THE CORNISH IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA:
THEIR INFLUENCE AND EXPERIENCE
FROM IMMIGRATION TO ASSIMILATION,
1836-1936.

A thesis presented for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

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SUMMARY

Nineteenth-century Cornwall was in many ways a "land apart", but for several reasons experienced widespread emigration, many of the Cornish migrants settling in South Australia after the foundation of the colony in 1836. The majority were miners and thus their influence was evident at every level in the South Australian mining industry. But despite the abundance of copper, gold was lacking in the colony and so the rushes to Victoria and elsewhere after 1851 drew away many Cousin Jacks. Most returned, however, and it was also true that not all Cornish immigrants were involved exclusively in mining, for a large number participated in the expansion of the South Australian agricultural frontier throughout the last century. As a social phenomenon, immigration from Cornwall was especially significant - the effect of "distance" upon both the settlers and those left behind, the nature of Cornish geographic and social mobility, the social conditions created in the South Australian mining towns, and the transplantation and development of Cornish cultural patterns. The evolution of Cornish culture was most especially noticeable in the mining districts, the Cornish influence extending to the establishment of Methodism (especially the Bible Christian denomination) and the growth of Trade Unionism and the political Labor movement. In the 1880s, after the closure of the mines at Kapunda and Burra Burra and at a time of economic stagnation on the Yorke Peninsula copperfields, many Cornish miners crossed the New South Wales border to work the Barrier and Broken Hill silver mines, while a decade later still others made an important contribution to the development of the Western Australian goldfields. In the early twentieth-century the Yorke Peninsula mines experienced a new era of prosperity, but in the
period 1900 to 1936 South Australia's Cornish community was progressively assimilated into the mainstream of the State's life, there being a number of powerful assimilatory agents at work, with the passage of time acting as the catalyst. Not surprisingly, assimilation occurred more easily in the non-mining areas, while northern Yorke Peninsula clung with greater tenacity to its own individual identity.
STATEMENT

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

Philip John Payton.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Especial thanks are due, first of all, to my supervisor, Dr. John Playford, who— as well as being a "walking encyclopedia" of South Australian history— made innumerable valuable comments and suggestions, particularly concerning general approaches when in the early days it became clear that this thesis would be necessarily long and structurally complex. I am also most grateful to those people who showed such interest and gave such encouragement when the study was at an embryonic stage— Geoffrey Blainey, John Rowe, A.L. Rowse, Charles Thomas, A.C. Todd, and Denis Trevanion. Numerous others have helped in many different ways, but those deserving especial mention include Ian Auhl, Geoffrey Bolton, Perc Chynoweth, May Cocks, Mel Davies, Jim Faull, Jean Fielding, John Gough, Jim Harbison, Arnold Hunt, Douglas Lobb, Fernley O. Pascoe, Roslyn Paterson, Geoff Randall, Mrs. L.M. Robson, Mr. and Mrs. Jan Thomas, John Tregenza, Rose Tripp, and Ian Willis. I am also indebted to the following institutions for permission to inspect and make use of material in their possession— Cornwall County Record Office, the Royal Institution of Cornwall, the Cornish Association of South Australia, the Burra Burra, Moonta, Wallaroo, and Kadina Branches of the National Trust of South Australia, the Parkin-Wesley College, the Charles Rasp Library, the Mitchell Library, the National Library of Australia, the University of Melbourne Archives, the La Trobe University Library, and the South Australian Archives. In particular, I should like to thank the staffs of the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide and the South Australian State Library (especially the Archives, Newspaper Reading Room, South Australian Collection, and Reference sections) for their most valuable assistance. To my typist, Kerry Wood, who had to cope not only with my handwriting but also with
unfamiliar Cornish place-names, goes a very special thanks. And finally, I should like to thank my wife, Jane, who as well as ably tackling the mammoth task of analysing the Shipping Passenger Lists, gave much-needed encouragement and created the general conditions in which this study — with its great demands on our time — could be undertaken.
### COMMON ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN THIS THESIS

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MAP OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Map reproduced courtesy of S.A. Govt.
Map reproduced courtesy of S.A. Govt. (Dept. of Lands).
INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken as a contribution to the continuing discussion of the emigration from Cornwall in the nineteenth-century, and of the experience and influence of the Cornish overseas. Specifically, it was undertaken to test the following hypotheses posed by the writer. Firstly, that, for a number of identifiable reasons, the Cornish migrated in considerable numbers to South Australia in the last century with the result that people of Cornish birth or descent came to form a significant proportion of the South Australian population by 1900. Secondly, that, as a direct consequence of this migration, the Cornish, with their distinctive background, influenced the technological, economic, social, cultural, religious, and political development of South Australia, their own experience in the colony reflecting their particular socio-cultural identity. Thirdly, that the South Australian Cornish also played an important role in the development of mining districts in other Australian colonies, and that, despite this movement to other parts of the continent, their identity survived in South Australia well into this century, when cultural change finally assimilated them into the mainstream of Australian life.

"Ethnic Studies" have become increasingly popular in Australia (and elsewhere), but all too often it is assumed that white settlers in the colonial period can be treated collectively as "Anglo-Saxons", whilst most recent studies have been devoted to the more obvious and easily identified ethnic groups such as the Chinese and the Greek. Little has been done, apparently, to investigate the perhaps less "conspicuous" groupings, for example the individual national and regional communities from the United Kingdom. It is not the place of
this study to identify and categorise these different communities, although it is not difficult to point to the basic dichotomy that exists between England and the so-called "Celtic Fringe". As will be argued in this thesis, the Cornish were (and are) an integral part of the "Celtic Fringe", and are an identifiable ethnic group worthy of study in their own right.

Imbued with a deep sense of their own identity, those Cornish who emigrated overseas in the last century - and emigration is a major theme in nineteenth-century Cornish history - perpetuated their individuality in the new lands. The works of A.L. Rowse\(^2\), A.C. Todd\(^3\), and John Rowe\(^4\) attest to this fact, and give an insight into the experience and impact of the Cornish immigrants in North America. The behaviour of these migrants - in all facets of social, economic, and political life - often reflected their background in Cornwall, and thus the "Cornish" label is particularly meaningful in its application to the influence of the Cornish overseas.

Although the Cornish in North America have, as noted above, been the subject of considerable research, very little has been done to investigate the Cornish in Australia, and Professor Charles Thomas of the Institute of Cornish Studies has commented that:

There is a large potential field of research (in Australia)....relating to Cornish immigrants in the nineteenth-century and the survival of various material and social customs well into the twentieth-century.\(^5\)

A.L. Rowse, too, was moved to write in the introduction to his *The Cornish in America* that:

I hope that others may follow, with volumes on the Cornish in Australia, in New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, and then we shall have a fairly complete portrait of the Cornish diaspora.\(^6\)
Indeed, Cornishmen came in considerable numbers to Australia, especially the metaliferous mining localities, and it is common knowledge that they contributed greatly to the exploitation of mining fields across the continent, from Kalgoorlie in Western Australia to Cobar in New South Wales, and from Peak Downs in Queensland to Ballarat in Victoria and Mount Bischoff in Tasmania. As John Reynolds has written,

Cousin Jacks and Cousin Jennies, the Cornish miners and their wives, contributed enormously to the foundations of the Australian industry, and even today their influences are recognised in mining practices and social attitudes in communities serving the industry.  

But all this is very generalised, and surprisingly little reference exists in either the published or unpublished literature to specific contributions made by individual Cornishmen. The situation was expressed succinctly by J. Gough, Head Librarian at the Charles Rasp Library at Broken Hill, when he remarked to the writer that "Everyone knows that the Cousin Jacks were important but nothing much has been written down." Even in South Australia, where the Cornish had their most enduring impact, recognition of their experience and influence is mostly generalised and rarely specific. A.L. Rowse noted that "...their mark is strong upon...Australia (particularly South Australia)..." and South Australian writers have themselves made similar comments. Milton Hand described Moonta, Wallaroo, and Kadina as "...three towns which...provided the State with its unique Cornish Heritage", and Ian Auhl declared that,

What happened in the old mining towns of South Australia, at Kapunda, Burra, Moonta, Wallaroo and Kadina, is unique in Australia; that is, the transplanting of an indigenous Cornish mining architecture and of Cornish villages to the virgin lands of a new country. It was not only the architecture which was preserved, but a way of life...
Nevertheless, despite these confident assertions, the evidence hitherto marshalled to give credence and form to a discussion of the Cornish in South Australia has been remarkably scant. Needless to say, the best and most original contribution to date has been Oswald Pryor's *Australia's Little Cornwall*, dealing with the Moonta district, and more recently volumes by Bill Peach and Judith Brown have devoted a little space to discussions of Cornish miners in South Australia. The most recent contributions, still in the popular tradition, are Emilie Robinson's *Cap'n 'Ancock* and the writer's own *Pictorial History of Australia's Little Cornwall*. D.B. Barton's *Essays in Cornish Mining History, Volume I* contains a particularly fine article entitled "Cornishmen and Australian Copper", and Geoffrey Blainey's excellent review of Australian mining *The Rush That Never Ended* has several relevant chapters. Douglas Pike and John Reynolds have contributed some interesting comments and material, while Rob Charlton's *The History of Kapunda* - together with the various books by Ian Auhl, dealing with the Burra - is also of interest. As far as unpublished material is concerned, K.R. Bowes makes a number of pertinent points in his "The Moonta Mine 1861-75" (a University of Adelaide B.A. Honours thesis). Meryl Kuchel's "Pies and Pasties" - superb as far as it goes - suffers from the usual shortcomings of the inevitably limited Diploma of Advanced Education dissertations, despite its obvious superiority over many other theses of similar scope.

The urgent need, then, for a comprehensive study of the Cornish in South Australia, let alone the rest of Australia, is not difficult to appreciate. The decision to concentrate
on South Australia, rather than to attempt a survey of the whole continent, stemmed from the fact that it was the so-called "Central Colony" where the Cornish had their most significant and enduring impact. It is, of course, true that the Cornish were important elsewhere. New South Wales could boast of a town called Cornish Settlement, while Victoria had its Cornish Town, and Tasmania positively bristled with Cornish place-names - not content with a Launceston and a Falmouth, it sported also a County of Cornwall and even had its own River Tamar. But still, South Australia was the focal point of Cornish activity in the continent, and, moreover, the saga of the Cornish in South Australia encompasses also much of the story of Cornish involvement elsewhere in Australia. For the Victorian Gold Rush was itself a significant event in the history of early South Australia, while Broken Hill and the Barrier Ranges were, geographically and economically, far more closely aligned with Adelaide than with distant Sydney to which they formally "belonged". Cousin Jacks from South Australia turned up in localities as far away as Peak Downs and Gympie in Queensland, and a great many found their way to the Western Australian goldfields in the 1890s. By concentrating on their experience and influence in South Australia, therefore, one still cannot avoid glimpses of the Cornish in other parts of the continent.

Just as four major works have to date been written on the Cornish in North America, so it may be that the Cornish in Australasia deserve similar attention - perhaps this study will be followed by The Cornish in Victoria, The Cornish in New Zealand, and so on. Certainly, the research upon which this study is based has revealed a wealth of material concerning the Cornish in Australia which could not be dealt with
adequately in just one volume. This, then, is not a definitive work, but just one contribution which ought to be followed by others, within the wider context of the on-going investigation of the Cornish overseas.

The fact that South Australia experienced the first metaliferous mining in the whole of the Australian continent accounts in part for the strength of the Cornish heritage in the colony and State. Indeed, it was the existence of an extensive mining tradition in South Australia which in the final analysis made this study worthwhile - if there had been no mineral deposits worthy of exploitation within the colony, then certainly less Cornishmen would have been attracted to it and the Cornish influence itself would have been negligible or at least indistinctive. Within South Australia, it was the mining localities where the Cornish atmosphere was most deeply embedded and the Cornish heritage most keenly felt. This thesis, therefore, reflects the importance of the mining communities. But at the same time, care has been taken to present a comprehensive and balanced picture of the Cornish in South Australia, by assessing also the roles of Cornish migrants who were neither miners nor residents of the mining districts.

In the same way, in the attempt to achieve this comprehensive and balanced view, it has been necessary for the writer to wear a number of different academic "hats" - for example, those of economic historian, political scientist, and even sociologist. J.H. Abraham has written that such an approach is important if social science is "...to be meaningful and culturally relevant..." 24, while others, such as Dowse and Hughes, 25 have welcomed the growth of inter-disciplinary activity. More importantly, A.L.
Rowse has written that,

History...is essentially the record of life of men in societies in their geographical and physical environment. Their social and cultural environment arises from the interaction of the one with the other, the society and its geographical conditions... We have come to conceive of history as the history of society as a whole... To portray a whole society in all its aspects, its geographical environment, its economic foundations, the land system and its industries, the governmental and administrative system, the social structure, the political events, the social, religious and cultural life - it is possible that it can only be done at all fully for a small society and in miniature... Yet the impulse towards this kind of total history - giving an account of a society in all its aspects in unmistakable in contemporary writing.

Thus, according to Rowse, to achieve a comprehensive and balanced view of the development of a society (or community) one must inevitably adopt an inter-disciplinary approach. And his contention that "...it can only be done at all fully for a small society and in miniature..." is of especial significance. Rowse had his own Tudor Cornwall in mind when making these comments, and this study has an affinity with Tudor Cornwall in that it attempts to look in-depth and at length at one relatively small community (the Cornish in South Australia) with the intention of investigating every aspect of its activities, from the first immigration in 1836 to its assimilation a century later. It is interesting that Rowse himself drew comparisons between Tudor Cornwall and his The Cornish in America; while according to Rowse's criteria, the Cornish in South Australia are a prime candidate for the kind of "total history" he advocates. It should be noted, too, that the restriction of the study to just South Australia facilitates this in-depth, "total" approach.

In a study such as this, one is implicitly taking a comparative approach. Firstly, there is a comparison between the
particular group under review (in this case the Cornish), and the rest of society. Although it would be clearly impossible to compare the Cornish with the Irish, Scots, Germans, English and other groups which made up South Australian society, the comparison is effected — or perhaps one should say resolved — by setting the experience and influence of the Cornish against the background of the wider society. For this reason, the historical background of South Australia is related wherever it is relevant to do so, and for the rest there is inevitably the assumption that there is already a knowledge of South Australian history. In the three studies concerning the Cornish in the U.S.A., there was a similar implicit assumption — that a knowledge of the ethnic structure of the U.S.A. and of the historical development of America already existed, so that there would be no difficulty in explaining the Cornish contribution.

The second comparative element concerns the relation between Cornwall and South Australia. The identity of an ethnic group in a "new" country is inevitably derived from its identity at "home", and so any cultural change occurring in the "new" country must be seen in comparative terms. Indeed, to understand the Cornish in South Australia one must know something of the Cornish in Cornwall, and thus care has been taken to discuss the Cornish background wherever this has been found necessary.

This study, then, "The Cornish in South Australia", is an attempt at "total" history, a social scientific investigation in its broadest sense, and tries to present a wide-ranging examination of the Cornish experience and influence in the colony and State. It is inevitably a diverse and lengthy
work, for there is so much to say and, to date, so little of it has been said.
NOTES AND REFERENCES — INTRODUCTION

1. This has certainly been true of the University of Adelaide where one finds, for example, M.P. Rendell, "The Chinese in South Australia and the Northern Territory in the Nineteenth-Century", Department of History M.A. Thesis, 1952; and M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia", Department of History Ph.D thesis, 1971.


5. This comment was made to the writer by Professor Thomas in correspondence dated 5 June, 1975.


23. S.A.A. D6018(T), Meryl A. Kuchel, "Pies and Pasties: A Cornish Community in an Australian Environment", Advanced Diploma of Teaching thesis, Murray Park College of Advanced Education, 1976. Despite the quality of the chapter dealing with social and geographic mobility, this thesis has several important flaws - the major ones being a failure to understand (or relate) the origin and background of Cornish culture, and the failure to appreciate the significance of the tribute and tute work systems of employment (either in Cornwall or in South Australia).


Cornwall and South Australia - in 1836, the year the "Central Colony" was proclaimed, it would have been difficult to imagine two places more distant or dissimilar. One a small, sea-girt peninsular thrust from the main body of Britain into the North Atlantic, remote yet industrialised, and the possessor of an ancient heritage; the other a vast, new territory consisting largely of unexplored and uninviting desert, but with an inhabitable fringe of stringy-bark forest, grasslands, and mallee scrub. Yet the destinies of these two so very different lands became inextricably entwined, involving a movement of population, skills, attitudes, and cultural patterns from the one to the other, so that the mark of Cornwall became firmly stamped upon the life of South Australia. It was an impact which was ever-growing throughout the nineteenth-century, and which endured well into the twentieth.

That the mark of the Cornishmen in South Australia should stand out so clearly - far brighter, for example, than that of the men of Yorkshire or Dorset or Kent, and comparable with the distinctive influence of the Germans - is at first glance, perhaps, a little puzzling. But the Cornish were, as in the case of the Germans, and unlike ordinary Anglo-Saxon migrants, a people with an individual tradition and identity which set them apart and distinguished them from other settlers in the colony. And, moreover, their background in Cornwall endowed them with particular talents and a social outlook which enabled them to adapt to - and thus further develop - the conditions which had become established in South Australia at its foundation and during its formative years.
The latter two-thirds of the nineteenth-century was, for Cornwall, the era of the "Great Migration", when, in a brief sixty years or so, she lost more than a third\(^1\) of her sons and daughters to new-found countries across the seas. Cornishmen, from all walks of economic life - mechanics, engineers, builders, fishermen, shopkeepers, and especially miners and farm-workers - arose and left in those few decades, from the land where their forebears had lived for generations. And to whatever parts of the globe they ventured, these Cornish, whatever their occupations, had a tendency to "stick together" and to welcome each other as kinsfolk; while to the inhabitants of the various lands they visited the Cornish were not just ordinary British migrants but "Cousin Jacks" - members of a distinctive and often clannish race. Their distinguishing features were recognised and familiar in many corners of the world, especially where mining was carried on, from Mexico to New Zealand, and from Butte City to Johannesburg. To many, the Cornish were a mysterious and rather idiosyncratic people, and Robert Louis Stevenson, in his journeys across the United States of America, identified the Cousin Jacks as the most remarkable of all the immigrant groups he encountered. He wrote that on one train he came across,

...a knot of Cornish miners who kept grimly to themselves, one reading the New Testament all day long through steel spectacles, the rest discussing privately the secrets of their old-world mysterious race....I can make nothing of them at all. A division of races, older and more original than that of Babel, keeps this close, esoteric family apart from neighbouring Englishmen. Not even a Red Indian seems more foreign in my eyes. 2

In the Keweenaw copper-mining district of Upper Michigan, the Cornish miners established an American "Little Cornwall", and in Johannesburg there was once a "Cousin Jacks' Corner"
where Cornishmen would meet for companionship or to discuss the news from home. Indeed, the Cornish esprit de corps (if that is not too superficial a term) became especially strong on the gold and diamond fields of South Africa. In the hostile atmosphere of the Boer Republics, the Cornish miners - despised Uitlanders whose presence in the Transvaal was a precipitating factor in the South African War - came together for moral support. As one old miner recalled, evoking the sentiments of the Cornish motto: "T'was one and all on the mines then."³ The tour of Madame Fanny Moody-Manners, the "Cornish Nightingale", to South Africa in 1897 did much to arouse Cornish sentiment there, and thousands of Cousin Jacks clamoured to hear her sing "Trelawney" - the stirring ballad always regarded as a Cornish National Anthem. One Johannesburg newspaper recorded that "...as she sang, these big men of Cornwall wept. They did not applaud, they hid their faces from each other and went quietly away when she had finished."⁴

To some, this would seem an extraordinary level of local patriotism, but to understand the strength of Cornish feeling overseas it is first of all necessary to know something of the Cornish at home. For if an ethnic group in a new country has any identity at all, then this must be principally an identity acquired in the country of origin. But where was home for the Cornishman? Officially, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, though the reality was rather different. For all its political unity, the United Kingdom was still divided, culturally and geographically. Ireland, of course, was always a reluctant member of the Union, but the island of Britain itself was divided by an imaginary line which ran south-west to north-east across the map. To the south and east of this line
lay the greater part of England; the economic and political hub of the U.K., a lowland country of gentle physical features which contrasted strongly with the rugged, highland terrain of the "Celtic Fringe" of the north and west. Wales and Scotland were the major elements of this Fringe, but Cornwall, too, was part of the highland Celtic zone - sharing a common origin with the Welsh and Scots, along with the related Irish, Bretons, and Manx who formed the remaining part of the Celtic world⁵.

