 'new business practices' were aimed to help farmers reach new overseas markets resulting in new 'business practices and the benefits' having widespread effects for the country.²³⁰ George Henry reflected these ideas. He became a director of the 'Sydney Meat Preserving Company',²³¹ and was very interested in water conservation schemes too, such as outback artesian wells,²³² and in 1891 he became a 'provisional director' of 'The Broken Hill and Mining District Water Supply Company, Lake Speculation and Menindee and River Darling Scheme.'²³³ Later as technological and scientific innovations became available he widened the field,²³⁴ and using a 'co-operative approach to scientific management'²³⁵ a visiting veterinarian injected two of his cows with the 'tuberculin test' to demonstrate 'its application' to local dairy herd owners.²³⁶

George Henry's variety of investments reaped healthy returns. In 1876, George Henry, aged 57 years became semi-retired. He relinquished many of his squatting properties and consolidated most of his interests in the Mudgee area,²³⁷ and about that time, he bought a fashionable summer retreat at Mount Wilson, in the Blue Mountains where he built another mansion 'Beowang' which he used for extended Christmas holidays.²³⁸ In 1876,²³⁹ he took a

²²⁵ 'Co-operative Meeting', *Christmas Number of The Mudgee Western Post*, 20 December 1897.

²²⁶ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²²⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 215

²²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 20

²²⁹ 'Bank Of New South Wales', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 13 April 1900 ; Cox, *The History Of Mudgee*. p. 74

²³⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 20

²³¹ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²³² Teale, "Cox, George Henry." pp. 2-3

²³³ 'Broken Hill Water Company' *The Advertiser*, 1891

²³⁴ J.M. Powell, "Patrimony of the People: The role of government in land settlement," s p. 21

²³⁵ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p.103

²³⁶ 'Mudgee District Dairy Stock', *The Western Post, Incorporating the Mudgee Independent* , 7 February 1898

²³⁷ 'Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox MLC.,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1901

²³⁸ Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 3

²³⁹ 'Mudgee', *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 23 November 1876 p. 3.

round the world voyage for a year accompanied by two of his sons,²⁴⁰ developing his art collection.²⁴¹ He then made his childhood home, Winbourne, his headquarters.²⁴² Mudgee citizens were invited to a 'public banquet' to mark his departure, which was described as the 'largest and most representative' event 'ever held' with 'all classes in the district well represented' as well as 'several ladies'.²⁴³ George Henry replied to the speeches 'in feeling terms' and stated that 'although leaving Mudgee, his chief interest and many members of his family would remain here'.²⁴⁴ The two eldest sons were charged with the responsibility of running Burrundulla and his son-in-law operated his Dubbo land-holding, 'Pine Ridge'. George Henry however, remained vitally interested in his properties, expending considerable time, to travel and visit his various holdings.²⁴⁵

George Henry upgraded Winbourne, built 'impressive stone stables' and established a 'deer park',²⁴⁶ and 'lived like the proverbial lord' entertaining important personages including 'Vice-regal guests'. In May 1890, George Henry's health seriously deteriorated and his family gathered at his side.²⁴⁷ He recovered sufficiently however, to travel to Japan for the benefit of his health,²⁴⁸ - an often cited reason to travel in the nineteenth century,²⁴⁹ and in January 1893 he followed this up with a year's trip to Europe,²⁵⁰ which was shortened due to the burgeoning economic crises in his pastoral and mining interests.²⁵¹

The depression in the closing decade of the nineteenth century seriously affected George Henry's lifestyle, as wool prices tumbled only realising 7 pence a pound, and he had an 'overdraft of over £40,000'.²⁵² The local newspaper reported in 1892 that he had a flock that numbered 28,000,²⁵³ a seemingly large number however, he was in serious financial crisis and sold 'Pine Ridge' in 1899 as well as leasing his beloved 'Winbourne',²⁵⁴ which was

²⁴⁰ 'Death Of The Hon., G.H. Cox, MLC.,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November, 1901

²⁴¹ Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 3

²⁴² Robinson, *125 Years of Parish Life at St John's Mudgee, 1841 - 1991*. p. 22

²⁴³ 'Mudgee', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 May 1881, p. 6

²⁴⁴ 'Mudgee', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1881, p. 5

²⁴⁵ Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 3

²⁴⁶ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. 'Postscript', p. 87

²⁴⁷ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890

²⁴⁸ *The Mudgee Independent*, 16 July 1890

²⁴⁹ Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. p. 136

²⁵⁰ 'Conjugal Infelicity', *The Mercury*, 27 May 1893, p. 4

²⁵¹ Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 6

²⁵² Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. p. 75

²⁵³ 'Advertisement', *The Mudgee Independent*, 18 July 1892

²⁵⁴ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. 'Postscript' p. 87

subsequently sold.²⁵⁵ George Henry returned to Burrundulla where he lived as a semi-retired elder statesman.

Amongst the events he attended were the end of year school occasions, where he reiterated his views about social hierarchy in relation to education. At 'his school' at Burrundulla he told the school community that education 'was not intended to raise the boys and the girls above manual labour, but fit them for it.'²⁵⁶ The next year he told the boys, 'never to despise honest labour. What their fathers had done well in farming, he hoped they, with improved appliances and advanced scientific knowledge would do better.'²⁵⁷ The girls were encouraged to becoming mothers and wives, and he said 'he hoped that they would grow up to be not only ornaments, but good, useful housewives. They should always make it their aim to inculcate, "Love at Home" as they had just sung of.'²⁵⁸ Thus there were no 'fancy' handiwork prizes only the practical sewing of 'patching, buttonholes and plain sewing.'²⁵⁹ George Henry too presided at the 'first annual distribution of prizes' at the Anglican Mudgee Grammar School in 1896. Here he advocated a different educational outcome to the fee-paying middle-class audience who had an appreciation of an education that emulated the English Public Schools and an expectation of greater opportunities.²⁶⁰ George Henry spoke of the need for a 'sound and thorough education as well as the necessity of physical training and developing the feeling of esprit de corps reminding everyone of the Duke of Wellington's saying 'Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.'²⁶¹ With subjects that included; 'mathematics, languages, handwriting, book-keeping, chemistry' as well as encouraging an 'emphasis on secondary education,'²⁶² it was a world away from the Burrundulla school experience and demonstrated his conservative views on class and gender.

George Henry obviously enjoyed politics, for even late in his life he sought election to the senate in the first Federal Parliament.²⁶³ As his parliamentary colleagues remembered, he was 'one of the most patriotic sons of New South Wales. He was ready to spend, and to be spent in the services of and in the furtherance of the welfare of the colony.'²⁶⁴ He had strong local

²⁵⁵ Broadley, "Mudgee and Mount Wilson". p. 6

²⁵⁶ 'Picnic and Distribution of Prizes, Burrundulla Public School', *The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁵⁷ 'Burrundulla School', *Christmas Number of The Western Post*, 20 December 1897

²⁵⁸ 'Burrundulla School', *Christmas Number of The Western Post*, 20 December 1897

²⁵⁹ 'Burrundulla School', *Christmas Number of The Western Post*, 20 December 1897

²⁶⁰ 'Speech Day at Mudgee Grammar School', *The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁶¹ 'Speech Day at Mudgee Grammar School', *The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁶² 'Speech Day at Mudgee Grammar School', *The Western Post*, 25 December 1896

²⁶³ 'The Federal Election', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 August 1900

²⁶⁴ 'The Late George Henry Cox, Tributes to his Memory, Speeches in the Legislative Council', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

support and the local newspaper predicted that 'there will be a very big vote recorded in his favour in this district,'²⁶⁵ however, he was not elected. It may have been because he had voted against the Tumut railway service and the local population retaliated by declining to 'support the honourable gentleman's candidature'.²⁶⁶ George Henry later clarified his position writing, 'I contend that I am their friend to endeavour to relieve them of their incubus and they will in the future repent of their folly in accepting the supposed gift'.²⁶⁷ Whatever the cause it was an ambition thwarted.²⁶⁸

George Henry became known as 'the father' of the New South Wales Legislative Council,²⁶⁹ after a long, noteworthy parliamentary career.²⁷⁰ He was 'the longest standing member',²⁷¹ and the only surviving member of the 'first representative parliament in Australia.'²⁷² He was sometimes seen as 'radical' and at other times he was considered a 'conservative.'²⁷³ Whilst political parties were largely a later development, he maintained an independent position casting his vote as he pleased which was not always in the 'interest of conservative landowners' and therefore he did not receive a 'ministerial' position.²⁷⁴

Parliament presented George Henry with the opportunities to indulge his 'intellectualism' and he developed a reputation as a 'master of Australian history'.²⁷⁵ Amongst his colleagues in the Legislative House, his expertise was sought, 'whenever a motion was proposed for the recognition of merit in an old colonist, Mr Cox was called on to present it to the house.'²⁷⁶ In 1901 he gave an address to 'perpetuate' the memory of Sir Joseph Banks whom he described as an 'eminent statesman and scientist'.²⁷⁷ He recounted Bank's activities that related to

²⁶⁵ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian* 23 August 1900

²⁶⁶ 'To The Editor, Tumut's Opposition to The Hon G.H. Cox', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 January 1901

²⁶⁷ 'To The Editor, Tumut's Opposition to The Hon G.H. Cox', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 January 1901

²⁶⁸ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²⁶⁹ 'Death Of The Hon., G.H. Cox, M.L.C.', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November, 1901

²⁷⁰ 'The Federal Elections', *The Mudgee Guardian* 23 August 1900

²⁷¹ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." pp. 1-2

²⁷² 'The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²⁷³ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox., Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²⁷⁴ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 2

²⁷⁵ 'The Hon. G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Man, Particulars of his Career', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²⁷⁶ 'Death Of The Hon. G.H. Cox M.L.C.', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1901

²⁷⁷ 'Sir Joseph Banks, One of Australia's Founder, Speech by the Hon. Cox', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1901; see also Kociumbas, *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. for an account of Bank's activities regarding Australia.

Australia, and suggested that the new Australian capital that at the time was being debated²⁷⁸ should be called 'Banks'.

George Henry was proud of his 'native-born' status,²⁷⁹ however, the penal history was discussed with a sense of discomfiture, perhaps reflecting a sense of inferiority which according to Richard White was evident in both Britain and New South Wales as convictism was 'universally condemned' and affected colonists by 'inheritance' or 'contagion.'²⁸⁰ George Henry's experience with convicts had taught him much and perhaps remembering the assigned servant's loyalty under difficult conditions, he argued that often those transported to Australia were sent from Britain for political or social reasons and were 'not criminals in the proper sense of the word.'²⁸¹ Miriam Dixon argues that 'colonial elite males generally had a good deal of difficulty with self-definition and self-confidence' and that there is a collective sense of 'guilt' regarding the treatment of the Indigenous population as well as the 'guilt at the prosperity in an ocean of very poor non-Europeans'.²⁸² He did not refer to the Aboriginal population, rather declaring 'Whatever the origin of the state may have been, at any rate we have reason to be proud of the result'.²⁸³

George Henry's appearance in the public arena confirmed his 'male selfhood [which] increasingly depended on occupation, and public activity,' in the nineteenth century.²⁸⁴ Upon his death George Henry was described as the 'most widely known man in New South Wales.'²⁸⁵ Everyone 'esteemed and respected him for his many good and manly characteristics'.²⁸⁶ He died with a reputation of a peacemaker being able to assuage disagreement. 'When other people were quarrelling and saying evil things about each other he was the voice that said "peace be still" and many a breach he healed'.²⁸⁷ He had a wide circle of friends, counting W.C. Wentworth as a friend²⁸⁸ as well as Dr Norton who described him as

²⁷⁸ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales*. p. 99

²⁷⁹ Teale, "Cox, George Henry." p. 3

²⁸⁰ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 22

²⁸¹ 'Sir Joseph Banks, One of Australia's Founder, Speech by the Hon. G.H. Cox', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1901

²⁸² Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia, 1788 to 1975* (Ringwood: Penguin 1976). pp. 73-4

²⁸³ 'Sir Joseph Banks, One of Australia's Founder, Speech by the Hon. G.H. Cox', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1901

²⁸⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 410

²⁸⁵ 'Death Of The Hon., G.H. Cox, M.L.C.', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November, 1901

²⁸⁶ 'The Late George Henry Cox, Tributes to his Memory, Speeches in the Legislative Council', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

²⁸⁷ 'Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero', reprinted from the Stock and Station Journal, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 5 December, 1901

²⁸⁸ Teale, "Cox, George Henry."; 'Death of The Hon G.H. Cox, M.L.C.', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November, 1901.

‘a man who endeared himself to everyone connected with him, a man whose heart was in the progress of the colony’.²⁸⁹ The vice-president of the Executive Council said of him,

I venture to affirm that he won the esteem and respect of every hon. Member with whom he associated during those long years. In courtesy, in gentlemanly demeanour, in consideration for the opinions of others, and in the highly intelligent interest that he always in every subject-submitted to the consideration of this House, we had an example in him that many of us might follow with advantage.²⁹⁰

In early November 1901, the local newspaper announced that he was unwell and the hope was expressed that his ‘health may be restored.’²⁹¹ He rallied and made his last speech in parliament knowing the end was at hand.²⁹² His beloved ‘Winbourne’, was finally sold in 1901 and this sale was variously accounted for his demise.²⁹³ He died amongst his family at ‘Burrundulla’ on 28 November 1901.²⁹⁴ The funeral, conducted by the Bishop of Bathurst, Dr Camidge at Mudgee’s St John’s the Baptist was largely attended as mourners paid their respects to ‘a remarkable man.’²⁹⁵

The Stock and Station Journal’s obituary of George Henry claimed that the ‘State have lost a noble citizen’,²⁹⁶ whilst his fellow parliamentarian, Honourable Dr Maclaurin, described him ‘a high minded and kindly gentleman’.²⁹⁷ Not a deprecating word was spoken. His wealth and social standing allowed him to dominate Mudgee, unlike in similar figures in Gawler. The democratic changes mid – century allowed some changes however George Henry was able to maintain his social and political power. He was indeed the embodiment of ‘the ‘pastoral legend’ of a ‘solid oligarchy, united by breeding, education, taste and social custom’.²⁹⁸ George Henry’s photograph in the local newspaper endorses Taylor’s description that he had all ‘the qualities that made the squatter important. His clothes and discrete tie pin indicate the wealth and his face shows the authority of a leader. He looks determined and aloof, as if he has known nothing but success and affluence all his life’.²⁹⁹

²⁸⁹ ‘The Late George Henry Cox, Tributes to his Memory, Speeches in the Legislative Council’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

²⁹⁰ ‘The Late George Henry Cox, Tributes to his Memory, Speeches in the Legislative Council’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

²⁹¹ ‘Sir Joseph Banks’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1901

²⁹² ‘Sir Joseph Banks’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1901

²⁹³ Cox and E. Hickson, *George Cox Of Mulgoa and Mudgee: Letters to his Son's, 1846-9*. ‘Postscript’, p. 87

²⁹⁴ Mowle, *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia*. p. 117

²⁹⁵ ‘The Hon G.H. Cox, Death on Thursday Evening, A Remarkable Hero, Particulars of his Career’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 December 1901

²⁹⁶ ‘Death of the Hon. G.H. Cox, M.L.C., The Passing of a Hero’, *The Mudgee Guardian* reprinted from *The Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December, 1901

²⁹⁷ ‘The Late George Henry Cox, Tributes to his Memory, Speeches in the Legislative Council’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 December, 1901

²⁹⁸ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 15

²⁹⁹ Taylor, *Station Life in Australia; Pioneers and Pastoralists*. p. 1

James Loneragan, (1846 - 1914)

Self-made Man, Merchant, Philanthropist

James Loneragan had a life-history which, resonates with the classic ‘rags to riches story’. Much like James Martin in Gawler he came from a disadvantaged background. However James Loneragan was born into an Australian Irish Catholic family, headed by an alcoholic father. His faith provided a bulwark throughout his life, even though he was not always in accord with his spiritual advisor. He ascended the ladder of success first working as an itinerant salesman, then in a managerial position before establishing his Mudgee businesses in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.¹ The road to success was made difficult however because of his Irish Catholic heritage, in a time and place, where, ‘Catholicism and Irish nationality were used to foster aggressive separateness among those whose preferences were essentially towards conformity and Anglicisation’.² Like John McEwen in Gawler, the Catholic publican and farmer, he experienced prejudice as a Irish Catholic. Coupled with these disadvantages was the judgment of the landed class which dominated Mudgee that men in trade were socially inferior. The hope that financial success would allow the transcending of class barriers were thwarted as these factors remained an impediment to fully enjoying his achievement and curbed his bid to be recognised as a fully-fledged member of the upper echelons of society as a self-made man.

James Loneragan’s family were one of the many thousands of migrant families who left Ireland for better opportunities in Australia. His family background does not suggest the rural poor, so characteristic of the Irish. Instead, a lifestyle in a parsimonious, urban setting, is a more probable description, where his father John, ‘reputedly of Dublin’, followed a family tradition and became a ‘skilled’ boot maker. James’s mother, Mary Loneragan, née Brennan, and a nurse, hailed from County Mallow where her father was a ‘stationer and bookseller’.³ It was not an easy life-style however, and they resolved to migrate from their troubled homeland and start afresh.

It was however, as O’Farrell argues, a difficult decision, and it ‘took initiative, resourcefulness, capacity to move-and also money’.⁴ Departing was an emotional stressful time no matter how ‘exciting and hopeful’, it may have been, for most felt ‘guilt ridden’ to be

¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. Book jacket

² O’Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 8

³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 2

⁴ O’Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 57

forsaking their ‘the Emerald Isle’, usually for ever,⁵ and whilst it may have been an ‘adventure’ it probably had been a ‘very deliberate and considered decision’.⁶ Changes in British legislation allowing religious equality to all,⁷ and British initiatives to present New South Wales as a desirable destination and assist migrants financially may have added to the impetus to migrate. Evidence suggests the Loneragan family first went to England, as many did, prior to departing as ‘free’ migrants to New South Wales. They and their two children along with John’s sister Ann arrived, in Sydney in 1836.⁸

Regrettably, for the Loneragan family, in the 1840s New South Wales, suffered from a severe recession, caused by the substantial decline in wool sales to the largest market, Britain.⁹ Little is known about their first years, after their arrival however, at some point, John, and his family travelled over the rugged Blue Mountains and settled in the outback service centre of Bathurst which was established in 1815. Here as Ken Fry argues, where

questions of class were ubiquitous in the first three decades of growth in the burgeoning Bathurst community. The entrenched structures of the law, church, military and political economy, which embodied imported British class mores, made it very difficult for people to transcend their traditional class boundaries’...¹⁰

This settlement, was initially composed of two classes, the ‘Government Officers and landed gentry’ and the other, ‘convicts and a handful of free men’,¹¹ that developed under Governor Macquarie’s encouragement, and in time it lead to the establishment of a middling class.¹² This enabled a ‘process by which class boundaries could be transcended by industrious emancipists and small free settlers, who would come to undermine the monopoly of the landed gentry as the pastoral expansion gathered momentum’.¹³

It is unclear as to why John Loneragan decided to shift to Bathurst, however, a newspaper advertisement¹⁴ indicates there was a considerable opportunities for foot-ware industry

⁵ Ibid. p. 62

⁶ Ibid. p. 63

⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 19 ‘Repel of the Penal Laws in 1831 enabled Irish Catholics to practice their religion’.

⁸ Ibid. p. 1

⁹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia.* p. 60

¹⁰ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848.* p. ix

¹¹ Ibid. p. 8

¹² Ibid. p. 67

¹³ Ibid. p. 68, p. 63 Macquarie’s departure in 1823, temporarily checked this movement

¹⁴ ‘Advertisement’, *The Australian*, 23 January 1840, cited in Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 3, ‘30 good shoemakers’ required’.

workers, as well as an ‘insatiable demand for artisans of any kind’,¹⁵ which perhaps, spurred him on. The Loneragans joined the continuing numbers of migrants who by this period outnumbered colonial born,¹⁶ settling in Bathurst.¹⁷ By the 1846 census, the middle class represented 7.2 per cent of the population¹⁸ and there was the ‘emergence of a significant sector as a third force other than the landed proprietors and the rural work force. It represented a new structural base from which the middle class could expand and develop’.¹⁹ John Loneragan grasped any opportunity that came along. It is unknown if he initially worked as an employee or established his own concern, however, by the mid-1840s, he had capitalised on his shoemaker expertise, and was creating well-crafted boots for the wealthy who lived nearby, or visitors, such as businessmen, Sir Thomas Mort.²⁰ Indeed the fulfilling of the Loneragan’s dreams was well underway.

The next firm record of the family’s progress was James’s birth and baptism on the same day in Bathurst in 1846.²¹ He joined two other native-born children, Timothy, and Bridget, born respectively in 1838 and 1842 (subsequently John was born in 1848). As religion was a vital aspect of life,²² coupled with a lack of rural clergy his baptism was a particular milestone especially as there was a high infant mortality rate, the loss of a one sibling after Bridget and the belief that without this ritual, entrance to heaven was denied.²³ James grew up in the busy family home on Havannah Street.²⁴ A family sense of ‘belonging’ was well engendered amongst the siblings, ensuring later in life they provided each other with ‘information and support’.²⁵ As Tosh argues, home is the location where the initial phase of masculinity development commences.²⁶ His ‘hard-working’ parents set clear examples in these formative years, such as those from his father, of valuing first-rate ‘workmanship’, as well as an appreciation of the ‘satisfaction in work well done’. All the children were expected to complete menial chores. Performing errands was one job which occasionally was remunerated

¹⁵ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. 22

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 174

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 180 ‘Of the 12000 people at Bathurst in 1846, about 4000 had come free, and of these approximately 3000 were assisted whilst 1000 were unassisted immigrants.

¹⁸ Fry, *Beyond The Barrier; Class Formation in a Pastoral Society, Bathurst 1818 -1848*. p. 176

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 175

²⁰ Alan Barnard, "Mort, Thomas Sutcliffe (1816 -1878)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050345bhtm?hilite=Mort>. Accessed on-line 1/10/2008; Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 8

²¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 7

²² Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 67

²³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 7

²⁴ Ibid. p. 33

²⁵ Ibid. p. 8

²⁶ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 51; Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 2

however, such good fortune had to be acknowledged in a ‘grateful’ demeanour and any transaction conducted with scrupulous ‘honesty’.²⁷ The importance of spending any funds wisely was well inculcated as money was never plentiful and the habit of ‘thrift’ always remained with James.

In many ways doing errands became a learning experience as James recounted.²⁸ Tradesmen of many vocations crafted their wares or performed a service in public view and James observed and absorbed a great variety of procedures as men worked, at such occupations as ‘carriage-builders, coopers, blacksmiths, and farriers, foundry-workers, harness-makers and wheelwrights’, and so on. Over a period James learnt how to attend to the particular crafts that pertained to horses as well as dealing with them and as a youngster, he enjoyed tending a horse for a rider whilst they attended their business. With his inquiring mind he made the most of conversations with teamsters and so on, offering to help and as the years past he acquired expertise in how to look after horses, ride them, drive ‘draft horses’, ‘cart horses’ and undertake coach driving.²⁹ It was an invaluable skill to have learnt and many people quickly appreciated the talent and rapport he had with horses. As a result he was presented with advantageous situations that assisted him in his quest for a successful path in to the business world. He loved horses all his life.

The gold discoveries near Bathurst, in 1851 was a great economic opportunity for John Loneragan, and having a ‘gregarious nature, honesty and Irish charm’³⁰ he was privy to early information regarding the metal as five year old James, well-remembered. His father apparently hosted a meal at which Edward Hargraves, the man who discovered and promoted the gold discoveries,³¹ clandestinely showed the other guests his gold samples.³² When the news of the discoveries spread, the Bathurst area was besieged by a multitude of people from across the globe.³³ Almost everyone, including John Loneragan was smitten by ‘gold fever’, and he too tried his luck, accompanied by James. This adventure perhaps became one of James’s most memorable childhood experiences, made all the more special because life was hard with few relaxation periods. They went to the Sofala area, on the

²⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 15

²⁸ Ibid. p. 17

²⁹ Ibid. p. 15

³⁰ Ibid. p. 12

³¹ Mitchell Bruce, “Hargraves, Edward Hammond (1816-1891)” *Australian Dictionary On-line Edition* (Australian National University 2006-) <http://www.adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hammond-edward-hammond-3719/text>. Accessed online 15/04/2013

³² Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 12

³³ Ibid. pp. 12-14

Turon River, the latest place where gold had been discovered. Here James had his first-hand experience of gold mining, and the thrill of finding payable gold however, such finds were rare, and down on their luck they returned to Bathurst to make a 'respectable' living in the expanding boot market.³⁴ These gold rush memories stayed with James and he retained an appreciation of gold thereafter, later learning how to assay the metal, its worth against currency, and using it as tender in business transactions.³⁵

In 1853, James, commenced his schooling at Bathurst Catholic School aged seven years. He was fortunate that he had parents, who were appreciative of education, probably influenced by the problems they had experienced in Ireland when a Catholic education was illegal.³⁶ As well he was fortunate to complete his 'primary school' education attending school until he was twelve years old, as many in the period in New South Wales had no formal education at all.³⁷ The three 'r's' were well learnt, and he developed 'good, clear handwriting' as well as being 'quick and accurate with figures'.³⁸ His schooling, as basic as it was, gave him an advantage, which he appreciated. Years later he remarked that while he 'had exercised to the best of his ability what talents the Almighty had given him' it was not 'fair to get advantage over his fellow-man who might not be so well educated'.³⁹ James short childhood thus left him with important advantages, including his parent's ideals of hard work, honesty, respect,⁴⁰ which became his well-known traits. He had learnt much informally and he did not stop learning using libraries in obtaining informative publications as well as pleasurable texts. He came to delight in English literature,⁴¹ including Shakespeare although Robert Burns became his favourite author because James recognised that they had a shared appreciation for nature as well as being admirers of the 'self-made' men exemplar.⁴²

James's Catholic education ensured he would have imbibed the general ethos of Catholicism and the understanding that from 'early in its Australian history, the church, and its predominantly Irish members', had developed 'a view of English authority as repressive,

³⁴ Ibid. pp. 14-19

³⁵ Ibid. p. 44

³⁶ Ibid. p. 19

³⁷ Ibid. p. 20

³⁸ Ibid. p. 21

³⁹ 'Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 April 1900

⁴⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 15

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 33

⁴² Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865.* pp. 146-155; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850.* p. 229

unjust, brutal, persecuting, immoral, the shackles' from which the real Australia must escape'.⁴³ Yet, a friend wrote of James;

He looked first, midst and last to God to aid him in the task before him: he let others live as they pleased, tainted by low tastes or debasing passions. He tried to be the salt of the earth.⁴⁴

His religious education, in turn shaped his developing masculinity. As O'Farrell points out, colonial Catholicism, did not exemplify 'all that the English and their American imitators disliked about the continent - emotion, show, noise, triumphalism - Irish Catholicism was virtually "Protestant"' by comparison as it encompassed an 'austere, quiet, dignified, low-key, with a relatively undemonstrative liturgy'.⁴⁵

Especially from the 1850s, Irish priests were preoccupied with a reformatory puritanism close to the style and stance of Protestantism evangelicalism: Victorian Protestantism with its respectability, reserve and decorum had an immense influence on the conventions of Irish Catholicism.⁴⁶

These characteristics became significant markers of James's masculinity.

John Tosh argues that 'masculinity is constructed secondly in the work place,⁴⁷ and James started his working life, when he was about twelve years old. He was apparently recommended by, his father's client, Sir Thomas Mort to a colleague, Mr Robert Coveny, an Irish merchant of long experience who with his brother Thomas, had established the 'New Holland Grocery Warehouse' in Sydney. By the time James was apprenticed in 1858, Coveny was engaged in a 'wholesale and retail grocery' business in Market Street on his own account, specialising in 'Indian and China teas, wines and spirits and imported soaps, sugar, spices and tobacco'.⁴⁸ Reassuringly for James's parents, Coveny was a devout Roman Catholic, contributing generously to philanthropic causes,⁴⁹ and they were grateful for the opportunity that James had been given.

Sydney was another world away from Bathurst and James applied himself conscientiously and whole heartedly,⁵⁰ to the task of learning about business. He learnt about the 'wholesale

⁴³ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 53

⁴⁴ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 20

⁴⁵ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 67

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 67

⁴⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 2

⁴⁸ C.J. Duffy, "Coveny, Robert (1809 –1878)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/coveny-robert-3271/text4957> Accessed on line 17/06/2013

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. pp. 20-21

and retail value of goods’, the methods of ‘buying and selling, how to stock take and make an inventory, and more importantly, double-entry book-keeping which demonstrated quickly the progress of a business undertaking’.⁵¹ He was fortunate to receive such training for it had traditionally been acquired by informal learning within family groups and it was only more prestigious establishments which offered such opportunities.⁵² He came to appreciate how important interpersonal relations were too, building upon his innate ability to issue orders to older men without giving offence, and generally cultivating a pleasant helpful demeanour to everyone.⁵³ As an apprentice he learnt his way around Sydney, and this was extended when Coveny witnessed him expertly applying a ‘slipper’ to a horse’s hoof, and in detecting that he had a special rapport with horses, coupled with the information that he was indeed a ‘good driver’, he ‘offered him the job’ of ‘driving a two horse lorry through the busy Sydney streets to the wharves’.⁵⁴ James apparently completed his apprenticeship, and returned to Bathurst.

Under the impetus of the gold rushes in the area Bathurst’s economy prospered and offered considerable promise for the Loneragan family. However, James’s father was a sociable person and enjoyed the ambience and conviviality of the many Bathurst hotels, and gradually became an alcoholic. Unfortunately, he also became an unreliable bread winner and resulted in their business becoming less viable. This meant James’s mother had to shoulder an increased financial burden, and she took up nursing. His father’s alcoholism made life at home untenable and unable to reconcile his father’s alcoholism and the associated behavioural problems James decided to walk the one hundred and thirty miles back to Sydney,⁵⁵ the only viable option for a penniless young man.⁵⁶ His mother did not try to dissuade him, sensing it was a better outcome for all concerned, however, it did not make her life any easier and she died of a heart attack in 1867 which devastated twenty one year old, James who had ‘loved her so dearly’.⁵⁷ The effects of alcoholism caused the family home to be disbanded and James to subsequently swear that he would never drink or smoke.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 21-2

⁵² Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 241

⁵³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 22

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 20

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 30

⁵⁶ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. pp. 108-9

⁵⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 33

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 33

Enroute, to Sydney, James he had a chance meeting with Edward Heaton who was in business transporting supplies to railway construction sites and country clients.⁵⁹ As he became acquainted with James, Heaton came to appreciate James's equine skills, and on hearing of his business experiences, offered him a position as a teamster and a travelling salesperson. It was a wonderful opportunity for James; although not without its dangers. The ever present threat of bushrangers did not daunt James however he was wary, and on an occasion that he was held up, ever resourceful he managed to slip his valuables in to the horse's nose bag.⁶⁰ James's job saw him journeying often through the Bathurst region as far as Wellington and Mudgee and on to the gold fields,⁶¹ selling goods along the way, and purchasing products to sell to urban dwellers on his return. He expanded his business network meeting all kinds of people from the Mudgee squatters,⁶² to farmers and miners. In all James put into practise the experience he had acquired with Robert Coveny, as well as learning to adapt according to the circumstances.⁶³

James gained much from this independent wandering lifestyle, savouring nature's sights, as he drove through the countryside developing a lasting interest in ornithology.⁶⁴ It also gave him 'a freedom from emotional dependence on others, freedom to be clear headed and rational',⁶⁵ which Anthony Rotundo argues gave a 'masculine achiever' masculinity type the space to develop. James had time to reflect on his own impoverished upbringing, and the desire to become a 'self-made man'. He realised that whilst he worked on his ambition he could also help the country poor - the selectors and miners, who often struggled against forces beyond their control. James gradually formulated a plan which relied on 'honest work and honest marketing' which enabled people to earn a livelihood and buy consumer items and services which in turn kept rural and urban business viable.⁶⁶ The most important aspect was to pay the best price the general economic climate could tolerate for both farm produce and gold and vendors were seldom disappointed with his payment. Miners called it "square dealing".⁶⁷ He was subsequently rewarded by clients who purchased most of their requirements at his

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 30

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 48

⁶¹ Ibid. pp. 28-33

⁶² Ibid. p. 29

⁶³ Ibid. p. 32

⁶⁴ Ibid. pp. 26-33

⁶⁵ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 37

⁶⁶ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 34

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 44

business. He believed it promoted prosperity to all, and became James's enduring business philosophy.⁶⁸

James always made the most of any opportunities that came his way. In the mid-1860s business at Edward Heaton's once thriving Lidsdale store, declined. The manager, complained of his heavy work-load and asked for an assistant. James was offered the job which he accepted with alacrity. The reason for the problems quickly became apparent. The store manager was not able to cope because he was often under the influence of alcohol. In a society in which 'alcohol consumption was the major form of recreation',⁶⁹ this incident and his father's death from alcoholism shortly thereafter, further confirmed in James's mind that hard liquor was best avoided. An increasing work load and responsibilities were passed onto James who revitalised the business and he further rose up the ladder of success becoming store manager, gaining invaluable experience in the retail industry at a managerial level.⁷⁰ James enjoyed his employment experiences with Edward Heaton and made the most of his time, however he could see that conditions were changing particularly with the increasing railway network across the colony in which Edward had an interest. Overall Edward's business had expanded and new partners had become involved, making James realise promotion for himself and his brother John, now his protégé and working for Edward Heaton, was becoming more unlikely.⁷¹

James's ambition was to becoming his own master as a 'storekeeper'. Aged twenty-three years and with eleven years of retail experience he was now 'confident of his own ability' and was ready to venture forth, assisted by his twenty-one year old brother, John.⁷² Together they went into business at Wallerawang before developing and establishing at Lithgow and Capertee and finally at Mudgee.

Careful planning characterised James's business career. His choice of Mudgee as the town for his retail business and later enterprise headquarters,⁷³ demonstrated his thoughtful consideration of all the town had to offer then capitalising upon the conditions. He obviously understood that trade was a business which had many 'ups and downs' with droughts and recession never far away as well as competition from well-established business already

⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 40-1

⁶⁹ Moore, "Colonial Manhood and Masculinities." p. 45

⁷⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* pp. 33-5

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 35

⁷² Ibid. pp. 35-6

⁷³ Ibid. pp. 36-42

operating in the same field. Mudgee was geographically isolated with poor transport infrastructure in that the roads traversed very steep rugged terrain, and had inadequate maintenance particularly roads from Bathurst or Lithgow. As well there was no railway only the general expectation that with concerted campaigning, the town would soon be blest with this modern technology.⁷⁴ The positive aspect however, was that to the north and west of Mudgee, there was a considerable area which held the promise of future growth, based on mining, and expanding pastoral and agricultural industries. Mudgee industries catered for many local needs such as 'soap, candles, bedding, tents, upholstered furniture, carriages, carts, iron and copper articles,' horse equipment, commercial food manufactures such as a brewery, vinegar, dairy products, and flour mills. James however could see the potential of trading in ever increasing consumer needs as well as buying products from the district and selling them in urban areas. He acquired a site for a shop on Church Street close to other new business concerns, and adjacent to the entrance of the town.⁷⁵ It was James's opportunity and whilst he may have experienced some discrimination because he was a Catholic, on the whole because 'the economy was open and prosperous enough, and sufficiently fluid in structure, to allow opportunity and movement',⁷⁶ he had no doubt he would become a self-made man.

James's business arrangements meshed with his marital aspirations too for both James and his brother John wanted to marry Edward Heaton's sisters and settle down to a family life.⁷⁷ Marriage signalled to the world that James was ready to shoulder the responsibilities of an adult male. As Davidoff and Hall argue, 'The place of marriage alliance in the business enterprise was explicitly recognised in middle-class culture'.⁷⁸ This certainly was the case with the Loneragan brothers. James had negotiated an amicable termination of employment with Edward Heaton who approved of the two Loneragan brothers both as husbands and businessmen. Prior to leaving their employment with Edward Heaton they both agreed that neither would encroach upon each other's business sphere. Edward acquiesced to the proposals set before him regarding competition and advanced £400 towards the proposed business venture. He was also mindful that his two sisters, Bridget and Mary as the future brides of the two Loneragan boys would be well cared for. James systematically made a repayment weekly, to his future brother-in-law, always grateful for this loan for it not only gave him the opportunity to marry, as well as giving him the vital entrée to commence in his

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 36-9

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 39

⁷⁶ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 18

⁷⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 35

⁷⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 222

own business venture.⁷⁹ It also cemented an important and lasting friendship in James's life.⁸⁰ Years later, at a community function he said 'if there was anything in this world which he prized more than another it was the friendship of a man'.⁸¹

As John Tosh argues, 'Never before or since has domesticity been held to be so central to masculinity. For most of the nineteenth century home was widely held to be a man's place'.⁸² James became a family man when he married Bridget Heaton in December 27th 1871 in St Nicholas Catholic Church, Penrith.⁸³ They made their home in Lidsdale and moved to Mudgee in 1882.⁸⁴ James was reluctant to move sooner because of the deplorable roads and the lack of a railway.⁸⁵ His business required him to travel often and widely,⁸⁶ and at Lidsdale, Bridget had the support of her family, friends, and of local services. During this period they had six children, at approximately two year intervals starting with arrival of Edward in 1872 and followed by Ann, Richard, Frank, Eva, and Louis in 1882.⁸⁷ Finally, in 1883 the railway had nearly reached Mudgee,⁸⁸ and the Loneragan family moved.

Even though they had endured long periods of separation the wait was well compensated. James had amassed sufficient resources to purchase 'Douglas Lodge' situated on part of the Burrundulla Estate, in the Cudgegong Municipality from Alexandria Hassall Cox, descendant of the pioneer squatter. James was thirty-eight years old.⁸⁹ Considering James's impoverished origins it was a coup to afford such an acquisition allowing him to emulate the style of social elite. On the Cudgegong River he had a secluded semi-rural property which in the Victorian age was prized for it, assuaged the 'status anxieties' felt by the 'upwardly mobile'.⁹⁰ It was an ideal tranquil haven yet, it was conveniently close to James's Mudgee business.

Here Bridget and James's last offspring was born, a son Cecil. Bridget never fully recovered from his birth and in spite of receiving medical attention in Sydney she died from septicaemia

⁷⁹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* pp. 36-41

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 82 Edward Heaton died in 1894 aged 49 following a difficult and protracted court case.

⁸¹ 'A Large and Representative Gathering, Farewell to Mr Jas. Loneragan', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 April, 1900

⁸² Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England.* p. 1

⁸³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 42

⁸⁴ 'The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant', *The Catholic Press*, 30 July 1914. p. 37

⁸⁵ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 47

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 60

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 43

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 56, Mudgee's first train arrived in 1884

⁸⁹ Ibid. pp. 56-9

⁹⁰ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England.* pp. 23-5

in 1884.⁹¹ James and Bridget had been married almost thirteen years and their children ranged from Edward aged 11 years to baby Cecil at ten months old.⁹² It was a devastating blow for the family and hard to come to terms with. James was now faced with the additional responsibility of running a household and caring for his young family. Other deaths in the family occurred in this period too, compounding James's worries and responsibilities in an age where there was no social welfare for his nieces and nephews in sole parent families.⁹³ The death of his great friend Edward Heaton in 1894 was a reminder of the vagaries of life.⁹⁴

James struggled to cope with his young family following Bridget's death. Tosh argues that 'Keeping order in the household was a key attribute of patriarchal power',⁹⁵ and he certainly was portrayed as the stereotypical 'strict Victorian father who demanded obedience and respect from children, expecting them to behave sensibly', with one of James's nieces remembering him as a 'very peppery gentleman'.⁹⁶ He had a reputation of 'a bit of a tartar' if instructions were not strictly complied with.⁹⁷ According to one family member, the children sat at the dining table on Sundays with James at the head of the table and he used a long buggy whip on an offending child's hand if standards of manners and etiquette slipped. James's children however, loved their father and thought he was fair.⁹⁸ Their education was of vital importance to him for he realised that they not only needed a good education to cope in the changing world but it also shaped the social position that he hoped they would one day hold in society. Like other Catholic parents, he was probably 'torn between their desire for free, modern and vocationally effective education' for he was a progressive in some fields, yet still holding to the Catholic belief of 'loyalty to their church and its teaching.'⁹⁹ The children's education was an expensive exercise however, James wanted his children to receive the very best and eventually settled on Sydney institutions.¹⁰⁰ His decision to educate his children was unproblematic for his sons, for the most part they followed him into business, for his daughters however, even though he considered their schooling was important and not wasted, any ideas of a career was vetoed and they remained firmly anchored in the domestic sphere. Possessing the money to educate his children well was a source of considerable pride to

⁹¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* pp. 56-7

⁹² Ibid. p. 57

⁹³ Ibid. pp. 72-4 in 1886, his brother Tim died in 1890, his sister Bridget and in 1891 brother John

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 81

⁹⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England.* p. 25

⁹⁶ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* pp. 72-3

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 73

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 60

⁹⁹ Kingston, *A History of New South Wales.* p. 83

¹⁰⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 64.

James.¹⁰¹ One particular aspect of their education he thoroughly enjoyed was their skill as musicians and in due course he and a wider audience were able to appreciate their accomplishments in private and at public venues.¹⁰²

James's Catholic faith was an enduring part of his life. In a parish centenary history of St Mary's Catholic Church in Mudgee, he was remembered as an 'outstanding figure in church life'.¹⁰³ Yet, for periods in his life, his commitment to his faith was sorely tested. After Bridget's death, he gradually developed a relationship with Mary O'Donovan, the housekeeper and sister of the local forceful Catholic Priest, Monsignor O'Donovan.¹⁰⁴ A 'tireless worker' and much admired woman in Mudgee, she was described by a Protestant, whom she assisted in a bereavement period, as a 'sisterly and womanly woman'.¹⁰⁵ In due course James proposed marriage, and according to the custom of the period, James asked the priest's permission to wed Mary. However, Monsignor O'Donovan emphatically opposed the marriage¹⁰⁶ and hoping time and distance would weaken any resolve, he had Mary accompany him on his planned leave to Ireland.¹⁰⁷ James however, was not deterred and travelled to Melbourne prior to Mary's homecoming where he completed all the arrangements for their marriage which eventuated at St Patrick's Cathedral on November, 1885, and the happy couple returned to Mudgee.¹⁰⁸

Mary and James's matrimony resulted in bitter acrimony on Monsignor O'Donovan's part and demonstrated a priest's influence and power in the Catholic community in the era. The strength of the ostracism which James experienced demonstrated a dignified¹⁰⁹ resolve as well as a deep and abiding faith, far above the unchristian and petty raving of a parish priest. James's attempts of a reconciliation were rejected by Monsignor O'Donovan who embarked on a spiteful campaign, observed by all sections the Mudgee community.¹¹⁰ It was an on-going regret to James that such a situation had arisen as he had previously had a cordial relationship

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 78

¹⁰² Such as, 'Soldiers Return', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 August 1900; 'Miss Hazeltine', *The Mudgee Guardian* 6 June 1901 ; 'The Juvenile Ball Tonight, A Great Success, The Convent Ball', *The Mudgee Guardian* , 22 August 1901.

¹⁰³ Maher, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century*. p. 44

¹⁰⁴ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 61

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 61, Letter from Frederick Thompson, to his daughter, Mrs Henry Todhunter upon the death of her daughter, Emily Todhunter.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 61

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 62

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 63

¹⁰⁹ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 67.

¹¹⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 68

with Monsignor O'Donovan, extending hospitality to him on occasions.¹¹¹ James was slowly but surely excluded from his previous prominent position within the laity's ranks in church affairs. He had been entertained at the priest's residence, as an important community figure, however these invitations petered out. Every Sunday too, the priest obliquely mentioned 'clandestine marriages' and the responsibility that women had to their family men-folk.¹¹² Finally, at one service the innuendos could not be ignored, and James probably feeling his masculinity was called into question in regard to protecting his wife, made a spectacular mid-service exit with his family in tow. The episode was made all the more memorable because the Bishop from Bathurst was called to 'reconsecrate the church' at the following service and parishioners had an expectation a verbal admonishing from this high ranking clergyman however, there was the mild intonation that the congregation should practise 'charity and forbearance towards one's neighbours'.¹¹³ James continued practising his Catholic faith adopting a more circumspect, attitude conducting himself with 'respectability, decorum and reserve'¹¹⁴ so well inculcated in his formative years. He had to accept he was out of favour with the difficult priest,¹¹⁵ and suffer the unpleasant atmosphere in his church life.¹¹⁶

Regardless of James's church problems his overall reputation did not appear to suffer, with neither his business nor his social network impacted. Local Catholics, like the family of devout Elizabeth Tierney had an ongoing relationship with him, both in business and socially.¹¹⁷ Elizabeth purchased products from the Loneragan enterprise ranging from grocery items, home wares as well as agricultural products whilst her home-grown produce were sold to the business. Elizabeth also sold produce directly to James and or his family.¹¹⁸ On occasions James's family would drive out to the Tierney farm making it a combined social and business occasion, which Elizabeth on one such day recording in her diary that 'Mrs Loneragan, & Eva and Cecil were here' and purchased plums.¹¹⁹ Sometimes it was entirely a social visit such as when Cecil and a friend in 1898 stayed for tea.¹²⁰ At other times one of the Tierney family members would deliver goods to the Longeran family home, 'Heaton

¹¹¹ 'Mudgee' *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 5 July 1887, 'Dean O'Donovan' a guest of James Loneragan'

¹¹² Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 67

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p. 68

¹¹⁴ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present.* p. 67

¹¹⁵ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 75

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 68- 75

¹¹⁷ *Elizabeth Tierney Diary* (Mudgee: Eurunderee Public School, 1896-1904). Vol 1, 5 January 1898. p. 35

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 7 March, 1900. p. 106

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 5 January, 1898. p. 35

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 11 January, 1898. p. 35

Lodge' as it later became known.¹²¹ In the wider community James 'presided' at the small country church at a fund raiser at Botobolar, not far from Mudgee.¹²² In 1888, a new parish was begun at Gulgong, a gold mining town not far from Mudgee and James began to attend this parish. He relished the two hour drive there and back, and whilst attending church there, all the while having a clear conscience, that he was not causing undue comment in Mudgee as he was also attending to his developing business in this community.¹²³ He remained a staunch Catholic, quietly undertaking conforming to the teachings of his faith, capitalising on the strength it gave him, and remaining free from sectarian biases.¹²⁴ His non-sectarian attitude was appreciated in the Mudgee community with the Anglican Minister noting in 1900 that whilst James had 'worked hard all his life and had his sorrows', he thought James was an 'honourable gentleman of business, and an enterprising townsman and a liberal contributor'.¹²⁵

James's efforts to become a self-made man proceeded apace. He continued to attend his enterprise with diligence, attention to detail and an eagle eye on the financial situation. In 1896, *The Western Post*, highlighted Mudgee's businesses, describing his 'Commercial Warehouse', as being 'special' in every department and making the comparison that 'what Anthony Hordern and Sons are to Sydney is Mr Jas Loneragan to the west'.¹²⁶ Indeed, James had progressively diversified so much so that in 1900 the local newspaper acknowledged that he was 'recognised as being the biggest cash buyer out of Sydney. There was no storekeeper in any country town' in the colony 'who carries so large a stock'.¹²⁷ James must have been very pleased with this commendation.

Indeed it appears that it was mutually advantageous for the newspaper to praise James as it improved their circulation since James was a big advertiser placing his advertisements in an eye-catching and bold manner certainly presenting the impression of an important concern. Designed to catch the eye of consumers the formats varied, such as utilising a favourable comment a client had (supposedly) expressed to him,¹²⁸ about a product or service which was advertised. James deployed a seemingly logical argument to inform and persuade customers the reason a particular purchase should be made. He regularly emphasised that his products

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 107,

¹²² 'The Botobolar Concert', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 October, 1901

¹²³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 76

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 75

¹²⁵ 'Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 April 1900

¹²⁶ 'Christmastide', Christmas number of *The Western Post*, 25 December, 1896

¹²⁷ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 28 March 1900

¹²⁸ 'Advertisement', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 November, 1899; 'Advertisement', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 November 1899

were of good quality and fairly priced as he did in 1899, using the slogan, 'Top quality Bottom Price' and encouraging members of the public to 'Buy everything at the Commercial'.¹²⁹ Indeed he was carrying a wide range of merchandise from groceries clothing, and furniture to Russian kerosene,¹³⁰ for households, as well as agricultural merchandise and apparently purchasing increasing quantities of almost anything farmers could produce. In 1899 the newspaper noted that he was 'buying large quantities' of the 'golden fleece' as he was 'tempting many growers to deal with him instead of taking the risk of a fickle market.'¹³¹ James, appreciating new technological advances, made sure his 'Machinery Department' was well stocked to meet the increasing mechanical needs of farmers, advertising as the century closed that he had a wide range of equipment from different companies, some, from across colonial borders such as South Australia's 'Martin Gawler Strippers'.¹³² The important investment for a farmer, in new equipment was fully appreciated and he offered to have his staff personally visit and fully demonstrate the machinery, free of charge, so that the farmer could receive the maximum benefit from his purchase as well as offering, as the advertisement said, very reasonable buying terms. Capitalising on what he considered was one of his attributes he stated that he was 'modest enough to think my word is reliable. I never ask farmers to sign contracts preferring to give and take the bond no honest man will break-his word.'¹³³ He capitalised too, on different events and movements in society, weaving the topic into his advertisements such as the passing of a century. In 1900 a 'Great Century Sale' was held and had apparently, 'extraordinary success.'¹³⁴ A year later, Australian Federation was used as a theme when a 'Great Commonwealth Sale' was organised with the 'set purpose to eclipse all past successes.'¹³⁵ Sometimes, no advertising charge was apparently incurred, as snippets appeared in the local news column, regarding his business, however, advertising was apparently well worth the expense and his company's advertisements remained a regular feature in the local newspaper.

James remained an opportunist and expanded and diversified as circumstances permitted, particularly from the 1880s.¹³⁶ He shifted the site of his retail premises to a more commanding position at the southern end of Market Street, before the arrival of the rail services. A

¹²⁹ 'Advertisement', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 November 1899

¹³⁰ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 July 1902

¹³¹ 'The Golden Fleece', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October, 1899

¹³² 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 November, 1899.

¹³³ 'Advertisement', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 17 October, 1899

¹³⁴ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 August 1900

¹³⁵ 'Advertisement', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 January 1901

¹³⁶ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p.77

partnership with Eugene Daly enabled him to undertake this project¹³⁷ and the substantial redevelopment.¹³⁸ The extensive new building was of a modern functional design, and incorporating a veranda embellished with iron lace work along the street front. He also purchased a hotel,¹³⁹ as well as, progressively establishing three other businesses elsewhere.¹⁴⁰ In 1902 he established a branch in Gulgong, not unsurprisingly with a 'Great Sale',¹⁴¹ which the local newspaper thought was 'a bit of a startler'.¹⁴² James saw another opportunity in flour milling, first buying shares in the Mudgee Roller Mill,¹⁴³ subsequently becoming the managing director.¹⁴⁴ Later still he purchased the Rouse Mill in Mudgee. As the nineteenth century closed the 'Loneragan's were handling almost all the wheat, corn and chaff in the Mudgee district'.¹⁴⁵ James activity in the community demonstrated to all, that he had indeed become a merchant of note and his enterprise was a concern to be reckoned with.

The economic depression of the 1890s had a great impact across the Australian colonies and affected James's Commercial Warehouse business. However, with careful management, he weathered the problems. There was increasing unrest in the general workforce due to rising trade-unionism, however unlike James Martin in Gawler, James managed to keep his relations cordial with a paternalistic demeanour. Each staff member was greeted by James on arrival at work and he was remembered as an employer who 'was uniformly kind and courteous, and took a lively interest in all that concerned them, and was always ready with a word of praise and encouragement for those in need of it'.¹⁴⁶ The economic problems in the period forced him to use his own financial resources, to maintain staffing levels and keep everyone on full wages.¹⁴⁷ Generally employees considered him fair yet tough whilst James could not abide any employee who had a dishonest or lazy disposition probably because he, like many other Irish Catholics of the era subscribed to the Protestant work ethic.¹⁴⁸ Not all employees however, found working at the Loneragan store to their liking. Elizabeth Tierney's daughter, 'Lizzie' for example, spent a few months as a tailoress, resigning because as her mother explained 'she was not suited'.¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth later wrote in her diary that she went to see James

¹³⁷ 'The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant', *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914, p. 37

¹³⁸ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 77

¹³⁹ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian* 10 November 1899 James owned the Rogerson's Hotel in Mudgee

¹⁴⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 44

¹⁴¹ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 5 May 1902

¹⁴² 'James Loneragan, Ltd., Gulgong', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 8 May 1902

¹⁴³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 87

¹⁴⁴ 'Advertisement', *Christmas Number of The Mudgee Western Post*, 20 December 1897

¹⁴⁵ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 39

¹⁴⁶ 'The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant', *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914, p. 37

¹⁴⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* pp. 79-80

¹⁴⁸ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93.* p 136

¹⁴⁹ Tierney, *Diary of Elizabeth Tierney*, 4 July, 1909. p. 342

about Lizzie, and noted that Lizzie had left Loneragans as there ‘was a misunderstanding between them.’¹⁵⁰ This situation was never fully revealed and seemed to be an unusual episode in James’s industrial relations record for he was remembered as having a ‘popularity and universal respect’ of his employees.¹⁵¹

During his life the desire to be accepted and well-liked permeated many of his deeds and words. He told a group of fellow townsmen that for, ‘the people of Mudgee and district he held the highest respect and he would now express his sincere regret if he had ever injured any man in Mudgee and if such a person were present and would step forward, he would shake hands with him’.¹⁵² During the turn of century drought and depression he had extended credit to long-term customers,¹⁵³ and amongst other measures to keep the farming community financially viable he tried to maintain his crop payments at a reasonable level although in 1900 he admitted to the newspaper that he had to reduce payment to producers with the exception that he was still prepared to pay above the going rate of ‘2s 4d for the very primest samples’.¹⁵⁴ Aside from his business dealings, generally, his reputation of honesty and fair dealings made him widely respected.¹⁵⁵ In 1900 at a farewell function when he left on an overseas trip, a townsman whom James had known since boyhood commented upon their business relationship saying that, ‘they had had transactions to the extent of several thousands of pounds yet never an angry word had passed between them’.¹⁵⁶ James responded saying ‘he was pleased to think that his transactions with the people of Mudgee had been of a cordial character, and in buying and selling he had endeavoured to act fairly’.¹⁵⁷ He openly acknowledged one disagreement with a fellow citizen, Mr Wilton, declaring he ‘regretted crossing swords with this old gentleman, and perhaps he had not acted to him in a manly way;’ and wanting to make amends, he declared ‘had extended the hand of friendship to him’.¹⁵⁸ Such was his desire to be liked by everyone.

James was fortunate to have had a happy marriage to Mary, which provided a bulwark to the world,¹⁵⁹ and she subscribed to the mores of the day attending to the household duties, whilst

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. 7 July, 1909. p. 342

¹⁵¹ ‘The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant’, *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914, p. 37

¹⁵² ‘Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering’, *The Western Post*, 9 April 1900

¹⁵³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 79

¹⁵⁴ ‘The Price of Wheat’, *The Western Post*, 9 January 1900

¹⁵⁵ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* book jacket.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering’, *The Western Post*, 9 April 1900, referring to Alderman John McFarlane

¹⁵⁷ ‘Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering’, *The Western Post*, 9 April 1900

¹⁵⁸ ‘Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering’, *The Western Post*, 9 April 1900

¹⁵⁹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 68

he was the successful breadwinner making their union one that all the hall-marks of a companionate marriage. They shared a life-long interest in gardening,¹⁶⁰ creating a formal garden that looked to the river and mountains beyond. In addition, a productive orchard and vegetable garden,¹⁶¹ was carefully tended, the produce of which was consumed by the family, this would have appealed to James's frugal qualities.¹⁶² They gained much enjoyment too from a bird collection, housed in the aviary James had built.¹⁶³ Mary diligently and lovingly tended her new family whilst also enduring five miscarriages in her first six years of marriage. She won her step-children's trust: not being their 'wicked step-mother'.¹⁶⁴ In the community she continued in her philanthropic duties.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, she was afflicted with asthma and even though James sought the best medical attention of the period she died in 1899 aged 54 years.¹⁶⁶ She left a huge void in the community, and her demise was mourned by many.¹⁶⁷ The family too were bereft, for Mary had been a perfect example of an 'Angel in the House', a woman who had perfectly acquiesced to the demands of womanhood of the age.

It was providential for James that he had 'vehemently' refused to allow daughter, Jules to studying music¹⁶⁸ After Mary died like many other daughters in a similar situation, she became the family housekeeper. She dutifully performed her household obligations, along with the help of her sister Eva.¹⁶⁹ Not that she was completely housebound. For example, she was out and about in the community in 1900 with the family friend 'Miss Todhunter' visiting the Tierney farm.¹⁷⁰ 'Miss Loneragan' was active in one of the most important philanthropic movements in town too and her name graced the newspaper as she busied herself with the Mudgee Hospital and the fund raising efforts this institution undertook.¹⁷¹ It was not long however, before James's daughters had their responsibilities reduced when James decided to remarry.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 65

¹⁶¹ Ibid. p. 56-7

¹⁶² Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 65

¹⁶³ Ibid. p. 65

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 65

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 85, such as 'Benevolent Society and in the Catholic community'; 'The Fancy Fair', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1900

¹⁶⁶ 'Deaths', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February, 1899

¹⁶⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 89

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 89, Jules was a 'brilliant musician' however James vetoed studying in Europe

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 137

¹⁷⁰ *Diary of Elizabeth Tierney*, 3 January, 1900. p. 101

¹⁷¹ 'Mudgee District Benevolent Society, Annual Meeting', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 July, 1902

Marriage again place James at odds with the church. He wanted to marry Mary, his brother John's widow.¹⁷² This required papal dispensation and this usually took some time to organise. However, in his usual determined manner James was able to formulate a plan that allowed him to take an overseas trip, including Rome, and have his marriage sanctioned by the Papal authorities. There was no doubt he deserved a rest after all the years of hard work and a leisurely voyage was 'just what the doctor ordered' especially as he had experienced an episode of chest pain.¹⁷³ As an important townsman, the local newspaper intermittently reported upon James noting that he 'goes on a twelve month trip to the old world shortly and will probably visit Russia.'¹⁷⁴ Much to his delight a farewell function was organised by prominent men of the district, before his departure.¹⁷⁵ In the company of his daughter Jules, they left in April 1900.¹⁷⁶ In their absence, James's family not only 'held the fort' so to speak in the business sphere, they also oversaw major renovations to 'Heaton Lodge'.¹⁷⁷

At the age of 55 with the church's consent James married his third wife, Mary in 1901.¹⁷⁸ She too conformed to the current ideas of womanhood, attending to expected philanthropic duties such as helping with the Hospital Ball.¹⁷⁹ At home, she was considered an excellent housekeeper as well as having an interest in gardening. She was however, a stickler for detail.¹⁸⁰ Whilst she was respected for these attributes she had a more distant relationship with her step-children, made more pronounced by her increasingly religious pre-occupation. Eventually she and James permanently moved to Gulgong where they had built a new stone home which incorporated a chapel enabling her to more easily to follow her passion.¹⁸¹

Unlike the Loneragan daughters who were denied a career, all the Loneragan sons received close instruction, monitoring and mentoring from their father. As Tosh argues, masculinity was closely connected with how fathers brought their sons up, which included the sons having 'manly attributes' whilst at the same time it impacted on James's own personal sense of success in 'stamping himself on the world'.¹⁸² James employed various extended

¹⁷² Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 109

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* p.105

¹⁷⁴ 'Mr James Loneragan', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 January 1901, they were also going to Vienna

¹⁷⁵ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 110

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 109

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.112

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 137

¹⁷⁹ 'The Hospital Ball, A Brilliant and Successful Function', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 17 July 1902

¹⁸⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 137

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 168

¹⁸² Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England.* p. 4

family members, as well as his sons in his businesses for varying periods. He was a hard task master, setting high work standards himself which he expected everyone to emulate. James taught his sons in his ways of the business world, particularly the methods of 'efficient management'.¹⁸³ Initially (Edward) Ted indicated that he would like to become a priest, however he changed his mind and it was the youngest Cecil, who was to become a priest, much to his father's delight. However, it was not before he experienced a spell of being a company employee.¹⁸⁴ Edward Loneragan joined the family enterprise in 1890,¹⁸⁵ not an easy period to commence working as this was the start to a turbulent period marked by industrial problems, drought and depression. Edward was expected to start at the bottom and work his way up the ladder to jobs of greater responsibility. His first task for instance, was to carry bags of wheat to make a stack, a hard and repetitive task and one that Edward long remembered. Richard for a time was an 'articled clerk' to Mr C.D. Meares in a Mudgee legal firm however, in 1900 he resigned to join the family business.¹⁸⁶ Eventually with his eye on the passing years James altered the structure of his company renaming the firm Jas Loneragan and Co and making Ted the managing director, Dick became a director and the younger children were all made equal shareholders.¹⁸⁷ James's sons in due course demonstrated that they were men capably operating in the adult world, as they exhibited their business acumen as well as involving themselves in the community's events in their own right,¹⁸⁸ thus allowing James time to devote to other projects.

