



THE MENTALITIES OF EARLY SOUTH AUSTRALIAN PASTORALISTS:
The Angas, Keynes, McBean and Melrose families in central
South Australia.

Robert W. Linn

Thesis presented as a requirement for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts
at the University of Adelaide.

Awarded the degree of Master of Arts

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of a degree or diploma in any other university, or to the best of my knowledge and belief contains no material previously published by another person except when due reference is made in the text.

Signed ...

Date *.19 October 1983*

CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Declaration	ii
Contents	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abbreviations	vii
Summary	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter One ... The British Background : Education, Religion and Self-Help	9
Chapter Two ... Responses to Early South Australia : Speculation	27
Chapter Three .. Responses to Early South Australia: Reversals of Fortune	49
Chapter Four ... The Attainment of Wealth	64
Chapter Five ... Laying Out Country Estates	79
Chapter Six ... The Country Gentleman in Public and Private	108
Chapter Seven .. Reactions to Death and Dishonour	123
Chapter Eight .. Educating the Next Generation	147
Chapter Nine ... The Rise and Transfiguration of the Pastoral Gentry	168
Conclusion	204
Bibliography	208

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have helped me during the course of researching and writing this thesis. Firstly, my supervisor Norman Etherington has guided me, helped to focus my thoughts on the problems and has tried to teach me the skills of historical craftsmanship. In my first years on the dissertation Bill Gammage advised me on the rudiments of research and opened my eyes to the large horizons of Australian history. Ric Zuckerman too, gave assistance and friendship constantly and was often an inspiration.

In my quest for research material and first-hand knowledge of my subject matter there were many in both Australia and Great Britain whose doors were always open and hospitality never-ending. I would like to thank Mrs. Joan McBean and her late husband Colin who with Keith Batt started me thinking about the project in 1977. Further thanks go to Henry and Michel Angas, Margaret Bolton, Jim and Paul Cowell, Mr. Richard Keynes, Joseph and Sally Keynes, Mr. and Mrs. Bill Kilpatrick, Angus and Sylvia McLachlan, Jo McLachlan, Lachlan McBean, Vina MacBean, Mrs. Gwen Melrose, Mr. and Mrs. John Murray, Jamie and Meta Scarlett, Robin Whitehead and Med and Nolly Wright. Mr. John Hope of Wolta-Wolta, Clare, and Miss Molly Murray were also kind enough to give me access to material at their disposal.

As the work progressed there were individuals, firms, archives, libraries and government departments who were ever helpful. I owe a great deal to the continued assistance of the archivist and staff of the South Australian Archives, and particularly to Rod Teakle for his patience. The proprietors of The Pastoral Times, Deniliquin, were kind enough to let me work on their research material,

as were the partners of the firms of Whiting and Byrne, and Hodgson and Finlayson in Melbourne. I gained assistance from the LaTrobe Library, the Archives Office of New South Wales, the A.N.U. Archives of Business and Labour, the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Records Office, the Dorset Records Office, the Inverness Public Library, and the Barr-Smith Library at the University of Adelaide. The South Australian Department of Lands, the Trustee of Deeds in Melbourne and the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Adelaide all made their time and staff available. David Gilbert and the National Trust S.A. (Collingrove), and Ian Clark and Sandy McLeay, supplied some of the architectural drawings which were translated by Wayne Farmilo and Mario Constantinides into their final form.

I have a particular debt to my friends in the world of history and to some of my colleagues in the Department of History at the University of Adelaide who have supported me and commented on my work; thanks to Marian Aveling, Carol Bacchi, Peter and Penny Cahalan, Bob Dare, Ron Gibbs, Kingsley Ireland, Leith MacGillivray and John Tregenza.

The University of Adelaide kindly allowed me a post-graduate research award for three years and helped finance my British research with a travel grant. My thanks go to the University and in particular to the staff of the History Department.

Marilyn Connor and Bev Arnold were kind enough to type the drafts and help in the final stages of the thesis production.

Most importantly my wife, Jane and my family have believed in the project from the start and to them I owe what I cannot adequately repay.

Lastly, I am especially grateful to two of my closest friends and guides who did not live to see the finished work. My father, Dr. Howard Linn and my uncle, Mr. Colin McBean.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

<u>AFP</u>	Angas Family Papers
<u>KFP</u>	Keynes Family Papers
<u>McBFP</u>	McBean Family Papers
<u>MFP</u>	Melrose Family Papers
<u>SAA</u>	South Australian Archives
<u>Register</u>	<u>The South Australian Register</u>

SUMMARY

This thesis discusses the mentalities of the first generation of South Australian pastoralists in the Angas, Keynes, McBean and Melrose families of central South Australia.

The discussion starts by outlining the backgrounds of George Fife Angas, Joseph Keynes, Lachlan McBean and George Melrose in Great Britain. The influences on their minds were identified as the lower-middle class ideals of self-improvement and the religion and love of nature imparted to them by their teachers and family. It was also discovered that these men, despite their relatively lowly position in society were aware of how a gentry functioned.

Attracted to South Australia by Wakefield's scheme of systematic colonisation, which promised a hierarchically ordered society on the British model but with room at the top, these men set about the task of earning a colonial fortune. The thesis next investigates how one of the pastoralists' number, Joseph Keynes, coped with an early setback to his dreams, and how George Fife Angas one of the colony's progenitors and the other pastoralists fared amidst the speculative environment of early South Australia.

Eventually Keynes, Melrose and McBean began to make substantial achievements in their quest for wealth and position. In 1851 Angas arrived in South Australia to collect his ready-made fortune. The thesis then focuses on how these individuals reacted to their wealth. It shows how they attempted to set themselves up with grand estates and retainers, modelling their public facade on the English landed gentry. However, these pretensions towards gentry living were not

met sympathetically by the rest of the South Australian population. The discussion moves to explore how Angas, Keynes, McBean and Melrose responded to these criticisms on a public and private level.

The thesis continues to look at the developing mentalities of this self-styled pastoral elite through their response to some of the great problems in their lives after they had obtained their wealth. When their reactions to death and dishonour are discussed it is found that they respond privately to those dilemmas by reaching back to the teachings of their British youth. They never satisfactorily reconciled their pose as a landed gentry with their private resolves to keep old ways.

Seeing that they lacked the necessary attributes and power to create an Australian landed gentry, they attempted to give their children the education of wealth. Their children were imbued with a mixture of their old lower-middle class ideals and the social accomplishments of an elite. Their children were gradually assimilated into the rest of the colonial elite.

The thesis concludes by noting that the attempt of the pastoralists to create a gentry could not be successful for a number of reasons. Not only was the external opposition formidable, but the pastoralists lacked both the numbers and the intellectual certainty required to give permanence to their dreams.