Ostensibly, and for administrative purposes, just another English county, Cornwall's status to this day "...defies neat, easy classification".⁶ Cornwall had enjoyed a separate political existence from at least Roman times, and this identity was perpetuated in the tenth-century when Athelstan established the River Tamar as the border between the Cornish and the West Saxons, thus forming what is still today the territorial extent of Cornwall. In Medieval times - when documents referred to "Anglia et Cornubia"⁷ in much the same way that their modern equivalents refer to England and Wales - the constitutional status of Cornwall was enhanced by the creation of a Duchy of Cornwall (an institution linked with the Principality of Wales) and the Stannaries. The latter were based on the Cornish tin-mining districts, in each of which there existed a Stannary Court to administer the law amongst the tinners. There was in addition a Convocation, or Stannary Parliament, thus affording Cornwall a certain measure of theoretical political independence from Westminster. Although the Cornish Parliament last met in the eighteenth-century, the Stannary Courts continued to function until 1897⁸. Cornwall, too, had its own flag, typical of the Medieval cruxiform style which had found favour in much of Europe. In 1838 Davies
Gilbert described it thus: "A white cross on a black background was formerly the banner of St. Perran and the standard of Cornwall..."\(^9\)

Culturally, the Cornish also remained distinct from their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. The Cornish language – a Celtic tongue akin to Breton and Welsh – developed from the old Brythonic speech, and at its zenith would have been spoken all across Cornwall. Saxon overlordship made inroads into the language, as evidenced by place-names in the far north-east, but the major cultural crisis did not occur until the Tudor era, when the Celtic Fringe was subjected to the centralizing and homogenising policies of the Tudor State\(^10\). The two Cornish rebellions of 1497 and the Western Rising of 1549 were reactions against this growing centralism – the former against State Taxation, the latter against State Religion and its exclusive use of the State Language ("...we, the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new service")\(^11\).

Cornish was put into swift decline as a result of the failure to get the Prayer Book and Bible translated into the language, but nevertheless the Cornish people clung with surprising tenacity to their individual identity. As late as 1602, Richard Carew observed that they were "...still fostering a fresh memory of their expulsion long ago by the English."\(^12\) and he noted that the inquisitive visitor from across the Tamar border would often be rebuffed with the Cornish phrase "Meea navidna cowzasawsneck" – I will speak no English.\(^13\) John Norden, a contemporary of Carew, wrote that the Cornish "...concealed envy against the English, whom they yet affect
with a desire for revenge..."14. And the modern historian, F.E. Halliday, has stressed that the extreme hostility shown by the Cornish to the Roundheads in Cornwall during the Civil War derived from what can only be termed anti-English sentiment15; while Mary Coate has argued that Cornish behaviour in the Civil War was moulded largely by "...a local patriotism rooted in racial differences and fed by geographical isolation..."1 which created "...the passionate attachment of the Cornish people to their own county and their own race..." and served to "...knit together in common unity men of differing political and religious opinions."17

---II---

Historically, then, it is not difficult to see that the Cornish were the inheritors of an ancient Celtic tradition, and that Cornwall retained many of the attributes of nationhood, despite centuries of English rule. Even in the nineteenth-century (the era with which this thesis is concerned principally) the Cornish were still in so many ways an un-English people. Although the cultural decline set in motion by the Tudor Reformation was still running its course, and the great "Cornish Revival" had yet to occur, the Cornish "folk-memory" of nationality still existed. Of the fact that they were a race apart, the Cornish themselves had no doubt, and observers on both sides of the Tamar were always careful to depict Cornwall as a land of "difference". Foremost amongst these observers was Wilkie Collins, the English novelist of Moonstone fame, who visited Cornwall in the middle of the last century, and wrote that this was,

...a country where, it must be remembered, a stranger is doubly a stranger, in relation to provincial
sympathies; where the national feeling is almost entirely merged in the local feeling; where a man speaks of himself as Cornish in much the same way that a Welshman speaks of himself as Welsh.

In 1859, when the Royal Albert Bridge across the Tamar at Saltash was opened, a contemporary writer noted that "...it spanned the silver streak which separated the Briton from the Englishman"\(^{19}\), and an issue of the \textit{Chambers Journal} in 1861 described Cornwall as "...one of the most un-English of English counties"\(^{20}\). In 1871 Robert Hunt, a recorder of much of Cornwall's folklore in his \textit{Popular Romances of the West}, noted that "England, with many persons, appeared to terminate on the shores of the river Tamar"\(^{21}\), and he wrote of the moors of West Cornwall:

Nothing but what the Briton planted remains, and if tales tell true, it is probable long years must pass before the Englishman can banish the Celtic powers who here hold sovereign sway. \(^{22}\)

This may be dismissed as the over-Romantic exuberance of a rather eccentric antiquarian, but even L.L. Price, a level-headed economist not given to exaggeration, was in 1891 moved to recall that Cornwall had once been described as "...a foreign country on that side of England next to Spain"\(^{23}\). And George Henwood, a frequent contributor to the \textit{Mining Journal} in the 1850's, and an astute observer of the Cornish miners and their habits, wrote that Cornishmen were "...particularly proud of their parentage, to a degree almost rivalling that of the Welsh, and refer to King Arthur and Trelawney as demigods and patterns of virtue and patriotism"\(^{24}\). That this pride was to be found amongst even the commonest of the Cornish is illustrated clearly in A.K. Hamilton Jenkin's delightful and apparently accurate account of an incident in a dame-school
in nineteenth-century Cornwall, when a pupil, asked to describe
Cornwall's geographic and political status, declared that "... he's kidged to a furren country from the top hand". This
answer was "... heard by the whole school with much approval,
including old Peggy (the school-dame) herself." The "furren
country" to which Cornwall was "kidged" (joined) was, of course,
England. And it is significant that the scholar considered his
response to be an accurate and reasonable one, worthy of artic-
ulation in front of his class-mates (who would be ever ready to
laugh at an error) and which would meet with the approval of
his teacher. Indeed, the Cornish had no hesitation in labelling
as "foreigners" people coming down from "up-country", while
nineteenth-century travellers themselves used the saying "... into Cornwall, out of England."27

For the better educated or middle-class Cornishman,
Cornwall's sense of difference was both obvious and important.
Cornish authors, such as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, spoke
lovingly (and euphemistically) of "The Duchy" when trying to
communicate the Celtic atmosphere of Cornwall - to employ the
term "county" would have communicated nothing, and to use
"nation" would have been too radical (it was not until 1904
that a Cornish scholar could write a paper entitled "Cornwall:
A Celtic Nation"28). William Bottrell, a contemporary writer
on Cornish themes, liked to boast of his Cornish birth by
styling himself "... an old Celt..."29, and Sabine Baring-Gould,
the folk-historian, impressed upon his readers that "Cornwall,
peopled mainly by Celts ... stands and has always stood apart
from the rest of England"30. And perhaps the most explicit
statement of Cornish sentiment, coming at the end of this era,
was Henry Jenner's bold assertion that,
...every Cornishman knows well enough, proud as he may
be of belonging to the British Empire, that he is no
more an Englishman than a Caithness man is, that he has
as much right to a separate local patriotism to his little
Motherland...as has a Scotsman, an Irishman, a Welshman,
or even a Colonial; and that he is as much a Celt and as
little of an Anglo-Saxon as any Gael, Manxman or Breton. 31

For writers such as Jenner, Cornish nationality was based
as much on language as any other facet of Cornwall's heritage,
and, although it had long ceased to be a medium of communi-
cation, the Cornish language was alive all over Cornwall in
the nineteenth-century in the form of place-names and surnames.
More particularly, odd remnants of the spoken language survived -
not only as Celtic words in the Cornish dialect of English, but
in a handful of individuals who still possessed a natural know-
ledge of Cornish. Amongst those who appear to have known much
of the language were Betsy Matthews, who died in the parish of
Paul in 1887, and John Davey of Boswednack, Zennor, who died in
1891.32 The Cornish people were themselves sometimes physically
different from the English, and it was commonplace for nineteenth
century Romantics to attribute the dark features of many of the
Cornish to an alleged Spanish intermingling following the wreck
of the Armada. But the better-educated Cornishmen knew that no
ships of the Armada had come to grief on Cornish shores, and
that in fact their looks were the legacy of a much earlier
Celtic and pre-Celtic settlement, which as Canon Hammond noted
in 1897,33 accounted for the similarity of Cornish and Welsh
characteristics.

In the nineteenth-century, despite improving communications
with other parts (the railway arrived in 1859), a great many
Cornish customs and traditions persisted. There were still
droll-tellers, as there were in Ireland, who wandered the
countryside retelling the old stories; and a vast number of 
legends and superstitions remained in current use long enough 
to be recorded by antiquarians such as Bottrell and Hunt. 
Holy wells, like those at Madron and Menacuddle, were still 
believed genuinely to possess special healing powers, and a 
belief in the faery-folk - even if over-stressed by Romantic 
writers - survived among many of the common people in Cornwall. 
Celtic Wrestling also survived, as it did in Brittany, and was 
very popular, especially in mid-Cornwall. At Helston the 
ancient Furry Dance, with its Hal-an-Tow ceremony, was still 
performed in May of every year, while at Padstow in North Corn-
wall the Hobby Horse celebration continued to flourish. Like-
wise, at St. Columb Major, hurling matches could still engender 
local enthusiasm, while elsewhere in Cornwall "...the trad-
titional inter-parish hurling games also seemed to have struggled 
on during the early part of the nineteenth-century". Indeed, 
in 1837 William Peter of Harlyn could write that in St. Merryn 
"The festival of Constantine is still celebrated by an annual 
hurling match..." , while "Annual Hurling" survived at Tregony 
until at least 1873. Another ancient custom which retained 
its popularity for many years was the lighting of Midsummer 
Bonfires on June 24th, and Cornish miners kept their own par-
ticular festivals such as St. Piran's Day and Chewidden.

Even the countryside reflected Cornish individuality. 
Unlike the greater part of England, Cornwall did not experience 
the open-field, strip-system of agriculture to any great degree, 
and in consequence much of the cultivated land remained enclosed 
from early times, reflecting the Celtic field-system. Thus 
typical of Cornwall were the small fields and winding lanes, 
bordered with the massive Cornish hedges - great ramparts of
earth and stone, and covered with furze, fern, and other foliage. The actual pattern of settlement was also Celtic rather than English, the Cornish preferring to live in scattered hamlets instead of in larger villages and towns.

Thus Cornwall in the nineteenth-century was still very much a land apart, un-English in her cultural attributes, a Celtic realm like Wales or Brittany. And Cornwall's physical isolation from the rest of Britain, her extreme distance from the metropolis (only partially lessened by the coming of the railway), served but to increase this feeling of separation and difference. It is not surprising, then, that the Cornish when they ventured abroad were regarded as a separate people; nor that the mark of their identity should have remained upon those lands in which they settled.

---III---

However, in spite of this all-pervading sense of difference, Cornwall was by no means the sleepy, rural backwater many people imagine her to have been. Steam power was first put to viable technological use in Cornwall's mining industry, and, as such, Cornwall (particularly West Cornwall) can fairly lay claim to being the birthplace and cradle of the Industrial Revolution. Although it was "foreigners" - men like Newcomen, Boulton, and Watt - who first brought steam to Cornwall, it was Cornishmen who perfected its use and developed the renowned Cornish beam-engine; and Cornwall itself gave the world great men of science and technology such as Richard Trevithick (the inventor of the railway locomotive) and Sir Humphry Davy (of miners' lamp fame). Engineering establishments, like the Perran Foundry and Harvey
& Co. of Hayle, produced plant for mining districts across the world (including South Australia), and they had a ready market at home in Cornwall's own vast mining industry.

Tin had been mined in Cornwall from ancient times, but, contrary to popular belief, it was copper and not tin which dominated the Cornish industry for much of the nineteenth-century. Indeed, tin was only mined on a large scale in the closing decades of the century, following the dramatic collapse of copper mining in the 1860s. Few Cornish parishes - except perhaps in the far north-east - can have escaped the attentions of those searching for minerals, although the names of certain districts are writ particularly large in the annals of Cornish mining - St. Just-in-Penwith, Camborne, Redruth, Wendron, St. Agnes, Gwennap, St. Austell, Caradon, Callington, Gunnislake, to name some of the major ones. These mining localities were associated for the most part with the granite bosses and their metamorphic aureoles which formed the geological "backbone" of Cornwall and accounted for the predominating moorland character of the interior: the Penwith Peninsula and Carnmenellis in the west, St. Austell Moor in mid-Cornwall, and Bodmin Moor - that great wilderness which spread for miles on either side of the high road from Bodmin to Launceston.

In so many ways, mining dominated the environment and moulded the conditions of much of nineteenth-century Cornwall. Physically, the evidence of mining was all around - particularly the massive Cornish engine-houses which dotted the countryside, clearly defining the mining districts with their towering walls and lofty stacks. Often their grandeur was accentuated by
their location - on the crest of a windswept hill or perched on the edge of a cliff with the sea pounding a hundred feet below. But just as the architecture of Cornish mining was heroic, so the economic fortunes of the industry were volatile - as the century wore on, at least. Copper production had steadily increased up until the 1850's but then, for reasons to be discussed in chapter 2, Cornwall's pre-eminence in the copper trade was quickly eroded, culminating in the great crash of 1866. A complete collapse of the mining industry itself was averted as a number of Cornish mines were able to turn their attention from copper to tin, tin lodes fortuitously being struck at depths in the copper workings. In the early 1870s there was a veritable tin mining boom which seemed to auger well for the future of the industry, but it was followed quickly by a disastrous collapse. The West Briton newspaper lamented that "The year 1873 will be as memorable for the depression in Cornish mining as its predecessor was for its exciting prosperity"40, and this disconcerting experience was to be endured again on several further occasions as the fortunes of tin waxed and waned.

Farming in Cornwall was in a similar, rather paradoxical, position - on the one hand it was, like mining, a staple Cornish industry, but on the other it too suffered from periodic depressions (as in the 1840s and the 1870s), and was carried on in conditions that were not always conducive to good husbandry 41. Certainly, some areas of Cornwall - such as the Roseland peninsula - were well-suited to farming, and the temperate climate of West Cornwall favoured the development of a horticultural industry. But notwithstanding this, much of Cornwall was moor and marginal land, and farmers had to try to improve their
poor, acidic soil by the addition of limey sand, and even seaweed, laboriously carted from beaches such as those at Gunwalloe, Perranporth, and the Camel estuary. In 1831, J. Britton and E.W. Brayley asserted that one-quarter of the total acreage of Cornwall was "...unenclosed and waste lands." But they also noted that, in the mining districts, miners often participated in the clearing and cultivation of marginal land by renting small-holdings; and this modest experience in both "pioneering" and farming must have proved invaluable to miners who later made their ways to the frontiers of America or Australia and turned their hands to farming. The miner-turned-farmer was certainly a familiar figure in South Australia, and his ability to win a living from the virgin land, in often difficult conditions, no doubt derived in part from the situation in Cornwall, described by Britton and Brayley, where,

Some of the landowners have...very judiciously leased out the better parts (of waste land) in lots of about three acres to labouring miners for ninety-nine years, determinable on three lives, on condition that each occupant builds a cottage and cultivates the soil. For this plot the tenant is required to pay an annual rent of ten shillings. This practice has tended to improve the appearance and condition of the county, whilst the industrious miner is materially benefited in health, in moral habits, and in property, and the landed proprietor enhances his rent-roll.

Fishing, the third Cornish staple industry, was not subject to quite the same periods of depression that afflicted mining and farming, and its experience in the nineteenth-century was rather one of gradual decline. The arrival of the railway in Cornwall in 1859 increased demand for Cornish sea-foods in London and "up-country" (and indeed some of the industry's most profitable years were in the early 1870s), but this served only to disguise the underlying decline and did nothing to prevent the increasing incursion into Cornish waters of the better-
equipped East Coast fishing vessels. At the beginning of the century, almost every cove and harbour in Cornwall had its own "seine" (or fishing company), such as the "Trusty" seine of St. Mawes or the "Dolphin" of Mevagissey, but by the 1890s many of these were defunct and the fishermen unemployed. This depression, like those of agriculture and mining, had also an adverse effect on the general Cornish economy, for ancillary industries and artisans suffered from a falling demand for their goods and services.

Social conditions, not surprisingly, reflected economic conditions; and nineteenth-century Cornwall was no idyllic haven of delight - despite the impressions conveyed by Romantic artists who painted Cornwall as though she were Constable country. Harsh social conditions and a bleak environment combined with the foreign countenance of her people to earn Cornwall the unflattering title of "West Barbary". The working life of the miner was dangerous and unenviable. Men and boys toiled in what were then the deepest mines in the British Isles, and at the end of each shift (or "core") they climbed to surface up endless fathoms of slippery ladder. John Harris, Cornwall's little-known poet, himself a miner, drew a frightening picture of conditions in the depths of Dolcoath mine:

The heat, the cold, the sulphur and the slime,
The grinding masses of the loosened rock,
The scaling ladders, the incessant grime,
From dark timbers and dripping block,
The lassitude, the mallet's frequent knock,
The pain of thirst when water was so near,
The aching joints, the blasted hole's rude shock...

But it was not only the miners who knew hardship, for poverty was widespread in Cornwall. Again, John Harris has preserved in verse his poignant impressions of life and suffering among the common folk:
The grey-headed man, clad in rags as he goes,
And the water-cress girl, with the frost in her toes,
I saw them today creeping down the dark lane,
And they trembled with cold, and were weeping with pain.  

The grind of daily life was alleviated now and again by events such as fairs and feast days, but it was the teachings of John Wesley which gave the greatest hope and joy to the Cornish people. Although Methodism was not always constructive (it discouraged the "superstition" inherent in the old legends, and frowned upon the "frivolity" of ancient customs), Wesley's work eradicated the worst excesses of drunkenness and violence in Cornwall, and gave its population a new-found purpose in life.