James increased his philanthropic work later life and like others, he worked to 'create a new community through a programme of personal and collective financial, social, political and moral improvement',¹⁸⁹ and he managed to do 'a great deal' for the town.¹⁹⁰ His father's alcoholism left an indelible mark and he unobtrusively 'rescued' sufferers each evening, off Mudgee streets, taking them to his premises for the night, before the police rounds,¹⁹¹ for 'he never lost sympathy for the man who was down and under'.¹⁹² He encouraged farmers still struggling in 1899 to establish a co-operative believing involvement would improve

¹⁸³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 80

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 153

¹⁸⁵ Dormer, "The Development of Mudgee Village." p. 39

¹⁸⁶ 'Local Legal Circles', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January 1900

¹⁸⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 101 the name of the company was altered after the partnership was dissolved

¹⁸⁸ Such as 'A Big Collection, A Great Demonstration, The Bush Contingent', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February, 1900; 'Building and Construction', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 6 March, 1902.

¹⁸⁹ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93.* p. 68

¹⁹⁰ 'Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering', *The Western Post*, 5 April, 1900

¹⁹¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 102

¹⁹² 'The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant', *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914. p. 37

their circumstances.¹⁹³ As the Boer War gathered momentum, in early 1900 a branch of ‘the Patriotic League of New South Wales’ was established in Mudgee and James became vice president, donating money.¹⁹⁴ As C.N. Connelly argues, middle class, native-born Catholics with an Irish heritage rather than recent arrivals, were pro-imperialist and more likely to back the conflict.¹⁹⁵ Space was also provided in the weekly business advertisements of the mooted ‘military procession’ which it was stated would be a ‘splendid idea’. Acknowledging other towns’ efforts the advertisement continued, ‘Let not Mudgee be found wanting in this respect. It is an occasion that may never offer in our time again. Let us take full advantage’.¹⁹⁶ As Connelly further argues in country areas the middle class supported newspapers accordingly.¹⁹⁷ James was probably one of many who hoped for new opportunities to come his way. However for all James’s eye for business he continued in contributing to the local hospital in various ways too, giving generously to public subscriptions and authorising his employees to assist in setting up for the 1900 fund-raiser for the ‘Hospital Ball’.¹⁹⁸ He was a hospital committeeman, a highly sought after position if the 1902 elections were any indication,¹⁹⁹ attending meetings whenever possible as the published records show.²⁰⁰ His service was recognised when he became a hospital life governor.²⁰¹ At the turn of the century ‘Hospital Sunday’ became a revenue venture which in 1901 featured a parade of friendly societies and volunteers before everyone congregated in the showgrounds, and James was one of the speakers.²⁰² He supported the Catholic Church, in spite of his problems with the priest, ‘giving with open-hearted generosity’ to the Mudgee Convent as well as donating student prizes at their end of year celebrations.²⁰³ James was a notable man around the town. He would never attain the status of a man like G.H. Cox, the Anglican, landholder and squatter but he knew his success was by his own efforts. The Catholic Press in his obituary recorded that ‘he was a generous and enthusiastic supporter of all charitable and church works’.²⁰⁴

¹⁹³ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 99

¹⁹⁴ ‘The Sorbson’s Band to be Invited, Sports Amusements all Day and a Grand Concert at Night, A Great Demonstration to be Held on Wednesday April 11th, Mudgee Patriotic League’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 30 March 1900; *The Mudgee Guardian*, in March, 1900.

¹⁹⁵ C. N. Connolly, "Australian Attitudes to the Boer War," *Historical Studies* (1978-79). p. 225

¹⁹⁶ ‘Advertisement’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January 1900

¹⁹⁷ Connolly, "Australian Attitudes to the Boer War." p. 211

¹⁹⁸ ‘The Hospital Ball’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 16 July 1900

¹⁹⁹ ‘The Old Committee Wins Hands Down, The Election of the Committee, Mudgee Hospital’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 February 1902

²⁰⁰ Such as in ‘Mudgee Hospital; Annual Meeting’, *The Western Post*, 24 January 1898

²⁰¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 101;

²⁰² ‘Hospital Sunday’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 September, 1901

²⁰³ ‘Mudgee Convent School’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 December, 1895, Elizabeth Tierney’s niece a recipient

²⁰⁴ ‘The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant’, *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914, p. 37

One of James's lasting memorials was to railway services for the district. Personally his business had much to gain from an efficient and comprehensive system too and his efforts were unstinting.²⁰⁵ It needed to be, citizens had been campaigning since 1862 to be connected to the main railway network, battling competition from other towns to be included on the route into the interior.²⁰⁶ He started campaigning for a rail extension beyond Mudgee almost as soon as he settled there in 1883,²⁰⁷ and while he was very pleased to see the 1884 completion of the line to Mudgee he smartly realised the line, terminating at Mudgee was not a viable option. In 1890, at a 'Sectional committee on Public Works inquiry', James, as 'one of Mudgee's leading storekeepers', detailed all the Mudgee goods and services produced and how a prospective rail service extending from the town, to Gulgong, an area the locals emphasised was 'splendid agricultural land' would be put to good use.²⁰⁸ In 1899 he became a member of the Mudgee Railway League, just in time to hear that the government of the day had all but sanctioned the line excluding Mudgee. Hurried meetings were organised and James encouraged citizens to 'emphatically protest against parliament passing the bill for the extension of the railway from Dubbo to Coonamble, the natural line being from Mudgee'.²⁰⁹ His obituary recorded that 'it was largely due to his almost isolated efforts, so far as the businessmen of the district were concerned, that the extension of the railway line was carried to Gulgong and onwards'.²¹⁰

As James's social and economic position improved he had become increasingly involved in local body affairs. Before he moved to Mudgee, in the 1880s he had been made a Justice of the Peace in the Wallerawang locality, signifying his rising social status.²¹¹ In 1901 he was elected as a Mudgee town councillor,²¹² and was re-elected in 1904,²¹³ and again in 1906.²¹⁴ Quickly he demonstrated his business acumen, a skill which continued to be wanting amongst councillors. This had disadvantaged Mudgee in relation to the Cudgegong Council dominated by the large landholder who had the better knowledge of business. James's business expertise thus strengthened the Mudgee Council and was symbolic of the growing confidence of the middle class and town community in relation to the squatters. He worked

²⁰⁵ 'The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant', *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914, p. 37

²⁰⁶ Wilson, "Wheels of Progress; By wagon, coach, rail, motor and air." p. 50

²⁰⁷ 'Mudgee Progress Committee,' *The Western Post*, 27 April, 1883

²⁰⁸ 'Public Works Sectional Committee at Mudgee,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March, 1890, p. 5

²⁰⁹ 'The League Takes Action, Mudgee-Coonamble Railway', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 21 November, 1899

²¹⁰ 'The Late Mr James Loneragan, A Leading Merchant', *The Catholic Press*, 30 July, 1914, p. 37

²¹¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 139

²¹² *Ibid.* p. 139

²¹³ 'Municipal Nominations', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 28 January 1904

²¹⁴ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 142

on mundane issues such as the footpaths in the commercial centre,²¹⁵ questioning the use of unsuitable material and low tenders. The reporter attending the meeting noted, James's referral to the little-used stone crusher, councils 'white elephant' and James's advocacy in using it to prepare suitable metal for paving surfaces. He however, observed that 'Alderman Loneragan being a businessman', had mentioned that the 'undoubtedly valuable and efficient machine should be put to some useful purpose', adding 'We are much afraid he will fail. Having only recently become a member of council he probably is not aware of the utter want of business capacity shown'.²¹⁶ In another report, 'The Vagrant' could not resist reporting on the meeting either, commenting 'the contract system came in for a few remarks' as well as the tender and that 'Alderman Loneragan especially spoke out most strongly and said it was like "white slavery" for the council to let contracts at such prices, for someone must suffer. This of course was perfectly true.'²¹⁷ The Vagrant concluded,

It is really astonishing how little attention alderman pay to these matters. They (fellow councillors) seem to think that their duty begins and ends with attendance at a fortnightly meeting, and that any thinking power they may possess should be reserved for use in their own private business.'²¹⁸

It was unsurprising that James was appointed to the finance committee in due course.²¹⁹ Always frugal, he became known for his diligent checking of the treasurer's statement and the bank passbook at council meetings, discovering on one occasion that the account was 'overdrawn' and making further inquiries found that not all the rates had been paid. He highlighted the presence of unsanitary conditions around Mudgee, which had previously been overlooked causing serious health risks. The criticism and the planned actions was not appreciated however, as James stated 'the inspector was only doing his duty'.²²⁰

James seemed to genuinely enjoy his home life, relaxing in his garden and spending time amongst his horses.²²¹ He used horse transport in his work as he visited clients in the country. He had the means to support a stable that included about fifty horses used for work and pleasure as well as being able to employ a groom, Bill Marsh.²²² It must have gone some way

²¹⁵ 'Mudgee Footpaths', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 September 1901

²¹⁶ 'Hope at Last, Our Streets and Footpaths', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 September 1901

²¹⁷ 'The Vagrant', 'Occasional Pars', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 September, 1901

²¹⁸ 'The Vagrant', 'Occasional Pars', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 September, 1901

²¹⁹ 'Mudgee Council Committees', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 13 February, 1902

²²⁰ 'A Danger To Health', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 July, 1902; 'Overdue Rates', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 July 1902

²²¹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 25

²²² Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur.* p. 67

²²³ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians.* p. 109

in reinforcing the fact that he had in fact achieved much financially in his life. It was perhaps the 'exclusiveness and elegance of carriages,'²²³ that gave him the greatest enjoyment. When finally money became no object he invested in the finest equine equipment and had a 'sociable' or carriage, especially made, which was upholstered in the 'finest leather' and was able to transport nine people.²²⁴ This gave him much pleasure unlike his experience in the horse racing arena. Usually, the amateur race clubs were the 'dividing line' about who was in society in a particular town,²²⁵ and in Mudgee, James's membership bid to the prestigious Mudgee Bligh Amateur Racing Club failed when his application was 'blackballed'.²²⁶

James's Catholicism continued to provide obstacles in his, and his children's lives. Progressively in the nineteenth century, there was the general acceptance that 'Catholics were sufficiently Protestant to be, ultimately culturally tolerable'.²²⁷ However, James held the view that Catholics should marry within their denomination. His children held different ideas. His eldest son, Ted proposed marriage to Edith Todhunter, a Protestant, something James had great difficulty coming to terms with. Reluctantly, he gambled on the fact that women deferred to their husband's wishes and therefore there was every chance his grandchildren would be bought up in the Catholic faith. Edward married in 1901 in Sydney with James in attendance,²²⁸ and the couple returned to Mudgee to live.²²⁹ Subsequently Edith's brother wanted to marry James's daughter, Jules - a union which James forbade and the two parted company.²³⁰ Later still, when son Dick was courting Mabel Todhunter, James simply 'refused to consider the idea'.²³¹ Jules eventually married in 1908, in a marriage ceremony that must have delighted James, as Cecil, now an ordained priest, conducted the proceedings.²³²

²²⁴ 'A Very Fine Vehicle', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 29 May 1902.

²²⁵ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 153

²²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 152-3

²²⁷ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 67

²²⁸ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 15 August, 1901

²²⁹ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 19 September 1901

²³⁰ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. pp. 102-3

²³¹ *Ibid.* p. 138

²³² *Ibid.* p. 154

Progressively through James's life-time, sport became an important leisure activity for men, played in an increasingly competitive manner at a district and a colonial level as well as internationally where-by a testing of the physical attributes of men was undertaken particularly 'among the colonies and nations of the British Empire.'²³³ Unlike, G.H. Cox who had leisure time readily available to him, James was busy making his way in the world and the sports he may have participated in such as cricket, and football were out of the question. He learnt to swim however, as a youth, a male only activity partaken discreetly as required by the social mores of the Victorian age. It became an integral daily ritual for him, even swimming with ice on the river's edge.²³⁴ Whilst swimming did not fit into the usual category of sports undertaken in Australia from the 1850s onwards such as football 'or boxing' which 'lionised masculinity'.²³⁵ However, the participation of swimming in all weathers demonstrated a toughness, fitness and ruggedness that was associated with masculinity in the age. As Clive Moore argues, in the countryside, male occupations tended to be physical and there was not the need to formally exercise as in the urban areas. 'Hard rural labour preserved manhood rather than new concepts of 'masculinity' right into the early twentieth century'.²³⁶ However, as O'Farrell argues it was a 'favoured avenue for escape, lucrative for the individual, illustrious for the community'.²³⁷ James certainly understood this point of view, and the social and physical benefits for participants,²³⁸ along with the idea that except for wealthy men, all classes of men were interested in sport.²³⁹

James appreciated that team sports engendered a sense of camaraderie amongst his employees who played under the banner of the 'Commercial stores', in a variety of sports. This meshed well with his paternalistic attitude too, while raising his profile in the community as civic person who encouraged sport for the wellbeing of the community. In 1906, on a well-publicised occasion, a cricket match with the local 'Loneragan' cricket team, including Edward, played a team composed of commercial travellers who converged on Mudgee for a charity game. James was well to the fore, presiding over the lunch which was followed by a

²³³ Daryl Adair, John Nauright, and Murray Phillips, "Playing Fields Through to Battle Fields; The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in its Imperial Context, c1850-1918," *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 56 (1998). p. 51

²³⁴ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 67

²³⁵ Adair, Nauright, and Phillips, "Playing Fields Through to Battle Fields; The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in its Imperial Context, c1850-1918." p. 51

²³⁶ Moore, "Colonial Manhood and Masculinities." p. 48

²³⁷ O'Farrell, *The Irish In Australia; 1788 to the Present*. p. 68

²³⁸ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 92

²³⁹ Moore, "Colonial Manhood and Masculinities." p. 47

concert with the proceeds going to the local 'Benevolent Society'.²⁴⁰ Photographs of players as well as James with other attending notables appeared, in the media, excellent advertising of course, particularly as one of the newspapers had a wide colonial readership. This was good for James's image, who looked every inch the well-heeled country gentleman.

Waterson argues that in the era, the foundations of: 'origin, occupation, financial success and – the final accolade - ownership of rural property',²⁴¹ were still important in society. James may not have had the socially acceptable, 'origins or occupation', he did however have financial success and in 1904 he purchased the extensive acreage of Wonga Plains.²⁴² In 1906 James turned sixty and slowly passed the running of his business to younger members, keeping an ongoing interest in the company.²⁴³ He took time to relax more and after his sojourn back to the 'old country' at the beginning of the century, he embarked on another holiday trip, staying closer to home. In August 1912 he took a journey first to Queensland,²⁴⁴ before returning to Mudgee then venturing to the 'Mountains for the purpose of finishing his holiday spell before resuming his place at the head of the firm'.²⁴⁵ His beloved business remained important, and he was certainly not ready to completely give up the reins yet.

James Loneragan's life demonstrates the many complexities of late nineteenth century masculinity, a 'combination of American egalitarianism and opportunism and the English middle-class virtues of respectability and self-improvement'.²⁴⁶ He died in 1914 at the age of sixty-eight years after thirteen years of marriage to Mary, his third wife.²⁴⁷ The townspeople of Mudgee mourned the passing of their successful self-made man²⁴⁸ who had lived life with a desirable attribute of 'respectable conformity'.²⁴⁹ He had become a man of some note in Mudgee, as well as in a wide area of central New South Wales by diligent hard work and well-developed business acumen. He lived earnestly by his Catholic religion and in spite of extreme opposition to some of his personal aspirations he remained a devout follower all his life. James's children presented 'a marble altar for the sanctuary' to St Mary's Catholic Church, Mudgee, in remembrances of their father, his first wife and mother of his children,

²⁴⁰ 'Commercials at Cricket, Western Travellers' v. Mudgee Stores', *The Australian Town and Country Journal*, 31 January, 1906, p. 22, p. 37

²⁴¹ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 69

²⁴² Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 157

²⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 165

²⁴⁴ 'Still Holidaying', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 1 August, 1912

²⁴⁵ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 8 August, 1912

²⁴⁶ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 68

²⁴⁷ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 179

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 181

²⁴⁹ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 69

and to their step-mother'.²⁵⁰ He contributed to his community in time and money, sometimes with an eye on the benefits his philanthropy would bring to his business interests. Gradually he acquired all the trappings that money could provide in the way of a substantial house and property, providing an excellent education for his children and giving them luxuries that were beyond the grasp of many in society. Upon his death, his estate 'was valued for probate purposes at £37,709', a substantial fortune.²⁵¹ Yet he was denied complete recognition in the entrenched divided, class conscious Mudgee community and his elite status and success was never fully recognized. His Catholic religion and his occupation in trade meant he was unacceptable at the exclusive racing club of the district. James however, must have taken great heart from the accolade in 1900 when his fellow townsmen said of him that he was 'an Honourable Gentleman',²⁵² and he would have been equally delighted to know that a subsequent Catholic parish priest would write that 'He was held in high regard by all who knew him'.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Maher, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century*. p. 35

²⁵¹ 'The Loneragan Estate', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 January, 1915

²⁵² 'Farewell to Mr Jas Loneragan, A Large and Representative Gathering', *The Western Post*, 9 April, 1900

²⁵³ Maher, *Mudgee Catholic Centenary; A Short History of the Parish of Mudgee over the Past Century*. p. 44

Willoughby Vincent Dowling (1871 - 1941)

War Hero and Grazier

Australian born, Willoughby Vincent Dowling belonged to a prominent pioneer family who by intermarriage maintained their prominence in New South Wales.¹ His ancestry included connections to Sir James Dowling, the Chief Justice of the New South Wales, from 1828-1844. Willoughby's grandfather, Vincent George Dowling,² was his nephew and associate and his son, Vincent James Dowling, (1835-1903) was Willoughby's father.³ Willoughby's mother was Frances Emily, fifth daughter of Thomas Chaplin Breillat, a wealthy merchant, of 'Thurnby', Sydney.⁴ Willoughby was educated in England at an elite school before he resumed living in Australia, following in his father's footsteps onto pastoralism. Here he became a part of organisations which reflected the position his family held in society, such as accepting honorary civil positions, having membership at exclusive racing clubs and joining the newly established militia. There appeared to be few incentives for him to leave his comfortable circle and volunteer for active military service. Yet, it was not surprising that he, given he had imbibed the imperialistic ideas, that were well instilled in pupils who had attended upper and middle-class English boy's schools. Thus he did not fail to heed the call to serve his King and Empire as one of New South Wales's first volunteers in the Boer War in South Africa. He suffered serious injuries, became a prisoner of war, before being released and was one of the first men repatriated. His short soldiering career catapulted him into a hero-like position. For the rest of his life he dealt with these experiences with a 'stiff upper lip' and a gentlemanly demeanour. He returned subsequently to his family's pastoral properties and led a considerably quieter life as a grazier.

Willoughby's father or 'V.J.D.' as he was known, was an 'explorer and pastoralist'⁵ and an exciting role-model for Willoughby. English schooled,⁶ he returned to Australia and engaged in squatting, making the most of the 1850s gold-rushes, he took stock from northern New South Wales⁷, to Victoria, where there was a ready market. In drought conditions in 1858 which was 'sufficient to sicken' him, he turned to property acquisition.⁸ V.J.D. was advantaged, over other would-be squatters because he was an educated, well-to-do family

¹ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. p. 11

² 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903

³ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." Accessed on-line 26/02/2008. p. 1; *Vincent James Dowling (1835-1903) Papers* held at the Rylstone Historical Society, Rylstone, N.S.W. ND, no pagination

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

⁶ Ibid. p. 1, firstly by the Reverend J. Wilkinson at Mead, Ashfield, then 1849 - 1851 at Clapham, London

⁷ 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903

⁸ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

member, with access to financial resources.⁹ Nonetheless, in the bush he had to rely on his own initiative, tenacity, and labour. In 1860, with about half of Australia's land accounted for,¹⁰ V.J.D. took 1200 Hereford cattle to the Darling River in the remote, north-west of New South Wales and established Forte Bourke.¹¹ As the 'signs of progress'¹² encroached, he began a north-west exploration,¹³ and using an Aboriginal guide, he journeyed to lands unknown to 'white man' along the Paroo and the Bulloo rivers, and travelling to their sources he came upon the 'Cuttaburra' and the 'Spring' country',¹⁴ amongst other districts.¹⁵ It was a hard life, thwart with danger and 'his trials were very severe'.¹⁶ Contrary to generalised assumptions that the Indigenous people, had acquiesced to European rule,¹⁷ V.J.D. was harassed, threatened,¹⁸ and attacked, such as in 1863, when he went 'to drink at a lonely waterhole', before reconnoitring the vicinity,¹⁹ a spear went through his 'long American hat'.²⁰ Drought continued to be problematic, and in 1865,²¹ he wrote, 'God knows how it is all to end, but if this weather continues much longer, we must all go to the wall together'.²² At times, he lived off the land, occasionally eating, 'snakes, possums and such things, but he found extreme difficulty in tackling old crows'²³ and he sometimes was dehydrated and 'starved'.²⁴ When he experienced 'intense loneliness,' he wrote 'bad poetry' and read. He was not a 'loner' however, and possessing 'great vitality and humour', enjoying social occasions' and with a wealth of outback tales to share, he became known as a raconteur.²⁵

In time V.J.D. established stations over a wide area,²⁶ aided by his 1863 partnership, with George Henry Cox, in the Warrego district of Queensland,' and 'stations on the Paroo and

⁹ Roberts, *The Squatting Age In Australia; 1835 -1847.* p. 304

¹⁰ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning.* p. 1

¹¹ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1; 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903

¹² Ibid. p. 1

¹³ Ibid. p. 1 the area subsequently in Queensland.

¹⁴ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement*, (Mudgee: Rylstone Area Sesqui-Centenary Celebrations Committee, 1983). p. 28

¹⁵ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

¹⁶ 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling, A Prominent Pastoralist', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November, 1903

¹⁷ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning.* p. 304

¹⁸ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

¹⁹ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians.* p. 40

²⁰ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement.* p. 28

²¹ Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia.* p. 89

²² Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

²³ 'Vincent James Dowling, (1835-1903)' information from the 'Australian Dictionary,' Vol. 4, 1851-1890, from family reminiscences' and records. Courtesy of the District Historical Society Inc. Rylstone, New South Wales

²⁴ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement.* p. 28

²⁵ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

²⁶ Ibid. p. 1 such as the Caiwarro and Eulo on the Paroo and others on the Warrego and Cuttaburra Rivers as well as Yantabulla and Birrawarra in New South Wales.

Thargomindah'.²⁷ It was here, on the 'grassed mulga ridges and salt bush plains', over a thousand kilometres west of Brisbane, that Thargomindah became home to V.J.D. and new wife, Frances (Fanny) Breillat who were married after an eight year courtship,²⁸ in 1866 at 'St Peter' Anglican Church, Cook's River,' in Sydney.²⁹ As V.J.D. recounted, 'ladies did not care to go out west', and he went for two years without seeing a 'white woman'³⁰ however, he was proud to proclaim that 'my wife was the first lady out West.'³¹ Women's outback appearance was 'critical to the social transformations of those decades'.³² Their squatter residence was a superior centre of civilisation,³³ an 'open house',³⁴ with many visitors welcomed,³⁵ some seeking V.J.D.'s skill as an 'amateur doctor' and dentistry expertise which was a freely given service.³⁶ Not unsurprisingly he was always 'busy',³⁷ made more so by his acceptance of 'justice of the peace' positions firstly in New South Wales, in 1860 and two years later for Queensland.³⁸ He was the 'farthest-out magistrate' at Bourke and subsequently served at, Bathurst, Mudgee and Sofala. He was the 'Registrar of births, deaths and marriages' and because the outback lacked formal religious institutions, he was also the marriage celebrant.³⁹

Fanny's life was busy too, as squatters' wives were expected to cope 'with much more than the household and the children: Aborigines, crazy shepherds, stockmen who were injured or ill',⁴⁰ all needed her attention. In fact, Fanny's 'domesticity was difficult to square with the traditional associations of masculinity with heroism and adventure'.⁴¹ It was the period in which 'women's moral superiority' was being widely debated in the media whilst the reality of her husband's absences meant some autonomy which undermined the dominant practical patriarchy of the age.⁴² V.J.D. later acknowledged that Fanny 'lived with me at Thargomindah; a very great help to me at all times',⁴³ and she was 'deservedly loved and

²⁷ 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903

²⁸ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

²⁹ Mowle, *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia*. p. 151

³⁰ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement*. p. 28

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 29

³² Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation; 1788 -1907*. p. 112

³³ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 265

³⁴ Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*. p. 16

³⁵ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement*. p. 29

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 29

³⁷ 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903

³⁸ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

³⁹ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement*. p. 29

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Dutton, *The Squatters* (South Yarra: Currey, O'Neill, Ross Pty Ltd., 1985). p. 93

⁴¹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 6

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 145

⁴³ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement*. p. 29

respected by all whom she came in contact'.⁴⁴ Her obituary recognised her as a 'pioneer of Queensland'.⁴⁵ Fanny endured many heartbreaks. The first-born child died before a daughter, Ethel Maude was born in 1869, and Willoughby Vincent arrived in May 1871, followed by two brothers, John George Henry Cox, born 1874 and Vincent Robert born in 1876. These two boys died at 3 and 5 years old respectively. Ruth Beatrice was born in 1878, Elsie Luie in 1880 and lastly in 1884, Frank Osborne.⁴⁶

In 1874, Thargomindah was sold along with V.J.D.'s and George Henry Cox's Queensland land-holdings.⁴⁷ V.J.D. had been unwell and now took the usual restorative measure available to the wealthy - a sea journey to 'the East, America and England'.⁴⁸ Returning in 1877, V.J.D. purchased Lue⁴⁹, a large 21,000 acre freehold property,⁵⁰ 'situated mid-way between Rylstone and Mudgee',⁵¹ as well as other property.⁵² However, he and George Henry Cox still hungered after more land, and during the 1880s recommenced acquiring Queensland properties, an ill-advised venture, as it transpired, which left V.J.D.'s finances in disarray.⁵³ Lue however, provided V.J.D. with an opportunity to develop a 'splendidly-improved estate',⁵⁴ and he instigated a multitude of improvements, such as to the 'stud-breeding' program,⁵⁵ With the advantage of having acquiring excellent stock, for his wool-clip was frequently prize-winning,⁵⁶ and it realised top prices.⁵⁷ V.J.D. became a noted sheep-breeder and his rams, well regarded, with one in particular, 'champion' at the 'Sydney International Exhibition in 1879'.⁵⁸ He became known as the 'Squire of Lue'.⁵⁹

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 29

⁴⁵ 'Obituary, Mrs V.J. Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 May 1925 p. 18

⁴⁶ Mowle, *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia*. p. 151; *The Pastoral Homes of Australia: New South Wales*, vol. IV (New South Wales) (Melbourne: The Pastoral Review, 1910-14). p. 364, One daughter became Mrs. R.H. Dangar, of Singleton, and the second Mrs. J.H. Fairfax, the third daughter, Miss Lue Dowling.

⁴⁷ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 1

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 1

⁴⁹ 'Lue' also referred to 'Louee' or 'Luie'

⁵⁰ Lee, Jenny, "Squatters" in *Australia's Outback Heritage; Frontier Country*. vol 1. Sheena Coupe Ed., (North Sydney: Weldon Russell 1989). p. 243; Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 2

⁵¹ 'The Lue Stud' *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 27 June 1906; Winifred Potts, *Lue 1823 - 1984* (Mudgee: Mudgee Guardian/ Gudgeong Newspaper, 1984). p. 11

⁵² Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 2, properties included Gummin Gummin in the Warrumbungle's, and 'Walla Walla near Gilgandra; 'Vincent James Dowling, (1835-1903)' information from the 'Australian Dictionary,' Vol .4, 1851-1890, and from family reminiscences' and records. Courtesy of the District Historical Society Inc. Rylstone, New South Wales.

⁵³ Lee, "Squatters" p. 242-3

⁵⁴ 'The Lue Stud', *The Australian Town and Country Journal*, 27 June 1906

⁵⁵ 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903

⁵⁶ *Rylstone Area; A History of Settlement*. p. 29 such as 'a bale of wool that was highly commended at the Paris exhibition in 1878' as well as being awarded many prizes such as a 'Mort gold medal', the silver medal at Amsterdam, the gold medal at Calcutta, as well as 'other valuable reminders of the excellence of the flock'.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 29

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 29

⁵⁹ 'Welcome to Lieutenant Dowling', 'The Transvaal War', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 21 May 1900

Willoughby's formative years were thus influenced by the Australian bush. His father provided an exciting role-model for an impressionable boy to follow and as Davidoff and Hall argue, 'acquisition of gendered subjectivity was a process which continued throughout the lifecycle'.⁶⁰ The passing of the seasons and the associated country routines provided a learning experience for young Willoughby. He probably spent time amusing himself, as well as learning about farming and attending to animals and in particular, learning the many aspects of horsemanship.⁶¹ Activities that contributed to the community were obviously something the family undertook. Fanny set an example, in an ongoing effort in philanthropic and religious causes,⁶² and her daughters followed suit.⁶³ It is not known which Anglican Church the family attended, and it was perhaps the lack of religious facilities which prompted V.J.D.'s interest in building the 'stone church' of 'St Peters' at Lue,⁶⁴ as well as attending the Bathurst synod.

Willoughby's childhood years spanned a period when children progressively assumed a more central position in a family, as society adopted a 'Romantic view of children'⁶⁵ seeing them 'as a precious innocent'.⁶⁶ V.J.D. had an enormous investment in the 'masculine prospects of his son',⁶⁷ for the outcome of how a son developed and attained manhood 'reflected 'on both father and son'.⁶⁸ Not only this, fathers were concerned that their son's development culminated in an adult who exhibited all the attributes to guarantee the long term future of the family.⁶⁹ As heir, Willoughby was given the best start to life that parents could provide,⁷⁰ and this meant the best education that they could afford. In the environment of the Australian elite, many parents had an 'appreciation that social superiority rested upon a superior

⁶⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 450

⁶¹ 'Obituary, Mrs R.H. Dangar', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June, 1925 Willoughby, along with his sister Ethel, a 'superb horsewoman' maintained a life-long interest in horses and in 'her younger days was a well-known figure in riding and jumping contests' and upon her death, it was reported that 'in the breeding of bloodstock few women in the State were better authorities'.

⁶² 'Vincent James Dowling, (1835-1903)' information from the 'Australian Dictionary,' Vol., 4, 1851-1890, and from family reminiscences' and records. Courtesy of the District Historical Society Inc. Rylstone, New South Wales

⁶³ 'Social', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February, 1899. p. 7 ; Martha Rutledge, "Fairfax, Ruth Beatrice, (1878-1948)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography - Online Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fairfax-ruth-beatrice-6134> Accessed on-line 1/02/2012

⁶⁴ Taylor, Meredith, 'Notes', Courtesy of the District Historical Society Inc. Rylstone, New South Wales, n.d. According to the author the building was not consecrated.

⁶⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 163

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 150

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 3

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 3

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 4

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 150

education and culture'.⁷¹ However, it was a period when mothers had significant influence over their sons and this was perceived as affecting gender identity.⁷² Fathers on the other hand, experienced a curtailment and diminishing status.⁷³ An outcome of this predicament was to utilise a boarding school.⁷⁴ Unlike another elite in the thesis, G.H. Cox, who was educated at an elite Australian school, Willoughby, was sent to Eton in England, one of the 'great schools' which catered for the 'wealthier class'.⁷⁵ In 1883, aged twelve years, he departed with the expectation that he would undergo 'a hardening process to becoming a man'.⁷⁶ With no school record, it is not known how he coped however, departing from all he knew it must have been very difficult.

Reflecting Victorian society in general, English public schools featured an 'all male society, strict hierarchy, obsession with games, hero worship and juvenile romanticism'.⁷⁷ Centuries old traditions of strong non-sexual male friendships made for the institutionalisation of manly love as an integral part of nineteenth century life'.⁷⁸ This 'Manly ideology' focused on 'the exaltation of chivalry, muscular Christianity, games worship and Hellenism, the cult of school days and the prolongation of adolescence where a 'Victorian male was puer aeternus, the boy who never grew up'.⁷⁹ Until World War One,⁸⁰ the 'microcosm of the nation' was characterised by 'the concept of Christian manliness' and chivalric code.⁸¹ Schools were saturated with the legends, images and ethos of chivalry like those in Ancient Greece and medieval models from which a chivalric code was reformulated to provide a living and meaningful code of behaviour for the nineteenth century gentleman, who were seen as the embodiment of bravery, loyalty, courtesy, modesty, purity and honour and endowed with a sense of noblesse oblige towards women, children and social inferiors'.⁸²

⁷¹ Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*. p. 97

⁷² Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 7

⁷³ Ibid. p. 150

⁷⁴ Watson A Steel and Antill James M, *History of All Saints College, Bathurst; 1873-1951* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1952). p. 171 He may have attended Saints College, Bathurst, New South Wales prior, as his name 'Willoughby Vincent Dowling: Capt., 1st Aust. C'wealth Horse,' appears in the 'Honour Roll' of 'The South African War, 1899-1902'; C.E.W. Bean, *Here My Son: an Account of the Independent and other Corporate Boys' Schools of Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1950). p. 63

⁷⁵ Bean, *Here My Son: an Account of the Independent and other Corporate Boys' Schools of Australia*. p. 54

⁷⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 345

⁷⁷ Jeffrey Richards, " 'Passing the love of women': manly love and Victorian Society " in *Manliness and Morality; Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James. Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). p. 106

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 117

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 106

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 115

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 106

⁸² Ibid. p. 113

The chivalric component applied especially to sporting pursuits, and emphasised ‘moral training’, particularly advancing, ‘courage, loyalty, skill, character and manliness’.⁸³ The participation in a team was particularly important because ‘character’, was developed, including the idea that ‘the supreme ruling quality of Englishmen’ was an ‘athleticism [which] was to reserve energy and emotion for the games field and keeping a stiff upper lip, taking defeat bravely and victory modestly’,⁸⁴ was admired. This constituted ‘the schoolboy’s code of behaviour’.⁸⁵ As Imperialism and social Darwinism, gained credence, personal ‘soul-searching,’ was replaced by ‘subordination to the national ideal and an enthusiasm for being ‘normal’.⁸⁶ Boys were well inculcated with ideas of ‘social Darwinism and eugenics which fostered a pre-occupation with the imperial race, in which imperialistic ideology promoted ‘character and manliness’ as vital features.⁸⁷ As the century drew to a close, Britons encouraged young men to engage in feats involving, ‘conquest, combat and heroism’.⁸⁸ In a world where the empire had become an ‘increasingly visible symbol of national worth’⁸⁹ boys were groomed to become ‘imperial warriors,’⁹⁰ with ultimate aim of, ‘playing the great game’ became the ‘calling’ for this Imperial mission.’⁹¹ Here the masculinity comprised of the ‘stiff upper lip and a disciplined body of the games ethic,’ admirably suited’ to ‘masculinity for an imperial mission’ of elite soldiers and administrators,⁹² in which ‘army, church, medicine and law’ were emphasised.⁹³ Furthermore the ‘language of the public schools became synonymous with ‘the language of a national culture and its empire.’⁹⁴ The boys educated within this system graduated, with the expectation that they were the next generation to organise the British Empire,⁹⁵ whilst public school headmasters’ believed that their school leavers were ‘muscular, moral and manly,’⁹⁶ and time would show that Willoughby had these traits for as Tosh argues,

⁸³ Ibid. p. 113

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 105

⁸⁵ Richards, "Passing the love of women': manly love and Victorian Society." p. 105

⁸⁶ Jonathon Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997). p. 14 moral manliness also included feminine characteristics of ‘feelings and concern.’

⁸⁷ Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism; Manipulation, conflict and compromise in the late nineteenth century* (Melbourne: University of Cambridge, 1994). p. 180

⁸⁸ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 192

⁸⁹ McClelland, Keith and Sonya Rose, ‘Citizenship and empire, 1867-1928’, *At Home with the Empire: metropolitan culture and the imperial world.* Eds., Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). p. 275

⁹⁰ Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire*. p. 16

⁹¹ Ibid. p.19

⁹² Ibid. p. 19

⁹³ Kociumbas, *The Australian History of Australia, 1770 -1860*. p. 226

⁹⁴ Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire*. p. 15

⁹⁵ Blom I., Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations; Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000). p. xv

⁹⁶ Mangan, "Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in late Victorian and Edwardian England". p. 135

masculinity development is not something one is born with rather 'it is 'essentially an achieved status'.⁹⁷

Willoughby left Eton, and returned to Australia, via Germany, on what as Julia Horne suggests, was a kind of 'gentleman's tour' which help establish business networks.⁹⁸ He may have been in two minds about his homecoming, having had both an Australian and an English life making him an 'Anglo-Australian',⁹⁹ and causing a quandary over allegiance but for that class being Anglo-Australian was quite normal.¹⁰⁰ However, he arrived back in Australia in 1892 aged 21 years,¹⁰¹ as a well-travelled young man.

Willoughby joined the family's pastoral concern and settled into an Australian rural life just at the commencement of drought, depression and industrial unrest.¹⁰² He was probably well aware of the latter situation because serious wharf unrest in 1891 had prompted V.J.D. and six colleagues to protect their interests by driving their loaded wool drays across the picket line with a police escort, where the 'Riot Act' was read.¹⁰³ By comparison, Willoughby's life was quieter. In late 1892, he conducted a property tour for a reporter, 'Rambler' of the 'editorially independent' and 'pre-eminent provincial' newspaper, *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River Advertiser*.¹⁰⁴ 'Rambler' expressed the view of Willoughby that he 'was hospitality itself, for he wrote of the saying that "home-keeping youths ever have homely wits."¹⁰⁵ They obviously had an interesting exchange in which he discerned in Willoughby an appreciation of a much wider world and Australia's place for 'Rambler' wrote;

It would be well if more of our well-to-do squatters' sons saw a little more of the 'earth and the fullness thereof' before settling down in life, both for their personal improvement, and in the event of a possible public and parliamentary career. We should hear less of the infinite bosh of "Australia for Australians," if our boys would only see for themselves that this island-continent is not all

⁹⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 14

⁹⁸ Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. p. 86

⁹⁹ Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*. p. 97

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 86-7

¹⁰¹ 'Obituary, Mr W.V. Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1941, p. 3

¹⁰² Cited in Kingston, 1988, p. 177, As the twentieth century commenced in New South Wales there were '80,000 unionists.' Commonwealth of Australia, *Official Year Book*, 1901-7 p. 866

¹⁰³ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 2

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Kirkpatrick Rod, "Advocate or supplicant? Survival in the New South Wales provincial press to 1900." p. 91

¹⁰⁵ 'Rambler', 'A Peep at Tondeburine, Gummin Gummin and Parmedman', *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 18 October, 1892

the world, but only a big blustering baby-boy of the Mother of Nations, whose mighty arms embrace Europe and the world.¹⁰⁶

Socially, he played some local cricket,¹⁰⁷ and with his father's social network in various elitist organisations, such as the Union Club,¹⁰⁸ the Graziers' Association, the Australian Jockey Club,¹⁰⁹ the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales, and the Stockowners Association,¹¹⁰ Willoughby had a ready entrée. V.J.D's reputation in horsemanship¹¹¹ too, smoothed the path of acceptance into society as this expertise enhanced masculinity in a society where horses had a variety of important uses.¹¹² Horses and accoutrements were deployed to display 'excessiveness and elegance'¹¹³ of the elite, aptly demonstrated by V.J.D. dramatically driving 'his four-in-hand,' into Mudgee.¹¹⁴ This was even more clearly demonstrated when the Governor-General Lord Beauchamp visited and as local diarist, Elizabeth Tierney recorded 'Mr Dowling had come into Mudgee from Lue with the Governor'.¹¹⁵ In 1894, both V.J.D and Willoughby were judged capable to ride as amateurs in all meetings of the 'Rosehill, Warwick and Sydney Turf Clubs.'¹¹⁶ Locally too V.J. D. associated with like-minded people at the 'Bligh Amateur Racing Club',¹¹⁷ and the 'Mudgee Turf Club',¹¹⁸ as well as the Rylstone Jockey Club.¹¹⁹ Willoughby was thus readily accepted into select elite society.

In a wider world Willoughby began accepting more responsibilities. As Denholm argues 'men of power' had the advantages of being landowners, sufficiently wealthy (or his father was) to have received a good education, to give honorary service to the state, and to have the leisure necessary to serve the state'.¹²⁰ In 1898, aged 27 years, Willoughby was appointed as a New

¹⁰⁶ 'Rambler', 'A Peep at Tondeburine, Gummin Gummin and Parmedman', *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 18 October, 1892

¹⁰⁷ 'Cricket, Tondeburine v. Tooraweenah,' *Christmas Number of The Mudgee Western Post*, 25 December 1897.

¹⁰⁸ 'Dowling of Luie', notes Courtesy of the District Historical Society Inc. Rylstone, New South Wales

¹⁰⁹ 'Obituary, Mr W.V. Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1941, p. 3

¹¹⁰ 'Vincent James Dowling, (1835-1903)'; notes Courtesy of the District Historical Society Inc. Rylstone, New South Wales.

¹¹¹ 'Obituary, Mr W.V. Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1941, p. 3

¹¹² 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903 V.J.D. was in the horse-breeding market, and produced army horses, or 'walers,' as well as carriage horses and Clydesdales

¹¹³ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. pp. 98-101

¹¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 98-101

¹¹⁵ Rutledge, "Dowling, Vincent James, (1835 -1903)." p. 2

¹¹⁶ Tierney, "Diary of Elizabeth Tierney." 22 September, 1899 p.91

¹¹⁷ 'Sporting Intelligence, The Turf', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November 1894.

¹¹⁸ 'Bligh Amateur Racing Club', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 12 May 1890 at this meeting he was the 'starter'

¹¹⁹ V.J.D. was president in 1881 'Sporting Memoranda', *Mudgee Independent*, 23 February, 1881

¹²⁰ 'Rylstone, Jockey Club', *The Western Post*, 24 January 1898, in this year he served as president

¹²¹ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. p. 165

South Wales magistrate,¹²¹ a measure of his class position, and a month later he joined the Mudgee Stock Board as a director.¹²² Willoughby's credentials, old scholar's association, as well as the local squatter network,¹²³ advanced his appointment as an A.D.C. to the Governor of New South Wales, Earl Beauchamp.¹²⁴ However, at century's end there were increasing signs of militarism abroad, which reverberated in Mudgee.¹²⁵ The activities of school cadet units were reported upon in the newspapers,¹²⁶ as well as the volunteers, such as their inspection by Major General French.¹²⁷ In 1897, the Australian Light Horse was established,¹²⁸ comprising of unpaid volunteers',¹²⁹ which in New South Wales, was a masculine arena, and 'relied on local office holders such as clergymen and overseers' in 'a coming together of locale gentry and middle class men'.¹³⁰ Mr H.A. Lowe, a local squatter, convened a district squadron meeting at which Willoughby was enrolled,¹³¹ there-by joining the Mudgee detachment of the 'First Australian Horse', as a foundation member, receiving his commission as a 'second lieutenant in January 1898'.¹³²

From the commencement of his military career, as an officer, Willoughby was reputedly 'efficient'. In March 1898, an officer of the 2nd Life Guards, inspected this newly inaugurated 'half squad', and presented a lecture,¹³³ to augment their drilling instruction. The visiting officer reported that with only eight weeks training progress was good.¹³⁴ The local newspaper reported they were a promising group of military horsemen.¹³⁵ No reaction is recorded from Willoughby's quarter for he was organising 59 volunteers¹³⁶ of the Mudgee

¹²¹ 'New Magistrates', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 January, 1898

¹²² *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 February 1898, pp. 5-6, directors; Messer's, R. Rouse, jun., R. Lowe, J. McCrae, H. White.

¹²³ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900, endorsed by Mr Lowe.

¹²⁴ Cameron Hazlehurst, "Beauchamp, Seventh Earl (1872 -1938)," *The Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.aubiography/beauchamp-seventh-eral-5174/text8693> Accessed on-line 17/01/ 2012. Both men apparently attended Eton about the same time. Lord Beauchamp had an eclectic range of interests including meeting 'local writers and artists'. Henry Lawson, recalled that he was a 'fine cultured gentleman' who 'understood and loved bush people of Australia'.

¹²⁵ Such as Candour, 'Gossip, Wars and Rumors of Wars', *The Western Post*, 13 January, 1898

¹²⁶ 'Brevities', *The Western Post*, 14 February, 1898; 'Church Parade', *The Western Post*, 14 March 1898

¹²⁷ 'Volunteer Inspection' and 'Major General French', *The Western Post*, 10 February, 1898; *The Western Post*, March, 1898

¹²⁸ Lancers re- named the 1st Australian Horse'

¹²⁹ Quoted in <http://www.Australianlighthorse> accessed on line 29/09/06, volunteers being shearers, station hands, farmers or squatters, the officers in all cases, sons of old squatting families.,

¹³⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. pp. 424-5

¹³¹ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

¹³² 'New South Wales, Sydney', *The Mercury*, 23 January 1900, p. 2, 'appointed honorary A.D.C. to His Excellency Earl Beauchamp,' the honorary colonel of the regiment.

¹³³ 'Australian Horse', *The Western Post*, 14 March 1898

¹³⁴ 'Major Ferguson's Report', *The Western Post*, 17 March 1898

¹³⁵ 'Candour', *The Western Post*, 17 March 1898

¹³⁶ 'Captain Abernethy', *The Western Post*, 12 April 1898

and Lue's 1st Regiment, Australian Horse,¹³⁷ to be ready to go to Sydney at 12.30 to entrain the horses.¹³⁸ Elizabeth Tierney, recorded the unusual event, writing, 'The Volunteers went to Rockwood, Sydney for nine days encampment at 3 o'clock special train'.¹³⁹ Once encamped the volunteers' received English-made uniforms.¹⁴⁰ In myrtle green and modelled on the English military, the only distinctive Australian feature was on the regiment's badge, which had Australian icons amongst English symbols.¹⁴¹ Armed with his conspicuous 'zeal',¹⁴² Willoughby later communicated that a 'days sport' followed by 'a big general camp', in the autumn, or failing this, 'a small local encampment', lasting about three days' were slated.¹⁴³

The Boer War or South African War was declared in October 1899, by the Boers, against the British,¹⁴⁴ who had imposed sovereignty over the two Boer Republics, of Transvaal and the Orange Free State.¹⁴⁵ The Mudgee Guardian succinctly announced that Admiral Pearson had 'received a cable that with the Transvaal, War has been declared'.¹⁴⁶

The conflict 'did not come as a surprise'.¹⁴⁷ Connolly argues, that much 'under-cover orchestration by the British,¹⁴⁸ occurred and included; the Colonial and the War Offices, the British commandants in the colonies, and the volunteer officers, 'eager to see action', who all conspired to stage an unprompted positive response.¹⁴⁹ It was, as Trainor argues, a situation where 'colonial assistance' was solicited which validated the 'British position at home and abroad'.¹⁵⁰ South Australia, also offered to send troops,¹⁵¹ whilst Premier Reid in New South Wales was 'a persistent critic of military expenditure and disliked foreign wars',¹⁵² however, after considerable encouragement in October 1899, the New South Wales 'resolved to send a

¹³⁷ 'Gossip England's Supremacy', *The Western Post*, 31 March, 1898

¹³⁸ '1st Regt. Australian Horse', *The Western Post*, 4 April, 1898

¹³⁹ Tierney, "Diary of Elizabeth Tierney." 7 April, 1898. p. 42

¹⁴⁰ '1st Regt. Australian Horse', *The Western Post*, 4 April, 1898

¹⁴¹ 'The Boer War' <http://www.Australianlighthouse>, accessed on line 29/09/06

¹⁴² 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May 1900

¹⁴³ '1st Australian Horse', *The Western Post*, 2 June 1898

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1979). p. xv

¹⁴⁵ Graig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899-1902* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 2002). p. 1

¹⁴⁶ 'War Declared', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 17 October 1899

¹⁴⁷ Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism; Manipulation, conflict and compromise in the late nineteenth century*. p. 152

¹⁴⁸ C. N. Connolly, "Manufacturing 'Spontaneity'; The Australian Offer of Troops For the Boer War" *Historical Studies* (1978-9). p.

¹⁴⁹ Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism; Manipulation, conflict and compromise in the late nineteenth century*. p. 150

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 150

¹⁵¹ P.A.(Peter) Howell, *South Australia and Federation* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2002). p. 213, some 'ULP spokesmen voiced criticism about the war'. Kingston however, volunteered a contingent "before Britain commenced its second war against the Boer"; Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism; Manipulation, conflict and compromise in the late nineteenth century*. p. 149

¹⁵² Connolly, "Manufacturing 'Spontaneity'; The Australian Offer of Troops For the Boer War." p. 109

contingent to the Transvaal.¹⁵³ Generally there was little opposition,¹⁵⁴ although in Mudgee, Alderman Wilton said he was ‘a strong supporter of the Boer in their present troubles’.¹⁵⁵

Ida Blom, argues that, ‘The importance of gender for the military seems straightforward. The military was conceived as a masculine arena. Men were understood to be strong and courageous, women as weak and fearful, in need of protection’.¹⁵⁶ In Mudgee, at this early stage of the conflict the war announcements in the local newspapers were definitely addressed to men with terse instructions such as ‘It must be understood that prompt action is imperatively necessary,’¹⁵⁷ and more men responded to the enlistment call.¹⁵⁸ Willoughby instructed Mudgee’s, Sergeant Major, ‘to keep in touch with likely men’, adding that ‘more volunteers may be called for at any moment.’¹⁵⁹ Ilana R. Ber-El argues, in the First World War the British public developed notions regarding the masculinity of a volunteer, the same idea could be said, for Australians in the Boer War too. It involved an ‘equation’ between, ‘a real man - a patriot - a volunteer - a soldier’, and for a ‘real man the act of volunteering was ‘probably the most gendering activity a man could undertake’.¹⁶⁰ Volunteering also demonstrated, ‘individual initiative’,¹⁶¹ and ‘by virtue of the single act of self-motivation, the volunteer became equated with an ideal of masculinity and elevated to the status of hero - regardless of any subsequent military performance’.¹⁶² Later, the Mudgee volunteers received commendation for volunteering as they ‘had sacrificed much, with a chance of gaining no material advantage and in their going we honour them exceedingly’.¹⁶³

Willoughby was one of the first to volunteer to go to South Africa and the Boer War,¹⁶⁴ later explaining that he felt it to be his duty to fight,¹⁶⁵ a decision applauded for having

¹⁵³ ‘Mudgee Volunteers, A Contingent to be Sent, Australians for the Transvaal’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁵⁴ Connolly, "Manufacturing 'Spontaneity'; The Australian Offer of Troops For the Boer War." p. 232 ; ‘Latest Telegrams from Sydney’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1899, ‘a proposed meeting of those supporting the Boers’ was cancelled because of ‘the determined opposition of those present’.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Local Brevities’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 1 December 1899

¹⁵⁶ Blom, "Gender and Nation in International Comparison." p. 15

¹⁵⁷ ‘Australians for the Transvaal, A Contingent to be sent, Mudgee Volunteers’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October, 1899

¹⁵⁸ ‘Australians for the Transvaal, A Contingent to be Sent, Mudgee Volunteers’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁵⁹ ‘1st Australian Horse; Attention’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁶⁰ Ilana R. Bet-El, "Men and Soldiers: British Conscripts of Masculinity, and the Great War.," in *Borderlines. Gender and Identities in War and Peace, 1870-1930*, ed. Billie Melman (New York , London: Routledge, 1998). pp. 74-5

¹⁶¹ Ibid. p. 76

¹⁶² Ibid. p. 78

¹⁶³ ‘His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

¹⁶⁴ ‘The Contingent for South Africa’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899

¹⁶⁵ ‘The Transvaal War’, ‘Welcome to Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May 1900

‘abandoning the pleasures and safety of an easy life for the inevitable discomforts and dangers in the campaign’.¹⁶⁶ However, not everyone in the First Australian Horse followed Willoughby’s example, a fact E. Richards a local newspaperman, remarked upon when reporting on the volunteers departure from Sydney. Willoughby was, he surmised, ‘disappointed that his section of the Light Horse did not enlisted in greater numbers’.¹⁶⁷ However, he must have been heartened, that ‘all the Mudgee troopers in the First Australian Horse had been accepted for service’¹⁶⁸ and as an indication of the numbers volunteering, a proposed Rylstone Military Sports Day was ‘abandoned’, as many were on ‘active service’.¹⁶⁹

Volunteer enlistment proceeded apace,¹⁷⁰ at a time when Australians ‘saw themselves’, or ‘were seen by others as part of a group of new, transplanted, predominantly Anglo-Saxon emigrant societies’ which as Richard White argues, was by the last decades of the nineteenth century a ‘self-conscious’ movement to highlight the differences, particularly the idea that Australians were a more ‘vigorous branch of Anglo-Saxondom’.¹⁷¹ This debate was reflected in the local newspaper, when there was the claim that New South Wales recruits were ‘the strongest, straightest and the best built men’.¹⁷² Indeed as the newspaper claimed, if they had ‘round shoulders or knocked knees’ they could apply for selection for the war, safe in the knowledge they would not be chosen. The Major General had instructed that, ‘no weeds need apply’.¹⁷³ Amid much ‘excitement’, ‘cheering’, ‘singing’ and ‘frantic handkerchief waving’, Trooper Bucholtz, and Corporal Strike, two of Elizabeth Tierney’s neighbours met the criteria for selection and were amongst the first to depart Mudgee,¹⁷⁴ whilst Police Constable Ford,¹⁷⁵ followed, anxious that he might miss the opportunity of ‘going’,¹⁷⁶ like many other volunteers. Beverley Kingston has suggested that some men enlisted for the Boer War ‘because they could not resist a fight.’¹⁷⁷ Whatever Constable Ford’s motives were, he was described as a ‘typical first class cornstalk and no finer

¹⁶⁶ ‘His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

¹⁶⁷ Richards, E. ‘Saturday Last in Sydney, Mudgee’s contribution, The Contingent for South Africa’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899

¹⁶⁸ ‘Interesting Notes, Our Mudgee Volunteers’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October, 1899

¹⁶⁹ ‘Military Sports at Rylstone’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 16 January, 1900

¹⁷⁰ ‘Australians for the Transvaal, A Contingent to be sent, Mudgee Volunteers’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October, 1899

¹⁷¹ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 47

¹⁷² *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October, 1899

¹⁷³ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October, 1899

¹⁷⁴ ‘Mudgee Volunteers, Proceed to the Seat of War, Enthusiastic Send Off’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁷⁵ ‘Local Brevities’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 7 November, 1999

¹⁷⁶ ‘Australians for the Transvaal’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 October 1899

¹⁷⁷ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 308

specimen of Australia'.¹⁷⁸ As more volunteered,¹⁷⁹ rivalry as to which community in New South Wales could send the most volunteers developed and as October ended the newspaper triumphantly announced that, 'Mudgee had sent its quota'.¹⁸⁰ Everyone was under the same impression that the Boers would be comparatively easily subdued and 'the boys from Australia would have more or less a pleasant picnic.'¹⁸¹ This optimism possibly prompted Willoughby to announce his engagement to a member of a prominent squatting family, Grace Cox, eldest daughter of Alexander Hassall Cox,¹⁸² thereby uniting two powerful families and ensuring their prominence in New South Wales.¹⁸³ February, 1900 was slated as the date for the wedding, such was sanguine atmosphere surrounding the conflict.¹⁸⁴

Hectic preparations, prior to departure, apparently precluded Willoughby making a farewell trip to 'Lue'.¹⁸⁵ V.J.D. later divulged that when Willoughby volunteered he had felt that it was 'his death warrant'.¹⁸⁶ However, he must have been proud of his son's efforts. As Tosh argues, 'Full masculine status is the gift of one's peers; it builds on the foundations of boy-life outside the family, and is accomplished by economic or military achievements in the public sphere, often marked by a rite of collective men-only initiation.' However, 'A fine balance is struck, between competition and comradeship as young men learn how to become part of the collective (male) voice of the community'.¹⁸⁷ For not only had Willoughby earned the reputation as 'one of the most efficient officers in the volunteer forces', so the local paper reported, he was also 'popular' with the military men, and he stood 'out from the crowd',¹⁸⁸ being reported as 'displaying such soldierly bearing'.¹⁸⁹ Probably in keeping with his social status, his photograph appeared in Sydney newspapers making it seem, that his 'volunteering had elevated him to the status of hero' without any active service.¹⁹⁰ Indeed it

¹⁷⁸ Richards, E. 'Saturday Last in Sydney, Mudgee's contribution, The Contingent for South Africa', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899

¹⁷⁹ 'Interesting Notes', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899, such as Troopers Bossley, King and Corporal Eames

¹⁸⁰ 'Mudgee Volunteers, Proceed to the Seat of War, Enthusiastic Send Off', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁸¹ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 January 1900; Britisher, 'Letters to the Editor, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 April, 1900

¹⁸² Mowle, *Pioneer Families of Australia*. p. 151

¹⁸³ Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*. p. 11

¹⁸⁴ Malus, 'Woman's World', *The Inquirer & Commercial News*, 13 October, 1899

¹⁸⁵ Roper, "Maternal relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War." p. 299

¹⁸⁶ 'The Transvaal War', 'Welcome to Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 21 May 1900; VJ.D. quoted by Mr Richards M.L.C.

¹⁸⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 3

¹⁸⁸ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

¹⁸⁹ Richards, E. 'Saturday Last in Sydney, Mudgee's contribution, The Contingent for South Africa', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899

¹⁹⁰ Bet-El, "Men and Soldiers: British Conscripts of Masculinity, and the Great War." p. 78

also elevated the social standing of the Dowling family. Willoughby departed from Newcastle 'in command of the contingent',¹⁹¹ on the *Langton Grange* on the 14th November, 1899.¹⁹²

Other volunteer voyage accounts indicate it was an uneventful passage after the frenetic public farewelling of volunteers who paraded through crowd lined streets, accompanied by patriotic band music, making the departure, a highly emotional event.¹⁹³ Roper argues, First World War 'subaltern officers carried heavy responsibilities',¹⁹⁴ and similar situations likely abounded in the Boer War.¹⁹⁵ 'Such responsibilities, the men's self-expectations, and the significance of war service' could have been a substantial burden. Like other volunteers, Willoughby probably experienced the typical emotions of 'anticipation, manly pride and anxiety',¹⁹⁶ regarding his future. Horne on the other hand points out that 'travel is a celebration of manhood',¹⁹⁷ whilst Tosh argues that masculinity, became 'associated with adventure' in the 'era of high imperialism after 1880'.¹⁹⁸ It was particularly instilled in pupils who proceeded through institutions that adopted the teaching values of the English public school system and naturally Willoughby had been well inculcated.¹⁹⁹ The first of the Australian forces numbering 1300, disembarked in the Cape as November ended and into December 1899,²⁰⁰ whilst the *Langton Grange's* volunteers with their horses, arrived shortly afterward.²⁰¹

The Boer War was a more difficult campaign than anticipated. Mudgee citizens had a constant stream of news and information of 'their Mudgee boys' and the conflict. A map was published so that readers would be able to 'day by day' consult so as to understand 'the

¹⁹¹ 'Sergeant Major George Griffin',

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/151759216?q=Lieutenant+Willoughbt+Dowling&c=pict...> Assessed online, 27/01/2012, p. 1; Graig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899 -1902* . p. 378, the squadron numbered 143 men

¹⁹² 'New South Wales, Sydney,' *The Mercury*, 23 January 1900, p. 2

¹⁹³ Richards, E. 'Saturday Last in Sydney, Mudgee's Contribution, The Contingent for South Africa', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 31 October 1899

¹⁹⁴ Roper, "Maternal relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War." p. 299

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 299 'A second Lieutenant was often in command of sixty men or more, most of a different social class' and some may have been older than him.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 299

¹⁹⁷ Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. p. 64

¹⁹⁸ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 7

¹⁹⁹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 192

²⁰⁰ Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899-1902*. p. 59

²⁰¹ Sergeant Major George Griffin',

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/151759216?q=Lieutenant+Willoughbt+Dowling&c=pict...> Assessed online, 27/01/2012. p.1

situation'.²⁰² Latest medical treatments of the wounded and sick,²⁰³ assured everyone that barbaric methods were no longer used because 'the very latest appliances are carried in the field' and care was 'practically perfect'.²⁰⁴ The latter coverage may be in response, as Susan Magarey argues, of greater health awareness at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁰⁵ However, it was doubtful that there was much comfort for those at home, like V.J.D., who as indicated by various newspaper articles kept occupied, and awaited news.²⁰⁶ In January the local newspaper reported that there seemed to be confusion as to Willoughby and his volunteers' whereabouts²⁰⁷ and, 'Colonel Roberts told Mr V.J. Dowling that in all probability his son and the troopers had gone to General French to the west of Buller'.²⁰⁸ By mid-January 1900 'no word' had arrived 'direct from Lieutenant Dowling',²⁰⁹ however, Lieutenant Osborne wrote saying, that 'all hands including Lieutenant Dowling were well';²¹⁰ which must have been some comfort.

