



KAPUNDA;
a study of the establishment
of a community in rural South
Australia

by
I.J. Bettison

1960

Presented as part of the requirements for the Honours
Degree of Bachelor of Arts in History from the
University of Adelaide

Index

	Page
CHAPTER I: The Beginnings of Town and District..... First settlement; description of the country; discovery of copper; early mining; growth of the mine	1
CHAPTER II: Consolidation..... Peak production; development; new companies; decline and close of the mine	12
CHAPTER III: The People; and Their Churches..... Ethnic groups; population; occupations; Methodists; Congregationalists; Baptists; Salvation Army; Roman Catholics; Anglicans	19
CHAPTER IV: The Farmers..... Settlement on the land; produce; implement makers; railway; horse sales	31
CHAPTER V: Newspapers and Councils..... "Northern Star"; "Kapunda Herald"; Town Council; Objections by Mining Company to inclusion in the Council area; early difficulties of the Council District Council	36
CHAPTER VI: Law and Order..... Police protection from aborigines; the need for courts; appointment of Justices; the Police	44
CHAPTER VII: The People's Effort..... Religion; living conditions; military force; politics; doctors; the move for a hospital; Show Society; Cultural societies; Institute	48
CHAPTER VIII: Conclusion..... Recapitulation; Review	56

Appendices

- I Land prices and sales at 1846 auction of lots surrounding Mine.
- II Maps of Hundred of Kapunda, and County Light.
- III Maps of the Mines.
- IV Copper production tables.
- V Precipitate production by acid process.
- VI Copper prices.
- VII Abstract from 1861 Census.
- VIII Population, Kapunda Township.

Preface

This is not a comprehensive history of a place, a time, or a person. It is an attempt to see what happened when a medium sized settlement was established at a place reasonably remote from the main centre of the Colony. In this particular case, there was a newly established copper mine to attract other than the agriculturalists and graziers who might normally have been expected to predominate. An interaction of mining and other primary producing interests might be expected; and in this thesis there is an attempt to find if this was so.

An analogy might be drawn between the copper mines at Kepunda and the historical researcher. On the surface there was, initially, high grade ore. Mining was easy. Naturally, the process of winning deeper ores was more costly, and as it happened, the quality of the ore deteriorated. On re-working the mines, it was found that the quality of the ore was much lower than had been predicted, and much dross and useless material had to be removed before payable ore was available. So it is for the historian. Initial yields are high, and digging is required to get enough material to make operation worthwhile, if he requires more than can be easily won from the surface. This is normal. But more intensive working reveals useless - unreliable - material by the ton. In this district, where families can show settlement for about a hundred years, legends have arisen. Mostly, these legends are very comfortable and easily acceptable. No-one has had cause to doubt them, and they have gained credence by publication in some newspaper. This has had a twofold effect; firstly, they tend to authenticate that legend to the researcher; and, secondly, it tends to perpetuate the story in a district where newspapers, especially in matters of history, are often regarded as having the infallibility of Holy Writ. "Vox", of "The Advertiser", has recorded much interesting folk-lore of the district. It is doubtful whether he has recorded as much history.

One instance - not pointed at "Vox" - illustrates this. It is commonly assumed in the district that the mines closed because suitable pumping machinery could not be bought by the virtually bankrupt operators to enable working of the rich lode - whose concentration increased with depth - which was below water level. In fact, the mine was worked out. There were no indications that there was rich ore at depth. And the company concerned, was not interested to buy machinery anyway. This other may have been a story advanced by the company to explain the closing down of operations,

and it probably was; a plethora of rumours circulated at the time of the close-down. But information as to the final state of affairs was quite easily obtainable; no-one has bothered to look for it.

These are source difficulties which nearly all historians must contend with. But they seem to be exaggerated in this case, and I have spent much more time in laying ghosts during the preparation of this thesis than I had anticipated.

A preface allows an author to acknowledge the assistance of others in his preparation. In this thesis I have been much helped by the assistance of the Staff of the South Australian Archives, from whose files all of the early photographs come: by the Clerks of the Town and District Councils, by the ministers of the various Churches in the town, by the Constable-in-Charge of the Police Station, and by local residents; all of these have made records in their possession freely available to me.

The analogy drawn between copper mining and the town's history is not quite complete. Geological Surveys have indicated that there are possibly lodes which have not been encountered in previous operations waiting to be discovered. This thesis may show that there is still much more valuable historical material available in the town and district, which could be very rewarding to a patient researcher.

Abbreviations

S.A.A.	South Australian Archives
"Star"	"The Northern Star"
"Herald"	"The Kapunda Herald"
"Observer"	"The Adelaide Observer"
"Advertiser"	"The Advertiser"
"Register"	"The South Australian Register"

Reference to South Australian Archives material is given according to its catalogued number in the Archives, followed by its date (where applicable). For instance A485/1845 refers to document no. 485 in the Colonial Secretary's Office incoming file for 1845.



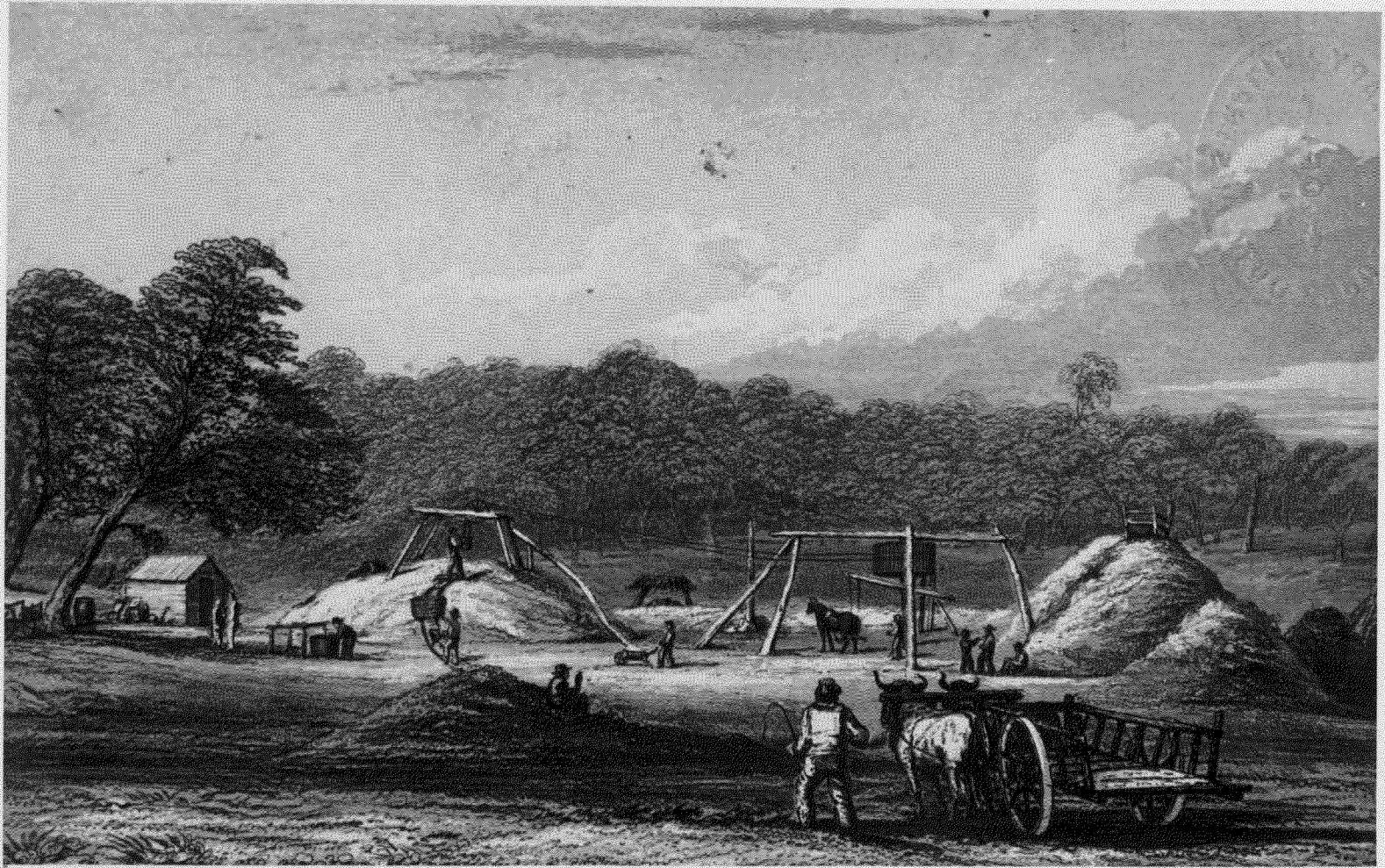
Chapter I

The Beginnings of Town and District

The aboriginals of Mid-Northern South Australia had a place-name which sounded like "Cappie-coonda", which means "rock water"; or so it is believed, for it was not until those in that district were virtually extinct that any study was made of them or their place-names. Near here, in 1838, Francis Hansborough Dutton was granted a pastoral lease over an area of about a hundred square miles; on this lease he settled the sheep which he had overlanded from New South Wales in the same year. Within two years Captain Charles Hervey Bagot had settled on another lease - not quite as large - about twelve miles to the south. Dutton's run was named Anlaby; Bagot's, Koonunga.

The land on which they had settled was good for grazing, although poor for growing cereal crops - mainly because the rainfall is low, and there is expectancy that one year in five will be drought. The country is, generally, undulating: it is part of a ridge of hills which run north-south, and toward the south divide to form the Barossa Valley. About ten miles to the west, and four to the east, the hills descend to the northern Adelaide plains and the Murray flats respectively. A few small rivers - the Light, Gilbert, and Para - have their headwaters around Anlaby and Koonunga; their extensive catchment areas mean that streams which barely flow in the summer can assume the size of the River Murray for a few days in winter, quite effectively blocking communications. The whole of the area was lightly timbered, mainly with a low peppermint scrub. Ecologically, the area was well populated with native fauna; Kangaroo, Emu and Wombat remains may

The original mine (from Dutton's Mines of S.A.)



still be found at times, but there is no record of any of these three animals reaching plague proportions, as did the rabbit.

The records of Anlaby and Koonunga are mostly in the hands of the Dutton and Bagot families, who do not make them available for general perusal. Those which we do have are mainly from contemporary reports and official documents.

In 1840, F.H. Dutton had Anlaby well established, with A. Buchanan as resident manager, thus freeing him and his brother Francis Stacker Dutton, who had settled on the property in 1839, to take a more active part in the affairs of the Colony. A fairly close alliance grew up between Bagot and Duttons. All had to move about the Colony; for Bagot had interests at Allen's Creek, at the head of the River Light (to the north of Anlaby, and at Dry Creek¹ whilst Duttons had extensive investments both in and out of the Colony, which necessitated their presence in Adelaide. At one stage an agreement was reached whereby Bagot husbanded 14,000 of Duttons' sheep for terms of half the wool and one third of the natural increase² an agreement which obviously called for trust on each side. Not only that, but it provided a very convenient way of fooling officialdom; Robert Gouger once complained to the Colonial Secretary that he found it almost impossible to estimate the size of each man's flock for purposes of tribute.³

When the two stations were reasonably well established, in 1842 two men acting independently, made their great discovery - copper ore. One of these men was Francis Stacker Dutton; and Bagot's son was the other. Dutton described the discovery in his book on "South Australia and its mines" thus:

"It was discovered in the latter part of 1842, by the youngest son of Captain Bagot, whilst gathering some wild flowers in the plain, and shortly afterwards by myself, not far from the same

spot, but on a rise or hillock, to the top of which I had ridden in order to obtain a view of the surrounding country; one of our flocks of sheep having been dispersed during a thunderstorm, and I being in search of them. After being out nearly the whole day in drenching rain and benumbed with cold, I ascended this little hill, prior to returning home, for one last survey of the surrounding country; the very spot I pulled the horse up at, was beside a large protruding mass of clay slate, strongly tinged and impregnated with green carbonate of copper. My first impression was that the rock was covered with a beautiful green moss, but, on getting off the horse, I quickly found, by breaking off a piece from it, that the tinge was as bright in the fracture as on the surface. My acquaintance with mineralogy was not sufficient to enable me to pronounce on the precise character of the rock, but I had little doubt it was tinged with copper, from the close resemblance of the colour to verdigois...

To Captain Bagot, with whom I had long been on intimate terms, I confided my discovery, when he also produced a similar specimen which was found by his son, and on a subsequent visit to the place we found that the two spots were within close proximity of each other, although, at first, from the one being on a hill and the other in the plain, we thought they were two different places. To make a long story short, we soon ascertained that the specimens were undoubtedly copper ores; the discovery was kept of course secret; we got 80 acres surveyed, all the forms as laid down by the old land-sales regulations were complied with; the section was advertised for a whole month in the Government Gazette, and we became the purchasers of it at the fixed Government price for waste lands of £1 per acre. At that time there were still a number of "eighty-acre land orders" unexercised in the colony, any one of which might have claimed this section; nor could we attempt to buy one of them, without running the risk of exciting attention, and we therefore preferred quietly waiting for the expiration of the usual time required, and then tendering the money, trusting to the general depression of the times, that no one would feel inclined just then to become possessed of any more land, in which we were not mistaken".

The ore was easy to win; initially, it had only to be shovelled into drays from the surface. A trial shipment was bagged, and sent to Swansea, where it realized a very good price. This was partly because of the high percentage of carbonates and relatively little sulphide in the ore (carbonates are easily decomposed for smelting,

as are sulphides; but sulphides form corrosive gases which destroy retorts) and partly because of the absence of other metallic impurities (Kapunda ores have always had a low bismuth content; and it is very difficult to remove bismuth from copper, because of chemical similarity).

Plans were made to work the deposits; and F.S. Dutton and Bagot (who had bought the land around their discovery by selection, at the upset price of £1 per acre by suppressing the news of the find) engaged two Cornish miners to commence operations.⁴ Very soon they were producing sizable quantities of high-grade ore for shipment to the English markets, and the mine was developed. Some of this development was necessary, since water had been struck at the 15-fathom level in the mine during 1845; a horse-whim had been erected to keep it down.

The two miners who commenced the real working of the mine settled the nucleus of the township that was to be known as Kapunda. A township had been surveyed about a mile from the future mine site in October 1841 by Corporal Ide and Private William Smith of the Royal Sappers and Miners. With patriotic zeal it was named Victoria. The natural tendency of the miners was to settle as close as they could to the mine workings, so that in time the hillsides around the workings became quite thickly studded with wattle-and-daub huts - later to be replaced by more substantial stone huts, often whitewashed and almost invariably thatched with the broom or brush - known locally as ti-tree - to be found in the nearby bed of the River Light. Victoria was abandoned, never to be built upon, although for some time the town was occasionally referred to as "Kapunda and Victoria".

Every report which appears of the mine and township was favourable. For instance, the "Southern Australian" had first described the mine thus:

"Messrs. Bagot and Dutton's copper lode is situated on a gentle rise of the country in the County of Light. There are at present employed two Cornish miners and about half a dozen other workmen. The lode is not less than four feet thick. The miners have sunk a perpendicular shaft about eight feet and have raised, already, ten tons of ore!"⁵

The reporter continued to prophesy that ores of 70% value might soon be expected; in more sober vein, but language as emphatic, he applauded the sending of 15 tons of ore to Swansea, and was **positively jubilant** about the prospect of 500 to 1,000 tons which the proprietors hoped to send the next year. He did not mention the low freight rates which made this possible, the ore being used as ballast in homeward bound ships.

The advent of water in the mine was not altogether a setback; in 1844 it was turned to use to wash the low grade ores.⁶ The system used was simple; outflowing water ran down a flume into which ore mixed with mullock was shovelled, agitation cause the detritus to be carried away, and ore fell to the bottom. This ore was picked out by a team of young boys, who crushed it with flat mallets, and after allowing it to dry in the sun, bagged the concentrate in hundredweight lots in canvas sacks for cartage to Port Adelaide.⁷

Often the ore raised was of such high quality that it did not require a flux during smelting; another factor which helped to maintain its price abroad.⁸ By November of 1844, £7,000 worth of ore had been won.⁹ It was the high grade of the ore, coupled with a threatened rise in the cost of freight to England, and the difficulties of transportation to the ship over bad roads, which led to the erection of a smelting plant at the mine. In August 1845 it was reported that the owners of the mine had imported firebricks, and were awaiting the arrival of immigrant smelters some two months later.¹⁰ But it was not until 1852 that the company was exporting a regulus of semi-refined copper;¹¹ the addition of more machinery

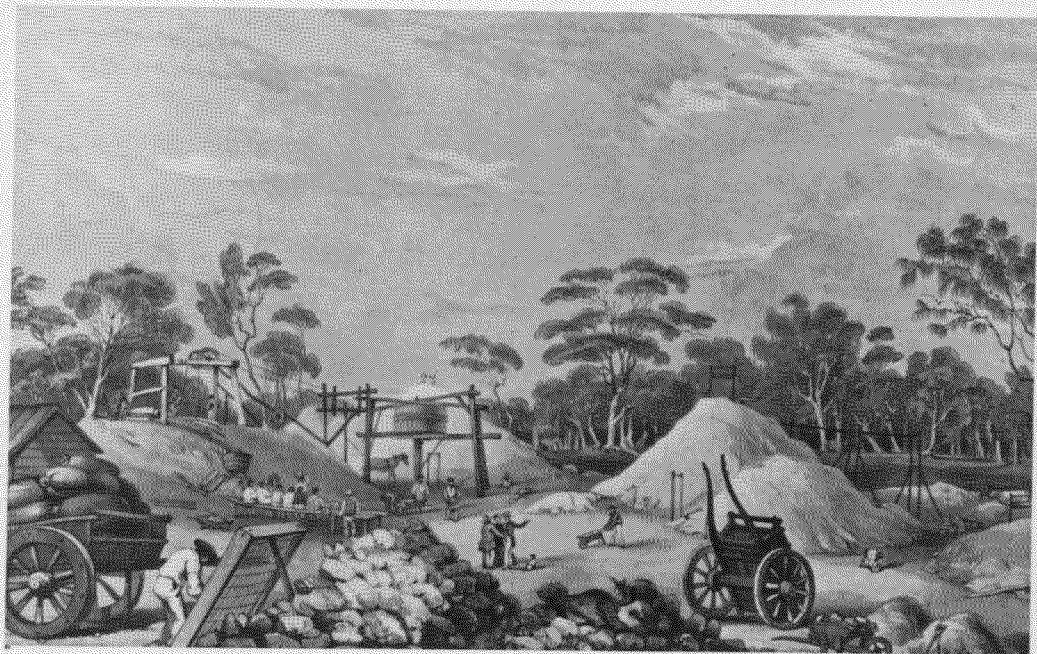
enabled them to produce a fairly highly refined metal.

During this early period the owners had found quick and easy profits. Dickinson gives an estimate of the profit available; the cost of mining he estimates at 50s. to 60s. per ton, the shipping charge was 5s. per ton, and the freight varied between 10 to 15 shillings per ton (when carried as ballast) and 60s. per ton (as cargo). This would approximate to an average of £7 to £8 per ton in cost; leaving a profit of £10 to £20 per ton, according to the grade of ore.

In 1846 Francis Stacker Dutton, while Agent-General for the Colony in London, sold a quarter share in the mine for £16,000 for which he had paid approximately £80 initially, and so left the company.¹² While Dutton was absent, copper fever had become rampant. This was due in some measure to the book which he had written, and published in London - and which had helped him sell his share in the mine.