As in other mining and industrial areas, Methodism - with its emphasis on self-help and individual improvement, and its preoccupation with "the next world" - met a vital social need. But more than this, it provided an emotional outlet for a people who had not experienced religious fervour since before the time of the Reformation. Despite the failure of the "Western Rising", the Cornish remained only marginally committed to the Anglican form of worship; and in the centuries that followed the Reformation many slipped into irreligion (such as the "wreckers" who plundered vessels which foundered on the Cornish shores), while the holders of some Cornish stipends became notorious for their inattention to the wants of their parishioners. Thus when the Wesleys came to Cornwall they found fertile ground in which to plant their ideas. In the words of John Pearce, "The Wesleys and their itinerants restored heart religion to Cornwall ... The Cornish were moved as they had not been moved for centuries."
Indeed, Methodism developed in the nineteenth-century as a principal strand of the Cornish identity, the austere wayside chapels becoming familiar additions to the landscape all over Cornwall, and the Methodist ethos permeating every Cornish institution and activity. Grass-roots political participation emerged later in Cornwall than in other areas, but when it did evolve it bore all the marks of the dissenting influence and was manifested in popular support for the Liberal Party. As the writer has noted elsewhere, "Thus not only did Methodism fill a vacuum in Cornish religious life, but also it provided a strong impetus in Cornish political life." Nevertheless, despite this tendency towards political radicalism, for the Cornishman facing hard-times emigration was often a more practical alternative to industrial or political conflict. For the Cornish farmer, his enemies were usually high taxation and poor economic conditions - enemies against which it was difficult to combine. And for the copper miner, his industry was faced with long-term structural decline, whilst the economic organisation of mining itself was not conducive to collective action (see chapter 7). There were certainly significant class divisions within Cornwall - landowner and tenant farmer, adventurer and mine labourer - but actual class conflict was rare.

Thus emigration became a central theme in nineteenth-century Cornish history. Just as the first three decades of the century had seen a dramatic rise in the population of various mining parishes (e.g. from 4,594 to 10,794 in Gwennap, and from 2,779 to 9,290 in St. Just-in-Penwith52), so the remaining decades bore witness to severe depopulation all over Cornwall, from the Tamar to Lands End. The parishes of Breage and Germoe lost 27 per cent of their inhabitants in the ten
years between 1841 and 1851, whilst Perranzabuloe lost 22 per cent of its population in the period 1871 to 1881, and St. Cleer lost 25 per cent over the same years and a further 22 per cent from 1891 to 1901.53 One commentator wrote that between 1871 and 1881 a third of Cornwall's mining population had emigrated, and the Registrar-General, in his report on the Census of 1881, declared that although the population of Cornwall had decreased by nearly 9 per cent in the preceding decade, it was probable the miners had diminished by 24 per cent.54

The mining districts of North America and the developing colonies of Australia (particularly South Australia) were the principal destinations of the Cornish migrants, with South Africa gaining in importance towards the end of the century, and with many other areas of the New World and the British Empire taking their quotas of Cousin Jacks. For the Cornishman, this wholesale migration evoked mixed feelings. On the one hand, those who found hope and prosperity in the new lands looked back with a certain feeling of bitterness to the social system and the deprivation they had left behind. But at the same time there remained the fundamental loyalty to Cornwall itself (as distinct from the injustice and inequalities that existed therein), and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch articulated with telling precision the nostalgic sentiments that were stirred in the hearts of each and every Cornishman who had witnessed the effects, and endured the traumatic experience, of "The Great Migration":

... I see Cornwall impoverished by the evil days on which mining and (to a lesser degree) agriculture has fallen. I see her population diminishing and her able-bodied sons forced to emigrate by the thousand. The ruined engine-house, the roofless
cottage, the cold hearth-stone are not cheerful sights to one who would fain see a race so passionately attached to home as ours is still drawing vigour from its soil. 55

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Those Cornishmen coming to South Australia would feel, no less than Cousin Jacks abroad elsewhere, the pangs of "homesickness" and nostalgia. But South Australia shared at least one thing in common with Cornwall in that it, from the earliest days of colonisation, acquired a unique identity which set it apart from other settlements in the Australian continent and gave its history, too, a sense of "difference". 56 The colony was created relatively late in the history of Australia, two centuries after the "discovery" of the continent by Dutch seamen and nearly fifty years after the arrival of the first white settlers in New South Wales in 1788. Convict depots had been established in Van Diemen's Land (later Tasmania) in 1803 and 1804, and later other convicts were settled at Moreton Bay in the north of New South Wales in what was to become the colony of Queensland. Although the colony of Victoria was not proclaimed until 1850, it had been settled well before that date as part of New South Wales. And even Swan River colony (later Western Australia) predated South Australia's foundation by seven years, having been created in 1829. 57

Exploration went hand-in-hand with colonisation, and, although South Australia was not settled until 1836, it was not entirely an unknown land before that date. Dutch sailors
had sailed along the southern coast of Australia as early as 1627 (and they were little impressed by it), while the Frenchmen d'Entrecasteaux and Baudin and the Englishman James Grant had also visited South Australian shores. But two names stand out in the history of the early exploration of South Australia, those of Matthew Flinders and Charles Sturt. Flinders was an officer in the Royal Navy and had served with Captain William Bligh, the controversial Cornishman who later became Governor of New South Wales. In 1801 Flinders was commissioned by the Admiralty to make a survey of the Australian coast-line, and he reached the southern coast of Australia in his ship the "Investigator" in January of 1802. He discovered Kangaroo Island, and was responsible for naming many of South Australia's coastal physical features - Spencer's Gulf, St. Vincent's Gulf, Cape Catastrophe, Port Lincoln, Mount Lofty, and a number of others. In doing so, he carefully plotted, for the first time, the coast of South Australia, (although it is perhaps surprising that he failed to observe the mouth of the River Murray).

Flinders' great contribution to the future settlement of South Australia was that he was the first to make detailed information of any kind available about the south-central coast of the continent. Similarly, Charles Sturt's exploration was an impetus to colonization in that he too was able to give first-hand and accurate accounts of the new districts he encountered. Sturt's principal interest was in the course of the great inland rivers of Australia, and in 1829 he set out on the Murrumbidgee, moving east to west, in New South Wales. He moved far enough along the Murrumbidgee to discover its confluence with the Murray, and he followed the course of this
new river as it turned southwards into what would later be South Australian territory. Sturt travelled on to the mouth of the Murray at Lake Alexandrina, and he was impressed by the ever-improving nature of the countryside and its resources. Sturt published the accounts of his expeditions in a two volume work in 1833, and his report on South Australia was highly favourable and gave encouragement to those seeking to establish a new colony in Australia. He wrote:

...it would appear that a spot has, at length, been found upon the south coast of New Holland, to which the colonist might venture with every prospect of success, and in whose valleys the exile might hope to build for himself and his family a peaceful and prosperous home. All who have ever landed upon the eastern shore of St. Vincent's Gulf, agree as to the richness of its soil, and the abundance of its pasture. 58

There was certainly at least one group of men in the U.K. anxious to find just such a "spot" in which to begin a new settlement. These men were Liberals - dissenters and others who wished to escape what they saw as a lack of civil and religious liberty in Britain, and utilitarians who had witnessed the failings and shortcomings of the other Australian colonies and desired to try a new scheme of "systematic colonization". In the early decades of the nineteenth-century, Christian religions in the U.K. were only just becoming equal in and before the law. The Test and Corporation Acts, which had inhibited the taking of office by dissenters, were repealed in 1828, and Catholic Emancipation was secured in 1829. Nevertheless, in terms of social status, great inequalities remained, and the Church of England was still the Established State Church (along with the Churches of Ireland and Scotland). Moreover, certain disabilities were not yet eradicated. For example, dissenters were not permitted to marry in their own chapels, and their burial rites had to be conducted according
to the English Book of Common Prayer.

In the same way, many felt that civil liberties in the U.K. were also only theoretical. They were, many argued, dependent upon birth, rank, and property; as indeed were opportunities for advancement in social and economic fields. Many, too, remembered the repression that had existed during and after the Napoleonic Wars. Even in the 1830s, on the eve of the foundation of South Australia, many could recall those dark days after 1815 which had witnessed Peterloo, the Derbyshire Insurrection, the Cato Street Conspiracy, and other manifestations of discontent and repression. Indeed, the disenchantment of the Post-Napoleonic era led to growing opposition to the existing order. Many began to argue that individuals should not hold social station, economic wealth, or political power by virtue of birth alone, and others opposed the patronage, nepotism, and sinecures that existed within Government departments. Liberal attention was also turned to the question of Parliamentary Reform, but for some the "Great Reform Act" of 1832 was a concession rather than a victory, while for others the Whigs - along with the whole atmosphere of the "Reforming Thirties" - were far too cautious. Electoral malpractice, of course, survived the attack of 1832. It was many years before the political influence of local landowners was diminished, and the secret ballot was not achieved until 1872. Chartism was indicative of the continuing discontent, as was the agitation surrounding the Anti-Corn Law League. But a number lost faith in the possibility of further reform at home and decided instead to try to reform society overseas, to reflect their ideals. Thus, as Douglas Pike has written, "South Australia was settled in 1836 by men whose professed
ideals were civil liberty, social opportunity, and equality for all religions."  60

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This, more than anything, accounted for the colony's developing sense of "difference", but it was also symptomatic of a changing attitude to colonisation in the U.K. It should be remembered that in the early decades of the nineteenth-century there were few notions of imperialistic expansion, and Empire "jingoism" did not emerge as a significant force until after the passing of the era of Mid-Victorian prosperity when the threat to Britain's pre-eminent position from other powers became apparent. Instead, early colonization was justified on the grounds of developing trade (or for strategic reasons to protect existing trade), and the actual movement of emigrants from the "mother country" to the colonies was advocated on the Malthusian principle of removing surplus population. The transportation of convicts to New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land may have been one application of this principle 61, as was certainly the "pauper emigration" to upper Canada. Transportation and pauper emigration, however, came in for strong criticism from utilitarian liberals whose general objection to the practices was articulated in a leading article in The Times, which declared

We have no right to cast out among other nations, or on naked shores, either our crime or our poverty. This is not the way in which a great and wealthy people, a mother of nations, ought to colonize. 62

Foremost amongst the utilitarians of this persuasion was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Carter and Mears have written that "It was largely due to Gibbon Wakefield that a new effort was made in the colonization of Australia", 63 and other
historians have argued that it is Wakefield above all others who ought to be honoured as founder of South Australia. Certainly, he was a colonization theorist of considerable importance. Instead of convicts and paupers, Wakefield wanted to see the new colonies peopled with enterprising businessmen, good yeoman farmers, and honest labourers anxious to improve their lot. His ideas appeared in a series of articles and other publications between 1830 and 1833, and in 1830 he and Robert Gouger had founded their "National Colonisation Society". Wakefield, at that time, was not thinking specifically of South Australia, but was addressing his schemes to British territories in general. The Society and its ideas created considerable interest, and eminent liberal thinkers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill became associated with its activities. Indeed, Bentham was to write in support of Wakefield's plans for future colonisation in Australia, although it must be admitted that his views do seem still a trifle Malthusian and not quite those of Wakefield. He wrote that renewed colonisation in Australia on a systematic principle, would relieve

...a great part of the remaining portion of the Mother Country from the pressure of a continually increasing state of indigence from which they cannot at present be relieved but by a continually increasing tax imposed upon the people of all degrees above the lowest in the scale of opulence. 65

It would also afford,

...a security against all future increase of the existing pressure - a security which will not terminate till the Australian Continent contains a population as dense as the European. 66

Wakefield, as a utilitarian, believed in "the greatest happiness for the greatest number". He felt that this end
would be achieved, not through the redistribution of existing wealth, but rather by harnessing hitherto latent resources of land, labour and capital to create new wealth. And this was precisely what Wakefield's scheme of "systematic colonisation" was designed to achieve. Briefly, the broad structure of the plan was this: Land in the colony (or colonies) was to be sold at a fixed minimum price or above, and land sales were to be strictly regulated to prevent disorganisation similar to that which had occurred in New South Wales and Swan River Colony. Proceeds from the land sales would then be used primarily to assist the passage of bona fide immigrants. These colonists would be carefully selected to ensure they were respectable, of good character, energetic, and also to create the right balance of ages and sexes. The volume and pace of immigration would be related closely to the amount of land being made available, and the settlement itself would expand in contiguous blocks to prevent the over-dispersion of the colonists (another failing at Swan River). Finally, there would be a considerable degree of local self-government, although, true to the liberal tradition, government intervention would be slight so as not to upset the harmonious interplay of economic forces or inhibit individual freedoms.67

This optimistic scheme, far happier than that of "pauper emigration", engendered amongst many people in the U.K. a new attitude to colonisation; and the prospects of emigration began to appeal, not only to the down-and-outs ready to grasp at any utopian solution, but to middle-class and working people eager for an opportunity to "get on" in life. After numerous setbacks, Wakefield finally managed to have a Bill presented before Parliament to secure a charter to colonise South Australia on
systematic principle. It was finally passed in both Houses, and received Royal Assent on 15th August, 1834. This "Foundation Act" was a singular document in several respects - one being the legal fiction that South Australia was not a colony as such but rather a Province of the United Kingdom, another feature of the sense of "difference". The Act handed most of the responsibility for the colonisation process to a Board of Commissioners, thus giving the colony a curious "double government", until 1857, involving both the Commissioners and the British Government, and enhancing still further South Australia's unorthodox constitutional identity. The colony's first Governor was Captain John Hindmarsh, a naval man, and he arrived in South Australia in the wake of the first colonists at the end of 1836. The official Proclamation of the colony was read by Hindmarsh at Glenelg, a few miles from the site selected to become the City of Adelaide, on the afternoon of December 28th, 1836.

Although the practical difficulties of settlement combined with a severe financial crisis in the early 1840s to force a partial abandonment of "systematic colonisation", the Wakefieldian heritage remained of vital importance to South Australia and its separate identity. As late as 1880, it was still hailed as "A Model Colony", and its utilitarian and Nonconformist flavour (to which the Cornish contributed in no small measure) earned it a second and equally apt description - that of "Paradise of Dissent". In terms of actual numbers, the Nonconformists were never the dominant group in the colony - even in the earliest days - but their relative strength, influence and importance was far greater than that of the dissenters in the U.K. or in any other British possession. And,
moreover, the Anglicans who settled in the colony were not usually of the Tory, High-Church type, but were instead middle-class people - anxious for socio-economic improvement - whose aspirations and political views were largely in tune with those of the Nonconformists. South Australia at its foundation, then, not only had its own recognisable and individual identity, as Cornwall had; but also it was developing a religious and social climate in which the Cornish, with their liberal and Nonconformist leanings, could hardly fail to thrive.

---VI---

In the late 1830s, while the handful of early colonists were struggling to establish their new homes, supporters of Wakefield and the South Australian adventure were mounting in the U.K. a propaganda campaign to impress upon the general public the particular advantages of the new colony and the systematic principle on which it had been founded. One such supporter was John Stephens, the son of a Cornish miner-turned-Methodist-minister, who came from an old Cornish family associated for centuries with the Cornish boroughs of Helston and Tregony. It is clear that this Cornish Methodist background was important in moulding his outlook, for in later years he was to play an important role in the defence of religious and civil liberty in the colony (see chapters 7 and 8). But his intimate involvement with South Australia had begun even before he had left the shores of Britain.

Stephens' publicity work on behalf of South Australia culminated in the publication, in London in 1839, of his book *The Land of Promise* in which he advocated emigration to the
colony. He was a true adherent of Wakefield's system, as evidenced by his opening remarks in the first chapter of his book:

Land, capital, and labour, are the three grand elements of wealth, and the art of colonization consists of transferring capital and labour from countries where they are in excessive proportion to the quantity of fertile land, to countries where there is plenty of fertile land, but neither capital nor labour. 72

To illustrate that South Australia was indeed a "fertile land" (for many had heard that it was an arid desert), Stephens went on to give encouraging descriptions of the Adelaide plain, and to dwell at some length on the beauties of the countryside near Cape Jervis, along the River Murray, and on Kangaroo Island. To give credence to his arguments, he quoted from enthusiastic letters sent home by the early settlers, and concluded that,

All the authenticated accounts we have seen, agree to the fertility of the soil, and most settlers speak quite rapturously on the subject, comparing it to the richest parts of our own country. 73

And instead of drawing his readers' attentions to the extreme heat of the Antipodean summers, Stephens pointed out that in fact the South Australian climate was a cure for a great many ills, including asthma. For those who were not convinced, he added the testimony of one colonist who wrote that "...in South Australia at least, the climate of Paradise appears to have survived the fall." 74

That Stephens' comments were addressed, not to paupers, but to respectable working men and to the middle-classes, is evident in the way in which he attempted to illustrate the superiority of South Australia over other colonies. He noted
that South Australia did not experience the degradation and lawlessness of the Penal colonies - and that in fact the colony was entirely free of convict settlers - and he showed that the colony had been founded in an orderly and business-like fashion, unlike the disorganised settlements at Swan River and Port Phillip. South Australia had also, he said, none of the unpleasant conditions that were to be encountered in African and Asian colonies. And, moreover, he stressed that South Australia was, unlike Canada, free from the threat of Popery - an important consideration for many middle-class dissenters (Cornish among them). Indeed, he noted the conditions of religious liberty that had become established in the colony, and was at pains to point out that the Wesleyan, Baptist, and Independent denominations were already thriving in South Australia. His conclusion was that,

The superiority of South Australia, not only over the British colonies in North America, and Africa, and Asia, but also over New South Wales, Swan River, King George's Sound, and Van Diemen's Land, themselves, appear to be established on testimony that cannot be disputed. Persons who have had experience of all the other colonies in question agree in awarding the palm of decided excellence to the new settlement. 76

This cry went out and was heard all over the United Kingdom, and even beyond, but nowhere did it have such an intense and long-standing effect than in the land where John Stephens' forebears had lived for generations - Cornwall.
NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 1


4. David Mudd, Cornishmen and True, Frank Graham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1971, p.34.

5. Strictly speaking, the word "Celtic" is a linguistic term. But in general practice it has come to be applied to the ethnic groups which spoke the Celtic languages, together with the lands they inhabited, their art forms and culture, their customs and traditions, their societal organisation and religion, their folklore, and many other aspects of their heritage and life-style. c.f. Nora Chadwick, The Celts, Pelican, London, 1970.


8. For a history of the Cornish Stannary system see G.R. Lewis, The Stannaries, 1900.

9. Quoted in Robert Hunt, Popular Romances of the West of England, 1871, p.473. Although St. Piran's flag is again in widespread use in Cornwall, it was apparently not in use in the post-Tudor era as no written evidence other than that of Gilbert, reiterated by Hunt, exists. Its authenticity, however, is supported by the importance of St. Piran within the Cornish tradition, and, more especially, by its design (a white cross on a black background) which is in the classic, Medieval cruxi-form style (c.f. the national flags of England, Ireland (St. Patrick's Cross)), Scotland, and the Scandinavian countries). It is also interesting to note that the original flag of Brittany was a black cross on a white background.


13. Ibid. p. 127. A correct rendering of this phrase, in Unified Cornish, would be "my ny vynnaf cows sawsnek".


17. Ibid. p.351.


22. Ibid, republished in Cornish Customs and Superstitions, Tor Mark Press, Truro, n.d. but c. 1971, p.27.


36. West Briton, 22 September, 1873.


40. West Briton, 1 January, 1874.

41. For a comparative survey of the mining, farming, and fishing industries see John Rowe, *Cornwall in the Age of The Industrial Revolution*, University of Liverpool Press, Liverpool, 1953.


43. Ibid.

44. According to S. Daniell, *Old Cornwall: Life in Cornwall About a Century Ago*, Tor Mark Press, n.d. but c. 1969, p.12, "Thousands ... of men were thrown idle, their families hungry".