Michael Roper argues that letters from loved ones was important in supporting 'men at the front', where letters were shared between 'mates'. A similar sentiment could be said of those who remained at home where letters were shared too, often with the local newspaper. This happened with other volunteers in Mudgee and with Gawler's Trooper Bruce May. Willoughby, as an officer, upper class, reserved, tight-lipped and private, little was shared with the local community. Occasionally letters were dispatched directly to newspapers such as one from Trooper Ford, who wrote a 'self-confident' epistle demonstrating the aspect which White argues was a characteristic of a typical Australian soldier in the First World War. He was still anxious that he would be too late for combat however he 'hoped there is one Boer left for me'.²¹¹ He said that food rations were more than adequate for everyone,

²⁰² 'Map of the Seat of War', The "Guardian" Special Supplement *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899

²⁰³ The Vagrant 'Occasional Pars', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 January 1900

²⁰⁴ The Vagrant 'Occasional Pars', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 26 January 1900

²⁰⁵ Susan Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2001). p. 2

²⁰⁶ Such as, Advertisement, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February, 1900; 'Mr. Dowling Finding Work', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February, 1900

²⁰⁷ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 October 1899; Sergeant Major George Griffin', <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/151759216?q=Lieutenant+Willoughbt+Dowling&c=pict> p. 1., Willoughby expected to join the Mounted Rifles

²⁰⁸ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian* 12 January 1900

²⁰⁹ 'Lieutenant Dowling, An Australian in a Warm Corner, Life on Board the Troopship, Word our Boys, Fighting at the Front, Sons of Australia', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 January, 1900

²¹⁰ 'Lieutenant Dowling, An Australian in a Warm Corner, Life on Board the Troopship, Word our Boys, Fighting at the Front, Sons of Australia', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 January, 1900

²¹¹ 'Trooper Ford, An Australian in a Warm Corner, Life on Board the Troopship, Word our Boys, Fighting at the Front, Sons of Australia', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 January, 1900

including Willoughby, and they ‘had all got terribly fat’ as the ‘tucker’ was ‘alright’.²¹² Once in combat, however, Willoughby commented that ‘Provisions were not too plentiful’.²¹³ Trooper Bucholtz, too wrote a ‘splendid letter’ directly to *The Mudgee Guardian* providing particulars of their first weeks in South Africa. He told of their ‘six hundred miles’ trip ‘from the Cape to Arundel’ where everyone had a meagre Christmas. They did a little scouting and ‘Cossack post duty’ then, in the New Year they had moved ‘to Colesburg’ where they had a much more ‘lively time’.²¹⁴

As Richard White argues, at the close of the nineteenth century in Europe there was the notion that ‘military superiority was accepted as the ultimate measure of national fitness, and by far the greatest test was war.’²¹⁵ How well the Australian volunteers performed was vital information, for all Australians. Willoughby described his first combat experience, confessing that ‘it was not quite what he had expected’,²¹⁶ as they went through their ‘baptism of fire’ which, he admitted was a ‘pretty warm one’ at that.²¹⁷ He wrote of the effect bullets had, especially when it burst within five yards of them and came with a ‘horrid screaming noise’ and ‘one felt that every one of them was coming straight at him’.²¹⁸ This first battle experience prompted Willoughby to somewhat naively act on the advice of a friend, who suggested that he ‘bobbed his head occasionally’ as he moved forward, thereby avoiding shells. Willoughby was subsequently described as having ‘fought like a tiger’,²¹⁹ and this explained, the local newspaper was ‘the testimony to the bravery and soldierly bearing’ of Lieutenant Dowling... and further, ‘It is only what we expected and in fact expect and predict of every Mudgee boy to who comes the opportunity’.²²⁰ Trooper Ford subsequently received accolades for his behaviour and exploits,²²¹ endorsed by Willoughby, who commended him for his ‘soldierly qualities’ however, always ‘fair’ and a gentlemanly

²¹² ‘Trooper Ford, An Australian in a Warm Corner, Life on Board the Troopship, Word our Boys, Fighting at the Front, Sons of Australia’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 January, 1900

²¹³ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²¹⁴ ‘A Splendid Letter, Trooper Bucholtz’s Horse Shot Under Him, Their Baptism of Fire, The Mudgee Boys Fighting at The Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 6 February, 1900

²¹⁵ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 72

²¹⁶ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²¹⁷ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²¹⁸ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²¹⁹ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²⁰ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²¹ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

leader, he qualified his praise, saying that it was so, with ‘all the other Mudgee and Rylstone boys under his command’.²²²

Roper argues that letters home from the front in World War One, were mainly addressed to mothers and therefore had an emphasis on information which would be of interest to her. This appears to be so with Willoughby too and there was no better way than a country-side portrayal. He wrote that,

The country is suffering from a big drought but there are springs and wells all over the country, which is a succession of undulating plains five to ten miles across, studded with small stoney hills, and generally bordered with long ranges of hills which form natural fortification.²²³

In Willoughby’s correspondence, he deflected attention away from his own wellbeing, focusing on topics that distracted attention from ‘uncomfortable’ subjects, and horse-talk suited admirably. The voyage followed by unaccustomed exercise and no acclimatisation resulted in sick horses,²²⁴ and two horses had been killed, one belonging to ‘Lue’ man, Herb Martin. As Roper also discusses in letter writing ‘relationships with the men’ was also a common theme, Willoughby wrote reassuring that he was amongst men who appreciated the distance they had travelled, with the comment that ‘The Lancers were very pleased to see’ him as well as ‘his men when they arrived in camp and gave a hearty welcome’,²²⁵ as well the remark that ‘the officers are all good fellows’,²²⁶ which would have affirm that he was amongst like-minded men, a comfort indeed for any mother. Usually too, an officer had ‘a strong sense of duty towards his men’,²²⁷ being concerned for example for their welfare. Willoughby demonstrated this attribute, especially in regard to the men from his squadron and he told his mother about Martin and it was likely that his mother knew of him so they had a shared body of knowledge. As Roper argues, ‘Altruism provided the best defence against “emotional entropy” associated with self-reflection’. ‘Avoidance of personal disclosure was seen as indication that they had not descended into egotistical despair, and thus showed their

²²² ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²³ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²⁴ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²⁵ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²⁶ ‘Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²²⁷ Roper, "Maternal relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War." p. 305

success as men and soldiers'.²²⁸ Willoughby's letter finished with the information that the troops were 'simply killing time waiting for reinforcements'.²²⁹ As it turned out in the adventure, there was little time for this type of 'killing'.

On the 19 January 1900, *The Mudgee Guardian* had an 'extraordinary' announcing Willoughby's capture by the Boers whilst *The Sydney Morning Herald* elaborated that in Mudgee, 'considerable excitement was created on the receipt of a private cablegram stating that' Willoughby 'was captured by the Boors[sic] near Rensburg. Much anxiety was shown as to whether any other Mudgee men fell into the same ambush'.²³⁰ Two days later, in a more measured tone, it was reported that, 'the first bad stroke of fortune of war' had befallen Willoughby, and that he was taken prisoner, 'while he was in command of a troop of the Australian Horse and Sydney Lancers'.²³¹ One Lancer, Troop Sergeant G.A. Griffin was killed, and another, died of wounds whilst ten Lancers and three members of the Australian Horse were missing, including Rylstone's, Trooper Eames.²³² The local newspaper also relayed the information that the New South Wales Premier, had a communication from Sir Alfred Milner, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony that Willoughby had received injuries to his 'cheek and in the leg',²³³ and whilst Milner, regretted the 'loss of the Lancers', he expressed admiration for the New South Wales men saying, 'that they are doing real good work and is a most valuable force'.²³⁴ Of Willoughby, *The Mudgee Guardian* commented,

The bad luck which has befallen our Mudgee boy will be regretted by his host of personal friends and by the still wider circle of those who, while not knowing him personally, take an interest in his movements at the seat of the war.²³⁵

Further, that this situation brought 'home to the people of Mudgee the stern reality of the present war'...'We are sure all the people in the Mudgee district will sympathise with the wounded soldier's relatives and friends.'²³⁶

The Australian daily newspapers²³⁷ carried the sensational information of the demise of the Lancers and Australian Horse troops'. War correspondent, for Melbourne and Sydney, Banjo

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 311

²²⁹ Lieutenant Dowling Fights like a Tiger, Trooper Ford Shoots three Boers, Our Boys at the Front', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 9 February 1900

²³⁰ 'A Patrol Surprised Through Treachery, Reconnaissance Towards Norval's Pont, New South Wales Lancers Ambushed', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 January, 1900

²³¹ 'Capture of Lieutenant Dowling, Our Mudgee Boys at the War', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January, 1900

²³² 'Capture of Lieutenant Dowling, Our Mudgee Boys at the War', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January, 1900

²³³ '(By Wire), Lieutenant W.V. Dowling, Wounded', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January, 1900

²³⁴ 'Latest Telegrams', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January, 1900

²³⁰ 'Capture of Lieutenant Dowling, Our Mudgee Boys at the War', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January, 1900

²³⁶ '(By Wire), Lieutenant W.V. Dowling, Wounded', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 January, 1900

Paterson who had accompanied the Lancers, wired his reports. In January 1900, in the *Argus*,²³⁸ he reported that Willoughby, 'in charge of a small group of men, was detailed to reconnoitre a rugged area', near Colesburg consisting of a 'long open plain, rather narrow', surrounded by 'small kopjes'.²³⁹ Whilst there was awareness that Boers soldiers were in the vicinity, because they had kept their distance, they proceeded as ordered to a homestead where relations were cordial. Some of the volunteers then returned to camp. As there appeared to be nothing untoward, Willoughby apparently decided he would not be placing his men in any particular danger by taking 'a detour on his way home to inspect some kopjes away to the north-east'.²⁴⁰ When Willoughby's troop did not return, the worst was suspected, and a posse was organised. The next day the conflict scene was discovered where fatally wounded Corporal Kilpatrick, lay and the body of Sergeant Major Griffin,²⁴¹ along with dead horses, first-aid equipment, and Willoughby's helmet and bloodstained handkerchief.²⁴²

Banjo Paterson writing home, used eyewitness accounts to clarify the situation including Mudgee-ite, Trooper Bucholtz.²⁴³ He remembered, that Willoughby was riding on the 'extreme right of the troop' and noticing some Boers, he went to investigate which bought enemy fire. The volunteers, trying to outrun the Boers encountered wire fences, forcing deviations as they raced for a defensible kopje. Trooper Artlett recalled that in their dash for cover, his horse was shot from under him. Willoughby returned to his side and ordered him 'to give me your carbine and get up behind me' demonstrating he was physically able and a well-trained horseman.²⁴⁴ It also exhibited great courage, for as Artlett explained, 'no mistake, he was a cool fellow, he saved my life'.²⁴⁵ Together, he and Willoughby rode towards the kopje however, this horse was also killed, and Willoughby fell on Artlett and 'winded' him. Willoughby then, ran up the kopje, armed with a carbine and disappeared. They were ambushed. The Boers demanded that they put their 'hands up' whilst continuously

²³⁷ 'Several Casualties, Ambushed By The Boers, A Colonial Patrol, Ladysmith to be relieved, Stirring Address by General Buller, General Warren Advancing Towards Ladysmith, Important Flanking Movement, Operations near Colenso, General-Buller's Movements, The Boer War, South Africa,' *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 January 1900

²³⁸ Cited in Max Chamberlain and R.W.F Droogleever, eds., *The War with Johnny Boer; Australians in the Boer War, 1899 -1902* (Loftus, Australian Military Publications, 2003). pp. 115-7

²³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 116

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 116

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 117

²⁴² *Ibid.* p. 117

²⁴³ 'Potfontein Camp, Tommy Atkins's Lack of Bushmanship, The Realities of War, Some Narrow Escapes, Narrative of Trooper Bucholtz, How Lieutenant Dowling's Troop was Captured, The New South Wales Lancers, At The front By Our Special War Correspondent, A.B. Paterson', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1900

²⁴⁴ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February, 1900; *The Argus* 17 February, 1900, cited in Chamberlain and Droogleever, *The War with Johnny Boer; Australians in the Boer War, 1899 -1902*. pp. 118-9

²⁴⁵ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February, 1900; *The Argus* 17 February, 1900, cited *ibid.* pp. 118-9

discharging their guns, which killed two troopers. Willoughby was shot in three places. Outnumbered, they surrendered.²⁴⁶ Willoughby later recounted that ‘the fire came from everywhere’ and all he could remember ‘is that I fired the shot and almost immediately became unconscious. When I came to myself, goodness know how long afterwards, I found I was in the Boers hands who were doing all they could for me’.²⁴⁷ Tosh argues, in Britain in the first decades of the twentieth century ‘the army stood for a hegemonic masculinity that valorised the trained and powerful body and invoked high ideals of courage and sacrifice’.²⁴⁸ Willoughby indeed evokes these masculinities.

Mudgee citizenry assisted in the war effort, augmenting the Mudgee Women’s Patriotic League contribution,²⁴⁹ as women did in World War One, sending ‘food, clothing, and small luxuries [which] were treasured’.²⁵⁰ ‘Patriotic Picnic Races’ in January 1900 were organised for the patriotic fund.²⁵¹ For the raising of another contingent, a torchlight procession was organised²⁵² at which the town band preceded the volunteer militia, as they marched to the Town Hall where a dais was decorated with the British and American flags. Dignitaries addressed the crowds before patriotic songs, poetry, and cheers for ‘The Empire’, ‘The Bushmen’s Contingent,’ ‘The Queen,’ ‘Australians at the Front,’ and the local ‘hero’ prisoner of war, Lieutenant Dowling,²⁵³ was undertaken. Coincidentally at this time another of Mudgee’s volunteers, Reginald Belmore Cox’s funeral took place. He had died in Adelaide enroute to the front and unwell he had declined medical assistance, fearing the potent outcome of showing the ‘white feather’,²⁵⁴ of cowardice. His remains were returned to Mudgee where a well-attended funeral with full military honours was performed.²⁵⁵ For his father, George Henry Cox and long-time friend and business partner V.J.D., who the newspaper explained were ‘like brothers in all except the tie of blood’²⁵⁶ it was a very difficult time. Willoughby’s South African whereabouts caused much speculation, such was

²⁴⁶ Account of Trooper George Whittington, New South Wales Lancers, *The Mercury*, 28 July, 1900, cited in *ibid.* p.121

²⁴⁷ ‘Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier Returns, Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May 1900

²⁴⁸ Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War; Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2004). p. 49

²⁴⁹ ‘An Appeal, The Patriotic League’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 January 1900

²⁵⁰ Roper, "Maternal relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War." p. 297

²⁵¹ ‘A Successful Gathering, Patriotic Picnic Races’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 30 January 1900

²⁵² ‘Tuesday Night’s Demonstration’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 30 January 1900

²⁵³ ‘The Bush Contingent’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February 1900

²⁵⁴ ‘A Big Collection, A Great Demonstration, The Bush Contingent’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February, 1900

²⁵⁵ ‘A Military Funeral, Honoured by The Colonial Government, Death of Trooper Cox,’ *The Mudgee Guardian*, 2 February, 1900

²⁵⁶ ‘Welcome to Lieutenant Dowling’, ‘The Transvaal War’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 21 May 1900

his 'hero-status'.²⁵⁷ Finally, *The Mudgee Guardian* published an extraordinary number 'containing the good news that Lieutenant Dowling' was one of the British prisoners, released by Lord Roberts at Bloemfontein.²⁵⁸ He had the good fortune of being declared medically 'unfit to travel' or otherwise he would have been transferred to Pretoria like many other fellow prisoners of war.²⁵⁹ As a result he had been interned only for 'six weeks',²⁶⁰

In a climate in which physical fitness was a key component of masculinity, the extent of Willoughby's war injuries was open to media speculation. Upon his release it was announced that the 'Lieutenant is quite recovered' however, there was conjecture that his injured eye had decreased sight.²⁶¹ A letter to Willoughby's family arrived and excerpts appeared in the newspaper where it was disclosed that he had lost one thumb and a portion of his right hand. He had face wounds, and 'one eye was alright and I hope the other will be soon',²⁶² he reported. Once he was repatriated, Willoughby attended to health inquiries, quickly and politely, maintaining his 'stiff upper lip'. He was however very uncomfortable with the fact that he had been invalided home,²⁶³ and he remarked, 'that he felt like a pious fraud invalided home when he was now two stone heavier.'²⁶⁴ Ever mindful of the general abhorrence of the 'white feather of cowardice' he was careful to express his regret that he was not still in the combat zone. However, as later reports revealed, the bullet that entered his skull from behind had passed out the other side, 'beneath the right eye',²⁶⁵ making for a serious eye injury and further active service unrealistic. As a reporter noted, the area, was 'plainly visible' and some of his actions indicated that his sight was impaired, and as well he had a 'glove on his right hand' which showed his thumb had been taken completely off, whilst his leg had had the bullet removed and he was moving as though he had 'sciatica'.²⁶⁶ On questioning, Willoughby 'smiled' saying 'it was a close shave' firmly closing the questioning by adding 'but here I am

²⁵⁷ 'Willoughby Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 16 March, 1900, the newspaper noted, on one hand it was claimed that Willoughby had been released in Bloemfontein when that town was recaptured by the British as well as news from Sir Alfred Milner who 'wired to say he was in Pretoria and that he was all right'.

²⁵⁸ 'Lieutenant Willoughby Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 March, 1900

²⁵⁹ 'Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 March, 1900

²⁶⁰ The Guardian Editor quoting Captain Thompson 1st Australian Light Horse writing regarding Lieutenant Dowling. Lieutenant Dowling. Letters to the Editor. *The Mudgee Guardian* 27 April 1900

²⁶¹ 'Lieutenant Willoughby Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 20 March, 1900

²⁶² 'Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 10 April, 1900

²⁶³ Britisher, 'Letters to the Editor, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 April, 1900

²⁶⁴ 'Lieutenant Dowling', *Queanbeyan Age*, 12 May 1900

²⁶⁵ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier Returns, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May 1900

²⁶⁶ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier Returns, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May 1900

and although it would be more acceptable to be back in the fighting line, yet I am glad to be nearly home again'.²⁶⁷

Willoughby may have exhibited his modesty and 'stiff upper lip' in speaking of his ordeals yet under this demeanour there was a softer 'more feminine' side to his masculinity. Davidoff and Hall argue until the middle nineteenth century, 'Masculine nature in gentry' terms, was based on sport and codes of honour derived from military prowess, finding expression in hunting, riding, drinking and "wenching".²⁶⁸ However, as they further explain 'the rise of evangelism saw men of the gentry join this movement too even though this meant they had to invent innovative ways of 'being a man' and in time 'religious influence associated with serious Christianity opened novel opportunities'.²⁶⁹ Whilst the gentry continued to have considerable authority and sway, their rewards were not so much 'political or material' rather they were 'moral and religious' particularly with a 'self-sacrificing' emphasis, which had however, the potential of aligning male identity closely with femininity, thus calling their masculinity into question.²⁷⁰ Willoughby did display 'self-sacrifice' however, there was no question of his masculinity being doubted and his brave action had saved Artlett, a point not lost on the reading public. In a letter to the editor, 'Britisher' commented,

Lieutenant Dowling has most amply proved his bravery and his humanity. Several independent correspondents have testified with to the former and more than one of our Mudgee boys have told how generously sympathetic he was to any wounded man in his command.²⁷¹

Willoughby's escapades bought wonder and respect. The other volunteers including Trooper Ford wrote that he was 'surprised' at seeing Willoughby, 'as he marched out of camp'²⁷² following the relief of Bloemfontein and the pleasure of a reunion knew no bounds when Willoughby 'asked to see all the Mudgee Boys'.²⁷³ Ford wrote 'how proud we all felt to shake his left hand for the thumb was shot off on the right hand. We had given up all hopes of ever getting one more glimpse of him, as we heard he died in the Boer laager. He is in a great way because he cannot join us again. He has to go back to N.S.W. to redeem the sight in his eye'.²⁷⁴ Local Mudgeeite, Trooper C.C. Bossley wrote to his parents also expressing surprise at finding Willoughby was still alive when he had 'ridden into camp' believing 'him to be

²⁶⁷ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier Returns, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May 1900

²⁶⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 110

²⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 110

²⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 110-1

²⁷¹ 'Britisher', 'Letters to the Editor, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 April, 1900

²⁷² 'Interesting Letter from Trooper M. Ford, From the War', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

²⁷³ 'From the War, Interesting Letter from Trooper M. Ford', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

²⁷⁴ 'From the War, Interesting Letter from Trooper M. Ford', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

lying under some of the rocks on one of the kopjes at Slingsfontein' and added, 'No mistake, he had a narrow escape'.²⁷⁵

The journey home to Australia from Bloemfontein, via Cape Town, was interrupted with a stopover at Colesburg where Willoughby, 'tarried'. It was another way which demonstrates his concern and loyalty to others when he thoughtfully went to arrange for a 'proper' gravesite with the placement of a memorial stone over the grave of Sergeant-Major Griffin.²⁷⁶ He subsequently met with the fallen comrade's brother in Albury and here he spent time talking to the family whilst handing over personal items. These thoughtful actions provided comfort to grieving relatives, as he performed his responsibilities as Griffin's commanding officer.

Willoughby left South Africa from Cape Town on the 15th of April, 1900 aboard the *Warringal*.²⁷⁷ He 'was the first Australian to return with the honourable scars of war upon him', *The Mudgee Guardian* intoned, 'and he may be assured that he will receive a right royal welcome'.²⁷⁸ On May 7th he was reported to have arrived in Australia,²⁷⁹ and 'back to his native land'²⁸⁰ as *The Mudgee Guardian* noted. All along the way he was treated like a hero. His progress was well documented in newspapers such as his arrival in Adelaide on his homeward journey. *The Mudgee Guardian* documented the most cordial receptions in Melbourne, Albury and Sydney. Not that it was unexpected, the article continued, 'for the honour done to the returning soldier was in every sense appropriate and well-deserved'.²⁸¹ In Albury the authorities organised a reception, however, Willoughby was apparently commandeered by an enthusiastic crowd who 'carried' him 'shoulder high to the waiting room' where he was formally welcomed by the 'military forces of New South Wales', Albury section, and given a 'hearty welcome'. In an impromptu address he said it was 'surprise' to be greeted so.²⁸² Willoughby arrived in Sydney in early May 1900,²⁸³ and was met at Redfern Station by his parents along with military and parliamentary dignitaries and following much 'handshaking' he was taken, amid much cheering 'to the Union Club to attend a 'short

²⁷⁵ 'The War', *Liverpool Herald*, 2 June 1900

²⁷⁶ 'From the War, Interesting Letter from Trooper M. Ford', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

²⁷⁷ 'News from the South', '(by Telegraph from our Correspondent)', 'Lieutenant Dowling Retuning', *The Brisbane Courier*, 30 April, 1900

²⁷⁸ 'Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 23 April, 1900

²⁷⁹ 'A Returned Prisoner', 'The Slingsfontein Disaster', *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 7 May 1900

²⁸⁰ 'He Speaks of Various Matters, His Arrival In Adelaide, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 7 May 1900

²⁸¹ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

²⁸² 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier's Return, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

²⁸³ 'Return of Lieutenant Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 May 1900

reception'.²⁸⁴ The return to the family fold must have been a very emotional time for all concerned. As Tosh remarked 'there was a special poignancy in images of returning home-particularly after exile or a lifetime's wandering. Home came to be identified with childhood, innocence and roots-indeed with authenticity itself'.²⁸⁵

By 1901 there were 1, 359,800 citizens, in New South Wales, and 'over half were under twenty-five,' in a population that was 'dominated by the Australian-born',²⁸⁶ and as Australian nationalism gathered apace with the advent of federation, Willoughby was forthcoming with his opinion, on these topics of the moment. He commented in Albury, that 'he felt prouder of being an Australian now than when he went away'.²⁸⁷ To the question of how Australian volunteers had performed in the ultimate test of battle he said,

that one only had to mention they were Australian, for Australian troops had done good work as soldiers and were still doing good work. The authorities did not hesitate to send them to do important work. This was perhaps more to the Australian's natural aptitude for roughing it than to their fighting qualities.²⁸⁸

In Sydney he was further questioned, responding,

Splendidly! Splendidly! Everybody thinks well of them, speaks well of them and as for the rough and tumble part of it, they bear it excellently. To whatever body of British troops they are attached they are as a stiffening and their fighting qualities are as everyone admits, beyond question'.²⁸⁹

In an interview with *The Sydney Morning Herald* regarding Australian troops, he had really warmed to the topic saying Australian volunteers;

have golden opinions. The men are active and cheerful, and display a capacity for making the best of things under trying circumstances. Even when out all day and night with a single emergency ration, bivouacking on the lonely hillsides, with senses alert to note the tread of the soft veldt-schoon worn by so many of the enemy, the men would while away the time with song and story and keep good hearts. They were not only in great demand by the division generals, who all seemed to want to requisition their services at once, but they got on capitally with the British soldiers as men with men. Under fire, the men were steady, and although the unwelcome shriek of a shell would cause them to duck their heads at first, still as regards to their moral bravery they were fine troops as any of the oldest veterans. Malingering was

²⁸⁴ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier's Return, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

²⁸⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 5

²⁸⁶ Jeans, "The Formation of a Modern Society in New South Wales, 1788-1901." p. 3

²⁸⁷ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier's Return, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

²⁸⁸ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier's Return, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

²⁸⁹ 'Arrival in Sydney, Welcome in Albury, The Soldier's Return, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 11 May 1900

practically unknown, and as looting was punishable by some severity, breaches of discipline were rare. As to evidence of personal bravery, these he said were so common that it would be impossible to estimate the number who might claim to have deserved the V.C.²⁹⁰

Richard Jebb wrote that ‘the reported achievements of the first Australian contingents in South Africa were vitalising the novel sense of national pride to a degree which the most confident nationalists had not ventured to anticipate so soon’.²⁹¹ It could be argued that Willoughby had played a part in this development.

Another topic of great interest to Australians was the enemy, the Boers. They had initially been represented as being rather unsophisticated, treacherous, and ‘backward’.²⁹² However it rapidly became apparent that they were ‘more powerful and numerous than had been anticipated’,²⁹³ and ‘fearless and brave’.²⁹⁴ Their treatment of British wounded, was considered remarkable, and they were congratulated on acting with ‘humanity,’ helping British prisoners who had been wounded in the battle around Ladysmith.²⁹⁵ Rutherford’s depiction of a World War One middle-class soldier whose ‘masculinity was a legacy of the Victorian’ era in which there was a tension which called for a balancing of ‘individual self-expression and the old familial duty and Victorian formality’,²⁹⁶ resonates too. Willoughby added more to the general dialogue and he spoke of the Boers in a bipartisan spirit. As *The Mudgee Guardian* reported, he thought of his captors in, ‘tones of generous recognition’.²⁹⁷ He expressed admiration for the ‘noble work that the ambulance, medical staff and nurses’ of the Boer hospital in Bloemfontein were doing, explaining that their modern facility was run on British lines with a few British nurses in attendance.²⁹⁸ Always with ‘fair play’ in mind, he responded to a question about the ‘brutality of the Boers’ saying that he thought this was ‘highly coloured’ and in view of his personal experience in the way they had treated him as a wounded officer, ‘that when the heat fight is over, the Boers make little difference between their own and the enemy’s wounded... Cases of hard usage and barbarity might have occurred

²⁹⁰ ‘Experiences at the Front, Return of Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 May, 1900

²⁹¹ Richard Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905). p. 7

²⁹² ‘War News’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 14 November 1899 such as when the British used an ‘armoured train’ in late 1899, which apparently ‘scared’ them ‘away’

²⁹³ Lord Wolseley quoted from a speech in London in November 1899 ‘War News’ *The Mudgee Guardian* 10 November 1899

²⁹⁴ ‘The Transvaal War’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 November 1899

²⁹⁵ ‘The Latest War News’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 3 November 1899

²⁹⁶ Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire*. p. 49

²⁹⁷ ‘His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

²⁹⁸ ‘He Speaks on Various Matters, Arrival in Adelaide, Lieutenant Dowling’, *The Mudgee Guardian*, 7 May, 1900

but it was not general'.²⁹⁹ As Chamberlain and Drooglever observed 'Honourable behaviour was exhibited on both sides, hence the appellation to this war as "The Last of the Gentlemen's Wars".³⁰⁰

In Mudgee plans for a suitable welcome were mooted. As 'Britisher' had commented, the war had not been a 'picnic' as expected, rather our 'boys have borne the burden of battle'.³⁰¹ As the local media garnered support for Willoughby's formal welcome, his masculinity in the 'traditional association [of] heroism and adventure',³⁰² becomes ever more apparent. 'He will bring honour to Australia and to the district, and I certainly think that the people should present to him some token of their appreciation of his gallant conduct',³⁰³ said 'Britisher'. In May, with Willoughby now landed in the country, plans were developed, prompting the newspaper to comment that

in all probability Lieutenant Dowling will be at home this week. It is a matter of sincere regret that up to the present no active steps have been taken in Mudgee to accord their returning soldier the welcome his self-denying bravery so justly entitles him to. Every letter that has come from the front has testified to the sterling qualities as a soldier and a man.³⁰⁴

The newspaper continued publishing glowing accolades noting, that his fellow volunteers considered that he was 'brave when beset by the greatest danger',³⁰⁵ and continued in a similar vein with such praise as 'he had displayed the highest qualities of a soldier and a man' and comes home to us 'bearing with him the honour he has won and he is entitled to our enthusiastic welcome'.³⁰⁶ The newspaper did not forget the British connection either, writing, 'In his modesty and his generosity he is true to the very best traditions of the Empire, of which he is a worthy son'.³⁰⁷ 'Every man in this district should feel an especial pride in the reputation earned by one who left to take his share in the burden of battle'.³⁰⁸ 'The day that Lieutenant Dowling, now on his road home, arrives in Mudgee will be one to remember by

²⁹⁹ 'He Speaks on Various Matters, Arrival in Adelaide, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 7 May, 1900

³⁰⁰ Chamberlain and Drooglever, *The War with Johnny Boer; Australians in the Boer War, 1899 -1902*. p. 19

³⁰¹ 'Britisher', 'Letters to the Editor, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 April, 1900

³⁰² Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 6

³⁰³ 'Britisher', 'Letters to the Editor, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 27 April, 1900

³⁰⁴ 'He speaks of Various Matters, His Arrival In Adelaide, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian* 7 May 1900

³⁰⁵ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

³⁰⁶ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

³⁰⁷ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

³⁰⁸ 'His Return Home, Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

the youngest child who sees it. The Mudgee soldier has proved himself worthy in every way possible'.³⁰⁹

In May, Willoughby was finally back in the district and a very big day was arranged, much like previous 'demonstrations' in Mudgee, and it lasted into the evening.³¹⁰ One of the speakers at the homecoming event described the war as 'the struggle which was the very pivot upon which Australia's nationality rested';³¹¹ whilst Willoughby said he was 'glad to see that the troops from this continent were now fighting as a federated Australian Brigade'.³¹² The carriage ride into Mudgee must have given V.J.D., much pleasure with his hero son at his side. It was also an opportunity to display his horsemanship. Another demonstration was also arranged in Rylstone.³¹³ Willoughby had become a 'captain of men'.³¹⁴

Close to the actual conflict, Richard Jebb described 'colonial opinion of the military' that has resonance with Willoughby when he wrote;

Officers and men alike proved superior in this war to their British Brethren: more adaptable to the business in hand; more used to life in the open; handier to make shift under difficulties. They are horsemen, not men on horses. They have eyes and can use them, having been reared in countries of big differences and dazzling mirages. They are not intellectually fettered by rule of thumb, or by red tape. The officers are not hampered by aristocratic habits and mannerisms, but are more in sympathy with their men. The men are not mere machines without individual intelligence; but used to think for themselves make better use of cover, and are less liable to panic when deprived of their leaders.³¹⁵

The only attribute which both British and Australian soldiers showed was 'courage'. 'On this score not a word of disparagement, but only admiration, was expressed; with the qualification that reckless courage leads to deplorable waste of life'.³¹⁶ Was Willoughby's admired 'zeal' when out on patrol part of the reason for this qualification in this passage? According to Chamberlain and Drooglever, Willoughby 'figured prominently in this skirmish and 'played a major role in the disaster at Slingersfontein'.³¹⁷ It may have been so.

³⁰⁹ 'Local Brevities', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 May, 1900

³¹⁰ 'Return of Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 6 May, 1900

³¹¹ Mr Richards, 'The Transvaal War', 'Welcome to Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 21 May 1900

³¹² W.V. Dowling, 'The Transvaal War' 'Welcome to Lieutenant Dowling', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 21 May 1900

³¹³ 'Lieutenant Dowling at Rylstone', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 4 June, 1900; 'Great Enthusiasm, The Permanent Artillery Band, Visit of the Colonial Secretary and Minister for Justice, A Great Reception, A Popular Soldier of the Queen', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 11 June, 1900

³¹⁴ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 7

³¹⁵ Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*. p. 127

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 27

³¹⁷ Chamberlain and Drooglever, *The War with Johnny Boer; Australians in the Boer War, 1899 -1902*. p. 115

The publicity he received especially in Mudgee drew criticism too. As preparations were underway to welcome him back into the fold, a short article from nearby Merriwa was published in *The Mudgee Guardian*. Apparently not everyone was so enraptured by Willoughby's 'soldierly' feats, or the 'delirium of hero worship' that had been cultivated as the piece pointed out.³¹⁸ Further the article continued,

This sort of thing is simply ridiculous. The gallant young officer did nothing beyond he was expected to do; if he had done less in his duty he would have been blamed.³¹⁹

The item finished succinctly claiming, 'Lieutenant Dowling did not distinguish himself in any special way'.³²⁰

Willoughby had a very short period of active service, from the end of 1899 to early 1900.³²¹ In March 1900 he was given the posting to Lord Robert's staff,³²² however, in the first instance he had one year of 'furlough' to recover from his injuries.³²³ In 1903 he was reported to have been placed 'on the unattached list, with the rank of Captain'.³²⁴

Willoughby may have indeed felt troubled by his South African war experience and he subsequently certainly seemed uncomfortable with all the attention he had received. He seemed to very quietly withdraw from events and functions that had anything to do with his past military career. His most notable appearance was on May 30th 1900, when he was in Sydney to welcome home other wounded soldiers from South Africa. It was a day of great ceremony, with the Governor of New South Wales and many Members of Parliament attending. Great crowds gathered too whilst the wounded and sick were assembled on the deck to meet with the important personages. Willoughby however, was mainly concerned about the volunteers who were in his 'outfit', and he took them 'under his special care'.³²⁵ Some years later, the Great War elicited a substantial subscription to the 'Sixth War Loan' from Willoughby,³²⁶ and he seems to have had a hand in encouraging enlistments, accompanying volunteers and their horses from the Northern Tablelands of New South Wales to Liverpool, prior to embarkation to the war front. Returned veteran events did not entice him out of seclusion. In a reunion dinner for the 1st Australian Horse who left Sydney in 1899,

³¹⁸ 'The Lieut. Dowling Demonstration', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 May 1900

³¹⁹ 'The Lieut. Dowling Demonstration', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 May 1900

³²⁰ 'The Lieut. Dowling Demonstration', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 May 1900

³²¹ Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899-1902*. Appendix 2 p. 378

³²² 'Appointment To Lord Robert's Staff', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 March 1900.

³²³ 'Back From The War', *Western Mail*, 20 May, 1900, p. 25

³²⁴ 'Appointments and Transfers, Military Intelligence', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 July, 1903, p. 7

³²⁵ 'The Official Reception', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 May 1900

³²⁶ 'The Latest Subscription', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 April 1916, p. 7

one of his men C.C. Bossley was on the committee, but there was no mention of Willoughby.³²⁷ The reunion of 1930 recorded that ‘memories of grim experiences between 1899 -1902 were revived’, however, Willoughby was not mentioned.³²⁸

A short time elapsed between Willoughby’s homecoming and his marriage on the 18 June 1900 at St John the Baptist Church at Mudgee. The tradition where-by well-to-do families intermarried continued. It was noted of their marriage that ‘very seldom that so large a concourse of people has gathered at St Johns Church as was the case when Lieutenant Willoughby Dowling, son of Mr Vincent Dowling was wedded to Miss Grace Cox, eldest daughter of the late A.H. Cox of Oakfield’.³²⁹ It was described as a ‘comparatively quiet affair as far as the guest list can be taken as an indication and practically speaking only members of the family had been invited’.³³⁰ The ‘exceedingly handsome’, bride entered the church that had been decorated with ‘beautiful’ flowers, as well as different flags, ‘being conspicuous in honour of the military rank of the bridegroom. South Africa is still fresh in the memory’.³³¹ A wedding portrait of the two families shows the bride, a tall aristocratic looking woman, adorned with the ‘handsome ostrich feather scarf’ that Willoughby had brought from South Africa.³³² They had one daughter Joan. Grace was a member of the well-known Cox family and had an upbringing in keeping with the family’s status which made her undertakings, newsworthy, and like other members of the elite she appeared in the social columns, providing an insight into their privileged lifestyle of which many ordinary people could only dream.³³³ Like other grazier families, without a Sydney residence, they stayed at the ‘Hotel Australia’ in Sydney,³³⁴ from whence they would emerge to attend an assortment of affairs together, such as the 1906 Royal Agricultural Show when the ‘Governor-General formally opened the Show’.³³⁵ Like the other women in Willoughby’s life, Grace contributed to a variety of philanthropic causes,³³⁶ such as the ‘League of Woman Helpers’ in the Toc H

³²⁷ ‘Boer War Veterans’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 August 1929, p.10

³²⁸ ‘Boer War Veterans’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April, 1930

³²⁹ Mowle, *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia*. p. 123, Grace was born at Richmond, her father was Alexander Hassall Cox, who died in 1896

³³⁰ ‘Mudgee Historical Society’ courtesy of the Rylstone Historical Society, Rylstone, New South Wales. n.d. no pagination

³³¹ ‘Mudgee Historical Society’ courtesy of the Rylstone Historical Society, Rylstone, New South Wales. n.d. no pagination

³³² ‘Mudgee Historical Society’ courtesy of the Rylstone Historical Society, Rylstone, New South Wales. n.d. no pagination

³³³ For example wedding of Mabel Cox to Ernest Rouse. *The Mudgee Guardian*, 18 May 1900

³³⁴ ‘Social’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 15 September, 1900

³³⁵ ‘Social’ *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 18 April, 1906

³³⁶ ‘Obituary, Mrs R.H. Dangar, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1933, p. 8

organisation,³³⁷ as well as being a Gulargambone member of the Country Women's Association, where she supported the district's efforts to secure the services of the vital 'bush nurse'.³³⁸

Thus Willoughby resumed his civilian life, in the family's pastoral concern,³³⁹ assuming more responsibility as V.J.D.'s health gradually deteriorated. The latter died in 1903.³⁴⁰ Willoughby became an 'executor and trustee of his estate' and 'guardian' for his under-age siblings.³⁴¹ The net value of the estate, was stated at under £47,120 16s 9d³⁴² and 'Lue' was sold in 1911.³⁴³ Willoughby kept a low profile as a grazier at Gilgandra in the rural heartland of New South Wales,³⁴⁴ unobtrusively participating in the country life, attending local shows,³⁴⁵ serving on the 'executive' of the New South Wales Sheep breeders' Association',³⁴⁶ as well as having membership of the Graziers' Association, and the Australian Jockey Club'.³⁴⁷ He acted as a peacemaker in 1908 when 'some friction between the Sheep-breeders Association and the Royal Agricultural Society' occurred and wrote in response to an article that appeared in which he was as ever, polite and diplomatic.³⁴⁸ In 1939 he and Grace moved closer to Sydney to 'Bringelly',³⁴⁹ and it was here that Willoughby died in June 1941.³⁵⁰ Grace died at Mundubbera, Queensland in January 1953. Their only daughter Joan, married Errol Blair de Normanville Joyce, thereby continuing the intermarrying tradition of 'uniting New South Wales and Queensland families'.³⁵¹

Willoughby Dowling's masculinity demonstrates the very real influence of British mores in Australian society although he had an educational experience which added to the effect. For a short period of his life Willoughby was very much a public man and a 'hero' and in a way he too was a 'self-made man', borne out of his sense of duty to King and Empire and his war

³³⁷ 'Near and Far', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1920, p. 5

³³⁸ 'Country Women's Association', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 1923, p. 5

³³⁹ 'Tributes to the "Guardian"', *The Mudgee Guardian*, 17 July 1902, such as organising shearers'

³⁴⁰ 'Death of Mr Vincent Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1903.

³⁴¹ 'Country News', *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 17 February, 1904

³⁴² 'Country News', *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 17 February, 1904, the others; R.H. Dangar and C.C. Stephens

³⁴³ Potts, *Lue 1823 - 1984*, p. 11

³⁴⁴ 'Obituary, Mr W.V. Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1941, p. 3

³⁴⁵ 'Narrabri', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 1934, p. 13

³⁴⁶ 'N.S.W. Sheep breeders' Association', *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 4 July, 1906

³⁴⁷ 'Obituary, Mr W.V. Dowling', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1941, p. 3 brother Frank O. ran 'Walla' at Coonamble.

³⁴⁸ 'R.A.S. And Sheep breeders', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December, 1908

³⁴⁹ 'Social and Personal, Country Visitors for Race Week, -Some Interesting Engagements.- News from London, House-warming', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 September, 1939

³⁵⁰ Mowle, *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia*, p. 151 and p. 123

³⁵¹ 'Engaged', *The Courier Mail*, 25 May 1938, p. 2

service in South Africa and contributed to how he and other Australians saw themselves. With the characteristics of which Tosh privileges, 'physical self-reliance and personal bravery'³⁵² as vital, he was in every sense of the word a gentleman.

³⁵² Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 2

Setting the Scene-Gawler

This chapter is an exploration of the economic, religious, social and political forces that shaped Gawler, South Australia in the nineteenth century and forms the background to the study of the lives of three Gawler men. As it will be discussed, the Gawler environment was markedly different from that which produced the men of Mudgee. Gawler or Gawler Town as it first became known,¹ was one of the first country towns, in South Australia and here, like in other Australian settlements 'the soil was virgin to the foot of white man'.² However, unlike Mudgee where there had been conflict between settlers and the Indigenous people, in South Australia where Aboriginal people's rights had been considered by the founding fathers,³ in Gawler, relations were apparently cordial. As Eliza Mahoney née Reid, daughter of the first white settler to the district recounted.⁴ Apart from refusing to wear European clothing, the '250 Para tribe' members, part of the Kaurna people, were seen to be docile, consented to work, and only fought intertribal conflicts.⁵ The Para tribe however, did not survive the irrevocable changes made by the British colonists,⁶ whose ambition was to establish a society for white people.

These South Australian settlers were led by 'ambitious, middle-class townsmen with few claims to good society,'⁷ who aspired to establish a colony which was an improvement of the world, as they knew it in the United Kingdom.⁸ To this end, they not only considered Aboriginal welfare but carefully planned many aspects of life; including associations and organizations, which they considered vital in a progressive society. As the novel Mechanics' Institute movement had recently been established in the United Kingdom, a South Australian Mechanics' Institute held a meeting prior to leaving 'home'.⁹ Amidst the busy founding period, there was little time for the 'self-improvement' Institute movement, however, once organised,

¹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908* . p. 8. Gawler, named after the Governor of South Australia, Lieutenant Colonel George Gawler.

² Ibid. p. 7

³ Eleanor Bourke and L.W.A. O'Brien, "South Australian History". p. 1007

⁴ Eliza Mahony, "Mrs Mahony's Scrap-Book" (paper presented at the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia; South Australia branch inc, Adelaide, 1926-7). p. 70

⁵ Ibid. p. 70

⁶ Bourke and O'Brien, "South Australian History". p. 1007

⁷ Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857* . p. 145

⁸ Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin." p. 10

⁹ Elizabeth Webby, "Dispelling 'The Stagnant Waters of Ignorance': The Early Institutes in Context" in *Pioneering Culture: Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts in Australia*, ed. P.C. Candy and J. Laurent (Adelaide: Auslib Press, 1994). p. 52 a 'Literary and Scientific Association formed'.; Michael Talbot, "A Close Affiliation: Cordination of Institutes in South Australia," in *Pioneering Culture: Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts in Australia*, ed. P.C. Candy and J. Laurent (Adelaide: Auslib, 1994). p. 335, Cited Bridge, C. (1982) South Australia's early South Australia public libraries 21 1834- 56, (1) pp. 80-86

with government support and with a centralised servicing organisation for ‘affiliated Institutes,’ the movement endured.¹⁰ In Gawler, where society was more democratic and egalitarian than in Mudgee, it was the townsmen who initiated the Mechanics’ Institute.

The founding fathers had adopted ideologies of land acquisition for white settlers, developed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield¹¹ which was based ‘on the principle of the sale of land, sold at a fixed minimum price’, and the devotion of the land fund to assist immigration’.¹² However, an exception was the Special Survey system,¹³ which gave wealthy gentlemen exemptions to purchase land that they desired. In the ‘Gawler Special Survey,’ John Reid and Henry Dundas Murray ‘applied for the survey of 4,000 acres on their own behalf and as trustees for several other men,¹⁴ around the hinterland at the junction of the North and South Para Rivers, approximately a day’s trip of 25 miles to the north of Adelaide.¹⁵ Gawler Town was surveyed in 1839, by William Light, and laid out by William Jacob according to Light’s plan and included 140 acres set aside for the use of public amenities.¹⁶

At first, the Gawler district, like Mudgee made slow progress and both settlements became known as ‘dusty travellers’ stops.¹⁷ The first white settlers to the Gawler area were thus not the ‘ambitious townsmen’ rather they were the wealthy, Murray, King and already mentioned Reid family. They were equipped with British ‘educational, financial and social’ advantages,¹⁸ and expected they would have a ‘head start’ to success,¹⁹ and would be part of the ‘gentry in the

¹⁰ Talbot, "A Close Affiliation: Cordination of Institutes in South Australia." p. 335,

¹¹ Graeme L. Pretty, "Wakefield Edward Gibon (1796 - 1862)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition, Australian National University*(2006-), <http://www.adb.anu.au/biography/wakefield-edward-gibbon-2763>. Accessed on-line 11/1/2013.

¹² Main, "The Foundation of South Australia." pp. 6-7 the purchase money, after deductions for surveys, was to be devoted to carrying British labourers to the colony, preference going to young married couples without children; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 80 Land speculation took place, and by 1842, ‘South Australia reverted to the status of an ordinary Crown Colony.’

¹³ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 43 In all there were forty special surveys.

¹⁴ ‘The Modern Athens, YCLEPT,’ reprinted from *The Port Adelaide News* in *The Bunyip* 23 January 1880, the men included; Henry Dundas Murray, John Reid, Henry Johnson, Thomas Stubbs, John Lindsay Paterson and James Fotheringham, Stephen King and John Sutton, Robert Tod and William Field Porter, Patrick Tod, and Rev B.C. Howard, Anglican Clergyman.; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 10

¹⁵ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 7; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 1 Rolling hills to the east where the North and South Para Rivers arise and meander westward, Gawler lies in the triangle that they form where they join to form the Gawler River with some areas ‘low lying’ except a ridge which forms ‘Church Hill’. Southward the area adjoins plains which stretch towards Adelaide.

¹⁶ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*., p. 8; Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 23

¹⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 14

¹⁸ Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*. p. 15

¹⁹ *Ibid*. p. 13 included four groups; well established upper class English families, or rich commercial English families, or small scale English farmers and labourers, or Scottish shepherds and tenant farmers’.

new province' of South Australia.²⁰ However, they had many problems coming to terms with their new life-style. The Reid family struggled to establish their 630 acre farm, 'Clonlea'²¹ but like others pioneers they made the best of the situation.²² Only a few of the Gawler Survey proprietors, in addition to the Reid family established themselves in the Gawler district. Stephen King,²³ established 'Kingsford' and Henry Murray, 'Turretfield'.²⁴ These men generally participated in the town's activities in a limited manner. One only, James Fotheringham settled in Gawler with other family members,²⁵ and he was known as 'a popular and energetic townsman' who served on the initial Gawler Corporation as an Alderman, donating land as well as contributing to the Gawler Mechanic's Institute establishment.²⁶

Increasing numbers of British migrants arrived,²⁷ and during the 1840s, Gawler became as a small frontier village. It boasted the usual first prerequisite, a hotel, The Old Spot,²⁸ and later a house and 'a few huts.'²⁹ In 1843 its prospects improved as a copper mine to the north, at Kapunda, opened. Gawler became a communications hub, and a refreshment stop, as ore was ferried from the mines to Port Adelaide, and provisions and equipment, carried on the return trip.³⁰ This stimulated a flurry of activity.³¹ In the countryside, cattle and sheep were grazed and various individuals experimented with various crops and wheat soon emerged as the successful crop.³² The annual cultivation, however, placed large demands on the land, 'the evidence' of which became apparent in the 1870s when yields decreased,³³ making it a necessity for colonial farm sizes to progressively grow.³⁴ However, with improved farming

²⁰ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 145

²¹ Mahony, "Mrs Mahony's Scrap-Book." p. 70

²² Williams, *A Way of Life; the Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*. p. 2; 'The First Settlers of Gawler, (February 1839)' *The Bunyip*, 27 April, 1928, p. 4; Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. pp. 49- 51 by 1852 John Reid near financial ruined. The 1860s drought financially ruined Stephen King. Murray relocated.

²³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 283

²⁴ Ibid. p. 291, Henry Dundas Murray son of Sir Patrick Murray, Bart., arrived 1839 returned to Scotland until 1847. He then settled at Turretfield, was a 'Special Magistrate' in the 1850s, later moving to New Zealand .

²⁵ Ibid. p. 274, James Fotheringham arrived in S.A. in 1838. He established the Gawler Brewery assisted by his brothers, Robert who arrived in 1855 and Thomas in 1856; 'The Late Mr Thomas Fotheringham,' *The Bunyip*, 2 February 1894.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 274

²⁷ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 300

²⁸ 'The First Settlers of Gawler, (February 1839)' *The Bunyip*, 27 April, 1928, p. 4

²⁹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 14

³⁰ Ibid. p. 14 Mr. Henry Carlton, organized regular coach or 'spring cart' transport to and from Adelaide

³¹ Ibid. p. 23 in 1845 one butcher's shop, one other shop and The Old Spot Hotel, owned by Mr Carlton.

³² Ibid. p. 16

³³ Daniels, *Roseworthy Agricultural College; A Century of Service*. p. 1

³⁴ SAPP, 1867, no.10 and 1893, no.74, cited in Williams and Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century ". 1986 p. 523, in 1866-7 the predominant acreage was 100 to 200 acres, (26 percent of all farms), 1891, farm sizes increased to between 251 to 500 acres, (22 percent of all farms) and in the same year, 7 percent of farms were over 2001 acres.

techniques, equipment and economies of scale,³⁵ cereal production flourished. In the Gawler district by 1845 a large enough wheat-growing area, encouraged Stephen King to establish the 'Victoria Mill', subsequently purchased by Walter Duffield.³⁶ His business acumen³⁷ assisted growth which coupled with the 1846 mining development at Burra in the Mid-North, stimulated local industry,³⁸ such as 'two small breweries'³⁹ all of which boosted the colony's coffers.⁴⁰ Duffield also organised the initial meeting to establish the Mechanic's Institute in Gawler, however, there was not enough interest to sustain the project and it lapsed.

At the end of the decade and into the 1850s, more hopeful migrants arrived. Gawler expanded and another hotel was established. Each hotel had a particular clientele. 'The Globe was affected by the genteeler sort of pioneer "bagmen" and the Old Spot by jovial, blue-shirted and cabbage tree-hatted Bushmen roystering blades they were'.⁴¹ A few of the new arrivals were well educated, and made valuable community contributions, one, Dr George Nott, a medical doctor was also a noted radical.⁴² A small group of bourgeois, educated Germans, arrived in 1849, escaping, 'political persecution'.⁴³ They settled at nearby, Buchsfelde and contributed largely to their adopted Gawler community.⁴⁴ Some became well-known, such as Richard Schomburgk⁴⁵ who served as curator of the Gawler Mechanics' Institute museum and later became Director of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens.⁴⁶ Other migrants were from modest backgrounds, who worked in agricultural activities in the Gawler environs, such as Ephraim

³⁵ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning.* p. 24

³⁶ Molly Huxley, "Duffield, Walter (1816-1882)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography-Online Edition* (Australian National University, 2006), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040108b?hilite=Duffield>. Accessed on-line 3/12/2007 ; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908.* p. 17; Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.* p. 54

³⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908.* p. 271, he expanded into a large scale wheat buying and flour milling, buying the Union Mill, and others at Wallaroo and Port Pirie. He also had pastoral interests.

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 17-8

³⁹ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.* p. 203

⁴⁰ Williams, *The Changing Rural Landscape of South Australia.* p. 8, 'mineral exports amounted to 67 per cent of the Colony's export earnings.'

⁴¹ YP, 'Gawler and Progressive Industry', *The Bunyip*, 1 October, 1875, reprinted from *The Advertiser*

⁴² Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908.* pp. 276-95, Dr. David Mahony arrived 1840s, Dr. W.H. Lewis, arrived, 1851, Dr. G. Nott settled in 1852, Dr. W.H. Popham, arrived 1858, John Mitchell, J.P. accountant arrived 1858, John Rudall S.M. solicitor and first town clerk, arrived 1854, Thomas Loutit engineer arrived 1856.

⁴³ Jurgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006). p. 90

⁴⁴ Philip Jones, "Colonial Wissenschaft; German naturalists and museums in nineteenth-century South Australia," in *Germans; Travellers, Settlers and their Descendants in South Australia*, ed. Peter Monteath (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2011). p. 208

⁴⁵ Raoul F. Middelmann, "Schomburgk, Moritz Richard (1811 - 1891)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/schomburgk-moritz-richard-4543/text7445>. Accessed online 4/12/2013.

⁴⁶ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908.* p. 295, also; Carl Roediger, Reverend Roediger, Mr F. bis Winckel

Coombe, a farm labourer, (father of thesis subject Ephraim) and John Dawkins, a farmer.⁴⁷ Skilled workers such as blacksmiths⁴⁸ also arrived. They were in demand, making and mending agricultural equipment. The most noteworthy of these mechanics, and a subject in this thesis, was James Martin,⁴⁹ an Englishman 'of humble circumstances,' who arrived in 1847. In time he became a 'self-made' man, developing 'the pioneer engineering emporium of Australasia' which ultimately had a huge impact on the town, the colony and further afield.⁵⁰ He became a key figure in the town of Gawler and in local community endeavours such as the Mechanics' Institute.

The 1850s saw two major changes in South Australia. One was the gold discoveries in the Eastern Colonies which changed many aspects of colonists' lives.⁵¹ In the short term, Gawler ground to a halt as many joined the rush and it was said, only five men remained.⁵² Women coped with day to day tasks, to the best of their ability, with many men returning permanently by the end of 1852,⁵³ with monetary rewards,⁵⁴ as well as an over-all sense of optimism and self-assurance and 'the town received a new lease of life.'⁵⁵ Similar to the men of Mudgee, many also had a wealth of new ideas, such as Chartism,⁵⁶ gained from international interaction on the gold-diggings. Agricultural production, increased as Australia's population expanded, especially wheat, and more land came into production,⁵⁷ providing increased employment in the colony with '2 out of 5 adult males engaged in agriculture in 1855.'⁵⁸ Overall South Australia was blessed with the conditions which suited grain and even accounting for the difficulties of finding varieties which were impervious to disease, such as rust, and finite arable farming land, progress was swift.⁵⁹ Many farmers used their new found wealth to

⁴⁷ Ibid. pp. 260-342, such as; James Lawes, Abraham Pope, James Sim, William Bassett

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 16, Tom King and Tom Wright

⁴⁹ J.B. Hirst, Australian Dictionary Of Biography, On Line Edition "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ", *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050249b.htm>. Accessed on-line 3/7/2007

⁵⁰ 'Death of The Hon. Jas. Martin, Gawler in Mourning, A Remarkable Career', *The Bunyip*, 29 December 1899

⁵¹ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. pp. 443-51

⁵² Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 23, Cannon Coombs, Dr. Mahony, Messrs Duffield, Churchman, and Purcell remained.

⁵³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 271, for example Charles Edson

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 23, James Martin's recollections on the gold rush in the 1850s

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 23

⁵⁶ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 97; Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 159

⁵⁷ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. pp. 19-20; SAPP, 1867, no.10 and 1893, no.74, cited in Eleanore Williams and Michael Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century " in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Social History*, ed. Eric Richards (Netley: Wakefield Press,1986). p. 523

⁵⁸ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 453

⁵⁹ Williams, *The Changing Rural Landscape of South Australia*. pp. 8-9. Eleanore Williams and Michael Williams, "Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century " pp. 530-5

expand wheat cultivation, so that 'local flour milling,' expanded and prospered leading to a ripple effect through the community. Colonial government initiatives also fostered widespread agricultural expansion which allowed for the development of a 'prosperous middle-class farming community'.⁶⁰

The other major change was in the political area with the implementation of full manhood suffrage in 1855-6, and finally the introduction of 'responsible government in 1857' which brought about the realisation of the founders' hopes of establishing a free society, although an 'unstable' political climate developed.⁶¹ In Gawler, the same year, one of their own, Congregationalist and local miller Duffield, now wealthy,⁶² had the means to enter politics and he was elected to represent Barossa ultimately serving in both Houses of the Legislature,⁶³ and later sat in the Legislative Council.⁶⁴ Alongside these events, at a local level, a municipality for Gawler was called for, as men were no longer content with paying rates to the Barossa West District Council and receiving few improvements in return. Thus, in 1857, the Gawler Municipality was established.⁶⁵ In the following year the Gawler Mechanics' Institute was successfully re-launched.⁶⁶

The Gawler Mechanics' Institute was established, by machinist, James Martin, in his cottage on Murray Street, opposite the Post Office,⁶⁷ demonstrates the democratic and progressive spirit that abounded amongst ordinary men, so unlike that in Mudgee. In Gawler, the movement was led by a few townsmen, who were inventive, vigorous, and of modest means

⁶⁰ P.A. (Peter) Howell, "Constitutional and Political Development, 1857-1890," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Political History*, ed. Dean Jaensch (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 168

⁶¹ Howell, "Constitutional and Political Development, 1857-1890," p. 155

⁶² Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 98, in 1851 Duffield bought 400-500 acres and built 'Para Para', a substantial home and lived as a gentleman.

⁶³ Huxley, "Duffield, Walter (1816-1882)".

⁶⁴ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 271

⁶⁵ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 99.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p 77

⁶⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 77

⁶⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 71

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 73, included, Messrs. J.R. Turner, Jas Martin, L.S. Burton, C.R. Fotheringham, Dr. Nott

or more like ‘splendid beggars’ as James Martin recalled.⁶⁸ A myriad of events, were organised to pay for rented premises, and accoutrements and accumulate funds for a much desired permanent home.⁶⁹ The first fund raising event was completely sold out, a ‘vocal and instrumental concert,’ and included men and women performers.⁷⁰ The first anniversary in 1858 of the Institute’s inception was an ‘exhibition of works of art and natural curiosities,’ which was followed up by a ‘monster picnic’ at Cockatoo Valley, not far from Gawler which was glowingly described by a Gawler reporter, in the Adelaide newspaper, *The Register*.⁷¹ In 1859 the substantial Odd Fellow’s Hall, and the ‘first in the Southern Hemisphere, was completed.⁷² This enabled more ambitious events to be organised, by the Institute members, such as for the second anniversary in 1861,⁷³ when the ‘Song of Australia’ competition was held. The lyrics portion was won by Mrs C.J. Carleton, whilst the music by German, Herr Carl Linger was the winner.⁷⁴ The composition became very popular and was usually played at major events in South Australia. In this period Gawler reached a near equal gender balance⁷⁵ and the third anniversary, was designed to celebrate female industry although it was cancelled due to lack of government funding. In the succeeding years, lecturers, demonstrations, concerts, a competition to write a history of South Australia,⁷⁶ a fair, - one of the largest events undertaken, were organised to raise money for the building of the Institute. These occasions however, were not only for the local population indeed a wider populace was invited. The ‘Monster Fair’ to mark the eighth anniversary, for example cordially invited, ‘the whole colony,’⁷⁷ such was the confidence of the event organisers. The capacity to undertake such a large event was aided by the introduction of the railway and the telegraphic services, to

⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 73-89, facilities included a library. According to Dr. Nott’s 1863 address, the library contained 3,350 volumes, with ‘upwards of 200 subscribers, as well as Dr. Schomburgk’s ‘excellent museum’.