In 1845 it was requested of the Colonial Secretary that a special survey be made of 2,000 acres of land around the mine. This request was refused, and instead the land was divided into more regular sections, approximating 80 acres each.¹³ This land was advertised for sale by auction; there was no likelihood that Captain Bagot or Mr. Dutton could buy this in the same way as they had the original sections. Let Bagot describe events surrounding the sale of June 16th, 1846:

"On reaching home (from a trip to Sydney) I found a good deal of excitement about sale of land surrounding the Kapunda Mine, which was to take place in a few days. It was an object with me to secure some of the sections immediately adjoining those we already possessed, but I found a company had been formed with a large capital, determined to purchase at any price in the belief that all the country was full of copper. I tried to compromise with them for certain sections and thought they had



The mine in about 1844. Note the seated row of boys hand-picking ore, which has been washed by water from the tub above them, raised by the horse-whim.

(S.A. Archives)

consented to do so but when the sale at auction began, they broke faith and an excited competition was carried on by them with a degree of recklessness that ended in their spending three or four and twenty thousand pounds which might have been avoided by yielding a little to me and as has since been proved they did not obtain a particle of copper."¹⁴

From the record of the sale appearing in the "Southern Australian" of the next day it seems that the principle opponent of the Grand Junction Company was Bagot, and it was thought that he came very close to bringing misfortune on his own head. A table is appended (Appendix I) showing the prices paid for land at the sale. The first lot offered, Section 1400 of 80 acres, went to Messrs. Anstey, Collier, Stocks and Todd (The Grand Junction Company) for £7,100; the price of £90 an acre has never since been realized for land in Kapunda outside the town area. In all, this syndicate bought nineteen sections, totalling 1,610 acres, for £20,718. Captain Bagot had to be content with eight sections totalling 867 acres, for which he bid a total of £6,358 ls. 0d. One other man, James Chambers, obtained a section of 100 acres for £3,005.¹⁵

There were doubts whether the Colonial Economy could withstand such transactions; a condition of sale was that payment had to be made in cash, and it seemed that Colonial liquidity might not allow of this being done.¹⁶ But Bagot never completed his purchase. "The Register" of July 15, 1846 reports payment as having been effected by all parties - with this footnote at the bottom of the column:

"Since the above was in type, we have ascertained this amount was not paid in, Captain Bagot having forfeited his deposits on his purchases. He, however, is the only defaulter."

Although on the face of it, this seems to be a story of a man - Bagot - losing his head in the excitement of the moment, and subsequently regretting a hasty action, might there not be another explanation?

The map at Appendix II (of the sections), viewed with that at Appendix III (of the mine) shows that Bagot succeeded in obtaining some very promising pieces of land. Since, in fact, he did not forfeit all of his purchases (see note on Appendix I); and since Chambers was a shareholder in a company with Bagot,¹⁷ it would seem that many of the important sections were in fact procured by the syndicate owning the mine. Several other uncharitable - though tenable - propositions also present themselves. Firstly, Bagot would have a good idea, by virtue of the exploration already carried out at the mines where new lodes might be expected; he would have a better idea than most of which sections might be more valuable. Secondly, by "running up the price" paid by the Grand Junction Company, who had extreme difficulty in securing capital,¹⁸ he would have ensured that they had little chance, because of this lack of capital, of undertaking extensive exploration works, which, if they were successful, might prejudice the operation of his own venture. Thirdly, by paying £635 16s. 1d. he could be certain that, as long as the then operative system of land sales was in force, that land could not be selected at a price lower than that bid at the auction - in effect he had a lien, perhaps rather temporary, over quite a lot of potentially valuable land around his property.

But prices continued to be inflated. In August 1847 it was reported that 9/20ths of the Kapunda mine had been sold to an English company for £97,000. (At the same time it was reported that the shares of the Grand Junction Company, who had failed to find a lode of any size were at a discount of 50%).¹⁹ At the same time, wild rumours were flying:

"It is said that the English purchaser of Mr. Dutton's share have offered the Honourable Captain Bagot £180,000 for his interest in the Kapunda Mine which has proved so prolific of wealth. Altogether, this is pretty well for an 80 acre section which cost originally eighty pounds."²⁰

During this time development of the mine continued until about 1847, when output began to fall - the horse-whim was not capable of handling the water encountered. But even this short life had shown that the mine had promise, as evidenced by F.S. Dutton's selling a quarter share of it for £16,000 in London. There was apparently no hesitation on the part of the proprietors, for they spent £30,000 in 1847 to equip the workings with a second-hand condensing engine and pump which had been bought in England.²¹

With the aid of this pump the mine would be deepened. Arriving on 20 October 1847, the machinery went into action in July of 1848, pumping at the rate of 90 gallons per minute, or 130,000 gallons per day.²² The Commissioner of Crown Lands (J.W. McDonald) had reported of a visit to the mine:

"Of the Kapunda Mine we could see but little on account of the water which almost entirely fills it."^{22a}

Within two months the prime ore body - the "Champion Lode" - had been discovered, and was opened up on the 15 fathom level.²³ The lode was about four feet wide, with a rich vein of ore 1'9" to 2'4" wide running through it.²⁴ Within days the mine was being advertised as being opened for tribute and tutwork; pitches were ~~let~~ on September 30th and October 28th, "so arranged that a miner may expect to earn 30s. a week from his labours."²⁵

And the miners came. Within three years the output of the mine was quadrupled through their efforts. Soon it was realised that the machinery which had been installed was not heavy enough; although by 1850 the average yield of ore had increased to 100 tons per month, it was held at about that figure by the capacity of the pumps. So a larger engine and pump was installed; its capacity was 340,000 gallons per day.²⁶ The combined efforts enabled the mine to be deepened to 60 fathoms (360 feet) in the

next ten years. This pump was positioned over the "Buhl Shaft" - which is marked on the accompanying plan. In 1851, production of ore was nearly 3,6000 tons.⁹⁷ It might have continued at that level had not the Victorian gold rushes occurred. The mine and the town were semi-denuded of workers and population.⁹⁸ With great difficulty, four miners were persuaded to stay on to maintain the pumping plant and keep the mine dry;⁹⁹ production for that year and the next must have consisted largely of ore at grass.

A phase in the development of the mines and the town had passed.

-
1. Captain C.H. Bagot, Autobiography written 1851-54 etc. p.90.
 2. ibid, p.90.
 3. S.A.A., A111/1842; 25 January 1843.
 4. F.H. Button, South Australia and its Mines p.269.
 5. 19 January 1844: This is the first description of the mine; although it had been operating before this, previous mention is only of quantities of ore raised.
 6. "Southern Australian", 25 June 1844.
 7. S.B. Dickinson, The Structural Control of Ore Deposition in some South Australian Copperfields, No. 2 p.6.
 8. "Southern Australian", 22 November 1844.
 9. ibid, same report.
 10. ibid, 22 August 1845.
 11. S.B. Dickinson, op. cit., p.7.
 12. ibid, p.8.
 13. S.A.A. A485/1845 9 May 1845 From to Colonial Secretary.
S.A.A. A576/1845 15 May 1845 Applications for blocks around mine. These applications were written before Frome's letter, and may have been forwarded by him to the C.S.O.
 14. Bagot, Autobiography, p.23.
 15. "Southern Australian", 16 June 1846.
 16. ibid, same date.
 17. Austin, Mines of South Australia, p.28.
 18. ibid, p.29.
 19. "Southern Australian", 24 August 1847.
 20. "Register", 4 August 1847.
 21. Dickinson, op. cit., p.8.
 22. ibid, p.8.
 - 22a. S.A.A. A65/1848 Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands on a Visit to the Mining Districts, p.8.

23. "Southern Australian", 5 September 1848.
24. Dickinson, op. cit., p.9.
25. "Southern Australian", 19 September 1848.
26. Dickinson, op. cit., p.13.
27. ibid, same page.
28. e.g., see later references to Court Officers.
29. Austin, op. cit., p.8.

Chapter II

Consolidation

Kapunda in 1855 presented much the picture of change which it would for the next twenty years. Miners were returning from the gold fields; two years hence production of ore would be ten times that of two years previously.

The main lode had been fairly well uncovered, and was being worked through Dutton Shaft, Bagot Shaft, Main Shaft, Harris Shaft, Buhl Shafts, and Charlotte Shaft. Besides the main lode, Dutton lode, Charlotte lode, Truscott lode, Trotton lode and Magnor lode were open for working. These lodes were being worked by the original company - or its lineal descendent from the transactions of the '40's. Additionally, there had been an attempt by the Grand Junction Company, reformed as the North Kapunda Mining Company to find a profitable lode on their 1,610 acres. McDonald, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, after commenting that they were working in country which was apparently quite different, said of their mine:

"There is no ore visible at the mine, and only two or three men are employed, several pits and shafts have been sunk and levels have been driven to a considerable extent, but without cutting any lode or discovering any very encouraging symptoms."¹

There was only one company producing ore until 1864; the Kapunda Mining Company, registered under that name in London in 1857.

1857 was also the year of peak production - 4,013 tons of ore.

The nominal capital of the company was £78,000; but of this only £5,999 was called up.² Subsequently, 10,000 unissued shares were cancelled. All 68,000 uncalled shares were held by the persons who

had previously had interests in the mine; they now had protection in that their personal liability was limited. Attempts by another company to enter the area had been repulsed successfully.

It is from this date that records of the value of production were kept. From 1843 to 1857, 4,682 tons of copper were won; this should have realised about £320,000 - £380,000. The "new" company continued to develop the mines; but returns were diminishing, or, at least, not increasing after 1860. Appendix IV shows the value of copper production per year at Kapunda, and the Gross weight of ore raised per year at Kapunda. This was because the costs of the mine increased as it deepened, there being increased problems of water clearance with the larger areas of stope; and the "eyes" (or rich pockets of ore) were beginning to be picked out. Besides this, in 1863 the price of copper began to fall;^{2a} and profits were not assisted by the high cost of local smelting. In 1862 it cost the Kapunda Company nearly £80 a ton to produce 186½ tons of refined copper.³ It was at this time that the "East Kapunda" and "South Kapunda" mines were opened. Operated by the same company, they were an attempt to recapture the easy conditions of the previous decade.

During 1863 a peak of production was reached; both output and return declined thereafter. During 1865 a private company, with Sir Charles Tennant as Chairman, was formed to work the mines. This company leased the workings for 1/18 of the value of refined copper produced, with a guarantee to pay no less than £4,000 per year. They held an option to buy the mine within 5 years for £100,000.⁴ Operations were commenced in 1866. In that year - and for the next three years - less ore was raised from the mine than at any previous time in the preceding twenty years. The

workings went virtually untended, for other methods were to be used.

The Scottish Company (as the new one was known) had as one of its shareholders the patentee of a process for leaching copper from low-grade ores. Basically, the process consisted of roasting pyrites (a by-product of the mine) and dissolving the sulphurous gas so produced in water to produce sulphuric acid. This acid was then used to treat common salt, carted from the Yorke Peninsula salt lakes, in order to produce hydrochloric acid. The hydrochloric acid being applied to the crushed ore, liberated its copper in the form of highly soluble copper chloride. The liquor, containing copper chloride, was then allowed to stand in large vats with pieces of iron thrown in. Another chemical reaction occurred, whereby metallic copper was deposited where the iron had been.

The process was simple; its only ingredients were pyrites, salt, scrap iron and copper ore with wood for heating in the various stages. But to be economic, the process required 3% (or greater) ore concentration. The Kapunda mines had been estimated to have 30,000 - 40,000 tons of material of this grade or higher. Estimation of the richness of the ore was at fault; it was found to be not much better than 0.5%, and costly concentrating processes had to be used.

Captain Osborne arrived in early 1867 to take over management of the mines for the Scottish Company, from Mr. W. Oldham (Cornish terminology was commonly used, and a mine manager was usually addressed as "Captain"). His first job was to supervise the equipping of the workings and erection of the new machinery. A capital cost of £80,000 to £90,000 was involved.⁵ Photographs taken of this plant show it, as described in the "Register":

"The Hill to the southward of the old works has been made the base of operations. The summit is crowned by two

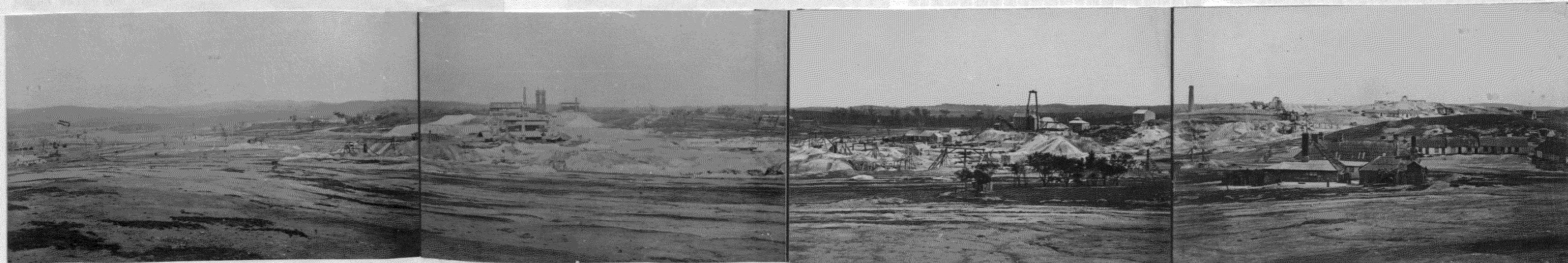
or three tall chimneys, a vast leaden reservoir is devoted to the manufacture of sulphuric acid, a large condenser for fumes generated in that manufacture, and other imposing structures. A little lower down is a shed covering a score of high vats, and still lower down a second shed, which houses eight precipitating tanks of large dimensions. The plant is designed to treat 200 tons per day. The whole of the carriage at the mines is to be done by tranways, and with this new plant, courses are to be cut through the surface stuff in all directions so as to give facilities for loading. The truck line takes a direct course from the top of the hill to the 30-fathom level, and 8 to 10 trucks are raised at a time by a stationary engine hauling a number of trucks up a gradient varying from 1 in 5 to 1 in 10."⁶

With this tramway system, open cuts were opened in the copper bearing clays surrounding the main lodes. Hand picking increased the value of the ores to 2½%; but this was not enough, and the mine was re-opened for working to get out any remaining high-grade ore.

"...Kapunda is not now as it formerly was, a mining town..."⁷ said the "Kapunda Herald" in 1872 - although production of ore was increasing; 1872 was to be the only year in which the Scottish Company showed a profit - £6,456 6s. 9d.⁸ Smelting had ceased to be economic; the railway which had opened some ten years previously provided fairly cheap transport for ore, which after 1870 was sold in the Colony to the English and Australian Copper Company, who smelted it at Port Adelaide. Besides this, the area had become denuded of wood for the smelters - a constant difficulty since the inception of the mines.⁹ A description of the workings in 1874 was given by a Melbourne reporter who passed through the district:

"The old workings of the mine have during the last few years been washed from bottom to top in a face of 100 feet deep. This process...has opened up two vast amphitheatres in the centre of the workings, disclosing the old shafts and drives...

...Smelting used to be done on the works, but had to be



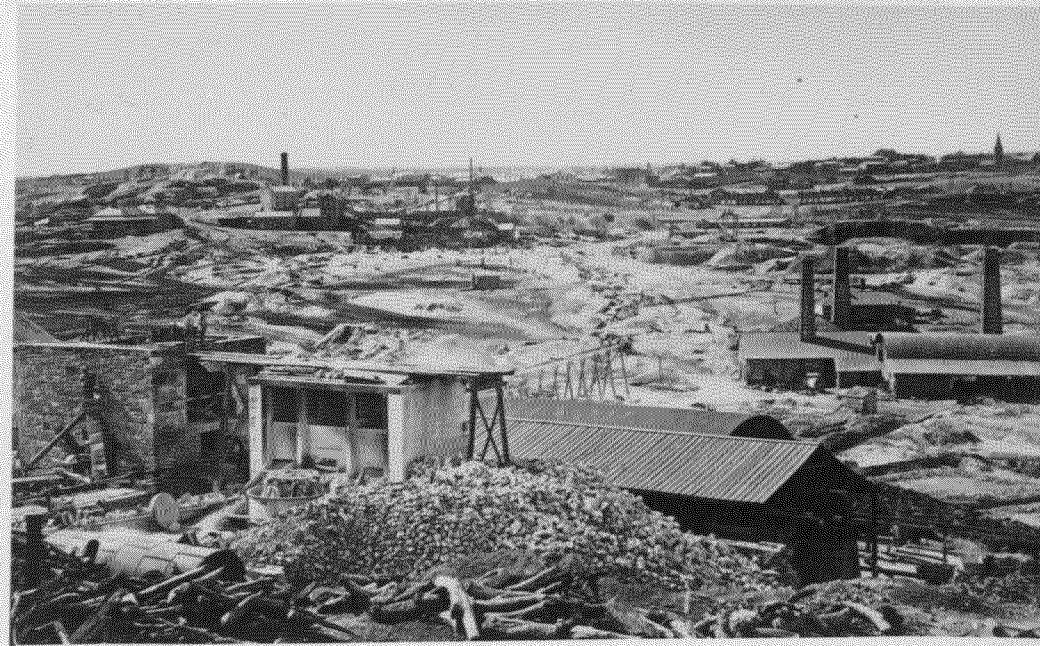
Panoramic view of the mine in 1876. The first section (at left) is looking toward the East Kapunda Mine. The second is mostly occupied by acid treatment works. In the junction between the first and second the tops of Mayger and Harris shafts are visible and extending into the third section is the general disturbance of the open cut over the main lode. In the third the main feature is the engine house, etc., over the Buhl shafts; in the foreground are the remnants of horse-whims near the site of Bagot shaft. In the fourth section, the foreground buildings are miners' cottages; on the hill is Dutton shaft and Charlotte open cut, with the Buhl Engine chimney to their left.

(S.A. Archives)

discontinued on account of the scarcity of fuel...The... work of the Kapunda Mine is conducted on the old Cornish principle by tributers who work the ground, and wash and pug the ore produced at the rate of from 5s. to 7s. in the pound value of copper after smelting. The average wages made by the tributers is about £2 per week, and the men at work on wages receive 37s. per week. The ore produced by the tributers runs from fifteen to twenty per cent of copper, and that dealt with by the acid process averages about a half per cent. The total number of hands employed is 106 men and nineteen boys, and work begins at half past seven and continues till half past five with one hour's intermission for dinner.¹⁰

The swan song of the mines lasted about five or six years longer. Apparently it was evident that little more could be expected of the old workings, and attempts were made to find new sites on which to repeat the successes of thirty years before. The East Kapunda mine was opened in 1874; in 1875 the first ore was produced. 1876 was its peak year for production; two years later it was closed down. (See Appendix V)

In 1878 the mines closed - that is, the Company ceased its operations. Although the district held hopes that the closure was only temporary, and that the workings would reopen when the price of copper rose, this was not to be. In February 1879 the Company (the Scottish one) decided to cut its losses, and the machinery of the mines was put up to auction. At the same time, the local Company offered the free-hold of the mine area; the sales were combined, and £5,000 was realised on the machinery, and £3,600 for the free-hold of the mines area. This was disposed of in about 100 lots, of varying sizes; the mine proper was bought by a local businessman, Mr. W.R. Morton, for £558.¹¹ Tributing was continued; but the work was only on a small scale, being limited by the lack of hauling and winding machinery, and the rough floors of the main galleries, where the purchasers of the machinery had taken up the tramway rails.¹² Besides this tributing, there were



Another view of 1876. This is taken from near the acid works. Although they were then in use, some of the lower sections were apparently still being built. Above the workmen on the left is the manager's house; to its right are the Buhl shafts. The town can be seen behind the mines; between the Buhl shafts and miners' cottages, the Police Station and Court House can be seen on the edge of the town. The Steeple near the junction of the two sections is that of Christ Church (Anglican); in the next section St. Rose's Church (Roman Catholic) can be seen.
(S.A. Archives)

desultory attempts by local syndicates to re-open mining; between 1882 and 1895 the "Kapunda Herald" mentions eight such ventures. The most serious attempt to re-start the mine came after the visit of the Government Geologist to Kapunda in 1899, in pursuance of an instruction from the Government to inspect and report upon the mines in South Australia. His inspection apparently consisted of walking around the old workings; the knowledge thus acquired was supplemented by talking to local residents - the older the better. It is in this Report that a belief, still current in the district may be found for the first time substantially stated; namely, that the mines were "drowned" out of existence, and that a rich lode of ore still awaited development at the bottom of the mine.