47. Ibid. p.59.


53. Ibid.


57. Material on the background of Australia and South Australia has been drawn principally from R.M. Gibbs, *History of South Australia*, Balara Books, Adelaide, 1969.


60. Ibid, p.3


64. The most famous of E. Gibbon Wakefield's work is *A View of the Art of Colonization*, 1849, new impression, Kelley, New York, 1969.

65. S.A.A. 1497, Bentham MSS (original in University of London) Notes on Colonization Proposals for South Australia, p.9.

66. Ibid.


69. This phrase was originally coined in the nineteenth-century and later adopted by Pike.


72. Ibid., p. 1
73. Ibid., p. 47
74. Ibid., p. 46
75. Ibid., p. 129
76. Ibid., p. 85
The great mass of Cornish immigration into South Australia occurred in the fifty-year period 1836 to 1886, from the time the colony was first settled until the assisted passage scheme was finally at an end. It is inevitable that two questions will be asked - how many Cornish did migrate to South Australia, and what proportion of the total South Australian population did the Cornish community represent? Unfortunately it is not possible to answer either question with complete accuracy or absolute confidence. Those shipping passenger lists that have survived are fragmentary and incomplete, for the early years at least, and the officially compiled immigration figures which appeared in the Statistical Register for The State of South Australia are almost useless in this kind of analysis. The criticisms Charles Fenner made of official figures in 1931 are still equally valid today. In attempting to compile a true picture of the flow of immigration (and emigration), Fenner wrote that

The figures of immigration and emigration...as compiled in statistics, are of little value. From their nature they are not reliable, sometimes including all those who entered or left the State by rail or boat, at other times only those with single tickets, and so on; immigrants and emigrants are not separable from the ordinary flow of tourists and business traffic.

Thus it is not possible to discern bona fide immigrants from others in what ought more correctly be called "entrance" statistics, and bureaucratic inconsistencies and changing compilation policies serve to make the problem even greater. Fenner tried to overcome, or rather sidestep, these difficulties by subtracting the excess of "births" over "deaths" in each and every year from the yearly population statistics, the resulting
figures indicating increases or decreases in population from year to year occurring through net immigration or emigration. However, to answer the two questions posed above, it is necessary to have statistics for gross immigration - the actual number of people who arrived in South Australia as bona fide immigrants. There is no sure method of obtaining such figures, and so it is necessary to adopt a system of estimation which is at once less accurate but also more sophisticated than that devised by Fenner. This system, it will be noted, prepares the ground for attempting to answer the first question by first of all answering the second.

As already indicated, shipping passenger lists are not always an accurate guide to the number of people arriving in South Australia from overseas. They are, nevertheless, vitally useful, for they can be used, in a comparative fashion, as immigration samples from which the percentage of Cornish immigrants at any one time can be estimated. Although it is not possible to use these percentages to calculate the Cornish proportion of gross immigration, they can nevertheless be used to estimate the Cornish proportion of the South Australian population at any period in time. For example, the shipping passenger lists indicate that between 1836 and 1860 some 72,483 immigrants arrived in South Australia of whom 7,631 were from Cornwall (see Appendix 2). As the shipping passenger lists are not complete or entirely accurate, neither of these figures can be accepted as "gross". There were certainly rather more than 72,000 immigrants in that period. However, it is possible to claim that these figures do represent very sizeable samples and it is therefore possible to further claim that, in the period 1836-1860, 10.5 per cent of immigrants into South Australia were from Cornwall - even though there are no figures for gross im-
migration. As the population of South Australia in 1860 was 124,112 (see Appendix 3), and assuming that the rate of natural increase amongst the Cornish was similar to that of other ethnic groups, then it can be estimated that by 1860 there were some 13,200 (i.e. 10.5 per cent = 13,156) people in South Australia who were either born in Cornwall or in the colony of Cornish descent.

Using this form of analysis, it is possible to go on to estimate what proportion of the South Australian population was of Cornish descent in 1900, at the end of the colonial era and after the great wave of migration from Cornwall had ceased. Again, the shipping passenger lists are used as sample sources, taking the period 1835 to 1886. The lists show total migration as 162,853 and the Cornish proportion as 12,967 - or 8.0 per cent. The total population of South Australia in 1900 was 357,099, and so the number of persons of Cornish birth or descent would have been in the order of 28,600 (i.e. 8.0 per cent = 28,568). Over sixty years - or the equivalent of two generations - having passed since the foundation of the colony, it is possible that up to one half of these "Cornish" people were actually born in South Australia. Although, as already stressed, there is no way of verifying this "Cornish proportion" through the use of official statistics, some confirmation is provided through a study of South Australian surnames in 1900 (see Chapter 5) which puts the Cornish proportion of the total population at 9.9 per cent or approximately 35,000. One can conclude, therefore, with a certain degree of confidence, that the Cornish proportion of the South Australian population in 1900 was between 28,000 and 35,000 - a figure of, say, 30,000 would not be unduly inaccurate.
Having answered the second of the two questions posed above, it is possible to return to the first – to try to determine just how many Cornish immigrants actually came to South Australia. Here one can be less confident in making estimations, because of the lack of gross immigration figures, and to attempt any kind of estimation at all it is necessary to return again to the shipping passenger lists to examine more closely their particular strengths and weaknesses. In terms of their use and accuracy, the lists fall into four clear categories. Indeed, for the first category – the era 1836–40, the term "shipping passenger lists" is used only for convenience as the statistics are in fact derived from applications for free passage⁴. The shipping passenger lists proper begin during the early 1840s and, in the second category 1841–50, they are in their most inaccurate and most incomplete condition.

From 1836 to 1840, some 9,422 applications were made in the United Kingdom for free passage to South Australia, of which 941, or 10 per cent, were lodged in Cornwall (see Appendix 4). Pike says that 5,070 of these applications were actually accepted⁵, and, there usually being more than one person per application, this corresponded to some 14,000 individual persons⁶ of whom approximately 1,400 were Cornish. Between 1836 and 1840, then, something like 1,400 people came out to the new colony of South Australia from Cornwall. In the period 1841 to 1850, the shipping passenger lists record some 9,597 immigrants of whom 1,096 were Cornish. Both figures, however, clearly fall well short of actual gross immigration. And, in the case of the Cornish statistics, they do not include the 80 or so Cornish people who arrived with Captain Richard Rodda on the "Hooghly" and "Britannia" in October 1846⁷; nor do they include the 600 people from St. Just-in-Penwith who apparently also arrived in that
There is no mention of 44 Cornish men who came out on the "Kingston" nor of the 100 or so Cornish migrants on the "Theresa". An "adjusted" figure for the combined period 1836-50, drawing on sources in addition to just the shipping passenger lists, would thus put the gross number of Cornish immigrants at approximately 2,780: but even this is a conservative figure.

The shipping passenger lists are at their most accurate in their third category, the period 1851 to 1869, which is fortunate because it was precisely between those years that the great majority of Cornish migrants arrived in South Australia. Indeed in some years it is clear that the figures provided in the shipping passenger lists do come close to being true, gross immigration statistics. In January 1857, for example, the Register newspaper noted that during 1855 11,871 bona fide immigrants had arrived in South Australia, of whom 798 were from Cornwall - the shipping passenger lists for 1855 show 10,928 immigrants of whom 713 are Cornish. If this degree of accuracy was maintained throughout the whole period up until 1869, then the figures obtained can be treated with considerable confidence. In addition, throughout this period shipping passenger lists indicate "county of origin" so that there is no difficulty in identifying the Cornish migrants. Altogether, the lists show some 8,370 Cornish persons having arrived in the colony between 1851 and 1869.

The period 1870 to 1886, the final category, presents a major problem in that "county of origin" is not recorded. It is therefore necessary to estimate the number of Cornish migrants by studying the surnames in the shipping passenger lists, and so the final statistics for this period are inevitably less accurate.
As explained in greater detail in Appendix 1, Cornish surnames fall broadly into two categories - those that are "Exclusively Cornish" (mainly Celtic), and those that are "Typically Cornish" (patronymic and others). For the purpose of estimation, it was assumed that the bearers of Exclusively Cornish names - Trevenen, Polkinghorne, Andrewartha, and so on - were automatically from Cornwall. The bearers of Typically Cornish names - Williams, Thomas, Roberts etc. - were treated with more caution, for they were equally likely to be Welsh, or even English. Thus where, on any one emigrant ship, Exclusively Cornish surnames were less than 25 per cent of the total names only 33.33 per cent of the bearers of Typically Cornish names were deemed to be from Cornwall (the other 66.66 per cent were deemed to be Welsh or English). But where the Exclusively Cornish names were 25 per cent or more of the names on any one ship, it was deemed (remembering that even in Cornwall the bearers of Exclusively Cornish names were in a minority) that 50 per cent of the bearers of Typically Cornish names were in fact Cornish. Indeed, on such occasions, it was clear usually that the ships' passengers had been almost entirely recruited in Cornwall - especially during the 1870s where there was an exodus of Cornish miners (see Appendix 5). It was also significant that when the number of Cornish people arriving in the colony in any one year was estimated to be high, the number of migrants described as "miners" or "copper miners" in the shipping passenger lists was also correspondingly high. Using the method of estimation described above, the shipping passenger lists show 2,101 Cornish people having arrived between 1870 and 1886. But again, even in addition to the shortcomings inherent in the method of estimation, there are omissions and inaccuracies - the most important being the failure to record the 408 Cornish people who arrived with Captain Richard Piper in 1883. An adjusted figure for the period would thus be 2,509;
giving a total Cornish immigration for the entire era 1836 to 1886 of almost 13,700.

---II---

It is fairly clear, then, that well over 13,000 people arrived from Cornwall by ship to be set ashore on South Australian soil. The debate does not end there, however, because so far only immigration from overseas has been considered, when it is certain that a number of Cornish came to South Australia by way of the other Australian colonies. This was true from the earliest days, especially after the first mineral discoveries, and in 1846 Francis Dutton noted the attraction the Kapunda copper mine - of which he was co-discoverer and co-owner - had for Cornishmen, not only in South Australia, but in other parts of the continent as well. He wrote,

...Cornish miners who happen to have emigrated to the other Australian colonies, were not slow in finding their way to South Australia, to resume those occupations most congenial to the pursuits they had been accustomed to in the mother country...I may instance, in particular, two brothers of the name of Nicholls, (I believe from the parish of Gwennap in Cornwall) who obtained the first set, for the space of twelve months, at Kapunda...

The Victorian Gold Rush, as will be shown in some detail in Chapter 4, drew away a large part of the male portion of the South Australian Cornish community who journeyed to the neighbouring colony in search of gold, and a number of those arriving at Port Adelaide in the 1850s made their way almost immediately to the Rush. However, many of those who went soon returned to their wives and families in South Australia - the professional miners coming back to restart the Burra, Kapunda and other mines. And they were joined by many others who had gone direct to Victoria from Cornwall, but were enticed into South Australia by recruiting agents from the Burra and, after 1860, from the
newly-discovered Moonta and Wallaroo mines. Indeed it might be said without too much exaggeration, that the Victorian gold-fields in the late 1850s and in the 1860s, when the Rush had lost its momentum and attraction, was a pool of skilled labour for the resurgent South Australian copper industry. In the end, the movement of Cornishmen between South Australia and Victoria probably balanced-out; if anything, the scales being tipped slightly in South Australia's favour.

But it was not only from Victoria that they came. A number of Cornishmen, for example, came to South Australia from Queensland, especially from the Peak Downs copper mining district. Charles Simmons, one such Cornishman, left his home village of Menheniot to go to Queensland in 1873. He remained at Peak Downs for three years, and then made his way to the Moonta Mines in South Australia. In similar fashion, Phillip Orchard arrived at Ipswich (in Queensland) from Cornwall in 1875 - staying there only twelve months before going on to Moonta. The Moonta and Wallaroo mines received enquiries from time to time from Queensland miners anxious to work in South Australia - in March 1880, for instance, Thomas Cock, originally from Redruth, wrote to say that he was heading down from Queensland in the hope of finding work at Wallaroo. Others came by way of Tasmania, such as James Mitchell, born at Altarnun in 1819, who arrived in Tasmania in 1841 but who by 1845 was residing in South Australia. And Captain William White, formerly manager of St. Just United Mine in Cornwall and the West Bischoff Tin Mine in Tasmania, eventually found his way to Adelaide in 1889. There were even those who came to the colony very late in the day, via Western Australia - men like James Michael Whitburn, born in West Cornwall in 1838, who went to W.A. in 1874 to work in the Old Geraldine Copper Mine, and who
During his residence in Australia...worked in most of the principal mining camps of the Commonwealth, including Cobar, W.A. Goldfields, and Broken Hill, finally settling at Moonta. 18

In the final analysis, it would be impossible to trace the careers of each and every Cornish migrant coming to South Australia from other parts of the Australian continent. But in total there may have been perhaps 2,000 or more of them, so that the total number of Cornishmen setting foot on South Australian soil in the nineteenth-century could have been as high as 15 or even 16,000. Nevertheless, the principal Cornish migration was from overseas, from Cornwall itself, and it is and it is obviously this immigration which is of especial interest within the context of this study.

---III---

Although Cornwall's "Great Migration" did not really commence until circa 1840, the seeds of Cornish movement abroad had been sown at a much earlier date - by the "Sea Dogs" of the Elizabethan Age who roamed the Spanish Main (the negroes of Barbados still speak with a Cornish accent19), and by the Cornish settlers in seventeenth-century New England20. But the first real hint of what was to come was given in the late eighteenth-century, when, prior to 1778, miners from Redruth were sent to open-up copper deposits along Lake Superior in North America. By 1817, Richard Trevithick was in South America erecting Cornish pump-engines, and in 1825 a party of miners hired by the Anglo-Mexican Mining Association set out from Falmouth for the New World.21

These early migrants from Cornwall were for the most part adventurers, anxious to try their luck abroad; but soon econ-
omic pressures came to play a central role in emigration, so that by the early 1830s ordinary people were leaving Cornwall in search of a better life overseas. In April 1832 the *West Briton* noted that

The rage for emigration that now prevails in the north of this county is wholly unprecedented in Cornwall; in different parishes from 200 to 300 persons each, have either departed or are preparing to leave... 22

This "rage" continued through the 1830s, which were years of discontent and agitation for reform, and so the foundation of South Australia in 1836 co-incided with the dawn of the "Great Migration" from Cornwall. Official colonisation did not, of course, commence until 1836. But there had been a scattering of white "settlers" in the coastal regions of South Australia before that date - a handful of whalers and sealers, and the occasional escaped convict from the Penal colonies. One nineteenth-century literary effort referred in Romantic vein to "The Pirates and Wreckers of Kangaroo Island"; convict gangs who apparently lived on the island prior to 1836. It was an evocative title with obvious Cornish allusions, but, although the Cornish were a sea-faring people given to long-distance travel, there is little evidence to suggest Cornish involvement in these piratical and wrecking "gangs" - if, indeed, they did exist. One of the early Kangaroo Island sealers was a man called Bryant (a name common in Cornwall); and John Williams, one of the escaped convicts, was perhaps also Cornish. But nothing else indicates a Cornish presence in South Australia before 1836.

Colonisation proper began with the arrival of the South Australian Company's ship, the "Duke of York", at Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, on 27th July 1836. A second ship, the "Lady
Mary Pelham" arrived three days later, and the "John Pirie" dropped anchor on 16th August. According to the Rev. John Blacket, Samuel Stephens was "...the first adult colonist to put foot on South Australian soil" when he landed from the "Duke of York" on 27th July. He was a younger brother of John Stephens, the South Australian propagandist, and like all the Stephens brothers had been influenced profoundly by his father, the Rev. John Stephens - a Cornish miner, Methodist preacher, and one-time President of the British Wesleyan Conference. His sons, other than the aforementioned John and Samuel, included Joseph Rayner Stephens (the first minister of religion in the U.K. to be arrested for Chartist activity) and Edward Stephens (another prominent figure in the formation of South Australia).

In retrospect, it is rather symbolic that Samuel Stephens, the son of a Cornishman, should have been the first official settler to land in the colony, for in so doing he established what was to be a fundamental and enduring link between South Australia and Cornwall. However, his own career in the colony was hardly successful or likely to endear his memory to other Cornishmen. Despite the influence of his father and close business association with George Fife Angas (a prominent dissenter and philanthropist, and a founder of South Australia) he was by nature headstrong, quarrelsome and self-important. He arrived in South Australia as colonial manager of the South Australian Company with orders to establish a settlement and whaling station on Kangaroo Island at a site to be called "Kingscote". Stephens, however, chose a poor location for his settlement, and he "...proved excitable, irresponsible, too conceited to take advice, too ambitious 'to ride any but the first horse', and too foolish when drunk to keep the respect of his subordinates."
The anchorage at the settlement was too shallow, so that the ships had to stand almost a quarter of a mile out to sea, the soil was infertile, the water in the well they sunk was brackish, and there was little suitable timber for the construction of buildings. Stephens quarrelled with his officers, some of whom he dismissed, and the colonists themselves quickly became disillusioned with the whole enterprise. As a result, they became unruly, and intemperence was widespread. When Governor Hindmarsh arrived on the mainland in December 1836, he ordered an inquiry into the mismanagement on Kangaroo Island. Stephens himself continued to squander his company's assets, and in November 1837 was removed from his position. He went to the mainland where he lived until 1840 when he was killed in a riding accident.

By this time, literally hundreds of other Cornish migrants were arriving in South Australia - the result of a concerted campaign in Cornwall in the late 1830s and in 1840. During 1838 meetings were held in the larger Cornish towns, such as Bodmin, Helston, and St. Austell, with lecturers explaining the benefits of emigration and enthusing over the supposed magnificence of the new colony of South Australia. John Marshall, a migration agent from London, made a special journey down to Cornwall to win recruits for the colony, as did Rowland Hill, then Secretary of the South Australian Commissioners\(^2\)\(^8\). They were aided by local agents, appointed to select suitable migrants for the colony and to arrange for the sale of South Australian land to intending colonists. A.B. Duckham was appointed to work in the Falmouth district, whilst the Penzance area was covered by G. Jennings\(^2\)\(^9\). In early 1839 they were joined by a third agent, Isaac Latimer, a journalist on the staff of the West Briton in Truro, who proved a tireless and effective worker in the cause
of emigration. Subsequently, further agents were appointed - such as Mr. Geake in Launceston and J.B. Wilcocks in Plymouth, Devonshire - to assist in the selection of Cornish migrants.