⁷¹ Ibid. pp. 71-3, such as Miss Pettman, and two Misses Tozer

⁷² Ibid. pp. 73-4

⁷³ Ibid. p. 73; Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott.* p. 123

⁷⁴ Loyau. *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott.* p. 75

⁷⁵ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.* p. 88, in 1865 there were ‘860 men and 864 women’ in Gawler.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 81

⁷⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908.* p. 80

Gawler in 1857,⁷⁸ which helped disseminate information and facilitated travel to Gawler, when compared to Mudjee which was not connected to the railway system until 1884,⁷⁹ Gawler was greatly advantaged.

Gawler became a vibrant and innovative town which was rich in associations and organisations. The men of Gawler, as another thesis subject, Ephraim Coombe, later effusively described the group, with their ‘dash, a skill, [and] a comradeship,’ contemplated and facilitated new ideas and projects. In addition to the Mechanics’ Institute members, another association emerged called the ‘Humbug Society.’⁸⁰ It spontaneously arose ‘in those jolly days when it was all vigour and glory,’⁸¹ in the Globe Hotel, a favourite meeting spot of many, including the Odd fellows,⁸² who combined socialising and business.⁸³ These men were apt to perform their elaborate Masonic rituals to the letter and ‘put too much side on’.⁸⁴ The non-members decided to form an alternate association with the aim to ‘burlesque in an amiable way certain benefit societies, the aims of the founders soon took a wider scope, and humbug in all departments, social and political, was satirised.’⁸⁵ Indeed this could be seen as a democratic impulse and a protest against pretension and outmoded hierarchy for the ‘whole strength of local oratory’ frequently broke out ‘into wily entreaty or vituperative declamation’.⁸⁶ They had officers, rules and regulations with the honours of the society as ‘Flam, Bam and Sham’. The meetings produced much fun and hilarity and in time, encouraged by each other they became considerably daring in their escapades, one of which was to send, the leader, ‘the Arch Flam into Parliament’ and the man in that position at the time was Mr E.L. Grundy.⁸⁷ Before long there were slogans strategically placed around the town, inscribed with, ‘Grundy for Barossa,’ and it was a contest which Grundy won, receiving sixty votes ahead of Duffield, the closest rival. Citizens of Gawler were ecstatic, although

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 26; Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 226, Murray street was connected by tram to the train station situated by Duffield's Para Para homestead in 1879

⁷⁹ Curtis, *James Loneragan. The Golden Years. The Story of a 19th Century Entrepreneur*. p. 47

⁸⁰ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 27

⁸¹ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 136,

⁸² Ibid. p. 128; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 55 The ‘Loyal Gawler Lodge, Manchester Unity of Odd fellows,’ was established 1846 in Gawler.

⁸³ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930*. pp. 43-4, ‘a working mans’ organisation, where they made insurance payments against illness and death, as men preferred to receive their ‘dues rather than charity’.

⁸⁴ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 137

⁸⁵ Ibid. pp. 136-7 membership seemed to be opened to anyone

⁸⁶ ‘The Modern Athens, YCLEPT,’ reprinted from *The Port Adelaide News* in *The Bunyip*, 23 January, 1880

⁸⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 277 Edward, Grundy, arrived 1859 a broker, newspaper proprietor, editor, teacher and was known as one of ‘Gawler’s most cultured citizens.’

‘serious humbugs called it a farce and were indignant’.⁸⁸ Grundy was a successful parliamentarian and ‘justified all the expectations of his brethren’.⁸⁹ The Humbug Society became well-known and flushed with success, launched a newspaper, *The Bunyip*, in 1863 which also brought to life many issues in society and became ‘known for its pungency of the articles’.⁹⁰ However, there were some Gawlerites who objected to such shenanigans like Dr William Popham, G.P. a ‘grandiose,(sic) florid and somewhat reticent’⁹¹ man who was frequently in the news one way or another, over time.⁹² Even though he was a member of the esteemed society he sued for libel, which went to court.⁹³ The ‘proceedings were vastly amusing’, and the trial ended with the approval of the people of Gawler as ‘the society’s chronicle had done good service to the town in its exposition of arrant humbug’.⁹⁴ The Humbug Society eventually lost its following in Gawler however, in its time it stimulated a wonderful joie de vivre whilst the legacy and influence of *The Bunyip* as the town’s organ still endures. Mr W. Barnet who took over the printing business in 1863,⁹⁵ and the subsequent editors of this later respectable newspaper did much in formulating how the citizens of Gawler, ‘imagined themselves’,⁹⁶ as all kinds of information was disseminated, including news of their Mechanics’ Institute.

Gawler became known as a ‘go-ahead sort of a place’,⁹⁷ and attracted more citizens of ‘remarkable intelligence and public spirit’,⁹⁸ along with a ‘genuine radicalism’.⁹⁹ It was against this busy, successful and colourful background of the Humbug Society and of the Gawler Mechanic’s Institute which further stimulated a strong and democratic community spirit and enhanced Gawler’s reputation, When these men congregated, ‘sage deliberations’ apparently laid the ‘foundation... for that high literary and political character which in later years compelled the admiration of the whole colony’¹⁰⁰ leading to the town becoming known by the appellation of ‘The Colonial Athens,’ a title which generated much pride amongst the

⁸⁸ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott.* p. 141

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 142

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 142

⁹¹ ‘The Modern Athens, YCLEPT’, reprinted from *The Port Adelaide Times* in *The Bunyip* 23 January 1880

⁹² ‘Gawler Corporation,’ *The Bunyip*, 13 October 1866 ; ‘Gawler Corporation,’ *The Bunyip* 20 March, 1869

⁹³ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott.* p. 142.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 142

⁹⁵ ‘The Late Mr W. Barnet’, *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1895

⁹⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* (new Ed.,) (London: Verso, 2006).

⁹⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908.* p. 26

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 26

⁹⁹ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.* p. 85

¹⁰⁰ YP, ‘Gawler and Progressive Industry,’ *The Bunyip*, 1 October, 1875, reprinted from *The Advertiser*

citizenry. The Institute, as it was simply known, continued and through ‘the wise, enterprising labours,’¹⁰¹ of the energetic townspeople, the Institute had according to Dr Nott,¹⁰² exerted ‘influence’ that had been ‘incalculable,’ whilst providing a setting for ‘breaking down prejudices, providing intellectual food, and rational entertainment.’¹⁰³ Unfortunately that was not quite the case and as the Institute developed, religious prejudice was exposed.

The public land as originally surveyed came into use as Gawler grew, for the parklands and churches.¹⁰⁴ It was unfortunate that the land had not been allocated to the Mechanics’ Institute as in the latter half of the 1860s when various calls were made to construct the edifice. If a site had been previously arranged this may have avoided a drawn out controversy in the community which had sectarian overtones.

The Victorian Age was noted for its ‘fundamentally religious nature,’¹⁰⁵ and this was very much the case in South Australia. Anglicanism was the dominant denomination of the colony and in Gawler, the first settlers, the Reid family were Anglicans. Like other denominations there were problems finding clergy and a place to worship.¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Mahony, née Reid recollected these early difficulties, delighting in the infrequent services of colonial chaplain, the Reverend C.B. Howard, who travelled from Adelaide.¹⁰⁷ In 1846 the Anglican parishioners of St George’s Church, welcomed the Reverend W.H. Coombs, a well-regarded leader, under whom the church building was completed and St. George’s School was established in 1848. Until mid-century churches remained the main ‘providers of education,’¹⁰⁸ and this interdenominational public institution, in Gawler was run by L.S. Burton,¹⁰⁹ who ‘dispensed sound useful education on broad and catholic principles’.¹¹⁰ With an excellent reputation, the school survived beyond the ‘abolition of state aid to religion introduced in South Australia in 1851’¹¹¹ and in 1857 afforded facilities for young ladies,¹¹²

¹⁰¹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 85

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 292 added amongst other things, much to the town in the political and the municipal arenas

¹⁰³ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 23

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 9

¹⁰⁵ Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815 -1914; A Study of Empire and Expansion*. p. 90

¹⁰⁶ Eliza S. Mahony, Letter reprinted, ‘St George’s Church on Sunday’, *The Bunyip*, 2 October 1896, initially services were conducted by a minister financed by Reid at his house, later held in Mr Stephen King’s flour mill.

¹⁰⁷ Eliza S. Mahony, Letter reprinted, ‘St George’s Church on Sunday’, *The Bunyip*, 2 October 1896

¹⁰⁸ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 116

¹⁰⁹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 23

¹¹⁰ ‘St George’s New School Room’, *The Bunyip*, 10 March 1866, trustees; Rev Canon Coombs, G. Warren Esq., J.P James Lawes Esq., George Nott, Esq., J.P.

¹¹¹ Hilary M Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religions*. (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996). p. 88

¹¹² ‘Advertisement’, *The Bunyip*, 9 June, 1866.

operated in conjunction with the boys' school. Local pupils, including already mentioned, Ephraim Coombe as well as students from around the colony and across the religious divide attended the school.¹¹³ In Gawler, Anglicanism had a steadily growing congregation, including pew-holder, James Martin. However, there was subsequently 'a social transformation in Australia as non-Anglican Protestant evangelicalism became the majority faith of active Christians'.¹¹⁴

Many colonial founders were not adherents of the established religion; they were staunch members of the dissenting congregations, with a desire to rectify the past injustices they had endured in the United Kingdom. As a result 'civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions' were paramount,¹¹⁵ and a spirit of tolerance and co-operation amongst the different protestant denominations prevailed.¹¹⁶ In 1848, the arrival of, John Jones,¹¹⁷ a 'machinist and manufacturer,' greatly assisted the establishment of the Methodist faith in Gawler. He had a 'steadiness and industrious',¹¹⁸ nature, that characterised Methodists as well as a willingness to hold services wherever required. This adaptability and flexibility to reach sometimes isolated people, ensured that Methodism expanded,¹¹⁹ and in time Methodism became a popular religion in Gawler. It also took some time to build a church, for, like the other denominations in Gawler, none of the congregations by the end of the 1840s had amassed sufficient funds.¹²⁰ From the 1850s however, in a climate that favoured expansion in many fields, the 'Church of England, the Catholic, the Congregationalists and the Wesleyan Methodists,¹²¹ all erected edifices similar to the ones they had forsaken in the 'old world.' Many members of the various congregations were not only very supportive of their church, they also had co-operative enthusiasm for supporting community projects and this included the Mechanics' Institute. However, not everyone in the Protestant congregations was so supporting of their Catholic brethren. This became apparent when funding of the Mechanics' Institute was solicited and a generous gift by a member of the Roman Catholic Church was refused, highlighting an underlying sectarian prejudice.

¹¹³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. Various references throughout text, Chas Annells, Herman Bishof, James Fergusson, Alexander Forgie, Henry Harris, William Martin, Albert Riggs, and many more; Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 35, Veronica O'Brien a Catholic.

¹¹⁴ Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religion*. (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996) p. 88

¹¹⁵ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 3

¹¹⁶ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 249

¹¹⁷ 'Opening of the New Wesleyan Church, Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 3 April, 1869

¹¹⁸ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 69

¹¹⁹ Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales*. p. 36

¹²⁰ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 19

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p. 19; Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 19

The Catholic congregation had a few members in the district soon after settlement and had a difficult period, working to create a viable community in Gawler. The congregation too were hampered by the past history of the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom which resulted in Catholics possessing a low profile in the nineteenth century, and their outcaste status was made worse by the influx of poor Irish Catholics into the United Kingdom. Indeed, a church site was nearly overlooked in the Gawler survey.¹²² However, from humble beginnings they persevered to attract priests, build a church and presbytery and like other communities, joined the Josephine school system.¹²³ In an expanding parish, for the passing parade of parish priests, in this tightly knit Catholic community, life was simple and hard work.¹²⁴ The priests came from an assortment of backgrounds and orders, some of whom were better equipped than others to face the many challenges that parish life presented.¹²⁵ Some had a genial disposition and participated in the general community such as the Reverend Julian Wood who was 'elected a life member of the Gawler Institute'.¹²⁶ A few were excellent public speakers, such as the Right Reverend Abbott who attracted large audiences.¹²⁷ Slowly, the congregation increased, composed largely of labourers and a few upwardly mobile ambitious men, such as Irish-born, John McEwen, a publican and a farmer.¹²⁸ McEwen however, had experienced a few brushes with the law,¹²⁹ and when calls were made for public contributions towards civic amenities he announced he would make a donation of 'land worth £1,000' towards the 'Institute, Town Hall, Council Chambers and Corporate Offices'.¹³⁰ This proposed donation however, caused controversy amongst Gawler's Protestant men as they grappled with the notion that a previously 'not respectable', Catholic citizen was able to contribute to the infrastructure of Gawler.

¹²² Ibid. p. 7

¹²³ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 117

¹²⁴ 'Gawler Census', *The Bunyip*, 24 November, 1869; Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 19 & 24; Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 128

¹²⁵ Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. Various descriptions throughout the text

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 21

¹²⁷ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*., p. 128 'The Right Reverend Abbott and his coadjutor were great favorites. Abbott described as a 'trenchant speaker, with a considerable fund of humour, and is variably on good terms with his hearers by the graceful manner in which he handles his subjects, usually of an interesting and instructive character.'

¹²⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 289, Mc Ewen, born in Ireland in 1806, arrived in Gawler in 1845. He built the Prince Albert Hotel and farmed at Gawler River. He served on the council and died aged 91

¹²⁹ Cited from *The Bunyip*, April 1868 in Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p, 30, he used abusive language to a police officer when the officer tried collecting a fine, and abusive language was again used on the Price Albert hotel's verandah resulting in another court appearance and another fine.

¹³⁰ 'Gawler Town Hall', No.7 in a series of Historical Pamphlets, Gawler Public Library, South Australia, 2007

McEwen's proposed donation added fuel to an already highly contested civic amenity debate, particularly over the best location for the Mechanics' Institute. In January 1866 at a well-attended Institute meeting for the most part, conducted with 'forbearance and good humour',¹³¹ the offers of a site were discussed. Dr Nott considered that 'the best part of a town was the best spot for an Institute,' and James Martin 'was decidedly in favour of the building being erected in Murray Street'.¹³² There were two proposals, one being from Mr McEwen who wanted the civic centre next to his, Prince Albert Hotel in Murray Street,¹³³ and one from Mr Hutchinson, who wanted the Institute at the southern end of town.¹³⁴ Mr Hutchison, a successful gold-miner, staunch 'Wesleyan' and 'local preacher' and subsequent 'Town Inspector',¹³⁵ was the favourite. Mr McEwen received twenty-nine votes whilst Mr Hutchinson received thirty-six votes.¹³⁶ Council apparently endorsed the latter man's donation and McEwen's offer was rejected which resulted in a 'no-confidence motion in council and calls for resignations', which went largely unheeded.¹³⁷ More meetings and polls resulted, and eventually, James Martin 'was unanimously called to the chair,' at the special meeting called to 'elect 'a President, Vice President, Treasurer and Committee men' and observing in his opening speech, Martin said he 'was not certain as to the cause of the resignations which had occurred'.¹³⁸ This meeting was a another confused affair over legalities, protocol and so on however, in the end the Institute regained its officers,¹³⁹ and it was revealed that Mr Hutchinson's offer had been acted upon.¹⁴⁰ Mr McEwen's subsequently repeated an offer in 1868 and again the following year.¹⁴¹ It was not however accepted and he subsequently withdrew his offer.¹⁴²

This preposterous situation was played out, even though the Institute building was obviously needed in the town. At the tenth anniversary of the Institute founding, James Martin urged the community to make an effort to commence building a permanent facility, and with the prior land acquired and deemed, 'valuable but not consider suitable' it was subdivided and a large raffle-like 'art union' was staged, netting a substantial, but insufficient return.¹⁴³ The deficit

¹³¹ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 10 January 1866

¹³² 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 10 January 1866

¹³³ 'Gawler Town Hall', No7 in a series of Historical Pamphlets, Gawler Public Library, South Australia, 2007.

¹³⁴ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 10 January 1866

¹³⁵ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 279. Hutchinson also worked amongst the disadvantaged .

¹³⁶ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 10 January 1866

¹³⁷ 'Gawler Town Hall', No.7 in a series of Historical Pamphlets, Gawler Public Library, South Australia, 2007.

¹³⁸ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 24 February, 1866

¹³⁹ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 24 February, 1866

¹⁴⁰ 'Committee Meeting', *The Bunyip*, 24 February 1866

¹⁴¹ Cited from *The Bunyip* various dates in Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. pp. 30-1

¹⁴² 'Gawler Town Hall', No. 7 in a series of Historical Pamphlets, Gawler Public Library, South Australia, 2007

¹⁴³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 85

was met by Gawler residents who contributed according to their financial capability,¹⁴⁴ supplemented by a few townsmen organising a 'promissory note, to the bank.'¹⁴⁵ Finally, funds for the building were accumulated and land donated by James Martin,¹⁴⁶ prominent Anglican, local manufacturer and self-made man. The acceptance of gifts from this quarter was deemed more appropriate than to accept the offer from a Catholic, Irishman, and publican, John McEwen. The acquisition of the whole complex however, could have come to fruition much earlier without such friction if religious prejudice had not intervened. Unfortunately the ulterior motives of Mr McEwen were suspected by a few men 'like Dr Popham,' who 'did not want to deal with him, and criticised everything about him, including his spelling'.¹⁴⁷

The episode emphasizes an underlying sectarian prejudice and revealed that not everyone in Gawler was as 'liberally minded' as many were apt to have imagined. Reverend C.A. Reynolds inspired somewhat better relations when he was the Catholic incumbent in Gawler¹⁴⁸ and the Congregational churches' school picnic was held at John McEwen's farm in 1869.¹⁴⁹ However, when Father Reynolds was transferred to another position, a farewell event was organised and the esteemed and former parliamentarian, E.L. Grundy, editor of *The Bunyip*, attended.¹⁵⁰ In a testimonial which he presented, Grundy spoke of how the many non-Catholic citizens in the town were pleased to have the opportunity to let the reverend gentlemen know of the high regard in which they held him.¹⁵¹ The proceedings were subsequently published in *The Bunyip* which then provoked a response from one person who claimed the testimonial had been Mr Grundy's sentiment and idea alone.¹⁵² Mr Grundy responded assuring readers that the endeavour was of an Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan.¹⁵³ From the 1870s there was generally a notable increase in information regarding the Catholic population in the media. This had probably been instigated by Mr Benjamin Hoare, a 'politically active' member of the Catholic Church, who became editor of *The Bunyip* between 1869 and 1871 followed by Mr Grundy, who was the editor until his death in 1875.¹⁵⁴ Grundy was apparently more than sympathetic towards the faith, converting to Catholicism on his

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 85

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 85 promissory note was for a thousand pounds

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 85 James Martin's brother, Thomas also offered financial assistance

¹⁴⁷ Cited from Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*, in Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 30 ; *The Bunyip*, 15 and 22 August 1868

¹⁴⁸ Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 38

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 34 cited in *The Bunyip*, 30 March 1872

¹⁵⁰ "The Bunyip or Gawler Humbug Society's Chronicle, Flam! Bam! Sham! No. 5 In a Series of Historical Pamphlets" (Gawler: Gawler Public Library, 2007).

¹⁵¹ Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 39 cited from *The Bunyip* 29 June 1872

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 39 cited from *The Bunyip*, 6 July 1872

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 39 cited from *The Bunyip*, 29 June 1872

¹⁵⁴ "Gawler Public Library; A Brief History; No 3 in a series of Historical Pamphlets," (Gawler Public Library: 2005). Gawler Public Library, No 5 in a series of Historical Pamphlets, (Gawler Public Library, 2005)

death bed,¹⁵⁵ and at least he lived to see the Gawler Mechanics' Institute building come into existence, however, he would have abhorred the 'humbug' that had arisen in the process.

The Institute building finally started in 1870, when the foundation stone was laid, having taken an inordinately long time from the abortive start in 1848 and so uncharacteristic of the community, noted for its citizens' enthusiasm and progress. One long-standing characteristic in this 'outlying English province',¹⁵⁶ where there was the expectation that 'civilisation was basically British',¹⁵⁷ was of the customary appearance of the Governor and on this auspicious occasion, Sir James Fergusson, attended.¹⁵⁸ As the people had come to expect, James Martin continued to contribute generously, he had drawn the architectural plans and donated more money for the land and buildings, yet there was a shortfall which he organised to be met.¹⁵⁹ The edifice took two years to construct and cost five thousand pounds.¹⁶⁰ Compared to the unflattering opinion one disgruntled reader expressed regarding the appearance of the Mudgee Mechanics' Institute, the Gawler building had a better reception. Ephraim Coombe subsequently wrote that situated on the main thoroughfare of Murray Street, it was 'one of the most handsome, substantial and useful structures of its kind in Australia,'¹⁶¹ whilst another resident noted it is 'one of the finest in Gawler, and presents quite an attractive appearance.'¹⁶² Unlike Mudgee, the Gawler Institute became the heart of the community. Facilities for the male members covered a range of activities which had an emphasis on self-improvement. There was a well-stocked library, which included German publications for the German population,¹⁶³ museum, smoking room, and gentlemen's club rooms, a theatre for activities like the 'Dramatic Class' and the 'Parliamentary Club' where men could 'improve their public speaking skills,' as well as a space for the continuation of the 'Gawler Building, Investment and Land Society'.¹⁶⁴ The subscription rate, which allowed access to the library, was lowered

¹⁵⁵ Cited from *Archives Gawler Catholic Church in Sheahan, A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 39

¹⁵⁶ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 495

¹⁵⁷ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 57

¹⁵⁸ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott.*, p. 67; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 85

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 85, upon the buildings completion there was a short fall of 1600 pounds and the committee could not afford the repayments, the citizens' were canvassed again and Martin 'gave 10 per-cent of the sum raised and the building rapidly became debt-free.

¹⁶⁰ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 66, Messrs.' Deland and Tardif, builders.

¹⁶¹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 85

¹⁶² Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 64

¹⁶³ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 13 October, 1863

¹⁶⁴ 'The Dramatic Club, Parliamentary Club, Gawler Building, Investment, and Land Society', *The Bunyip*, 16 June 1866 the latter 'gave great satisfaction', as each share realized a profit.

and became more encompassing in 1885, providing opportunities for the less financially able and families to access this ever expanding and valuable resource. By the end of the century over four hundred subscribers', about ten per cent of the population used the library which had over ten thousand volumes and the reading room boasted a selection of journals, magazines, newspapers and periodicals.¹⁶⁵

The Institute, however, went through a difficult period maintaining community interest, a far cry from when the movement had commenced and had been supported by all classes of society and in particular working men. By the mid-1870s the 'devoted committee' found that younger working men considered the membership fees too high whilst the men who had worked so long and hard to establish and keep the Institute flourishing and had at one time been 'working men' criticised the younger generation for not having the interest of the Institute at heart.¹⁶⁶ Mr O.T. Jones commented that he 'was sorry to see class against class.'¹⁶⁷ More problems in maintaining community interest continued as one generation gave way to the next, made obvious when 'larrikinism,'¹⁶⁸ became a social problem. In this context, 'The Gawler Literary Association' was established because there appeared to be 'the want of some sort of an association that would fix the attention of our young men and prevent them from acquiring habits of idleness.'¹⁶⁹ A talk on the subject of 'Woman' delivered by Mr P. Glynn in 1887 only elicited however, a small attendance.¹⁷⁰

In time, the Literary Club were able to bring a wide assortment of speakers, happy to present addresses to an appreciative audience. Professor Ives of Adelaide University presented a talk on 'Classical Music, What is it?'¹⁷¹ Mr W. Malcolm J.P. gave an evening lecture in aid of the Baptist Church on his trip to South Africa illustrated with photographs. His talk lasted two hours; although it was very hot 'the interest of the audience was apparent until the finish.'¹⁷² The various Missionary Societies like 'The Melanesian Mission Meeting' invited guest speakers, such as the 'Rev. Missionary,' from Norfolk Island.¹⁷³ An enthusiast of the 'Single Tax', Mr Birks of Port Adelaide, came in 1889 and talked on the widely debated issue,¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ Library, "Gawler Public Library; A Brief History; No 3 in a series of Historical Pamphlets." *Gawler Public Library; A Brief History*, No 3 in a series of Historical Pamphlets, (Gawler Public Library, 2005)

¹⁶⁶ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 6 November, 1875, the men, L.S. Burton, J. Martin, J. Mitchell, S.B Rudall

¹⁶⁷ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 6 November, 1875

¹⁶⁸ 'Gawler Institute and Gawler Corporation', *The Bunyip*, 18 March, 1888

¹⁶⁹ 'The Gawler Literary Association', *The Bunyip*, 20 May 1887

¹⁷⁰ 'Lecture on "Women"', *The Bunyip*, 5 August, 1887

¹⁷¹ 'Classical Music, What is it?' *The Bunyip*, 11 October, 1889

¹⁷² 'Lecture on South Africa', *The Bunyip*, 30 January, 1880

¹⁷³ 'Melanesian Mission Meeting', *The Bunyip*, 30 January, 1880

¹⁷⁴ 'Single Tax', *The Bunyip*, 20 September, 1889

whilst the Reverend Hugh Gilmore, 'one of the band which they called Christian Socialists',¹⁷⁵ lectured on 'Home Rule', to raise funds for 'sufferers' of the 'dock labor strike'.¹⁷⁶ It was an eclectic mix of talks, and a measure of the diversity of interests of Gawler citizens.

Progress in Gawler was evident in other new buildings which appeared after the Institute was completed such as the 'Town Hall built in 1878,'¹⁷⁷ and the Exhibition Building completed in 1882,¹⁷⁸ as well as the gas works which provided illumination for major buildings in the town. Construction ensured work for a wide range of other industries such as the 'brick works and lime burning' enterprises.¹⁷⁹ Flour-milling continued to flourish as agriculture continued to expand and the railways extended further from the capital.¹⁸⁰ Compliments about the town were forthcoming too such as from the 'Odd fellows' who held a district meeting in 1875¹⁸¹ whilst *The Advertiser* recorded that Gawler was 'a busy thriving, prosperous town, competing in magnitude with the chiefest (sic) provincial towns in the colony'.¹⁸² It had taken on an established air with streets and footpaths paved in some areas, whilst the civic buildings and the townspeople's houses and gardens exuded a comfortable lifestyle.¹⁸³ Successful men like Duffield, Wincey, Martin, Harris, Jones, Dawson and others were prominent in the community at this time'.¹⁸⁴ James Martin's industrial business and the later established concern of the May brothers and other smaller manufacturing companies such as Mr Gustav Schwan's Steam Soap Works, who developed a niche market for his soaps,¹⁸⁵ provided employment for many. Yet there was some unease. At St George's School enrolments were dropping which *the Bunyip* attributed to the 'late extreme dullness of all local trade which may account for the boys being with-drawn, thus early from school'.¹⁸⁶

Workers were increasingly discontented with their disadvantaged position in society and looked for improvements in their lifestyle. Certainly there had been improvements to working conditions as Beverley Kingston argues when from the 1860s the 'concept of the eight-hour working day-eight hours on six days of the week, or a forty-eight hour week arranged some

¹⁷⁵ 'The Rev. Hugh Gilmore', *The Bunyip*, 3 August, 1889

¹⁷⁶ 'The Rev. Hugh Gilmore on "Home Rule," The Dock Laborers Strike', *The Bunyip*, 20 September, 1889

¹⁷⁷ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 76

¹⁷⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 41

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 27

¹⁸⁰ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 204

¹⁸¹ 'Odd fellows, I.O.O.F.M.U., Dinner to District Officers and Past Grands', *The Bunyip*, 17 September, 1875

¹⁸² YP, 'Gawler and Progressive Industry', *The Bunyip*, 1 October, 1875, reprinted from *The Advertiser*

¹⁸³ YP, 'Gawler and Progressive Industry', *The Bunyip*, 1 October, 1875, reprinted from *The Advertiser*

¹⁸⁴ YP, 'Gawler and Progressive Industry', *The Bunyip*, 1 October, 1875, reprinted from *The Advertiser*

¹⁸⁵ 'Gawler Agricultural Society's Show', *The Bunyip*, 26 February 1875

¹⁸⁶ 'St George's Schools', *The Bunyip*, 24 December 1870

other way-seemed a humane though ambitious goal for those still working seventy hours or more.¹⁸⁷ Charles Edson¹⁸⁸ at James Martin's factory too, recognised, that working hours varied and remuneration correspondingly, as orders for manufactured goods fluctuated. He was approached by Kapunda blacksmiths and wheelwrights who asked for his assistance in improving their working conditions, Edson negotiated with Martin an agreement to shorten his workers hours with the proviso that other Gawler trades have the same terms which was harmoniously introduced¹⁸⁹ and during the 1870s, in an apparently unusual arrangement, the workforce was employed year round 'at regular wages'.¹⁹⁰ Not every 'respectable' worker however, subscribed to 'many religious values, including honesty, decency, hard work and respect',¹⁹¹ and some worked overtime refraining from adjusting to work reasonable hours thereby spreading the work to negate slack periods. Edson, 'remonstrated with them' but to no avail.¹⁹² As time passed employee-employer relations at James Martin's works became more strained in the town's largest concern,¹⁹³ and in 1879 a strike precipitated by the breaching of the eight hour work day resulted.¹⁹⁴ Strikes became an all too familiar problem for the company however, expansion continued.¹⁹⁵

Appraisal of working terms and conditions had been apparent in other groups of workers in Gawler too. Shop assistants,¹⁹⁶ for example, noted shorter working hours in Adelaide, and started agitating for improved conditions in 1864.¹⁹⁷ The conditions were more harmoniously and voluntarily improved and shops started closing at 6 o'clock except Saturdays, in 1869,¹⁹⁸ and by 1889 the Wednesday half-holiday was instituted.¹⁹⁹ The same year Gawler working men, estimated to be 400,²⁰⁰ celebrated their working conditions by parading through Gawler before taking the train to Adelaide to join with their colleagues because they 'wanted to show

¹⁸⁷ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 50

¹⁸⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. pp. 271-3; Edson born in England in 1834 and came to Gawler in 1848, aged 14 years. He entered into a wheel-wright apprenticeship in 1848 with James Martin He later became politically active campaigning to abolish the Wakefield system of land settlement and joined the league established by John Howard Clark which induced Parliament to abrogate the system and finance immigration.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 354

¹⁹⁰ YP, 'Gawler and Progressive Industry', *The Bunyip*, 1 October, 1875, reprinted from *The Advertiser*

¹⁹¹ Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religions*. p. 106

¹⁹² Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 354

¹⁹³ 'Messrs. Jas. Martin & Co. and their Employees, Meeting By Workmen', *The Bunyip*, 25 August, 1876

¹⁹⁴ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 117, the strike lasting from 6 February to 25 March 1879,

¹⁹⁵ For example, Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 29

¹⁹⁶ 'Gawler And Its Population', *The Bunyip*, 17 July 1869 there were 37 men and 3 female shop assistants

¹⁹⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 226. Shop assistants previously had; no fixed holidays and shops opened until 7 p.m. weekdays and 10 p.m. or later on Saturday.

¹⁹⁸ 'Early Closing', *The Bunyip* 1 May 1869

¹⁹⁹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 226 initially closing time was 3 p.m. From 1891 it was altered to 12.30 although it was not mandatory.

²⁰⁰ 'The Eight Hours Celebration, The Open Column', *The Bunyip*, 3 August, 1889

their appreciation of the eight hours system, and demonstrate the importance of Gawler as a manufacturing town'.²⁰¹ Gawler's manufacturing enterprises eventually did present workers with the opportunity to improve their employment opportunities through the Institute's introduction from the late 1800s of a post-primary, technical education which aimed to equip students with an ever increasing range of skills to meet the increasingly sophisticated equipment in use in the industrial and business world. Courses were conducted by the School of Design,²⁰² and the School of Mines and Industries.²⁰³ Two of the thesis subjects joined in this educational experience, Ephraim Coombe as a teacher, mainly of commercial subjects which incidentally also gave women better employment opportunities and Bruce May who became a student.

Overall in Gawler, educational options had followed the general norms of the age. For a few of the elite, as in Mudgee, the return to institutions in the United Kingdom was still the accepted method of education particularly for boys, and following this tradition, local doctor, W.H. Popham, sent his son F.W.H Popham (1848-1903)²⁰⁴ 'home'. Other well-to-do people elected to send their sons to private institutions in Adelaide, whilst girls had a similar opportunity from the 1890s as private schools were established,²⁰⁵ or at the government funded, Adelaide Advanced School for Girls. For those who remained in Gawler there was over time a wide range of schools,²⁰⁶ including St George's School. However, even with a steadily increasing population of 1809 citizens in 1876,²⁰⁷ and the establishment of the colony's first public school in Gawler, St George's school closed.²⁰⁸

The Gawler Model School establishment marked the close of an old era and the heralding of the new, when it was officially opened by James Martin with due pomp and ceremony in January 1878.²⁰⁹ It was designed to accommodate up to 600 pupils, in a modern facility where

²⁰¹ 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 3 August, 1889

²⁰² *The Bunyip*, 7 June, 1888 the year the School of Design was established

²⁰³ 'Items of News', *The Bunyip*, 15 March, 1889

²⁰⁴ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 294 F.W.H. Popham, qualified in medicine in England, then served as a medic in the German surgical unit in the Franco-Prussian War. In 1872 he returned to Gawler, becoming a general practitioner.

²⁰⁵ Personal communication with Wilderness School, 2004: Amy Bailey of Two Wells was a boarder in 1893-4

²⁰⁶ Such as Mr. Smellie's School, Miss Finch's School, *The Bunyip*, 24 December 1870; Bassett Town School, *The Bunyip*, 25 December 1869; St Peter and St Paul's Catholic School, started 1868, Young Ladies College, *The Bunyip* 23 December 1871; 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 14 July 1866, Ladies school conducted by Miss Harrison and then Mrs. W Stokes,

²⁰⁷ 'The Census', *The Bunyip*, 14 July, 1876 an increase in Gawler of 157 people, total S.A. population 213,271

²⁰⁸ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 216

²⁰⁹ 'Opening of the New School', and 'Opening The New Public School', *The Bunyip*, 18 & 25 January, 1878

the latest efficient methods in education were used.²¹⁰ As Marjorie Theobald argues these schools, were overwhelmingly masculine, and characterised by ‘rationality, order, military-precision and emotional distance’.²¹¹ The curriculum had ‘a narrow focus’ where children learnt the ‘three Rs’ that bore no relationship to ‘the real world’.²¹² Mr L.S. Burton, the esteemed headmaster at St George’s School,²¹³ was appointed the first headmaster²¹⁴ and great expectations were held for the school. However, he was accustomed to operating in a more autonomous manner, and the new education system presented many problems²¹⁵ which he coped with to the best of his ability. Within a couple of years there was public unease and his tenure caused much controversy in the community. Bureaucratic officials failed to respond to the problems and when the concerns were loudly voiced, measures were implemented to counteract the troubles. In 1880 the local Board of Advice recommended

that this board considers the present teaching staff of this school is not adequate to the number of scholars; and further that, judging by the results of the late examination, as compared with those schools in similar positions, and the falling off in the attendance of scholars, they consider that a headmaster of higher qualifications is required.²¹⁶

Mr Burton had little opportunity to defend himself, except for a public meeting where he did receive wide support however, he drew criticism from the newspaper for using this method of defence.²¹⁷ James Martin attended this public meeting saying ‘that the circumstance surrounding this affair was so peculiar that he felt bound to come’.²¹⁸ He led the compliments regarding Burton’s educational expertise, endorsed by other influential townsmen.²¹⁹ Burton must have been very disheartened after his successful headmastership at St George’s School and in 1880 he resigned.²²⁰ After this unhappy start the school settled into the mould the Education Department decreed and with the guidance of the local Board of Advice, parents and pupils came to comply with regulations. Under a selection of suitably qualified headmasters, the school prospered, providing an education which gave a wider

²¹⁰ ‘The New Gawler School’, *The Bunyip*, 24 November, 1876 on opening 500 students were enrolled

²¹¹ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Woman. Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth Century Australia*. p. 195

²¹² *Ibid.* p. 193

²¹³ Hosking, J.A. Third Inspector, ‘*St George’s School*’, 11 March 1874,

²¹⁴ ‘School Appointments’, *The Bunyip*, 18 January, 1878

²¹⁵ ‘The Model School’, *The Bunyip*, 6 February, 1880 No replacement was made when the headmistress resigned whilst, another female teacher in ‘delicate health’ apparently fainted in class, irregularly attended and was dismissed. Burton amalgamated the boys and girls schools due to staff shortages prompting parents to remove their daughters. Students numbers decreased as families shifted because of industrial problems at Messrs Jas Martin & Co and when this was resolved, enrolling pupils had inferior schooling.

²¹⁶ ‘School Board of Advice’, *The Bunyip*, 23 January, 1880

²¹⁷ ‘Model School’, *The Bunyip*, 6 February, 1880

²¹⁸ ‘The Model School’, *The Bunyip*, 6 February, 1880

²¹⁹ ‘The Model School’, *The Bunyip*, 6 February, 1880, such as Cr Deland, Messrs.’ Bickford, Bailey & Mather

²²⁰ Burton subsequently returned to his former school, however, it was not as successful as before. Mr Burton was killed at a railway crossing in 1895 along with his accompanying friends, Mr W. Barnet and Mr G. Warren.

employment opportunity, especially boys. Bruce May, attended in his formative years, as did local girl Laura Marsh, where like other girls she received a basic education equipping her for her expected destiny as a homemaker. Some of the skills however, did enable the employment opportunity in the slowly widening female employment field. Laura did not enter the workforce *per se* however, her schooling enabled her to undertake a vocation aimed at improving social conditions. Both Bruce and Laura, shared a common bond; Wesleyan Methodism which also considerably enhanced their lives offering them ways to become involved in the social fabric of life.

In colonial South Australia, ‘Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists and Lutherans were strongest and exerted a powerful influence on society at large’.²²¹ Gawler’s denominations expanded too particularly, the ‘enormously strong and influential’ Methodists,²²² where members were especially drawn together for a common purpose, which made for a strong community spirit and initially church building was the means to ensure this tie. When their traditional Methodist chapel, had outlived its usefulness, a centrally located, large gothic-like church was built and opened in 1869, as the ‘largest place of worship outside Adelaide’.²²³ The Sunday services continued along with a calendar that incorporated other events. In particular, the annual Anniversary, which was held to mark their progress, in which all aspects of their congregation were carefully scrutinised, especially the financial situation as well the Sunday-School. In the 1880s the school had about half the number of pupils as the local state school, demonstrating its influence.²²⁴ Indeed elders recognised the importance of their younger members for the future of their denomination and provided particular instruction for them musically, such as in the church band,²²⁵ or choir, and staged musical occasions, like a promenade concert,²²⁶ or a soiree.²²⁷ It also provided facilities for an ‘elementary science class’,²²⁸ and a literary class. For young temperance workers, the Band of Hope, presented instructive meetings whilst the ‘Young Men’s Christian Association’ focused on the

²²¹ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 116

²²² Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 210

²²³ ‘Opening Services of the New Wesleyan Church, Gawler’, *The Bunyip*, 20 March 1869

²²⁴ ‘Gawler Wesleyan Sabbath School’, *The Bunyip*, 29 October 1880; 336 students in 1880 attending Sunday-School classes about half that of the Gawler Model School enrolments ‘State School Speech Day’, *The Bunyip*, 16 December 1887, Gawler Model School had 680 scholars in 1887

²²⁵ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 324 Hermann Marsh was one example who was in late teens before he commenced ‘study and practice of music.’ He played the violin with, ‘unusual weight of tone,’ and as well could play almost any instruments in an orchestra or a brass band.

²²⁶ ‘Promenade Concert’, *The Bunyip*, 24 June 1887

²²⁷ ‘Wesleyan Soiree’, *The Bunyip*, 1 May 1869

²²⁸ ‘Gawler Wesleyan Sunday School; Anniversary Services’, *The Bunyip*, 10 October 1890

‘promotion of religion, self-improvement and morality’.²²⁹ For everyone there was a consuming and wide variety of church activities,²³⁰ throughout the week where religious instruction, self-improvement, and the all-important, class meetings were available.

During the nineteenth century the important Methodist institution of class meetings progressively declined in popularity, particularly with newer members.²³¹ At the annual Anniversary in 1889 a ‘class leader of ten years,’ presenting an address as a ‘new chum,’ noted this lack of support when compared to the United Kingdom and asked the congregation ‘why there was disrelish to class meetings here?’²³² He maintained that if people attended more regularly they would come to appreciate the ‘sermons better’.²³³ The same year, a lecture by the Reverend Hugh Gilmore, highlighted the changes to Methodism. ‘Old Mother Hubbard,’ wrote to the newspaper agreeing with the ‘true doctrine’ outlined in the lecture and suggesting that the church leaders should apply this doctrine to themselves. ‘Old Mother Hubbard’ noted that a class divide in society now operated within the church and complained the wealthy ‘who rode to in their carriages’, able to ‘give parties and make of bit of a show,’ were deferred to by the clergy, whilst, poorer congregation members were not treated with ‘respect’.²³⁴ This reflected the changes to Methodism in which the efforts of the largely ‘humble artisans’, with their ‘work ethic, thrifty habits and commitment to family values’ had reaped rewards,²³⁵ and they had become successful citizens.

A newer religious organisation, the Salvation Army became a bane to the well-established and increasingly conservative denominations in South Australia in the last two decades of the nineteenth century when it was introduced into Australia in Adelaide in 1880.²³⁶ The organisation spread out across the country-side and reached Gawler in 1883²³⁷ where it raised the indignation of many citizens. A major issue concerned the band performing in the streets on Sundays. Some citizens were affronted by the intrusion, with some concerned band music predisposed people to accidents and the band was asked to limit playing to two nights per week and take care not to cause accidents. The Salvation Army leader declined to take any

²²⁹ ‘Wesleyan Young Men’s Society’, *The Bunyip*, 8 May 1869

²³⁰ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. pp. 260-342. Many examples through the text.

²³¹ Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religions*. p. 88

²³² ‘Gawler Wesleyan Church Anniversary’, *The Bunyip*, 15 March 1889

²³³ ‘Gawler Wesleyan Church Anniversary’, *The Bunyip*, 15 March 1889

²³⁴ Old Mother Hubbard, ‘Rev. Gilmore’s Lecture, The Open Column’, *The Bunyip* 3 August 1889

²³⁵ Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religions*. pp. 88-9

²³⁶ Charles Stevenson, "Salvation Army," in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, ed. Wilfred Prest (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2001). p. 473

²³⁷ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 112

such undertakings.²³⁸ These kinds of controversies continued into the 1890s,²³⁹ evidenced in the saga over the 'Militia Band' playing on a Sunday.²⁴⁰

In the last decades of the nineteenth century whilst Methodism apparently catered for the future in Gawler and remained well supported, at the same time a more conservative outlook crept into their ethos. Through the serious movements of Sabbatarianism and temperance, Methodists came to be 'seen as the dour face of public Protestantism post gold rush Australia.'²⁴¹ In 1875 the newspaper reported on a shooting party which had taken place on a Sunday. The article concluded that,

Such proceedings ought certainly to be prevented, out of respect for the law, as well as to the feelings of those who object to the quiet of the Sabbath being disturbed by such untimely sport.²⁴²

The temperance movement gained momentum towards the end of the nineteenth century in Gawler, augmenting the efforts already made from the mid-1860s with the establishment of the 'Independent Order of Rechabites',²⁴³ the Catholic temperance organisation, SS. Peter and Paul's Branch H.A.C.B.S.²⁴⁴ and the decade later 'Sons of Temperance' which was aimed at 'working men' and organised along the same lines as the Friendly Societies and included temperance notions.²⁴⁵ These ideas resonated with thesis subject, Ephraim Coombe who had a life-long commitment to the movement. Temperance ideals increasingly permeated Gawler society, evidenced in temperance advocates presenting addresses,²⁴⁶ as well a concerted attempt to influence legislation²⁴⁷ and in serving only non-alcoholic beverages at special

²³⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 61

²³⁹ 'Gawler Council; A Sunday Afternoon Concert', *The Bunyip*, 5 February 1892, 'The South Australian Militia Band' requested permission from the council to produce a 'sacred concert on the Recreation grounds on [a] Sunday afternoon'. Two Councillors had no qualms and acceded to the request. However Councillor Lucas said 'he was opposed to that kind of thing altogether. Sunday was given as a day of rest'.

²⁴⁰ "'No" says some; "Yes" says more; The "Ayes" have it; Postponed for a week', *The Bunyip*, 12 February 1892

²⁴¹ Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religions*. p. 88

²⁴² 'Sabbath Desecration', *The Bunyip*, 26 November 1875 held adjacent to Gawler and considered that there was the 'curious feature,' in that 'the sportsman were permitted to pursue their pleasure without interruption,' although the police had been sent out to investigate 'game preservation in the neighbourhood.'

²⁴³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 205

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 206

²⁴⁵ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. pp. 123-4

²⁴⁶ 'Mathew Burnett', *The Bunyip*, 10 November, 1882 a noted 'world-wide temperance reformer,' had a short, well attended' campaign in Gawler sponsored by the Temperance League

²⁴⁷ 'Gawler Temperance League', *The Bunyip* 24 September, 1880 'The Temperance League' was established and in the town 'women canvassers had obtained 507 signatures to a petition to the House of Assembly', with 498 to 1 to the Legislative Council in favour of 'Sunday Closing'. The members demonstrated a more concerted effort to affect reform by also conducting 'a canvass of the town to find out who in each ward was in favour of 'electoral registration'. The results showed, 138 persons who had qualified themselves as voters who would make their influence felt in favour of the league at the next general elections.'

functions.²⁴⁸ In 1888 it was reported that for some time there had been 'little or no drunkenness in the town' when compared to other localities.²⁴⁹ Gawler Catholics further expanded their organisation, influenced by Bishop Reynolds's example and edicts.²⁵⁰ Thus the rising generation of all religious persuasions were welcomed at such clubs as the Juvenile Rechabites, as well the Bands of Hope, under the supervision of the Methodist Church. In the more open and democratic society of Gawler, women were able to make their voices heard. In the Methodist church and its associations for example, young Laura Marsh attended and contributed to meetings.²⁵¹ In the late 1880s a new international temperance movement came to Gawler and set another agenda for a women-led organisation. It was certainly true that 'by the 1880s women had broken out of the chrysalis of female allegory to become visible and [have an] active presence in public ceremonies.'²⁵² It was unlike anything seen in Mudgee.

In 1889, Miss Jessie Ackermann, an American, 'world missionary' from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's (W.C.T.U.)²⁵³ arrived in Gawler. She had successfully toured north of the colony prior to her Gawler debut and her appearance, on stage was a novel situation. She drew the biggest gathering for some time 'to listen to temperance harangues'.²⁵⁴ The meeting was organised by men, however, many women attended, leading to the establishment of a branch of the W.C.T.U., again with the assistance of men sympathetic to the temperance cause and included ministers of the dissenting denominations.²⁵⁵ As Allison MacKinnon notes, South Australian 'men of the middle class and from non-conformist backgrounds' were more inclined to accept innovations,²⁵⁶ and Mr Robert Marsh, Gawler's bailiff was one example. His family were dedicated temperance advocates, and they took the incisive action to organise the establishment of the movement in Gawler. In the same month of

²⁴⁸ 'Opening of the Telephone', *The Bunyip*, 22 January, 1889

²⁴⁹ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 30; 'The Gawler Police', *The Bunyip*, 9 March, 1888 Councillor Deland in discussing the number of foot policemen required to maintain law and order in Gawler commenting that there was 'not so much traffic as there used to be and there was far less drinking than in former times'.

²⁵⁰ Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 63, p. 70, cited from *The Bunyip*, 1 April 1887 Bishop Reynolds, set an example by abstaining and expected his local priests to do likewise and thus his parishioners as well. The Guild of St John the Baptist' Total Abstinence Society was established in Gawler in 1887, further encouraged parishioners to abstain from alcohol too.

²⁵¹ For example, the 'Gawler Wesleyan Band of Hope', *The Bunyip*, 26 August, 1887; Laura contributed by presenting recitations. *The Bunyip*, 24 February, 1888; appeared in an 'amusing sketch', 'Gawler Wesleyan Band Of Hope', *The Bunyip*, 6 April, 1889

²⁵² Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public; Between Banners and Ballots 1825 -1880* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1992). p. 52

²⁵³ Ian Tyrrell, "Ackermann, Jessie A. (1857?-1951)".

²⁵⁴ 'Miss Ackermann in Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 9 August, 1889

²⁵⁵ Such as the Primitive Methodist Church where the first meeting was held after establishment, 'The W.C.T.U.', *The Bunyip*, 20 September, 1889

²⁵⁶ Allison MacKinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder; Origins and Outcomes of Girls Secondary Schooling in South Australia*. (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 1984). p. 20

Miss Ackermann's lecture, Mrs Marsh had attended the executive meeting in Adelaide and 'starred' at a public meeting which established the Gawler W.C.T.U. thereby linking these members with the other recently started '23 branches with 1,000 members'.²⁵⁷ There were many obstacles for the women, not the least performing in the public sphere and German born, Mrs Marsh for example, found it was not a task to relish but as she became the Gawler President, it became a necessity.²⁵⁸ Her daughter Laura had no such problems and together with her mother they gave the W.C.T.U. enthusiastic and dedicated service which expanded their horizons. The general ethos of the Union suited the Methodist Marsh women perfectly as 'the temperance role of the W.C.T.U. was extremely religious in character,' bringing 'to their work great spiritual fervour and moral conviction.'²⁵⁹ In Laura and her mother's minds the organisation of 'temperance and Christianity went hand in hand'.²⁶⁰ They, along with the other women of the W.C.T.U., aspired to make society a better place, however, with this came the realisation that this would be better attempted by gaining their right to vote.

The 1890s was to be a momentous decade for women in the South Australian colony in the realm of attaining their citizenship rights,²⁶¹ and they became more assertive, calling on parliament for their 'political injustice' to be rectified.²⁶² They were no longer satisfied to accept the situation like elsewhere in 'all western democracies,' where women were excluded 'by both law and custom from political participation and were in a 'subordinate category in regard to marriage and the custody of children'.²⁶³ Women were expected to remain and manage the domestic sphere as well as being loyal and helpful to the male head of the household. Only men were able to hold civil positions.²⁶⁴ In South Australia a petition was organised,²⁶⁵ requesting that women be given the vote on the same conditions as men,

²⁵⁷ 'W.C.T.U.', *The Bunyip*, 23 August, 1889

²⁵⁸ 'W.C.T.U.', *The Bunyip*, 23 August, 1889 The Chairman of the meeting, flanked by such well-known W.C.T.U. women, Mrs E. Nichols and Mrs S. Lake, acknowledged the 'successful' public speaking *debut* of Mrs Marsh saying, 'Mr Marsh for the future would have to take a back seat'.

²⁵⁹ Anthea Hyslop, "Christian Temperance and Social Reform; The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Victoria, 1887-1912," in *Women, Faith & Fetes; Essays in the History of Women and the Church in Australia*, ed. Sabine Willis (East Malvern: Dove Communications in association with the Australian Councils of Churches (New South Wales) Commission on the Status of Women, 1977). p. 51

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 49

²⁶¹ Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia; A Gift or a Struggle*. p. 38

²⁶² Ryan, Mary P. *Women in Public; between Banners and Ballots 1825 -1880*. Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1992. p. 124

²⁶³ H.P. Jones, *In Her Own Name. Women in South Australian History* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 414

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 414-7 although South Australian women were privileged to be able to vote in local body elections from as early as 1861, the first women to be able to so in Australia

²⁶⁵ "South Australian Petition in Favour of Women's Suffrage Bill; Women's Suffrage Petition G.R.G. 92/5," (Adelaide 1894).

excluding the right to become a parliamentarian.²⁶⁶ In Gawler many women as well as men signed the petition, such as Mr A. Forgie, James Pocock and Mr and Mrs Herman Marsh.²⁶⁷ Women finally received their right to vote in December 1894 and whilst Audrey Oldfield notes the lack of immediate celebration,²⁶⁸ Gawler women did not let the occasion go without a commemoration,²⁶⁹ for they had been very involved in the movement.

Not unsurprisingly there was opposition in Gawler to women entering the public domain however, their increasing visibility was mainly apparent in traditional fields such as healthcare. A 'nursing class,' in association with the St John Ambulance Association was established in 1889,²⁷⁰ as well as a society which funded trained district nurses in a community previously reliant on their women-folk, augmented by chemists and general practitioners.²⁷¹ Death was certainly close at hand for everyone. The Para River, so admired by Gawlerites, also claimed more than a few lives over the years²⁷² and near misses from drowning were common.²⁷³ The manufacturing nature of Gawler also meant there were many accidents, such as the 'serious boiler explosion' in 1871²⁷⁴ and Dr Popham admitted that industrial accidents had kept him busy. Susan Magarey argues, of greater health awareness at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁷⁵ Indeed in Gawler in 1883, Dr Popham became the first 'Officer of Health'²⁷⁶ not before time, as an 'Englishman,' who visited the town in 1887 alleged when he criticised the town's rubbish and effluent disposal methods, and likened the smell of Gawler to that of Cologne. He said he could discern, a 'sniff of typhoid' whilst the discharge into the river had 'typhoid and cholera written on it'²⁷⁷ The visitor's observation provoked an indignant response in Gawler, such was the pride of the people. The typhoid the visitors spoke of was however not unknown in the town, and like Mudgee there was the ongoing concern over reliable and safe water supplies. A major infrastructure difference

²⁶⁶ Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia; A Gift or a Struggle*. p. 38

²⁶⁷ "South Australian Petition in Favour of Women's Suffrage Bill; Women's Suffrage Petition G.R.G. 92/5" . pp. 23-6

²⁶⁸ Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia; A Gift or a Struggle*. p. 39

²⁶⁹ 'The W.C.T.U. Social', *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1895

²⁷⁰ 'The Gawler Ambulance Association', *The Bunyip*, 28 June, 1889, Misses Warren, Riggs, Turner, Annells & Barnet

²⁷¹ 'Gawler And Its Population', *The Bunyip*, 17 July 1869, there were 6 doctors in 1865

²⁷² Sheahan, *A History of the Gawler Catholic Parish to 1901*. p. 100

²⁷³ 'Narrow Escape,' *The Bunyip*, 3 March 1869, child saved; 'Coroner's Inquest,' *The Bunyip*, 23 December 1871

²⁷⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 101

²⁷⁵ Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists*. p. 2

²⁷⁶ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 61

²⁷⁷ 'The Open Column; A Stranger's Impressions', *The Bunyip*, 22 April 1887

between the two towns was that Mudgee boasted a hospital from the 1830s whilst Gawler finally built one after Mr T. Hutchinson bequeathed funds early in the twentieth century.²⁷⁸

With the strong Methodist influence and the belief that a 'healthy life' included 'entertainment and relaxation' for a balanced life,²⁷⁹ was acted upon in Gawler and sport became a hallmark of life, as in other Australian communities.²⁸⁰ Leisure and in particular, participation in male sporting activity became a more noticeable feature in the latter decades of the nineteenth century with an 'equable climate, relative affluence, high levels of nutrition, [and]opportunities'.²⁸¹ In Gawler, initially there were few leisure attractions for ordinary men, apart from ubiquitous horseracing however it did not maintain the same level of interest, as Mudgee, where the newspapers reveal, there was wide-spread support. None-the less, James Martin, who was not a race-follower,²⁸² recalled it was one of the reasons he was attracted to Gawler and its 'beautiful racecourse.'²⁸³ The 'old race course was not circular. The horses raced down a straight, round a post, then back to the winning post'.²⁸⁴ In the mid-1860s comfortably-off, local George Warren, was the president, and races were held at Willaston and Gawler.²⁸⁵ Like Mudgee however, wealthy men with adjacent country interests like J. Dawson, H. E. Bright and D.W. Duffield, maintained most support.²⁸⁶ Perhaps, without the Duffield family's generosity to allow their Para Para homestead's extensive grounds to be used for many occasions, which coupled with Gawler Railway station's proximity made the venue popular, ensured racing continued. In 1883 there were concerted efforts to establish a district racing club and a committee was formed. James Martin supported the move in the town's interests.²⁸⁷ It was not until 1891 however, that another meeting was convened at the impetus of Dr Popham,²⁸⁸ and with a suitable site secured at Evanston where a racing facilities developed, horse- racing received wider support.

²⁷⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 279

²⁷⁹ Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales*. p.78

²⁸⁰ Daly, *Elysian Field; Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836 -1890*. p. 161

²⁸¹ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p.198

²⁸² 'Race Meeting', *The Bunyip*, 12 January 1883, p. 2

²⁸³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 20

²⁸⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 112

²⁸⁵ 'Gawler and Willaston Races', *The Bunyip*, 3 March 1866

²⁸⁶ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 118

²⁸⁷ 'Race Meeting', *The Bunyip*, 12 January 1883, p. 2

²⁸⁸ 'Racing In Gawler; A Jockey Club To Be Formed', *The Bunyip*, 13 March 1891, p. 3

The Bunyip in 1869 wrote of, the ‘manly and fine old English game cricket’²⁸⁹ which gained widespread support in Gawler. Similar to Mudgee, Gawler men began playing in more spontaneously organised teams representing all sorts of factions, such as in the cause of temperance when the ‘Abstainers’ played against the ‘Non–Abstainers’.²⁹⁰ Gradually clubs and teams formed along with inter-club competitions, the reporting of which was enthusiastically undertaken by *The Bunyip*. One such match, the reporter wrote, ‘I really must say I am pleased with the success of our cricketers’... ‘Our Gawler men are distinguishing themselves. Let them go on unto perfection’.²⁹¹ The men-only sports, of football, commenced in an organised form in the 1870s,²⁹² and athletics,²⁹³ also became increasingly popular which continued along with a widening variety of sport available such as ‘skittles’,²⁹⁴ rifle competitions²⁹⁵ and cycling. Tennis too, gained an increased following in Gawler from the 1880s with the St Joseph’s club for example, established in 1886.²⁹⁶ It was one sport in which women, who had few sporting choices, were able to participate.²⁹⁷ Women of more comfortable circumstances, such as Florence Burton, played with friends on summer evenings.²⁹⁸ The initial closer settlement of the Gawler area combined with improved transportation meant that sporting teams were able to visit other towns and districts for competitive games and tennis teams from Gawler for example made journeys to the towns of Kapunda and Tanunda.²⁹⁹ Gradually, other churches supported tennis playing however the widening sporting participation did not please everyone. The Methodist Minister, Reverend S. Knight when revisiting the town in 1889 noted the increasing sport involvement saying, ‘the young people of South Australia thought of nothing but sport, and spent all their money in sport and could not help their parents or give anything to the poor’.³⁰⁰ Indeed, by the end of the century sport had ‘raised, formed and preserved social expectations, attitudes, behaviours, standards and codes’.³⁰¹ It also had helped ‘to overcome class distinctions, to strengthen the sense of community and encourage provincial loyalty.’³⁰²

²⁸⁹ ‘The Holidays’, *The Bunyip*, 25 December 1869

²⁹⁰ ‘Cricket, Abstainers V Non-Abstainers’, *The Bunyip*, 1 December 1882

²⁹¹ Quis Quis, ‘Current Topics’, *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1889

²⁹² ‘Football’, *The Bunyip*, 1 May 1869; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 245

²⁹³ ‘Athletics Meeting’, *The Bunyip*, 1 May 1869 Mr Duffield asked to become club patron

²⁹⁴ ‘Advertisement, Gawler Skittle Association’, *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1889

²⁹⁵ ‘Rifle Club’, *The Bunyip*, 7 February 1890

²⁹⁶ ‘How Tennis Began in Gawler. First Club in 1880’, *The Bunyip*, 14 October 1949, p. 3

²⁹⁷ ‘How Tennis Began in Gawler. First Club in 1880’, *The Bunyip*, 14 October 1949, p. 3

²⁹⁸ ‘Lawn-Tennis’, *The Bunyip* 24 December, 1880

²⁹⁹ ‘How Tennis Began in Gawler. First Club in 1880’, *The Bunyip*, 14 October 1949, p. 3

³⁰⁰ ‘Twenty Years in South Australia’, *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1889

³⁰¹ Stoddart, “The Hidden Influence Of Sport.” p. 135

³⁰² Daly, *Elysian Field; Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836 -1890*. p. 190

In a wider world, the increased participation of men in sporting activity aided the preparedness for military service. Fitness and a co-operative disposition were considered an imperative for a soldier. Gawler had experienced a military organisation in the 1860s with the establishment of the 'First Gawler Rifles,' for civilian soldiers, which was one of many groups established across the colony. The organisation was well supported by such people as James Martin, his business partner, Thomas Louitt and employee Charles Edison,³⁰³ however the government disbanded the organisation in 1866 'through misunderstanding,' which was deeply regretted by the men.³⁰⁴ The volunteering movement waxed and waned, over time with various occasions arising which sparked more interest, such as a military demonstration in 1881,³⁰⁵ and it gathered fresh momentum,³⁰⁶ in response to overseas threats, such as the Sudan conflict in 1888.³⁰⁷ In 1890, local mounted volunteers were being sought,³⁰⁸ and prematurely, as it eventuated, the Mounted Rifle Club was incorporated into the Gawler Rifle Club in 1895.³⁰⁹ Little did the authorities know they would need mounted volunteers like Bruce May to fight in the Boer War at century's end.