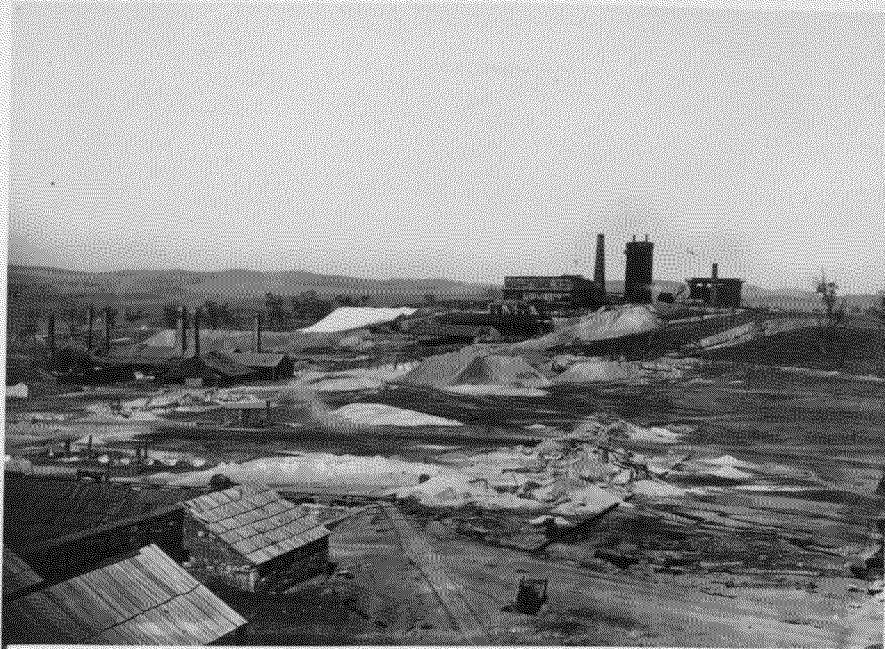
"H.T. Truscott states that the deepest shaft, Harris's, is down to 80 fathoms, and that there is a 'splendid' lode at that depth still unworked. He further states that the workings in this shaft were abandoned because of an influx of water...

The primary cause of the abandonment of this mine is stated to have been the great influx of water in Harris's Shaft at a depth of 80 fathoms, and the incapacity of the pumping power to cope with it...

And as regards the value of the mine, the fact that large quantities of ore have been raised from workings of a limited depth - the deepest shaft being only 480 feet - places the question beyond doubt, besides corroborating the statements of the miners who formerly worked in the mine, to the effect that the lodes were numerous and rich in ore.

It is not at all probable that these lodes die out or become unproductive at such a comparatively shallow depth as that above mentioned, and I am therefore of opinion that this mine is a most valuable one, and would well repay for re-working thoroughly and systematically."¹³

This promise touched off a new fervour; in the next five years attempts were again made to produce quantities of ore. The attempts were, again, unsuccessful; mainly because no-one could be found who would advance sufficient capital to enable works to be carried out on the necessary scale, although even had work started in earnest, no ore of value would have been found.



The mine in about 1876, looking south. On the hill at the right are the acid works; slightly below, ore treatment sheds, and on the flat, roasting furnaces for pyrites, and smelting furnaces. In the left foreground are the assay house and sample rooms.

(S.A. Archives)

It was not until the publication of a report by the Mines Department of South Australia in 1944 that many of the old myths regarding the mine were finally put into true perspective. Even so, many of them were found to persist at the time of writing (1960) amongst local residents.

In conclusion, it might be noted that no enterprise has attempted to follow up the recommendations made in the 1944 report regarding future exploration by drilling for lodes - although the report was most optimistic in tone.

-
1. S.A.A., A65/1848.
 2. Dickinson, op. cit., p.13.
 - 2a. See Appendix VI.
 3. ibid, p.13.
 4. ibid, p.13.
 5. ibid, p.14.
 6. "Register", 28 June 1868.
 7. "Herald", 5 January 1872.
 8. Dickinson, op. cit., p.14.
 9. S.A.A. A551¹/₂/1845. C.H. Bagot to Colonial Secretary.
 10. "The Leader", Agriculture in South Australia p.22.
 11. "Herald", 6 January 1880.
 12. ibid, 3 January 1880.
 13. H.V.L. Brown, Report by the Government Geologist - The Kapunda Mine (1899). Passim.

Chapter III

The People; and Their Churches

The town and district of Kapunda contain the material for an extensive sociological study of the interaction of racial groups in a young society. Ethnically, there were three main groups:

Anglo-Saxon, or English.

Celtic; mainly Irish, but including many Cornish and some Scots and Welsh.

Germanic; with Germans the principal constituents.

Within the Celtic groups, Irish and Cornish were quite individualistic, as far as history is concerned. The state of affairs is more readily appreciated if the constitution of the surrounding districts is also considered; in these, the Hundreds of Kapunda, Light, Belvidere, and Gilbert are perhaps most strongly indicative of the diversity of groups. Appendix VII is a reproduction of a section of the 1861 Census figures, showing the birthplace of the peoples; the most noticeable features of the Hundreds mentioned are that there is a consistently high proportion of Irish; that in two of them (Belvidere and Light) Germans are the strongest groups.

Under these conditions, one would expect to find both Irish and Germans figuring fairly prominently in the history of the district as groups. The general impression that one gets is that this is not so. The reasons seem to be these.

The Irish were not viewed locally in the same light as, say, the Cornish. This may have had to do with the fact that most of them were labourers, although quite a number became landholders of some extent. Both they and the Germans were generally regarded as "outgroups" and in consequence were not encouraged - or permitted,

in some ways - to become prominent. For instance, it does not appear that there were many of them on either District or Town Council, although size of holding would not have precluded them from either of these. There is no Irish (or at least, patently so) or German shopkeeper to be found amongst those regularly advertising in the "Kapunda Herald".

But these two races had strong internal ties; Irish were held together quite strongly by the Roman Catholic Church, and Germans found spiritual solace with the Lutheran Churches. In both cases there was an attempt by the Church concerned to transplant directly the institutions of the old country by bringing to South Australia clergy "from home". Germans had adopted the Barossa valley towns as their centre, mainly, of course, because of George Fife Angas's settlement schemes; and congregated around smaller outlying satellite settlements. Of these, that at Bethel, some seven miles west of Kapunda, is quite typical. In 1864 and 1901 the names of those in the district showed it to be exclusively German.¹ By 1911 a couple of English sounding names had appeared - this may only mean that some families had Anglicized their names. At that time the population was about 160, living in 33 houses; and the settlement was thought to be decreasing in numbers.²

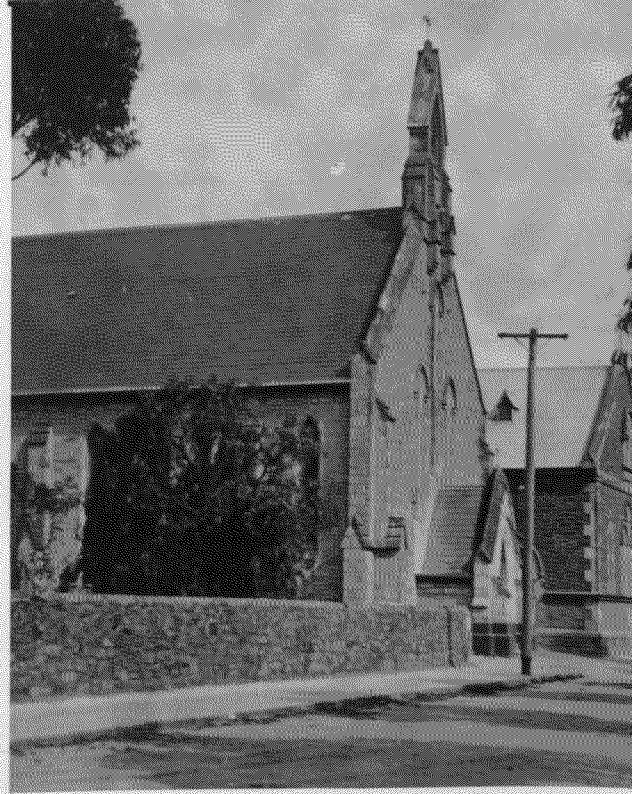
Appendix VIII shows graphically approximate population movements; statistically, it cannot be precise, because the information is often of uncertain reliability. However, it shows the difference in population movements between town and district. To emphasise this, it is helpful to look at the housing of the people. The Census of 1855, in which the County of Light (including Kapunda) is the smallest unit considered³ in the area, may be compared in some respects with the 1861 Census returns for the township of Kapunda⁴ - particularly with respect to the numbers of miners and shopkeepers; also, the township in 1861 had nearly as many houses built of stone as the whole County in 1855. By 1871⁵ the number of houses was nearly

up to the maximum which was recorded in 1881 of 541;⁶ thereafter the number of houses in the township decreased. But throughout, the number of houses in the district continued to increase. (See Chapter VII). Obviously, the town population declined after the mines had closed down; but the decline was not as great as might have been expected had not farming increased in the surrounding districts; for the town supported some secondary industry which was directly associated with the farmers for a considerable time, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The general distribution of occupations by race was, as for South Australia traditional; the Cornish and the few Welsh were miners, Germans were farmers, and Irish constituted the general labour force. As was mentioned earlier, the churches were national in their groupings; Irish were Roman Catholics, Germans adhered to the Lutheran sects, and the Cornish were Methodists - or, to some extent, Congregationalists.

Of the Methodists, the Wesleyans were apparently strongest, although there were a good number of Bible Christians. Primitive Methodists did not attempt to organize themselves formally until 1870; but the decline of mining and population prevented their advancing in the way that they had hoped, so that in 1890 they sold their properties and the minister was withdrawn. For a while they had attempted to maintain stature by extending their district to Morgan and Endunda; however, they had been defeated rurally by increased German settlement on farms; Chapels had to be sold as their congregations diminished.⁷

New Connexion Methodists, a "city" faith, were not seen in Kapunda, - Unfortunately all records of the Kapunda Bible Christians have disappeared, and what we know of them is either indirectly or by inference. It is not even known now where their meeting



The Methodist Church, built originally by the Wesleyans.
(S.A. Archives)

place was located in the town; local records seem to indicate that they never held land as a church, but instead used a meeting place or places belonging to members of the congregation.

Wesleyan Methodists have better records, however; theirs extend almost to the opening of the first chapel, on April 13, 1849. The minister, the Rev. Jno. C. Symons, had to care for an area which extended to and included Gawler.⁸ The Kapunda district was added to the circuit plan in 1845-46, and the first visit by a minister was in October of 1845, when the Rev. John Harcourt made a special visit to Kapunda and Burra copper mines. He was not very happy with what he found; not only was there Godlessness everywhere, but only eight or ten persons could be found who professed (or confessed) to adherence to Methodism.⁹

Their chapel was built at North Kapunda and when finally completed, cost £2,350.¹⁰ It now houses the Methodists of Kapunda, the Bible Christians and Wesleyans having merged in the union of 1897.

Census material is not complete enough to give a continuous picture of the fluctuations of strength of religious groups. The material covers only 1855 (for County Light, including Kapunda), 1871 and 1901 (Kapunda township and hundreds of Co. Light).

The Congregationalists achieved local prominence quite early; their chapel was one of the earliest churches erected. Some of their popularity may have derived from reasons other than religion; the early minister was also manager of the mines, and Cornish miners were wont to curry favour with "Cap'n" by copying his actions.¹¹ Generally, the Congregational church was that of the more influential people in the town; the first mayor (and incidentally, the most popular doctor in the town), Dr. Blood, was also a member; and several of the middling-large landholders (notably the Shannon family) were also adherents. It may be that other denominations also had members in prominent places; but it seems to be more



Congregational Chapel. It is very close to the mines and the old manager's house - the first minister was also mine manager.

(S.A. Archives)

emphasised in contemporary records if a man is a Congregationalist.

Baptists were a later acquisition to the town; it is not until 1865 that they are mentioned as being a coherent group.¹² During the 1870's they built their church - one of the largest buildings in the town - largely with the assistance of the Angas family, who made large donations. And the church which they built was huge - far out of proportion to their numbers. They were hard pressed, even with Angas' help, to pay for it.¹³ And, once completed, it was almost an embarrassment. A wag suggested that it should be sold to the Roman Catholics, whose priest, Rev. Father Frances Byrne, inquired in his best style whether "the Rev. Silas Mead (then Baptist minister) shall lose his right arm?" for to deprive the worthy gentleman of his chapel would be a loss as great as one of his limbs; but personally, Father Byrne considered the Baptist Chapel to be "...a place which is fit for a theatre, a Town Hall or an Institute, but not for a Church."¹⁴

The Salvation Army appeared in 1883.¹⁵ It is most notable for a disagreement which it had with the Town Council regarding street meetings, which became a cause celebre in the state. Salvationists saw their duty to proclaim the coming millennium to the people of Kapunda at loud and long meetings in the streets. Being an army, they marched from their "barracks" to the field of battle where the Devil was to be found. To have advantage of the enemy, they did not approach the battle field from the same direction every time; their flanking movements could be guaranteed to take them through a few miles of Kapunda's streets, with band playing and tambourines a-rattle, before the engagement commenced.

Perhaps, too, there were more marchers than there might have been had not the Volunteer Militia Companies been disbanded the year before. The two Companies - the Mines Rifles and the Kapunda



The Baptist Church. Now an Adult Education Centre,
this is the first and only building erected by the
Baptists.

(S.A. Archives)

Rifles - had been the strongest outside the metropolitan area, and their dissolution had not been received well in the town. Of course, their brass band had disappeared too. Is it too much to suggest that a combination of military display, music, and religious expression (which was to be attractive to miners at Moonta as well) should ensure at least momentary support for the Salvationists?

Antagonism toward Salvationists grew slowly. In early 1884, a Town Council meeting recorded their disapproval on the grounds that the larrikin element of the town was incited to action by the processions and meetings. A motion was passed requesting the Police to stop processions "...on the ground that the street processions endangered life as well as causing the young to scoff at religion." A by-law was drawn which aimed to prevent street processions without the permission of the Council.¹⁶ So the Salvation Army took to the footpaths of the town, temporarily.

Relations deteriorated. Captain Gore, of the Salvation Army, during February took proceedings at law against a couple of lads who had interfered with one of his meetings. He lost.¹⁷ Four months afterwards the Army was bombarded with eggs as it left its barracks.¹⁸ In August, the Army was temporarily reinforced by the Blue Ribbon Society and the Band of Hope;¹⁹ having dealt with the Demon Drink to their satisfaction they turned to new fields.

"Miss Ada Campbell lectured in Crase's Room this evening (19.9.1884) on 'land nationalisation'. About a 100 persons were present. At the close a vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. Wharton White, seconded by Mr. R.J. Day. The Salvation Army made a special effort by way of counter attraction."²⁰

Just after this the by-law prohibiting street processions came into force. Feelings ran high. Mayor Pearce hoped that "...in the interests of all who loved a peaceful Sunday...that the Army would give way."²¹ They didn't, and the names of eighteen were

taken while in a street march. Colonel Booth happened to be in Adelaide at the time, and he thundered to a meeting in Adelaide that "Kapunda would gain the unenviable distinction of being the second place in free Australia where people had been punished for preaching and working for their Master".²² Five of them were punished. Convicted, they were given the choice of a fine or goal. Unanimously, they chose goal - two weeks.²³

And then, strangely, peace descended on the battle field. The Army continued its marches, but without a band, and apparently the Town Council relented a little.²⁴ Thereafter, Salvationists were little more than curiosities.²⁵

The first Roman Catholic priest, Father Fallon, arrived in July, 1849, although Mass had been celebrated frequently since 1845 by visiting priests. In 1850 the first church, that of St. John the Evangelist, was commenced at a place about four miles south-east of Kapunda. Construction was delayed by the 1852 goldfields exodus, and the church was not completed until 1854.²⁶ Twelve months later land was bought in the township and in 1862 the stone of the church of St. Rose of Lima was laid.

In the interim, St. John's had been extended (1860)²⁷ and paid for. Although St. John's was for some time the premier church of the parish - the Roman Catholic cemetery was and is nearby - it gradually fell into disuse, until in 1897 a girls' reformatory, administered by the Sisters of St. Joseph and under the charge of the State Childrens' Council was opened there.²⁸ About 120 girls passed through the institution before it closed in 1910.²⁹

The building of St. John's was assisted by the State grants to churches, which were made in the 1847-52 period, by £420;³⁰ which afforded considerable relief from the difficulty of finance - for that church. There were plenty of other difficulties. In 1860, the Rev. Fallon collapsed and died of apoplexy. Five years later,

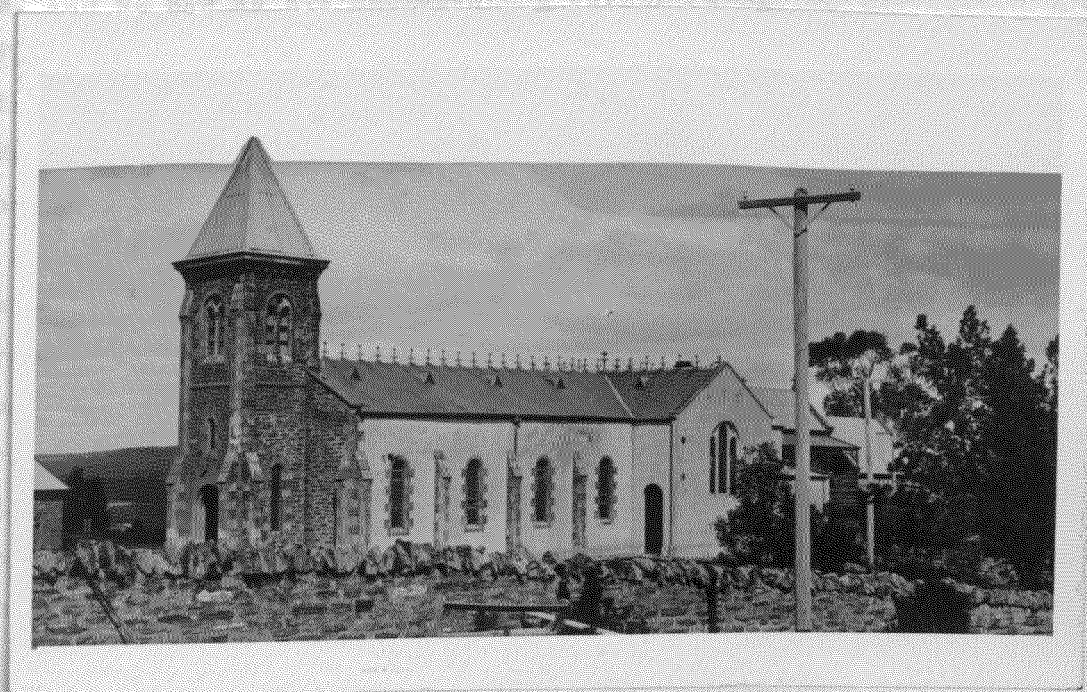


The original Church of St. John the Evangelist,
after its abandonment.