The method of recruitment employed by these agents was relatively simple - information was disseminated through posters displayed in the various towns and villages, and those who wished to learn more about the colony could attend the public meetings and lectures organised by the local agents. If the intending migrants suitably impressed the agents, and were otherwise qualified to go to South Australia, then they could lodge an application for free passage and put themselves forward for selection - either at the meetings, or by calling at the local agent's office. Typical of the South Australian migration posters displayed in Cornwall at the time was one circulated in and around Falmouth in June 1839 by A.B. Duckham. It was addressed to tradesmen and labourers, the main text of the poster being a long and wordy letter from a Cornish settler in South Australia, one Marmaduke Laurimer, who had left Falmouth in 1838. The account Laurimer gave of the colony was seemingly candid, but also subtle and ultimately very persuasive - just the kind of propaganda that Duckham needed. It began by admitting shortcomings:

I should have written before, but it takes some time for a person to be in a new colony to know its ins and outs. In the first place, no farming has yet been done in the colony; not an acre of corn planted; nothing but a few sections of 80 acres each, has been ditched; the colonists were not in possession of their country lands before last May; they have lived on their means the while...shoes are dear, earthenware very dear;...Cornish ploughs would be broken to pieces in our soil. 30

However, the tone soon changed to one of praise, optimism, and enthusiasm, with Laurimer writing that Adelaide

...which only 2 years ago was a desert, is rising rapidly,
some of the buildings would grace London itself; there is no colony in history has risen so fast as South Australia. Work, I expect, will be very brisk near winter; the ground then, is soft: plenty of heavy rains fall in the winter, and there is neither frost nor snow...it is a fine climate, and very healthy. 31

He continued,

South Australia is one of the most beautiful countries in the world; all the splendid descriptions of it at home were strictly true: its fine rich plains without a tree upon them; its trees are evergreens, its mountains forming a boundary at the eastern direction of the town; its soil rich as nature can make it; its slate, stone, copper, silver, which in a few years will make it as rich as any country in the world: I saw a piece of silver ore about 28lbs weight, last week, that was picked up by a young man of the name of James Nichols, who was a shipmate of mine; on the mountains he traced the load (sic) for a mile, and picked up about thirty pieces as big as a hen's egg, all of which he showed me. 32

Although no serious mining commenced in South Australia until 1841, this reference to mineral deposits was certain to attract the attention of mining men and to create some excitement in Cornwall, as Duckham no doubt calculated. He would also have been pleased to publish Laurimer's comments on the role of the South Australian Company, for many feared that it had a monopoly of commercial enterprise in the colony, and that migrants would be bonded to the company and not allowed freedom of employment or movement. Laurimer, however, had told his mother in Cornwall

...to inform Dr. Simmons of Flushing what I have said of the colony. I am happy to tell him he was quite mistaken in his opinion that the South Australian Company are the only commercial body of individuals; the Emigrants are sent out by government, the company has no control over any person but such as choose to live under them; an Emigrant is free the moment he lands... 33

Isaac Latimer, too, made extensive use of letters written home by Cornish colonists as testimonials - one poster issued by him in Truro on October 14th, 1839 quoting at extraordinary length from a number of letters34. Like Duckham, he was aware
of the 'significance people in Cornwall would attach to comments made by Cornish migrants (migrants from other parts would not be trusted so implicitly), and was careful to draw upon these testimonials at every stage of his explanations. In one poster entitled "Free Emigration to Port Adelaide", for example, Latimer stated that,

It is well watered - and there have never been any complaints from the colonists of a want of this valuable element; on the contrary, the letters from Cornishmen who have written home are very satisfactory on this point. It should be borne in mind that complaints of a scarcity of water do not relate to Port Adelaide, but to other settlements not connected with South Australia. 35

Even apart from the erroneous implication that Port Adelaide was synonymous with the whole of South Australia, Latimer was perhaps treading dangerously here in his criticisms of "other settlements" in Australia, for it was widely known that he acted also as agent for Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand36, and so perhaps he used the "Letters from Cornishmen" to give credibility to his otherwise hypocritical argument. But whatever the case, Latimer worked energetically to promote South Australia. On the evening of Tuesday, August 27th 1839, for instance, he was delivering a free lecture on the colony to "...the WORKING CLASSES...Labourer, Mechanic, or Artizan..."37 at the Kings Head Inn, Chacewater; and at Bodmin on Tuesday October 15th 1839 he addressed "...all persons engaged in useful occupations..."38 about the prospects of emigrating to South Australia.

---IV---

As their advertisements and posters indicated, the local migration agents were interested in all working men in gainful employment (and not paupers) who were sober, industrious, and
of good character. In one poster issued on 27th February 1839, Latimer cited twenty-one desired occupations, but in practice anyone with a trade would be given an opportunity to apply for free passage. At the same time, the agents were interested specifically in receiving applications from married couples (or alternatively single men to be accompanied by their single sisters) under the age of thirty. But again, there does seem to have been some relaxation of the rules on occasions, as agents would sometimes encourage couples well over the age limit to submit applications for free passage.

In the event, the agents soon found that they would not have to look far for their applicants. The interest generated in Cornwall in the interests of the new colony is evident in the fact that even as early as 30th August 1839 the Royal Cornwall Gazette newspaper was publishing items of South Australian news, and in May 1840 a further agent had to be sent down from London to help cope with the demand. 1840 was also the year when, between the January and the June, 795 people left Cornwall for destinations overseas, and when a company was formed in Plymouth by the "worthies" of Cornwall - Lord Eliot, Sir Charles Lemon, Sir William Molesworth, E.W.W. Pendaries, Edward St. Aubyn, and Sir Hussey Vivian - to assist emigration to Australia.

As has already been noted, in the period 1836 to 1840 9,411 applications for free passage were lodged in Cornwall - 10 per cent of all the applications lodged in Great Britain and Ireland. Remembering the small size of Cornwall, in terms of both population and geographic area, this was a significantly high figure and makes interesting comparison with the 15 per cent for the whole of South West Britain (Cornwall, Devon and Somerset) and the 35 per cent for London and the Home Counties.
From Pike's figures, it seems that over 500 of these Cornish applicants were actually granted free passages (given the diligence of Latimer and colleagues, the real figure may have been much higher), and, as whole families were often included on one application, this would correspond to some 1,400 individual persons.

Even in 1836, at the dawn of migration to South Australia and months before Governor Hindmarsh made his historic declaration at Glenelg, applications for free passage had been received from five Cornish families. Down in the far west of Cornwall, at St. Levan in the Penwith peninsula, James Bennetts, a thirty-year-old carpenter carefully submitted his application (see Appendix 4) – pointing out to the Commissioners that he would be keen to purchase land in South Australia if his application were successful. His cousin, Pascoe Grenfell, a joiner and wheelwright from nearby Madron (some 5 miles away) also made an application for free passage. But although Pascoe's wife was only thirty, he himself was thirty-four years old, four years over the formal limit. In anticipation of rejection, therefore, he also informed the Commissioners that in the last resort he would be willing to pay for his own passage. And still in the Penwith peninsula, John Richards of Sancreed parish – described as an agricultural labourer and sheepshearer – applied for free passage to the colony. A similar application was also received from another John Richards, this time a labourer from the port of Falmouth in Cornwall's "midwest". In 1836 the interest of the population in more easterly parts of Cornwall does not seem to have been aroused, although one application was made by James Harme, a farm labourer from Warleggan – a rural parish on the southern slopes of Bodmin Moor. It is clear, however, that either James' application was
rejected or that he withdrew at the last moment, for he is again found applying for free passage to South Australia three years later in 1839.

By 1837 this trickle of applicants had turned to a veritable flood, some 79 being received during the year from adult males (often in their capacity as heads-of-households) and a further 23 from single and widowed women (married women were included on their husband's applications and were not recorded separately). Again, the greatest interest in South Australia was exhibited in the more heavily populated, western parts of Cornwall, with Gwennap and Penryn heading the list and Falmouth running a close third. But information concerning the new colony was by now finding its way into every corner of Cornwall, so that applications for free passage were being received from families and individuals in some of the more obscure and outlying parishes - from Stithians in the west to Lewannick in the East. Twenty-six male applicants were described as "labourers", the major occupational group, and they came from all over Cornwall - William Batten from Altarnun, Richard Cornelius from Redruth Highway, James Pedler from Tywardreath, William Thomas from Treskirby near St. Day. Others had more specific or skilled trades; there were, for example, eight carpenters, seven masons, six shoemakers, and six miners. Again, there was a fair geographic spread amongst these more skilled applicants - William Carne was a carpenter and joiner from Helston Road, Penryn; J. Paul was a boot and shoemaker from Bodinnick-by-Fowey; and James Bennetts was a miner from Pool. William Cocking, from Falmouth, was a forty-seven year-old mason but, despite his age, he impressed the agents by stressing that he had had 19 years experience in the Corps of Sappers and Miners - the pioneering skills he had thus acquired would be of
particular value in the new colony.

It seems that most of these 1837 applicants were accepted, and they were despatched to the colony on the ships "Red Admiral", "Trusty", "Lady Emma", and "Katherine S. Forbes". Amongst these migrants can be recognised a number of the friends of Marmaduke Laurimer, all from Penryn, mentioned by him in his letter home (a fact which confirms the authenticity of the letter). The "Red Admiral" in particular, carried a large contingent of Cornish migrants - the Sleep family from Linkinhorne; the Williamses from Redruth; James Bothal, a miner from Mount Charles in St. Austell; Zacharias Grey from Holmbush in St. Austell; William Hoskyn, a labourer from Penquite in St. Breward, and so on.

During 1838, when the programme of lectures began to take effect, there were more than 170 applications for free passage to South Australia lodged in Cornwall, from parishes as diverse and far-apart as Tresmeer, Perranarworthal, and Towednack. General labourers still constituted the major occupational group, although there were not many variously described as farmers, husbandmen, and agricultural labourers, together with an impressive range of other skilled tradesmen. There was a malster from Ruan High Lanes, a blacksmith from St. Dominick, a harness-maker from Calstock, a female domestic servant from Pillaton, a roper from Torpoint in the parish of Antony, a Thatcher from Hayle Foundry. Somewhat curiously, however, there were applications from only two Cornish miners - twenty-six year-old Thomas Coon and family from St. Blazey, and Peter Medland from neighbouring Bicovey. There were no applications at all from miners in the great copper parishes of the west, which can only suggest that 1838 was a year of prosperity and high employment in the
mines, for indeed at that time the Cornish copper industry was still undergoing healthy expansion. The mining parish of Gwennap still headed the list of general applications in 1838, but this was hardly surprising when it is considered that this was one of the most densely populated parts of Cornwall, while the applicants themselves were tradesmen not connected directly with mining.

It was not until the following year, 1839, that miners achieved any kind of prominence - at a time when the total number of applications more than doubled to reach almost 360, with still further Cornish parishes contributing their share of colonists, from St. Keverne on the Lizard Peninsula to Jacobstowe in North Cornwall. Forty-five applications were from miners, but only 10 of these were lodged in Gwennap, the heartland of Cornish copper, the rest being spread sparsely through a range of districts, such as Camelford (surprisingly), Creed (perhaps tin-streamers), Kenwyn, Luxulyan, and Perranzabuloe. And still the miners were not yet the dominant group, for there were 57 agricultural labourers, together with considerable numbers of farmers, carpenters, and masons. Several of the "new" areas, too, from which applications were only just beginning to appear, were agricultural rather than mining districts - such as St. Goran and Gerrans on the Roseland Peninsula, and Landrake and North Petherwin in East Cornwall. Some of these 1839 migrants came out on the "Somersetshire", the "Cleveland" and the "Recovery", but a great many journeyed to South Australia on the "Java", which arrived at Port Adelaide on 6th February 1840 after a long and horrific voyage (to be discussed in greater detail later).
But despite the rigours of the voyage, many of whose who sailed on the "Java" in 1839 became prominent colonists in South Australia (see chapter 5), and the stream of Cornish migrants continued well into 1840. Indeed, it was during 1840 that miners for the first time achieved numerical dominance in the lists of applications for free passage. Their 132 applications hardly matched by the 27 agricultural labourers and 12 blacksmiths. Overall, there was a slight slackening-off of applications in Cornwall to just over 300, but the significant demographic changes concerned the miners' applications. Although Gwennap could still only muster one miner-applicant, the vast majority came from the adjoining districts of Camborne, Illogan, Perranzabuloe, Redruth, and St. Agnes, with an additional sprinkling from the Tamar Valley at Calstock and Stoke Climsland. Many of the Camborne applicants were residents of Tolcarne Street, Trelowarren Street, and Pengeggon, whilst most of the Redruth applicants were miners living at Northcountry and Redruth Highway. Suddenly in 1840 that whole mining district, which in 1838 had shown hardly the slightest interest in South Australia, was sending forth streams of applications – Isaac Barkal, miner, of Mongoose in St. Agnes; James Barrett, miner, of Nancekuke Downs; Francis Blight, miner, of Illogan Churchtown; John Climas from Rosewarne Downs; Sukey and Jane Fletcher, bal-maidens (female mine-workers) from Wheal Burton, St. Agnes; Charles Glasson, miner and husbandsman, of Old Chapel Street, Camborne; William Menadue, miner and labourer, of Mithian, … and countless others – the list seems almost endless.
It is difficult at first sight to account for this sudden exodus of miners from Camborne-Redruth and environs, for in 1840 the Cornish copper industry was not yet in trouble, nor had mining operations commenced in South Australia at that date. However, Cornwall in 1840, on the eve of the disastrous "Hungry Forties", was beginning to discern the first painful pangs of a general economic depression, and these would have been felt first of all in the over-populated industrial areas which had expanded so rapidly since the 1780s and were now susceptible to food and other shortages. In brief, the concentrated population of West Cornwall could only be supported by the local economy in times of prosperity. An economic downturn would lead inevitably to shortages, the result of which would be an increase in emigration from the district. In addition, the approach of hard-times would lead the Cornish miner to reflect anew upon his lot in life - the harsh, unpleasant and often dangerous conditions in which he worked, and the generally unsavoury nature of existence in the mining towns. Indeed, in the 1840s, Cornish mining conditions were at their very worst. The copper mines had become extremely deep, and yet man-engines and man-skips (allowing miners to ride to surface, instead of climbing) had still to be introduced, and heart and lung diseases were rife among the mine workers. In coming to South Australia, then, many of these early migrant miners were escaping poor working conditions, and they clearly hoped to be able to turn their hands to occupations other than mining. And when, once in South Australia, they were drawn to quarrying, well-sinking, and - after 1841 - to mining, it was not the intrinsic delight of digging holes that attracted them, but rather the relatively high wages employers in the colony were
prepared to pay in recognition of their skills. In 1840 John Paull wrote to his father at Goonvrea, St. Agnes, saying that he could earn £4 to £5 per week sinking wells; and Thomas Roberts, from Perranarworthal, wrote that miners could earn good money as quarrymen.

It was, of course, not only the miners who suffered in times of depression. The migration agents were not interested in abject paupers, but poverty in nineteenth-century Cornwall was a relative thing. A great many "honest labourers", and even skilled tradesmen, lived in conditions which were appalling by any standards, and all were affected by economic downturns. Indeed, economic factors - the desire to escape poverty at home, and the hope of a life of "plenty" overseas - were the strongest and most consistent motivations for migration to South Australia from Cornwall in the nineteenth-century. This can be seen at the "macro" level where the nature and volume of migration was linked clearly to economic fluctuations, but it can also be demonstrated, perhaps more poignantly, at the "micro" level where cases of individual hardship can be examined - the disillusioned miner existing in his filthy hovel in one of Cornwall's grey and overcrowded mining villages, or the equally disillusioned Cornish farmer, tired of trying to wrest a living from indifferent soil in times of heavy taxes, poor harvests, and overseas competition.

Typical of the plight of many was that of Samuel Stanton, born in St. Cleer in 1829, who was placed in parish bondage as a child on the death of his parents, but later ran away from the institutionalised poverty of the workhouse to make his way to New South Wales and ultimately to South Australia. A contemporary account of Stanton's childhood experiences spoke of
the "...frequent cruelties and comparative starvation..." 52 he suffered while bound to a "parish apprentice", and his experience gives an insight into the deprivations endured by many others in nineteenth-century Cornwall. The position of some was perhaps less extreme, but still parlous enough to make emigration a necessity. Stephen Hicks, for example, was a penniless farmer in the North Cornish parish of St. Mabyn, and he chose emigration to South Australia as a solution to his problems after having read a favourable account of the colony in The Chambers Journal - a popular magazine which had embraced the cause of emigration53. Similarly, Richard Best, the son of an impoverished labourer, was persuaded to secure a passage to South Australia by Parson Childs, the then Vicar of St. Dennis. Best's father had struggled for years to keep his seven children, while earning only a shilling a day, and Richard himself was sent out to work at the age of 7, as a cowhand, for only two-pence per day54. Such "deserving cases" could hardly fail to commend themselves to the more humanitarian of the local literati, the village squires and vicars, who would often advise emigration as means of easing poverty at home. Parson Childs, in particular, took a strong interest in the cause of emigration, often travelling the 30 or so miles from St. Dennis to Plymouth to address the migrants on the eve of their departure.

In identifying the causes of migration from Cornwall to South Australia it is, of course, easy to over-generalise, and it must be remembered that often the decision to leave home was based on intensely personal reasons. For example, James Harvey and his sister Harriet, both of whom came out from Cornwall in 1836 on the "Buffalo" (where James acted as a waiter on Governor Hindmarsh's table), migrated to South Australia to escape a family quarrell. Their fare was paid for them by their
father who was anxious that they leave Cornwall because their presence in the family home was resented by their new stepmother.

The emigration of George Venning, from Trebray in the parish of Altarnun, was also motivated by personal reasons. George and his wife Grace (from neighbouring Trelin) had settled down to a mildly prosperous life as farmers, but suddenly George fell ill and was advised by his doctor to abandon the damp and misty wastes of Bodmin Moor, and to seek instead the drier climes of South Australia where his failing health would have an opportunity to improve. Very wisely he took this advice, and later became a successful farmer at Mount Barker Springs and at Nairne in the Adelaide Hills.

And then there was the case of Thomas Champion, whose family hailed from Mylor, Penryn, and Illogan. Although he was a successful builder and architect he had lost heavily in his dabblings on the stock exchange, and decided to seek his fortune anew in South Australia. He was, after all, a man with a taste for adventure, having served in the Navy after the Napoleonic Wars. Other Cornishmen, too, had seen service in the Royal Navy, or in the merchant marine, and this sea-faring experience gave them a certain "cosmopolitan" outlook which distinguished them from the more insular English. To those Cornish who had already sailed to the ends of the earth, there was nothing very special about migrating to a new land, an attitude demonstrated very neatly in Claude Berry's amusing story of a young girl, resident at St. Just-in-Penwith, who was asked if she had ever been to Lands End, some five miles down the coast. The girl replied, "Aw, no... We St. Just people don't travel much, only to South Africa."
The sea-faring heritage produced a sense of adventure in many Cornishmen, (as in the case of Thomas Champion) and it was not surprising that, with the sea in Cornwall never very far away, the people looked on with envy as emigrant ships gracefully set sail from Cornish ports to voyage to far-off lands on the other side of the world. The awesome sight of a majestic sailing-ship lying in the Carrick Roads at Falmouth, or on the Hamoaze in the Tamar estuary, would appeal to any Cornishman with the salt in his veins.

Philip Santo, a carpenter from Saltash who emigrated to South Australia in 1840 where he became a prominent colonist and later a politician, recalled how people living in Tamar-side towns such as Saltash and Torpoint were thus affected. He remembered that the sight of "...ships leaving for distant colonies induced others to go too. When they saw ships going to Adelaide or elsewhere, they were induced to enquire and emigrate".