'Gawler reached its industrial peak in the 1880s and early 1890s' and some industries, such as the important flour mills began to be less viable,³¹⁰ as the period of progress waned and society took on a new outlook. Indeed as the nineteenth century closed an 'intellectual experiment in Australia,' took place with the late 1890s 'marked by an extravagant rush of new ideas, religious no less than social and political.'³¹¹ The 'Forward Movement' epitomised this wave, described as 'a loose coalition of trade unionists, democrats, single taxers, feminists, Christian sociologists and socialists, which came to prominence in the late nineteenth century'.³¹² Different speakers came to Gawler to present their ideas on the movement such as the Reverend H.W. Horwill who spoke in the Institute under the auspices of the Gawler West Bible Christian Church.³¹³ Like other Australian newspapers, *The Bunyip*

³⁰³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 273, p. 286 Louitt elected lieutenant, p. 288 James Martin a private later a captain

³⁰⁴ 'Dinner of the First Gawler Rifles', *The Bunyip*, 9 June 1866,

³⁰⁵ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 95 in which three trains ferried over 2,000 people from Adelaide

³⁰⁶ 'Gawler Volunteers', and 'Cricket', *The Bunyip*, 1 February 1878

³⁰⁷ 'The New Year', *The Bunyip*, 28 December 1888 South Australia offered a 'contingent,' to assist in the conflict.

³⁰⁸ *The Bunyip*, February 1890

³⁰⁹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 223

³¹⁰ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 111

³¹¹ Carey, *Believing in Australia; A Cultural History of Religions*. pp. 106-7

³¹² Margaret Allen, "Day, John Medway (1838 - 1905)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography- Online Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10121b.htm>. Accessed online 20/10/2009

³¹³ "'The Forward Movement", Lecture By The Reverend H.W. Horwill', *The Bunyip*, 23 December 1892

reported on these events and as an important local organ, had considerable influence, in the community as printed media was widely read.³¹⁴ It maintained a lively commentary on local news such as the advent of the 'Gawler Blocks' where-by working men with government assistance brought small farms to ensure self-sufficiency in difficult times of economic depression,³¹⁵ the developing larrikin problem, the Gawler Water Supply, or issues of colonial importance such as religious education in state schools,³¹⁶ to further afield such as the political situation in New South Wales with particulars on protection versus the free trade policy.³¹⁷

Gawler citizens believed that they were a law abiding, respectable, white, progressive, prosperous Christian society and unlike other communities were not wracked by a multiplicity of social issues. However, in a general racist climate that had existed from the beginning of white settlement, the contentious issue of immigration of the Chinese remained.³¹⁸ The Chinese mined at the nearby gold diggings with few problems apparently arising; however, there were some in society who considered that they generally posed a threat. In 1880 a visitor to the town attempted to arrange a demonstration against accepting the Chinese into the Australian community. It was not well supported and 'the attempt was abandoned'.³¹⁹ However, the editor of *The Bunyip* did not let the subject lapse. In 1888 there was an editorial which stated 'It is absolutely necessary to keep the Chinese question before the public, so that the hands of our rulers may be strengthened. The Chinese have cast their eyes on Australia and they covet our good things'³²⁰ The editor continued saying that the Chinese were 'frightening' England into agreeing that immigration to the Australian colonies should go unchecked and that the problems in California should be taken as a warning as to the consequences of such immigration. In conclusion it was considered that 'it is better that we should face the difficulty at once than have a bitter struggle by and by'.³²¹ Ironically the next year, people were being encouraged to donate money, for the Chinese famine, 'for rendering assistance to the distressed, we think it is not going to break the record when a small amount can do so much good'.³²²

³¹⁴ Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. p. 118

³¹⁵ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 117

³¹⁶ 'Religious Instruction in State Schools', *The Bunyip*, 1 December, 1882; 'Open Column, Religious Instruction In State Schools', *The Bunyip*, 1 December, 1882

³¹⁷ 'Water Rates', *The Bunyip* 10 November, 1882

³¹⁸ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. pp. 114-5

³¹⁹ 'The Chinese', *The Bunyip*, 10 September, 1880

³²⁰ 'The Chinese Again', *The Bunyip*, 6 April 1888

³²¹ 'The Chinese Again', *The Bunyip*, 6 April 1888

³²² 'The Famine in China', *The Bunyip*, 24 May 1889

Events closer to home in reality overshadowed more ephemeral concerns and whilst the White Australia policy informed Federation of the Australian Colonies, the actual progress of negotiation aroused more local interest. From 1878 when federation was mooted with the proposal that New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia federate as a start,³²³ *The Bunyip* provided updates. By 1889 the editor wrote that;

while the obstruction of the Council may hinder the establishment of a Federal Council for a time, the irresistible machine of events will bring it along. Nor will it stop as a council of advice for long. It must merge into a Federal Parliament. Until it does we shall continue a comparatively disjointed country, with petty aims and objectives and petty powers. When it comes Australia will be a power in the world.³²⁴

Federation took some time to come to fruition and whilst South Australians had prided themselves on remaining aloof from the other colonies, changing attitudes and situations ensured that the colony did engage in the process and provided considerable input into this historic process.

By the end of the 1890s Gawler was considered the ‘most important town in South Australia.’³²⁵ ‘Over a hundred different commercial ventures were evident in the town.’³²⁶ It had developed and grown as an important agricultural area and had become a successful industrial centre beyond even the most promising forecast of the early settlers. Socially an egalitarian citizenry benefitted by living in a community that prided itself on self-help, with a common espousal of ideas of working together for the common good. There was a strong sense of belonging amongst people and whilst most identified with a particular religion this tended not to be divisive rather it provided common ground from which to advance. Religious tolerance appeared to have been restored if the comment in the 1889 newspaper is any indication when the Catholic School children had an outing in the Parklands. ‘A happier crowd of nicely dressed children we have seldom seen and the day passed away pleasantly without anything to mar the enjoyment’.³²⁷ In the main, most people were neither too poor nor too wealthy and all had a commitment to attain an air of respectability. It was however, not quite the vibrant lively place of the mid-nineteenth century; rather it had taken on a more serious air as important social and political issues were pondered and debated. There was still

³²³ ‘Federation of the Colonies’, *The Bunyip*, 14 June, 1878

³²⁴ ‘The Federal Council’, *The Bunyip* 11 October, 1889,

³²⁵ ‘A Benefit Concert’, *The Bunyip*, 9 January 1891; ‘The Foresters’, Opening Ceremony, Rejoicing and Congratulations’, *The Bunyip*, 4 August 1899

³²⁶ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 205

³²⁷ ‘A Catholic School Children’s Outing’, *The Bunyip*, 11 October, 1889

the pride in being 'British' and having achieved a 'respectable' society however, there were many changes to society in the offering as the century closed such as the enfranchisement of women in South Australia in 1894 in which Gawler women had contributed. Some found this development hard to approve, like James Martin. This was not the case however in the success of his business empire which was widely applauded. Established without a model close at hand, on a dry, sparsely vegetated plain, with few raw materials, money, or expertise, it was a remarkable achievement. Like the people of Gawler itself, Martin's industrial enterprise had prospered in a climate instigated by founding fathers in which opportunities abounded, encouraged by firm beliefs of progress and self-help. The manufacturing enterprise continued in the short term to achieve amazing results which were proudly celebrated. James Martin was dubbed 'The Grand Old Gentleman of South Australia'³²⁸ whilst the 'Institute' that he contributed so much towards continued providing the venue for celebration of community milestones and the passing parade of well-known men and women who came and presented lectures on a wide variety of topics which influenced the Gawler's citizenry as well as people further afield. The end of the century heralded the passing of many influential men 'into the great majority', with James Martin the most notable.³²⁹

As the twentieth century dawned, Gawlers's economic base of small middling sized family farms, small commercial and professional undertakings with a couple of large establishments offered work to an increasingly unionised work force. This facilitated the development of a more egalitarian society. The few landed proprietors and the couple of big industrialists were tempered by the force of this population, joined together by a number of associations and organisations, liberal Protestant Christianity, particularly Methodism encouraged values of association, education and self-improvements. On good transport routes and located close to Adelaide the Gawler citizenry were open to and exposed to new ideas and to current social and political debates. In such an environment, men were able to mould different styles of masculinity than in Mudgee, a town shaped by different economic, geographic, religious and social forces.

³²⁸ 'The Ex-Mayor's Social, Presentation to The Hon. James Martin, M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 16 December, 1887

³²⁹ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 114, the others included; William Barnet, Cannon Coombs, and Frederick May

James Martin M.L.C. (1821-1899)

Machinist, Self-made Man, Politician, and Philanthropist

James Martin was the epitome of a 'self-made' man.¹ Born at Foundry in Cornwall, England in 1821 he overcame his disadvantaged youth, and many problems in his adopted home in South Australia to realise the dream to which many aspired. He was a lucky immigrant who went from 'rags to riches' characterised by 'mobility, both geographical and social.'² Arriving in South Australia as a young man armed with technical expertise he progressed from a primitive work-shop to becoming a leading manufacturer with an expanding work force. Initially, his staff accepted his paternalist managerial approach however, as an increasingly unionised work force developed this attitude contributed to industrial strife. He took a leading role in the affairs of Gawler, as mayor on several occasions, in his Anglican Church³, in the Gawler Institute and many other local organisations where he made philanthropic donations and in time became known as the 'the Father of Gawler,'⁴ Eventually well remunerated he was able take on a squire-like position living on his country estate. He represented the district in the colony's parliament for a number of terms where he became increasingly conservative. As one who had risen from modest circumstances to become a leading citizen, he epitomised the opportunities open to South Australian colonists so much so that at his life's end he become known as the 'Grand old Gentleman of South Australia.'⁵

Martin's familial home was possibly an upper working-class household, however, his millwright father died,⁶ before his birth, reducing the family to 'poor circumstances'⁷ with the loss of their all-important family 'provider'⁸. No male relations were able to continue his father's foundry business, and it was sold. His mother struggled to care for her seven children, and maintain their humble home. Indeed, as Philip Payton noted, Cornwall produced, 'brave

¹ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. pp. 147-55; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 229; Irvin G. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America; the Myth of Rags to Riches* (New York: The Free Press, 1954).; Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin." chapter 6

² S. Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia, The Succeeding Age, 1901 -1942*, vol. 4 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986). p. 22

³ "Report of The South Australian Church Society for the Year 1847, 1849, 1850." p. 18

⁴ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 286

⁵ 'The Ex-Mayor's Social, Presentation to The Hon. James Martin, M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 16 December, 1887

⁶ 'Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 82

and long-suffering souls, folk who had seen much hardship'.⁹ Martin had a short basic education, 'at a free school,'¹⁰ and started work early because, as he recounted, 'he had to earn his own livelihood'.¹¹ He too became 'a country millwright'¹² working in a variety of situations, in mining, woollen mills and in a millwright business,¹³ particularly honing his skills in, 'iron-work, leather-work, and wood work'.¹⁴ He gained a body of knowledge, practical skills and eager to improve himself, earned the fees for 'night school'.¹⁵

Without a father, the work force gave Martin an opportunity for remuneration and trade skills, as well as imbibing masculinity traits, customarily learned at home. He developed personal characteristics such as, self-confidence, thoroughness, opportunism, adaptability and sociability. He absorbed what might be thought of as middle class ideals which 'formed, in effect a distinctive and powerful moral code; [and] offered a set of values applicable to each and every facet of personal and collective life,'¹⁶ ensuring he was able to cope throughout his life in a range of situations. In all, he passed the many hurdles placed before him 'cultivating the essential manly attributes,'¹⁷ which contributed to his understanding of what it meant to be a man, for 'manhood is 'made' in the sense of a personal accomplishment'.¹⁸ It incorporated the qualities of 'energy, will, straightforwardness and courage', with the main quality being 'independence'.¹⁹ Martin had these characteristics aplenty which augured well for his future. These values presented the possibility to improve his social position in the new colonial environment of South Australia which beckoned as his 'land of opportunity'.²⁰

Aged twenty-five years old he resolved to migrate because he had asthma,²¹ a condition exacerbated by working in 'draughty, damp and dusty' conditions.²² He chose the drier and

⁹ Payton, *The Cornish Farmer in Australia or Australian Adventure: Cornish Colonists and the Expansion of Adelaide and the South Australian Agricultural Frontier*. p. xiv.

¹⁰ 'Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March, 1888

¹¹ 'The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

¹² 'The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

¹³ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

¹⁴ 'The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 1 January, 1900

¹⁵ 'Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March, 1888; Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 61

¹⁶ Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality; Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America. 1840-1940*. p. 2

¹⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 111

¹⁸ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 14

¹⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 111

²⁰ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 35

²¹ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

²² 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

warmer climate of South Australia over other colonies.²³ He journeyed on the *Belle Alliance*, arriving in Adelaide in July 1847.²⁴ He long remembered his homeland, taking great pride in his Cornish heritage²⁵ however, he quickly appreciated the opportunities South Australia offered and wrote to friends still living in Cornwall saying that he ‘never regretted the choice,’²⁶ and wished he had migrated sooner.²⁷ Martin was thus one of the over ‘five and a half million British citizens’, who departed the British Isles during Queen Victoria’s reign.²⁸ Many of these included a large proportion of men of the ‘labouring classes,’ who, as Tosh argues, understood the decision to migrate, in terms of their masculinity.²⁹ The momentous decision to migrate could have led to disastrous consequences for Martin. As Peter Cochrane wrote of Henry Parkes,

the act of immigration might have been a defeat in itself but it was a commitment to have honour, to vindicate oneself, to triumph over doubters and naysayers and one day return home wearing a fancy suit with wads of money-glowing references-in one’s wallet.³⁰

Martin did return ‘home’ in the manner to which many aspired, however, it was many years later. Initially he spent several months at an assortment of positions in and around Adelaide meeting friends,³¹ probably seeking out fellow Cornishmen,³² and exploring his new environment.³³ It is notable, that at this time he worked for John Ridley, an inventor who used his technical skills and produced the first harvesting machine in the colony,³⁴ subsequently known as the Ridley stripper.

Martin was particularly keen to earn a livelihood, away from the mill-like situations that had caused his asthma.³⁵ Confirming this occupation change, and in keeping with the nineteenth century development, where occupation progressively became equated with masculine

²³ ‘The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.’, *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

²⁴ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 52; Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

²⁵ ‘Cornish Association; Inauguration of the Gawler Branch; A Great Success’, *The Bunyip*, 27 March 1891

²⁶ ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

²⁷ Cited in Payton, *The Cornish Farmer in Australia or Australian Adventure: Cornish Colonists and the Expansion of Adelaide and the South Australian Agricultural Frontier*. p. 61 in a letter to friend in Britain in 1848

²⁸ Archibald, *Domesticity, Imperialism and Emigration in the Victorian Novel*. p. 1

²⁹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 177

³⁰ Cochrane, *Colonial Ambitions: Foundations of Australian Democracy*. p. 202 referring to Henry Parkes

³¹ ‘Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy’, *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

³² Payton, *The Cornish Farmer in Australia or Australian Adventure: Cornish Colonists and the Expansion of Adelaide and the South Australian Agricultural Frontier*. Payton, noted that this was very common

³³ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

³⁴ H.J. Finnis, "Ridley, John (1806 - 1887)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020334b.htm>. Accessed online 14/10/11

³⁵ ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

identity,³⁶ he no longer referred to himself as a mill-wright, rather he used the term, which demonstrated that he too was in step with the times, calling himself a ‘machinist’.³⁷ It signalled too the path he had decided to follow, a pathway encompassing all the up-to-date activities of the industrial age. He carefully considered the options and in his thorough and industrious manner he reconnoitred the area around Adelaide, before concluding that Gawler had many advantages. It was a communication centre; gateway to the north and to New South Wales, and it had excellent prospects for growth in the future.³⁸ He arrived in Gawler in 1848, with a dray, his tools, and accompanied by his bride, Christiana, née Fox.³⁹ The responsibility of marriage, was further inducement to establish himself in employment for as Davidoff and Hall note, ‘manhood also implied the ability and willingness to support and protect women and children’.⁴⁰ Tosh argues that particularly for men of a ‘working-class background’ there was a ‘strong link between emigration and marriage prospects’ which meshed with ideals of manliness.⁴¹

In South Australia as Pike observed, the founding fathers aspired to develop an equitable community,⁴² and this presented opportunities for men to proceed, unencumbered by the class restrictions of the ‘old country’. It suited Martin well for he could take charge of his own destiny. He was a perceptive man, who carefully weighed up advantages and disadvantages of a situation, which he balanced against his opportunistic streak. In some ways he was a gambler however, a careful one and in reality the experience of pioneering was a risk anyway. After studying market conditions he established himself as a ‘blacksmith and wheelwright,’ because he ascertained settlers needed drays⁴³ and that it was the only business lacking in Gawler.⁴⁴ He was now ‘the boss,’ a visible marker that as a man he could stand alone and ‘not be subjected to the will of another’ and ‘coupled with the ‘notion of individual integrity’.⁴⁵ It was a change in attitude which gained credence as the ‘conception of self, reached its apotheosis in the early nineteenth century, within a rich discursive formation linking Evangelical religion,

³⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 230

³⁷ ‘Last will and testament of James Martin’ (1900) *South Australian Supreme Court, Probate Registry* Adelaide; Melissa Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment; the case of William Guthrie Spence," *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2008). p. 68 notes a life-long association of men to initial job

³⁸ ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

³⁹ *South Australia Marriages to Index Registration 1842-1916*. p. 221

⁴⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 199

⁴¹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 181

⁴² Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 3

⁴³ Payton, *The Cornish Farmer in Australia or Australian Adventure: Cornish Colonists and the Expansion of Adelaide and the South Australian Agricultural Frontier*. p. 62

⁴⁴ ‘Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy’, *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

⁴⁵ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 257

romanticism, and political economy'.⁴⁶ Establishing one's self however, was a challenge and as he later recounted, 'for the first little while I was here it was a terrible job to get along, and it was a struggle to keep my head above water'.⁴⁷ He acquired vacant premises on Gawler's main thoroughfare, Murray Street,⁴⁸ which gave his first workplace a prominent position, albeit a primitive one. Here his 'masculine attributes' of 'self-reliance', and 'perseverance,' integral ingredients to 'popular understandings of 'manliness''⁴⁹ came to the fore. He started his business with a few basic tools, felled a tree for workbenches as well as making a lathe.⁵⁰ He changed from making 'bullock drays,'⁵¹ as he realised the increasing acreage of agricultural crops demanded wooden ploughs. As Mary Ryan argues men were 'simply making a virtue of necessity in the world...'⁵² and Martin was 'prepared to do anything that came to hand,'⁵³ and 'like craftsman everywhere,' he 'catered for the various needs of the local economy'.⁵⁴ His physicality reinforced the primary criteria of 'manliness'.⁵⁵ As he remembered, 'I was young and felt I could do almost anything that any other man could.' Always modest, Martin recognised that it sounded overly confident or 'was cheek,'⁵⁶ however, there was the urgent need for an income because his 'identity depended on his ability to operate as an economic agent.'⁵⁷

Martin gained a reputation as a 'thorough' man who carefully planned and diligently laboured to be successful, recalling, 'he knew what a hard day's work was'.⁵⁸ It was a difficult balancing act though with supply, demand and financial considerations precarious and 'sometimes,' being short of money, he could only afford, as he remembered, to pay his 'men only a portion of their wages'.⁵⁹ He responded to new or changing requirements, working hard to understand and produce items required by the community. In fact 'the more difficult the task, the greater the determination to accomplish it...'⁶⁰ he was an earnest and industrious

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 257

⁴⁷ 'The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

⁴⁸ 'The Late Hon., James Martin, M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

⁴⁹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 177

⁵⁰ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 94

⁵¹ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁵² Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. p. 166

⁵³ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁵⁴ Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*. p. 23

⁵⁵ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 185

⁵⁶ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip* 17 June 1898

⁵⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 229

⁵⁸ 'Reminiscences; Corporation Men and Uprights', *The Bunyip*, 8 July 1898

⁵⁹ 'The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.', *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

⁶⁰ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

man.⁶¹ His fellow colonists thought he had ‘just the sort of grittiness to make a valuable pioneer in a new country’.⁶² All items were made to Martin's high standards and if a job was not up to his exacting standards, he would complete it himself. He was so dedicated that when word arrived from the town council meeting that he had been elected mayor, he simply ‘downed tools’ made the required appearance then hurriedly returned to his anvil and hammer and proceeded with his job in hand. He was generally not one for ‘conventionality’ nor looking ‘respectable’.⁶³ His thoroughness became the hallmark of his enterprise, and with all products well made, and comprehensively tested, they won prizes at exhibitions and agricultural shows,⁶⁴ and became widely sought after. With his ‘honest face,’⁶⁵ coupled with a steady, ‘unflagging energy, clear-headedness, honesty, good common sense and astuteness,’⁶⁶ his business prospered and in due course his reputation as an excellent craftsman reached Adelaide,⁶⁷ and beyond. He was well on the way as to becoming a ‘self-made man’ with his ‘methodical,’ but ‘slow’ route to a ‘modest competency’.⁶⁸

In South Australia, the 1850s Victorian gold discoveries provided fascination, and excitement,⁶⁹ enticing many men on a masculine adventure,⁷⁰ including Martin’s workforce. In 1852 he also departed, making sufficient to recoup his costs.⁷¹ However, Christiana’s death that year,⁷² leaving him to care for two young children coupled with probable realisation that his Gawler enterprise had better prospects, saw his return to a more ‘respectable’ way of earning a living. Gold continued to have an allure however, and he engaged in gold mining in various ways throughout his life.⁷³ The repercussions of the gold rushes were far reaching as the population increased, and the economy prospered,⁷⁴ and in South Australia, as farmers acquired an appreciation of climate, soils and the most viable crops to grow, agriculture

⁶¹ ‘The Late Hon., James Martin M.L.C.’, *The Bunyip*, 1 January 1900

⁶² ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁶³ ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁶⁴ ‘Gawler Machinery at Agricultural Show’, *The Bunyip*, 13 October 1893; ‘Gawler Agricultural Society; Field Trial of Harvest Machinery’, *The Bunyip*, 14 December 1894

⁶⁵ Jones, T.O. The Ex-Mayor’s Social; Presentation To The Hon., James Martin, MLC.’, *The Bunyip*, 16 December 1887

⁶⁶ ‘Hon. James Martin; A South Australian Worthy’, *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

⁶⁷ ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁶⁸ Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers; 1854 -1923: Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin." p. 142-3

⁶⁹ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia.* p. 24

⁷⁰ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia.*, p. 70; Pike *Paradise of Dissent* p. 443

⁷¹ ‘Hon. James Martin; A South Australian Worthy’, *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

⁷² Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

⁷³ Such as ; ‘The Barossa Gold Field’, *The Bunyip*, 28 November, 1868; ‘The Barossa Gold-fields’, *The Bunyip*, 18 June 1870; ‘Lady Alice Mining Company’, *The Bunyip*, 16 August 1878

⁷⁴ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia.* p. 24

expanded.⁷⁵ Wheat became the most important crop.⁷⁶ It was Martin's golden opportunity and his business went from strength to strength as he made the most of the circumstances.⁷⁷ He was among other men involved in nineteenth century industrial developments who were 'skilled craftsmen' with the capacity to create, capitalise and use 'the invention and refinement of new machinery'.⁷⁸ He improved agricultural machinery using metal which included, one of the first 'stump jump ploughs,⁷⁹ and in time he developed the 'reaping machine factory,' by taking a 'pattern' from a similar machine which he improved upon, selling his first machine for £140.⁸⁰ As his productivity increased he was able to progressively reduce prices.⁸¹ In South Australia he opened agencies⁸² and exported his machinery across colonial borders and by 1893 three hundred reaping machines were produced yearly, mainly for sale interstate.⁸³ It is interesting to note one of his customers was James Loneragan of Mudgee. His agricultural machinery business was indeed successful, leading him to be viewed as Tosh explains, of a man of 'substance and repute'.⁸⁴

Given his mechanical aptitude and his entrepreneurial flair, it is not surprising that new technologies were a special interest of Martin. He smelted the first iron ore in the colony, and whilst it was not economically successful, the actual process was a triumph.⁸⁵ He made boilers in the 1860s, installing an 'enormous one at Duffield's Mill',⁸⁶ and by the 1870s, he was diversifying into refrigerating machinery,⁸⁷ making mining equipment⁸⁸ and by the end of the century, he had launched into prefabricated bridge spans. Railways however, captured Martin's attention, as rail communications had become vital in the expansion and economy of the Australian colonies.⁸⁹ Martin returned to the old country in 1879, ostensibly for health

⁷⁵ Arthur J Perkins, *South Australia; An Agricultural and Pastoral State in the Making; First Decade, 1836 - 46* (Adelaide: Frank Trigg, Government Printer, 1940). p. 47

⁷⁶ Combe, *Responsible Government in South Australia*. p. 119, by 1886 there were 3,000,000 acres of land in wheat production

⁷⁷ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 17

⁷⁸ Jerry Bentley and Herbert Ziegler, *Traditions And Encounters; A Global Perspective On The Past, Volume 2: From 1500 To The Present* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000). p. 761

⁷⁹ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 95

⁸⁰ 'Reminiscences; Mr William Bassett', *The Bunyip*, 29 January 1897

⁸¹ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 95

⁸² Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899)". agencies were in Quorn and Gladstone in the mid-north of S.A.

⁸³ 'Agricultural Machinery', *The Bunyip*, 1 December 1893

⁸⁴ Tosh, 'The Old Adam and the New Man' p. 63

⁸⁵ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 95

⁸⁶ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 89

⁸⁷ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 25 January 1895

⁸⁸ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁸⁹ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 35; Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 34; Combe, 1957, *Responsible Government in South Australia* p. 119

reasons, however, it also gave him the opportunity to investigate modern manufacturing techniques.⁹⁰ For Martin the ambition to build locomotives became the biggest test of his career as a manufacturer. In 1890 testing of the boilers preceded the manufacturing process.⁹¹ The local newspaper editor noted that he was a 'gentleman who not only possesses the courage to undertake heavy responsibilities, but the ability to carry large undertakings to a successful issue'.⁹² By 1894 James Martin's factory had produced one hundred locomotives,⁹³ and more followed.

Martin obviously enjoyed the challenges of inventing new products, and attracted like-minded people to his staff. In 1858, Thomas Loutit,⁹⁴ a miller, engineer and businessman became a partner, and instigated developments of 'steam power and improved machinery in the works'.⁹⁵ With the need for different 'skills and amounts of capital' in 'middle-class enterprises' like many a 'hopeful young manufacturer,' Loutit's likely capital investment was important as manufacturers relied upon partnerships'.⁹⁶ In 1873, the innovative mining engineer, Frederick May, described as 'a mechanical genius',⁹⁷ became a partner, joined later by his brother, Alfred. With a practical mining background these engineers developed new machinery which responded to expansion into other manufacturing fields, especially mining.⁹⁸ Nephew, John Felix Martin,⁹⁹ became an employee too, and as 'selling' became removed from manufacture,¹⁰⁰ he travelled widely in a managerial marketing position, subsequently also becoming a partner.¹⁰¹ In 1885, the May brothers resigned,¹⁰² to pursue their own ambitions. Martin's enterprise however, continued to prosper and expand and by 1896 the company was doing 'immense business in Western Australia',¹⁰³ followed by success in 1898, in Europe.¹⁰⁴

Martin's business became a large concern. In 1848 there was only one employee, increasing to between 'fifteen to twenty men' in 1852¹⁰⁵ and to 300 men in 1879.¹⁰⁶ At the height of his

⁹⁰ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

⁹¹ 'A Locomotive Boiler Tested', *The Bunyip*, 21 February 1890

⁹² 'Editor's Notes; Messrs Martin & Co; Their Employees', *The Bunyip*, 23 June 1893

⁹³ 'Gawler Corporation Meeting, The Hundredth Locomotive', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1894

⁹⁴ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon. Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁹⁵ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 286

⁹⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850.*, p. 250

⁹⁷ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 100

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 95

⁹⁹ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 46; Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 288

¹⁰⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 248

¹⁰¹ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 288

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 97,

¹⁰³ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 3 July 1896

¹⁰⁴ 'A Trip to Europe', *The Bunyip*, 15 April 1898

¹⁰⁵ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 23

manufacturing enterprise there were between '700 and 800' workers.¹⁰⁷ The factory-complex expanded to eventually encompass eighteen acres in central Gawler. It was considered a novel enterprise, because of its 'size and arrangement' attracting many visitors from overseas and interstate.¹⁰⁸ Martin was a generous and genial host who hospitably received people from all walks of life. This enhanced his reputation and the fame of Gawler, known as 'the principal centre for locomotive building, and the manufacture of agriculture and mining machinery in Australasia.'¹⁰⁹ As a self-made man' Martin had indeed achieved amazing results given that he lived and worked in a small agricultural settler society, with few resources, far from major global population centres. However, success did not come without difficulties

Industrial strife became Martin's enduring problem. He had enjoyed personal relationships with his workers, working alongside them, living amongst them, and socialising in such organisations as the Gawler 'First Rifles',¹¹⁰ first as a private, and later as a captain.¹¹¹ Here he was respected for his 'zeal, courtesy and soldier-like conduct' and men had 'real feelings of pleasure,' for him'.¹¹² His approach to his workers was paternalistic and concern for his workers' welfare was demonstrated in 1859 when a 'monster picnic', an Institute fund raiser was held. Martin organised and paid for employees and their families' transportation to and from the picnic and granted his staff a day off.¹¹³ Perhaps unusual in the period,¹¹⁴ he hosted, an annual employee Christmas party at which a 'bonus,' was distributed, dependent upon the business's annual profitability.¹¹⁵ Gradually however, the firm but caring paternalism¹¹⁶ was resented by his staff, and employee-employer relationships changed. Gawler had developed a 'radical' atmosphere,¹¹⁷ and the demands for alterations to the hours of work, was only the start of developments to come. In the 1870s his workers sought an '8-hour day,' and he humoured them by agreeing, on the condition that other 'tradesmen' in town also were in accord, which they were. In 1876, the local newspaper reported that as 'a master he was highly esteemed by the employees',¹¹⁸ such was his reputation. However, whilst he had 'a desire to be fair',¹¹⁹ and

¹⁰⁶ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 106

¹⁰⁷ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 32

¹⁰⁸ 'Hon James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888 Electricity installed in 1887

¹⁰⁹ 'Editor's Notes; Messrs Martin & Co; Their Employees', *The Bunyip*, 23 June 1893

¹¹⁰ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 358

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 288; see also 'Rifle Shooting', *The Bunyip*, 6 September 1889

¹¹² 'Dinner of the First Gawler Rifles', *The Bunyip*, 9 June 1866

¹¹³ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. pp. 72-76

¹¹⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 101

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 101

¹¹⁶ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 154

¹¹⁷ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 30

¹¹⁸ 'Messrs. Jas. Martin & Co. and their Employees, Meeting By Workmen', *The Bunyip*, 25 August, 1876

¹¹⁹ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

offered inducements to 'get his way',¹²⁰ he possessed a 'not too sensitive emotional nature',¹²¹ and arbitrarily reintroduced a nine hour day in 1879 which provoked a strike. This forced him to reverse of his decision.¹²² Martin's reputation in the community continued generally untarnished demonstrated in 1880 by the large crowd of 300 people meeting him at the railway-station upon his return from Britain.¹²³ He enhanced relations by giving the 'foremen' the opportunity to attend the highly acclaimed Melbourne Exhibition. Such 'kindly acts as these,' the newspaper noted, 'tend very largely to create a good feeling between employer and employed, and must be beneficial to both parties'.¹²⁴

In 1890, still confronted by industrial unrest, he reportedly said, he 'wished to treat men as men, as he found they always treated him properly'.¹²⁵ The successful involvement in railway productions perhaps at this time restored a degree of cooperation and resulted in many accolades.¹²⁶ Local amateur composer, Herman L. Marsh for example, wrote 'The Locomotive Polka',¹²⁷ whilst his staff presented him with a 'solid silver regulator handle', as the first locomotive was completed. His employees' address said they wished 'to mark our sense of your great energy and determination which have prompted you to adhere so stoutly to colonial manufacturing interests'.¹²⁸ However, his notions that he and his employees shared similar employment expectations floundered,¹²⁹ for as Martin's economic situation improved and he became more closely identified with middle class employer ideas he expected that he could 'control and improve the working-class'.¹³⁰ As the last decade of the nineteenth century dawned, many aspects changed across a wide spectrum of areas as drought, depression, unemployment, social and political upheavals including the rising power of trade unions affected many people in South Australia.

Martin had a core of loyal employees, like John Brooks who had worked for Martin from founding days¹³¹ however, by escalating his enterprise on a variety of fronts, Martin became more dependent on a reliable co-operative work-force, whilst they had 'changed values and

¹²⁰ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia.*, pp. 102-3

¹²¹ 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

¹²² Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.*, pp. 100-102, p. 112, in 1882 his workers were awarded a half day on Saturday

¹²³ 'Return', *The Bunyip*, 23 January, 1880

¹²⁴ 'Generosity', *The Bunyip*, 24 December, 1880

¹²⁵ 'Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Gawler Branch First Annual Dinner', *The Bunyip*, 31 January 1890

¹²⁶ 'Messrs Martin's and Co.'s Foundry', *The Bunyip*, 28 May 1890

¹²⁷ 'Rigg's Band on Saturday', *The Bunyip*, 7 March 1890

¹²⁸ Mr Paine, 'Starting Of The First Locomotive; Visit of The Earl Of Kintore', *The Bunyip*, 11 April 1890

¹²⁹ 'The Hon., James Martin and the Labour Question', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1892

¹³⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850.* p. 30

¹³¹ For example; John Brookes entered employment at Jas Martin & Co in 1857. 'Visit of His Excellency The Governor', *The Bunyip*, 14 December 1894

expectations'.¹³² They no longer expected to defer to the 'boss'¹³³ and they gained a confidence in dealing with management. The decision, to provide the men with enterprise shares, described by Moss, as an extension of the generalised 'co-operative' movement;¹³⁴ ostensibly a generous gesture provided the final straw. Initially, Gawler's citizens had the opportunity of joining the scheme before the 1893, 'extension of the co-operative principle amongst the employees' was introduced, 'by applying a portion of their wages to the purchase of shares in the concern'.¹³⁵ Workers became 'compulsory shareholders' according to Martin,¹³⁶ and received nine shillings with the balance made up in shares, thus they received one shilling less than the ten shillings that their society recommended as the current pay rate. The employees apparently accepted this development 'with as good grace as possible'.¹³⁷ However in February 1896, Messrs Martin & Co faced another strike, after one employee, sold his shares.¹³⁸ He had gained Martin's consent to this transaction. However, when the share sale came to a director's attention the employee received a letter saying, 'You have disposed of your shares for a nominal amount, they [the directors] have decided as you set so little value on the shares that in future the same percentage will be kept back from your wages, but will not be credited to you in shares'.¹³⁹

The strike that transpired involved one hundred and twenty employees who expressed dissatisfaction with the authoritarian atmosphere and said they were tired of complaining. They just wanted the so-called co-operative system to end.¹⁴⁰ The strike spread and continued throughout March.¹⁴¹ Local man, Charles Potter,¹⁴² wrote to *the South Australian Register* presenting his version of the situation. He stated that the men had not initially been fully informed of the co-operative scheme and only received notification of the directors' intention subsequently where-by they were only permitted to make share sales amongst other employees. Potter explained that 'the men found they were not allowed to do as they liked

¹³² Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia*. p. 110

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 107

¹³⁴ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 178

¹³⁵ 'Editor's Notes; Messrs Martin & Co; Their Employees', *The Bunyip*, 23 June 1893

¹³⁶ To The Editor, 'Co-Operation, Strikes and Profit Sharing', *South Australian Register*, 25 March 1896 p. 7

¹³⁷ 'Editor's Notes; Messrs Martin & Co; Their Employees', *The Bunyip*, 23 June 1893

¹³⁸ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 264

¹³⁹ 'Labour Troubles at Messrs Martin & Co'; Engineers on Strike; A Hit At The Co-operative Scheme; Fulton & Co and Forward, Downs & Co Affected; Over 120 Hands Out; demand of the Men to be Resisted', *The Bunyip*, 14 February 1896

¹⁴⁰ 'Labour Trouble at Messrs Martin & Co; The Position Unchanged; Large Number Temporarily Dismissed; Dissatisfaction With The Share System', *The Bunyip*, 27 March 1896

¹⁴¹ 'Labour Troubles at Messrs Martin & Co's; Engineers on Strike; A Hit At The Co-operative Scheme; Fulton & Co and Forward, Downs & Co Affected; Over 120 Hands Out; demand of the Men to be Resisted', *The Bunyip*, 14 February 1896; 'Strikers at Recreation; Second Sports Meeting,' *The Bunyip*, 27 March 1896

¹⁴² Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 332, Potter a blacksmith from 1887 at James Martin's then 'transferred his services to May Bros. & Co'.

with that which they had bought and paid for with their own money'.¹⁴³ Of Martin, Potter commented that 'I make bold to say that the Hon. James Martin never submitted to anything of this kind in all his life, nor will he if he lives to be 100 years old'.¹⁴⁴ Some workers sold their shares for a pittance and the 'Directors tried to punish' them and no further shares were issued which reduced wages as these were a component of their remuneration.¹⁴⁵ This meant other colonial workers at comparable industrial sites had their wages reduced too. Further, Potter observed that

Mr Martin, like all self-made men, is a great individualist, that is when individualism tends a little in favour of the men, as it seems to just now, that, of course is wrong, and I see the Employer's Union is of the same way of thinking, for it is reported that they soundly rated Mr Martin on hearing that he was inclined to make a concession or two to his men.¹⁴⁶

In Gawler there was consternation because of the ripple effect on many peoples' livelihood and the editorial in *The Bunyip*, probably written by Ephraim Coombe, who had a more egalitarian approach intoned that

Employers should recognise that they have everything to gain by treating their men as men, by encouraging frankness, by showing their willingness to listen to grievances and to do their best to remedy them.¹⁴⁷

Finally, the strike ended in June 1896, however, the co-operative program continued.¹⁴⁸ In 1898 workers lobbied to have their financial burden reduced, however nothing changed,¹⁴⁹ until later, when the scheme ceased.¹⁵⁰ E. Anthony Rotundo describes the ideal of the 'Masculine Achiever' encompassing 'accomplishment, autonomy and aggression.'¹⁵¹ Martin reflects these characteristics, coupled with his 'not too sensitive emotional nature'¹⁵² and unruffled by the crises remarked that he was 'indifferent as to what the action the society takes.'¹⁵³ He considered Gawler's labour problems were imported stating, 'The Gawler

¹⁴³ To The Editor, 'Co-Operation, Strikes and Profit Sharing', *South Australian Register*, 25 March 1896 p. 7

¹⁴⁴ To The Editor, 'Co-Operation, Strikes and Profit Sharing', *South Australian Register*, 25 March 1896 p. 7

¹⁴⁵ To The Editor, 'Co-Operation, Strikes and Profit Sharing', *South Australian Register*, 25 March 1896 p. 7

¹⁴⁶ To The Editor, 'Co-Operation, Strikes and Profit Sharing', *South Australian Register*, 25 March 1896 p. 7

¹⁴⁷ 'Editors Notes', *The Bunyip*, 5 June 1896

¹⁴⁸ 'An Interview', *The Bunyip*, 10 April 1896. Some employees again asked for the co-operative system to cease a year later however the directors declined to acquiesce. 'Messrs James Martin & Co and their Employe[e]s; The Co-operative Scheme; Men Accept Proposal', *The Bunyip*, 16 June 1898

¹⁴⁹ 'Messrs Jas Martin & Co and their Employe[e]s; The Co-operative Scheme; Men Accept the Proposal', *The Bunyip*, 16 June 1898

¹⁵⁰ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 95

¹⁵¹ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 37

¹⁵² 'Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin's Career', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

¹⁵³ 'Labour Troubles at Messrs Martin & Co's; Engineers on Strike; A Hit At The Co-operative Scheme; Fulton & Co and Forward, Downs & Co Affected; Over 120 Hands Out; demand of the Men to be Resisted', *The Bunyip*, 14 February 1896

Unions are run by the Adelaide Trades and Labor Council'.¹⁵⁴ Martin opportunistically continued disparaging the union movement such as at an 1897 prize-giving ceremony when he commented that the disadvantaged state of English technical education was largely due to 'the injury done by the trade unions of England.'¹⁵⁵ Despite the strike and divisions in 1898, employees held a special ceremony to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Martin's South Australian arrival at which John Crump presented a silver salver on behalf of the employees saying 'the idea of the presentation had been readily responded to and subscribed to by nearly all the employees of the firm'.¹⁵⁶

Soon after his arrival in Gawler, Martin began 'participating in civic life',¹⁵⁷ and was described as possessing 'natural tact' which enabled him to perform 'what he determines without giving offence'.¹⁵⁸ At first he only had practical skills to share in the community however, once a self-made man he also had money for worthy causes. It could be argued that he had a vested interest in many of the projects, such as the railway line from Adelaide. Without Martin's timely intervention however, some important projects such as the Gawler Mechanics Institute would perhaps not have eventuated. He laid the foundation stone,¹⁵⁹ and continued his association as a trustee, as well as being 'always there helping the Institute along',¹⁶⁰ contributing to new projects like the Institute's extensions.¹⁶¹

Melissa Bellanta describes the rise of a late nineteenth century Australian masculinity type from the 'middling social strata' apparent in 'provincial towns'. These men 'nurtured a distinctive gender ethos, perhaps best described as the manliness of civic sentiment',¹⁶² something Martin demonstrated. He believed that 'it ought to be considered a privilege, honor, and duty for gentlemen of the town to take positions and assist in carrying out the public affairs of the town.'¹⁶³ He contributed to civic affairs in a various capacities such as a

¹⁵⁴ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 13 October 1893

¹⁵⁵ 'Breaking-Up for the Holidays; Presentation of Prizes; Gawler School of Mines', *The Bunyip*, 24 December 1897

¹⁵⁶ 'The Hon., Jas. Martin, MLC; Jubilee Celebrations; An Eventful Half-Century; Graceful Tributes', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

¹⁵⁷ Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment; the case of William Guthrie Spence." p. 73

¹⁵⁸ 'Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

¹⁵⁹ 'Hon James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

¹⁶⁰ 'Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 11 January 1889 He was instrumental in ensuring the painting of the well-known explorer J. McKinlay was procured for the Gawler Institute

¹⁶¹ 'The Institute; Extension of the Building; Committee Adopt the Hon., Jas Martin's Scheme', *The Bunyip*, 18 November 1892, Martin produced a plan which required a new building in the form of the town hall, built parallel to the existing Institute. He offered a donation of one hundred pounds, 'to give the movement a start,' as well as the allotment for the land.

¹⁶² Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment; the case of William Guthrie Spence." p. 1

¹⁶³ 'Municipal Elections, Meeting of Ratepayers', *The Bunyip*, 4 November 1892

Justice of the Peace, sitting on the local-court bench through the 1860s and 1870s as the local newspaper reveals. Along with John Rudall, town solicitor he instigated Gawler becoming a separate municipality in 1857.¹⁶⁴ He appreciated, the advantages of establishing financial organisations including those for ordinary citizens, such as the local Building Society,¹⁶⁵ and later the Gawler Co-operative Society.¹⁶⁶ As a poor ‘machinist’ commencing a business, these types of institution had a multiplicity of benefits. His active participation gave him financial experience as well as insight into the resources of other citizens and allowed him to build up a reputation as a ‘businessman’,¹⁶⁷ a useful appellation for a would-be ‘self-made’ man. He was however, a ‘leader of men’ with a ‘genial disposition’¹⁶⁸ who was instrumental and or a founding member, of a wide variety of clubs and associations, ‘run by men for men’,¹⁶⁹ like the ‘Lodge of Fidelity’ where he was a member for forty six years.¹⁷⁰ Here, at leisure he could enhance his network of friends and acquaintances in Gawler’s society which in turn would have been beneficial to his business.¹⁷¹ He was also a member of the ‘Amalgamated Society of Engineers,’ a professional organisation which had its first colonial annual meeting in Gawler in the early 1890s. The society provided these engineers to ‘talk shop and common sense’ as Martin explained.¹⁷² He obviously enjoyed the company of other men which was important in the period because ‘manliness was essentially a code which regulated the behaviour of men towards each other.’¹⁷³

Martin increasingly was requested to chair meetings, or to be the guest-speaker.¹⁷⁴ His public speaking capacity has gone unremarked upon however, as he was a long-standing community leader he probably developed his natural expertise. Marilyn Lake argues that the ‘public speaking’ of Alfred Deakin became ‘a marker of powerful manhood’ and in a ‘cultured world

¹⁶⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 231

¹⁶⁵ Jones, T.O. ‘The Ex-Mayor’s Social; Presentation To The Hon., James Martin, MLC.’, *The Bunyip*, 16 December 1887

¹⁶⁶ ‘Gawler Co-Operative Society’, *The Bunyip*, 27 February 1891

¹⁶⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 214

¹⁶⁸ ‘Hon. James Martin; A South Australian Worthy’, *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888; The Hon. Jas. Martin, MLC; Jubilee Celebrations; An Eventful Half-Century; Graceful Tributes’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

¹⁶⁹ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930*. p. 152

¹⁷⁰ ‘Lodge of Fidelity’, *The Bunyip*, 26 January 1900

¹⁷¹ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930*. p. 154

¹⁷² ‘Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Gawler Branch First Annual Dinner’, *The Bunyip*, 31 January 1890

¹⁷³ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire.*, p. 113

¹⁷⁴ For example he chaired a lecture by Mr Henry Taylor, ‘advertisement’, *The Bunyip*, 26 May 1892; chaired ‘Concert by the Blind’, *The Bunyip*, 28 January 1893

of public men, oratory conferred power and prestige'.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, this appears to be so with Martin, for he presided at special events where he hosted important people as well as being the guest of honour, performing ceremonial roles, such as laying the foundation stone for the Gawler State School in 1875. Martin was a loyal and patriotic British subject, probably not quite subscribing to the 'Home Sweet Home', sentiment, used by the nostalgic British in the nineteenth century¹⁷⁶ however, he was proud to call himself, British and accepted the mayoral role for the historic occasions of the jubilees of the South Australian colony and of Queen Victoria. The South Australian colony's Jubilee celebrated colonial progress to which he had contributed. He had anticipated that this would eventually occur and kept the first lathe he made, using it in a display in his factory, and in 1879, he presented Gawler with iron lace-work that was used for the veranda of the Institute. Attached was a plaque saying he had donated it, to mark the first iron smelted in South Australia.¹⁷⁷ He marked Queen Victoria's Jubilee by giving each of the two thousand school children from the district a special commemorative medal so they would appreciate their local event in the wider world of the British Empire.¹⁷⁸ Martin may have marvelled at his rise to prominence, as he conducted The Governor and Sir John Downer through the activities.¹⁷⁹ The role of patron of various societies also came his way such as the 'Gawler Orpheus Society',¹⁸⁰ a local football club¹⁸¹ and the Gawler Bicycle Club.¹⁸²

In a period when religious observance was important, Martin maintained a quiet commitment, to his Anglican faith.¹⁸³ As a self-made man he possibly took comfort from the confirmation that 'work was not to be despised; rather it was to be seen as doing God's duty in the world.'¹⁸⁴ He was a member and seat holder at St George's Anglican Church,¹⁸⁵ the place to worship for socially well-established settlers. Over the years he donated time and money¹⁸⁶ as well as being generous to other denominations, providing church facilities to the Methodists

¹⁷⁵ Marilyn Lake, "Sounds of History: Oratory and the fantasy of male power," in *Talking and Listening In the Age of Modernity*, ed. Joy Damousi and Desley Deacon (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007). accessed 20/01/2009. <http://epress.anu.edu.au/tal/pdf> pp. 50- 7

¹⁷⁶ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 27

¹⁷⁷ The iron work remains in the same place into the 21st century

¹⁷⁸ 'The Queen's Jubilee, The Gawler Celebration', *The Bunyip*, 5 August, 1887 A procession through the decorated streets of Gawler, followed by food, sport, entertainment, bonfires, and fireworks

¹⁷⁹ 'The Queen's Jubilee, The Gawler Celebration', *The Bunyip*, 12 August 1887

¹⁸⁰ 'Gawler Orpheus Society', *The Bunyip*, 26 February 1892

¹⁸¹ 'Football', *The Bunyip*, 18 March, 1887

¹⁸² 'Gawler Bicycle Club', *The Bunyip*, 21 September 1898

¹⁸³ Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815 -1914; A Study of Empire and Expansion*. p. 90

¹⁸⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 111;

Wylie, *Self-made Men*, pp. 34-74

¹⁸⁵ *Report of the South Australian Church Society for the year of 1847*.

¹⁸⁶ 'St George's Church of Gawler; Annual Vestry Meeting', *The Bunyip*, 7 April 1866; *Report of the South Australian Church Society for the year of 1847*. J. Martin gave 5 shillings.

who initially worshiped in his wheelwright's shop,¹⁸⁷ and the Salvation Army.¹⁸⁸ Such actions confirmed his position as a gentleman and leading Gawler citizen. In many ways Martin's religious stance is indicative of his belief in the 'spirit of self-sacrifice', and to his insistence on Jesus' injunction to 'love thy neighbour'.¹⁸⁹ His charitable work in many ways 'symbolised God in action.'¹⁹⁰ He donated to good causes such as the 'Distressed Farmers' Fund,'¹⁹¹ lead a campaign to help in the Bulli, New South Wales coal disaster.¹⁹² His philanthropic endeavours,¹⁹³ enhanced both his own reputation and Gawler's. Martin enjoyed a good relationship with the local Anglican Cannon Coombs, who, introducing him at a church fundraiser, remarking that, 'he could not say he would introduce that gentleman to them, for he was well known to be the friend of all good works either for the good of the town or the community'.¹⁹⁴ Martin attended other denominations occasions too and whilst some may have been because he was a parliamentarian he did demonstrate a religious tolerance which was evident in the colony from establishment.¹⁹⁵ At Easter, 1888 he and his fellow parliamentarian, Sir John Downer,¹⁹⁶ visited various Sunday Schools annual picnics.¹⁹⁷ He chaired other denominations meetings such as the Primitive Methodist Anniversary,¹⁹⁸ or the Methodist Lecture '20 Years in South Australia,' delivered by the Reverend S. Knight.¹⁹⁹ He crossed the sectarian divide to attend the Catholic Church's fundraising efforts,²⁰⁰ and visited the Catholic New Year's Day Picnic in 1892.²⁰¹ He probably appreciated that his 'religious activity was rewarded by links with a wider community',²⁰² important for any 'self-made' man.

Martin fully appreciated that his education was inadequate, and he was always a supporter of educational improvements. He recalled his own educational experience when 'people only

¹⁸⁷ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 211

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 212

¹⁸⁹ Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment; the case of William Guthrie Spence." p. 69

¹⁹⁰ Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism; Aspects of the Diffusion of the Ideal*. p. 169

¹⁹¹ 'Distressed Farmers' Fund', *The Bunyip*, 4 December 1896, donation of fifty pounds

¹⁹² 'Items of News', *The Bunyip*, 22 April 1887

¹⁹³ 'Hon. James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888.

¹⁹⁴ 'Al Fresco Fete and Floral Fair', *The Bunyip*, 21 November 1890

¹⁹⁵ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 249

¹⁹⁶ Bartlett, Peter, 'Downer, Sir John William (1843 -1915)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography; Online Edition*, Australian National University, <http://www.online.anu.edu/biogs/A080355b.htm?hilite=Downer> Accessed on-line 16/09/2008

¹⁹⁷ 'The Holidays; Easter Monday', *The Bunyip*, 6 April 1888

¹⁹⁸ 'Gawler Primitive Methodist Anniversary Services', *The Bunyip*, 26 August 1892

¹⁹⁹ 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 15 March 1889 & Chaired public meeting at Wesleyan Church Public Meeting, 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 8 March 1895

²⁰⁰ 'The Bazaar', *The Bunyip*, 21 June 1889

²⁰¹ 'Annual Catholic Picnic', *The Bunyip*, 8 January 1892

²⁰² Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 99

undertook teaching who had failed at everything else' and he said he was 'glad that a much better system prevailed.'²⁰³ He was one of the first members on the Gawler 'School Board of Advice,' and he gave both time and money to a variety of educational institutions, such as Roseworthy Agricultural College,²⁰⁴ and other institutions.²⁰⁵ He keenly supported the Institute's technical education which grew rapidly in Gawler,²⁰⁶ perhaps having heard of the progressive American trend where successful self-made men, hired tertiary educated employees with technical and commercial skills, which replaced 'on the job' apprenticeships and the practice of working one's way to the top.²⁰⁷ He attended meetings to discuss the subjects to be taught, such as geology offering to 'do all he could for the interests of the class.'²⁰⁸ In 1892 he chaired the inaugural class meeting of the 'mechanical drawing and technical engineering classes', and sharing some insights into 'the History of the Steam Engine'.²⁰⁹ Such classes could aid the development of industries like his. In 1898 the Institute held a presentation in appreciation for his enduring services. Complimentary speeches abounded to which Martin modestly replied that 'more praise had been given him than the circumstances warranted'.²¹⁰

Martin spent many hours attending to civic duties. As Hall argues, successful middle-class English men who contributed to treasury coffers often sought public office,²¹¹ for it resulted in 'economic power and cultural prestige'.²¹² Martin started at local level in 1857 when the Corporation of Gawler, was established and he became one of the first alderman, subsequently became a councillor. In 1861, mayors became elected,²¹³ and he was elected on seven subsequent occasions,²¹⁴ such was his popularity. In 1865, he was elected to represent the Barossa electorate in the House of Assembly, serving between 1865 and 1868.²¹⁵ From 1885 to 1899 Martin sat in the Legislative Council for the North-East Province. He voted in favour

²⁰³ 'Breaking-Up for the Holidays; Presentation of Prizes; Gawler School of Mines', *The Bunyip*, 24 December 1897

²⁰⁴ 'Roseworthy Agricultural College, Annual Speech Day', *The Bunyip*, 17 February 1897, he donated prizes

²⁰⁵ Such as 'Gawler High School For Girls', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1892, Martin presented prizes

²⁰⁶ 'Gawler School of Mines', *The Bunyip*, 23 June 1893, when classes in chemistry and physics were introduced large numbers of students enrolled. No classroom was large enough or vacant in the Institute however Messrs James Martin & Co provided their vacant offices 'rent free'.

²⁰⁷ Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America; the Myth of Rags to Riches*. pp. 94-108

²⁰⁸ 'The School of Mines Offer', *The Bunyip*, 19 September 1890

²⁰⁹ 'The Mechanical Drawing and Technical Engineering Classes', *The Bunyip*, 5 February 1892

²¹⁰ 'The Hon., Jas Martin, MLC; Honored by Institute Subscribers; Interesting Reminiscences', *The Bunyip*, 1 July 1898

²¹¹ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 161

²¹² *Ibid.* p. 264

²¹³ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 37

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 64 Martin was Mayor of Gawler in 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1868, 1877, 1878, & 1887

²¹⁵ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899)".

of 'land tax',²¹⁶ the 'popular' 'Goyder's valuation of the pastoral runs' as well as a 'protective tariff'.²¹⁷ His re-election in 1885 was, according to *the Bunyip* attributed to his continuing insistence that local industry required protection.²¹⁸ By 1894 his conservatism was recognised and he became an 'endorsed' candidate by the National Defence League.²¹⁹ Indeed, Martin feared for the future, resisting change. He had a point, for as Verity Burgmann argues, in the 1890s the Australian colonies, were considered to be a 'social laboratory',²²⁰ with 'revolutionary potential'.²²¹ He was cautious about social reformers and social theories they espoused. He singled out of the local newspaper editor, Mr E.H. Coombe, who was an 'independent', and a 'progressive,' parliamentary candidate,²²² saying, 'He was not sure about him' as he was 'afraid that by electing him they would be destroying a good citizen and making a dangerous legislator'.²²³ Clearly, he felt that wealthy and more conservative men like himself, and his peers were more appropriate legislators. Martin was of the opinion that he and his friend, Sir John Downer²²⁴ had parliamentary careers which were beyond reproach saying, 'the two of them had represented the district for a long time, and he thought they had faithfully performed their duties and had always done what they were asked to do'.²²⁵ Of positive future advantage to the Gawler district was his instigation of a dependable water supply,²²⁶ a resource that both the community and his business depended upon. Campaigning and planning took years and experts and visitors came and went,²²⁷ however, by 1899 the 'Barossa Waterworks,' was underway,²²⁸ and finally completed in 1902.²²⁹ The Legislative Council was another platform to criticise the Union movement and the Labour Party such as in 1892, with the 'Conciliation Bill' where Martin acknowledged that 'Employers had done many wrongs' to their staff previously, and had 'oppressed the men but recently the Unions

²¹⁶ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 30

²¹⁷ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

²¹⁸ 'Protection; To The Editor', *The Bunyip* 15 May, 1885

²¹⁹ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

²²⁰ Verity Burgmann, *'In Our Time': Socialism and the Rise of Labor, 1885 -1905* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985). p. 10

²²¹ *Ibid.* p. 13

²²² Dean Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography- Online Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-),

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080114b.htm?hilit=Coombe%3BE%3BH>. Assessed 3/12/2007,

²²³ 'Address By Hon James Martin MLC; The Political Situation and The Government Policy', *The Bunyip*, 28 April 1899

²²⁴ Bartlett, "Downer, Sir John William (1843-1915) ".

²²⁵ 'Address By Hon., James Martin MLC; The Political Situation and The Government Policy', *The Bunyip*, 28 April 1899

²²⁶ 'Hon., James Martin; A South Australian Worthy', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1888

²²⁷ 'Barossa Water Scheme', *The Bunyip*, 7 November 1890; 'Visit to Barossa; This Day', *The Bunyip*, 17 April 1891; 'The Commissioner of Crown Lands and the Barossa Water Scheme Committee', *The Bunyip*, 23 October 1891; 'Gawler Water Supply; Report of the Government Geologist; Supply Sufficient for all Requirements', reprinted in *The Bunyip*, 8 January 1892

²²⁸ 'The Barossa Waterworks', *The Bunyip*, 30 June 1899

²²⁹ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

had such power and so far with it that they had weakened their position'.²³⁰ He was 'very sorry that the workman's Unions were led by some men who were extreme in their views. This had done the working men much injury'.²³¹ He continued, defending the entrepreneurship of men like himself 'If the employees would only accept the bad with good, things would prosper, but the idea was to try and destroy individualism and the accumulation of wealth'. He complained 'As soon as a business began to pay, somebody wished the thing nationalised'.²³²

Martin took a conservative stance to women's position in society. The nineteenth century maxim that 'chivalry towards women was de rigueur',²³³ coupled with a mid-nineteenth century development that Australian women 'be tied in more closely to the institution of marriage'²³⁴ seems in keeping with Martin's views. In Gawler from the late 1880s, women began appearing on the public stage with such visits as South Australian, Mrs O. Lake, 'well-known lady preacher',²³⁵ or American W.C.T.U. leader, Miss Jessie Ackerman,²³⁶ along with local W.C.T.U. members who campaigned vigorously in South Australia to have women enfranchised. Like many men, he may have 'been disturbed and threatened by these changes',²³⁷ and the appearance of the 'new woman' may have presented a threat to his masculinity.²³⁸ In 1894, as women clamoured to have their citizenship rights enshrined in law, in the legislative house, Martin introduced 'the Adult Suffrage Bill made applicable to women over 25 only, however, it was unsuccessful',²³⁹ however, South Australian women were subsequently enfranchised. To celebrate the momentous occasion, the Gawler W.C.T.U. members organised a social to which Martin was invited. Given his attempts to have restrictive conditions placed on woman's suffrage he expressed surprise at his invitation and took the opportunity to explain his perspective when women had sought his support. He said, 'he did not see his way clear to do so as the time had not yet arrived' and in his opinion, 'they were advancing faster than Nature's Laws were advancing in that direction'.²⁴⁰ Ever pragmatic

²³⁰ 'The Hon. James Martin and the Labour Question', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1892

²³¹ 'The Hon. James Martin and the Labour Question', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1892

²³² 'The Hon. James Martin and the Labour Question', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1892

²³³ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 113

²³⁴ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History; Poverty and Progress*. p. 69

²³⁵ 'Gawler West Bible Christian Church Anniversary', *The Bunyip*, 21 November 1889

²³⁶ 'Miss Ackermann in Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1889

²³⁶ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent. South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 495

²³⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 104

²³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 117

²³⁹ 'Political Scraps', *The Bunyip*, 17 August 1894

²⁴⁰ 'The W.C.T.U. Social', *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1895

however, he concluded by saying that now women were able to vote they should ‘do their duty and register their votes,’ and as ‘they had got it they must make the best they could of it.’²⁴¹

There are many examples of Martin the industrialist, in his ‘locus of breadwinning’,²⁴² conducting many people around his enterprise which earned him the reputation as a liberal and genial host, and he seemed happy with the coverage given to such occasions.²⁴³ However, his family life remained a private affair possibly because he suffered many tragedies as well as it was ‘no longer the place for production’.²⁴⁴ In the period, the forces working together in society in the realms of social, historic, industrial, economic and politics, resulted in the ‘divergence of private and public life, as the separation of male and female spheres, as the emergence of a cult of domesticity and the parallel masculine ideal of the self-made man’ occurred.²⁴⁵

Martin’s homes were part of his public persona and reflect his rising fortunes. A cottage in Murray Street adjacent to his business and opposite the Post office was his first abode.²⁴⁶ The acquisition of property signalled to others in the community that he had secured sufficient resources to take an ‘independent’ stand,²⁴⁷ however, as his wealth increased he decided to leave Gawler’s centre because ‘the heart of a manufacturing town became less attractive place to live.’²⁴⁸ He acquired ‘Trevu’ about 1852,²⁴⁹ and a homestead was built for him sometime in the 1860s. The solid stone house nestled in gardens interspersed by substantial trees, open space, and dissected by the drive-way which progressed towards the house from substantial entrance pillars. It was a large comfortable colonial single story residence with a sweeping flight of steps up to the front door, and partially surrounded by a typical veranda.²⁵⁰ Like other men of the same ilk, he probably wanted needed peace and quiet away from the problems, and commotion of his industrial complex,²⁵¹ and chose this secluded property a short distance east from Gawler’s centre.