(S.A. Archives)

his successor (Very Rev. Michael Ryan) died whilst still incumbent of the parish. And in 1867, the Rev. Jeremiah Moynihan, an assistant priest in the parish, died of tuberculosis - "...his funeral was numerously attended by all classes; the Kapunda Rifles headed it with arms reversed, under Captain Oldham".³¹ Consumption claimed his successor, the Rev. Thomas Hyland. The Rev. Frederick Byrne was priest from 1864 to 1869, and his own account of that period is:

"The Rev. Frederick Byrne was appointed to Kapunda in March, 1864, and for some time attended to the duties of that extensive mission. When assistants were sent to him they were either in an advanced state of consumption, or those whom the Vicar would neither keep in Adelaide nor send elsewhere. Father Byrne considered he was unfairly treated, and often wished to retire from the large district and live in a small one in which an assistant was not required. In the beginning of 1869 the Rev. Hugh Horan, O.S.F., was appointed his assistant. From the beginning it was evident that the priest in charge and his assistant could not get on together. They were totally different in character: one loved home, the other to be abroad; one was devoted to his work, the other to pleasure. One instance will exemplify what I have said. When Father Byrne had paid his assistant his share of the Easter offerings, amounting to about £47, he immediately went to Adelaide and put up at the York Hotel, then the principal in the City, and he did not return to Kapunda for about a month, till the money was spent. In consequence of his absence outlying congregations were without Mass, and Father Byrne had to attend all sick calls and conduct the Month of May devotion. The Bishop was aware of his absence, for Father Horan often called on him at West Terrace. Some short time after Father Horan's return, Father Byrne complained to the Bishop about him and Father Nolan, who was on a visit to Kapunda, and the Bishop reprimanded them for their conduct. This made matters worse, and Father Byrne, finding it impossible to live with his assistant, went to Adelaide and resigned the Mission of Kapunda, which His Lordship accepted, as he desired to establish a Franciscan convent there. The Bishop very kindly offered Father Byrne any mission in the diocese, but he would not disturb any priest, but took Salisbury, which up to that time had no resident priest, and was attended from Adelaide."³²

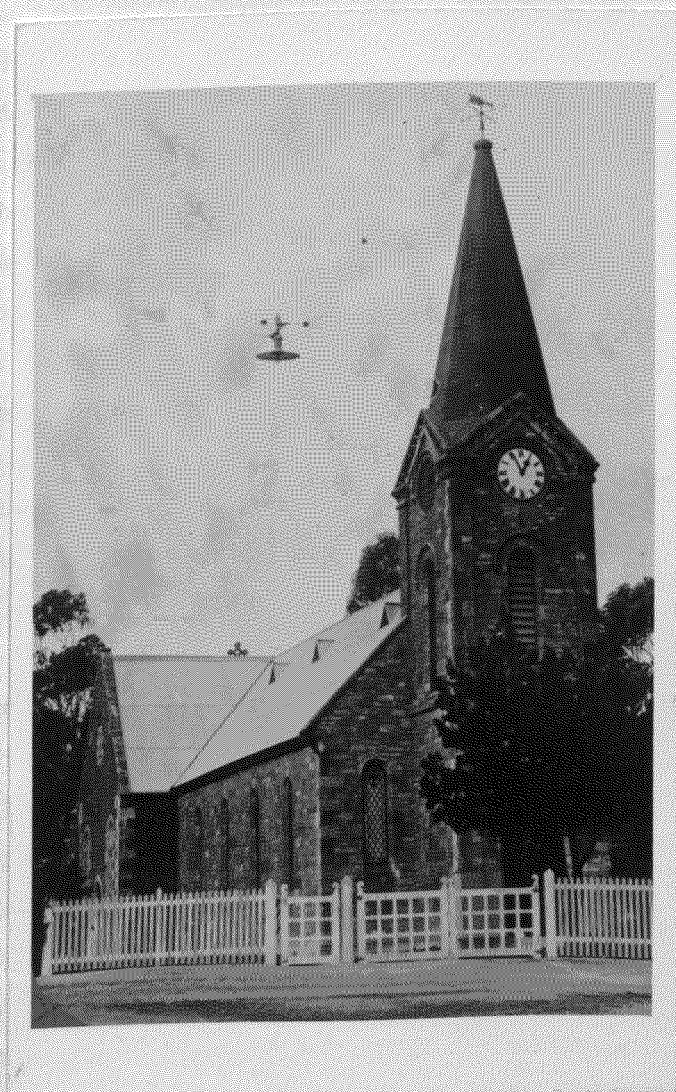


The Roman Catholic Church of St. Rose of Lima, in
about 1930. This was replaced by a larger building
in 1935.

(S.A. Archives)

Intermingled with these vicissitudes were difficulties with the building of St. Rose's. Father Ryan was in 1862 a mentally sick man, and he had as his assistants a Father Carey, an epileptic, and a Father Roe, who was, to say the least, lax in his duties.³³ Father Ryan had commenced a dispute with the builder of the church, McMullen by name, who had also been its architect. There is little doubt that McMullen was either grossly incompetent or was engaged in sharp practises.³⁴ The trouble was only settled after lengthy court cases, involving two appeals. Father Byrne came to a parish burdened by debt and with a background of dissension. Nor was he a man to beg out of a fight; and the newspapers of the period carry numerous letters from him and reports of his activities. He undoubtedly obtained a degree of respect - perhaps grudgingly - for himself and his Church. Certainly the Roman Catholic Church was firmly established in Kapunda by the time he left; in addition to two churches with large congregations, a school had been operating for three years.

The Church of England was established in the district as a direct result of efforts by Captain Bagot. In 1844 he had circulated a memorial in the district which was subsequently presented to the Colonial Secretary.³⁵ Fourteen people, including Bagot, had signed it; one of them (Bagot) was a Member of the Legislative Council, and two others were Justices of the Peace. It contained a request for financial assistance to maintain a clergyman of the Established Church in the Northern Districts of the State. The request was refused. It was 1856 before Kapunda had a resident Anglican clergyman, when the Rev. F.P. Strickland was assigned the parish.³⁶ There had been a chapel built on glebe lands made available in 1851; Christ Church was completed in 1868. It was similar to St. Rose's in outward appearance, having however a clock in the tower below the



Christ Church (Anglican).
(S.A. Archives)

Steeple. In 1869 there was a mild furore when the clock stopped; "The town has the use of the clock" said the churchwardens, "therefore let the town pay the cost of keeping it wound up".³⁷ This cost turned out to be £5 a year; and the town council refused to meet this, arguing that if the Anglicans wished to put a clock in their church, that was their affair; and it was also their affair if they decided to let it run down. Within three weeks the clock was running again.³⁸ After this, the Anglicans merged with the background of the town until 1889. They were a medium-sized group, but not an outstanding one. But in 1889 they achieved notoriety when three of the churchwardens, W. St. Clair, Wharton White and David James (the same man who was co-discoverer of the Broken Hill deposits) charged the incumbent with bigamy. The charges were found proven by the Ecclesiastical Court, and the guilty minister, Rev. J.M. Donaldson, was dismissed by the Bishop. To the discomfiture of the Kapunda churchwardens, he could not be evicted from the parsonage, and they had to swallow pride and come to terms with him.³⁹ When this had died down, the Anglicans once more were able to resume their quiet existence, unplagued by the troubles and small dissensions which beset nearly every other sect.

One observation which might be made is that Kapunda was remarkably free of any minor sects. Once a Church was established, and had built its house of worship, it stayed; there might be revivals within the established framework, but no newcomers got encouragement. Only one sect disappeared; the Presbyterians had used Baptist and Congregational chapels to meet in, but they never had either minister or church. Between 1871 and 1901 their numbers fell from 99 to 7.

The religion was uneventful in the sense that there was never any great issue which arose in the district, or for the co-religionists of the district, which caused major dissension. Those things which

did happen, were from outside the district, or outside the group. It seems that when a man had settled in his Church, he never found much to be dissatisfied with in it.

-
1. S.A.A.: Research note on Bethel.
 2. ibid.
 3. S.A. Legislative Council - Papers printed, 1856.
 4. ibid, 1862.
 5. ibid, 1872
 6. ibid, 1882
 7. J. Barrett, The Union of the Methodist Churches in South Australia, p.61.
 8. Rev. J. Haslam, History of Methodism in South Australia, p.123.
 9. ibid, pp.101 et. seq.
 10. ibid, p.169.
 11. The mine manager, William Oldham, is to be found in many capacities. Born in 1811, he arrived in Adelaide in 1838. He was appointed Protector of Aborigines soon after arrival; while in that post, he compiled a grammar of aboriginal dialects. He resigned the position to set up a school in Light Square; but his restless nature caused it to be closed - or rather transferred to Gayler, and then to Angaston, whither he went in the early 1840's. In 1847 Captain Bagot appointed him Bursar of the mining company at Kapunda; upon Bagot's retirement as manager of the mine, Oldham succeeded him as manager. While manager, he was appointed Postmaster of the town (he received £10 per year as rent for a room in his house until a post office was built) and manager of the local branch of the National Bank. He felt that there was need for someone to minister to those of his faith in Kapunda; so in 1858 he was ordained as a Congregational minister, a post which he held until 1861, in conjunction with his others. The closing of the mines by the local company left him relatively unemployed; so, after sitting for and passing the necessary examinations, he set up as a certified architect and surveyor, in which profession he remained until his death at 75.

But in addition the activities mentioned above, he found time to act as a Captain - later Major - in the Mines Rifles. This was the largest Volunteer Company outside Adelaide, and for most of its life Oldham was its Commanding Officer. The Rifles was strong enough to support their own brass band; this was trained by Oldham, who was also conductor for the Philharmonic Society in Kapunda.

Less demands were made on his time by some other activities which he undertook; for instance, he was for a period resident Magistrate for the town, and thereafter a Justice of the Peace. He can also be found playing a large part in the Freemason's Lodge, when that was established; and he held positions on the committees of most of the other friendly societies, and of the Institute. He died in 1886, in Kapunda.

12. "Herald", 22 September 1865.
13. S.A.A., doc. A999.
14. "Herald", 5 June 1868.
15. "Observer", 18 August 1883.
16. ibid, 26 January 1884.
17. ibid, 9 February 1884.
18. ibid, 21 June 1884.
19. ibid, 9 August 1884.
20. ibid, 27 September 1884.
21. ibid, 25 October 1884.
22. ibid, 15 November 1884.
23. ibid, 22 November 1884.
24. ibid, 13 December 1884.
25. ibid, 15 August 1885.
26. Rt. Rev. Msgr. F. Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, p.61.
and
"The Southern Cross" 10 June 1949. (History of the Parish of Kapunda, by Rev. R.A. Morrison.)
27. "The Southern Cross", 10 June 1949.
28. Parliamentary Papers, 1897; No.81.
29. ibid, 1910; No. 81.
30. "The Southern Cross", 10 June 1949.
31. Byrne, op. cit., p.203.
32. ibid, pp.212-3.
33. "The Southern Cross", 10 June 1949.
34. Byrne, op. cit., pp.145-7.
35. S.A.A. A145^o/1844.
36. Report of Synod of the Church of England, 1857.
37. "Herald", 8 October 1869.
38. ibid, 29 October 1869.
39. Report of Synod, 1889.

Chapter IV

The Farmers

Side-by-side with mining, farming developed in the district. It was an area of small farms with only two large landholders (Dutton and Bagot): and there do not seem to have been any problems arising from tenure in the district. Anlaby Station (Dutton's) was founded in 1840, although it was a year earlier that the sheep which were to stock it had arrived. Originally it was held on one-year pastoral leases, but in 1851 these were extended to fourteen years. However, during the next ten years, Duttons bought the station, gaining freehold title. Bagots did the same at Koonunga, and by 1865 nearly all the land in the district was held freehold by the occupants; for all the smaller farms were purchased by selection.

Apart from these two stations, the rest of the area was devoted to wheatgrowing¹ up to the 1890's, when "mixed farming" began to be the practice. By 1880 the area of land devoted to wheat in County Light had reached its maximum of about 100,000 acres.² This was ten years ahead of the Colony as a whole; in 1880 South Australian acreage was 600,000, in 1890 1,500,000.³ This then represented about 15% of the South Australian acreage. There was varying incentive to grow wheat; prices between 1855 and 1890 for the State varied wildly from year to year according to seasonal conditions with the highest prices at about 15s. per bushel and the lowest 4s.;⁴ but the mean price was in the region of 5s. per bushel. Kapunda wheat seems to have commanded a premium of 6d. to 1s. per bushel over the State price.⁵ The quantity of wheat shipped through Kapunda is not clear, since railways records do not seem to agree with figures which were occasionally published by the Kapunda Herald.

The township itself became quite important to farmers for three reasons. Firstly, it had several firms of agricultural implement makers. Secondly, it was until 1877 the railhead for the first country railway line which was built beyond Gawler. Thirdly, it became famous for horse sales held there.

To deal with these in order. Implement making started in 1855 when James Mellor opened his works to make strippers of the Ridley type. In 1858 this was followed by Hawke's works; in 1860 the first issue of "The Northern Star" carried advertisements for both. The Kapunda works were of equal importance to those of Gawler, according to a report in "The Register" some years later.⁶ Nor was the mere supply of agricultural implements sufficient outlet; Hawke's turned to the manufacture of heavy mining machinery weighbridges - which is today the principle product of Hawke and Company.⁷ Another manufacturer, James Cameron, secured a contract for the manufacture of 120 steel railway goods wagons in 1885.⁸ But even with less dependence on implement making, fluctuations of farmers' incomes cause by drought and price variations could cause hardship⁹ - in 1886 a soup kitchen was opened to assist the unemployed.¹⁰

The railway to Kapunda was extended from Gawler, and was opened in August 1860, its main purpose being to carry ores from the mine to Port Adelaide. It was mainly on account of this traffic that a direct line was laid in 1868 from Dry Creek to Port Adelaide.¹¹ This had a beneficial effect for farmers on this line; for it reduced freight charges to Port Adelaide. Extension of the line to Morgan in 1878 was a mixed blessing; although less wheat was shipped through Kapunda (Eudunda, thirteen miles further north, gained; but this was the only town to benefit by the wheat trade, as conditions beyond there are not favourable for agriculture) a new outlet was opened through access to the Murray. As the mines declined, so the railway came to rely more upon other primary produce.

The railway was a convenient grumbling point for the district, if local newspapers are to be believed. There is a suggestion that one of the local politicians - James White - had attempted to influence the choice of position for the Station,¹² claiming that if the line terminated on the south bank of the River Light, a costly bridge could be avoided. This suggestion did not carry much weight, since Mr. White owned most of the land in the region of the suggested terminus, and it was inferred that he was attempting to gain the advantage of a railhead settlement, and subsequent town, to improve values.¹³ This could be true, in light of his subsequent record; Mr. White was subsequently elected to the Legislative Council, but he was not returned after his first term. Charges of nepotism were proved against him.

For a while, until the bridge was completed, the railhead was there; and the contractor for mails was moved to object to Railway authorities that persons were riding on the tenders of engines between Kapunda and Gawler, thereby depriving him of revenue. The practice was stopped.¹⁴ But after the railway was opened, users were dissatisfied either with timetable, fares (ordinary or excursion), freight rates or handling, or the attitude of the Commissioners.¹⁵

It was by the railway that a reporter from the Melbourne "Leader" arrived and departed from the district in September 1874. His comments are worth setting out at length. Approaching Kapunda by train from Gawler he found that:

"the country passed through consists of open plains of red clayey loam, entirely occupied by wheat farms of considerable size, indifferently fenced with wire, and showing here a field a promising crop, there one lying untilled and bearing a luxuriant coat of weeds, and further along one ploughed up and lying fallow. Occasionally a field is passed in which the fallowing is going on, when it is observed that the double furrow plough drawn by four horses is invariably used, the single furrow implement being employed chiefly for striking out. The bare appearance of the farm houses is a marked feature of the landscape. They are built of greyish stone of a soft aluminous



The Railway Station
(S.A. Archives)

formation abundant in the neighbourhood, and the want of barns or other outbuildings, gardens, and subdivision paddocks for stock points to a state of things not in accordance with an advanced agricultural system. Of course there are exceptions, but as a rule, wheat growing has been carried on upon the most exhaustive system, including the annual burning of the straw after the stripper, for the last twenty years. The want of barn or other accommodation is accounted for by the fact that this system places the farmer in a position depending almost entirely on his yearly harvest of wheat, which he conveys direct from the field to Kapunda for sale, or storage with an advance, or to one of the numerous surrounding mills...Not only is this the case with the tenant, but also with the freeholder. Wheat growing and wheat alone, without regard to any other of the numerous ways in which a source of revenue might be derived from the land while waiting for the wheat harvest, has been the rule; and thus it has come that the tillers of the soil, speaking generally, are mostly in the hands of the storekeepers, thereby making the prospects of the harvest the most important subject to all connected with the commerce of the country."¹⁶

A remarkable consequence of this report is that it never reached the Kapunda district; or if it did, it excited no comment - which may be a reflection either on the insularity of the district, or the accuracy of the report.

The other reason for the township's importance agriculturally was the annual horse sale which was held there. The first sale was held in 1862;¹⁷ in 1874 the turnover was £1,000;¹⁸ in 1878 the Kapunda Herald ruminated that "it is questionable whether as many horses are disposed of in Adelaide as in Kapunda (in a year)."¹⁹ By 1878 the turnover was £4,000 per sale;²⁰ and by the turn of the century, the Kapunda horse sales had become internationally famous. They were the source of many remounts and mares for mule breeding for the Indian Army, and were attended by South African buyers. In 1910 the sale period extended over two weeks - this was their peak.²¹ It was largely through these sales that Jenkin Coles became a successful stock agent. A year before their inception he had been Bailiff of the local Court at Kapunda;²² at his death he had been knighted, and controlled one of the State's largest pastoral supply firms. Sidney Kidman supported them from the

mid-80's onward, and retained an interest in both the sales and Coles Brothers Limited which grew out of them.

These were the farmer's economic interests - and, to some extent, his determinants - wheat, and its growing, was his master.

-
1. vide Statistical Returns (of Agriculture) to Colonial Office (Annual) and Census Returns; 1855, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901.
 2. Edgars Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheatgrowing Industry, 1788-1948.
p.178.
 3. ibid, p.176.
 4. ibid, p.176.
 5. This is an impression gained from the "Kapunda Herald" over the period.
 6. "Register", 21 May 1875.
 7. vide John King Roach, Not without Courage; a history of Hawke & Co.
 8. "Observer", 25 July 1885.
 9. In 1865, Mellor sold 126 machines, which returned him £9,000 ("Herald", 22 December 1865). In 1885 his turnover was abnormally low, at £4,000 ("Herald", 24 January 1886).
 10. "Observer" 24 July 1886.
 11. vide the Report of the Commissioner of Public Works for the years mentioned, in Parliamentary Papers.
 12. "Register", 27 July 1927: reported from an old resident, John Rowe.
 13. ibid.
 14. "Star", 28 April 1860.
 15. "Herald", passim.
 16. Special Reporter of "The Leader"; Agriculture in South Australia,
p.21.
 17. The 1868 Sale is mentioned in Mary Durack, Kings in Grass Castles.
 18. "Herald", 7 January 1879.
 19. ibid, 4 January 1878.
 20. ibid, 7 January 1879.
 21. "Observer", 28 August 1910.
 22. "Herald", 26 November 1864.