Some, indeed, were induced to run away from home! Henry Adams, who was later the father of the South Australian Labour M.P. of the same name, was born in Gwennap in 1825 and was brought up at Tuckingmill near Camborne. On one Sunday during his youth he stole two sovereigns from his father's drawer, and went off to Falmouth with the intention of travelling to Plymouth where he planned to join the Navy and thus see the world. However he had the misfortune (or otherwise) to run into his father at Falmouth Moor, and he was very promptly taken back home. Not many years later, however, in 1847, he left Cornwall as a bona fide emigrant on the "Rajah" to work at the Reedy Creek mine in South Australia, his dream of travel fulfilled finally.
As the works of A.L. Rowse, A.C. Todd, and John Rowe have shown, many Cornish migrants - perhaps the majority - made their way to North America, which was certainly much closer and more accessible than distant South Australia, the U.S.A. often being labelled "the next parish after Lands End". However, there were many who chose to make the long and arduous journey to this new colony on the other side of the world, and so South Australia must have had at least some unique and individual qualities which attracted the intending migrant. In the early days, in the 1830 and 40s, this attraction was one of "newness" and "freshness". Other colonies - and for some the U.S.A. too - had become stale, and were already imperfect, while South Australia appeared as entirely a clean slate upon which to sketch a new and model society. The conditions which had become established in South Australia at its foundation also appealed strongly to the Cornish temperament. The colony was imbued with a healthy individualism, of which the Cornish approved, and the opportunities for individual improvement and social advancement were very much in tune with the Methodist self-help ethos which permeated Cornish society. Migration agents campaigning in Cornwall were at pains to stress that South Australia was well organized and not a Penal Colony, and indeed the fact that the colony was to be free of convict settlers, and would be colonized according to the principles of Wakefield's orderly scheme of "systematic colonisation", appealed no doubt to Cornish Methodist respectability. Isaac Latimer, indeed, had written that

... the vice and demoralization of Australia, has reference only to the penal settlements of New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, and Norfolk Island ... The morality of the colony of South Australia is
secured in every way that can be thought of... 61

Cornish Nonconformists, and others in Cornwall affected by the all-pervading Methodist influence, were also attracted by the "liberal, dissenting" atmosphere of early South Australia, and by the spirit of civil liberty, socio-economic opportunity, and religious equality that existed therein. As John Reynolds has noted,

The social environment of South Australia seems to have favoured these hard-working, individualistic church-going people (the Cornish) who found themselves removed from a land of squire and parson in what historian Douglas Pike has named a "Paradise of Dissent". 62

Although many remained intensely proud of the fact that they were Cornish, and felt themselves "different" from other colonists, they nevertheless believed that, in coming to South Australia, they were exchanging the land of bondage for the land of the free. A number of the early Cornish colonists were surprisingly articulate on this point, and in letters written home to their friends and relatives, emphasised it at some length. Thomas Sleep wrote to his uncle in Falmouth and exclaimed that "...none of us desire to return to the bondage which holds our fellow-countrymen..." 63 in Cornwall, and John Holman informed his father at South Petherwin in East Cornwall that "...I am freer than when I was in England(sic)...we would not be back to Southpetherwin for £500" 64 John Oats, another Cornish immigrant, wrote in even stronger terms, telling his friends and relatives that,

If you mind to bind yourself in the chains of slavery all the days of your life, you had better stay where you are... I should like to see the whole lot of you here for your welfare. There is no distress here, no credit wanted, for everyone has got sufficient..." 65
Such letters, particularly those which dwelt upon the material benefits of life in the colony, had the effect of precipitating further emigration from Cornwall—friends and relatives who had been waiting to learn the impressions and reactions of those who had already gone to South Australia went themselves once they had received the favourable verdicts. This effect was compounded by the publication of some of these letters in newspapers and journals such as the West Briton, the Cornwall Chronicle, and the Royal Cornwall Gazette. Others found their way into the South Australian Record and South Australian News—two papers published in London to promote emigration to the colony. Indeed, the effect of letters written home by the Cornish colonists was so noticeable that the Register, published in Adelaide, remarked that

...enough has transpired through the press or the private communications of those who have cordially sent home their favourable impressions to arouse the attention of the enterprising Cornish of all classes, from one end of the county to the other... 

A number of the letters written home were almost euphoric. Joseph Orchard, from Mawgan-in-Meneage, declared:

You will do well, dear friends, not to stay at home to starve; here is plenty of work, plenty of meat, and plenty of money. I bless God that I am come here, and I do wish I was here before. We would go through our voyage again to come.

In 1839 Charles and Mary Dunn, from Trewen, advised their friends Thomas Hawke and Thomas Buller to join them in South Australia "...for industrious men are wanted". And Thomas Scown, a builder from Launceston, wrote that Cornish mechanics of all kinds were in great demand in the colony. He and his colleague had a lucrative Government contract to engage in masonry and building work:
We are to build as many homes as we like, at such prices that we get £1 per day by our own hands; this we have earned and received every day that we have worked in this colony. We have not only given general satisfaction, but other mechanics are surprised at these Cornish operatives. Londoners in South Australia, are already put by by Cornish men.

Samuel Bray, from Falmouth, said that "I would not persuade anyone to leave their native land, but all steady men are sure to do much better for themselves in this country than at home". His letter was addressed to his father, but these comments were intended principally for his friends John Peters and James Sawle. The latter, a stonemason and Methodist local-preacher in Truro, took Bray's advice, and came out with his family to South Australia. However, his arrival in the colony coincided with the financial crisis and economic depression of the early 1840s when the initial land boom had spent itself. Business confidence fell to a low level, many agriculturalists were almost ruined, and companies could not meet their debts. Capital and labour began to flow from the colony, and Governor Gawler attempted to balance the Budget by adopting a severe deflationary policy during 1841.

Thus James Sawle was landed in a colony beset by gloom and pessimism, and it is not surprising that his reaction to this atmosphere - after all he had heard about South Australia - was one of dismay and anger. He wrote to his brother in Truro in angry and anguished tones, with not a good word to say about the colony. In retrospect, even his first day in Adelaide seemed to him to have been full of frustration and degradation. He wrote of his arrival in the city after the journey up from Port Adelaide,
After some delay and insolence on the part of the driver, you are brought into the midst of some very poor-looking wood huts; you ask what this place is, and you are told this is the Square. At a certain place your luggage is taken or rather thrown down, so that your little glass, or whatever else you have, is often knocked to pieces. After selecting what you can find of your things for the night, you ask where you are to lodge; you are directed to a wood hut, there may be a casement in the window place, or there may not; however, there is no chimney for you to burn a little fire, and if there was it would be of no use to you for the night; you are now exhausted with hunger and fatigue, your dear children crying with hunger and cold. You now enter a place, out of which, perhaps two or three or more of a family have been carried dead, probably some of the old dirty garments remain, your floor is nothing but earth and dust; the smell from the burning of the oil and other causes is almost insufferable.

James Sawle claimed that fever and dysentery were rife in the colony - "...I could name many who left Cornwall, who have found a grave in Australia" - and he was scathing about the economic prospects of South Australia:

...with regard to the abundance of labour, this is not true... The prospects of the Colony are getting worse every day - those who were thought the richest men in the Colony, are now proved to be worth nothing, so that trade is at a standstill. Do not let any of my neighbours be deceived by false representations.

This reaction, however, was not typical of the views of most of the early Cornish settlers - one reason being that immigration had been abruptly halted as a result of the financial crisis, with only an unlucky few such as James Sawle arriving in the middle of the depression. Just as some 14,000 colonists had arrived in South Australia between 1836 and 1840, some 1,400 of these being from Cornwall, so the intake was cut back in 1841, with only 145 persons arriving in 1842 and a full flow of colonists not being restored until 1844. During those years, the pressure for emigration continued in Cornwall, an outlet being found in movement to the U.S.A. - particularly to the lead-mining districts of Wisconsin.
But the brake on migration to South Australia did not last long. The bumper harvest of 1842 revealed a fundamental labour shortage, and the development of the Glen Osmond silver-lead mines, after the discovery of Wheal Gawler in 1841 by two Cornishmen, seemed to herald the dawning of a new mineral age and increased the clamours for renewed immigration. Of course, the cessation of immigration had always been anathema to the true adherents of the Wakefield doctrine, though it was by now severely mauled, and so it is not surprising that by 1844 streams of colonists were again arriving in the colony under an assisted passage scheme. In the years after January 1841, the sale of waste lands in South Australia had swollen the immigration fund to £32,000, and, despite the revival of immigration after 1844, it grew to £100,000 by May 1847, when the Government sanctioned its full expenditure.

Needless to say, South Australia's mineral discoveries, firstly of silver-lead at Glen Osmond, and then of copper at Kapunda in 1843, Montacute in 1844, and at Burra Burra in 1845, rekindled Cornish interest in the colony after the lull of the early "forties". Extracts from South Australian newspapers were reprinted in the Cornish press, and Seymour Tremenheere wrote a paper for the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall on the subject of South Australian mining. Soon Cornwall had her own Burra Burra mine, situated in Kenwyn parish, and a West Kapunda mine was opened at Stoke Climsland in East Cornwall; two further indications of Cornish interest in South Australia. And at Tavistock, just over the Devon border in what was in so many ways an eastward extension of the East Cornish mining district, there was to be found a Devon Burra Burra mine and a Devon Kapunda.
The three silver-lead mines at Glen Osmond in the mid-1840s (Wheal Gawler, Wheal Watkins, and The Glen Osmond Union) were said to be "...more than equal to the celebrated East Wheal Rose of Cornwall..." and South Australian immigration propaganda made great capital out of the startling, almost unbelievable wealth of the mighty Burra Burra. An editorial in the South Australian News, published in London, tried to convince intending migrants that the economic crisis had been only a temporary set-back in the progress of the colony, and that the newly discovered mineral riches had put South Australia firmly on the road to prosperity and stability. It argued that,

...The extent and value of the mineral treasuries of South Australia, and the facility and economy with which they can be raised and exported are, we believe, unexampled, and the investment of English capital in working its mines...will have a most important bearing on the future prospect of the Colony - enhancing the value of its agricultural and pastoral properties, and giving profitable employment to its farmers and merchants in providing food and other necessities for a population daily becoming more numerous and important, by the emigration of labour, not needed or not remunerated at home. 82

An Adelaide paper, the South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register, wrote in September 1845 that "The greatest excitement has been produced in Cornwall..." by the mineral finds. It was proud that the colony was "...a British Province, with mines worked by Cornish hands..." and looked forward to seeing the "...capitalists of Cornwall transferring their energies to the more rich and generous mines of South Australia. The Kapunda and Burra Burra mines were soon established as being far and away the richest of all these enterprises. Much of the Cornish migration to South Australia in the late 1840s and 1850s was in response to the demand for skilled miners from these two workings, as early as January 1846 the Burra Directors having requested the Colonial Secretary to make special arrangements for the procurement of miners from Cornwall. 85
By 1845 most ships arriving at Port Adelaide carried contingents of Cornish migrants. The "Isabella Watson", for example, arrived from Plymouth in April 1845, carrying nearly 120 passengers of whom over 30 were Cornish. These arrivals were, of course, matched by departures from Cornwall. During 1845 ships carrying emigrants left a record number of Cornish harbours – St. Ives, Hayle, Penzance, Padstow, Boscastle, Fowey, Gweek, and Restronguet and Malpas on the Truro River – some of these being coasters taking passengers to join larger vessels at Plymouth, but others being emigrant ships from "up-country" ports calling for Cornish migrants before venturing into the open sea.

The year 1846 witnessed the arrival in South Australia of a number of ships carrying Cornish migrants. The Surgeon's Return for the "Rajah" indicated that 30 out of the 55 passengers listed were Cornishmen, and a number, such as Uriah Scoble, Peter Spargo, and John Trenowith, were recorded as being engaged to work at the Burra Burra mine. Others had come out under the auspices of the South Australian Mining Company to work at the Reedy Creek mine. Evidently the colony was well pleased with its Cousin Jacks, for in 1847 the South Australian Company wrote to the West Briton requesting further supplies of Cornish miners. In June 1846 it was said that another 500 migrants, chiefly Cornish miners and their families, were to leave Plymouth for South Australia during the next few months; and on 5th October the "Kingston" put into Falmouth to pick up 66 passengers of whom 44 were Cornishmen selected by the South Australian Mining Association – the company which ran the Burra Burra mine. In the November, a group of newspaper reporters were invited to inspect the "Princes Royal", then lying at Plymouth. They noted that the passengers on board were
"...chiefly from Cornwall..."91 and further observed that South Australia, owing to its having been colonized chiefly from the West of England, has more of this class of men (Cornish miners), than, perhaps any colony in our possession, and it would seem to be more than mere chance that drew them into a land which is now found to be abundant in mineral treasures. 92

And when the "Princess Royal" finally dropped anchor at Port Adelaide, the Register's reporter, as if to complement the words of his British counterparts, wrote that the immigrants were "...chiefly from the mining districts of Devon and Cornwall". 93 The passengers on the "Britannia" and "Hooghly" other arrivals in 1846, were also mainly Cornish, being a party of miners under Captain Richard Rodda, from St. Austell, who had been engaged by George Fife Angas to work the various copper deposits on his land in the Barossa Valley, north of Adelaide94. The arrival of Rodda, his miners, and the mining equipment they apparently brought with them, caused quite a stir at Port Adelaide and the wharves were a scene of great activity as everything was unloaded from the two vessels. Angas himself was in London at the time, but he took care to send a letter to Robert Frew, an agent at the Port, to draw his "...attention (to) Capt. Richard Rodda who has gone to South Australia with some miners to work the copper lodes in my lands..."95 and to ask him to "...afford the Captain the aid he requires in the landing of his party and goods."96

During 1846, specimens of the dazzling Burra Burra ore - beautiful green malachite and deep-blue azurite - were sent to J.B. Wilcocks, a senior migration agent stationed at the "Barbican", Plymouth. The Devonport Telegraph of February 20th 1847 reported excitedly,
...we have seen at the offices of Mr. Wilcocks, the agent for H.M. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, some specimen copper ores from South Australia; and as far as our judgement enables us to form an opinion, we should say that the richness of specimens exceed even those from the far-famed mines of South America...so that with the introduction of efficient miners, who are now proceeding under the agency of Mr. Wilcocks, there can be little doubt of the English and other markets receiving an increasing supply of a very superior quality.

J.B. Wilcocks was the agent at Plymouth for 30 years, from the late 1830s until at least 1866. His skill as a selector of emigrants and competence as an administrator were widely recognised. He played a central role in the selection of Cornish settlers for South Australia at a time when migration from Cornwall to the colony was at its height, and he took great pride in his work which was at all times methodical and meticulous. Of the miners he dispatched on the "David Malcolm" in 1846 he wrote that they were "...as fine a body of people as ever left England." He also commented individually on the quality of the migrants, so that John B. Tregea was described as a "Very superior miner", while James Rundle was "A good wheelwright, miner, carpenter and excellent character", and William Spargo was "an excellent captain".

With the continual arrival at Port Adelaide of emigrant ships carrying Cornish miners and their families, 1847 looked like a repeat performance of 1846. In the January, reporters from the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald boarded the "Theresa" in Plymouth Sound and noted that she carried,...upwards of 230 emigrants, for the very prosperous colony of South Australia, her destination being Adelaide, and...most of those on board were from this (i.e. Devon) or the neighbouring county, Cornwall..., they consist principally of miners and agricultural labourers and female servants.
In October, 1847 it was noted that the "China" had set sail for South Australia, the majority of passengers beingCornish miners selected by J.B. Wilcocks; while in the following year, 1848, Colonel Carlyon of Tregrehan (a stately home near St. Austell) wrote to Captain Richard Rodda saying that there were "...many still emigrating from this neighbourhood to Australia". Others, too, came from the East Cornish mining villages of St. Cleer and Tremar, for in 1848 the local brass band was severely embarrassed by the departure of its key players to South Australia. However, the great majority of Cornish migrants at this time seem to have come from the far-western district of Penwith – in 1846, 600 having come to South Australia from the mining parish of St. Just.

At first glance, this concentration on one small and relatively remote geographic area by the selecting agents seems a little strange. But St. Just miners were notoriously individualistic and would rarely condescend to work with miners from other Cornish districts, this attitude stemming from the fact that mining methods at St. Just differed from those practised elsewhere in Cornwall. At St. Just the miner worked alone, holding his gad with one hand and his pick with the other, but in the other Cornish mining districts men almost always worked in pairs. This presented a problem for the selecting agents, because it was their task to promote harmony between the migrants they chose. Thus, having decided to recruit from St. Just, they would then have to select as many migrants from that district as possible, and only a relative few from other parts of Cornwall. For the St. Just men were indeed fiercely independent, and even when they went overseas they remained aloof, with their own individual identity, and were known as "Santusters" to Cornishmen from other parts.
The decision of the agents to concentrate on the Penwith Peninsula in the first place, stemmed from the fact that it was the most westerly parts of Cornwall, the potato growing district, which were most acutely affected by the potato blights of the 1840s. The Cornish potato crop, vital to needs of so many local inhabitants, was devastated in 1845 and again in 1846. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland during this period is often emphasised but the "Hungry Forties" were almost as terrible for the Cornish as for their Celtic cousins in the Emerald Isle, and, like the Irish experience, resulted in widespread emigration and depopulation. The agricultural district of Stratton in North Cornwall seems to have been the first to be affected, the local population dropping by 10 percent during the 1840s, but the focus of the crisis soon moved to the West. During the hard winter of 1846-47, bands of angry and starving miners besieged the major towns, and on one occasion a mob armed with shovels and pick handles threatened to run amok in Helston. The Riot Act was read, but the small detachment of soldiers at the scene were powerless to control the crowd, which thronged the whole of Coinage Hall Street, and order was restored only through the distribution of bread to the poor. T. Oliver, in his Autobiography of a Cornish Miner, recalled what it was like to live in Cornwall during those grim days of the "Hungry Forties".

Everything was very dear and the working people were half starved...For our breakfast we had barley gruel, which consisted of about three quarts of water and a halfpenny-worth of skimmed milk thickened with barley flour...We lived about half a mile from the mine, and I had to go home to dinner. I...was sometimes so feeble that I could scarcely crawl along. For dinner we had sometimes a barley pasty with a bit or two of fat pork...and for supper a barley cake or stewed potatoes or turnips with a barley cover.

In 1847, William Allen, a migration agent at Penzance, in
the heart of the Penwith potato district, wrote that,

...there is a great excitement in this county and
neighbourhood. Many persons in the Penzance district
are preparing to emigrate to South Australia, and
amongst them a fair proportion of first-rate miners. 111

In Adelaide, the Register further noted that "Mr. Allen
says business was dull in Cornwall, and as the potato crop in
his neighbourhood participated in the general failure, much
distress was felt and anticipated"112, and it concluded that
this would result in increased migration to South Australia for
"...Cornish calculators could not fail to draw conclusions
highly favourable to (the) colony..." because "The people of
Cornwall were...fully aware of the success which had crowned
the labours of our indefatigable agriculturalists and their
horticultural brethren..."113.

Of course, the Register was correct. A contemporary
observer, J.R. Leifchild, estimated that during 1849 nearly
5 percent of the Penzance Poor Law Union (which consisted of the
various parishes of the Hundred of Penwith) had emigrated to
Australia and New Zealand, and he noted that "Emigration...
has tended to keep down the Cornish population..."114. In the
following year, 1850, 50 persons left the parish of Mawgan-in-
Meneage on the Lizard to come to South Australia, and in the
decade 1841-51 the population of the Meneage district had
dropped by 5 percent115. This exodus was reflected in the
arrivals at Port Adelaide, so that during 1849 a whole stream
of ships from Plymouth arrived in the colony, carrying Cornish
migrants. The "William Money", for example, carried 366
passengers of whom a half were Cornish, while a similar pro-
portion of the 266 migrants on the "Pakenham" were also from
Cornwall. The "Prince Regent" carried 60 Cornish settlers, the
the "Eliza" 42, the "Himalaya" 53, and so on.