²⁴¹ ‘The W.C.T.U. Social’, *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1895

²⁴² Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. p. 147

²⁴³ For example Archbishop Reynolds who visited, *The Bunyip*, 2 December, 1892

²⁴⁴ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 -1865*. p. 147

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 155

²⁴⁶ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 71

²⁴⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. pp. 182-3

²⁴⁸ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 16

²⁴⁹ Trevu sometimes spelt with an ‘e’; ‘Fifty Years a Gawlerite; The Hon., Jas Martin’s Career’, *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

²⁵⁰ Brown Graig, "Trevu House," www.gawler.nowandthen.net.au/indexphptitle=Trevu_House. pp.1-6

²⁵¹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. pp . 251-

The proximity from Gawler enabled Martin to combine managing his Gawler business interests while emulating a style country squire there-by demonstrating that he was a 'real gentleman,' because owning property was an important criterion of gentlemanly status'.²⁵² On his property Martin enjoyed, 'the intricacies of scientific agriculture with satisfying results.'²⁵³ He employed a gardener and agricultural workers for farm-work,²⁵⁴ and produced crops and raised his prized Durham and Hereford cattle, well as horses.²⁵⁵ He successfully exhibited his stock, implements manufactured by his company, plants, flowers and vegetables, at the Gawler Agricultural, Horticultural and Floriculture Society shows²⁵⁶ as well as being an official in the organisation.²⁵⁷

The James Martin family which lived in the commodious home however, had many problems and tragedies. In Martin's era, marriage and the resulting domesticity remained an option most desired as well as improving social standing,²⁵⁸ and it cemented a desire to achieve 'adult manhood as soon as possible.'²⁵⁹ Martin understandably probably did not have much time to spend with his family because of his hectic community and business schedule, making him a 'family man' while hardly ever seeing his family'.²⁶⁰ However, in an age where many fathers dominated the life of a family with images showing large gatherings of friends and family there appears to be few nostalgic reminders. Martin married not long after arriving in South Australia for like other self-made men, his domestic life was important to him.²⁶¹ However Christiana's death in 1852, leaving two small children must have been a devastating blow. In 1853 Martin married Ann Lock who died months later. His final marriage in 1858 was to Mrs Charlotte Vickerstaff, of North Adelaide. Charlotte had a lively interest in the

²¹³¹ Ibid. p. 205

²¹³² Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 348.

²¹³³ 'Fire at Mr James Martin's Farm', *The Bunyip*, 29 October, 1886. p. 2

²¹³⁴ 'The Gawler Agricultural, Horticultural and Floricultural Show', *The Bunyip*, 26 September 1890.

²¹³⁵ 'Gawler Agricultural Society's Show', *The Bunyip* 26 February 1875

²¹³⁶ 'Gawler Agricultural Society; Special Meeting', *The Bunyip*, 13 March 1891, Martin a committee member

²¹³⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. sp. 106

²¹³⁸ Ibid. p. 184

²¹³⁹ Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment; the case of William Guthrie Spence." pp. 70-3

²¹⁴⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 324

²¹⁴¹ 'Local Mems,' *The Bunyip*, 5 October 1894; Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ". ; *South Australian; Index of Registrations 1842- 1916* ; 'The Late Mrs James Martin', *The Bunyip*, 9 November 1894 .

²¹⁴² *South Australian; Index of Registrations 1842- 1916*

²¹⁴³ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 4

town's activities, particularly during her first marriage however, her failing eye-sight curtailed public activity. They had no children and she died forty years later, in 1894.²⁶²

Christiana's one son, John born in 1850 survived to adulthood,²⁶³ and he must have experienced a difficult childhood, with the loss of his mother and the adjustment to two stepmothers in his formative years. In the period, fathers were very concerned about the outcome of their efforts in bringing up their children particularly boys, as it affected, in Tosh's words, 'not only his private satisfaction as a parent, but his social standing as a man.'²⁶⁴ Here the 'most pressing concern was to prepare their sons for an adult world which many saw as more challenging and dangerous than themselves had faced as young men'.²⁶⁵ Like George Henry Cox of Mudgee, Martin seems to have been very concerned with his son who was to carry on his name and lineage.²⁶⁶ John had a low public profile and there are few references to him in the local media with one being his marriage in 1883 at St George's Anglican Church to Adelaide Isobel Annie Parr.²⁶⁷ In 1890, he started the first locomotive engine, which was described as 'his first public action'²⁶⁸ and there-after led an apparent retiring life. There is the sense that John did not come up to his father's high standards. Martin bequeathed his beloved Trevu to him for his use during his lifetime however, with the proviso that he kept the establishment in 'good and substantial order'.²⁶⁹ The large Trevu clearing sale, and the leasing of over a thousand Trevu's acres however, after Martin's death further substantiate the idea that John Martin did not come up to his father's expectations.

Some of Martin's extended family had followed him to South Australia.²⁷⁰ A brother, and his family, arrived in the 1850s however, this brother, died soon after their reunion. Martin raised his nephew John Felix (sometimes referred to as J.F or James) who became the business heir. Martin had a 'high opinion of his nephew's ability' and he was an active, well-regarded member of the community.²⁷¹ J.F. lived at 'Martindale,' a substantial residence, designed by Colonel Light's former deputy, G.S. Kingston,²⁷² and situated in central Gawler. James

²⁶⁵ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain; Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. p. 110

²⁶⁶ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 4

²⁶⁷ 'Married', *The Bunyip*, 12 January 1883

²⁶⁸ 'Messrs Martin and Co.'s Foundry', *The Bunyip*, 28 May 1886

²⁶⁹ 'The Last Will and Testament of James Martin', *Probate Registry*, Adelaide 22 September 1898

²⁷⁰ Ibid; Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 288

²⁷¹ Ibid. p. 288

²⁷² Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region - the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 209

Martin employed other family members such as his niece, Miss Hannah Gill, who became Trevu's housekeeper in 1885, and because of her aunt's increasing sight-impairment assisted her and appeared to have been responsible for staff work duties which kept the household working efficiently.²⁷³ Miss Gill remained in residence until her death in 1899.²⁷⁴ Martin plainly was a very busy man and attended to the family's needs the best he could under the circumstances, although his 'manly identity was anchored to a sense of family responsibility.'²⁷⁵ Family life however, was marred the passing of three wives and having only one child growing to maturity.

Over the years of his life James Martin was accorded many accolades from a community which was grateful for his efforts on their behalf. In 1898, Martin received friends at a celebration to mark his birthday where one of his oldest friends spoke about his life saying 'that a knighthood would hardly adequately represent the merits of this worthy pioneer.'²⁷⁶ The same year he was feted on the anniversary of his arrival in the colony with a special demonstration which included the towns' school children and adults. In the evening a 'social' was held with parliamentarians, local dignitaries and religious leaders attending to mark the occasion.²⁷⁷ He had had a busy and full life.

James Martin died in 1899 on the eve of a new century aged seventy-eight years old. For many Gawlerites he had been a leading member of the community for a very long time and as the Reverend Samuel Knight said of him he was the 'bone, pith and marrow,'²⁷⁸ of the town, so much so that he was regarded with 'veneration and honor'.²⁷⁹ Over 1,500 people from all sections of society attended the funeral,²⁸⁰ which was in organised in keeping with 'imitation of the elaborate British culture of death.'²⁸¹ A 'life size, marble,' statue of a 'speaking likeness,' was erected,²⁸² as a memorial for the 'Father of Gawler'.²⁸³

²⁷³ 'Fire at Mr James Martin's Farm', *The Bunyip*, 29 October, 1886

²⁷⁴ *The Bunyip*, 24 March 1899, Hannah Gill resident in South Australia for 34 years.

²⁷⁵ Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment; the case of William Guthrie Spence.", pp. 70-3

²⁷⁶ 'Gawler's "Grand Old Man,"' *The Bunyip*, 29 April 1898

²⁷⁷ 'The Hon., Jas. Martin, MLC; Jubilee Celebrations; An Eventful Half-Century; Graceful Tributes', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

²⁷⁸ Reverend Samuel Knight, '20 Years in South Australia', *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1889

²⁷⁹ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908.*, p. 286

²⁸⁰ Hirst, "Martin, James (1821 -1899) ".

²⁸¹ Pat Jalland, *Australian Ways of Death; A Social And Cultural History 1840 - 1918* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002). p. 114

²⁸² Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908.*, p. 2

²⁸³ 'The Martin Memorial,' *The Bunyip*, 2 February 1900

No-one seemed to remember the conflicts with the labour movement and his conservative stance on a number of social questions; rather Martin's life was widely praised. In fact there was little criticism in the local documents pertaining to him. Even E.H. Coombe, the editor of *The Bunyip* and the author of *The History of Gawler* who would have been in a better position than most to record a less than glowing picture was circumspect and endorsed and contributed to a celebratory biographical picture of Martin.²⁸⁴ He was remembered 'the best type of the colony's pioneer',²⁸⁵ as a 'manly' gentleman, a man of progress, a man of science, a family man, a philanthropist, a farmer and much more. His leadership, mechanical genius, his business acumen, as well as his personality had melded to produce a remarkable 'self-made' man.

²⁸⁴ Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908*.

²⁸⁵ 'Local Mems,' reprinted from *Southern Cross, The Bunyip*, 14 August 1896

Mr E.H. Coombe, (1858-1917)

Self-made Man, Newspaper Editor, Parliamentarian, Sportsman

Ephraim Henry Coombe worked long and hard to become a ‘self-made man’ in Gawler, South Australia. A first generation Australian, from a comparatively humble background, he was brought up in a Methodist household, and had a short education at a local Anglican school before becoming his father’s grocery assistant. He then took up a trade as a confectioner and probably could have carved a career in a retail business however he hungered for a different success. Money was not his ultimate goal rather he shaped a career around words and ideas hoping to improve conditions in society. Of great influence, was his Methodist inheritance, of rich associational activities and the dynamic and sometimes radical community clubs, and organisations, such as the Mechanics’ Institute, which proliferated in Gawler. In this improving environment, he had access to books and learning new skills like rhetoric. He was on his way to becoming a ‘self-made’ man of letters when he became the editor of the local newspaper in 1890, the start of an era which brought drought, depression, social unrest and the rise of the trade union movement. Ephraim engaged with these problems and more, networking with like-minded people, such as members of the ‘Forward Movement’. In his influential editorial position he disseminated all kinds of information to his readers, including temperance, woman’s suffrage, and labour issues which contributed to how citizens imagined their community. With increasing confidence, he took on a leadership role, advocating social reform before seeking colonial political office. In a mutable, turbulent and a momentous period he was a variously radical, independent, and liberal candidate and after considerable soul-searching he became a Labour Party representative in the House of Assembly. His parliamentary career was neither without problems nor controversy making his ministerial post all the more of an outstanding personal achievement. Eventually his position in public office in a climate of jingoistic public opinion, and his steadfast personal convictions in regard to conscription in World War One clashed, and led to his demise.

Ephraim was born on January 20th, 1858 in South Gawler, the eldest son of Ephraim and Mary, née Lock. He was thus a member of the ‘statistically dominant’ group in the Australian population who were native-born.¹ His father had migrated in 1855 to South Australia from

¹ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning.* p. 59

Goodleigh, Devon, in the United Kingdom.² Unfortunately, for the family, his mother died in 1864, aged twenty-eight years when Ephraim was six years old.³ Ephraim senior initially worked as a farm labourer, followed by a period at ‘Gawler Stores’ as an assistant before he established his own ‘general store’ business, in 1875 at Willaston, a progressive locality adjacent to Gawler.⁴ It was a promising enterprise and included a cellar, a garden, horse stabling,⁵ and incorporated the Post Office at which Ephraim senior served as unofficial Postmaster.⁶

Ephraim’s early years were spent in Gawler at a time of growth and expansion as many resourceful and ‘public spirited,’ colonists settled, and created a dynamic community.⁷ They continued with the same ethos as the founding fathers subscribing to, ‘civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions’⁸ making it unlike Mudgee. Gawler had begun to reap the benefits of these philosophies and many new opportunities opened to men. The Victorian gold rushes of the early 1850s fuelled the colonial economy, expanded agricultural enterprise, particularly wheat cultivation, ensuring flour milling viability which in turn stimulated many other Gawler businesses to develop and flourish and new substantial buildings arose, such as the Telegraphic Office in 1860.⁹ In colonial government, in both the wider community and locally, men were given the right to vote which further increased their confidence. Citizens co-operatively worked on various projects particularly the establishing of their Mechanics’ Institute and in a light-hearted mood, the Humbug Society was also established which parodied society’s traditions and respectable citizens. Progress was evident as the population grew, larger infrastructure developments got underway, especially in church building,¹⁰ and the town overall began showing signs of a mature urban environment.

Gawler became known as ‘The Colonial Athens’, reflecting the general ethos of the time in which ‘intellectual quality of its life’ was acclaimed.¹¹ These were Ephraim’s formative years and he imbibed the ethos and developed a deep appreciation of these men, for their vision and

² Jaensch, Dean, ‘Coombe, Ephraim Henry, (1858-1917),’ p.1; ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

³ ‘Coombe, Mary’, *The Bunyip*, 24 February, 1939, p. 3

⁴ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 267

⁵ ‘The Flood; Two Bridges Destroyed, Fences Washed Away; The North Para’, *The Bunyip*, 5 April 1889

⁶ Jaensch, Dean, ‘Coombe, Ephraim Henry, (1858-1917)’ p. 1; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 29

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 26

⁸ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829 -1857*. p. 3

⁹ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 189 & p. 229

¹⁰ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 27

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 26

endeavours which profoundly influenced many facets of his life. He later attributed his position in society to the town's influence saying, 'what I am I owe to Gawler.'¹² He delighted in the fact he was a 'native of Gawler,'¹³ saying he was 'imbued with patriotic instincts, [and] my sincere desire is to see this town, this district and this country advance materially, intellectually and morally'.¹⁴ He would have been delighted and proud to have known that his obituary recorded that he was one who 'stood notably in that succession of remarkably capable and intellectual men who won for Gawler the proud distinction of the Colonial Athens'.¹⁵

In the fullness of time, Ephraim's pride in Gawler prompted him to compile a parochial account of the town's history. It was written as a commemorative volume, documenting the passing parade of significant movements and events from white settlement as well as extolling the achievements of many citizens, including his own. It was a common aspiration of the age for men to want their life's work recorded which resulted in publications such as cyclopaedias. Ephraim's endeavour, *The History of Gawler*, was however far more comprehensive and reflected the nineteenth century masculine practice of addressing male preoccupations.¹⁶ He wrote of how the Gawler pioneers had progressed from when 'the music of the bush was a continuous symphony of primitive nature, uninterrupted by a single note from the vast orchestra of civilised industry...'¹⁷ Clearly for him civilisation was tied to the white 'race' and economic progress. Of the displaced Indigenous people, he made scant mention reflecting the period's ideas of race in which non-white males were portrayed as being 'neither manly nor civilised'.¹⁸ Rather as he had said in the preface of the book,

I am delighted to have been able to record in authentic and enduring fashion for the benefit of Athenians and the future an approximately consecutive and accurate narrative of the development of this neighbourhood, ...¹⁹

When the book was launched, and with his appreciation for Gawler and district's makeover, of developed agriculture and an ordered, landscaped town, Ephraim observed that,

¹² 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 28 April 1899

¹³ 'Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 10 April 1896

¹⁴ 'Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 10 April 1896

¹⁵ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, April, 1917

¹⁶ John Horne, "Masculinity in politics and war in the age of nation-states and world wars, 1850-1950," in *Masculinities in Politics and War; Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). p. 36

¹⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 7

¹⁸ Marilyn Lake, "Translating needs into rights: the discursive imperative of the Australian white man, 1901-30," in *Masculinities in Politics and War; Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). p. 200

¹⁹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M. P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April, 1917

it was well to have such gatherings occasionally, as they tended to link the past with the present. We were apt to forget what had been done in the past and failed to appreciate the privileges we enjoyed in consequence of past service.²⁰

The only one not in accord was Mrs Eliza Mahony, née Reid, daughter of the first gentleman proprietor-settler, who wrote from ‘home’, criticising Ephraim for he had ‘totally ignored’ her father’s endeavour, in what turned out to be, his unsuccessful colonial venture.²¹

Of his own early life Ephraim wrote precious little, however, he had a ‘happy boyhood’,²² in which his father provided a steady and hard-working role model and in this environment his masculinity was developed. He was brought-up in the Methodist religion, a faith very popular and influential in the Gawler area.²³ His father was founder and a continuing member of the Willaston Methodist Church, and served as superintendent of the Sunday School,²⁴ ensuring young Ephraim imbibed the beliefs the denomination particularly espoused, such as the ideals of ‘self-help, self-respect, improvement and education’.²⁵ Importantly he would have heard of ‘the doctrine of secular calling [which] provided the foundation for religious defence of worldly success, enabling ‘every man to lead a successful and useful temporal life as well as an acceptable spiritual life’.²⁶ His faith provided the confidence to speak from a truthful and just position,²⁷ and he maintained a life-time commitment to Methodism,²⁸ actively contributing to the community’s religious activities.²⁹

Ephraim attended the Anglican, St George’s School, in central Gawler which was founded in 1850,³⁰ as a ‘public school room’ with an Anglican Church grant and ‘subscriptions’.³¹ Exact dates of Ephraim attendance are unrecorded, however, he probably attended at about the time a ‘new’ school was opened in 1866,³² comprising of a ‘commodious room,’ and costing £700.

²⁰ ‘The Hon. Jas Martin M.L.C.; Honoured by Institute Subscribers; Interesting Reminiscences’, *The Bunyip* 1 July 1898

²¹ ‘The First Settlers of Gawler, (February, 1839)’, *The Bunyip*, 27 April, 1928, p. 4

²² ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe , M. P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April, 1917

²³ James Laurence Moss, "South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement," *Journal of Historical Society of South Australia* 6, no. 6 (1979). p. 21

²⁴ ‘Early History of Gawler Methodism’, *The Bunyip*, 15 February 1946, Ephraim senior helped establish the Willaston Methodist Church in 1866

²⁵ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 56

²⁶ Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America; the Myth of Rags to Riches*. pp. 60-1

²⁷ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 207

²⁸ Reverend J.C. Richmond delivered a short address at Coombe’s funeral. ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²⁹ For example; Ephraim was a speaker as at the, ‘Baptist Young Men’s Society,’ *The Bunyip*, 8 July 1898

³⁰ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 23

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 23

³² ‘New St George’s School’, *The Bunyip*, 24 February 1866

With a timber ceiling, it was described as ‘the handsomest and most complete in the colony’.³³ The school was also supported in various ways by other notables such as, Cannon W.H. Coombs, Rector of Gawler Anglican Parish, other local clergy³⁴, as well as local identities, including the Honourable Walter Duffield and the Honourable James Martin.³⁵ It admitted pupils of any denomination ‘...if they pleased, [and they] received the full benefit of the secular instruction,’ with examinations conducted at ‘various times’ and ‘half yearly.’³⁶ These examinations were announced in the newspaper³⁷ and were conducted by well-educated and esteemed notables, such as the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, Bishop Short, Dr Wyatt, Government Inspector of Education, Cannon G.H. Farr,³⁸ headmaster of St Peter’s College and L.S. Burton.³⁹ These testing inspections must have been daunting, yet memorable occasions for everyone including the young Ephraim.

Mr Burton and his school possibly were influenced by Cannon G. Farr who was headmaster at Adelaide’s St Peter’s Collegiate School from 1854 until 1879.⁴⁰ Farr recognised that South Australian conditions were different to that of Britain and education needed to be adapted accordingly, so that boys were equipped for the future, and in particular it had to have a practical bent.⁴¹ It was an era, as Crotty describes where the objective was to produce ‘Christian gentlemen’ who would be honest and truthful.⁴² Certainly Ephraim was well inculcated, as he showed in his later life. Sporting activity, such as football, rowing and cricket were developed under Farr’s auspices too⁴³ and Mr Burton, probably followed Farr’s example. However, sporting success at private schools in the era was not necessarily applauded, rather it was ‘character traits,’ such as, ‘determination and courage,’ which were exhibited during the contest which were the desired outcome.⁴⁴ Ephraim was to display these attributes often in his life to come.

³³ ‘St George’s New School Room’, *The Bunyip*, 10 March 1866.

³⁴ Gawler clergymen for example; Rev C.J. Evans, Congregational Minister or Rev J. Gordon Presbyterian

³⁵ *St Georges School, Governor’s Book*, 21st December 1866, SL: SA SRG22, D3962; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 23, lists the trustees as; Messrs Butler, A.W., Grant, S., King, T., Stubbs, W., Youngusband M.L.C.

³⁶ ‘Burton’, *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1895

³⁷ For example, ‘St Georges’ School’, *The Bunyip*, 12 June, 1869

³⁸ J.S Dunkerley, "Farr, George Henry," *Australian Dictionary of Biography-On Line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://www.adb.online.au.edu.au/biogs/A0401653b.htm>. Accessed on-line 3/12/2007

³⁹ ‘Burton’, *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1895

⁴⁰ Dunkerley, "Farr, George Henry." p.1

⁴¹ Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St Peter, Adelaide; The Founding Years; 1847-1878*. pp. 95-7

⁴² Martin Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920* . p. 39

⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 39-40

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 56

Headmaster Burton was, in many ways ahead of his time. While he was a strict disciplinarian, he apparently avoided the use of corporal punishment so widely in use in the era; rather he encouraged his young charges by making ‘companions of the boys, chatting with them in a friendly fashion on all subjects interesting and instructive’.⁴⁵ By all accounts, Burton had a marked effect on the man Ephraim was to become. Mr Burton was an outstanding role model which probably continued as and he and Ephraim were to meet in many community junctures in the future. Past scholars recalled Mr Burton, with great ‘affection and esteem’,⁴⁶ and upon his unexpected death in 1895, one individual, possibly Ephraim himself, wrote, ‘In the whole history of Gawler there is perhaps no man who did more to mould the character of its youth’.⁴⁷ Obviously Ephraim had great affection for his former headmaster and his school which provided solid foundations on which he built.

Ephraim’s childhood was thus marked by the privilege of a basic education, however, like other children in the era, his school-days were quickly behind him and at eleven years old, like his father he commenced work in the grocery business, working firstly in the centrally located ‘general store-keeping, business of Mr James Harris’s, Gawler Stores’.⁴⁸ As Tosh argues, the workplace is where the subsequent phase of masculinity development commences.⁴⁹ It was a thriving place, very much in the public domain of the business and trade enterprises where men dominated.⁵⁰ Starting in the lowliest position Ephraim would have been given direction from customers and other staff members, working behind the counter and been just perceived as a lowly counter-hand. Menial tasks, were probably his main task, shifting bulk quantities of assorted goods as they arrived giving him plenty of exercise opportunities to demonstrate he was a fit young man, important, as physicality was seen as a masculine attribute.⁵¹ So too did walking or bicycling, making customer home-deliveries to their ‘back-doors’, the customary entrance for trade’s people to frequent. Ephraim probably followed in the way of butchers’ boys and others who were ‘in the habit of furiously riding’ about Gawler’s streets.⁵²

⁴⁵ ‘Heeltaps, The Sudden Taking of Mr Burton’, *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1895

⁴⁶ ‘Heeltaps, The Sudden Taking of Mr Burton’, *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1895

⁴⁷ ‘The Open Column, The Late Mr Burton’, *The Bunyip*, 8 March 1895

⁴⁸ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

⁴⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 111

⁵⁰ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930*. p. 75

⁵¹ Robin Law, "On the Streets of Southern Dunedin: Gender in Transport," in *Sites of Gender; Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, ed. Annabel Cooper Barbera Brookes, Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p. 266

⁵² ‘Letter from Mr Turner, S.M.’ *The Bunyip*, 8 June, 1863, cited in Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 233

Ephraim subsequently joined his father in Willaston as a 'grocery assistant'.⁵³ He had improved status in this position because he was the son in the family business although he was still 'in trade'. He continued to work behind the counter however, he probably became better acquainted with customers seeing a cross-section of society and developing his social skills as he learnt about peoples' ways and lives, coming to appreciate that his father in his managerial position was respected, especially by poor customers as he had the authority to dispense assistance to those in need. This may have influenced Ephraim and his desire to help those less fortunate than himself, as he had a 'genuine sympathy for the unfortunate and oppressed.'⁵⁴ There were the same tasks to attend too, like the customer deliveries, although he may be fortunate to have a horse and cart to ease his load, as his father had stabling. There were also useful experiences too, such as the organisation of a small business, book keeping and so on which would serve him well in later endeavours and Ephraim was ambitious, always striving to 'better himself.'⁵⁵

In his betterment ambitions Ephraim aimed to become a 'self-made man' a masculinity that was wide spread in both the United Kingdom and North America. Irvine Wylie argues of the United States, from the 1830s,

the impacts of the Industrial Revolution could no longer be ignored; in the great cities of the North and the East, journalists, clergymen, lawyers and other spokesmen began to lay the foundations for the powerful nineteenth century cult...⁵⁶

Indeed in 1887, aged 30 years old, Ephraim set himself up in business, becoming a 'confectioner,' on Gawler's main through-fare, Murray Street.⁵⁷ He probably wanted to take an independent stand too.⁵⁸ Here with 'close application and unflagging industry' he overcame many setbacks.⁵⁹ This was fortunate as on 'the successful outcome of his actions depended his manliness, and failure in the public could mean a loss of male identity'.⁶⁰ He must have assessed the situation before he made the career change. As John Tosh argues in England 'bourgeois masculinity,' adjusted 'to the market' and in doing so 'the new commercial society was made possible by, and in turn reinforced, a new manhood.' No longer were men of note in the community reliant on their business assets for a living rather it was

⁵³ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

⁵⁴ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler,' *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

⁵⁵ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

⁵⁶ Wylie, *The Self-Made Man in America; the Myth of Rags to Riches*. p. 13

⁵⁷ Sands and McDougal, *South Australian Directory* (Adelaide: Sands and McDougal, 1899). 1887, p. 602; 1888, p. 605

⁵⁸ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 257

⁵⁹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

⁶⁰ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 257-8

‘the man of substance and repute,’ who came to be a leader in society.⁶¹ Catherine Hall argues that employment in business was a livelihood which was increasingly regarded as more respectable.⁶² Ephraim’s ‘self-made’ man enterprise, as a confectioner lasted for a short time only, however, it later caused him some discomfiture when as a public-office candidate, seeking election he was asked if it was a suitable occupation for a public figure.⁶³ Obviously, being in trade was still stigmatised by some and not considered respectable. Some people would have viewed his endeavours as ‘worthy’ whilst those with more elitist views would have perceived Ephraim’s efforts as a man who had arisen from ‘grubby’ trade and ‘got above himself’. He probably could have accomplished a respectable living in the confectionary trade however it was an interlude before a more illustrious occupation in the press presented itself.⁶⁴

On his trajectory of self-improvement, Ephraim realised that his education was far from complete and he embarked on a course in ‘shorthand,’⁶⁵ a business skill which expanded his employment prospects. It is not known where or when Ephraim studied shorthand however, there was useful information circulating in the general community in the era. *The Register* for example, had an article on the Bendigo School of Mines and Industries, and their subject choices in the field, suggesting South Australians should follow suit.⁶⁶ Whilst in Gumeracha, near Gawler, there was a lecture on ‘Photopy and Phonography’ in 1873 with the information that twelve lessons were required to obtain, ‘proficiency’.⁶⁷ Alternatively Ephraim may have taken a course in Adelaide.⁶⁸ With his ‘plodder’ disposition he had made self-education his crusade and he,

took every opportunity to improve himself, and was filled with a laudable ambition to attain a high degree of effective citizenship, consequently he rose step by step in knowledge, social service and public confidence and became a self-made man.⁶⁹

However, ‘unlike a majority of self-made men he retained until his death the modesty, the freshness and zest of the simple student, the learner’.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 219

⁶² Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 109

⁶³ ‘The Barossa Election; More Addresses by Mr E.H. Coombe ; Before The Ladies’, *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1896

⁶⁴ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe , M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13, April, 1917

⁶⁵ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

⁶⁶ ‘The Bendigo School of Mines and Industries’, *South Australia Register*, 6 November, 1876, p. 4

⁶⁷ ‘Phototypy and Phonography’, *South Australia Register*, 15 May 1873, p. 6

⁶⁸ ‘Advertisement’, *South Australian Register*, 1 February 1877, p. 1. One hour lessons at Norris Writing Institute.

⁶⁹ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe , M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April, 1917

⁷⁰ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

Life was not all work for Ephraim and until he went out on his own account, in 1887, he was a beneficiary of improving working conditions including shorter work hours which prevailed in Gawler from the late 1860s.⁷¹ As Brookes argues, 'Work and leisure for play defined a new way of thinking about time that had become normative in industrial societies during the nineteenth century, at least for men'.⁷² Most boys too, on entering the workforce also entered the 'world of men and began taking part in male leisure activities'.⁷³ Ephraim developed a diverse range of pursuits. Like his father who was a long-time member of the 'Loyal Lodge of Odd-fellows',⁷⁴ Ephraim followed suit however, as an abstainer of 'tobacco or alcohol',⁷⁵ he chose one which catered for 'working men, who recognise the growing importance of combining temperance principles with Friendly Societies'.⁷⁶ These organisations also 'helped to promote workers' self-discipline, giving training in policy planning and in organisation, to future members of the labour movement'.⁷⁷ Nearly twenty year old, he joined the 'Rose of Gawler Tent I.O.R.' and was a member for 38 years, as well as a foundation member of the 'Sons of Temperance-Perseverance Division,' serving as one of the 'first officers' when it was established in 1877.⁷⁸ Ephraim, formed long-term associations with other like-minded members who considered alcohol use a major moral issue in society.⁷⁹ One such organisation was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, (W.C.T.U.) and attending one of their functions in 1898, he explained that he 'considered that drunkenness was a great evil,' and that 'there must be strong public sentiment maintained against our drinking customs...'⁸⁰ however, he 'did not favour "prohibition," rather he advocated government regulation of the liquor trade'.⁸¹

⁷¹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 226

⁷² Barbara Brookes, Erk Olssen, and Emma Beer, "Spare Time? Leisure, Gender and Modernity," in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men & Modernity in Southern Dunedin 1890-1939*, ed. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p.151

⁷³ Ibid. p. 153

⁷⁴ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 267 Coombe snr spent 50 years in the 'Loyal Gawler Lodge of Odd fellows'.

⁷⁵ Martin, J. 'Address by Hon James Martin, M.L.C.', *The Political Situation and The Government Policy*, *The Bunyip*, 28 April 1896

⁷⁶ Loyau, *The Gawler Handbook; A Record of the Rise and Progress of That Important Town; To which are Added Memoirs of McKinlay the Explorer and Dr Nott*. p. 124

⁷⁷ Moss, "South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement." p. 21

⁷⁸ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

⁷⁹ Barbara Brookes, "The Risk to Life and Limb: Gender and Health," in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin 1890 - 1939*, ed. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p. 155

⁸⁰ 'Trough handed to Corporation', *The Bunyip*, 25 June 1898

⁸¹ 'Trough handed to Corporation', *The Bunyip*, 25 June 1898

Ephraim was a committed freemason.⁸² As Caroline Daley described, their meetings provided men with ‘their own masculine ceremonies’,⁸³ where men could for a time, leave behind the mundane world and become someone who mattered, perhaps one day attaining the rank of ‘master’.⁸⁴ For Ephraim, as a grocery assistant, or a ‘confectioner,’ this likely was an agreeable insight. Freemasonry was an ‘influential and wide ranging masculine association,’⁸⁵ which had been introduced to Australia from the United Kingdom with the early ‘military regiments,’ and spread to South Australia with settlement. The society noted for its secretive nature, attracted in particular men from business, churches and law.⁸⁶ It was characterised by, ‘Brotherhood, self-help, mutual responsibility and protection of the weak, which were values compatible with both Christianity and democracy, but were more suited to egalitarian, than a hierarchical organisation’.⁸⁷ It suited Ephraim admirably, and assisted him in his ambitions in society, by providing a social network which allowed him to become acquainted with other colleagues or ‘brothers’ and gave him an insight into their individual ‘personal capacities and resources.’⁸⁸

Sport was a favourite pastime for Ephraim, the interest of which was probably sparked at school. He played cricket, promoted at the time as a ‘manly’ sport and one which was a ‘splendid game to develop good elements of character’,⁸⁹ as well as enhancing ‘both muscles and mind’.⁹⁰ This sentiment would have appealed to Ephraim. ‘Representative teams,’ were as Daly argues ‘symbols of a town’s ‘unity and cohesion’,’⁹¹ and Gawlerites were a particularly proud and loyal group of citizens. Ephraim played for the ‘Union Cricket Club’ and had a long and happy cricketing career, spanning 25 years.⁹² Games were regularly described in detail in the local newspaper, such as the 1887 article which recounted that the Union team, had lost a match after ‘disaster set in,’ although Ephraim, ‘played well’.⁹³ For that season, he topped the averages list being described as ‘remarkably consistent right through the season, never once failing to score...’⁹⁴ He maintained his sporting prowess becoming one of the three Union members selected in a 1890s representative Gawler team to

⁸² Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)." p.1

⁸³ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930.* p. 152

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 152

⁸⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850.* pp. 425-6

⁸⁶ David Hilliard, "Freemasonry," in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, ed. Wilfred Prest (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2001). p. 217

⁸⁷ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning.* p. 89

⁸⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850.* p. 208

⁸⁹ ‘The Gawler Cricket Association; A Social’, *The Bunyip* , 29 July 1898

⁹⁰ ‘Quis Quis ‘Current Topics’, *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1889

⁹¹ Daly, *Elysian Field; Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836 -1890.* p. 161

⁹² Coombe, *History of Gawler 1837-1908.* p.242

⁹³ ‘Cricket’, *The Bunyip*, 15 April 1887

⁹⁴ ‘Cricket; Union Cricket Club; Season 1886-7’, *The Bunyip*, 6 May 1887

play against ‘the South Australian premiers, Norwood at Adelaide Oval’,⁹⁵ followed by his inclusion in the 1892 team to play in a ‘Gawler Association team’.⁹⁶ Ephraim recorded that in 1893 ‘Stoddart’s team’ from England ‘played in a two-day match at Gawler’ and he was ‘the top scorer with 46’.⁹⁷ In 1894 he was also elected as ‘president’ of his beloved Union Club,⁹⁸ and in 1898 he was awarded the trophy for his batting ability, which was donated by Mr. A. J. Murray a member of the local elite and a man he admired.⁹⁹ The pinnacle of his success however, was his selection to represent South Australia.¹⁰⁰ In 1902 aged, forty-four, Ephraim, still found time to play, participating in the ‘Up-And-At-Ems,’ team against Williamstown.¹⁰¹ Unlike Mudgee’s James Loneragan’s who had a daily solitary swim which demonstrated the rough toughness that was important to his masculinity, Ephraim, preferred team participation in the public domain, enjoying the camaraderie and competitiveness the game engendered as his recounting of Gawler cricket and his career in his publication demonstrates.¹⁰²

Ephraim loved playing chess, and like cricket, he played it with considerable skill, representing South Australia.¹⁰³ Similarly to cricket, it was beneficial to his body and mind,¹⁰⁴ expanded his social network and with his chess aptitude he again appeared in chess competition results, published in the local newspaper.¹⁰⁵ In 1891 he won the Gawler Chess Tourney for the third time in a row,¹⁰⁶ and in 1892 a Norwood team ‘drove up from town’, and played the Gawler team in which it was reported Ephraim ‘scored a deserved (though lucky) win’.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes the games became drawn out and had to be continued by correspondence, although the 1893 South Australian team game in which Ephraim was selected, against New South Wales was unusual as it was to be played via the telegraph. Unfortunately he was unable to participate because of ‘indisposition’.¹⁰⁸ However, in a very full life, in 1896 his results improved and he was described as having ‘played splendidly’,¹⁰⁹ and overall ‘he had few equals’.¹¹⁰

⁹⁵ ‘Cricket’, *The Bunyip*, 10 January 1890

⁹⁶ ‘Cricket’, *The Bunyip*, 2 December 1892

⁹⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 241

⁹⁸ ‘Unions’, *The Bunyip*, 21 September 1894

⁹⁹ ‘The Gawler Cricket Association; A Social’, *The Bunyip*, 29 July 1898

¹⁰⁰ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)." p.1

¹⁰¹ ‘Cricket; Up-And-At-Ems v Williamstown’, *The Bunyip*, 4 April 1902

¹⁰² Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. pp. 241-3

¹⁰³ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)." p.1

¹⁰⁴ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip* 13 April 1917

¹⁰⁵ ‘Chess in Gawler’, *The Bunyip*, 11 August 1890 ;‘Chess,’ *The Bunyip*, 3 July 1891

¹⁰⁶ ‘The Winter Tourney Gawler Chess Club’, *The Bunyip*, 14 August 1891

¹⁰⁷ ‘Norwood v Gawler; Gawler Chess Club’, *The Bunyip*, 5 February 1892

¹⁰⁸ ‘Intercolonial Chess; South Australia v New South Wales’, *The Bunyip*, 26 May 1893

¹⁰⁹ ‘Chess Items’, *The Bunyip*, 22 May 1896

¹¹⁰ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip* 13 April 1917

Ephraim's life was busy, and made more so when at twenty-two years of age, he married 18 year old Sarah Susannah Fraser Heywood also from Willaston, in Adelaide on March 1st, 1880.¹¹¹ Their first child Harry Heywood was born before the end of the year and subsequently their family comprised, four sons and two daughters.¹¹² Self-made men generally did not contemplated marriage until their business was well established, like James Loneragan was before he married. At this time, Ephraim was a mere grocery assistant, and it would have been most unlikely that he had any capital accumulated and future prospects appeared to offer no more than a meagre life-style. The lack of financial resources meant they were at the mercy of the rental market and moving house became part of the rhythm of the family's life. From Willaston,¹¹³ they moved to Finnis Street, in central Gawler,¹¹⁴ and by 1903 they were living in 'Gulf View,' on Bishop Street,¹¹⁵ a more prestigious area of Gawler.¹¹⁶ By 1909 the Coombe family had returned to Willaston, living on Burrows Street, in their own home,¹¹⁷ remaining there until 1914,¹¹⁸ when parliamentary duties made moving to Adelaide essential.¹¹⁹

Methodists believed that the home was central to family life however, Ephraim must have been absent frequently from his family home participating in a myriad of associations and clubs. In spite of this he had a loving relationship with his family, which was characterised by 'goodness'¹²⁰ as he 'exercised fatherly judgement' and earned a reputation as a 'good' father.¹²¹ Sarah was a busy wife and mother with the arrival of the children spanning the years from 1880 until 1898.¹²² Even before the family was complete, Sarah had become involved in the public sphere. She made appearances as a soloist,¹²³ and later in life, likely in the role of a

¹¹¹ *South Australia; Births; Index of Registrations 1842-1916.* p. 854

¹¹² Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

¹¹³ List of donations includes E.H. Coombe, living in Willaston. *The Bunyip*, 31 March 1893

¹¹⁴ 'Townships Directory', *Sands and McDougal Directory*, 1893, 1894 & 1895, reveals he was living in Finnis Street. p. 663; 'Particulars published by the Town Council', *The Bunyip*, June 1895.

¹¹⁵ 'Townships Directory,' *Sands and McDougal Directory*, 1903, p. 198

¹¹⁶ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.*, p. 190 'Gulf View', part of the 1873 Clonlea subdivision increased house numbers from 85 to 127, many of which were substantial new dwellings replacing old cottages. It was Gawler's – 'Nob Hill'.

¹¹⁷ *Legislative Council*, Midland District, Barossa Division. Vol 4, 368, SA/Elect/2, Property of Coombe listed as 'freehold,'

¹¹⁸ 'Townships Directory,' *Sands and McDougal, South Australian Directory.* Adelaide, 1914.

¹¹⁹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip* 13 April 1917

¹²⁰ 'Death of Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.; A Useful Life', *The Barossa News*, 13 April 1917

¹²¹ 'Death of Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.; A Useful Life', *The Barossa News*, 13 April 1917

¹²² *South Australia; Births; Index of Registrations 1842-1916.* Henry Heywood born 1880; James Bright, born 1883; Ernest John Hiscock, born 1895; Samuel Walter, born 1889; Daisy Neville, born, 1890; Catherine Helen Spence, born 1898.

¹²³ 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip* 18 November 1892

wife of a public figure, in Gawler she ‘christened’ a new bridge over the Para River.¹²⁴ She shared with Ephraim, an abiding interest in temperance and signed the W.C.T.U., pledge, aged 33 years in 1895.¹²⁵ That year she was elected as a corresponding secretary,¹²⁶ and in 1899 she became the local superintendent of the suffrage department.¹²⁷ Other organisations she was also actively involved included the Gawler District Trained Nursing Society and the Adelaide Children’s Hospital Gawler Cot Committee.¹²⁸ Ephraim and Sarah seemed to have had a companionate marriage, in which Ephraim was described as ‘a kind husband,’¹²⁹ who was supportive and protective of his wife. Sarah’s public activities were brought to the public’s attention when ‘disparaging remarks,’ were voiced. Ephraim rose to her defence, objecting to her being criticised, saying, ‘his wife was fit to go wherever he was fit to go’.¹³⁰ The episode called Ephraim’s masculinity into question too, for the ability to support and protect his wife, was vital in the period.¹³¹ With an increasing public persona, Ephraim appreciated that it was imperative to maintain his wife’s ‘respectable’ status in the eyes of the community, for like the situation in early modern England as Elizabeth Foster argues, ‘Men were all too aware that their honour depended on the actions and words of their wives.’¹³²

Ephraim’s progress to become a ‘self-made’ man was slow. However, he was rewarded for his tenacity when he became the ‘local literary correspondent for *the South Australian Register*’ a position he held until 1914.¹³³ His shorthand lessons combined with his innate aptitude and in spite of ‘no formal academic instruction’, newspaper journalism came to him ‘in a perfectly natural manner’.¹³⁴ His ‘sub editor,’ Charles J. Stevens became his mentor and they had a long association.¹³⁵ When the ‘Adelaide Federal Convention’ was convened, he was the only country journalist to be an ‘official Hansard reporter’¹³⁶ and in due course he earned a reputation for being a ‘very good reporter’.¹³⁷ The change in occupation demonstrated that he had made the most of the opportunities available and his educational

¹²⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 229 & 167

¹²⁵ ‘WCTU Pledge’ Gawler, SLSA SRG186/509

¹²⁶ ‘WCTU’, *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1895

¹²⁷ ‘Gawler Women’s Christian Temperance Union’, *The Bunyip*, 15 September 1899

¹²⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. pp. 212-3

¹²⁹ ‘Death of Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.; A Useful Life’, *The Barossa News*, 13 April 1917

¹³⁰ ‘The Barossa Election; More Addresses by Mr E.H. Coombe; Before The Ladies’, *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1896

¹³¹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 199

¹³² Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England; Honour, Sex and Marriage*. p. 2

¹³³ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

¹³⁴ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

¹³⁵ ‘Mr E.H. Coombe M.P., ‘CIT’ An Appreciation,’ *The Bunyip*, 23 February 1917

¹³⁶ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

¹³⁷ ‘The Political Situation; Address by the Hon, James Martin’, *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1896

efforts had paid dividends, auguring well for a better future. In Gawler, similar to Southern Dunedin in New Zealand, as Annabel Cooper, Erik Olsen, Kirsten Thomlinson and Robin Law argue, skilled workers were not only 'broadly-egalitarian, [and] cooperative but it was also 'future-orientated.'¹³⁸ And Ephraim Coombe certainly had an eye to the future.

Self-improvement marked the life of Ephraim Coombe, and he 'plodded'¹³⁹ diligently to attain his many goals. In the latter 1880s Ephraim began developing leisure activities that had a more cultured nature. He dabbled in amateur acting, regardless of any 'evangelical fears about worldly attractions,' particularly 'the novel and the theatre'.¹⁴⁰ He participated in the Gawler Amateur Comedy Company's, 'Still Waters Run Deep',¹⁴¹ and later in the play, 'Lost in London' which was well received and the audience 'enjoyed the representation'.¹⁴² He subsequently continued with this interest as 'President of the Theatrical Club'.¹⁴³ However, it was from the myriad of activities at the Gawler Institute that he and many others benefitted. Even before the Institute 'home' was finally opened in 1872, it provided for many a young man's quest for knowledge in a wide variety of fields. In the new premises an extensive library allowed men to borrow from the numerous volumes, journals and newspapers. The meeting rooms were home to a variety of clubs that catered for a range of interests, whilst classes, were undertaken, augmented by an assortment of speakers presenting a range of topics. It was here along with many townsmen including his old school headmaster, Mr Burton,¹⁴⁴ that Ephraim's world expanded and he went on to serve the Institute and its affiliated organisations over time, in different capacities,¹⁴⁵ including as president in 1898. Ephraim obviously enjoyed this world of learning, mixing with others of a similar mind, always aspiring to improve society. The 'voluntary society' experience gave him the opportunity, 'to learn the skills of local government' and as a member of the middle-class, like other men it 'established their rights to political leadership.'¹⁴⁶

¹³⁸ Cooper Annabel et al., "The Landscape of Gender Politics: Place, People and Two Mobilisations," in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men & Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890 -1939*, ed. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p. 47

¹³⁹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, MP.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

¹⁴⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 437

¹⁴¹ 'Gawler Amateur Comedy Company', *The Bunyip* 12 August 1887

¹⁴² 'Lost in London, The Gawler Amateur Comedy Company', *The Bunyip*, 30 May 1890

¹⁴³ 'The New Drop Scene', *The Bunyip* 26 February 1900

¹⁴⁴ Examples of attendance, 'Gawler Institute; Monthly Committee meeting,' *The Bunyip* 12 June 1891, or Coombe, vice president the Gawler Literary Societies Union, 'Gawler Literary Societies Union,' *The Bunyip*, 30 September 1898, or 'Gawler Institute ; Special Committee Meeting,' *The Bunyip*, 3 November 1893 and here he was appointed to the book and finance committees, or in 1896 he was President of the Institute Literary and a Sociological Society

¹⁴⁵ 'Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 10 April 1896

¹⁴⁶ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 101

Within the Institute organisation, Ephraim was particularly active, in the Literary Society.¹⁴⁷ The program for members' included enhancing their rhetorical skills, in the English tradition of public speaking which in the period was viewed as an especially 'manly' occupation. With the generally accepted notion of 'manly oratory-demand, protest, declamation, [and] consent,'¹⁴⁸ being the order of the gatherings. Marilyn Lake argues that, 'The role of oratory is an indicator of masculine prowess', and was important at the turn of the twentieth century for 'In the cultural world of public men, oratory conferred power and prestige, hence their preoccupation of its place in their dreams.'¹⁴⁹ The speeches of colonial public figures were covered in the press,¹⁵⁰ and Ephraim's speech-making was duly commented upon by 'Cit' in *The Bunyip*, who said he had a 'deliberate delivery' however, he added that

he errs on the right side. The best English speakers are, as a rule, very calm and slow in speech, and if the matter is well chosen and the style concise the impressive manner is of great assistance to the appreciative audience.¹⁵¹

Ephraim was at this time editor of *The Bunyip* and therefore probably provided the commentary. It too was another way for Ephraim's name to appear in the newspaper. Catherine Hall contends that, the appearance of one's name (usually a man's' name) in the newspaper 'register[ed] their activities in the public sphere, was in itself part of the politics of prestige.'¹⁵² Other activities included the union's 'annual competitions' which were held yearly, as well as a 'mock parliament,'¹⁵³ and Ephraim was a keen participant. In these simulated parliamentary sessions he acted as premier and in one such session in 1890 with a particular interest in the subject, he 'introduced the taxation Amendment Bill, providing for an increase of the land tax...' And like many of these sessions, 'a spirited discussion ensued'.¹⁵⁴ At the first anniversary of the inauguration of this parliament, Ephraim (in the role of Premier) spoke, provoking much amusement, saying that 'Their success was undoubtable due to good policy they had introduced and which was designed to benefit the whole community'.¹⁵⁵ The meetings were duly reported upon in the local newspaper, and on this occasion in a letter to the editor, the correspondent in a critical vein, cautioned against over exuberant self-congratulation, noting,

¹⁴⁷ 'The Gawler Literary Association', *The Bunyip*, 20 May 1887, Coombe was also vice president the Gawler Literary Societies Union, 'Gawler Literary Societies Union,' *The Bunyip* 30 September 1898

¹⁴⁸ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, Volume One*, vol. 1 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997). p. 4

¹⁴⁹ Lake, Marilyn, 'Sounds of History: Oratory and the fantasy of male power.' pp. 49-50

¹⁵⁰ 'Parliamentary Debates', *The Bunyip* 4 October 1895

¹⁵¹ 'Town Tattle, State Politics', *The Bunyip*, 26 July 1901

¹⁵² Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 281

¹⁵³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 5

¹⁵⁴ 'Gawler Literary Society', *The Bunyip*, 9 May 1890

¹⁵⁵ 'The Gawler Literary Society; A Successful Social', *The Bunyip*, 22 August 1890

It is wise to suppress over weening conceit on some occasions. Surely it is possible for every young man, now-a-days, to gain sufficient knowledge of the main political questions of the day and his country, without deluding himself into the belief he is a born orator, or an embryo M.P.¹⁵⁶

It may have been Ephraim who responded in a rejoinder saying that literary societies were very useful in society, 'as a factor in the education of a community they can be scarcely over estimated.'¹⁵⁷ The Literary Society had an ongoing program of talks on a wide range of subjects such as 'The Drink Problem and How to Treat it,'¹⁵⁸ and 'Bimetallism.'¹⁵⁹ In 1892, members debated 'Women's Suffrage,' with all members, in accord excepting one.¹⁶⁰ Some lectures were given by guest speakers, including women, such as the suffragist, Mrs Mary Lee¹⁶¹ who spoke on Women's Suffrage¹⁶² and Catherine Helen Spence who lectured on 'Effective Voting'.¹⁶³ Ephraim had a great interest in this aspect of parliamentary reform, not only accumulating sufficient knowledge on the subject, to subsequently deliver a lecture,¹⁶⁴ he also became the 'president of the Barossa Political Reform League from 1888',¹⁶⁵ indicating his commitment to this reform.

In the 1890s there was a noticeable change in the timbre of society with a severe economic depression, widespread unemployment and associated social problems. In the general community the 'Forward Movement' developed whilst the Literary Society reflected these concerns and adapted and changed emphasis, becoming known as the 'Literary and Sociology Society.' This greater emphasis upon social issues was part of a wider movement that recognised the multiplicity of problems that had arisen in society. In 1894, one member presented a paper on 'Unrest,' and whilst there was the usual, spirited discussion,¹⁶⁶ a later meeting, on 'Interest', and a continuation of one of Ephraim's key interests, land tax reform, put him at odds with his fellow members. He was simply not prepared to alter his opinion on the controversial topic of the single land tax. It was reported that 'Most of the speakers

¹⁵⁶ 'To The Editor', *The Bunyip*, 19 August 1890

¹⁵⁷ 'The Gawler Literary Society', *The Bunyip*, 29 August 1890

¹⁵⁸ 'The Institute Literary and Sociology Society; The Drink Problem and How to Treat it', *The Bunyip*, 7 December 1894

¹⁵⁹ 'Bimetallism', *The Bunyip*, 3 November 1893

¹⁶⁰ 'Gawler Literary Society', *The Bunyip*, 3 June 1892

¹⁶¹ Helen Jones, "Lee, Mary (1821-1909)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography- On-line edition* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University: , 2006-), <http://adb.au.edu.au/biography/lee-mary-715550/text12345>. Accessed on-line 5/08/2014

¹⁶² 'Women's Suffrage; Address by Mrs Mary Lee', *The Bunyip*, 27 April, 1894

¹⁶³ 'The Institute Literary and Sociological Society; Effective Voting', *The Bunyip*, 1 June 1895

¹⁶⁴ 'The Institute Literary and Sociological Society; Effective Voting', *The Bunyip*, 1 June 1895

¹⁶⁵ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

¹⁶⁶ 'Institute Literary and Sociological Society', *The Bunyip*, 4 May 1894

confessed their inability to agree with Mr Coombe's conclusions and considered that in some cases interest was justified.'¹⁶⁷ Ephraim countered in *The Bunyip* by stating that,

He again called attention to the fact that interest increased faster than production and that therefore there would come a time when it would be impossible to continue interest payments.¹⁶⁸

Whatever the outcome, Ephraim would have fully appreciated that participation gave him more public exposure and he was expanding his knowledge on 'political behaviour' so commonly acquired in 'voluntary organisations.'¹⁶⁹

The Gawler Institute also keenly encouraged and organised educational courses and they were also zealously championed by Ephraim, who worked on various fronts. He wanted to help others improve their educational position and therefore their opportunities.¹⁷⁰ He stated, 'the object of education is to form men not simply to enjoy life, but to accomplish something in their life they enjoy'.¹⁷¹ To achieve this he thought 'judicious extension of secondary education,' should be implemented,¹⁷² and at his 'instance' a 'Technical Education Vigilance Committee' was established.¹⁷³ Within the Institute there was a School of Design and a School of Mines.¹⁷⁴ Both facilities offered courses which extended people's expertise. In Gawler it progressively encompassed a wide range of subjects from the sciences, technical mechanical work, dressmaking and the arts. The latter two subjects admitted women. Institute classes expanded and in August 1889 over eighty pupils had enrolled¹⁷⁵ and *The Bunyip*

noted with pleasure the increased facilities for education held out to our young men in Gawler. It seems that a change has come over the town, and a spirit of inquiry is breaking forth. It is good for the town, and is good for the young men and women.¹⁷⁶

Indeed the educational classes flourished. The students in the mineralogy and the chemical lectures in the School of Mines were making steady progress whilst the School of Design also 'obtained favour from the very first' and by the end of 1889 it was claimed that 'the institution

¹⁶⁷ 'Institute Literary and Sociological Society; Interest', *The Bunyip*, 3 August 1894

¹⁶⁸ 'In reply', *The Bunyip*, 3 August 1894

¹⁶⁹ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 241

¹⁷⁰ 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 5 September 1890 or 'Technical Education,' *The Bunyip* 13 February 1891

¹⁷¹ 'Chairman Vigilance Committee Technical Education', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1898

¹⁷² 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

¹⁷³ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 86

¹⁷⁴ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899 Over time Coombe was Secretary and Chairperson of the Technical Education Vigilance Committee, and Secretary of the School of Mines

¹⁷⁵ 'School of Design, The Gawler Institute', *The Bunyip*, 9 August, 1889

¹⁷⁶ Quis Quis, 'Current Topics', *The Bunyip*, 9 August, 1889

had been put to good use'.¹⁷⁷ Ephraim appreciated that sustaining and expanding industry in Gawler required a well-educated workforce, remarking that 'Considering the industrial importance which the town has attained it would be a misfortune if these facilities did not exist.'¹⁷⁸ To enable as many people as possible to have this educational opportunity, a scholarships scheme was implemented in 1898 which was underwritten by the general public including Ephraim, who donated the chemistry scholarship.¹⁷⁹

Central to learning in Gawler were the Institute's classes and it was here Ephraim taught. It allowed him to competently demonstrate his own hard won knowledge and be in the company of other men, similarly qualified. He obviously enjoyed the process of acquiring knowledge and then imparting his expertise to others, in a variety of fields, as well as enjoying a certain credit because teachers of many technical subjects were not common.¹⁸⁰ He taught the Institute's first classes in shorthand,¹⁸¹ expanding this field with the introduction of book-keeping and typewriting,¹⁸² and in 1895 aiding the halting efforts towards expansion of women's educational opportunities', he organised a 'special class for ladies' in 'shorthand arithmetic'.¹⁸³ In the era, other classes were progressively introduced too.¹⁸⁴ For Ephraim however, there was an enduring interest in society, its workings and its problems. In 1892 he presided at the 'inaugural meeting of the Gawler Sociological Class in the Institute.'¹⁸⁵ He explained the rationale for the instigation of the class were;

in view of the complexity of social phenomena, and the serious malgrowths which had accompanied the progress of civilisation and which threatened the very existence of our civilisation, there was never a time in which persistent, careful and impartial investigation, clearness of perception and honesty of speech were more needed.¹⁸⁶

Beyond the Institute, the wider community provided a forum for thoughtful discussion too, and he must have been considerably heartened in 1894 to be approached by a group of young men who organised a 'social reform' conference in Gawler, 'probably the first of its kind in the Colony.'¹⁸⁷ At this occasion he presided at the meeting and he said he hoped that the

¹⁷⁷ 'The School of Design', *The Bunyip*, 11 October, 1889

¹⁷⁸ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

¹⁷⁹ 'The School of Mines Scholarships', *The Bunyip*, 28 October 1898

¹⁸⁰ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 209

¹⁸¹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M. P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

¹⁸² Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 86; 'Gawler School of Shorthand', *The Bunyip* 24 December 1897; 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

¹⁸³ 'Advertisement', *The Bunyip*, 22 February 1894

¹⁸⁴ 'Gawler Economic Class; Introductory Address', *The Bunyip*, 2 July 1897

¹⁸⁵ 'Gawler Sociological Class', *The Bunyip*, 29 July 1892

¹⁸⁶ 'Gawler Sociological Class', *The Bunyip*, 29 July 1892

¹⁸⁷ 'Conference of Young Men; A Unique Gathering', *The Bunyip*, 29 June 1894

social reform 'conference would stimulate an intelligent interest in these matters amongst young men.'¹⁸⁸ Indefatigable Ephraim subsequently travelled to Angaston and delivered an address on 'The Social Tangle and how to unweave it',¹⁸⁹ such was his devotion to the social reform cause.