Chapter V

Of Newspapers and Councils

We have looked - briefly - in earlier chapters at the miners and the farmers who populated town and district. Did town and country, as an unit, progress; what ties bound them, what was mutual, and what specific, to each?

Perhaps the greatest common factor was the local newspaper. It is by looking at it that we can assess the climate of feeling in the town and district; to survive in a community such as this, an Editor had to tread warily. From newspapers it is an easy step to the subject which they reported most consistently - Local Government. In its Establishment can be found an indication of what the people wanted; and this may be an expression of their unity.

The first paper appeared on March 17, 1860, under the title of "The Northern Star". The Editor, G.M. Allen, may once have been a Chartist; editorials had a fire of indignation at injustice, consistent with Chartism and which might be expected of a successor to the original Chartist paper of the same name. But the declaration in the first editorial that:

"Yes: there is one point upon which we can give an assurance to the people; - the NORTHERN STAR shall never be made the medium of personal vituperation or scurrilous attack"

rested alongside an (unsigned) electoral advertisement which read:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF LIGHT BAGOT AND DUTTON for ever
 - Will you vote for loans and
 20 per cent interest?
 - Will you vote for land jobbing
 and land robbery?
 - Will you vote for the crusher
 of the poor man?

If you do -

vote for WHITE

If you will vote for honest representatives
 vote for BAGOT and DUTTON."

But it must be admitted that elsewhere - not as large nor as prominent there appeared:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF LIGHT:-
BEWARE OF THE MINE-KING'S NOMINEE - DUTTON:
Miners be independent. Rush to the poll
and GIVE WHITE a PLUMPER, whose interests lie
in this district. Consider the insult that
has been thrown at you by bringing forward
the rejected one of Adelaide."

Elsewhere, another advertiser (with better grammar, but less clarity) abjured the:

"ELECTORS OF THE DISTRICT OF LIGHT:-
RESERVE YOUR VOTES. - MAKE NO
PROMISES The right man for the
right place will be at his post
at the proper time."¹

In the Edition of March 31st, the Editor was able to proclaim that the paper had a circulation of 1,000 copies. The next edition carried, at length, a report of an attempted horsewhipping of one of the local doctors by F.B. Oldham - one of the Rev. William Oldham's sons. Fortunately for himself, Allen took the side of the doctor in the resulting dispute, for two months later Oldham had judgment delivered against him for £150 in the Supreme Court at Adelaide in an action for damages. But Allen had a dislike for William Oldham and his family; for references are often to be found such as:

"...the respected manager of the mine, and agent of this branch of the National Bank (Rev. Mr. Oldham..."²

which when taken in context have an irony indicative of animus between the writer and his subject. Also, F.B. Oldham was an auctioneer and valuer; so was the Editor of the "Northern Star". Business was competitive; anyone commissioning Allen as auctioneer could have his wares advertised free of charge in the "Northern Star". In April of 1860 the name at the masthead had changed slightly; from "The Northern Star" it had become "The Northern Star and General Advertising Medium for the Northern Districts".³

This was further embellished a month later by the addition of a crudely drawn six pointed star and the words "The sun shines for all. Be just and fear not".⁴ The sun apparently continued to uphold the motto of the paper; but other stellar bodies were not as obliging, for on July 21 1860, it was recorded in a small news item that:

"There has been no appearance of the Comet in Kapunda, during the past week."

But the second part of the motto was not tested until January, 1862. Previously, the Editor had been content to confine his leading articles to local personalities, though on matters of principle he was often prepared to voice an opinion (supported by a quotation or two from the London "Economist") provided no person too close to home was mentioned by name. But the sport paled, and in the edition of January 11 1862, in the leading article, the Colonial treasurer was accused of having placed his nephew advantageously - and unwarrantedly - in a good position in the public service. Within days a summons was issued for libel; and on February 15, most of the issue was devoted to a report of the trial - which resulted in acquittal for the Editor. The costs of the action were high; and there was sometimes difficulty in collecting overdue subscriptions to the paper, as evidenced by frequent notices which appeared, directed to recalcitrant subscribers.

In January of 1863 the last issue of the paper appeared; and simultaneously, the Editor disappeared from the records.

On October 29 1864, jobbing printers in the town, Scandrett and Elliot, produced the first edition of "The Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer". They adopted a programme which was similar to that of the "Northern Star"; except that the "Herald" did not choose to make such violent personal attacks as had its predecessor. Under the same Editors, it continued for more than forty years as the principal chronicle of the district.



The town's largest store (1870). This was in Main Street.

(S.A. Archives)

It is from these two papers that most of the history of the years after 1860 can be written. They recorded - not without comment which was often bias - the important events of the times.

Local Government

The first of the great issues to be taken up was the attempt to form a Town Council for the betterment of Kapunda. The first report is in the "Northern Star" of 16 October 1860, where it was recorded that a public meeting had passed motion that "The town was too young for a Corporation" - a decision greatly lamented in the Editorial columns. During the rest of the life of the "Northern Star" there is reference about once a month - usually in the Editorial columns - to the lack of local government. During the next five years, there was constant agitation, and meetings were held to discuss proposals for corporation at irregular intervals. But fever pitch was reached after March, 1865. Two days after the "Herald" had editorially advocated the proclamation of Kapunda as a town, giving as the main reason the consequent paving of the Main Street which a town council would surely undertake,⁵ a public meeting by show of hands decided to petition the Chief Secretary for proclamation. Perhaps the Editorial had helped; the shopkeepers frequently complained, if "Herald" Editorials be believed, of the dust in summer and mud in winter which was carried into their shops from the Main Street. And letters to the Editor, like this one of 31 March 1865 were about as frequent as editorials calling for town council:

"...Out of the shopkeepers near the northern end of the street has endeavoured to improve the footway outside his premises by spreading a lot of large stones broken to anything but the 2½ - inch gauge...Turning off the Main-Street, our olfactory nerves are assailed with the odour arising from dead dogs, pigs, goats, etc - very pleasant, Sir, just as one is going home to dinner..."

Once the decision in favour of corporation had been taken, it was not reversed, although there was much dispute as to whether the mine, on the outskirts of the town, should be included in the

proclaimed limits. The townspeople were strongly of opinion that the mine should be included; but the Company were equally firm in their resolve to stay out. A meeting at the end of June, 1865,⁶ resolved that the mine must be included within the town limits, if there were to be a Corporation at all. The challenge thus laid down was taken up; and a week later⁷ the "Herald" reported that:

"We are informed by Mr. Oldham that he has this morning given notice to a number of hands at the mine, with a view to ultimately suspend operations in consequence of its being understood that the mine will be included in the Corporation. Mr. Oldham says the mine has been sinking money during the past two years, and that it could not be carried on at all when so included. If it is the amount of rates which induces Mr. Oldham thus to act, we would point out that these would have to be paid whether the mine was in operation or not; and in other respects, as we have before said, the Corporation are not likely to seek to enforce strictly the observance of their rules."

This was not successful. The South Australian Government Gazette of 13 July 1865 carried a proclamation by Sir Dominick Daly which set the bounds of the new Corporation and appointed Mayor and Councillors in accordance with the petition which was first published a month previously,⁸ ignoring William Oldham's plea that Mayor and Councillors had been improperly selected,⁹ and including the mine area within the town. As a final gesture the Mine Company issued a writ against the Corporation, alleging that the Mines area had been wrongfully included within the town boundaries. The action never came on for hearing, being withdrawn by mutual consent. At a civic dinner celebrating the incorporation, a speaker attempted to pou oil on troubled waters by saying:

"At present the agricultural was the only interest (the town) had to depend on, as their stronghold the mine was going to be shut up under the influence of taxation; so it was said, but he hoped it was not going to be so, as he liked to see the mining interest of the district kept up. The mine was a good outlet for the farmer's surplus timber."¹⁰

By comparison, establishment of district concils in the Hundred of Kapunda and surrounding hundreds was simple. Instead

of two-thirds of the residents being required to sign the petition, a mere twenty persons' signature could achieve the desired result. There were no counter-petitions or pleas against proclamation; the greatest dissension arose in the selection of councillors, and it might be noted that Mr. William Oldham was a councillor in the first council for the Hundred of Kapunda.

The first serious business for the Town Council, and for the District Council, was the selection of a Clerk. A Mr. William Brewer held the position for both bodies; he received £175 per annum from the Town Council, and £125 from the District Council. But the town required him also to be Collector of Rates, Supervisor of Works, and Inspector of Nuisances.¹¹ The second business done by the Councils was to decide upon their expenditure - this before any attempt at assessing the ratable value of the town or district. Then, thirdly, a series of by-laws were passed. Just to look at the matters which these by-laws dealt with tells us a good deal; it reveals the things which were considered pressing enough by the townspeople to warrant legislation. Set out in order, the by-laws:

1. Provided standing orders for Council meetings.
2. Prohibited the sale of goods from the footpath.
3. Set out penalties for obstructing traffic in the streets.
4. Regulated the driving of stock through streets.
5. Set out conditions for the sale of bread.
6. Regulated the storage of hay within town boundaries.
7. Prohibited fires in the open.
8. Prohibited persons from congregating so as to obstruct a footpath.
9. Restrained the establishment of houses of ill-fame within the town.
10. Laid down conditions governing the slaughter of small cattle within the town.
11. Regulated nauseous and offensive trades.



The main street of the town in about 1900.
(S.A. Archives)

12. Regulated the keeping of pigs.
13. Set out conditions under which ashes and rubbish might be dumped.
14. Prohibited the obstruction of footpaths by cattle or vehicles.
15. Prohibited the breaking-in of horses in streets.
16. Prohibited the service of mares by "entire horses" in public places.
17. Provided for better observance of the Lord's Day within Corporation bounds.
18. Prohibited furious driving.
19. Enabled the council to collect fees for licences.¹²

A town crier was appointed, with a salary of £10 per year, with uniform provided. He was dispensed with after a visit by the Duke of Edinburgh on November 6 1867. That visit had two results; firstly, it was felt that the town had been sadly disgraced by a breach of etiquette at the Civic Luncheon given in the Duke's honour at Crase's Room (the largest room in the largest hotel in the town). The "Herald" passed delicately over the subject by reporting:

"...the somewhat dubious honour of adding to the cheers already given on the reception of the toast of 'The Duke of Edinburgh' musical honours in the strains of 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow'."¹³

The "Observer", reporting the incident, thought it to be in rather poor taste.¹⁴

This was nothing to the storm which broke when it was revealed, two weeks later, that the Town Council had spent £40 on decorations for the visit, with no prospect of reimbursement by the Government. Council and Councillors, individually and collectively, were called on to resign. It was a close thing, and the Council survived the storm by reducing its expenditure.¹⁵ But this was not enough; twelve months later, the Town Council's overdraft was £666 19s., and it became necessary to reduce the Town Clerk's salary by £50



Looking westward across the Southern edge
of the town in 1880.

(S.A. Archives)

to £200 per year.¹⁶ This overdraft was largely due to the cost of construction of a dam for the town's water supply; £1,000 granted by the Government did not go far toward meeting its cost.¹⁷ But in 1872 the Town Crier was re-instated.¹⁸ Peace and stability had returned.

-
1. "Star", 17 March 1860.
 2. ibid, 7 July 1860.
 3. ibid, 14 April 1860.
 4. ibid, 19 May 1860.
 5. "Herald", 17 March 1865.
 6. ibid, 30 June 1865.
 7. ibid, 7 July 1865.
 8. S.A. Government Gazette, 8 June 1865.
 9. ibid, 15 June 1865.
 10. "Herald", 21 July 1865.
 11. ibid, 28 July 1865.
 12. ibid, 29 September 1865.
 13. ibid, 8 November 1867.
 14. "Observer", 9 November 1867.
 15. "Herald", 22 November 1867.
 16. ibid, 17 December 1869.
 17. ibid, 28 June 1867.
 18. ibid, 3 January 1873.

Chapter VI

Law and Order

Beside the Councils, town and district, were the Courts - and with the Courts, the Police. To a Kapunda resident of last century, these would have been the expressions of government with which he came most frequently in contact.

In 1842, the Commissioner of Police made mention, in his Annual Report, that:

"...there are no less than eight permanent Out Stations besides a ninth (Captain Bagot's) where I have been obliged to keep a party of men for a considerable time past owing to the constant aggressions of the Blacks upon the Flocks of the settlers, who are so insecure without the assistance of the Police, that I am extremely anxious to have two men permanently stationed in the above direction..."¹

This was also the view of the Protector of Aborigines in his report for the same period.² Just how long this outstation was maintained is uncertain, as there is no record of its being removed.

The need of the district was not only for police. It is fifty miles to Adelaide from Kapunda, and local justices were vital to the swift dispensation of justice; or even to administration. As late as 1851 a schoolmaster, Cooper Searle, complained to the Colonial Secretary that he could not get his returns certified, as a Magistrate could not usually be found at the necessary time.³ In 1844 and 1846 Captain Bagot refused to take the oaths necessary for his appointment as a Justice of the Peace, stating that he believed that he should not be called upon to act because of his other commitments.⁴ But in 1848 he relented, and was Gazetted as a J.P. for the district. With the growth of the town, it became necessary to station constables there, and in 1850 Bagot suggested that land could be taken from the then unsold section 1405 to

provide for a police station and courthouse. He suggested that he supply temporary accomodation for both police and court until something more permanent was supplied.⁵ A minute on this letter shows that the Commissioner of Police was strongly opposed to the suggestion. But three months later the same Commissioner (Dashwood) recommended the expenditure of £500 upon the building of a police station and courthouse.⁶ Two months later we find that Captain Bagot had received £27 16s. 0d. for rent of premises, and water supplied, to the Police.⁷

Two years later, when all Magistrates were required to submit a return of cases tried, etc. before the courts, the Magistrate visiting Kapunda wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

"Local Court House
Kapunda. March 25 1852

Sir,

I have the honor to report that I attended at Kapunda for the purpose of holding the local court today but found that no business could be done in consequence of the Clerk and Bailiff having both gone to the diggins (sic). The local Magistrates, and particularly Captain Bagot M.I.C. desired to recommend Mr. William Ottara as a suitable person to fill the office of Clerk and I join in these recommendations - Mr. Ottara offers Capt. Bagot and Mr. William Oldham as his securities - which I need not say will be ample.

After anxious enquiry I have not been able to find anyone willing to accept the office of Bailiff of this Court.

I find the books and papers of the Kapunda Court in a wretched state of Confusion - so that it is impossible to procure the information desired by your letter of the 19 March 1852. The following is an approximation. The first court was held in August 1851 - the first summons appears to have been issued July 3 1851.

Preliminary Investigations

Criminal cases sent to Supreme Court	two
dismissed	four

Summary Jurisdiction

Informations under acts of Council	fifteen
--	---------

Criminal trials, assaults, misdemeanours, etc. ten
 Drunkenness three
 Cases on civil side fifty three

I have the honor to be

Your Obt. Servt.

Hon. B.T. Finnis,
 Colonial Secretary

Horace Dean
 Special Magistrate"8

Two years later Dr. Dean was requested to make another report to the Colonial Secretary concerning the state of justice in Kapunda. His letter explains the circumstances:

"Angaston March 6 1854

Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 27th of February 575/54 I have the honor to say that Kapunda a mining district inhabited only by persons of a class not usually appointed Justices, and the settlers for some distance around (with but one exception) are of the same character.

I do not therefore know 'a gentleman in that district qualified and willing to undertake the duties of a Justice of the Peace.'

I have the honor to be

Your Obt. Servt.

Horace Dean

Sp. Magt."9

The weight of these recommendations must have diminished after the revelations which appeared at a Court of Disputed Returns in May 1857, when it was revealed that the Doctor's credentials were not completely genuine. The need for Magistrates or Justices was met, despite this letter, by appointments in the district; by 1860 there were eight Justices of the Peace in the district, and a Court sat every week, with a resident Magistrate presiding, either alone or with two Justices. One of the most availed-of duties of the Justices was the holding of inquests - which were usually reported in full in the local newspaper.

The police were often a butt for the wit of the newspapers; or for their sarcasm, if there were any breach of peace or decorum

in the town. But some of this was perhaps, to fill out space; this report, for instance, is typical:

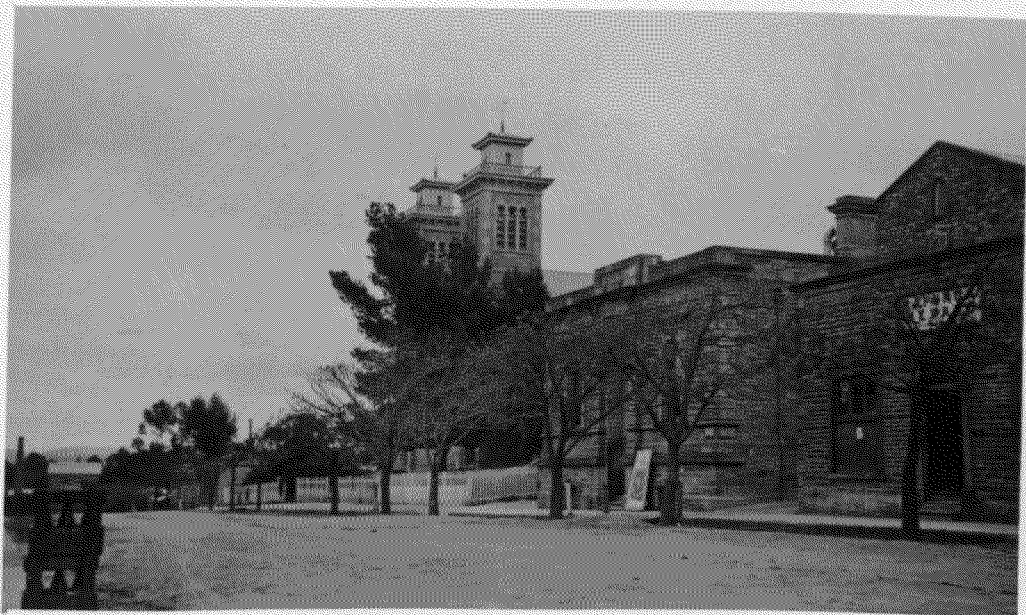
"On Friday evening a number of persons intruding into the dressing-tents of Ashton's Circus, Police Trooper Kidney was desired to interfere to keep them off; this he did, and whilst engaged in so doing some cowardly person threw a large, heavy bone at him, which struck him on the head and so stunned him for the time that he could not pursue the party, who immediately took to his heels. The trooper's head was much hurt by the blow, and we regret that the perpetrator of the act has not been apprehended."¹⁰

Perhaps this might be contrasted for content with a report which appeared in the "Northern Star" some years previously:

"Three nymphs - the Ladies Moses, Armstrong and Woods, well known bad characters, were charged on Thursday last with keeping houses of ill fame, and sentenced to six month's imprisonment, with an additional two months to Moses for having had a previous acquaintance with Mr. Laurence."¹¹

Is it indicative of the town that the "Herald", with its style of reporting survived, whereas the "Star" did not? Or is it that the "Herald" gave the people what they preferred? Of course, it is impossible to decide, on the evidence presented here. But the "Herald", never really outspoken, did survive where the "Northern Star" had gone under. The "Herald" was more comfortable than the "Northern Star".