---VIII---

As in the early days, the Cornish colonists who arrived in the 1840s, after the revival of immigration in 1844, wrote to their friends and relatives in Cornwall, telling them what they thought of the colony. Inevitably, these letters were full of news about the colony's mining boom, and, as before, served to stimulate yet further migration to South Australia. One miner wrote to a friend in Cornwall, "Oh! Richard, it would make your mouth water to see the Burra Burra mine", and in 1846 Thomas Davey implored his fiancée, Elizabeth, to join him in the colony because he was doing so well:

I am working at the Burra Burra copper mine, and my wages is from £3 to £4 a week, and I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you out at South Australia, and your sister Mary: whether Mary comes out or not I hope you will, and I am very sorry you did not come out with me, for if you had it would have been much better for you. I am still single and I shall remain so until you come. Miners get more wages than they do in Cornwall in two months. 118

Wages were a subject mentioned in many letters written home, and, notwithstanding the relatively high prices of commodities in the colony, the money received by miners must have seemed fabulous to those back in Cornwall—even as late as 1850 the average wage of the Cornish miner at home was only £3 per month. As Thomas Davey said, a miner in South Australia could earn more than that in just one week. Peter Medler (sic, correctly Medlend) who lived in Adelaide and worked in the Glen Osmond mines, wrote in similar vein:

We are all doing well, and I am still working in the mines on silver and lead ore, about 3 miles from my house, and getting 50s to £2 per week. Brother and sister, and neighbours, we wish to let you know what a rich and splendid province this is. There are mines in the province that are worth all Cornwall...hundreds and hundreds of...
tons of pure copper on the surface, which can be taken away with only breaking the rocks...this is the most wonderful place that was ever discovered. There is one mine in particular of twenty thousand acres, about 100 mile in the district from the city, called "The Great Monster" or "Burra Burra" mine being the native name, and for want of miners cannot well go on with it ...In a short time miners' wages will be £3 or £4 per week, because there are so many companies that one will be giving more wages than the other...and then we should be glad to see all the miners in Biscovey and Turnpike-gate (i.e. St. Blazey Gate) out here, to have £3 or £4 per week, in such a flourishing country where there is plenty of everything to nourish and cherish you ...

Please to remember our kind love to all the neighbours in Biscovey and Polkinghorns Row, and tell them we are all well and should like to see any of them out here.

At Kapunda, the home of many Cornish miners, the story was the same. John Oats wrote to his brother in Cornwall:

Here is the place to live! the dogs have got more beef and mutton than ever we could get in England (sic); if you could but see how we are living you would not stop home a day. The gettings, when we arrived on tutwork, were 10s per day, but I got a great deal more than that on tribute. I worked on a lode exactly the same as that time we got that money ... An industrious man need not work all his days here, for he can get paid well for his labor and live cheap. Me and Caroline can live on 10s per week, and you all know that I like a good living.

Even those Cornish settlers who were not miners, but farmers or artizans, wrote excitedly about the mining developments in the colony. James Sawle of Truro, who had arrived in the midst of the financial crisis and had hated the colony so very much, was tempted to revise his opinion of South Australia. In 1847, some five or more years after his arrival, he wrote to his friend, Thomas Crocker, in Truro. He was still critical of the colony itself and argued that whilst his own property was "...the richest you ever saw..." most of South Australia was dry and arid. He said that his land "...is not a sample of the country generally, perhaps there are not three such spots in the country" , but he was
prepared to admit that the prospects of the colony now seemed bright because of the wealth of the mining industry:

...I must tell you about our copper mines ... I suppose we have enough for a world. The Monster Mine (Burra) is the most noted; there is visible on the surface a lode five miles long... 124

In the following year, 1848, John Martin from Stithians informed his relatives at home that the Adelaide Hills were "...full of mineral of the best samples in the world" 125. Earlier, in 1845, another Cornishman, this time from Launceston, had written that "The colony is getting on in a very prosperous state – there is no cry in our streets for bread..." 126, and, although he himself was not a miner he knew others back in Cornwall who were, and advised them to come out:

Work is plenty – the mining is going on with spirit – they are constantly finding out lodes of copper at different places. It would be a good thing if ------- and his family were here, as the miners are all doing well. 127

Mr. Rendell, from Linkinhorne in East Cornwall, wrote home to his son, William, and, although he did not want him to become a miner (for the work was hard and dangerous), Rendell realised that the profitability of the South Australian mining industry augured well for the whole colonial economy. He fore-saw a boom in agricultural and service industries, and informed his son that

I am rather surprised at your abandoning the idea of coming out to make one of us; I trust you will alter your mind ... I would not wish you to come out here unless it would be for your benefit. We have gold, silver, copper, and iron mines in abundance; miners now get £3 per week ... it is no use, you must come, for I want a boy to drive the bullocks. Do not think I want you to come out to go mining, for I can put you in a farm, that the remainder of your life you may live in more ease and comfort. 128
Although it is clear that the majority of migrants writing home were able to persuade their kinfolk in Cornwall that they were better-off in the colony, and perhaps induce others to follow in their footsteps, there were a few who became frustrated - even angered - by their inability to convince their relatives of the benefits of emigration. Samuel Robins, from Penryn, had come out to South Australia with Marmaduke Laurimer in 1838, and had settled down well in the colony. In October 1846 he wrote to his sister at home,

You remind me of my promise to return in ten years; I was young and foolish when I uttered that speech, and I hope you will not expect me to leave a country like this ..., I cannot help thinking how inconsistent you write; you give me a wretched account of things at home, and expect me to leave a country which is flourishing fast ... It is a pity you make remarks about this country, when you know nothing of it. A handsome expression to tell me I am bringing up my children among savages. Penryn is nothing to Adelaide - we can buy everything we want, from a needle to an anchor, we have schools, chapels, and other institutions that are needful - Unnamed savages!!! What next shall we hear from home? You think this place is a wilderness - you are as much mistaken as though you were to say Plymouth is in France. I am determined to stop here (sic) I am and nothing you can say will alter my mind ... the remarks in your letter concerning Australia, it makes the heart sick ... 129

Sometimes the relatives back home were convinced by such letters, but were still hesitant about committing themselves to emigration to South Australia because of the enormously long sea-voyage that had to be endured. Poor William Prowse, from Penzance, was so very anxious for all his friends and relatives to come out, and yet they found the prospect of the voyage rather daunting. William wrote home as enthusiastically as he could, saying

...tell Uncle Richard of Crankan and all his family to come out and not delay no time, tell Uncle John Prowse to sell his house and come out and all his family, and James Marks and my sister likewise. We would wish if John and Nancy would come out here and Henry Nancervis, and all the rest if they can make up their mind, do
not be afraid, but come out, you are as safe aboard of
a ship, as you are in your own house - we had a beautiful
passage, fine weather all the way nearly: tell Aunt'
Alice to come and not be afraid of the sea and mother
likewise. 130

---IX---

This fear of the sea, given the Cornish sea-faring trad-
ition, is rather paradoxical. Certainly, the Cornish had a
deep respect for the sea and its power - wrecks along the
Cornish coast were almost commonplace in those days, one of
the most horrific being the loss of the emigrant ship "John",
bound from Plymouth for Quebec, when she ran onto the dreaded
Manacles Rocks near the Lizard in May 1855 and 196 people
perished. But the specific fear of the voyage to South
Australia was derived, first of all, from the sheer distance
of the colony, and, more especially, from the hair-raising
tales that reached Cornwall of conditions on the Antipodean
emigrant ships. The voyage of the "Java" in 1839 has already
been mentioned, and the journal compiled by George Richards,
one of the emigrants on board, gives a grim account of the
sufferings of the passengers on what can only be described as
a "horror ship". Richards himself was evidently a Cornishman,
as he wrote with familiarity and an apparent knowledge of
places in Cornwall and western Devonshire, and was clearly on
close terms with other Cornish passengers on the "Java".

Isaac Latimer had written that the "Java's" "... accom-
modations are unusually spacious and lofty, and are so arranged
as to insure the comfort of all the passengers", and he
noted that the ship would carry two surgeons and two school-
masters. An advertisement in the West Briton described the
"Java" as a "... fine first-class teak-built ship". However,
the "Java" was only a few days out of Plymouth when there was an outbreak of whooping cough, of which several children died. After a month at sea, Richards wrote that there was "... no nourishing food on board for the sick ..."¹³⁵ and complained that "... the intermediate cabins are insufferably hot, full of Cockroaches which destroy the clothes ..."¹³⁶, while there was "... beef thrown overboard, pork stinking"¹³⁷.

As the voyage progressed, there was a great spate of deaths - mostly of children - and on one occasion there was the gruesome spectacle of a coffin committed to the deep bursting open as it hit the sea. The daughter of one of George Richards' Cornish friends succumbed to the fever, "Girl to Bastian of Crowan died aged 11 years"¹³⁸, and not long after his own daughter passed away; "Dear little Caroline died this morning about 5 a.m. committed to the deep 12 o'clock about 4000 miles west of Australia"¹³⁹.

Even when jollifications were planned, to introduce a little merriment into the voyage, things seemed to go badly wrong, bringing only further misery to the emigrants. When the "Java" crossed the equator, the crew indulged in the time-honoured customs associated with moving from one hemisphere to the other, but the festivities somehow got out of hand. George Richards recorded that,

Neptune came on board 7 p.m. which was announced by a tar barrel sent to sea on fire and by buckets of water thrown from the Tops ... Neptune with his wife was drawn in his Car by 2 men dressed in sheep skins which resembled donkeys attended by a Band of Music. The shaving commenced, no respect to persons was paid, those that resisted were treated very bad, had the razor with teeth like a saw applied and bedaubed with tar all over, blind folded, make to take pills of sheeps dung, and bitter Draughts, bled and thrown into a huge Cistern of water ... A French gent was served so bad that he ran into the Cabin and struck
the Captain which put an end to such a foolish custom. When the "Java" finally dropped anchor at Port Adelaide, the passengers were determined to "... expose the shameful conduct and treatment of the Doctor, Captain and 3 Officers or Mates towards the Emigrants and Crew", and "The Governor came on Board very disgusted at seeing the starved faces of the children...". Richards felt, however, that the principal blame for the conditions on the voyage lay with the Commissioners in London "... for sending so many children 3 to each adult without a sufficient quantity of food.".

The Passenger Act of 1835 had prescribed a ratio of 3 passengers to every 5 tons of ship weight, and a further limitation of one person to every 15 cubic feet for vessels crossing the equator. In addition, 5 gallons of water and 7 pounds of bread had to be allowed for each and every passenger on board an emigrant ship. However, as the "Java" experience showed, the measures were not enough, and, even after the introduction of more stringent regulations in 1843 and again in 1847, the West Briton in 1849 could still note that Cornish passengers bound for Australia had to improve life on-board ship by purchasing extra provisions before they sailed. Sometimes conditions on the South Australia ships, especially in the 1830s and 40s, were so bad that vessels arrived at Port Adelaide with large proportions of their passengers ill or even dead. On the "Shackleton" 65 died out of a total of 751 migrants, while 21 of the 125 people on the "Douglas" died during the voyage to the colony. When Richard Moyle came out from West Cornwall in the 1840s, he found conditions on board ship "disgraceful", while Nicholas Boaden wrote to a friend in Veryan, saying that the widespread illness suffered by passen-
gers en route to Port Adelaide was caused by "... pig's slush on deck".

Although nothing can detract from the appalling conditions that were endured by some of these Cornish emigrants, it was also true that others were provoked into anger and discontent by relatively small incidents or deprivations. With several hundred migrants of varying origins and backgrounds coming together in cramped living quarters and with only the barest amenities, it was inevitable that tempers would fray and arguments break out. On the "Canterbury" in 1866, for example, a squabble developed when "... a Cornishman named Richards ... stole some bread", while John Hocking complained that on the "Macedon" he never received his fair share of soup when last in the queue. He added "... that the Beef was picked for the sailors, in consequence of which the emigrants got the bony pieces". One Cornishman, Skinner T. Prout, found these quarrels all rather amusing, and wrote that

The inconvenience to be experienced came from people of different habits and feelings being thrown together and the little disagreements which occasionally occur usually only serve to vary the monotony of the voyage.

Sometimes these "little disagreements" escalated into violent scenes, which were particularly ugly if crew members happened to be involved. When Francis Treloar journeyed to Australia from Penryn, in 1842, there was, in addition to the usual misery caused through illness and deaths, an unpleasant feud between the Captain of the vessel and the Mate which culminated in a vicious quarrell, during which the Mate attacked the Captain with a knife. The enraged Mate had to be overpower ed by other crew members, and was clapped in irons for the remainder of the voyage.
Some emigrants, like the incorrigible James Sawle from Truro, resented the fact that, once on-board ship, the passenger was "... entirely under the control and disposal of the doctor and captain ...". But others had genuine cause for complaint, like the passengers on the "Java" in 1839 or those on the "Westminster" in 1848, who included Joseph Orchard from Mawgan-in-Meneage. Orchard, in his journal of the voyage, recorded that the ship ran into stormy weather soon after leaving Plymouth with the migrants "... momentarily expecting to go to the bottom." In the Bay of Biscay, the ship lost sails and jibs in a storm, and, the ship's carpenter being ill, the emigrants themselves helped to effect the repairs. Less than a month out from Plymouth, the "Westminster" witnessed its first death - that of the two-month old son of Henry Lethlean from Camborne, and a few days later a baby born to the wife of James Mill, of Redruth, also died. One-year old James Repper, from Breage in West Cornwall, was next to pass away, and Henry Samson from Illogan lost his young daughter a few days later, while his wife suffered a miscarriage on the following day. Tristram Rowland, from Camborne, lost his wife the day before the ship arrived at South Australia.

As Joseph Orchard observed, the trials of the long voyage to the colony included not only the poor living conditions and the prevalence of fever, but also the weather itself. Hot weather increased the discomfort of the passengers (on the "Westminster" the men were required to sleep on deck, when passing through the tropics, to allow more air for the women and children below), and stormy weather led sometimes to serious damage to the ships, or even to their being wrecked. Henry Waters, born in Penzance in 1835, came out to South Australia as a boy in 1847, and the ship on which he travelled, the "Isabella Lynce",
was so badly battered by heavy seas that it had to put back into Plymouth for two months of repairs. Samuel Skewes, from Nantithet in the parish of Cury, and Alfred Tresize, a Cornish miner from Botallack, were passengers on board the emigrant vessel "Amoor" which was wrecked in Plymouth Sound in 1865, and they eventually sailed to Port Adelaide on a replacement ship, the "Trevelyan".

Especially frightening were the storms which occurred when the ships were far out to sea and there was no opportunity to put into port to have damage repaired. Thomas U. Treleaven, from Boscarne, near Bodmin, came out to South Australia in 1859 on the "Lady Ann" with his brother William, from neighbouring Nanstallon. The voyage took 84 days, during which time the ship was buffeted by storms and enormous seas. She was partially dismasted and lost all her sails overboard except for one on the remaining foremast. In this condition, the ship finally limped into Port Adelaide. Other vessels came to grief almost as their journey was completed. In 1839 the "Somersetshire", on which James Grylls from St. Buryan was a passenger, ran ashore between Semaphore and Glenelg, and the migrants had to be carried ashore by the sailors. Thomas James, from St. Hilary Churchtown, came out to the colony in 1865 with his cousin Charles on the "Electric". The ship was nearly wrecked at Brighton (South Australia), and three of the six men returning from the "Electric" on the Glenelg Pilot Boat were drowned in the heavy seas. When Williams Stevens, born in Cornwall in 1850, migrated to the colony in 1874, the ship on which he travelled, the "City of Adelaide", ran aground at Henley Beach so that the passengers had to wade ashore. And John Liddiccoat, another Cornishman, had the ironic experience of being on the ship "Marion" which was wrecked in 1840 on Yorke Peninsula.
an area where he would later own a farm, and of which part would come to be known as "Little Cornwall". 162

It was certainly true that as time went on, conditions on the emigrant ships did improve. The relatively small and old-fashioned boats which were commonplace in the 1830s and 1840s gave way to larger vessels - the clippers, ironclads and steamers. As early as 1851 there was a steamship, the "Omega", on the Port Adelaide run, and later some migrants to Australia, such as Stephen Curnow from Marazion 163, were lucky enough to travel on Brunel's masterpiece, the S.S. "Great Britain". Nevertheless, despite these improvements, harsh conditions were still encountered even at the end of the century. In 1875 the Rev. R. Carlyon Yeoman came out from Cornwall to South Australia to go to the Bible Christian circuit of Port Wakefield. He left Perranwell on 22nd September, catching the branch train to Truro where he caught a through connection to Plymouth to join the "Collingrove". (In earlier days migrants would have gone to Plymouth by coasting vessel.) However, although the "Collingrove" was a good ship, the passage was stormy and much distress was caused through the sale of intoxicating liquor on board ship. Yeoman asserted that, "The drinking portion of the passengers were a continual annoyance to the temperate party, especially at night". 164

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Thus, to summarise, the poor conditions on many South Australian emigrant ships - which led to their bad reputation in Cornwall - derived essentially from the enormous length of the voyage, and were aggravated by overcrowding, poor provisioning, disease epidemics, adverse weather, the indifference of
the surgeons and crew to the passengers' suffering, and by the
behaviour of the emigrants themselves. But despite all this,
the Commissioners and their agents were not really callous in
their estimation of the emigrants and their wants. Because
poor Irish families bound for America had been preyed upon by
unscrupulous Liverpool landlords, who charged exhorbitant rates
for filthy accommodation, a fine emigrant depot was constructed
at Plymouth in the 1840s. Board was only 6d. a day and the
emigrants were well looked after, thus avoiding the social evils
of Liverpool. At the depot, peoples from all over the U.K.
congregated, awaiting their ships, men from Cornwall, for ex-
ample, rubbing shoulders with Gaelic-speaking Irishmen and
Highlanders.165 Even R.N. Worth, in his monumental History of
Plymouth of 1872 felt constrained to mention the depot, writing
that "... Plymouth has long been the chief Emigration Depot for
Government emigrants".166

When newspaper reporters were given the opportunity to in-
spect the "Princess Royal" prior to its departure for Port
Adelaide, in November 1846, they were genuinely impressed by
the ship's facilities. One account noted that

The whole length and breadth of the 'tween decks is
appropriated to the accommodation of the emigrants,
and is fitted up from stem to stern on both sides
with a double tier of standing bed-places, and is
separated into three distinct compartments, divided
by bulk-heads, but so constructed as to allow a free
circulation of breeze from the windsails, and numerous
scuttles admit light and air. The single women have
an enclosed apartment to themselves, and so have the
single men - the males being placed in the extreme
forward part of the ship, and the females at the extreme
other end in the stern - the intermediate space being
occupied by married couples. There are two distinct
hospitals, one for males and the other for females,
the latter being fitted with several bed-places, some
of which are prepared expressly for accouchements. 167
J.B. Wilcocks, the senior migration agent, would address the emigrants from the poop of the ship prior to its departure, stressing that passengers should ensure absolute cleanliness in the 'tween decks at all times, and that they should avoid arguments and disputes. His favourite comment in these addresses was,

The difference between England and Australia is this:—
That in England we have more mouths than meat while in Australia there is more meat than mouths. 168

The emigrants themselves were usually optimistic on the eve of their departure, despite the sadness of leaving their friends and relatives, and all aspired to build a better life in Australia. Thomas Curnow (who sailed from London and not Plymouth) wrote to his parents in Cornwall, pledging to "turn over a new leaf" in the colonies, and asking that

... you must forgive me for my fo'leys (sic) which I am subjected to I have kept frome Drink this last Six Weeks and do not mean to drink any more If I can help it by the help of God. 169

John Rowe, a Cornish miner from the parish of Lanhydrock, who sailed on the "Princess Royal" in 1846, was clearly delighted by the prospect of emigration, and, on the evening before the ship set sail from Plymouth, he sang to the assembled migrants a little composition he had written himself. It was a touching, highly allegorical, little piece which tells us much about the intense hope Cornishmen experienced as they prepared to leave for a new home, and a new life, abroad.