In 1890 Ephraim was appointed editor at Gawler's local newspaper, *The Bunyip*, following the highly regarded¹⁹⁰ Mr Henry Congreve's resignation.¹⁹¹ Ephraim held the editorship position of the by now, well-regarded organ for a twenty-four year period.¹⁹² A tumultuous age,¹⁹³ characterised by momentous events in society, including many strikes¹⁹⁴ and the establishment of the Labour Party in 1890.¹⁹⁵ Personally, it more than likely meant an increase in salary which would have enhanced his masculine standing as a 'breadwinner,' although it would appear that money was never plentiful. However, he frequently gave to many different causes.¹⁹⁶ He had a more gentlemanly-like status, now of a 'man of letters',¹⁹⁷ and he probably hoped to emulate Adelaide's editors of *the Advertiser* and *the Register*, described in 1898 as 'admirable types of self-made men, each wearing the white flower of a blameless life, successful, and highly estimable colonists'.¹⁹⁸

Hall argues that Carlyle, an early nineteenth century writer aspired to make a man of letters 'the most important modern person',¹⁹⁹ and there is no doubt the editorship was powerful and influential. Ephraim provided information and news which influenced people in and around Gawler, such as the problem of infectious people travelling on trains,²⁰⁰ or 'The Liquor Traffic Legislation',²⁰¹ or the plans for a South Australian Parliament session,²⁰² and the

¹⁸⁸ 'Conference of Young Men; A Unique Gathering', *The Bunyip*, 29 June 1894

¹⁸⁹ 'Country Correspondence', *The Bunyip*, 23 November 1894

¹⁹⁰ Barbara Wall, "Congreve, Henry John (Harry) (1829-1918)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography-Online Edition* (Australian National University), <http://www.adb.online.anu.au/biogs/AS100094b.htm>, . p. 1. Accessed on-line 29/11/2008

¹⁹¹ 'Mr Congreve's Successor', *The Bunyip*, 25 July 1890

¹⁹² Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 116; 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

¹⁹³ The 'Humbug Society' formed in late 1850s by rivals to the Friendly societies and they produced a paper called *The Bunyip*. Gawler had had some early newspapers but it was *The Bunyip* which survived following Mr W. Barnet's arrival in Gawler and the establishment of his printing business. *The Bunyip*, as a newspaper was first published in 1863; Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 364, & p. 27; 'The Late Mr W. Barnet', *The Bunyip*, 22 March 1895

¹⁹⁴ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. pp. 145-158 ;'The Political Situation; Address by the Hon, James Martin', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1896

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.161

¹⁹⁶ For example, 'The Distressed Murray Flats Farmers and Wheat Seed', *The Bunyip*, 22 February 1902

¹⁹⁷ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 265

¹⁹⁸ 'An Influential Citizen', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1898

¹⁹⁹ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 265

²⁰⁰ 'Infectious Diseases and Railway Travelling', *The Bunyip*, 17 April 1891

²⁰¹ 'The Liquor Trade Legislation', *The Bunyip*, 10 October 1890

progress of federation of the Australian colonies. With his Hansard reporting experience he was particularly aware of the great changes afoot and wanted his readers to be well informed, including such events as the ‘National Australian Convention’ in Sydney in 1891,²⁰³ and the 1897 Australian Federation Convention in Adelaide, followed by one in Sydney and Melbourne.²⁰⁴ Ephraim advocated Federation saying, ‘he believed in federation on a democratic basis, but the constitution would have to be simple, inexpensive, and well within the control of the people’.²⁰⁵ When possible he advanced the idea,²⁰⁶ and as honourable secretary for the Institute he was ideally situated to insert a large advertisement in *The Bunyip* so that as many citizens as possible would be alerted to the public lecture ‘Three Pleas for Australian Federation’.²⁰⁷

His previous small business experience perhaps made some editorship responsibilities easier. He probably never imagined he would have to complain in *The Bunyip* about the volume of advertising emanating from church pulpits,²⁰⁸ thereby eliminating the need to advertise and thus reducing newspaper revenue. The Gawler enterprise was small by comparison to a city newspaper office.²⁰⁹ Whilst this may have been a more pleasant, personal environment it did mean that everyone could be called upon to do a range of jobs. On the other hand it promoted a feeling of camaraderie amongst staff.²¹⁰ The hours were long and irregular and at odds with normal daily life, as well as being stressful. However, generally citizens were loyal to their local paper which provided news and information and it contributed to ideas about their own ‘imagined’ community. There were manifold demands, as Atkinson argues ‘editors themselves were public figures, struggling to attract all eyes from one issue to the next’.²¹¹

Control and influence over a newspaper’s content is always a contentious issue. Hall, argues that newspapers of the nineteenth century played a part in the ‘construction of a new middle-class male public sphere by the very items that were chosen to be reported whether philanthropic meetings, civic processions or significant funerals. Men moved to the centre of

²⁰² ‘Opening of Parliament’, *The Bunyip*, 12 June 1891

²⁰³ Combe, *Responsible Government in South Australia*. p. 123

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 131

²⁰⁵ ‘Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler’, *The Bunyip*, 10 April 1896

²⁰⁶ ‘The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler’, *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

²⁰⁷ ‘Advertisement’, *The Bunyip*, 7 June 1895

²⁰⁸ ‘The Pulpit as an Advertising Medium’, *The Bunyip*, 15 March 1895

²⁰⁹ For example; In the early 1890s, two men listed their occupation as ‘printer,’ South Australia House of Assembly, *South Australia Electoral Roll*, Vol 1, September 1891

²¹⁰ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: a History. Volume Two: Democracy* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004). p. 244

²¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 52

the story'.²¹² The owner of *The Bunyip*, Mr W. Barnet, died in 1895, and his wife, Hannah assumed the 'proprietorship of the printing establishment, with her son as manager. It is not known precisely how much control Ephraim had over the articles that other people contributed or how much licence he personally acquired. However, there is a sense that he had considerable autonomy, made apparent early on in his editorship. One indication was an article which appeared after the unexpected death of a Royal Family member. This occurred in a time of the general acceptance of Britain's pre-eminence in the world, coupled with a belief that 'civilisation was basically British',²¹³ and a particular attachment of South Australians to all things British and of a great deference to the British Royal family. Thus his stance could be considered unusual.²¹⁴ The article, was critical of the usual effusive language reserved for such important personages and concluded, 'The country however, does offer its sincere sympathy to a Gracious grandmother, to sorrowing parents, a prospective bride, in their loss as such'.²¹⁵ There were plenty of people however, as Kingston argues who 'did not like Britain',²¹⁶ and perhaps Ephraim was one such person however, he was proud of his Gawler community, and he said 'journalistically he had endeavoured to uphold the good name of the town, its institutions, and its industries'.²¹⁷

Journalistically Ephraim advanced many causes and one in particular, was the championing of women's causes.²¹⁸ He wrote after becoming editor, in typical terms of the day of womanhood, saying;

We have a very high appreciation of the graces and abilities of womanhood, and think it would be calamitous to society if she were to descend from her exalted pedestal and become amenable to the relatively degrading influence of political life.²¹⁹

However, he added he supported woman's suffrage saying it would be a sensible outcome.²²⁰ With his interest in temperance he gave willing support to the Gawler W.C.T.U. members by publishing the organisation's aims, meeting minutes, information and so on, and crediting the secretary, Miss L.M. Marsh with her contribution.²²¹ In this way he not only advanced the

²¹² Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 17

²¹³ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 57

²¹⁴ Freeluncher, 'Bar Parlour Heeltaps', *The Bunyip*, 27 January 1891

²¹⁵ Freeluncher, 'Bar Parlour Heeltaps', *The Bunyip*, 27 January 1891

²¹⁶ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. pp. 57-9

²¹⁷ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

²¹⁸ H.P. Ewart, "Many Helping Hands: The History of Gawler Women in the Late Nineteenth Century" (B.A. Hons., University of Adelaide, 2004). p. 49

²¹⁹ 'Women's Suffrage', *The Bunyip*, 24 October 1890

²²⁰ 'Women's Suffrage', *The Bunyip*, 24 October 1890

²²¹ For example; 'The Development of Women: The Work of the W.C.T.U.'; *The Bunyip*, 26 March 1893, or 'Dr Emily B. Ryder at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1893;

temperance movement but also colonial woman's suffrage which the women themselves recognised were imperative to effect temperance legislation in society. As voting on the Adult Suffrage legislation loomed, he wrote; 'Adult suffrage is undoubtedly in the air and according to all accounts will soon be embodied in the legislature of South Australia.'²²² Once women had attainment their voting rights', he said, he thought it was 'a wise step', and 'regarded with satisfaction the passing of the Act granting woman suffrage.'²²³ In 1898, the W.C.T.U. members recognised the debt that was owed saying 'To the local press we are also indebted for continuous and faithful reporting and much complimentary notice'.²²⁴

In *The Bunyip*, Ephraim, praised notable women of the day such as Miss Mary Lee and Miss Catherine Spence. He held the latter in such high regard that he named one of his daughters after her. Ephraim continued to be particularly interested in Spence's electoral reform platform, the 'Hare-Spence system of effective voting'.²²⁵ As President of the 'Barossa Political Reform League',²²⁶ he long aspired to effect electoral reform and he saw the league's support of change, as the answer to a problem of election dishonesty saying it 'would tend to minimise the bribery and corruption which now disgrace the elections under a democratic form of government'.²²⁷ From *The Bunyip*, citizens were encouraged, 'in the interests of democracy to rally round the League',²²⁸ and Miss Spence returned to Gawler especially to talk to women who were voting for the first time.²²⁹

It is clear that Ephraim generally had an affable relationship with women perhaps described as a comradely egalitarian approach, combined with a manifestation of 'gentlemanly' masculinity, to help the weak in society, which included women. He seemed to have had a good working relationship with *The Bunyip* newspaper's owner, Mrs Hannah Barnet. At the printing office, she was remembered as assisting with 'the labours connected with the publication' and 'her help was frequent and reliable, and it was no novel sight to see her with a child tucked under an arm as she attended general duties'.²³⁰ Hannah's work ethic were in many ways comparable to Ephraim's ideals too as she was well known for her 'integrity,

²²² 'Editors Notes', *The Bunyip*, 3 August 1894

²²³ 'The Barossa Elections; More Addresses by Mr E.H. Coombe; Before the Ladies', *The Bunyip*, 24 April 1896

²²⁴ 'The W.C.T.U. Convention', *The Bunyip*, 21 October 1898

²²⁵ 'The Institute Literary and Sociological Society; Effective Voting', *The Bunyip*, 1 June 1895

²²⁶ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²²⁷ 'Gawler Deference Rifle Club; A Social', *The Bunyip*, 25 July 1902

²²⁸ 'Barossa Political Reform League', *The Bunyip*, 24 January 1895

²²⁹ 'A Plain Talk To Women Voters;' 'Effective Voting and Other Matters of Moment at This Crises; Lectures by Miss Spence', *The Bunyip*, 14 Feb 1896

²³⁰ Callander, Helen 'Helen's Diary; Colonial Women a rare insight', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1994, p. 6

fairness and consideration of employees'.²³¹ Under his editorship in 1892 there was the acknowledgement of women's quiet contribution in the establishment of the South Australian colony in which they had not 'blown their own trumpet' as men had done, rather they quietly persevered, enduring difficult conditions, and had achieved much as well as providing succour for their menfolk.²³² Gawler women's deaths were often acknowledged too, evidenced in the obituaries published under his watch.²³³ As a journalist and editor Ephraim came to be seen as 'rigidly truthful, singularly just, and transparently honest',²³⁴ and a man who had used his 'enviable gift which enabled him to entertain his fellow beings by tongue and pen'.²³⁵

Taken together many of Ephraim's activities and interests, indicate that he was a man of the 'Forward Movement,' which was 'a loose coalition of trade unionists, democrats, single taxers, feminists, Christian sociologists and socialists, which came to prominence in the late nineteenth century'.²³⁶ Melissa Bellanta, has also written of the 'Forward Movement,' describing it as

a social vision in which women would receive formal political equality, distinctions of class would be obliterated, and the competitive capitalist system effortlessly replaced across the world with loving kindness.²³⁷

Verity Burgmann noted this considerate behaviour of the Adelaide members of the Forward Movement where 'everyone was incredibly well-mannered in their relations with each other.'²³⁸ Mr John Medway Day was the 'acknowledged' leader, when he was living in South Australia, and it seems likely that Ephraim at least had an acquaintance, with their shared social and democratic interests, their paths were bound to have crossed as each man had aspirations in the political arena,²³⁹ and both engaged in journalism. In 1892, Mr Medway Day launched the weekly, called *the Voice* and a short note appeared in *the Bunyip*, presumably written by Ephraim that 'wished him well'.²⁴⁰ In 1893, 'A Straightforward Political Program' organised by the Adelaide members of the Forward Movement, had a lecture for Gawler citizens, which was 'In connection with the Land Reform Campaign' in

²³¹ Callander, Helen 'Helen's Diary; Colonial Women a rare insight', *The Bunyip*, 9 December 1994, p. 6

²³² 'Bar Parlour; Heeltaps', *The Bunyip*, 11 March 1892

²³³ For example, 'Death of Mrs Forgie', *The Bunyip*, 17 April, 1896

²³⁴ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)." p. 1

²³⁵ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe MP.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²³⁶ Allen, "Day, John Medway (1838 - 1905)."

²³⁷ Bellanta, "A man of civic sentiment: the case of William Guthrie Spence" p. 711

²³⁸ Burgmann, *In Our Time: Socialism and the Rise of Labor, 1885 -1905.* p. 147

²³⁹ Allen, "Day, John Medway (1838 - 1905)."

²⁴⁰ Editorial, 'The Locomotive Contract Dispute', *The Bunyip*, 16 December, 1892

which farmers and ladies were specially invited.²⁴¹ Mr J. Medway Day also presented a lecture,²⁴² some months later. Other well-known people in this vibrant organisation, such as the Reverend Hugh Gilmore a Primitive Methodist minister and an ardent ‘Single Tax League’ member²⁴³ who made visits to speak at Gawler, and would have known Ephraim. In 1894, an optimistic announcement appeared in *The Bunyip* which, simply stated, ‘The Reform Movement is spreading amongst all classes of the community’.²⁴⁴

A cherished ambition of Ephraim’s was to become a politician. As Beverley Kingston argues, community organisations such as ‘church or charitable committees, self-education or mutual improvement associations, trade unions or Friendly societies, certain newspaper offices’ offered ‘political’ traineeships particularly if the aspirant desired to go beyond local activities.²⁴⁵ Ephraim had indeed served his apprenticeship and he said on one occasion that he wanted ‘nothing better than the opportunity of representing Gawler in public life; of promoting the true interests of his fellow townsmen; of his fellow colonists and of humanity in general.’²⁴⁶ In his *History of Gawler* he noted there were ‘three political organisations,’ in Gawler and he wanted ‘to stir up interest in legislative affairs.’²⁴⁷ Legislation was introduced for ‘payment of members’, in 1888, by the ‘Playford Government,’²⁴⁸ which may have enabled Ephraim to contemplate standing for parliament.²⁴⁹ Ephraim too may have had a similar outlook to the men in Germany who, as Thomas Welskopp, observed in his study of male Social Democrats showed that they desired to be part of the political process, that, they saw ‘the core of Social Democracy – the experiences, the associational life and the political gatherings as the only controlled sphere in which they could act out ‘honour and “respectability”’.²⁵⁰

²⁴¹ ‘A Straightforward Political Program’, *The Bunyip*, 24 February 1893

²⁴² ‘Lecture by Mr J. Medway Day’, *The Bunyip*, 2 June, 1893

²⁴³ R.B. Walker, "Gilmore, Hugh (1842 -1891)," *Australian Dictionary Of Biography, On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu/biography/gilmore-hugh-3618/text5621>. Accessed on-line 26/03/2013

²⁴⁴ *The Bunyip*, 14 April; 1894

²⁴⁵ Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 243

²⁴⁶ ‘The Barossa Election; Another address by Mr E.H. Coombe’, *The Bunyip*, 28 April 1899

²⁴⁷ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1837-1908*. p. 5

²⁴⁸ Moss, "South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement." p. 20

²⁴⁹ ‘The New Year’, *The Bunyip* 21 December 1888; Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning* p. 242, country members were disadvantaged as they were usually were unable to continue their employment

²⁵⁰ Thomas Welskopp, "The Political Man; The Construction of Masculinity in German Social Democracy, 1848 - 1878," in *Masculinity in Politics and War, Gendering Modern History*, ed. S. Dunkink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). p. 262

Ephraim's wish to become a parliamentarian had not come without criticism. His socialist stance for example, raised the ire of Gawler's most influential man, James Martin. During Coombe's first election campaign Martin said that he 'disagreed entirely with his political views'.²⁵¹ He said of Ephraim that he was 'the head centre of this socialistic move going on in Gawler' and further, 'Gawler was looked upon as the most socialistic or out and out democratic place in the colony'.²⁵² It was during the same election campaign meeting before the Gawler ladies, that he received mocking questions about his suitability to be a parliamentarian because of his previous confectionery business.²⁵³ Some 'disparaging remarks not about himself but his wife' were made and he said, 'He did not mind what they said about him but he decidedly objected to having his wife brought into it'.²⁵⁴ Mostly he treated these kinds of comments with a good deal of humour which the audience enjoyed along with appreciation of the highly regarded right of 'talking and the freedom of speech'.²⁵⁵

The South Australian political situation at the turn of the twentieth century was characterised by different movements, changing political factions and the formation of political parliamentary parties. It was a turbulent and exciting period. Ephraim, made two attempts to enter parliament, in 1896 and three years later,²⁵⁶ during the radical Liberal Charles Kingston's ministry, who held power in conjunction with the United Labour Party.²⁵⁷ Ephraim lost the 1896 election with his land tax advocacy suggested as a cause, by temperance worker, Miss Laura Marsh who wrote to *the Bunyip*, expressed the opinion that Ephraim's 'land views' counted against him because as she explained, many voters who were otherwise temperance supporters were 'landholders' and they could not agree with his position.²⁵⁸ In 1899 Ephraim stood again as a liberal, saying 'all the political triumphs of South Australia,' arose from that position.²⁵⁹ He continued to advocate change of the single tax movement, saying, 'the history of taxation in South Australia was a history of evasion on the part of the rich',²⁶⁰ and he was strongly in favour of land values taxation because he believed 'it to be fair'.²⁶¹ He lost again. It was a bitter blow; however, his loyal supporters in

²⁵¹ 'The Political Situation, Address by The Hon. James Martin', *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1896

²⁵² 'The Political Situation, Address by The Hon. James Martin', *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1896

²⁵³ 'The Barossa Election; More Addresses by Mr E.H. Coombe ; Before The Ladies', *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1896

²⁵⁴ 'The Barossa Election; More Addresses by Mr E.H. Coombe ; Before The Ladies', *The Bunyip*, 24 April, 1896

²⁵⁵ Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, Volume One*, 1. p. 4

²⁵⁶ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

²⁵⁷ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 204

²⁵⁸ 'The Open Column, The Election', *The Bunyip*, 8 May 1896

²⁵⁹ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

²⁶⁰ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

²⁶¹ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

Gawler provided much encouragement presenting him with an address which congratulated him on 'an able and courageous campaign',²⁶² and the polls revealed he had done well in his home-town.²⁶³ He just was unable to oust either of the comfortably endowed, existing members, Sir John Downer or Mr James Hague.²⁶⁴

Sir John Downer retired in 1901 and Ephraim became the Member of Parliament for the Barossa,²⁶⁵ remaining in the House of Assembly until 1910.²⁶⁶ He became known as a 'progressive' member, later however, changing. He aligned himself to the Liberal, A.H. Peake and became his opposition whip in 1904.²⁶⁷ In 1905 Tom Price became the victorious Labor leader of the Labour-Liberal government. Price²⁶⁸ was Premier and A.H. Peake became the Attorney-General and until 1909 Ephraim was close to the centre of action holding the positions of government whip, and subsequently Chairman of Committees.²⁶⁹ During this period he became 'a founding member of the Liberal and Democratic Union' remaining very involved in the organisational structure.²⁷⁰ In 1909, Price died and was replaced by John Verran. The Liberal-Labor coalition ended and Ephraim remained in the Peake camp and after the Chairman of Committees position he became 'Minister of Agriculture and Commissioner of Crown Lands'.²⁷¹ As acting Chairman of a Royal Commission into the transportation and selling of wheat, he was true to form and his investigation of the subject was thorough and of lasting benefit to members in the house.²⁷² However when more conservatives were enlisted into the Peake ministry ranks at the end of 1909, he resigned.²⁷³ Ephraim re-established the Liberal Democratic Union, (L.D.U.) and was re-elected in 1910. John Verran won the next election and his government was 'the first all-Labor government in South Australia' the organisation arising out of the 1890s movement to improve workers' rights and conditions.²⁷⁴ The Verran Government however, had the slimmest 'majority of one vote' as well as Ephraim

²⁶² 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

²⁶³ 'The Elections; Barossa Returns The Old Members', *The Bunyip*, 1 May 1896

²⁶⁴ 'Declaration of the Poll', *The Bunyip*, 1 May 1896

²⁶⁵ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²⁶⁶ Coombe, *Responsible Government in South Australia*. p. 249

²⁶⁷ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

²⁶⁸ Weeks Steven, "Price, Thomas (Tom) (1852-1909)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography - online edition* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/price-thomas-tom-8109/text14157> accessed 24/11/ 2013.

²⁶⁹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²⁷⁰ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

²⁷¹ 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²⁷² 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²⁷³ Dean Jaensch, "Party, Party System and Federation: 1890 -1912," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Political History*, ed. Dean Jaensch (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 206

²⁷⁴ Coombe, *Responsible Government in South Australia*. pp. 124-5; *Ibid.* p. 143

who had, 'refused to accept the Liberal Union Pledge and remained as an L.D.U. member.'²⁷⁵ The 1912 elections were however, lost after considerable industrial strife.²⁷⁶ Ephraim lost his seat, entering a period of reflection as to which side of politics he supported as factions regrouped and emerged as new entities. The A.N.L. (Australasian Nationalist League), the F.P.P.U (Farmers and Producers Political Union) and L.D.U. amalgamated with the semi-independent 'conservative members then formed a loose alliance under the banner of the National League Association (N.D.A.) then campaigned against the United Labour Party (U.L.P.)'.²⁷⁷ It was a period where gradually 'independence and faction were slowly subordinated to party'.²⁷⁸

Ephraim resigned from *The Bunyip* in May 1914 and became the editor of Adelaide based, *The Daily Herald*, a labour publication, established in 1894.²⁷⁹ He finally decided to throw his lot in with the U.L.P. even though he was a white collar worker which was a stance that placed him at odds with former colleagues whilst causing some labour movement members to view him with suspicion.²⁸⁰ It was a brave move. However, he headed the party ticket for the Barossa in the 1915 elections, and saw a labour victory,²⁸¹ led by C. Vaughan, the parliamentary Labor leader.²⁸²

As a parliamentarian, Ephraim gave his time generously to his constituents in a multiplicity of ways in the line of duty. He continued attending and often spoke at a wide variety of events which ranged from a Foresters' demonstration in Gawler,²⁸³ to various religious gatherings, performing different functions, such as making a farewell speech to the Reverend J. Hendry at the Presbyterian Church,²⁸⁴ to attending the annual meeting of the local district nurse

²⁷⁵ Dean Jaensch, "Stability and Change;1910-1938," in *The Flinders History of South Australia; Political History*, ed. Dean Jaensch (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986). p. 227

²⁷⁶ Arnold D. Hunt, "Verran John (1856 -1932)," In *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/veran-john-8917/text15669>. Accessed online 24/11/2013

²⁷⁷ Jaensch, "Party, Party System and Federation: 1890 -1912." p. 182

²⁷⁸ Ibid . p. 184

²⁷⁹ *Daily Herald*, 19 August, 1922, Cited in Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 163

²⁸⁰ Jaensch, "Coombe, Ephraim Henry (1858-1917)."

²⁸¹ Combe, *Responsible Government in South Australia.*, p. 143 the Peake government included liberal members, p. 148 elected of whom 26 were labour supporters and 20 liberal supporters.

²⁸² G. Grainger, "Vaughan, Crawford (1874 -1947) " *Australian Dictionary of Biography, On-line Edition* (Australian National University, 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/vaughan-crawford-8909/text15651>. Accessed on-line 2/12/2013

²⁸³ 'Foresters' Demonstration; A Great Day', *The Bunyip*, 4 April 1902

²⁸⁴ 'Rev. J. Hendry, M.A; Farewell Social', *The Bunyip* 21 March 1902 or for example 'A Moral View of the Elections; A Voice from the Pulpit', *The Bunyip*, 4 May 1894; 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 30 May 1902

association.²⁸⁵ He was keen to promote Gawler's local industries and expressed concern at the decision to implement the 'policy of the Government in adopting manufacture of locomotives,' which jeopardised local employment and local enterprise,²⁸⁶ and assisted in entertaining visiting engineers at the manufacturing complex of May Brothers.²⁸⁷ Ongoing water supply issues remained newsworthy and he visited the nearly completed Barossa Water-Works in 1902²⁸⁸ and subsequently attended meetings in towns such as at Hamley Bridge where there was interest in accessing water from the Barossa project.²⁸⁹ On an individual basis he tried to effect positions for Gawler's unemployed, and through the State Treasurer was able to assure them that they would be considered for work at Bundaleer Forest when this was available.²⁹⁰ It was no wonder he was generally liked and admired, such was his commitment to his fellow citizens. However, in Parliament one politician, Mr Butler described him as 'crafty' and one 'of the cleverest men in parliament' which *The Bunyip's* 'Cit' explained by saying, 'Mr Butler's label of crafty has a sinister appearance and that aspect is unfair, Mr Coombe is astute'.²⁹¹ His obituary recorded that as a parliamentarian, Ephraim was a man who was amicable and considerate to all and a

worthy opponent in debate, honest and straight forward, and one whose opinions called for consideration. He never hesitated to give expression to his convictions upon questions of social, state and national importance.²⁹²

This preparedness to be honest and truthfully express his opinions however, was to cause Ephraim considerable angst as a parliamentarian. As World War One continued into 1916 there was a split in the Labour Party over the conscription issue and a referendum was put to electors by the federal government regarding compulsory overseas service of the military.²⁹³ In essence, the problem revolved around the proposal to introduce conscription. Up to this point all troops sent to the fronts were volunteers, including his three sons and a son-in-law. However, with decreasing numbers of men enlisting, Prime Minister Hughes, hoping to pressure the Australian Senate into complying with the conscription legislation instigated a referendum in October 1916 which confirmed the voluntary principle. After New South

²⁸⁵ 'Gawler District Trained Nursing Society', *The Bunyip*, 9 May 1902

²⁸⁶ 'The Barossa Elections; Mr E.H. Coombe at Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 14 April 1899

²⁸⁷ 'Visit of Mining Engineers', *The Bunyip*, 30 May 1902

²⁸⁸ 'The Barossa Waterworks', *The Bunyip*, 30 May 1902

²⁸⁹ 'Barossa Water Supply; Meeting at Hamley Bridge', *The Bunyip* 25 July 1902; 'Tanunda Water Supply; A Government Scheme', *The Bunyip*, 28 February 1902

²⁹⁰ 'Out of Work', *The Bunyip*, 9 May 1902

²⁹¹ By Cit 'Town Tattle' 'The Political Situation', *The Bunyip*, 2 July, 1909, p. 2

²⁹² 'The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.', *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

²⁹³ Coombe, *Responsible Government in South Australia*. p. 149

Wales, the South Australian people were the most opposed to the scheme, and recorded 57.6 per cent against conscription.²⁹⁴

The conflict and referendum was a difficult time for Ephraim. His Barossa electorate included many Germans who had remained comparatively isolated from the rest of society. They were industrious law-abiding citizens many of whom had maintained German traditions which lead to suspicion during World War One.²⁹⁵ For citizens of German extraction, the compulsion in sending their brethren to fight against Germany increased friction in the community and they were increasingly offended by the pressure to which they were subjected.²⁹⁶ In addition the South Australian Attorney General, Robert Homburg had his office raided by troops with 'fixed bayonets' in 1914,²⁹⁷ such was the feeling at the time. Bravely however, Ephraim was one of the few 'prominent people, who stood out against the persecution of Germans during the war'.²⁹⁸ His 'manly independence,' which allowed for the freedom of speech, was challenged by authorities. In a sense, Ephraim found the ensuing confrontation became a war-like experience as authorities apparently meeting contingencies of war stepped in to control the 'unruly' and unrestrained aspect of this independence.²⁹⁹ Ephraim felt very keenly that the voluntary nature of enlistment should remain saying he would be 'jealous that its value shall be discounted by compulsion,' and further, 'I am proud of what Australia has done voluntarily. It is effort out of pure affection for the Mother land, has no parallel in history.'³⁰⁰ He addressed an open-air meeting held in the Barossa Valley and for his stand, he was charged by the 'Commonwealth Military authorities' 'for breaches of the War Precautions Act'.³⁰¹ He was subsequently convicted, held over and fined. Now, he was represented as an enemy.³⁰² Whilst he had not taken up arms himself which was a traditional marker of masculinity,³⁰³ his manhood was deeply offended.

²⁹⁴ Jenny Tilby Stock, "Conscription," in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, ed. Wilfred Prest (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2001). p. 120

²⁹⁵ Tampke, *The Germans in Australia*. p. 124

²⁹⁶ Stock, "Conscription." pp. 120-1

²⁹⁷ Ian Harmstorf, "Homburg, Robert (1848–1912)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-line edition* (Australian National University 2006-), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/homburg-robert-6722/text11609>, accessed 23/12/ 2013.

²⁹⁸ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 151

²⁹⁹ Dudink and Hagemann, "Masculinity in politics and war in the age of democratic revolutions, 1750-1850." p. 9

³⁰⁰ 'Mr Coombe and Conscription, To The Editor', *The Barossa News*, 2 February 1917

³⁰¹ 'Mr E.H. Coombe M.P., before the court at Tanunda; Proceedings; The First Charge Fails', *The Barossa News*, 2 March 1917

³⁰² Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War; Gendering Modern History*. p. 23

³⁰³ Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law, *Sites of Gender. Women, Men and modernity in Southern Dunedin. 1890- 1939*. ed. Annabel Cooper and Robin Law. Barbara Brookes (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p. 1

Ephraim collapsed ‘on the job,’ at Port Adelaide, giving an address, ‘against conscription,’³⁰⁴ organized by the United Labour Party in April 1917. He died subsequently, from a cerebral haemorrhage,³⁰⁵ at fifty-nine years old. His remains were returned to his beloved Gawler where a ‘semi-state’ funeral was one of the largest seen in Gawler and was conducted at the gravesite at Willaston cemetery by the Methodist minister. He would have been pleased that ‘all classes of the community’ gathered and that the burial services were read by members of the ‘Rechabite Order and the Sons of Temperance. Many of his Parliamentary colleagues were in attendance along with ‘all societies and public bodies’ of Gawler. *The Bunyip* wrote of him that, ‘the town and the State have suffered an irreparable loss’.³⁰⁶ Ephraim was not forgotten in the Barossa Valley for his defence of them. In 1930 the citizens erected a memorial at Tanunda to him in gratitude for his efforts to facilitate the railway network being extended to the area.³⁰⁷

Ephraim Henry Coombe was not in the strictest sense, a typical nineteenth century ‘self-made man’ for he did not accumulate great material wealth. True, he arose from a modest, religious and conservative background and ‘plodded’ to improve his lot in life. However, instead of desiring wealth, he was inspired by the ambitious colonial forebears, and he invested his time and the little money he had acquired, in self-improvement which was easier because of by his predecessors which materialised in local civic facilities and the clubs his Methodist Church offered members in the progressive and radical atmosphere that enveloped Gawler. He reaped a reward rich in words and ideas, and the meeting of like-minds through such organisations as the ‘Forward Movement’ which enriched his world. With his aptitude in communication, by his pen and his oratory, he disseminated these novel and democratic notions to his fellow citizens, contributing to their ‘imagined community’, at first in Gawler and later more widely across the colony and State. In this ambition, his steady perseverance overcame repeated voter rejections as he sought to enter parliament, advocating topical new movements. Eventually he became a member of parliament, however his uncompromising principles and honesty, made for a chequered career and his unflinching moral stance caused him considerable grief and unquestionably his death. Ephraim lead a busy and very active life, not only enriching his

³⁰⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 151

³⁰⁵ ‘Mr E.H. Coombe Suddenly Stricken with Illness’, *The Bunyip*, 6 April 1917

³⁰⁶ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe MP.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

³⁰⁷ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*; Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 117

own physical, social, intellectual and spiritual well-being but that of the whole community. Indeed his efforts for himself, his family and the wider community reaped rewards far greater than the financial capital many desired. He left a very modest estate valued at £2300 exclusively to his wife Sarah Susannah.³⁰⁸ Such was this son of Gawler who did not like dramatic extravagant demonstrations or presentations, as he was a, ‘natural, practical, warm hearted and kindly dispositioned man’.³⁰⁹ Ephraim was still fondly remembered twenty-five years after his death for, ‘Everybody loved Mr Coombe for his simplicity, urbanity and charm of manner allied to knowledge and brain power greater even than some of his best friends realised’.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ ‘South Australia in the Supreme Court Testamentary Causes Jurisdiction,’ *Probate Registry*, Adelaide, South Australia, 31 August, 1918

³⁰⁹ ‘The Late Mr E.H. Coombe, M.P.’, *The Bunyip*, 13 April 1917

³¹⁰ ‘Remembering E.H. Coombe’, *The Bunyip*, 3 April, 1931

BRUCE HAROLD MAY, (1878 - 1901)

Family Man, Townsman, and Volunteer

It was Sunday and the band played. Even at reduced strength it was marvellous to hear music again. The flautist was 'wonderful' as the musicians played 'Reminiscences of All Nations'.¹ So wrote Bruce to his parents Mr and Mrs Alfred May in Gawler, South Australia, as a soldier volunteer, from the Boer War (or South African War) saying, 'I can tell you it went alright to hear a brass band again..'² Hailing from a close knit, musical country-town Methodist family,³ it also was a poignant reminder of home.⁴ As John Tosh argues, 'The home was central to masculinity'.⁵

Chamberlain and Droogleever have described a typical soldier's, characteristics including;

self-sufficiency; loyalty to your mates; speedy adaptability to difficult living and fighting conditions; an irrepressible humour; courage in the face of overwhelming odds; dislike of the 'parade ground' officer; disdain for army formalities such as saluting, and maintaining a neat uniform; respect for leaders who showed they could be trusted to make a wise decision, and of course a penchant for larrikinism.⁶

In examining the life of Bruce May, a more nuanced picture of a Boer War volunteer becomes apparent with two features particularly coming to life. One is where the ideal of the 'Christian Gentleman' edges out the notion of the larrikin. The other is a valuing of domesticity, the love of family, and the importance of religion and living in the close-knit small-town in rural Australia at the turn of the twentieth century. This has not generally figured in discussions of masculinity however, they are crucial in understanding Bruce May.

Bruce was a native born Australian, the fourth child of Cornish born, Alfred May (b.1852-d.1920)⁷ and Mary, nee Bull, who together had ten children. Bruce's grandfather, Henry and his family migrated to the South Australian colony in 1858⁸ and settled in copper mining districts to the north of Adelaide. Grandfather, Henry was a miner and a staunch Methodist

¹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 5 July 1901 "Reminiscences of All Nations" By Brown.

² 'More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May; On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

³ 'The Late Mr. Alfred May, J.P.', *The Bunyip*, 24 September, 1920, p. 1

⁴ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 5 July 1901

⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 2

⁶ Max Chamberlain and R.W.F. Droogleever, eds., *The War With Johnny Boer; Australians in the Boer War; 1899-1902* (Loftus: Australian Military History Publications, 2003). p. xxii

⁷ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 302

⁸ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 288

who lived by the church's teachings of the day, subscribing to 'patience in suffering,' and 'passive obedience.' However, for his second eldest son John Frederick, (known as Fred or Frederick, (b.1840-d.1897)⁹ there 'appeared to be better prospects of affluence and independence.'¹⁰ Whilst he had no formal education as an engineer, Fred managed to acquire sufficient knowledge, and convinced the mining captains of his worth, rapidly gaining a reputation as an energetic and innovative engineer, able to design and build increasingly complicated equipment.¹¹ His career path eventually linked him with James Martin who persuaded him to join his business. Frederick agreed with the proviso that Alfred, his younger brother also be given employment and they thus become an integral part of a concern which produced agricultural and mining equipment, for James Martin in Gawler.¹²

In 1874 Alfred as a 'foreman engineer'¹³ along with his family lived in a house owned by Fred on Murray Street,¹⁴ in the progressive and vibrant town of Gawler. Unlike Willoughby Dowling, Boer War volunteer from Mudgee, Bruce and his family were the beneficiaries of a modest standard of living, far removed however, from the harsh childhood of the previous generation. The Alfred May family enjoyed many of the rich cultural activities that abounded in Gawler and in particular music was one of their pleasures so much so that they became well-known as a 'musical' family.¹⁵ Bruce's father, Alfred was an accomplished flautist, and loved playing his favourite hymns on the organ¹⁶ whilst his sister Elsie played the piano with a proficiency that enabled her to pass the 'Royal College of music examinations,'¹⁷ and perform at community events.¹⁸ This included organ playing at the families, place of worship, the popular, Tod¹⁹ Street Wesleyan Methodist Church.²⁰ Bruce, loved band music, and probably had one of his first public musical experiences at this well-known venue.²¹

⁹ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 302

¹⁰ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 40

¹¹ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 75-6

¹² Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 32

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 326

¹⁴ 'Corporation of Gawler', *The Bunyip* June 1895; *Sands and McDougall Directory* 1896 p. 651

¹⁵ 'The Model Brass Band; A Social', *The Bunyip*, 8 July 1898

¹⁶ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 326; 'The Late Mr. Alfred May, J.P.', *The Bunyip*, 24 September, 1920, p. 1

¹⁷ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 17 November 1899

¹⁸ 'Departure of Miss Tottie Limb', *The Bunyip*, 29 March 1901

¹⁹ Todd sometimes spelt with one 'd' only

²⁰ Miss E. May played the organ. 'Anniversary Services Gawler Methodist Church', *The Bunyip*, 15 March 1901

²¹ 'Gawler Wesleyan Band of Hope', *The Bunyip*, 24 February 1888

In this era noted for its 'religious nature,'²² religion was clearly important for the May family. They obviously imbibed the Wesleyan Methodist traditions of 'philanthropy, church activities, self-sacrifice and a deep involvement in family life'.²³ The May children's attendance at the Todd Street Sunday School,²⁴ saw that they were inculcated with 'the Christian virtues of selflessness, humility and religious devotion,'²⁵ along with the Methodist ideals of 'self-help, self-respect, improvement and education'.²⁶ These latter ideals had particular resonance with both Alfred and Fred May because it encouraged a confidence to travel along paths not previously contemplated by members of their class and enabled them to successfully prosper as a consequence of this church endorsed philosophy.²⁷

In 1885, as men of the 'Victorian age', an age of 'progress and improvement',²⁸ Fred and Alfred resigned from James Martin's and commenced work on their long held dream of launching their own engineering business.²⁹ Establishing and developing May Brothers & Co., their business acumen and expertise saw them overcome many adversities to triumph. Attaining an excellent reputation for high quality products, and contrary to the end of century general depression, unemployment and strikes the inventive brothers, produced agricultural machinery and mining equipment which contributed to Australian mining and farming endeavours, as well as providing employment for Gawler workers.³⁰ Both Bruce's father and uncle by 'pluck and perseverance,'³¹ became 'self-made men', a late nineteenth-century ideal.³²

In many ways the business actions of Bruce's father and uncle demonstrated that both evoked a masculine middle-class, ideal of manhood, in circulation in America at the time, that of a 'Christian Gentleman',³³ which demanded 'self-sacrifice' in the business arena.³⁴ There was

²² Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815 -1914; A Study of Empire and Expansion*. p. 90; Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 37

²³ Ibid. p. 38

²⁴ 'Complimentary Social Farewell to Trooper B. May', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

²⁵ Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. p. 73

²⁶ Moss, *Sounds of Trumpets; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia*. p. 56

²⁷ Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales*. p. 78

²⁸ R.M Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College* (Kent Town: Peacock Publications, 1984). p. 77

²⁹ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 97

³⁰ Ibid. p. 32 an expanding mining industry in the last decade of the nineteenth century in West Australia and at Broken Hill enabled May Bros to prosper and expand their workforce to 200

³¹ 'May Bros & Co', *The Bunyip*, 28 March 1902

³² Roberta J. Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character':1830 -1900," in *Manliness and Morality; Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800 -1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James. Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). p 17

³³ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p 42

³⁴ Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character':1830 -1900." p. 39

no doubt the brothers did, for they assiduously laboured to complete a modern facility in Gawler South³⁵ and continued to work hard, forgoing other pleasures, including sacrificing family time. On attaining various successes, they could have accepted all the accolades themselves however, they remembered to recognise their loyal workers' contributions to achieving results. In fact it was understood in the company that the success of the company occurred because everyone was dependent upon each other for their livelihoods.³⁶ The atmosphere cultivated at their modern work-shop resulted in a workforce that stayed contentedly in the brothers' employ for many years³⁷ Frederick pointed this out in 1896 when in the midst of great social uncertainty as other manufacturers such as James Martin's company were experiencing industrial disputes. He was reported to have said, 'Our men have good bosses you know, and know when they are well off'.³⁸ It may have sounded overly confident but that employees were well thought of which was reiterated at an employee social in 1900 where they were acknowledged as having assisted in the success of the firm.³⁹ The brothers understood that the business world should be conducted in a 'spirit of Christian decency.'⁴⁰ At this innovative workplace,⁴¹ there was no obvious division between workers and management, making it difficult for visitors to discern owner, from labourer.⁴² The brothers' attitude to employees was 'in essence an ethic of compassion that directed a man's attention to the needs and concerns of others.'⁴³ Notably, the company's band was well supported, and this provided relaxation and recreation for the bandsmen, and enjoyment of many. Their services were requested at many civic functions.'⁴⁴ Neither, Frederick⁴⁵ nor Alfred⁴⁶ appeared to seek public eminence, preferring to 'discourage self-seeking and

³⁵ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 2 South Gawler district across the South Para River comprises of Gawler West, Evanston, Bassett Town and Gawler South. In 1899 Gawler South became a separate District Council.

³⁶ 'Christmas Eve at Messrs' May Brothers', *The Bunyip*, 30 December 1887

³⁷ 'Messrs May Bros & Co.'s Employees; A Social', *The Bunyip*, 23 November 1900, May brothers started with 26 men and 13 years later 14 workers of these remained in their employ.

³⁸ 'Labour Troubles at Messrs Martin & Co's; Engineers on Strike; A Hit At The Co-operative Scheme; Fulton & Co and Forward, Downs & Co Affected; Over 120 Hands Out; demand of the Men to be Resisted', *The Bunyip*, 14 February 1896

³⁹ 'Messrs May Bros & Co.'s Employees; A Social', *The Bunyip*, 23 November 1900

⁴⁰ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 38

⁴¹ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 15 January 1897, electricity installation in 1897 enabled work at night

⁴² 'Christmas Eve at Messrs' May Brothers', *The Bunyip*, 30 December 1887

⁴³ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 38

⁴⁴ 'The Catholic Picnic', *The Bunyip*, 8 January 1897 or accompanied the children of the State School in presenting the 'song of Australia' at the 'Jubilee Celebrations' for James Martin. 'The Hon Jas. Martin Jubilee Celebrations', *The Bunyip*, 17 June 1898

⁴⁵ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 174 Persuaded by James Martin, Frederick became a councillor for a term from 1881 but declined re-election. He was an outspoken critic of The Salvation Army's Sunday street band playing.

⁴⁶ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 326 'Alfred was a member of the Council of the Gawler School of Mines and a foundation member of the Australian Institute of Mining Engineers'.

condemning the rewards offered to a commercial society'.⁴⁷ They did however meet their community obligations such as being on the committee of the Gawler School of Mines. They appeared in the local newspaper, *The Bunyip* occasionally,⁴⁸ and because the enterprise was an important concern in Gawler, their enterprise was attentively monitored by the local newspaper.⁴⁹ Their expertise and manufacturing triumphs bought them accolades and from this their status was enhanced.⁵⁰ Both brothers certainly evoked ideals of 'Religious observance, the cult of improvement, earnestness and temperate enthusiasms for mechanical toys of man's scientific brain', and in the brothers' lives, this 'reigned supreme.'⁵¹ The busy lives of both men was marked by a vibrancy and excitement as they laboured towards completing their latest mechanical marvel, a stimulating environment for a child, such as Bruce in his formative years, as it is in this period that masculinities have their genesis. They were important role models for younger members of the May family, including Bruce.

In 1887, aged six years, Bruce joined his older siblings at Gawler State School,⁵² starting in the 'infant's' department,⁵³ and in spite of problems with inexperienced teachers⁵⁴ he progressed into First Class in 1888 where he passed the 'Inspector's Examinations,' attaining a prize.⁵⁵ While the South Australian legislation delivered an education characterised by 'separated secular instruction from religious instruction,'⁵⁶ Bruce's educational experience was none the less influenced by men of the Methodist tradition, and included the prominent educationalist and Inspector General, John Hartley,⁵⁷ as well as Mr J. Harry, a Methodist,⁵⁸

⁴⁷ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 38

⁴⁸ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 10 July 1901; 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 26 July 1901; 'Strawberry Fete & etc.,' *The Bunyip*, 7 December 1901

⁴⁹ For example; Gawler Show results *The Bunyip*, 26 September 1890. From public competitions of the various agricultural products' performance, to completion of innovative mining equipment, to prizes at exhibitions, all of which were reported in the newspaper.

⁵⁰ For example; 'Gawler Engineering, Another triumph, Large Winding Engines, Messrs May Bros & Co., Congratulations', *The Bunyip*, 10 May 1901

⁵¹ Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859 - 93*. p. 69

⁵² *Gawler Public School Examination Register* October 30 - November 6 1879; *Gawler Public School Examination Register*, November 1882; *Gawler Public School Examination Register* 1887; 'Gawler State School', *The Bunyip*, 2 January 1891 when Stanley junior and Horace were on the prize list

⁵³ 'Prize List of Gawler Public School', *The Bunyip*, 16 December 1887.

⁵⁴ 'John Hosking', *Gawler Public School Examination Register*, Gawler Public School, 8 March 1887

⁵⁵ 'Report of the Public School, 1888', *The Bunyip*, 21 December 1888, Bruce listed in the First Class

⁵⁶ Theobald, *Knowing Woman. Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth Century Australia*. p 192

⁵⁷ Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College*. pp. 44-8 John Anderson Hartley educated in England and imbibed the Arnold tradition before migration to SA, becoming headmaster of Prince Alfred College in 1871s; G.E. Saunders, "Hartley, John Anderson," *Australian Dictionary of Biography On-Line Edition*, (Australian National University 2006-), <http://adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040405b.htm>. Accessed on-line 16/09/2008. In May, 1871 Hartley became SA Inspector General of Education ; Patricia Crawford and Philippa Maddern, eds., *Women as Australian Citizens: Underlying Histories*. (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2001). pp. 241-2; *Gawler Public School Examination Register*, Gawler State School, Mr Hartley visited Gawler in 1880,1882,1884,1887; See also Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia; 1860 -1900: Glad, Confident Morning*. p. 203

who became headmaster,⁵⁹ in Bruce's formative years. He apparently carried out his teaching commitments diligently being described as 'the most capable all-round man in the education department.'⁶⁰ These men were from a tradition which prized education for its own sake. Mr Harry was described as possessing, 'energy, regularity and tact',⁶¹ and whilst he received another appointment in 1890,⁶² he and Hartley's influence lingered. In 1894 Bruce passed into fifth class and received an end of year prize, having shown 'improvement', and an arithmetic prize.⁶³ Bruce's school record appears to be unremarkable and like many others in the age,⁶⁴ he utilised his family's connections and followed his father's footsteps, into the family business at May Brothers.⁶⁵

Bruce's view of his world had a decidedly Methodist flavour, with ideals of the 'virtues of work, self-help and discipline which brought clear rewards,'⁶⁶ being important attributes. Bruce now combined his work and continued his education,⁶⁷ studying in particular, science, commercial subjects and mathematics thereby joining the growing numbers of young people who were likewise motivated to expand their knowledge and expertise beyond school. In Gawler, technical education classes were introduced in the 1880s.⁶⁸ This type of education was established because of the growing concerns that South Australia would lose a competitive edge, and not have experienced personnel to keep pace with technological changes.⁶⁹ In 1895 the School of Mines introduced the subjects 'chemistry, physics, and mineralogy',⁷⁰ and three years later, the associated Gawler School of Design had classes for 'young mechanics' and held instruction in 'mechanical drawing, machine construction, geometrical drawing, builder's drawing, architecture, and sheet metalworkers' pattern

⁵⁸ Headmaster, Mr Harry served in various capacities such as The Band of Hope within the churches organisation at the Todd Street Church 'Gawler Wesleyan Band of Hope', *The Bunyip*, 5 April 1889 and 19 September 1890 or 'Gawler Wesleyan Band of Hope', *The Bunyip*, 26 August 1887

⁵⁹ 'Arbor Day', *The Bunyip*, 2 August 1889

⁶⁰ *The Bunyip*, 13 October 1899 Mr Harry served as a 'model chairman,' of the Gawler Institute Literary Society. He was also elected in 1899 to the presidency of 'South Australian Public Teacher's Union.'

⁶¹ 'Departure of Mr J. Harry', *The Bunyip*, 16 January 1891

⁶² *The Bunyip*, 13 October 1899

⁶³ 'Gawler State School; Breaking Up for the Holidays', *The Bunyip*, 28 December 1894

⁶⁴ Ian Davey, "Growing up in a working class community: school and work in Hindmarsh," in *Families in Colonial Australia*, ed. Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, and Ellen Mc Ewen (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985). p. 171

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.168

⁶⁶ Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College.* p. 10

⁶⁷ 'Death of Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

⁶⁸ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley.* p. 215

⁶⁹ Susan Lemar, "Children of Industry: Boy Labour, "Apprenticeship" and the State In South Australia 1880 - 1917" (Honours history, The University of Adelaide, 1994). p.35

⁷⁰ 'Local Mems', *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1895

drawing'.⁷¹ Many of the subjects taught would have been of benefit both to the May Company and to Bruce in particular, who attended to his subjects with 'diligence'.⁷² To facilitate more enrolments in 1898, the Council for the Gawler School of Mines initiated a scholarship program funded by townspeople including May Brothers.⁷³ Bruce won one of these scholarships, a prize which the May family may not have needed as by this time, the family had attained a very comfortable standard of living.

Symbolic of his growing prosperity and increased status in the community, Alfred May purchased Tortola House, in 1897,⁷⁴ an imposing "Italianate" residence in the heart of Gawler, over the road from the family's place of worship at the Todd Street Methodist Church. Unfortunately, his responsibilities increased sharply with the untimely death of his brother Frederick in 1897⁷⁵ leaving Alfred to continue on with the business, assisted increasingly by the next generation, accepting more responsibility.⁷⁶ Of the seven boys in the Alfred May family, Bruce, now twenty years of age, was presented as the 'heir apparent'⁷⁷ perhaps unusual, as he had older brothers.⁷⁸ For most boys in the era however, there was the expectation of becoming apprenticed to their father,⁷⁹ and Bruce had obviously responded well to his father's work guidance, coupled with his continuing technical studies in 'mining engineering',⁸⁰ which would have stood him in good stead with the 'specialised technological training'.⁸¹ May Brothers would certainly have required this expertise as they were increasing their involvement in the mining industry, building more and more intricate equipment which was in great demand. This training also combined, 'scientific knowledge and the profit motive'⁸² which was a bonus in an increasingly difficult economic climate, which culminated in depression, marked by widespread national industrial unrest.⁸³ In this challenging period, Bruce's 'steady and genial' disposition and popularity with his fellow workers at May

⁷¹ 'Gawler School of Design, Painting and Technical Arts', *The Bunyip*, 3 June 1898

⁷² 'Complimentary Social Farewell to Trooper B May', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

⁷³ 'The School of Mines Scholarships', *The Bunyip*, 28 October 1898, May Bros donated a scholarship for a second year science student.

⁷⁴ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p.101; 'Advertisement,' *The Bunyip*, 7 December 1894, Tortola House was described as a 12 roomed house with, stables, coach house etc.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 114

⁷⁶ Coombe, *The History of Gawler 1937-1908*. p. 100

⁷⁷ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 254

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 315 Alfred May's sons: Frederick, Horace, Bruce, Alfred, Stanley, Howard, and Hedley; his daughters were Gertrude, Elsie and Gladys

⁷⁹ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930*. p.75

⁸⁰ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 257

⁸¹ Pavla Miller, *Long Division; State Schooling in South Australian Society* . p. 105

⁸² *Ibid.* p. 113

⁸³ *Ibid.* pp. 77-8

Brothers,⁸⁴ may have marked him as a suitable leader and placed him in this coveted position. There is no doubt that Bruce had developed an excellent rapport with the work-force being described as ‘singularly popular with his shop mates, and it was owing, no doubt, to his character’,⁸⁵ which in the era ‘character’ commonly meant, ‘moral steadfastness, determination, personality, selflessness, and loyalty.’⁸⁶ These qualities were certainly aspects that Bruce subsequently went on to display more conspicuously.⁸⁷

Life was not all work however, and as Gawler had a rich associational culture Bruce had a plethora of activities in which to participate. He maintained his interest in music, playing in Gawler’s famous Riggs Band, which was established in 1856,⁸⁸ as well as in the company of his fellow workers, in the May Brass Band;⁸⁹ thereby performing at many community functions. Not only was his musical talent appreciated, he also obligingly performed many other services required to keep an organisation operating.⁹⁰ Another activity he passed into adulthood with, was his participation in the Friendly Society of the ‘Foresters Order’⁹¹ which he joined as a youngster, commencing in the ‘juvenile court’ before graduating to the ‘Court Bushman’s Pride’ where he held various offices, some of which demonstrated a leadership aptitude with his election as a the ‘Sub-chief ranger’,⁹² and the ‘vice-chair’.⁹³ In these male only associations, rich in ceremony and practice, he saw ‘social organisation and power’ in action, and extended his social network, in an organisation that promoted ‘brotherhood’ amongst members.⁹⁴ Thus Bruce became well acquainted with other men in Gawler societies of a similar ilk,⁹⁵ earning a reputation as a ‘worker in lodge matters’.⁹⁶

Bruce’s Methodist faith remained an important aspect in his life and he grew up with a ‘fear of God’⁹⁷ amongst men who subscribed to a ‘manly Christian character.’⁹⁸ Not only was there the devotional characteristic of membership, there was too the continuing educational aspect

⁸⁴ ‘Death of Trooper B.H. May’, *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

⁸⁵ ‘Complimentary Social for Trooper B May’, *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

⁸⁶ Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. p. 45

⁸⁷ ‘The Late Trooper Bruce May’, *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

⁸⁸ Whitelock, *Gawler; Colonel Light's Country Town: A History of Gawler and its Region- the Hills, the Plains and the Barossa Valley*. p. 221

⁸⁹ The May Band was sometimes referred to as the Phoenix Band.

⁹⁰ ‘Complimentary Social’, *The Bunyip*, 8 February, 1901

⁹¹ ‘The Foresters’, Opening Ceremony, Rejoicing and Congratulations’, *The Bunyip* 19 April 1895

⁹² ‘Death of Trooper B.H. May’, *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

⁹³ ‘Complimentary Socials’, *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

⁹⁴ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys; Gender in Taradale, 1885-1930* pp. 151-3

⁹⁵ ‘Complimentary Social Farewell to Trooper B May’, *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

⁹⁶ ‘Complimentary Socials’, *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

⁹⁷ ‘Complimentary Socials’, *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

⁹⁸ ‘Farewell Social to Mr J. M. Limb’, *The Bunyip*, 15 November 1901

in religion, as well as activities which Bruce would probably have had a passing interest. In particular there was an 'elementary science class' which commenced in 1890,⁹⁹ as well as the musical opportunities,¹⁰⁰ the 'Literary Society' and so on. It was a busy full schedule that church authorities provided for their adherents encouraged, by the Methodist notion that 'entertainment and relaxation' were important for a 'healthy' and a balanced life.¹⁰¹ This philosophy also helped keep young men away from alcohol and other 'low' activities and temptations. This meshed well with the trends which were apparent in the period in regard to manliness in which sports participation was considered the ideal way to build character which developed, 'self-reliance'¹⁰² and in Gawler, there were plenty of sporting activities.

Indeed, in South Australia sport was an integral activity in the community. In Gawler there were many teams in the cricket and football competitions with allegiance to different team sports cutting across class boundaries.¹⁰³ Team members were selected on ability alone and supporters were loyal to their chosen team. Boys were generally introduced early to sport and especially to cricket which was thought to 'bring out the best in men and boys.'¹⁰⁴ As Adair explains, eventually, 'sporting fields became important as "testing grounds" not simply of colonial ability, but of manhood'.¹⁰⁵ Bruce was a keen sportsman, participating in athletics,¹⁰⁶ playing football as well as cricket,¹⁰⁷ gaining a reputation as a 'first class' player in both games.¹⁰⁸ His ability was acknowledged too when he was given the responsibility of umpiring football and he was described as a 'very fast umpire'.¹⁰⁹ This sporting activity resulted in 'physicality, health, and strength', highly prized characteristics,¹¹⁰ of manliness. Other attributes which became prominent as militarism increased were 'fair play, loyalty, acceptance of victory and defeat, fortitude, discipline and obedience,' which contributed to the idea that sports playing, was useful in war preparations.¹¹¹ At an all-male gathering in 1901 Bruce said he enjoyed playing cricket and the crowd that had gathered agreed that on the

⁹⁹ 'Gawler Wesleyan Sunday School; Anniversary Services', *The Bunyip*, 10 October 1890

¹⁰⁰ 'Gawler Wesleyan Band of Hope', *The Bunyip*, 24 February 1888

¹⁰¹ Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists; A History of Methodism in New South Wales*. p.78

¹⁰² Park, 'Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character':1830 -1900'. p. 17

¹⁰³ Daly, *Elysian Field; Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836 -1890*. p.160

¹⁰⁴ Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College*. p. 55

¹⁰⁵ Adair, Nauright, and Phillips, 'Playing Fields Through to Battle Fields; The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in its Imperial Context, c1850-1918'. p.53

¹⁰⁶ 'Death of Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

¹⁰⁷ 'Cricket; Gawler South Cricket Club', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

¹⁰⁸ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 254

¹⁰⁹ 'Central v Agricultural College', *The Bunyip*, 17 August 1900

¹¹⁰ Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity 1870 -1920*. p. 73

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 88

cricket and football fields and as with his Friendly Society experience, 'Bruce had done credit to all around him'.¹¹²

Band performances became more frequent after the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899. The tradition of band music in playing stirring patriotic airs was a vital ingredient in providing the right ambience at occasions pertaining to the Queen and Empire.¹¹³ Band music was also called for when the Boer War volunteers made their farewells, and later in the conflict, at the end of the sieges of Ladysmith in March,¹¹⁴ and Mafeking in May 1900, when the event was very enthusiastically celebrated, with citizens forming a spontaneous procession to parade through the streets as soon as the news was announced and band members could muster. Townspeople continued the jubilation into the evening and the May's band played from the 'Old Spot Hotel' balcony in the evening.¹¹⁵ A formal procession was organised in the following days when a half-day holiday was proclaimed too,¹¹⁶ such was the jubilation. This event was closely followed by the farewelling of new volunteers who had a particular association with Gawler. Included were seven former students of nearby Roseworthy Agricultural College. Young men whom Bruce had probably met on the playing fields. After marching 'up Murray Street headed by May's Brass Band',¹¹⁷ the volunteers were entertained at a social held in the Institute. Bruce would have probably played on this occasion too which would have stirred patriotic emotions, encouraged by the many enthusiastic bystanders as well as the loyal speeches made during the formalities. Lieutenant-Colonel Popham spoke of volunteering and how gratifying it was to see that the men were 'going in earnestness, of their own free will to fight for the Queen and the independence of the whole British Empire'.¹¹⁸ Professor Lowrie of the Roseworthy Agricultural College, talked on a similar volunteering theme commenting that he 'was proud also that they were going as volunteers of their own free will,'...¹¹⁹ It would have been hard for such a loyal young man as Bruce not to be moved by these challenging sentiments.