-
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A1027/1842. | |
| 2. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A132/1843. | |
| 3. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A214/1851. | |
| 4. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A1104/1844 | Bagot to C.S.O. |
| | A1292/1846 | Bagot to C.S.O. |
| 5. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A2431/1850 | Bagot to C.S.O. |
| 6. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A527/1851 | Police Commissioner to C.S.O. |
| 7. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A1112/1851 | Police Commissioner to C.S.O. |
| 8. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A1048/1852 | Dean to C.S.O. |
| 9. | <u>S.A.A.</u> , A755/1854 | Dean to C.S.O. |
| 10. | <u>"Herald"</u> , 25 August 1865. | |
| 11. | <u>"Star"</u> , 29 November 1862. | |



Church, Institute, and Newspaper Office; the centres of the towns culture. On the left, above the beer crates, the flour mill is visible.

(S.A. Archives)

Chapter VII

The People's Effort

A heterogeneous community such as Kapunda and its district, can give an indication of the admixture of groups by the way in which the community organizes to obtain some desired result; for example, a hospital, an agricultural show, an Institute.

It is, inter alia, these three which will be examined in this chapter. The last two represent less vital aspects of the life of the community; in consequence of this they, like a Literary Society or a brass band, can indicate not only where the interests of residents lay, but also how they felt about associating with one another: whether social forces were inwards, binding the community together; outwards, tending to disintegrate it; or whether their nett effect was nil.

Perhaps a map of interests could first be drawn. Religious interests apportioned the district as approximately 15% Roman Catholic and the rest (with the exclusion of 6 Jews, 8 not specified, and 1 Mohammedan or Pagan) as Protestants. Within this 85%, the greatest number (some 30%) were Lutherans; next were Anglicans (25%), Wesleyans (8%), Presbyterians (5%), Congregationalists (2%); the rest were not committed.¹ Throughout the district, the principle occupation was farming; mining was concentrated in one place, and it was by this concentration that the miners had as much influence as they did.

The distribution of national groups has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The ratio of men to women which showed a majority of men until 1861, in succeeding census figures was reversed; in 1891, there were 190 more women than men, in a population of approximately 2,000. In 1871, 65% of the people were fully literate; a lower proportion than that of the entire state by about 5%.

Previous to 1877, when the Primary School was opened, all local education was derived from private schools in the town or district, run by licensed teachers, or the Roman Catholic parish school.

The population was becoming more permanent, naturally enough; in 1855, County Light had 402 houses of stone or brick; 305 of wood; and 245 listed as "other, and tents". In 1861 the township of Kapunda alone recorded 397, 40 and 15 in each of these respective categories. Of these brick and stone houses, the greatest number had two rooms; and when larger houses were built, they were usually in the township.

One other thing makes Kapunda notable. It had the two strongest Companies of the Volunteer militia in the State, outside Adelaide.² The two Companies were the Mines Rifles and the Kapunda Rifles. There was brisk rivalry between them. The men were kept at the peak of military efficiency demanded of them, and could turn out, on the alarm being sounded, fully dressed and equipped, within thirty minutes. A spur to their speed was the publication of a list of the order in which the militia men arrived at the rallying point after the alarm had been sounded, and the times which they took, in the "Kapunda Herald". (On one occasion it was recorded that the alarm had been sounded at the late hour of 9.15 p.m. but would have been earlier except that the gun whose firing was the signal had been rammed full of earth, and several minutes were required to clear it.)³

Politically, the district was not exceptional; the town was Protectionist and the district Free-Trade; but usually personality supervened over such matters, and we find men such as Bagot and Dutton being returned from the district over and against those who campaigned on broad issues. It is not until 1884, and the Land Nationalization Society, which had great strength in the district under Patrick McMahon Glynn, who was then editor of the "Kapunda Herald", that politics began to assume any great importance. And even that soon

disappeared after Glynn had left the district; by 1890 no trace is to be found in Kapunda of the Land Nationalization Society.

Doctors - medical men - occupied a high position on the social scale of the town and in its respect. The first Mayor of the town was a Dr. Blood; he had some time previously been appointed a Justice of the Peace, and there seems to have been great respect for his actions in that capacity by the "Kapunda Herald". Perhaps it was only naturally that a doctor should have been a leader in such a small community, which was sufficiently isolated to be very dependent on him. Besides, he was obviously a man of substance and standing; he and his wife were survived on their death by twenty children.

Not even the local newspapers, whose editors could usually be relied upon to find minor fault with nearly all local institutions, were at any time critical of the town's doctors, even though we may guess by the time that some of these gentlemen remained in the town that they were not of high calibre. Even when there was criticism of the town council, and a doctor was mayor, there seems to have been care taken to exonerate the medico from that criticism.

From this we may gather that there was some aura which surrounded medical practitioners; an aura which did not extend to such things as hospitalization.

There is practically no evidence that there was any great attempt to establish a hospital in the district, apart from an occasional editorial in a local paper.⁴ In 1875, a Committee was formed to undertake an appeal for building funds for a hospital;⁵ and the state of affairs is best described by an advertisement which subsequently appeared in "The Observer":⁶

"Kapunda Hospital.

THE COMMITTEE beg to APPEAL for SUBSCRIPTIONS in aid of the proposed HOSPITAL, towards which, in addition to the munificent gift of £2500 from F.H. Dutton Esq., £460 was promised at a Preliminary Meeting held in Kapunda on May 10, which latter amount the Committee desire to increase to £1500. It is confidently anticipated that the amount raised will be supplemented to an

equal extent by the Government.

Subscriptions (which may be paid in quarterly instalments from June 1875 to December 1876, inclusive), will be thankfully received by the undersigned (who will be happy to furnish any further particulars required), or by Mr. Andrew Thomson, Kapunda, Treasurer

Jas, Elliot) : Hon Secs."
J.M. Day)

After the impetus of Dutton's gift had died, the Committee (who had also been entrusted with the collection of funds for a recreation ground - Dutton had simultaneously with his promise of £2,500 for a hospital guaranteed £500 for that purpose) did nothing to revive it. Dutton was then living in England, where he was to remain for the rest of his life, so that they were spared the embarrassment of his presence. That embarrassment might not be as great as that which his gift had caused; for he had made it in consequence of a letter addressed to him by two citizens of the town, apparently acting of their own volition.⁷ There was no controversy over the hospital; no-body replied when the "Herald" suggested that £7,000 - £8,000 was too much to spend on Hospital building, and that only £3,000 should be spent on building, and the rest invested to provide a source of income for running the establishment.⁸ Six months later a half-hearted attempt was made to revive interest, and another £600 promised. With this capital of £3,450, augmented by an equal amount from the Government, building was commenced. A year later it was completed; the hospital was opened in 1878 to the accompaniment of flowery speeches and civic junketing which accompanied every noteworthy occasion in the district.⁹ When analysis is made, the actual work of organisation appears to have been undertaken by two people: Andrew Thomson, the Treasurer, and James Elliot, one of the Secretaries (The other, Rev. J.M. Day, left the district three months after the appeal had opened.).

And it was not until 1882 that the recreation ground was opened; it was named Dutton Park - an honour unwittingly bought by the largest donor towards its establishment.

If this seems to show lack of inspiration, it pales beside the history of the Kapunda and Light Agricultural Society. This grew from an Agricultural and Floricultural Society formed in 1862. Two months after its formation, it held a Show of Produce; an event which was repeated in the next year. Then the Society died. Two years later an Agricultural Society arose, and spurred on by the efforts of the "Kapunda Herald", it too held a Show. For four years the Show continued, until 1870, when the demise of the Society, if not in law at least in fact.¹⁰ It was not until 1873 that a group, led by the Rev. J.M. Day formed yet a third society - the Horticultural and Floricultural Society. Like its predecessors, it proceeded almost at once to stage a Show; which, like their first attempts was also a success. So were the next two; by 1876 the "Herald" was again complaining that interest had once more died.¹¹ In 1879 the Kapunda and Light Agricultural Society was born. This Society was so successful that it managed to secure an area, south of the old mines, some five acres in area. This was soon surrounded by a stone wall (having two strands of barbed wire at the top above broken bottles set into cement as a deterrent for any who might try to enter without paying) and a large hall built to accommodate the "inside" exhibits. Subsequently, a decline in interest, coupled with an increase in district rates, led to the site being sold, and the activities of the Society being transferred to Dutton Park.

This "on again, off again" history reflects the spasmodic interest which was shown. Like the Committee which conducted the Hospital Appeal, the Committees of the various Agricultural Societies were usually dominated by a few people who did all the work. Annual Meetings of the Society do not reveal any dissension about how the Society should be run.¹²

Some in the community who were concerned with the cultural life of the town devoted their energies to the Institute, and its activities. The Institute at Kapunda was in the line of development of Mechanics Institutes outlined by George Nadel;¹³ it included in its constitution the intention that it existed for "intellectual, social and moral improvement". The main difference was that the movement in Kapunda was some forty years behind that in the rest of Australia as described by Nadel. Some of the activities normally indulged in by Institutes were first undertaken by a Young Men's Society. This Society was closely allied to the Congregational Church; and this was occasionally raised as an objection to it.¹⁴ The principal activities of the Society were the lectures which it organised, such as "Lights and Shadows of London Life" by a Mr. Townsend; or "An Hour with the Gipsies" recounted by the Rev. William Marcus. These meetings occurred at four-weekly intervals, as did most others in the country; they were arranged so that an audience would be assured of moonlight when going home. When it appears in the minutes of such bodies that it was impossible to arrange for a lecturer, it is probably because all available had been engaged for that lunar period.

Cultural groups appeared and re-appeared from time to time. The Kapunda Amateur Dramatic Society first appeared in April of 1865, and two months later successfully presented "Time Tries All", for a two night season.¹⁵ Encouraged by success, they produced another play in September of the same year, and a third in November. But this last play was poorly reviewed by the "Herald", whose critic felt that insufficient work had gone into it.¹⁶ Nearly twelve months passed before another "offering" (as the "Herald" chose to call it) was laid before the townspeople. They responded with moderate enthusiasm; the "Herald" devoted space to a mention of the play than to a description of a piece of the Atlantic cable which somebody from the town owned.¹⁷ Thereafter, the Kapunda Amateur Dramatic Society disappeared.

Two other societies are worth mentioning. One is the Phil-

harmonic Society, whose conductor was for some time the ubiquitous William Oldham. Neither its rise nor its fall is catalogued; but reports of concerts given by it appear at fairly regular intervals between 1860 and 1890 in local papers. Its aim was apparently to present two performances a year, and it seems to have achieved this. Probably the Society was largely a combined churches choir; so that it required little coordinating effort, and its cohesion was inherent in the constituent groups. Unfortunately, this suggestion cannot be authenticated; if more information were available, it would probably give a valuable insight of inter-church relationships. The other society to be mentioned is the Literary Society, which was founded in 1872 under the auspices of the Institute.¹⁸ Its formation is indicative of a resurgence of interest in such cultural matters which attended the establishment of the Institute.

First interest in an Institute came in 1868, when a public meeting, attended by two hundred persons, appointed a Committee to proceed with the erection of an appropriate building.¹⁹ By 1870 approximately £200 had been collected, and tenders were called for the erection of a building.²⁰ The foundation stone was laid within six months of the acceptance of a tender,²¹ and the Institute was actually opened nine months later again.²² The final cost was £471, of which F.S. Dutton donated £100. The raising of the remainder was spasmodic and irregular; from time to time, the "Herald" recorded small donations, and proceeds from functions such as concerts by the Philharmonic Society were occasionally added to the fund. It was 1873 by the time that the debt on the Institute was finally paid off.

A pattern, related to the economic activity of the town and district, can be found in this. When times were good - up to 1865 - cultural activities increased; probably because spending on such matters also increased. Between 1865 and 1870, when both mining and agriculture fell off, so did culture. Then, 1870 and good times

brought a resurgence of activity. People were more interested in their pockets than in their minds, culture could not flourish in the shadow of want.

-
1. Unless stated otherwise, the information in this chapter is taken from the 1855 and 1861 Census figures.
 2. vide Normal Rolls of Volunteer Military Forces, 1864-86, S.A.A.
 3. "Herald", 27 January 1865.
 4. e.g. "Star", 19 May 1860. "Herald", 15 May 1868.
 5. "Herald", 12 May 1875.
 6. 21 May 1875.
 7. "Herald", 10 May 1875.
 8. ibid, 26 May 1875.
 9. ibid, 7 January 1879.
 10. ibid, 8 January 1871.
 11. ibid, 9 January 1877.
 12. vide Minutes of the Agricultural Society, extant from 1882 onwards.
 13. Australia's Colonial Culture, pp.111 et. seq.
 14. "Herald", 25 August 1865.
 15. ibid, 9 June 1865.
 16. ibid, 10 November 1865.
 17. ibid, 2 November 1866.
 18. ibid, 3 January 1873.
 19. ibid, 15 May 1868.
 20. ibid, 13 March 1870
 21. ibid, 14 October 1870
 22. ibid, 14 July 1871.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

1. A Recapitulation

The history of Kapunda is, in broad outline, that of half-a-dozen South Australian towns. An agricultural centre, like Moonta or the Burra, it achieved momentary prominence by virtue of the copper discoveries made there: like those towns and Blinman, as soon as the ore was worked out, it reverted to an agricultural centre in a long-drawn-out death struggle to maintain its past glory.

Many claims were made regarding Kapunda, the richness of the ore from its mines, the value of the ore which was won and the fortune remaining for a venturesome mining enterprise; many of these claims are apocryphal, some deserve closer study. All of course, must be examined to some extent.

The district began with the Duttons and Bagots taking up land on what is now Anlaby and Koonunga. Francis Hansborough Dutton (whose middle name is perpetuated in another place-name of the area) brought sheep overland from New South Wales in 1839 as a basis for the flocks which were to cover some hundreds of square miles within four decades. Three years later, near the site of the town which was soon to spring up, his brother found rich copper ore. Within days, one of Bagot's sons repeated the discovery. Men of similar interests, they were unable to conceal the discovery one from the other. Soon they had formed a syndicate to mine the area where the first green ore was seen; the ore so obtained was assessed as high in value, and a trial shipment was dispatched to the Swansea sales in Wales, where it commanded a premium.

New mining companies sprang up. In many of them, the names of the directors were repetitive; but of the half-dozen formed, only one can be said to have been successful. One of them paid the record price for land outside the town area - a record which still stands - of nearly £90 an acre, but got no return of ore from its purchase.

A new method of working became economic, whereby acid was used to leach copper ores from the relatively poor ground which had been spurned in the earlier days. In consequence, the diggings, already a honeycomb, became a semi-open cut workings, with a decreasing number of men necessary to win the dwindling amounts of ore which were shipped to Port Adelaide. Local smelting was uneconomic; the furnaces had denuded most of the surrounding countryside of flammable timber before 1870.

Despite their temporary nature, the mines brought some lasting advantages to Kapunda. It was the railhead for some time of the only line from Adelaide extending into the country - a line, which when extended to Morgan, was to hasten the end of the Murray steamer of the latter part of the century. Industry came; small perhaps, but fairly important.

Behind all this were the people who worked the mines; the people who were to work mines and farms in that and subsequent generations. They were a mixture; Cornish, Irish and English, with a smattering of Germans. Some of them came originally as miners, especially the Cornish. The Irish were the most prolific race. From the commencement of the Roman Catholic records in the district (1847) until 1882 the Register of Births shows some 6,500 births to Catholics in the district. The number from then until now is less than 3,000. The Germans were almost exclusively farmers; they were to be found in small colonies centered around a Lutheran

chapel, more particularly toward the Barossa Valley where Angas had established many of their kin. With the Cornish came the Primitive Methodist Church, soon to be followed by the Wesleyans and the Salvation Army; these were some of the links which helped to bind Kapunda to other areas in the state; mines at Blinman, Moonta, the Burra and Sliding Rock all drew upon the Kapunda Mines for their workmen. The nearby agricultural area of Truro had an obvious link with the Cornish.

When did these people arrive? The population of the town continued to grow until the mid-1870's, when the recession in mining began to be felt. Legend has it that Kapunda had a population of 10,000 in its prime; but this is obviously legend, for census figures - even allowing for inaccuracies - do not support a claim for more than some 2,000 to 3,000. The number supported by town and district approached 10,000; the town had the facilities (ranging from 14 hotels and a brewery to a gas works) to support a large population within the boundaries either of the corporate town or of the district. In the thirty years of growth, the tendency was for the population to be composed largely of a semi-migratory labouring force, reinforced by an agricultural group, composed of some labourers and a large number of small farmers. As mining ceased, the miners either moved away to one of the working mines in another part of the State, or to Broken Hill, or became labourers or small farmers themselves.

The people had also to arrange for the education of their children in a land which separated family from family much more widely than they had previously known. The then current system of teacher licensing must have made education easier to some extent, in that a teacher could set up a school wherever sufficient pupils could be found. Records of the district councils which were established in each Hundred contain reference to the schools which were to be found at places throughout their realm; either because

they recommended the licensing of the school, or because of the periodic inspections made by members of the council. These inspections invariably were reported in the minutes, with the notation that the school "was found to be exemplary in every respect, and that the examinations conducted by those visiting had shown that the children were receiving adequate instruction". This despite the fact that in one case at least, the inspectors included the chairman of the council, who had difficulty in signing his name, let alone spelling it the same way on two successive occasions. But conditions such as this were not exceptional in South Australian country districts at that time. In 1877 the township of Kapunda had a large school established within its boundaries, the land being donated by a townsman. A technical school associated with the South Australian School of Mines (as it then was) was set up in 1891, although it was not until 1907 that those who wished could continue with a secondary education that was not "technical" in nature, when a "continuation class" was established in the primary school. In 1915 jurisdiction over the technical school was transferred to the Education Department, and in 1921 a High School was established in "Eringa", the old home of Sir Sydney Kidman.

Generally speaking, organised church activity is not evident until about the 1848 - 1850 period, when the two largest factions, the Roman Catholic Church and the Wesleyan Methodists established themselves in the area. The first of these was able to maintain in close proximity two large establishments; the parish was centered upon St. Rose's at Kapunda, where a priest with two assistants lived during the latter part of the century, and a womens' reformatory was established near the Catholic cemetery and earlier church at St. John's, some four miles to the south-east. Methodism was first preached by the Wesleyans in 1846, but it was not until 1849 that a church was established. The Wesleyans prospered, and remained as one of the

largest groups until the merger. They built a large church, capable of seating about 1,000; it was commonly full to overflowing at times up to the 1920's. Anglicans are on about the same footing as other denominations, such as Lutherans, Congregationalists, and Baptists. They are distinguished, with the Roman Catholics in that they very early established their own cemetery; a privilege removed from the Methodists (who used their church yard in the centre of the town until prohibited by the Corporation after public agitation) in the 1880's. Lutherans are to be found mainly in the outlying areas of the district, such as Bethel, where they have established small chapels, which are still, as initially, in the circuit of ministers from the Barossa Valley. The Congregationalists owe a lot to the support from some of the larger "middle-class" landowners and those families who felt that this was the closest substitute for Presbyterianism to be found. Baptists, from being large in number and a fairly wealthy congregation, have deteriorated until, at the last census, there are eight left in the town. When considering the relative sizes of churches, it is helpful to consider their size from time to time relative to both the population of the district and their own history.