In January 1901 a short announcement appeared in *The Bunyip* stating that Bruce had volunteered for active service in the Boer War and would be accepted into the 'Fifth

¹¹² 'Complimentary Social for Trooper B May', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹¹³ For example, 'The Friendly Societies Parade; The Patriotic Wave; A Successful Turnout', *The Bunyip*, 16 March 1900

¹¹⁴ 'A Gawler Demonstration; The Relief of Ladysmith; The Patriotic Wave', *The Bunyip*, 9 March 1900

¹¹⁵ 'Relief of Mafeking, Great Rejoicing', *The Bunyip*, 25 May 1900

¹¹⁶ 'Relief of Mafeking, Great Rejoicing', *The Bunyip*, 25 May 1900

¹¹⁷ 'On The War Path, Imperial Contingenters Socialised', *The Bunyip*, 4 May 1900

¹¹⁸ 'On The War Path, Imperial Contingenters Socialised', *The Bunyip*, 4 May 1900

¹¹⁹ 'On The War Path, Imperial Contingenters Socialised', *The Bunyip*, 4 May 1900

Contingent', on the proviso that he successfully demonstrated he had shooting ability¹²⁰ which was subsequently verified. In many ways Bruce's decision to volunteer mirrored Methodists' general life view, in that 'life was a battle'.¹²¹ It was perhaps a little surprising that volunteers were still required in South Africa, for in June 1900 there had been prominent headlines in *The Bunyip* suggesting that the Boer War was in its concluding phase.¹²² The Boer War finally ended with the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging on the 31 May 1902¹²³ however, in the meantime the conflict, became marked by guerrilla-like tactics and scorched earth policies, a scenario far from the traditional ideas of war. This was the situation that faced Bruce as he prepared to leave South Australia in the well subscribed Fifth Contingent in March 1901.¹²⁴ He had not been deterred by the news of the death of one of Gawler's volunteers, Heinjus, who 'succumbed to disease',¹²⁵ along with the deaths of two of the former Roseworthy Agricultural College students,¹²⁶ nor the news that Fred Congreve, son of *The Bunyip* former editor, who initially listed as missing, was confirmed as a wounded prisoner.¹²⁷

Bruce's decision to depart precipitated a flurry of farewell socials which reflected the family's status and Bruce's personal standing in Gawler. For someone who did not seek the limelight, the kind complimentary words said about him made his home-town departure difficult. At a social at May Brothers, a long-time employee remarked that it would have been 'highly improper for Trooper May to depart without letting him know their impressions of his worth'.¹²⁸ The Mayor, Mr C.G. Rebbeck was amongst the speakers and after a few inspiring patriotic words concluded by saying 'it was a great wrench to break away from parents and friends, but they all wished him prosperity, and a safe return to the town where he was so much respected'.¹²⁹ Bruce said he 'felt keenly at leaving his shop mates but hoped to come back safely and be one of them again'.¹³⁰

¹²⁰ *The Bunyip*, 18 January, 1901

¹²¹ Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia*. p.171

¹²² 'The War, Closing Events, British Troops in Johannesburg, Pretoria Abandoned, Flight of Kruger, Great Demonstration In Gawler', *The Bunyip*, 1 June 1900

¹²³ Chamberlain and Droogleever, *The War With Johnny Boer; Australians in the Boer War; 1899-1902*. pp. 589-90

¹²⁴ 'Trooper B. May', *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1901

¹²⁵ *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901 'On an average one in four cases of typhoid fever in the British troops in South Africa has proved fatal'; 'Promising Lives Cut Off', *The Bunyip*, 3 August 1900

¹²⁶ 'Promising Lives Cut Off', *The Bunyip*, 3 August 1900, Killed, Troopers F.J. Tothill and A.R. Nicholas

¹²⁷ 'Only a Prisoner', *The Bunyip*, 25 May 1900; 'On the War Path', *The Bunyip*, 23 August, 1901

¹²⁸ 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹²⁹ 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹³⁰ 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

Bruce's Methodist Church held a farewell function too for their departing 'scholar'. His Sunday-School organised a social, led by the church elders who gathered to 'make complimentary speeches,'¹³¹ and to wish him God-speed. As well 'the young men of the adult class' symbolically gathered in a circle around him and presented him with a bible. Bruce was particularly moved by their gesture and he responded 'feelingly' and in 'doing so acknowledged the kindness of his classmates in their remembering him, and promised to do his best to uphold the honour, of the Empire, the town, and the school.'¹³² It was an occasion charged with patriotism and emotions and demonstrated a softer side to Bruce's masculinity. It also demonstrated the importance of his Methodist faith in his life. As Catherine Hall has observed, 'Without a religious family, individuals would be hard-pressed to maintain their faith – the family was a bulwark, a defence against the immorality "of the world", a haven in which Christian morality was practised'.¹³³ Bruce's faith had played a part in his decision to volunteer and he said a 'strong conviction took hold of him'.¹³⁴ There was no indication that for Bruce 'religion was not a spiritual commitment but a social habit'.¹³⁵ He was 'a God-fearing man'.¹³⁶

Bruce's parents had a farewell reception on the lawn at his home, Tortola House. There, family and friends wished Bruce bon voyage and all expressed the sentiment that Bruce would soon be back in the family fold once again.¹³⁷ His parents' vainly hoped he would be declared unfit because of a fresh sporting mishap however, this did not occur. In an age where men 'were expected to fight for their country,'¹³⁸ Bruce felt 'it was his duty to go'.¹³⁹

It is a puzzle in some respects as to the reasons Bruce wanted to go to war given that he had a secure job, was well thought of, and came from a loving affluent home. However, he may as Tosh suggests been a young man that just wanted to establish his 'independence'¹⁴⁰ however, it also seemed to be true that he had been well imbued with societal ideas of the importance of

¹³¹ 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901 Such as speeches by; Revs I Rooney, O. Lake, Hon E. Lucas M.L.C., Messrs', W. Odgers, J. Limb, W. Dawkins, J.M. Limb, and C.H. Annells

¹³² 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹³³ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class; Explorations in Feminism and History*. p. 227

¹³⁴ 'The Late Trooper Bruce May; A Memorial Service', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

¹³⁵ Mangan, "Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in late Victorian and Edwardian England." p. 147

¹³⁶ 'The Late Trooper May', *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

¹³⁷ *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹³⁸ Cooper Annabel et al., "The Landscape of Gender Politics: Place People and Two Mobilisations," in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men, Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, ed. Annabel Cooper Barbara Brookes, Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). p. 308

¹³⁹ 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹⁴⁰ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 173

the Empire which became apparent from the 1880s,¹⁴¹ and the reminders to serve the institution for the betterment of mankind. In one of his speeches he said he 'had a wish to go from the first, and he was pleased to know the wish had been gratified'.¹⁴² The Methodist minister, Reverend C.H. Nield said of Bruce later, that he had enlisted because 'there was the hope that they could help to make the Empire freer, more secure and more capable of fulfilling its high destiny in the coming years'.¹⁴³

John Tosh, argues that there was a crisis which assailed domesticity at the end of the nineteenth century when men began rejecting marriage or postponed the event by joining institutions such as the armed services rather than acquiesce to society's tenet. Masculinity became increasingly related to Empire.¹⁴⁴ Perhaps Bruce too had been swayed by this movement. There was however, another British notion which had evolved slowly through the nineteenth century between 'concepts of soldiering and masculinity' which saw a man who volunteered being regarded as a 'patriot'.¹⁴⁵ In Australia, at this time, rising nationalistic sentiment became more salient with federation looming, and these sentiments may have acted as a catalyst for Bruce to volunteer. Indeed in November 1900, 'Cit' in *The Bunyip* had touched on the patriot theme saying 'Australia believes in the citizen soldier',¹⁴⁶ so perhaps it was not surprising that Bruce's father Alfred whilst expressing sorrow at his son's imminent journey to the war, also pointed out at the farewell social at May Brothers, 'that it was worthy of any young man to go and fight for his king. He knew Bruce to be a true patriot'.¹⁴⁷

Julia Horne argues travel in itself, during the period was 'a celebration of manhood',¹⁴⁸ and for Bruce, there was a promising wide world for him to explore and operate as an independent person, as he had not travelled overseas before, unlike Willoughby Dowling. It was an exciting and interesting prospect as segments of the male Methodist schooling experience included a 'tradition of interest in natural history, manual skills and habits of earnestness and usefulness'.¹⁴⁹ It did not mean however, that Bruce's family were forgotten, on the contrary, he looked forward to corresponding with them writing 'at last I have the opportunity of

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 175

¹⁴² 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹⁴³ 'The Late Trooper Bruce May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

¹⁴⁴ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 175

¹⁴⁵ Bet-El, "Men and Soldiers: British Conscripts of Masculinity, and the Great War." p. 78

¹⁴⁶ 'Militarism, Town Tattle', *The Bunyip*, 11 January 1901

¹⁴⁷ 'Complimentary Social for Trooper B May', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

¹⁴⁸ Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder; How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. p. 64

¹⁴⁹ Scott, "Engendering Loyalties: the construction of masculinities, femininities, and national identities in South Australian secondary schools 1880 -1919." p. 234

writing'.¹⁵⁰ He comprehensively documented his adventure in his letters, from the time of leaving Adelaide on the *Ormazan*¹⁵¹ en route to the Boer War, usually in a chatty, forthcoming manner following a diary-like format. No detail was too insignificant to be shared with his family, and the wider community as he travelled and experienced life as an Australian volunteer. This was in sharp contrast to Willoughby Dowling who revealed little, although this may have been because he had less local interaction. Bruce on the other hand was as a member of an employer family where he had experienced a closer, more equal relationship with the people of Gawler. Bruce's first communication however, proved to be uncharacteristically brief in which he voiced his criticism about his ship-board situation, there by exhibiting a characteristic of an Australian soldier's masculinity, that is possessing, 'a certain disrespect for authority'.¹⁵² As sea-sickness abounded, probably nothing would have assuaged his discontent and impressions.¹⁵³ Even the imminent arrival in South Africa did not improve the atmosphere as disembarking was postponed and the ship was rerouted along the South African coastline to Cape Town. The coastline was tantalisingly close, yet no-one was allowed shore-leave. The volunteers were very disappointed and even though there were many entreaties to the officers, they would not be persuaded, because of the presence of 'the plague,' 'or so they reckoned,' Bruce disparagingly commented.¹⁵⁴

Bruce however, came to terms with his prolonged ship-bound experience taking delight in the sea-scape as they journeyed back past East London, and wrote that the city 'presented a grand sight with all the harbour lights etc., shining in the night'.¹⁵⁵ Like his father, Bruce was imbued with the age's ideas of progress and with his engineering background he was interested in these undertakings, wherever he came across them. He was impressed with Port Elizabeth when they finally berthed,¹⁵⁶ commenting upon the city's prosperous ambience and was 'struck' with the 'uniform way in which things worked' and amazingly the city, had electric cars, he humorously wrote, 'strike a light Adelaide and see if you are awake'.¹⁵⁷ There were other engineering wonders that caught his attention on his travels, such as an armoured derailed train which he dramatically described 'had a fight with the Boers a week before and

¹⁵⁰ 'Trooper B.H. May, Sensational Adventures', *The Bunyip*, 26 July, 1901

¹⁵¹ 'Trooper B. May', *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1901

¹⁵² White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. p. 76-9

¹⁵³ 'Trooper B. May', *The Bunyip*, 1 March 1901

¹⁵⁴ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁵⁵ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁵⁶ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁵⁷ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

you could see where the bullets struck'.¹⁵⁸ A ride through a tunnel for the first time was an experience he thought he would long remember.¹⁵⁹

Possessing and creating new memories, imagining and sharing experiences with his family were very important to Bruce on his overseas experience. The increasing prevalence of photographs in society and views of South Africa in particular meant that the family had a vision of the kind of country where Bruce was venturing. As Tim Barringer highlights, they were popular in 'works of non-fiction,' which gave people an understanding of their wider world and it became 'central to mid-Victorian visual culture'.¹⁶⁰ This facilitated an ongoing appreciation for all the May family and enabled them to share in Bruce's adventure. It was obvious many photographs had been viewed,¹⁶¹ and included some relating to the war. This allowed him to interact, maintaining an ongoing conversation with his family during his sojourn and this seemed quite a comfort to Bruce. He was very pleased when he was able to tell them that he 'recognised the places from the photos he had seen of the places.'¹⁶² On a memorable day he and other volunteers were 'inspected' and then 'marched past' Lord Kitchener and he assured his family that his lordship 'looked just like his photos you see of him'.¹⁶³ The Boer War was not another war 'enacted by British [and Australian] soldiers far from civilian eyes',¹⁶⁴ increasingly there was a wider audience.

It may have been that Bruce had always dreamed of travel adventures, and the war facilitated the experience, however, his church elders denied this, stating that Bruce had enlisted not in a 'mere adventurous or discontented mood'.¹⁶⁵ However in the initial period of his travels he indicated he was more than prepared to travel further afield as circumstances permitted. He seemed to be like many young men and just longed for adventure. This he certainly experienced, with little delay. According to fellow Gawlerite, Trooper Harry Vile the transport ship berthed at Port Elizabeth in late March and after only 'six or seven hours' the volunteers were entrained, for Kroonstad, a journey lasting '92 hours' in which they covered over seven hundred miles.¹⁶⁶ Bruce was assigned to 'D4' squadron in Colonel De Lisle's

¹⁵⁸ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 24 May 1901

¹⁵⁹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁶⁰ Tim Barringer, "Images of otherness and the visual production of difference: race and labour in illustrated texts, 1850-1865," in *The Victorians and Race*, ed. Shearer West (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 1996). p.35

¹⁶¹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁶² 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁶³ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 23 August, 1901

¹⁶⁴ Bet-El, "Men and Soldiers: British Conscripts of Masculinity, and the Great War." p. 80

¹⁶⁵ 'The Late Trooper Bruce May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

¹⁶⁶ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 10 May 1901, letter from Trooper H. Vile, 5th Contingent

column and with their firearms distributed, cleaned and made ready, along with the instructions to be always prepared for action,¹⁶⁷ their war experience commenced. Bruce obviously was proud of his new acquisition, and the opportunity to practise using his 'Lee-Enfield', writing 'it's marvellous how quick the men get used to them'.¹⁶⁸ He did not seem to be in the least dismayed to find they may have come under enemy attack as the Victorian volunteers had been two days before on the same rail-line.¹⁶⁹ On completion of their uneventful journey and arrival at Kroonstad they travelled two miles and established their primitive camp.¹⁷⁰ The next morning after inspection by 'General Methuen' who favourably remarked on their 'appearance' he then lead them to an adjacent 'kopje' (hill) where 'Boers were entrenched', and after 'exchanging fire' the Boers departed upon their hardy ponies with the volunteers in pursuit. Fruitless, as it turned out as the Australian horses had not yet acclimatized and the volunteers' chase, was reluctantly aborted.¹⁷¹ On return to their camp, they were delivered the disturbing news that one of their own had died, not from enemy fire rather, by being drowned in a flooded river.¹⁷² It was an ominous introduction to the theatre of war.

Bruce's world-view was considerably expanded by his time in South Africa. Until this point in his life the world that Bruce had inhabited in Gawler, was largely composed of people of Anglo-Saxon origin, the Indigenous population having long ago disappeared. He quickly established a rapport with some Port Elizabeth citizens, who he recounted 'couldn't do enough for us,' as 'they think a lot of Australians',¹⁷³ reflecting the notion that membership to the Empire was open to any white person who was born within these boundaries.¹⁷⁴ He felt a particular kinship for the different British and Empire regiments in South Africa and it generated much pride and pleasure. He commented in one letter that 'the Lancaster's (sic) thought the world of us and would have given anything for us to have stopped with them.' He had contact with others from the Empire making him realise he was part of a much bigger picture, such as the Canadians, and perhaps in recognition of the competition which prevailed amongst nations as to the fitness of their men, he described them as 'fine fellows'.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁷ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁶⁸ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁶⁹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁷⁰ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 10 May 1901, letter from Trooper H. Vile, 5th Contingent

¹⁷¹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 10 May 1901, letter from Trooper H. Vile, 5th Contingent

¹⁷² 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 10 May 1901, letter from Trooper H. Vile, 5th Contingent

¹⁷³ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁷⁴ Pat Thane, "The British Imperial State and the Construction of National Identities.," in *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace 1870 -1930*, ed. Billie Melman (New York , London: Routledge, 1998). p. 41

¹⁷⁵ 'More letters from the late B.H. May, On the War Path', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

If he felt comfortable with people of the Empire, Bruce certainly experienced a special relationship with his fellow volunteers, for as White argues ‘mateship’ was a characteristic of Australian soldiers. In mid-1901 a prospective visit of other Australian volunteers caused ‘great excitement in the camp’, Bruce wrote and adding almost wonderingly ‘to think we would see the Sixth Contingent and met our pals’.¹⁷⁶ Bruce later, spent a three week period away from his assigned ‘column’ and on return was delighted writing, ‘I can tell you I am quite myself again, back with my mates’.¹⁷⁷ The few volunteers Bruce wrote of, to his parents, were described as ‘mates’ perhaps his closest friendship was with Harry Vile and detailed in one letter their comforting companionship under conflict conditions. Bruce’s references to Harry were on the whole, in reference to his excellent health status.¹⁷⁸ Harry was one person that Bruce could rely upon and after one of his falls off his horse or ‘busters’ as he called them, Harry wrote to Bruce’s parents explaining that Bruce had damaged his fingers and assured the family that once the injury was resolved the usual letters would follow.¹⁷⁹

Indigenous African people presented a completely new situation for Bruce. As a quasi-tourist involved in an imperialistic enterprise, Bruce was able to regard the native peoples or ‘kaffirs’ as they were called in the period, from a ‘position of cultural and political privilege’.¹⁸⁰ Bruce observed their lowly status, as wharf labourers performing menial tasks, which in this Victorian period was ‘normal’, as they were regarded as ‘inferior’ to the white people of the British Empire. For ‘native’ peoples this was their station in life,¹⁸¹ being viewed as not yet schooled in the proper ways of ‘civilized’ British people. However, Bruce was under the impression that this conflict was a ‘white-mans’ war’ and was therefore surprised that they ‘seemed to help the soldiers a lot.’¹⁸² Ridiculing the “Kaffirs” efforts was however, a cheap source of amusement to the volunteers. They watched with hilarity as they grappled with their non-compliant horses being disembarked from the ship and in later days they were amused by their repeated forays into camp breaking ‘martial law’ and necessitating action by the sentries to ‘chase them off the station’.¹⁸³ Through ‘the mid-nineteenth century, as often before and since, the idea of racial difference was mobilised in various ways to distance an empowered

¹⁷⁶ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1901

¹⁷⁷ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 23 August, 1901

¹⁷⁸ ‘More Letters from The Late B.H. May, On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

¹⁷⁹ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 16 August 1901, Letter from Trooper H. Vile to Mr Alf. May

¹⁸⁰ Robin Gerster, "A Bit of the Other; Touring Vietnam," in *Gender and War; Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995). p.127

¹⁸¹ Barringer, "Images of otherness and the visual production of difference: race and labour in illustrated texts, 1850-1865." p. 3

¹⁸² ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁸³ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

group,' and sometimes, it included 'white, middle class and respectable,'¹⁸⁴ volunteers. They opportunistically utilised their services to obtain food in Port Elizabeth as the volunteers were forbidden to venture beyond the docks. The enterprise was not without its risks; mainly financial, in Bruce's case and he ruefully disclosed that he 'was only taken down a modest shilling.'¹⁸⁵ As David Spurr has noted, 'in colonial discourse every weakness has a political counterpart - uncivilised society, according to this logic, being little more than the uncivilized mind and body writ large.' Dishonesty along with other vices were 'reflected more generally in societies characterized by corruption, xenophobia, tribalism and an inability to govern themselves'.¹⁸⁶ In time, this was demonstrated when the volunteers had 'run down' one of the Boer's 'best kaffir scouts and he put the whole show away about their wagons',¹⁸⁷ Bruce recounted. The inference was that the non-white man's disclosure regarding the Boers was to be expected. As time passed Bruce became accustomed to living in the proximity of 'non-white' people, adopting a common 'white' persons' proprietorial tone when he reported dispassionately that 'one of our Kaffir' boys' was shot by a sniper.¹⁸⁸

Bruce's tour of duty in the Boer War was an experience characterised by many 'hardships'.¹⁸⁹ He did, as Drooglever and Chamberlain describe, accept the conditions readily. It was a rough tough experience with few comforts in weather that was characterised by hot days followed by cold nights, accompanied by the ever-present sniper threat that ensured they were cautious. On one occasion he wrote, 'it is really dangerous to wander away from the camp'.¹⁹⁰ However, as time passed Bruce became almost blasé, describing after a few months of duty that 'a few snippers worried us, however and this helped to scatter things a bit'.¹⁹¹ He spent much of his time travelling on horseback, day or night. Also there was patrol duty in which he came under enemy fire, as he succinctly reported that 'two bullets whistled over his head', and he 'shot back in exchange.'¹⁹² The volunteers also spent some-time attempting to infiltrate Boer camps. One such occasion Bruce wrote that his squadron surprised a Boer encampment lacking in patrols and came amongst them easily 'we had them beaten and our

¹⁸⁴ Barringer, "Images of otherness and the visual production of difference: race and labour in illustrated in illustrated texts, 1850-1865." p. 34

¹⁸⁵ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

¹⁸⁶ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric Of Empire; Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration*. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993). p. 77

¹⁸⁷ 'On The War Path, More Letters from the late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

¹⁸⁸ 'On The War Path, More Letters from the late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

¹⁸⁹ 'The Late Trooper Bruce May, A Memorial Service', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

¹⁹⁰ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1901

¹⁹¹ 'The Late Trooper May', *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

¹⁹² 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

march proved successful' he wrote in a satisfied tone.¹⁹³ The nocturnal experiences however, were not popular and he wrote on one occasion that 'we had to do one of those detestable marches'.¹⁹⁴ Harry Vile reported that 'the night marches are very severe' and described how they had marched twenty-four miles in one night, after receiving a tip-off that one of the Boer leaders, De Wet was hiding out near Senekal, however, he eluded capture, which was 'much to their disgust'.¹⁹⁵ On the whole Bruce was stoic and 'cheerfully and bravely' accepted his campaign life.¹⁹⁶ He grew very accustomed to his transient existence, so much so that when he had three weeks in a 'standing camp' he was surprised at how 'slow' it was 'after being on the march'.¹⁹⁷

Horses were a large part of their lives however they were frequently unfit for the job expected of them. Acquisition of fresh well-trained mounts was therefore highly prized, making the capture of some of the Boers' 'best horses' a coup which Bruce jubilantly reported 'means a good deal'.¹⁹⁸ The death of horses due to an injury as they galloped over uneven terrain or dying from enemy fire, took its toll and ensured there were many 'busters' to use Bruce's description, leading to a multitude of rider injuries. Bruce was not exempt as he reported, en route to Honing's Kop.¹⁹⁹ In comparison to Willoughby Dowling, Bruce did not have the advantage of refined riding skills. However, it seems he had acquired sufficient horsemanship skill to cope with the difficult conditions. He regretted that one of his horses had died, however, its replacement he wrote was a 'beauty and can gallop like a good 'un'.²⁰⁰ The Australian identity, the pastoral worker much debated in the era,²⁰¹ certainly resonated too, interestingly, considering he was a townsman. He wrote enthusiastically, 'you ought to have seen me rounding up the cattle. I will be a thorough bushman by the time I come back'.²⁰²

The enemy, the Boers were of course the focus of volunteers' attention. In the weeks of the campaign Bruce and 'D' Squadron' were detailed to pass through areas where there were large numbers of Boers and he spent many hours in the saddle pursuing them across the rough country-side, sometimes becoming involved with them in combat. His descriptions of these actions were usually understated, describing some action after they had left Harrismith as a

¹⁹³ 'On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 18 September, 1901

¹⁹⁴ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 30 August, 1901

¹⁹⁵ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 16 August 1901, Letter from Trooper H. Vile to Mr Alf. May

¹⁹⁶ 'The Late Trooper Bruce May, A Memorial Service', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

¹⁹⁷ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 23 August, 1901

¹⁹⁸ 'On The War Path, More Letters from the late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

¹⁹⁹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 30 August, 1901

²⁰⁰ 'Continuation of Trooper B. H. May's Letter', *The Bunyip*, 24 May 1901

²⁰¹ Marilyn Lake, "The politics of respectability: Identifying the masculinist context." p. 2

²⁰² 'Trooper B.H. May; On the War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

‘little fighting’.²⁰³ Roper suggests that soldiers’ letters were tailored to suit mothers.²⁰⁴ This did not however, appear to be the case and there was never any suggestion of censorship and sometimes he reveals details that were remarkably graphic, such as the occasion that he stated, ‘we know for certain we killed six Boers. I saw one Boer blown clean off his horse, so you can tell we were pretty close to them’.²⁰⁵ It seemed Bruce had become quite a hardened volunteer and a far cry from the home-loving, music-making, church-going young man. Perhaps it was just part of doing the job, even if it included capturing and commandeering Boer stock; the horses, cattle and sheep, on which the Boers depended. It was a large part of his duties as a volunteer. In many ways it was a demoralising experience however, Bruce seemed quite resigned to undertaking this unpleasant duty and in August 1901, in a casual manner wrote

After tea we had to go and kill about 5,000 sheep, in fact it is a regular thing every night to go and kill a few thousand and shoot the horses we catch during the day.²⁰⁶

The Boers, fleeing the invaders, increasingly travelled across the veldt in convoys accompanied by their stock, trying to evade detection. In September, after being tipped off, Bruce was amongst the South Australians who travelled through the night and, waited until dawn. Then, he recounted, ‘we were after them, and we had a good day’s sport’.²⁰⁷ This engagement resulted in ninety wagons and carts and forty Boers besides a large number of stock being captured, and as Bruce nonchalantly wrote, ‘we took this lot almost without firing a shot, the Boers fleeing in all direction’.²⁰⁸ That seems more like the voice of a hardened veteran.

The enemy, the Boers were generally seen, not unsurprisingly, in a poor light, although perhaps there was some mutual regard for the Boers apparently referred to Australians as ‘devils’.²⁰⁹ The first prisoner sighted by Bruce, elicited the remark that the ‘the fellow looked quite young’²¹⁰ and on another occasion he described one Boer soldier who tried to evade capture as having attempted a ‘gallant’ escape.²¹¹ However, for the most part Bruce thought of them as ‘a mixed lot’.²¹²

²⁰³ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 30 August, 1901

²⁰⁴ Roper, "Maternal relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War." p. 305

²⁰⁵ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1901

²⁰⁶ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 30 August, 1901

²⁰⁷ ‘On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May’, *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

²⁰⁸ ‘On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May’, *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

²⁰⁹ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 10 May, 1901, letter from Trooper H. Vile, 5th Contingent

²¹⁰ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

²¹¹ ‘On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May’, *The Bunyip*, 18 September, 1901

²¹² ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

It was not only men who were taken prisoners. Women and children were also detained and destined for the infamous concentration camps. Bruce spent much of his time implementing the 'scorched earth policy' which entailed ousting Boer families from their homes the inhabitants and destroying anything that might have assisted the Boer cause. This usually occurred after a group of volunteers arrived at a farm-house where women and children, were given twenty minutes to collect their valuables and assemble outside. The men-folk were usually absent, presumably engaged in combat. All buildings were burnt to the ground and everyone was herded to the camps to live. Bruce, in all probability would have been inculcated with a chivalric masculinity in which men were supposed to protect women and children and he indicated this when he wrote 'it is terrible to see the prisoners and women and children we capture now; a more degraded and miserable looking race it would be hard to find.'²¹³ He commented that 'they felt terrible' the first couple of times however, he became hardened to the procedure and without remorse, explained 'we just set the farm on fire and ride away as if nothing had happened'.²¹⁴ He reported that 'we have burnt scores of farms down and we are going to clear the country of everything which is any help to the Boers'.²¹⁵ He added that 'it was wonderful how one adapts to circumstances.'²¹⁶

Bruce however, found that some of the Boer women did not conform to his expectations of femininity. He was particularly outraged when a woman who had been detained and was apparently breast-feeding a child, used a concealed gun, killing one of their officers. He commented, 'most of the women are treacherous.'²¹⁷ On the other hand Port Elizabeth ladies provided a more acceptable womanhood ideal. Bruce wrote that they showed 'great attention and I expect you have received a letter from them, as they took most of our names and addresses and said they were going to write and tell you of our arrival'.²¹⁸ The 'Loyal Women's Guild' gave the volunteers the luxuries of 'lime juice and other dainties in the shape of cakes and pineapples etc.',²¹⁹ which would have been greatly appreciated.

Bruce's self-confidence gradually blossomed as his days of service passed. He soon felt assured enough to voice an opinion on how the authorities conducted the war. Rapidly

²¹³ 'On The War Path Letters from the Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 18 September 1901

²¹⁴ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²¹⁵ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²¹⁶ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²¹⁷ 'On The War Path Letters from the Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

²¹⁸ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

²¹⁹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

comprehending that fit horses were at a premium, he pondered the authorities' reasons for keeping thirty or so animals in Port Elizabeth rather than sending them to the front. He wrote somewhat sarcastically that it was done for the best reasons known only to themselves. He certainly considered that some of the British tactics in regard to the Boers made little sense, commenting that 'I can't make out the way this war is carried on.'²²⁰ 'As soon as we catch up to the Boers the British give them four days to see if they surrender. In the meantime the Boers get their wagons etc. away and there you are.'²²¹ Unmistakably, there was no respect shown by Bruce for the British hierarchy and it was not enhanced when it came to light that foot soldiers were still being deployed in the conflict on a continent which was characterised by difficult terrain and vast distances.

Leisure times as such, were few and far between however, there were occasions to relax and Bruce's demeanour reflected the occasions. In August they had two days in Senekal and he happily said 'we had a great time' and reporting they had 'a grand open-air concert in front of the church'.²²² It was obviously a rare treat for Bruce and the musical items at this and another spontaneous program²²³ would have been a sheer delight to him. He made few references to the opportunity to play sport, including being amused at the British 'Tommies' in their attempts to play Australian rules football. In the course of his time in the conflict Bruce was able to attend religious services that were arranged for the volunteers. They were not held on a regular basis as time and the situation changed frequently however, in quieter periods on a day in 1901, two services were held in one day.²²⁴ The superior officers such as Colonel De Lisle²²⁵ conducted these services. It was probably a moot point to some as to whether they could be classed as leisure activities however as Bruce, 'feared God'²²⁶ he must have been appreciative of religious support.

Some of Bruce's travelling seemed to have provided a degree of relaxation and he did indeed cover a large area of South Africa. He appears to have enjoyed viewing the scenery, describing the sights and whilst he commented on the sublime scenes, the wide open spaces and so on. He commented that 'after leaving the Cape Colony' the countryside looked 'splendid' adding, 'I should think it was good country for farming purposes'.²²⁷ He

²²⁰ 'On The War Path,' *The Bunyip*, 22 July 1901

²²¹ 'On The War Path,' *The Bunyip*, 5 July 1901

²²² 'On The War Path,' *The Bunyip*, 30 August, 1901

²²³ 'More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May; On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

²²⁴ 'The Late Trooper May', *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

²²⁵ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 30 August, 1901

²²⁶ 'Complimentary Socials', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

²²⁷ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

mentioned too subjects that were perhaps more commonly of interest to women,²²⁸ such as his mother or sisters, describing, General Prinaloo's home 'as beautiful',²²⁹ and repeated the description when he visited a residence once owned by a Boer leader, saying it was 'a beautiful place, having a lovely fruit garden'.²³⁰ He had an appreciation for places of an historical nature too and had the opportunity to visit Bloemfontein, in August 1901. Along with his comrades of 'D squadron', he camped on the outskirts of the town '500 yards' from 'ex-President Steyn's house'.²³¹ He described, this too as 'a beautiful residence, and had the Union Jack flying at half-mast on account of the death of the Empress Fredrick of Germany'.²³² 'Like any tourists, the volunteers had 'their home culture' in their kit-bags'.²³³ Bruce was no exception comparing the landscapes he passed through with scenes of South Australia. Sometimes there were reminders of his hometown, such as Harrismith which he described as a 'pretty place and puts you in mind of Gawler with all the trees around'.²³⁴ In many ways his letters are a typical tourist travelogue of experiences, routes travelled and the weather, of which the severity of the frosts prompted him to quip that 'the frosts in Australia can't live in the same street'.²³⁵ And like any tourist Bruce collected souvenirs to send home.²³⁶ He hoped to remember his experiences and share his war experience with family and friends.

There was an aspect of a soldier's life Bruce did not adapt to and that was sustenance or the lack of it and this was a constant preoccupation for many volunteers. On one occasion not long after they had had started their soldering experience Bruce reported that 'thanks to their lieutenant they received bread and jam,' after going all day without any food, it was gratefully received. On occasions lack of nourishment was the reason that the volunteers became involved in 'larrikinism'. At one stop on the initial northward trip they took the food situation into their own hands when they found a container of pineapples at a station. He recounted, 'not caring about the lowering the reputation of the Australians for commandeering, we set to work'.²³⁷ They named the spot, 'Pineapple Junction' he happily wrote, as a result of the

²²⁸ Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder; How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*. p. 283

²²⁹ 'The Late Trooper May', *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

²³⁰ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²³¹ 'On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

²³² 'On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

²³³ Gerster, "A Bit of the Other; Touring Vietnam." p.223

²³⁴ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 12 July 1901

²³⁵ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²³⁶ 'Trooper B.H. May; Sensational Adventures; On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 26 July 1901 Bruce collected Boer currency and 'other valuable things'.

²³⁷ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

‘feed’.²³⁸ A larrikin action so often associated with Australian soldiers to be sure. On the whole though the volunteers survived on ‘bully beef, biscuits and jam,’ and as Bruce commented, ‘it is not enough to make a fellow fat.’²³⁹ It was not surprising that they were always on the look-out for opportunities to augment their meagre rations. Bruce’s mate, Harry Vile, recounted their experience of catching pigs which were rapidly slaughtered and consumed. In the spring of 1901 Bruce reported that his ‘D company had been very successful’ when they were out ‘on patrol’ as they came across ‘a Boer flour mill’ and before it was destroyed ‘they filled up their nosebags, etc.’, such was the pressing need for food.²⁴⁰

With a pre-occupation amongst the general population regarding fitness and health in the period, it was not unsurprising that Bruce was concerned about how he was faring which included the quality and quantity of the food he consumed. He complained to his parents that they had ‘to go on short rations on account of the depot in Klerksdorp not having enough supplies’.²⁴¹ Bruce was also acutely aware of ‘fevers’ which laid people low or indeed caused their death, volunteers included. On one occasion he remarked that there was a lot of fever about and his observations led him to comment that a particular place was an ideal place for incubating illness. Yet, Bruce’s health was a source of pride and perhaps some reassurance for his mother. He provided a running summary on his weight and how he was feeling. In one of his earlier letters he considerably wrote that he ‘hoped you are not worrying about me. I have had it rough at times, but I am still alive and kicking’.²⁴² In August 1901 he ended a letter, home saying, ‘I never felt better in my life. When I left home I turned the scale at 10st 13lbs., now I go 13st. 2lb.,’²⁴³ certainly reassurance for his mother. In a communication with Bruce’s parents, Harry Vile, wrote that Bruce,

was looking exceedingly well and still growing. He has grown wonderfully stout since leaving home. I am sure that this trip will do him a lot of good, both as to regards health and experience.²⁴⁴

Many of the volunteers were keen to see as much of the country as possible and for some this included visiting cemeteries, which were scattered across the country-side. As Bruce, had a Methodist’s ‘preoccupation with the precariousness of life in this world’,²⁴⁵ it was not surprising that he exhibited considerable interest in visiting these sites. He did not allude to

²³⁸ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

²³⁹ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²⁴⁰ ‘The Late Trooper May’, *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

²⁴¹ ‘On The War Path, More Letters from The Late Trooper B.H. May’, *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

²⁴² ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 28 June, 1901

²⁴³ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 9 August 1901

²⁴⁴ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 16 August, 1901, Letter of Trooper Harry Vile to Mr Alf., May

²⁴⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 90

his own mortality, however he was respectful and curious to see the burial sites of fallen soldiers recounting to his family that he went 'to look at the graves of our comrades who got killed'.²⁴⁶ Bruce described seeing graves along the Rhenoster River as he travelled around in the war zone of South Africa. He obviously recalled that it was a custom for relatives to visit their kin's grave sites as was the case after death in Australia,²⁴⁷ for he commented that the graves would 'never be found by relatives.'²⁴⁸ Bruce had very early in his war, experienced the death of a volunteer and his description of the burial of a fallen comrade demonstrated that he was beholden to the 'powerful taboos about the sanctity of the dead.'²⁴⁹ He expressed disgust that cattle had trampled on the graves at one cemetery. In the field far removed from common funeral rituals of the time he was able to seek comfort in his Methodist faith and he wrote home asking to,

Remember me to all my enquiring friends and tell Fred to give the band, shop and lodge boys my best respects. Tell Mr Annells I am doing alright and hope my class is thriving and wish to be remembered to the school.²⁵⁰

According to Rotundo, 'Love, kindness and compassion' were components of Christian Gentleman masculinity for it 'formed the basis for right actions on the man's part'.²⁵¹ Bruce obviously subscribed to these characteristics demonstrated by his relationship with Captain Watt, his esteemed leader. And this reveals much about his 'softer' side. Bruce had a comparatively long association with his superior, which commenced before departure from South Australia, and he came to view him 'with affection,'²⁵² counting him as 'a great friend', and inspiring Bruce to declare that 'he was inclined to follow him anywhere'.²⁵³ As Chamberlain and Drooglever argue like other Australian soldiers Bruce had great respect for a competent officer. His lieutenant was described as 'a through gentleman and it is a treat to be under a man like him; he is beloved by them.'²⁵⁴ Perhaps it was reassurance for his family that he reported that the whole of D squadron were upset when the esteemed Captain had to take sick-leave however, his return made them all 'jubilant'.²⁵⁵ He marvelled at the transformation from civilian life to soldiering writing, 'what Captain Watt can't get his men to do is not

²⁴⁶ 'Trooper B. H. May', *The Bunyip*, 30 August 1901

²⁴⁷ Robert Nicol, "Death," in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, ed. Wilfred Prest (Netley: Wakefield, 2001). pp. 142-4

²⁴⁸ 'Trooper B.H. May; On the War Path', *The Bunyip*, 28 June 1901

²⁴⁹ Alistair Thomson, "A Crisis of Masculinity? Australian Military Manhood in the Great War," in *Gender and War; Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995). p.139

²⁵⁰ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 257

²⁵¹ Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood; Gender ideals and the Middle-Class family in nineteenth-century America." p. 39

²⁵² 'Death of Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

²⁵³ 'Complimentary Social for Trooper B. May', *The Bunyip*, 8 February 1901

²⁵⁴ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

²⁵⁵ 'On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 18 September, 1901

worth learning.²⁵⁶ Bruce appreciated many actions of kindness and thoughtfulness, during his war experience, such as the time at Craddock when he recounted that ‘he made friends with a respectable family and they gave me bread and preserved figs and made me very welcome.’²⁵⁷ It probably reminded him of home.

Bruce ‘valued and enjoyed’ domesticity.²⁵⁸ The folks at home were never far from Bruce’s thoughts and his long and detailed letters convey the distinctive sense that he wished he was in his family’s fold. There was so much he wanted to show them or tell them, remarking on occasions that further elaboration on a point would have to wait until he was repatriated. Not only did he miss ‘food, shelter and rest:’ he obviously felt the absence of the May domestic scene sorely, and as Tosh argues, an absence of such necessities was to experience ‘homesickness’,²⁵⁹ an emotion Bruce certainly felt. He wrote of a description of how he spent a day which he repeated was ‘his birthday’ in which he conveyed a deep desire to be back in the family fold.²⁶⁰ He was envious of others when they received mail and he did not. He was however, jubilant when his first letters from home finally arrived, writing ‘I received at last, at last your most welcome letters. I was bemoaning my bad luck in not receiving a letter but last night the letters were given out’ and ‘I happened to be there. I can tell you I felt as lively as a young kitten’.²⁶¹ He added, ‘Captain Watt reckons I have altered such a lot since I received the letters that he hardly knows me’.²⁶²

Not only did he miss his family he missed the news of Gawler and its citizens’ activities and ‘keeping up’ with the shared circle of Gawler friends. He asked on occasions for the newspaper, *The Bunyip* to be sent,²⁶³ and he ‘wished’ his family would send them weekly as ‘I am like a lost sheep without it’,²⁶⁴ and ‘they were worth pounds to me’.²⁶⁵ He wrote to his parents asking to ‘remember me to all friends’,²⁶⁶ such was the value he placed on their relationship.

²⁵⁶ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 23 August 1901

²⁵⁷ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

²⁵⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 -1850*. p. 33

²⁵⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle - Class Home in Victorian England*. p. 27

²⁶⁰ ‘The Late Trooper May’, *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

²⁶¹ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 5 July, 1901

²⁶² ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 5 July, 1901

²⁶³ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 12 July, 1901

²⁶⁴ ‘Trooper B.H. May; On the War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 5 July 1901

²⁶⁵ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 17 May 1901

²⁶⁶ ‘On The War Path’, *The Bunyip*, 12 July, 1901

Repatriation was therefore uppermost in Bruce's mind and his thoughts turned frequently to his homecoming . When campaigning had commenced, he quickly realised that there was still much to do however, in quite a short space of time he started to make hopeful sounds indicating he thought the end was at hand. He wrote on one occasion saying, 'When I come home, which won't be long I fancy, as we have been smashing the Boers up this trek all right.'²⁶⁷ Noting their successes, he commented,

I don't think the war will last much longer now; we meet, taking it on the whole, with very little resistance. The Boers don't seem to have any big guns and their small arms are also getting pretty short.²⁶⁸

When the fourth contingent came by to bid the fifth contingent farewell at the completion of their tour of duty, Bruce commented, 'we pretty all wished we were going with them. I know I did'.²⁶⁹ Rumours abounded about the soldiers return to Australia. He wrote 'I only hope it is true as we have done our share of the work'.²⁷⁰

Indeed, unlike Willoughby Dowling who experienced the Boer War in the initial conflict phase, Bruce had endured a conflict marked by guerrilla warfare. It was not heroic rather the opposite and certainly catastrophic and cruel for civilians. The burning, wanton killing of farm animals, rounding up women and children for dispatch to concentration camps, added up to a distasteful business, especially for such a deeply religious young man such as Bruce.

Tragically, Bruce having spent five months in South Africa died as a result of friendly fire,²⁷¹ aged only twenty-two years. As a popular man it was not surprising that there was a 'large funeral and he was buried on the bank of the river under a large willow tree.' His mentor and superior officer Captain Watt wrote to his parents attesting that Bruce 'was liked by all' and 'was beloved by his fellows'.²⁷² In the touching letter he explained how the volunteers were having

some sort of firing competition between groups, and of course a lot of the men were lying on the ground, looking on, Bruce amongst the rest, when by some means one of the Sixth Contingent men behind was doing something with his rifle; he did not have his magazine shut off nor his muzzle up, and it went off, shooting Davis in the thumb and poor Bruce through the shoulder and heart and coming out the centre of his chest.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ 'More letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May; On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 27 September 1901

²⁶⁸ 'On The War Path, More Letters From The Late Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 18 September, 1901

²⁶⁹ 'On The War Path', *The Bunyip*, 23 August 1901

²⁷⁰ 'Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 30 August 1901

²⁷¹ Evans, *The Days of May*. p. 258

²⁷² *Ibid.* p. 259

²⁷³ 'Trooper May's Death, Particulars of the Accident', *The Bunyip*, 18 October, 1901

The Bunyip introduced Bruce's final letter which was published after his memorial service, saying that, 'No more dramatic illustration of the statement that "in the midst of life we are in death", could be imagined.'²⁷⁴ Indeed this was so. The townspeople of Gawler were shocked by the news of Bruce's death, flags were at half mast, and shop windows were shuttered. A memorial service was held at the Gawler Methodist Church in September 1901. The Reverend Mr Nield described the effect of the news had much to make one conscious that he was moving in an atmosphere of intense and tenderest sympathy'.²⁷⁵ The church filled to overflowing such was the large numbers of people anxious to show their esteem and regard for Bruce and his family. He was described as having a 'modest and Manly character'.²⁷⁶ And for the man for whom 'music had a great charm',²⁷⁷ Gawler's famous Riggs Band played.²⁷⁸ Upon Alfred May's death, *The Bunyip* recounted that 'It is significant of his beautiful talent that when he was robbed of his boy Bruce, in the Boer War he perpetuated his memory by the gift to the Methodist Church in Todd Street of the splendid organ'.²⁷⁹ It was a fitting tribute.

Bruce presents a nuanced picture of an Australian soldier in the Boer War. On one hand he obviously did the job as a volunteer as was expected of him in a war that characterised by guerrilla campaigns and destruction of Boer family homes and harsh treatment of women and children. He possessed the attributes that Richard White writes of, 'independence, manliness, a love of sport, egalitarianism, a dislike of mental effort, self-confidence,[and a] certain disrespect for authority'.²⁸⁰ Yet, there is a softer side to Bruce's masculinity. He appreciated domesticity and his close-knit family, his home-town of Gawler and his many friends and acquaintances. He was a young man who devoted his 'life to higher goods - family, team, church, community, nation, race, humanity - in a quiet selfless way,' in the tradition of Christian Masculinity.²⁸¹

²⁷⁴ 'The Late Trooper May; His Last Letter; Written Two Days Before His Death', *The Bunyip*, 18 October 1901

²⁷⁵ 'The Late Trooper Bruce May, Memorial Service', *The Bunyip*, 27 September, 1901

²⁷⁶ 'Death of Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

²⁷⁷ 'Death of Trooper B.H. May' *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

²⁷⁸ 'Death of Trooper B.H. May', *The Bunyip*, 13 September 1901

²⁷⁹ 'The Late Mr. Alfred May, J.P.', *The Bunyip*, 24 September, 1920, p. 1

²⁸⁰ White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980*. pp. 76-9

²⁸¹ Stenhouse, John. "God the Devil and Gender" In *Sites of Gender: Women, Men & Modernity in Southern Dunedin 1890-1939*, edited by Barbara Brookes, Cooper Annabel, and Robin Law. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2003. p. 345

Conclusion

In this exploration of Australian colonial masculinities in the late nineteenth century, in the rural towns of Mudgee, New South Wales and Gawler, South Australia, a variety of masculinities are examined. Place, religion, and class become important modulators of men's masculinity and the powerful notion of the 'bushman' recedes from view.

The accident of birth into elite squatter families of George Henry Cox and Willoughby Dowling in New South Wales had a profound effect on shaping their masculinity. Their upper class masculinity was made possible by their family ancestries, their British institutional connections and the securing of Aboriginal land through advantageous conditions. However, neither men made reference to the frontier violence. As Angela Woollacott noted, there was a tacit understanding between men who had the knowledge of the situation. Both men had family members who had been involved in acquiring land and it was likely that they both knew that it had taken place. Dowling's father was amongst other positions, an explorer and noted raconteur who loved to detail his outback adventures whilst Cox's eldest son wrote a local Mudgee history including details of the Bathurst area conflict between the local indigenous people and his family's involvement. On the other hand, the Gawler settlers made some observations on the frontier situation which stressed the lack of violence. Both Cox and Dowling always presented themselves as men who had descended from wealth and quality however, they were still looking for opportunities to improve their status, influence and wealth and showed some of the entrepreneurship of the self-made man. They made forays into new ventures, and with their large land holdings and remoteness from urban areas, conservative squatting families were able to cement their futures and maintain an influential and powerful position in society.

In South Australia, the pastoralists migrated with high hopes of economic success and pre-eminence in Gawler's society such as that enjoyed by their counterparts in Mudgee. However, they struggled with the smaller sized land holdings of the Gawler area and it was ordinary men with ambition and self-improvement ideals who capitalised on the opportunities. A select few became 'self-made' men, enticed largely, by the potential of the land, climate, and market, coupled with government initiatives to make money from the country. Rapidly, a successful cereal industry developed which had a ripple effect through the community.

Indeed many reaped considerable benefit from the success of wheat farming, none more so than James Martin. He was able to lay the foundations of his successful industrial and manufacturing business as wheat production boomed and flour milling became established in Gawler. As a migrant from Britain when its industry was booming, he had the background, more specifically the experience and technical skills to see the potential in an expanding cereal industry. He was willing, as he had shown in England, to be inventive and experimental to solve problems. An Anglican, like Cox and Dowling and also somewhat of a local squire, taking an active role in community matters, his life was however, different from them. Always conscious of his poor and humble beginnings, he was an artisan and rose from the workshop floor with few resources and became very much the self-made man in Gawler. He possessed the drive, imagination and genial personality to promote a sense in the Gawler community that anything was possible. His business success bought great pride to his fellow colonists and combined with the rising democratic fervour that the gold-discoveries bequeathed and coupled with self-government legislation, Gawler became a progressive and vibrant place to live.

For Ephraim Coombe, born in the vanguard of such confidence and progress, Gawler was a dynamic place to live, as townsmen organised various events to fund community ventures like the Mechanics Institute. He grew to be proud of the town's achievements so much so that he was later inspired to write a local history of his beloved town and as editor in the local newspaper he promoted the town's success. He came from humble beginnings too, and became a self-made man, not in the usual way of the other self-made men by accumulating wealth rather, he made the most of his acquired literary expertise and practised skills for the benefit of others but not in the manner referred to by Alison Bashford or Desley Deacon.. Coombe was of a more generous nature, giving of his effort, time and spirit, measuring affluence in words and ideas to enrich mankind. It is doubtful he could have reached the status he attained, the pinnacle of which was as a parliamentarian, in isolated, parochial Mudgee where the squatters held sway. Young Ephraim learnt that life presented difficult periods, like the early death of his mother yet, he was well nurtured by the opportunities in the Gawler community. The lively and progressive ethos of the community further provided him with inspiration and support as he learnt his trade, then tested his metal in the commercial world all the while having the guiding input of influential Methodism and from the wider community. The sporting scene and the rich associational nature of the town provided many opportunities to learn in a multitude of ways which in turn meant he had more life choices.

Bruce May had a similar affection for the place of Gawler and its people. His upbringing was blessed with a comfortable, inventive, hard-working close-knit family and he was well nurtured in this homely environment. Beyond his happy domestic world, Bruce's view of Gawler was of a busy, interesting and secure environment where he too was nurtured and guided by menfolk in various organisations' such as in the band. His family were well-known, well-liked and admired for their entrepreneurial enterprise in manufacturing agricultural and mining equipment which enhanced the sense of belonging he came to possess which provided succour during his overseas military tour.

James Loneragan did not have the benefit of a Gawler community, rather his formative years in a provincial environment was one of learning to survive in straitened circumstances, making the most of casual practical instruction on the streets and meagre enrichment from the community. He was fortunate however to have had a period on the Turon gold fields as well as a Sydney apprenticeship, followed by practical experience in trade which expanded his horizons and eventually enabled him to see the business opportunities of the Mudgee district. He realised that it was the small-time farmers and miners who needed a middle-man to serve their best interests by buying and selling goods and services in a fair and honest exchange. This provided him with his living and laid the basis of becoming a successful merchant and a self-made man in an environment where he had started with few contacts and little influence or power. Indeed, in the thesis this self-made man masculinity emerges as the hegemonic form of masculinity described by Connell to which so many men aspired.

Class was important in Mudgee and less so in Gawler making it certainly easier to move across the class divide. However there were incidents which highlight not all was as egalitarian as some would have liked to think in Gawler. Coombe for instance, was subject to ridicule as an aspiring politician. The community activities his wife undertook as well his short interlude as a confectioner engaged in trade, made for uncomfortable moments as people questioned his suitability as a politician. Martin too, had testing times related to class as he gradually acquired the trappings which announced his rising status to his fellow citizens. He adopted a gentry-like lifestyle in the semi-rural country near Gawler. It was doubtful anyone begrudged him this reward. However, as he moved from his upper working class roots Martin's success became increasingly dependent on his large work force to see his dreams come to fruition. His workers on the other hand had been influenced by democratic forces and were bent on building an egalitarian society. Martin had a continuing problem in his relationship with his staff as he was not so adaptable and clung to the more conservative ways

with which he was familiar. His paternalistic manner in staff relations of yesteryear was completely out of step with such developments as his staff demanded more consideration and campaigned vigorously to improve their situation, aided by the growing labour movement. Their confidence too was bolstered by a greater range of local job prospects, further enhanced by modern communication technologies to Adelaide and beyond, giving them better access to alternative information and opportunities.

In remote Mudgee, the paternalistic system seemed to be wordlessly accepted by the workforce, accustomed to deferring to employers. Indeed, Loneragan, found this method readily acceptable and his staff seemed to appreciate his interest in them, whilst Cox with his paternalistic manner in dealing with the lower orders was considered a just employer. Their stance was secure, as wool production, was the only major industry coupled with the fact that Mudgee was remote from other employment opportunities. Few workers could afford the luxury of dissent.

In a period where the world outside the home was a man's domain, Martin maintained a high profile in his business and working for the public good. He became an important man in the Gawler community, serving on the local bench, the local council and as a parliamentarian, as Cox did in Mudgee, where class was carefully monitored. The upper class of the Mudgee squatters, eventually did not have everything their own way. The same sort of democratic forces evident in Gawler also began whittling away at their power and influence. In many respects the 1859 Mudgee election campaign which enabled ordinary men to vote according to their conscience and not as their 'betters' had previously directed, was a watershed. Premier Cowper's visit to Mudgee too demonstrated changes in society relations as media reporting and criticisms regarding squatter behaviour was made public and ridiculed. By this time Cox was a parliamentarian, well used to performing in public. He must have found that he was in a difficult situation as he and his colleagues were 'put in their place' so to speak. However, in hindsight, he did acknowledge that many convicts had received a 'poor deal' in being sent to New South Wales and perhaps remembering all the workers that had served the family so loyally, and had considerably contributed to his wealth, he worked for the betterment of conditions of small farmers with his philanthropic efforts. The Mudgee class situation with time did not get any easier as the militant work-force of the shearers became increasingly powerful and their insistence on improved condition and wages, cast a long shadow in class relations. Selectors delighted with the Selection Acts, enabling them to take-

up land previously used by squatters, caused further friction. Cox for example, was initially sympathetic to the selectors' goals however, once his domain was threatened, his support declined.

The successful Mudgee squatters however, remained influential and wealthy. They continued to live a life-style which was extravagant and opulent by the standards of the lower orders. There was plenty of time and money to continue in the indulgence of expensive leisure activities with activities related to horses the most obvious and to flit from one luxurious establishment to another. Overseas destinations especially to the United Kingdom were very much on their itineraries where the acquisition of cultural paraphernalia and kudos was an important outcome. As sea voyages became more reliable and faster, the self-made men of Martin and Loneragan, also made overseas pilgrimages especially to the heart of the Empire where both could see a particular financial gain in accumulating information and spreading their business network as well as 'seeing the sights'. Coombe, less wealthy anyway, was too concerned with all the community problems and challenges to take time away from the people he served so generously and stayed at the centre of the action to support whole-heartedly, progressive social movements.

The youngest men in the thesis, Dowling and May made overseas trips though for different reasons. Dowling had his school experience at an expensive public school in England at the heart of the Empire, whilst May was educated at the state school in Gawler. Seemingly a world apart however, they both imbibed the sentiment of the day firmly anchored in the notion that it was their duty to serve King, Country and Empire. After schooling, May made a natural progression to work in his family's business where he experienced a range of tasks as well as being given a wider field to attain specialised knowledge, grooming him for a leading role in the family's concern. In this regard he was similar to Willoughby Dowling, who was tutored to take over his family's pastoral business. Their masculinity was anchored in a gentlemanly model which took great account of the prevailing sentiment regarding service to King, Country and Empire and continued to have a great resonance, ensuring they both volunteered to fight in the Boer War in South Africa. A short and dramatic experience as it turned out. Willoughby was an officer and Bruce in the ranks and they served at different phases of the war, Willoughby as the conflict commenced and when the more traditional mode of warfare was used whilst Bruce saw active duty in the closing stages in what amounted to a guerrilla war. Their careers were closely followed by the citizens of their

respective towns. Willoughby's service was one of veldt riding, flushing out the enemy and seeking engagement. Apparent inexperience landed his patrol in an ambush with fierce hand to hand combat which resulted in dire consequences. He ended up, a prisoner in hospital, seriously wounded. The fortunes of war favoured Willoughby for the town was subsequently relieved by the British and he found himself being invalided back to Australia receiving great attention from the media. The press pressed him for his story which he recounted with reluctance, care and modesty. His reticence was apparent, though probably expected, well inculcated as he was in the 'stiff upper lip' of English upper class masculinity. It simply was 'not the done thing' to be boastful of one's adventures. His time at the front was left to others to report upon which a jingoistic press conveyed to the reading public with great alacrity. Bruce May's war was less sensationalised. Verbatim printing of his letters to his parents in the local paper, told of home-sickness and a longing to return to Gawler. Written in a forthright, honest and sometimes with a naivety, he told of the experiences riding across the veldt, often on long treks in pursuit of the Boers. Sometimes he was detailed to do the disagreeable duties of rounding up women and children along with various farm animals, followed by the overseeing of the burning destruction of their homes and farming infrastructure. His was a very different war, and hardly an adventure filled sensational conflict that Dowling experienced. However, both men demonstrated their willingness to perform their duty as soldiers of the Empire. Their war-experience bought them both to the reality that Australians had skills and expertise, admired by their British allies and as soldiers; they gained confidence and belief in their worth and a sense of pride in being Australian.

Religious faith was very much part and parcel of everyone's life in the nineteenth century. Martin may have found his Anglican faith advantageous in his dealings with the generally Anglican upper echelons of society in the early days of his business endeavours and along with Dowling, Martin embraced Anglicanism in a quiet reserved manner, accepting the social status that was attached. Cox however, took his Anglican faith much more seriously and clearly felt it was a defining factor in his masculinity as described by Martin Crotty. He not only demonstrated his beliefs in his daily life but he also took his place in the church lay hierarchy at a high level, keen to assist with the decision making of the institution and from this involvement demonstrated his superior status. As a Catholic, Loneragan also defined himself by his religious convictions. However, his religion cast him into the lower orders of society, for Irish Catholicism was viewed with suspicion in Australian society. His parents worked hard to ensure their children had a basic education and were provided with the faith's guiding principles. Loneragan had a sincere and active commitment to his religion which

paved the way to the inner sanctum of local Mudgee parish hierarchy. However, he was ostracised and relegated by the powerful priest when he married against the priest's wishes. The power of the church hierarchy was reinforced when a decision relating to subsequent marriage plans were ruled as unacceptable to the church. In his typical determined way and fortunately able to afford an overseas trip, he won the day by resorting to Vatican intervention. In the period the power the church welded over any way-ward parishioner had considerable consequences. However Loneragan never lost sight of the importance faith had in his life. The prevalent community sectarianism in the denial of his membership to an elite club because of his merchant status as well as his Catholic religion must have further tested his commitment yet, he continued with his faith, loyal to end of his life. As the thesis shows, Gawler was not immune from sectarianism either, notwithstanding the widely held view that South Australian society was more open-minded. When a Catholic offered a donation for the all-important Institute Building, it was declined in favour of that from a benevolent Methodist. Clearly there remained prejudice amongst the Protestant Gawler men.

One of the striking features of Gawler was the prominence of the dissenting Protestant churches particularly Methodism. The early pioneers were determined to overcome all traces of discrimination that had been their lot in the United Kingdom and have an equal place in society. From the imposing Wesleyan Methodist church in central Gawler to the myriad of little chapels which proliferated in the countryside, there was ample evidence of very many thriving and active religious communities. There was no sense that the dissenting religion in Gawler had a lesser place in the general society. Coombe and May both had their masculinity defined by their faith and were active members in a religion which had a full calendar and they gained much from their individual involvement in non-secular and secular activities. In the public arena for example, they were influenced by Methodist ideals in regard to sporting activities and joining 'Friendly Societies'. Their religion gave them a real sense of belonging as well guiding principles by which they lived their daily lives. Coombe had less close relationship with the Methodist ministry however, May was particularly touched by the men of the church and derived succour and comfort from having been part of such an encompassing community. In Mudgee on the other hand, the Methodist congregation was small and struggled, and had to be very grateful of the support of squatters like Cox who contributed to a church precinct on his property. The Methodist influence including its democratic impulses and associational richness was considerably less evident in Mudgee than in Gawler.

In the all-important public domain, once elected, Cox, Martin and Coombe all continued serving as parliamentarians, to the end of their lives: such was their commitment to their constituents and maintaining their own power and influence. These men involved themselves in all kinds of community affairs, not only in their local Mechanics Institute, but also in other organisations with a multitude of objectives to improve their particular town. Cox was the only squatter to do so in Mudgee and his upper-class status, and gentlemanly demeanour ensured his opinions were always considered. Dowling, gentlemanly and more retiring, mostly participated in community groups pertaining to country matters and not apparently interested in seeking a wider public arena. Loneragan too became involved in community affairs, such as campaigning for the Mudgee railway extension, hoping for economic gain. He was also able to use his business acumen in the local council, noted for its internal strife and lacking in business experience and financial expertise, to make improvements to Mudgee's infrastructure. He was unlike Cox, Martin and Coombe and his sights were firmly restricted to his local community whereas the others had developed a broader life experience and could see a wider perspective.

In researching the women in the lives of the thesis male subjects, the 'domestic man' which Lake attested was the alternative to the 'lone-hand' comes to the fore. Away from the all-important public life of the thesis men, the women in their lives had a very low public profile in keeping with society expectations. Women on the whole were consumed with child rearing and housekeeping duties. Their appearances were limited to attending public functions in an onlooker capacity rather than a contributor, although in church affairs and benevolent organisations they were increasingly seen in a more active roles. This change was especially noticeable in Gawler. Coombe who had used a wide variety of community institutions to improve his skills and position in society becoming a newspaper editor, willingly assisted women to improve their position and encouraged women's participation in public life. Detailed accounts of the W.C.T.U. meetings and suffrage speakers regularly appeared in *the Bunyip*.¹ His wife too received his support to be active in the community and to accept a role in the W.C.T.U., thereby assisting with the cause of woman's suffrage. Into the twentieth century Dowling's wife too made noteworthy contributions to community life. This was a harbinger of things to come but overall the thesis men proved to be a very conservative lot in regard to their women-folk.

¹ Ewart, H.P. "Many Helping Hands: The History of Gawler Women in the Late Nineteenth Century." B.A. Hons. The University of Adelaide, 2004

The thesis, based upon close biographical case studies and micro-history, demonstrates the variety of masculinities within late nineteenth century society. It complicates understandings of Australian masculinities. Clearly the 'Lone-hand' masculinity had no place in the lives of thesis subjects, rather place, class and religion were important modulators of the thesis men's masculinity. In Gawler, close to the colonial capital, with modern communications, and where new ideas emanated, men from lower and middling classes, were less repressed by influential elites and they had opportunities to grow and blossom on an individual level as well as within their community. A rich associational culture abounded for all townsmen augmented by the different religions, especially the dissenting religions. An environment developed which espoused religious toleration, self-improvement and an egalitarian and democratic ethos which made for a more cohesive, dynamic community. On the other hand, remote Mudjee was characterized by an insular, parochial community where divisions, particularly in relation to class and religion, hampered ordinary men's aspirations. Loneragan's rise from a man engaged in trade to a self-made man was noteworthy, though as a man of trade, coupled with his Catholicism he was thwarted in his bid to join the local elite. Mudjee men were hampered by an entrenched system, dominated by the squatters armed with local knowledge, power, money and influence to have their way and this was difficult to overcome.

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