Local government was established in the 1860's; a District Council for the Hundred of Kapunda was established in 1866, following on the establishment of the Corporation of the Town of Kapunda in 1865. The District Council was subsequently to increase the area under its jurisdiction at the expense of other smaller councils who had not the advantage of a large post town in their area. The records of these councils show that they were not very distinguished in that the scope of their action was limited, setting what was to become the norm for South Australian local government. Besides the incidental matters connected with education mentioned earlier, they were mainly concerned with the roads within their boundaries; a surprising amount of their time and money being taken up with the establishment of new roads to replace those which had been laid out to run in impossible places - such as up near-sheer cliffs, or along

the beds of watercourses. Even though these useless roads were sold, and the revenue from their sale was available to the council, their uselessness caused their market value to be low. And where a better class of land was included in the closed road, the natural horse-trading ability of the farmers concerned assisted them to keep the prices of such land low. Other functions than road making and repairing were usually incidental to the Council's function, and were handled either by sub-committees (such as the Board of Health) or by council representation (e.g., on the District Hospital Board). The result was that this, as with many councils, tended to become a forgotten institution, with only spasmodic interest being shown.

The movements for selfbetterment found throughout nineteenth century Australia found their expression in Kapunda in the Institute which was founded in 1872. The main function of the Institute was originally to arrange for its members lectures of a stimulating and improving nature; this was reinforced by the provision of a lending library. During all of its life, the Institute never had any more members than did that of the district of Ashwell, some twelve miles to the southwest towards Gawler. The district cannot be said to have been very prominent in the promotion of movements which do not have a "practical" value, and the Institute building which was erected in 1873 became the Soldiers' Memorial Hall in 1925, thus discharging the responsibility of the nearly defunct Committee to do more than tend to the inevitable billiard room - the only one to be found in the town.

2. Review

This work has dealt very briefly with the establishment of a town in the mid-North of South Australia. This middle position applies other than geographically; for the town is not extreme in anything. Economically, it is not, and never has been extremely rich; its greatest riches came from mining, and they were not great when considered alongside the other great mining towns of the time, Burra-Burra and Moonta. There were never as many people at Kapunda as there were at these other two places.

But it is not extreme in other - perhaps more significant - ways, either. For instance, why is it that the miners of the district seem to have made little effort to have a system of small leases introduced? The ore was so rich at Kapunda that it could, for many years, have been worked profitably by single men or small syndicates. Even after the mines closed, tributers working near the surface were able to get a subsistence return.

Part of the answer to this question is that there is a definite paucity of records of that time and place. Another part is that there were not a very large number of miners in the district anyway. Or again, it is possible that the men, working tut-work or tribute, were well enough rewarded so that there was a diminution of their desire for freedom of enterprise.

But this question is indicative of what seems common to the town and district; and that is, an absence of large issues. There is not in the town any record or tradition of dissatisfaction. Controversy, yes; but it is the controversy of the times. When the times were prosperous, then was a time of activity in all the affairs of the town. 1865, following a high production of copper and good seasons saw the advent of local government in both town and district; at about the same time churches were established or made marked steps

toward consolidation. Cultural life bloomed - the flower may have been small, but it did flourish briefly - and generally the town expanded.

Came four lean years, of low copper production, of low rainfall and consequent poor crops, and the town contracted within itself. The societies for the cultural comfort of those so far removed from major centres of civilization disappeared. The Town Council ran into an overdraft with the bank. Then, with the resurgence of both mining and agriculture, came another group of notable events; foremost among them are the establishment of a hospital and an Institute.

It appears, then, that the activity of the town in general is reflected by the wealth of the community. It is only to be expected that this must be so; for a community which is poor cannot undertake to build churches, an Institute, or a hospital. But might it also be expected to lose interest in its dramatic and literary societies? It appears from Kapunda's history that it did; but whether this is for reasons of poverty, or not, is undecided; it will take a much more intensive study than this. Other factors may have to be considered; for instance, the attitudes of churches, the population movement of the town, and the collective feeling of the district toward the individuals who usually represented these movements - in the public eye at least - are very important.

The people who lived there were certainly not radical. They were contented and selfsufficient, conforming to a common enough pattern of South Australia's rural areas.

Bibliography

ORIGINAL SOURCES:

Documents:

a. In the South Australian Archives

Letterbooks and files of the Colonial Secretary's Office

Captain Charles Harvey Bagot, Autobiography written 1851-54,
covering his life from 1788 to 1854...

Nominal Rolls of the Volunteer Militia Forces in South Australia

Research Note on Bethel

b. Elsewhere

Minute books of

Kapunda Town Council

Kapunda District Council

Kapunda and Light Agricultural Society

Kapunda Institute

Records of the Churches at Kapunda

Roman Catholic

Anglican

Methodist

Congregational

Newspapers:

"The Northern Star"

"The Kapunda Herald"

"The Adelaide Observer"

"The South Australian Register"

"The Southern Australian"

"The Southern Cross and South Australian Catholic Herald"

Books:

Francis Dutton: South Australia and its Mines, with an historical sketch of the Colony... London, T. & W. Boone, 1846.

Special Reporter of "The Leader": Agriculture in South Australia. Melbourne, E. & D. Syme, 1874.

South Australian Almanacks and Directories, from 1874.

J.B. Austin: The Mines of South Australia. Adelaide, Platts, Wigg, 1863.

Henry Y.I. Brown: A record of the Mines of South Australia. Adelaide, Government Printer, 1887.

Henry Y.I. Brown: Report by the Government Geologist on the Kapunda Copper Mine. Adelaide, Government Printer, 1899.

Rev. J. Haslam: History of Methodism in South Australia. Adelaide, limited edition, publisher unknown, ca. 1886.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor F. Byrne: History of the Catholic Church in South Australia. Adelaide, J.P. Hanson, 1914.

Reports of Synod of the Church of England Diocese of Adelaide.

Other Material:

John King-Roach: Not without Courage. Adelaide, Griffin Press, 1956.

A brief history of ~~H~~wke & Co., Kapunda.

J. Barrett: The Union of the Methodist Churches in South Australia. Adelaide, B.A. Honours Thesis, 1955.
Provides some background to the merger of Methodist churches in Kapunda, with a few details specifically regarding that district.

Henry Brown: The Copper Industry of South Australia, an economic study. Adelaide, Thesis, 1937.
A background of copper mining and its development in the State.

S.B. Dickinson: The structural control of Ore Deposition in some South Australian Copperfields. Adelaide, Government Printer, 1944.
An excellent review and tabulation of the mining activity at Kapunda, with maps of the mines.

Edgars Dunsdorfs: The Australian Wheatgrowing Industry 1788-1948. Melbourne University Press, 1956.
Provides a detailed tabulation by counties of South Australian Wheat production in the period mentioned in the title.

George Nadel: Australia's Colonial Culture. Melbourne, F.W. Cheshire, 1957.
From this comes a setting for the establishment of cultural institutions in Kapunda.

Douglas Pike: Paradise of Dissent. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1957.

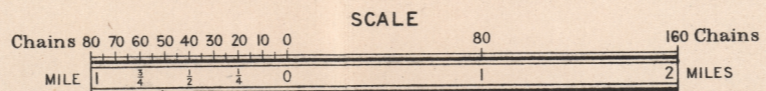
Details and describes the Colony of South Australia generally at the period when this thesis commences.

Appendix I: Land sold at July, 1846 auction of lots near Kapunda Mine

<u>Section No.</u>	<u>Size (acres)</u>	<u>Price (total)</u>	<u>Purchaser</u>
1400	80	£7100	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1401	80	1000	do.
1402	80	400	do.
1403	80	500	do.
1404	96	350	do.
*1405	119	3016	Bagot
1406		not sold	
1407	80	215	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1408	80	202	do.
1409	82	400	do.
*1410	103	130	Bagot
*1411	95	£95 ls. od.	do.
1412	109	121	do.
*1413	143	2001	do.
1414	83	240	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1415	102	300	Bagot
*1416	104	321	do.
1417	86	194	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1418	93	249	do.
1419	80	152	do.
1420	80	200	do.
1421	80	296	do.
*1422	72	151	Bagot
1423	105	200	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1424	100	200	do.
1425	100	3005	Chambers
1426	84	1600	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1427		not sold	
1428	83	2000	Anstey, Collier, Stocks & Todd
1429	74	4400	do.

* Deposit forfeited, and purchase not completed

KAPUNDA CO LIGHT



H.J. WALL, GOVERNMENT PHOTOLITHOGRAPHER, ADELAIDE.
1954

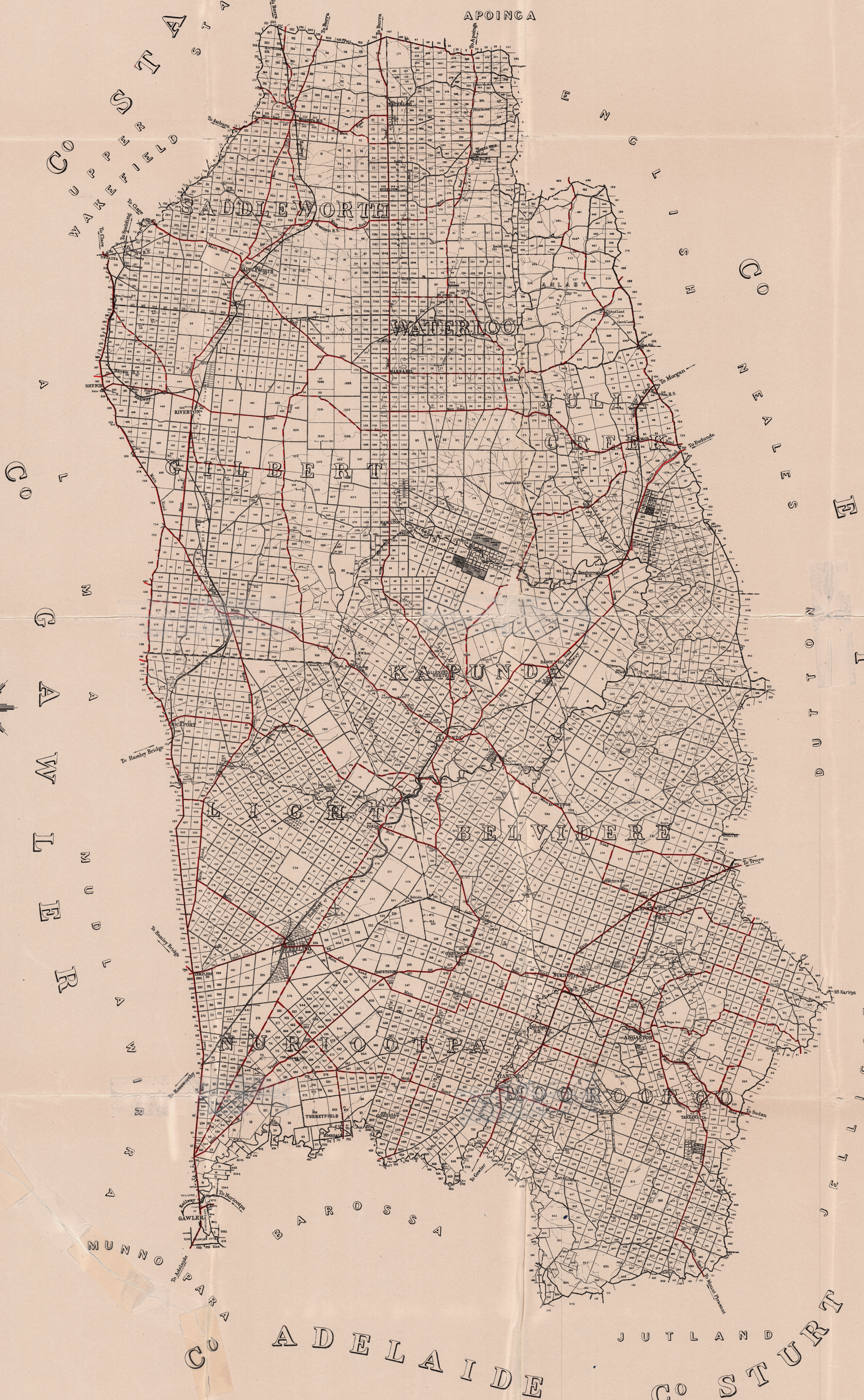
COMPILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE SURVEYOR GENERAL,
DEPARTMENT OF LANDS

C^o LIGHT

ANLEY

C^o BURRA

APOINGA



NOTE.

Main Roads ----- shown thus -----
Principal Secondary Roads " " -----

Chains 60 to 30 0
SCAL
4 Miles

M.E. SHERRAH, GOVERNMENT PHOTOGRAPHER, ADELAIDE.
1950

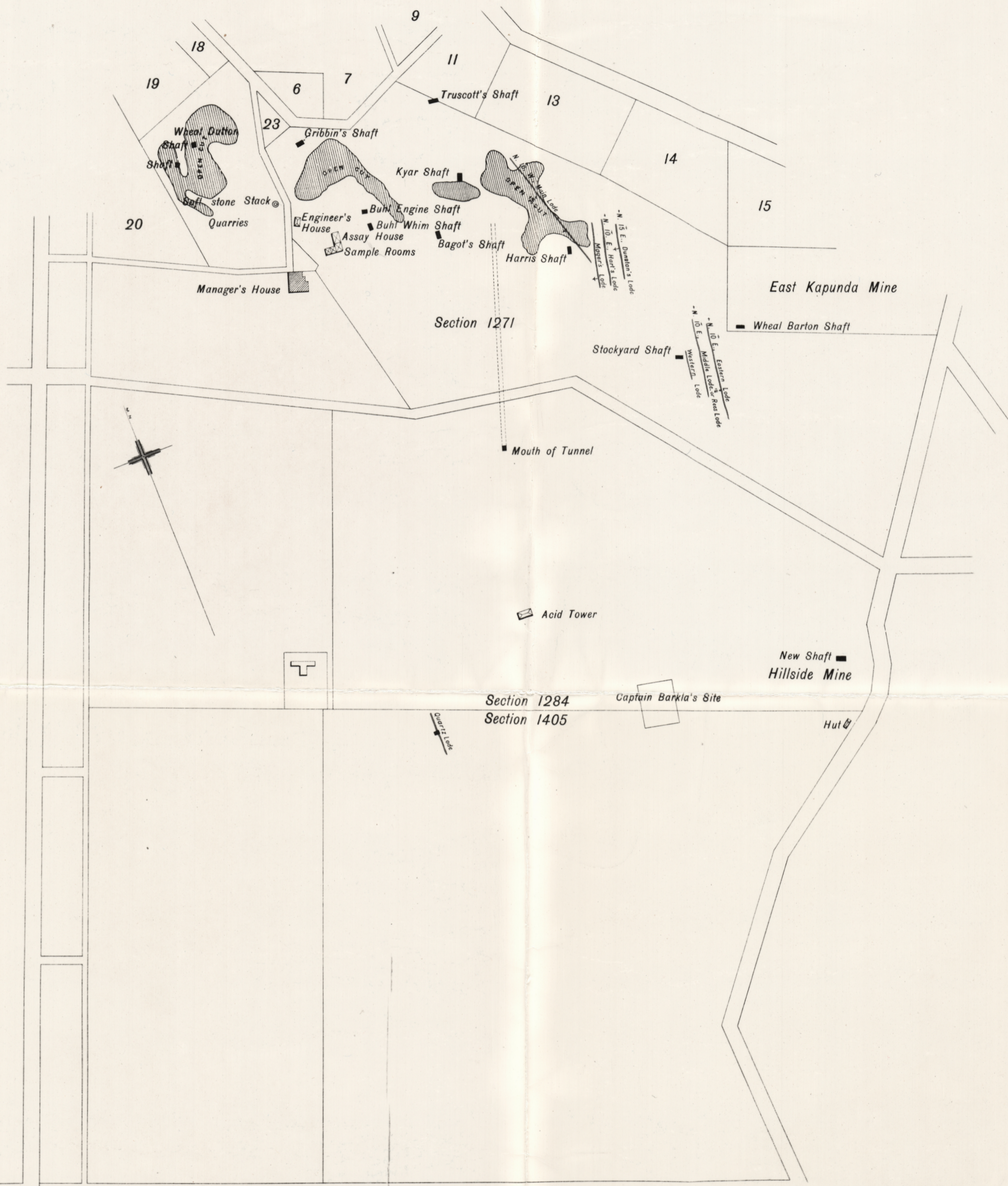
COMPILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE SURVEYOR GENERAL
DEPARTMENT OF LANDS

KAPUNDA MINE.

Plan showing position of Shafts, Open Cuts, and Lode-outcrops.

SCALE—4 CHAINS TO 1 INCH.

NOTE.—Positions of Shafts taken from Plan furnished by the Mine Proprietors.



SCALES

0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 Fathoms

0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16 20 Chains

H. Y. L. Brown,
GOVERNMENT GEOLOGIST.

33.99.

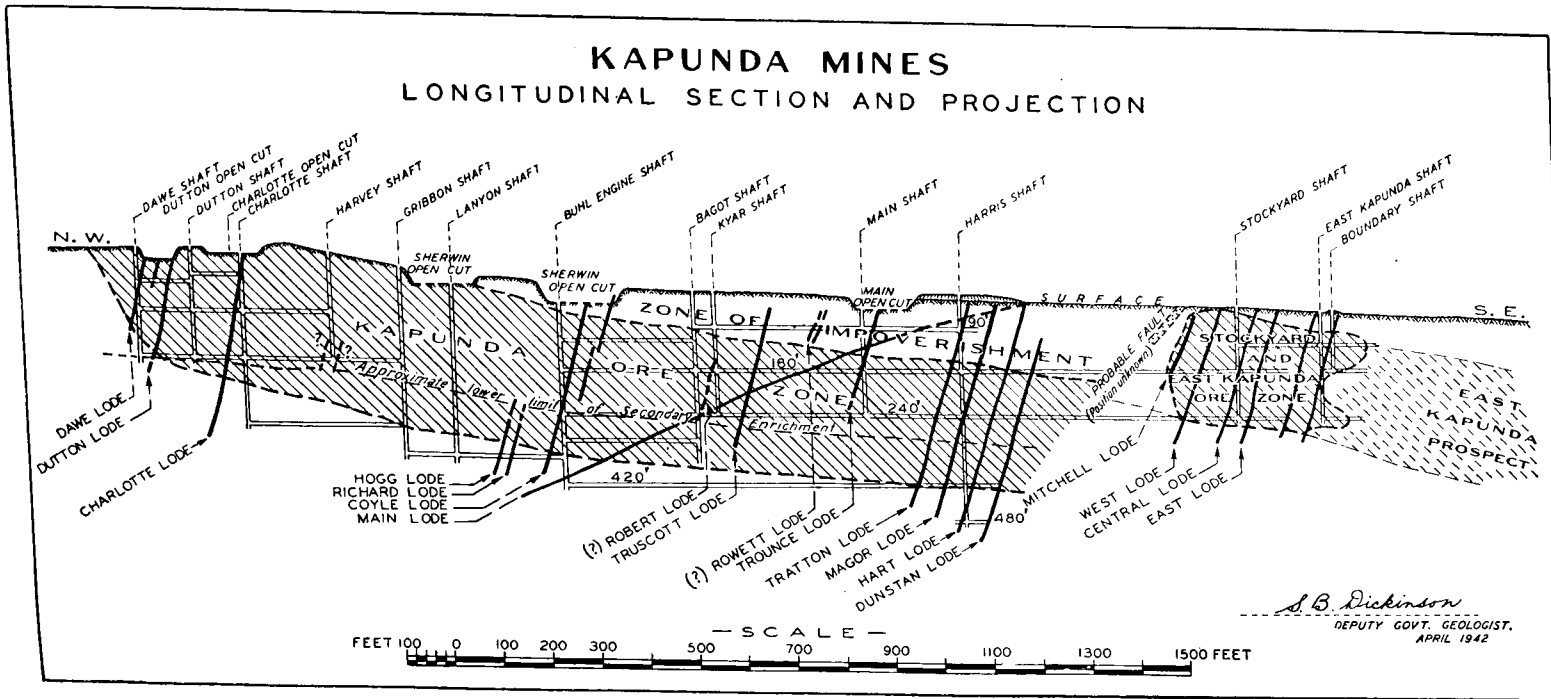


FIG. 2.

FIG. 1

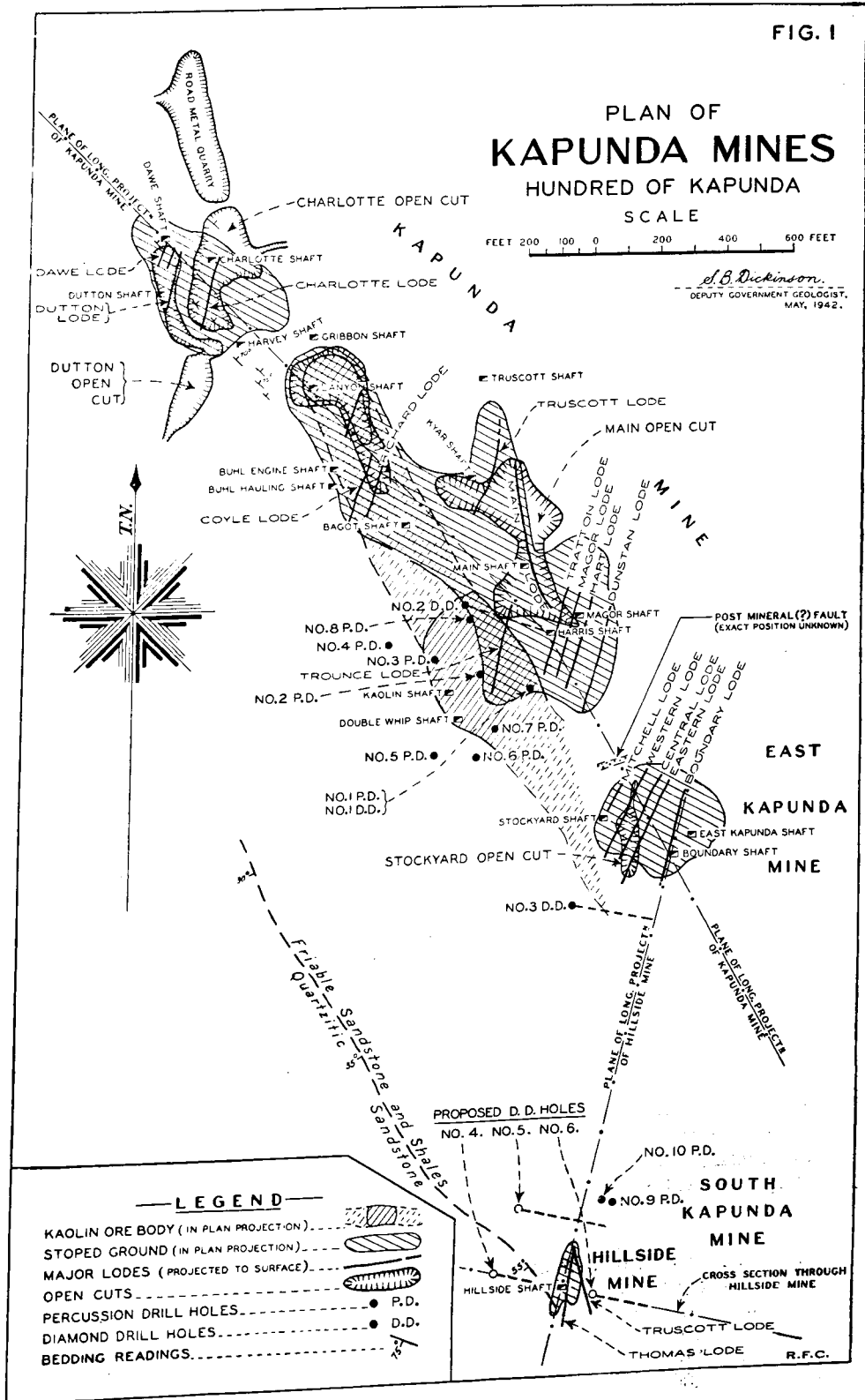


TABLE I.
KAPUNDA MINE.
PRODUCTION STATISTICS.

Year	Assay, per cent			Price				Gross value	Remarks						
	Gross weight	Highest	Lowest	Mean	Copper		Highest			Lowest					
					Tons	cwt.					qr.	lb.	£	s.	d.
<i>Part 1.</i>															
1843-47	3,659	0	0	—	—	23-30	897	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1848	900	0	0	—	—	24-44	221	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1849	1,675	0	0	—	—	26-82	472	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1850	1,760	0	0	—	—	23-34	431	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1851	3,598	0	0	—	—	16-94	640	0	0	0	—	—	—	Worked by discoverers and small local syndicates	
1852	818	0	0	—	—	18-17	156	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1853	435	0	0	—	—	20-70	98	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1854	745	0	0	—	—	25-75	201	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1855	2,640	0	0	—	—	18-72	496	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1856	2,731	0	0	—	—	17-30	496	0	0	0	—	—	—		
1857	4,013	0	0	—	—	14-50	574	0	0	0	—	—	—		
Totals ..	22,974	0	0	—	—	—	4,682	0	0	0	—	—	—		
<i>Part 2.</i>															
1858	3,143	0	0	—	—	19-00	600	0	0	0	—	—	55,641	7	7
1859	3,036	0	0	—	—	22-60	687	0	0	0	—	—	60,939	11	6
1860	3,153	0	0	—	—	22-00	694	0	0	0	—	—	61,815	4	9
1861	3,298	0	0	—	—	17-50	587	0	0	0	—	—	56,470	12	0
1862	2,926	0	0	—	—	16-25	478	0	0	0	—	—	43,895	9	8
1863	3,516	0	0	—	—	17-50	622	0	0	0	—	—	61,781	1	4
1864	3,214	0	0	—	—	18-50	596	0	0	0	—	—	49,279	16	6
1865	2,391	0	0	—	—	20-00	478	0	0	0	—	—	37,971	7	3
Totals ...	24,677	0	0	—	—	—	4,742	0	0	0	—	—	427,794	10	7

APPENDIX IV
 SOURCE: DICKINSON,
 O.R.C.I.T.

TABLE I.—continued.

Year	Gross weight Tons cwt. qr.	Assay, per cent			Copper Tons cwt. qr. lb.	Price £ s. d.		Gross value £ s. d.	Remarks
		Highest	Lowest	Mean		Highest	Lowest		
<i>Part 3.</i>									
1866-69		Ore and precipitate exported to England—Estimated value							
1869	74 0 0	—	—	—	27 8 1 6	0 13 4	0 13 4	63,000 0 0	Price per unit
1870	1,166 6 3	—	—	—	372 3 1 22	0 13 6	0 13 0	1,831 0 0	
1871	1,667 4 2	—	—	—	432 15 3 25	0 14 10½	0 12 6	24,419 14 8	
1872	1,762 0 1	—	—	—	285 19 2 9	1 1 6	0 17 0	29,575 12 7	
1873	1,994 9 2	—	—	—	325 3 3 13	0 18 0	0 15 9	26,246 17 0	
1874	1,630 12 3	—	—	—	280 6 3 25	0 17 3¾	0 14 10½	27,501 17 6	
1875	1,356 19 1	—	—	—	248 4 1 10	0 16 6	0 13 7	22,364 3 1	Worked by private Scottish company leasing mine from Kapunda Mining Company
1876	1,609 0 1	—	—	—	282 20 1 25	0 15 11½	0 13 9	19,302 11 4	
1877	1,380 7 0	—	—	—	302 12 1 11	0 14 11½	0 12 3	21,533 8 11	
1878	405 8 0	—	—	—	108 4 0 19	0 12 11½	0 11 9	20,433 13 3	
1879	102 14 0	—	—	—	14 15 2 18	0 13 3	0 10 9	6,765 8 11	
Totals	13,148 19 1	—	—	—	2,680 10 0 15	—	—	947 11 3	263,921 18 6
<i>Part 4.</i>									
1880	251 15 0	37.0	10.0	—	43 17 2 21	0 14 9	0 11 6	2,842 4 11	Price per unit
1881	102 19 0	33.8	12.5	—	20 14 2 26	0 14 0	0 11 6	1,283 14 1	
1882	148 0 0	37.0	13.5	—	32 12 1 14	0 14 3	0 12 9	2,190 3 3	
1883	76 7 0	58.4	11.3	—	18 5 0 22	0 12 9	0 11 3	1,096 8 8	
1884	107 7 0	58.0	10.0	—	22 8 2 24	0 11 0	0 9 6	1,192 18 7	
1885	8 17 0	37.0	18.5	—	2 6 2 0	0 9 0	0 8 6	104 16 0	
1886	9 2 0	44.3	39.3	—	3 10 3 16	0 8 0	0 7 6	138 14 6	
1887	20 17 0	43.6	17.3	—	5 2 2 27	0 14 0	0 7 9	244 2 6	
1888	75 16 0	42.5	11.4	—	16 6 2 27	0 14 1	0 12 9	1,159 0 5	
1889	54 19 0	46.0	12.5	—	10 20 1 12	0 13 3	0 8 0	635 18 9	Production from shallow shafts by small groups of miners
1890	23 13 0	37.5	16.3	—	4 11 0 17	0 12 6	0 9 6	271 19 6	
Carried forward	879 6 0	—	—	—	180 12 0 10	—	—	11,160 1 2	

TABLE I. continued.

Year	Assay, per cent				Price				Gross value	Remarks
	Gross weight	Highest	Lowest	Mean	Copper	Highest	Lowest	Gross value		
	Tons cwt. qr.				Tons cwt. qr. lb.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
Brought forward . . .	879 6 0	—	—	—	180 12 0 10	—	—	11,160 1 2		
1891	30 16 0	45.0	7.0	—	6 0 1 26	0 10 9	0 9 3	330 16 0		
1892	53 3 0	33.8	15.2	—	13 19 2 14	0 9 3	0 8 9	653 6 0		
1893	88 11 0	35.8	11.2	—	17 14 1 2	0 9 3	0 8 9	811 0 4		
1894	49 2 1	33.5	11.5	—	11 17 1 12	0 8 6	0 8 1	450 4 4		
1895	48 8 0	30.2	10.3	—	10 3 3 13	0 9 6	0 7 9	439 4 10		
1896	35 4 0	27.8	11.8	—	6 16 1 15	0 9 9	0 9 1	330 5 9		
1897	59 11 2	28.0	12.0	—	10 14 2 23	0 10 0	0 9 8	544 8 3		
1898	30 5 3	29.0	11.3	—	3 19 1 20	0 11 0	0 10 2½	269 9 11		
1899	85 0 3	37.0	8.5	—	13 16 3 27	0 15 8	0 14 3	1,054 5 4		
1900	32 4 2	30.0	8.5	—	4 15 2 10	0 15 7½	0 13 9	348 18 0		
1901	29 6 0	24.0	15.0	—	5 1 3 5	66 2 6	38 0 0	328 1 3	Price per ton	
1902	156 13 2	32.0	9.2	—	26 0 3 26	58 17 6	49 3 9	1,366 4 8		
1903	168 9 1	47.3	9.4	—	28 15 3 17	62 15 0	52 3 9	1,626 12 10		
1904	109 6 3	44.8	9.0	—	23 7 1 22	65 10 0	55 10 0	1,386 5 6		
1905	107 5 2	39.4	9.4	—	18 2 0 22	78 17 6	64 7 6	1,300 8 10		
1906	146 3 3	40.9	8.3	—	23 3 2 13	101 0 0	76 0 0	2,085 6 1		
1907	33 10 2	19.8	11.0	—	4 11 2 6	104 12 6	97 2 6	474 11 0		
1908	23 1 3	18.8	11.0	—	3 8 3 7	60 10 0	55 7 6	213 5 10		
1909	53 2 1	29.5	8.2	—	9 15 2 2	57 10 0	56 0 0	623 8 5		
1910	40 5 3	24.0	14.6	—	7 16 3 3	55 16 3	57 3 9	433 12 7		
1911	8 8 0	26.4	17.2	—	1 15 3 7	—	51 17 6	92 17 11		
1912	6 10 2	25.5	18.3	—	1 5 3 11	76 2 6	68 13 0	96 13 8		
Totals . .	2,273 9 1	—	—	—	433 5 0 5	—	—	26,419 8 6		
Grand totals .	66,600 0 0	—	—	—	13,340 0 0 0	—	—	1,080,000 0 0	Estimated	

NOTE—21cwt. to a ton.

TABLE II.
EAST KAPUNDA MINE.
PRODUCTION STATISTICS.

Year	Gross weight	Assay, per cent			Copper	Price		Gross value	Remarks
		Highest	Lowest	Mean		Highest	Lowest		
	Tons cwt. qr.				Tons cwt. qr. lb.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1874	74 12 0	43·5	4·5	—	8 16 2 25	0 17 3	0 15 0	717 8 10	Price per unit
1875	401 10 0	20·9	5·3	—	36 3 0 2	0 16 3	0 15 9	2,898 0 10	
1876	72 9 0	21·5	5·8	—	5 17 2 15	0 15 9	0 13 9	442 17 1	Worked by East Kapunda Mining Company
1877	15 17 0	16·3	6·9	—	1 10 2 7	0 14 0	0 13 6	106 15 0	
Totals ..	564 6 0	—	—	—	52 5 3 21	—	—	4,165 1 9	
1900	5 4 0	23·0	8·5	—	0 14 3 23	—	0 13 11	52 0 3	Price per unit
1901	21 14 2	24·3	13·0	—	2 9 2 16	67 12 6	51 5 0	229 12 0	Price per ton
1902	7 20 3	39·3	19·0	—	1 11 2 19	55 5 0	53 12 6	88 17 8	Worked by tributers and gougers
1903	0 14 3	—	28·5	—	0 3 2 26	—	55 10 0	10 7 2	
1904	6 6 3	23·0	17·4	—	1 4 1 10	64 17 6	56 2 6	73 4 5	
1905	28 14 3	41·2	15·6	—	6 17 3 10	76 5 0	64 7 6	489 4 3	
1906	26 14 3	29·0	8·8	—	3 11 1 14	98 5 0	78 5 0	307 3 6	
1907	12 9 1	17·6	11·2	—	1 13 2 5	59 5 0	55 7 6	101 0 6	
1908	11 18 3	36·0	14·6	—	2 2 0 3	55 15 0	55 7 6	112 2 1	
Totals ..	121 13 1	—	—	—	20 5 0 14	—	—	1,463 11 10	
Grand totals .	685 19 1	—	—	—	72 11 0 7	—	—	5,628 13 7	Incomplete record

NOTE—21cwt. to a ton.

TABLE III.
SOUTH KAPUNDA (HILLSIDE) MINE.
PRODUCTION STATISTICS.

Year	Gross weight	Assay, per cent			Copper	Price		Gross value	Remarks
		Highest	Lowest	Mean		Highest	Lowest		
	Tons cwt. qr.				Tons cwt. qr. lb.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1864	255 12 0	36.5	8.5	—	36 13 1 5	1 0 9	0 16 6	2,204 10 2	Price per unit
1865	156 1 0	33.0	7.0	—	18 15 3 3	0 17 7	0 15 0	894 15 9	Worked by South Kapunda Mining Company
1866	43 7 0	31.3	8.3	—	4 20 1 23	0 17 6½	0 13 0	252 3 0	
1867	18 10 0	35.3	12.5	—	2 19 3 18	0 15 6	0 14 0	152 5 1	
1868	36 14 0	—	—	—	5 18 3 1	—	—	315 2 8	
Totals ..	510 2 0	—	—	—	69 4 0 22	—	—	3,818 16 8	
1884	9 0 0	—	26.3	—	2 4 3 14	—	0 13 9	154 3 5	Price per unit
1888	5 19 0	42.5	29.2	—	2 0 1 12	—	0 13 9	141 19 4	
1889	18 7 0	26.8	12.0	—	3 3 3 8	—	0 10 3	163 9 9	
1892	25 5 0	29.0	19.3	—	5 3 1 25	0 9 0	0 8 9	280 0 7	
1893	10 4 0	28.6	5.8	—	2 8 0 1	0 9 3	0 8 9	121 10 6	
1894	4 8 0	30.2	26.0	—	1 3 3 21	0 8 7½	0 7 9	50 0 1	
1896	4 11 0	22.3	18.5	—	0 19 1 4	0 9 7½	0 9 2	44 19 9	
1899	7 10 3	24.0	11.7	—	1 6 1 20	0 15 8	0 14 8	103 2 5	
1900	9 4 3	30.8	8.5	—	1 18 3 26	0 15 1½	0 14 0	108 14 11	
Totals ..	94 6 2	—	—	—	20 6 0 19	—	—	1,168 0 9	
1906	42 20 3	35.4	8.0	—	5 10 2 9	101 0 0	81 12 6	511 4 8	Price per ton
1907	46 17 0	20.9	6.6	—	4 12 2 26	104 12 6	92 7 6	454 12 4	
1908	5 13 3	—	15.5	—	0 17 0 18	—	60 5 6	51 13 11	
Totals ..	95 9 2	—	—	—	10 19 1 25	—	—	1,017 10 11	
Grand totals ..	699 18 0	—	—	—	100 8 3 0	—	—	6,004 8 4	Incomplete record

NOTE.—Actual production estimated to be more likely in the vicinity of 1,000 tons, valued at £12,000. 2½cwt. to a ton.

PRECIPITATE PRODUCED AT KAPUNDA MINES.

Year	Gross weight Tons cwt. qr.	Assay		Copper Tons cwt. qr. lb.	Price		Gross value	
		Highest	Lowest		Highest	Lowest	£	s. d.
		Percent	Percent		s. d.	s. d.		
1869	36 3 0	61.0	28.1	16 18 1 13	—	13 4	1,127 16 8	
1870	338 14 1	62.8	57.1	178 10 0 10	13 6	13 0	11,751 1 10	
1871	240 0 2	80.0	61.6	144 11 3 19	14 10½	12 6	10,457 2 3	
1872	51 7 1	73.8	34.8	32 16 0 4	18 3	17 6	2,026 10 2	
1873	155 15 0	78.8	48.6	97 1 2 8	17 11	16 6	7,786 5 9	
1874	91 16 1	80.0	24.0	78 5 1 18	17 3½	14 10½	6,472 6 5	
1875	111 1 3	81.3	25.8	82 12 0 0	16 3	15 11½	5,592 9 9	
1876	120 8 1	82.2	35.2	82 6 2 11	15 11½	14 0	6,325 15 9	
1877	176 12 3	84.5	33.6	129 5 1 5	14 11½	12 0	8,619 4 7	
1878	87 0 2	84.2	34.6	63 4 1 9	12 11½	11 9	3,957 2 4	
Totals..	1,408 16 2			905 7 2 13			65,015 15 6	

SOURCE: DICKINSON,
OP. CIT.

Appendix VI: Average copper prices for decade.

1831-40	£91
1841-50	£85
1851-60	£107
1861-70	£84
1871-80	£76
1881-90	£58
1891-1900	£53

Prices are for refined metal, in London.

Source: H. Brown, The Copper Industry of South Australia...p.14.

POPULATION OF KAPUNDA (TOWNSHIP)

N.B.: 1851 is an approximation
from Co. Light figures.

SOURCE: Census statistics,
S.A. Parlt'y Papers.