Come on, my brethren, let us sing,
Unto that city bright,
There need not one be left behind,
For Christ does all invite,
And to glory we will sail, we'll sail, and to
glory we will sail. 170
It may be that many who shared this optimism quickly lost it once the ship put to sea, especially if they had the misfortune to be on vessels such as the "Java" or the "Westminster". But, notwithstanding the generally unpleasant nature of sea-travel in the nineteenth-century, there were some voyages to South Australia which were relatively free from incident, and quite bearable. When there was sickness on board ship, the situation was helped considerably if the doctor was competent and sensitive, and took an interest in the emigrants' welfare. Samuel Bray, from Falmouth, wrote that,

"Sometimes my dear wife was rather unwell, but our doctor was very kind, and got her name on the list of those who received one bottle of porter in two days. On the whole, we got on very well, bless the Lord for it." 171

Thomas Scown, from Launceston, who sailed to South Australia in 1838 on the "Katherine S. Forbes", was lucky, for his voyage was the "... most comfortable that has been recorded." 172 It was speedy, the ship overtaking other vessels that had sailed at an earlier date, and virtually trouble free. Scown recorded that

"... instead of complaints against the captain, as other emigrants have made, we gave our captain, doctor, and mates, and ship's crew, three cheers each when we were asked by the Emigration Agent what causes of complaint we had during our voyage. To you this must be cheering." 173

When William Prowse came out from Penzance in 1848, on the "Santipore", there were the usual "Neptune" antics when crossing the equator. But, in marked contrast with the ugly scenes on the "Java", the mood was one of happiness and pleasure, the "rougher" aspects of the celebration being reserved for crew members only:

"... when we crossed the line there was a general holiday and the sailor shaved all those sailors that had not crossed the line before, and I never saw more frolic in my life than there was that day; we had plenty to eat..." 174
Apart from the observance of maritime traditions, migrants to South Australia - Cornish and otherwise - devised various means to while-away their time on the voyage. On the "Isabella Watson" in 1845 the passengers ran a ship's magazine, entitled, quite appropriately, The Mariner. One enterprising Cornishman contributed an article on the Consolidated Mines in Gwennap, which he called "The First Mine in the World".  

Eleanor Jane Orchard, who returned to Cornwall from South Australia to marry John Boaden of Skyburriowe in Mawgan-in-Meneage, recalled that the passengers passed the time with quizzes, and by posing riddles. One riddle asked, "Why is a sweet at sea like a dandy?" to which the answer was, "Because there is a swell on board".  

A more sophisticated puzzle was the one that went,  

A penny for your thoughts - The first is what we underfoot do tread, the 2nd is what some do use for bread, the 3rd is what we all do crave, the riddle tell me and your penny save". (Answer: Mat-ri-money)  

On a number of ships, the captain happened to be a Cornishman, which no doubt helped to make the voyage to the colony more bearable for those migrants who were also Cornish. When William Rowe came out from Cornwall in 1849 on the "Prince Regent", he found that the master of the vessel was a Cornishman by the name of Captain Jago. George Henry Josephus Tucker, from Penryn, came out to the colony in 1854 on the "Phoebe Dunbar", of which his brother was captain, and when Joseph Hancock set sail for South Australia on the "Lillies" in September 1860, he was delighted to find that the master was none other than his old friend Captain Williams, from Mevagissey.  

There is some evidence to suggest that Cornish captains were inclined to treat Cornish passengers with a certain degree of favouritism, or at least ensure that their wants were given
especial attention. The captain of the "Westminster" in 1848 was obviously a Cornishman, for he referred to the daughters of two migrants as his "two little maidens" — a typically Cornish turn of phrase — and Joseph Orchard wrote that he, being Cornish, was well treated: "... our captain and mate were very kind to us; they gave us a great many things. They gave us as good as £1 more than the rest had."

Similarly, Williams Prowse said that during his voyage on the "Santipore", the "... captain behaved to me like a father..." and Thomas Scown noted that he and John Williams, another Cornish emigrant on the "Katherine S. Forbes", were singled out for preferential treatment by the ship's master who, perhaps, was also a Cornishman.

---XI---

Perhaps news of these happier experiences also filtered back to Cornwall, in addition to the grimmer stories, for, as has already been shown, thousands of Cornishmen took the plunge and left for South Australia — even in the 1830s and 1840s, when conditions on the emigrant ships were at their worst. Indeed, it is clear that by the end of the 1840s, the Cornish colonists represented a sizeable proportion of the South Australian population, and were recognised as such by their fellow settlers.

The population of South Australia in 1849 was 52,904, and, using the method of estimation described earlier in this chapter, the Cornish proportion would have been in the region of 5,800.

Robert Dare, in a letter to his parents in England, noted that "The principal part that come out here are Cornwall miners..." and the Rev. Daniel Draper, a Wesleyan minister in South Australia, wrote to the British Conference requesting further
missionaries for the colony as congregations were being swelled by newcomers from Cornwall. Even more telling was the September 1849 issue of the *South Australian News*, one of the newspapers published in London to promote migration, which carried a short-story supposedly reflecting life in the colony, and in which the fictional characters were given Cornish surnames such as Trefusis and Vivian.

The relative strength of the Cornish community was also reflected in the emergence of the short-lived but influential "Cornwall and Devon Society" in December 1850. Its secretary was the enigmatic Plymothian, John Bentham Neales, who made his fortune from investment in the Burra Burra, and who was probably also the "gentleman" who created a stir in Cornwall by boasting there, that - for his initial investment of £250 in the Burra - he had received a dividend of £1,000 after only one year of the mine's operation. There were two treasurers - J.C. Lanyon and Abraham Scott - evidently a Cornishman and a Devonian - and the committeemen were drawn from Cornish mine captains in the colony, and from Adelaide businessmen. Most South Australian mines seem to have been represented in the society - there was Captain Henry Roach of Burra Burra, Captain Gundry of North Kapunda, Captain Lean of Wheal Prosper, and so on - and indeed the only glaring omission from the names of the committeemen was that of Richard Rodda.

The aims of the society were to

... encourage Emigration direct from the Counties (i.e. Cornwall and Devon), devise the best means by which that desirable end can be accomplished, to watch over the interests of Devon and Cornish colonists, and generally to promote harmony and good feeling among them.
Some of the Cornish miners in the colony were alarmed, fearing that the society might be an attempt by the captains to combine to force down soaring wage rates. But the purpose of the "Cornwall and Devon Society" does seem to have been genuinely that of a pressure group, to lobby for increased migration from South-West Britain, and to promote the mining interest. The society corresponded directly with mine captains in Cornwall, trying to publicise "... the highly remunerative employment that awaited the skill and enterprise of Cornish miners", and in early 1851 it submitted a memorial to Governor Young complaining that not enough miners were being sent to the colony. It also argued that, when miners were selected, they ought to come exclusively from the mining districts in Cornwall and the western fringe of Devonshire where, ...

... early association and knowledge of each other's habits and character are calculated to preserve the best moral restraint on the conduct of all...

Finally, the Society demanded that ships carrying miners should sail direct from Cornish ports, thus making emigration a relatively simple matter and facilitating the work of the migration agents in Cornwall. The Government replied to all this by stating that between June 1850 and May 1851 one-seventh of colonists dispatched from the U.K. were Cornish miners, and argued that Plymouth was more suitable than any Cornish harbour as a departure point for emigrants, as it was central to both Cornwall and Devon, and at the same time reasonably accessible from other parts of the U.K.

The "Cornwall and Devon Society", despite its initial impact, seems to have fallen victim, as did various organisations and institutions, to the conditions created by the Victorian Gold Rush when so many South Australians - particularly those of
Cornish origin - went off to the neighbouring colony in search of gold. Although the South Australian economy in general, after the initial dislocation, prospered as a result of the Rush, the copper mines themselves did not. They were suddenly faced with disastrous labour shortages, and each one - including the mighty Burra Burra - was forced to suspend its workings.

---XII---

The Burra was then easily the largest and most influential commercial concern in South Australia, and the South Australian Mining Association, which owned and managed the mine, reacted to the labour shortage by attempting to recruit further supplies of miners direct from Cornwall. A close relationship had already been developed between Henry Ayers, Secretary of the S.A.M.A., and J.B. Wilcocks, the Plymouth migration agent. During the 1850s, as the Association negotiated for more and more Cornish colonists, this relationship was strengthened even further, to the mutual advantage of both men. On a number of occasions in 1850, Henry Ayers had written to Government officials in the colony, arguing that "... very extensive Immigration..." be maintained and even expanded. And throughout 1850 and 1851, J.B. Wilcocks had been sending out streams of Cornish miners to the colony as a matter of course, for they were valued above all other classes of tradesmen. For example, the "Stag", which arrived at Port Adelaide in June 1850, carried 32 migrants from Cornwall - some, like John Grigg, Joseph Hooper, and William Harris, having been engaged specifically to work in the Burra mine. The "Ascendant", which arrived in January 1857, carried 50 Cornish passengers, the "Omega" 131, the "Sultana" 59, and so on. And when the news of the Victorian gold-discoveries led to the wholesale
departure of the Cornish miners - not only from the Burra but from all the South Australian mines as well - Henry Ayers realised that this already considerable flow of miners from Cornwall would have to be even further increased if the mines were to continue in production. Accordingly, in November 1852, Ayers wrote to J.B. Wilcocks saying,

We have for many years past experienced the benefit of your judicious selection of Cornish and Devonshire Miners for this Colony and we hope you may be able to furnish us with as many "good men and true" as heretofore. We could find employment for a thousand hands consisting of Miners, Smiths, Engineers, Carpenters and others employed at Copper Mines - at wages varying from £6 to £10 per month. Such wages as these should be sufficient inducement to the thousands in your district who cannot in the best of times expect to make much more than a third of this. 198

The state of the labour market in South Australia deteriorated quickly, and only a month later Ayers was again writing to Wilcocks, the imploring nature of this letter contrasting with the rather stiff and formal tone of the earlier communication. "We are still thirsting for labour ..."199, he wrote, adding that he was "... looking forward with great anxiety to extensive emigration from your Port, in which, I trust we may not be disappointed"200. At first, Wilcocks had difficulty in responding to Ayers' requests, for by now people in Cornwall had lost their enthusiasm for South Australia, the Victorian gold-fields having captured their imagination.201 Nevertheless, ships arriving during 1852 and 1853 continued to sport large Cornish contingents, although, as Ayers had feared, they were by no means enough to satisfy the demand for miners that existed in the colony. Many, indeed, left for Victoria almost as soon as they had landed at Port Adelaide.

By 1854 the labour situation had not improved significantly, and so again Henry Ayers wrote to J.B. Wilcocks, this time
offering him a personal bounty of £2 per head for up to 500 Cornish miners. Ayers suggested that perhaps Wilcocks could use some of this money to employ sub-agents in the different parts of Cornwall, and the S.A.M.A. directors decided to send a further £500 to Wilcocks "... to be disbursed by him in small sums among intending Emigrants from the Mining population of Cornwall...". And if this little, discreet bribery would not sway the Cornishmen, then Wilcocks was to tell them that tributors at the Burra could now earn up to £11 or £12 per month.

Wilcocks himself responded magnificently to Ayers' gesture, sending over 1,600 Cornish migrants, mainly miners and their families, to South Australia during 1854 and 1855, furnishing every male colonist with a letter of introduction to be given to prospective employers in the colony. The S.A.M.A. indicated that it was ready to give assistance to those needing to purchase "the necessary outfit" for the voyage, and that it would cover travelling expenses for those journeying to Plymouth from the Cornish mining districts. The Association even sent Wilcocks copies of the Adelaide Observer to keep him informed of developments in the colony, and, in September 1854 sent him a further £100 for his services. To facilitate Wilcocks' work, the Association also continued to lobby the Colonial Secretary to impress upon him the need "... to select and despatch to this Province a considerable number of Miners and others accustomed to work in Copper Mines". That the Association was well pleased with Wilcocks' efforts, is evidenced in the reply to a letter from one Captain J. Ellis, a mine manager in Cornwall, who had offered to act as a selecting agent for the Burra mines. In response to his offer, Ayers wrote that the Directors having "...made arrangements to procure Miners from Cornwall and Devon, they are not disposed to make
any further arrangements for that purpose". Wilcocks, it seems, could manage on his own.

Although Ayers was not entirely happy with the miners who arrived on the "William Prowse", (the first of the vessels sent out after the offer of the bounty) because he considered them too young and inexperienced, he was delighted with those who came out on the later ships, those on the "Nile" being "very superior" miners who "... will meet with immediate employment" Indeed, for a time it seemed that perhaps Wilcocks had done his work too well. Hundreds of colonists from Cornwall continued to arrive at Port Adelaide, and yet others were returning to the Burra from Victoria as the gold-rush began to lose its momentum. The deeper workings of the Burra Burra mine were still inundated with water, as a result of the pump engine being stopped at the height of the Rush, and Ayers anticipated that it would be some time before the water was "infork". He wrote to Wilcocks saying that he might have difficulty in finding work for some of the later arrivals although, as it happened, work in the deeper levels commenced earlier than was expected, so that all the available labour was needed.

And then, towards the end of 1855, the Victorian goldfields experienced a new wave of popularity. Although the Cornish miners who had arrived on the "Thomas Arbuthnot" and other recent emigration ships were "... proving very acceptable ..." Ayers had yet again to write to Wilcocks, asking him to increase the rate of selection in Cornwall. He also wrote to the Colonial Secretary railing against the increasing practice of despatching colonists from Southampton, instead of Plymouth, because "... the cost of joining a ship at Southhampton, is far greater than the majority of Emigrants from Devon
and Cornwall can afford to pay". Ayers was also furious about the way in which some migrants abused the assisted passage scheme to South Australia and who on arrival in the colony made their way straight to the Victorian diggings. Ayers felt that it was disgraceful that they should go to Victoria "... without earning one penny for the Colony", and he collected the names of some of those who had thus abused the system. From their surnames, it seems that the majority of these were Cornish - Andrew and Philadelphi Stevens, Humphrey and Mary Johns, Richard Roe, William Martin, and so on. Ayers forwarded these names to the Colonial Secretary, with the implication that some action ought to be taken, but in practice it was almost impossible to prevent the abuses from occurring. As early as June 1852, migrants coming out to South Australia on assisted passage had been required to sign a declaration to the effect that they would not go to Victoria, but still this did not deter the most ardent gold-seekers. Even in 1857 it was still necessary for J.B. Wilcocks to interview all migrating miners to try to ensure that they were not taking advantage of the South Australian scheme to make their way to Victoria.

In his attempts to secure a steady flow of Cornish miners to the colony, Henry Ayers also made use of the "nomination" scheme which was experimented with from time to time in the 1850s, inviting miners at the Burra to nominate friends and relatives in Cornwall. As early as May 1850, Ayers was sending lists of nominated persons to the Colonial Secretary, and the S.A.M.A. itself was in some instances prepared to pay for the migration of Cornish miners. This, however, was viewed by some in the colony as a discriminatory practice, one correspondent to the Register asking if it was "... becoming to make this offer of assistance to Cornish alone?" Ayers, in char-
acteristic fashion, ignored such criticisms and continued to give especial treatment to Cornwall and the Cornish.

In March 1856, for example, he authorised J.B. Wilcocks to send out - at the Association's expense - the wife and family of William Kent, who were then resident at Probus, near Truro. William Kent was then the chief timberman at the Burra. He was much distressed by the fact that his family was still in Cornwall, and, because "... it would be very inconvenient for him to leave..." to return home, it was decided that it would be politic to pay for his wife and children to join him in the colony. On other occasions, when those nominated were above the age limit for completely free passage, the S.A.M.A. undertook to pay the remaining part of the fee. In 1850, for instance, William Richards of Herodsfoot and Mary Goldsworthy of Twyadderth were both over 50 years of age, and so the Association was required to pay £11 each towards their passages. As it happened, William Richards died on the eve of his departure from Cornwall, and soon Henry Ayers was writing to the Colonial Secretary asking for his money back.

The "nomination" system had obvious advantages for the S.A.M.A., which could easily mobilise its miners at the Burra, so that fully documented lists of nominees could be presented to the Government almost "at a moments notice". There were, however, disadvantages, the most serious being that it was not possible to discern between "good" and "bad" migrants. J.B. Wilcocks, as already noted, took great care in the selection of his migrants, and was justifiably proud of his achievements. Of the migrants he despatched on the "Hooghly" in April 1856, he wrote that they were "... from Cornwall and the mining districts of Devon - they have been selected with much much care
and I hope there is not an inferior labourer among them." 224

Similarly the migrants he sent out on the "Royal Albert" in December 1856 he considered "... a valuable addition to the colony". 225 However, he was clearly irritated when the "nomination" scheme was again experimented with during 1857, because migrants were chosen by "nomination" rather than by "selection". He wrote to Ayers complaining that the Cornish miners on the "Lady Ann" were unsatisfactory, and that "... a more miserable lot of people never before left the shores of England". 226 Ayers had a report prepared on these colonists when the ship docked at Port Adelaide, and, although it was "... more favourable than I had expected..." 227, he had no doubt "... that you (Wilcocks) would have been severely censured ... had you selected such people". 228 Ayers had to agree that the nomination system had its faults. But by 1858 the debate was becoming increasingly academic, because an anti-immigration campaign, spurred on by a partial failure of the wool and wheat crops, was beginning to have an effect. In 1859 only six shiploads of migrants arrived in South Australia, and by 1861 immigration had ceased, albeit only temporarily.

---XIII---

Although the 1850s as a whole, with the effect of the Victorian Gold Rush, had been a damaging era for the Burra Burra mine, the S.A.M.A. was fortunate in that at least there was a ready supply of miners in Cornwall from which to draw new recruits. For after 1850, the copper mines in West Cornwall - in the Camborne-Redruth district, and especially in Gwennap - had fallen into decline, and although some West Cornish miners moved eastwards to the relatively new and still flourishing copper mines at Caradon and in the Tamar Valley, many sought employment overseas. The Cornish copper industry was beginning to die, and the first symptoms of its death became apparent in the old mines of the West. Dolcoath had turned to tin as early
as 1834, the far-famed Tresavean was stopped in 1853, and the mighty Consolidated Mines were abandoned in 1857. The year 1856 saw Cornish copper reach its maximum output - 13,247 tons of metal from 209,000 tons of ore raised - but the statistics belied the real situation, the production figures being boosted by the output of the Caradon mines (discovered in 1837) and Devon Great Consols (discovered in 1844).

Thus when the arrival of Cornish miners in South Australia declined and halted during 1859 and 1860, this was a result, not of a drying up of supply, but of the temporary suspension of assisted immigration. It is interesting to reflect that in the period 1851 to 1860 some 48,886 migrants were recorded in the shipping passenger lists, of whom 5,135, or 10.5 percent were from Cornwall. And, as already noted, in 1860 there were approximately 13,200 people in South Australia of Cornish birth or descent.

Most of the Cornish immigrants who arrived in the colony in the 1850s came from working-class backgrounds, with the occasional exceptions, such as Joseph Littleton and family who were members of the "lesser gentry". John Tregenza has quite correctly pointed out that "The popular conception that all Cornish emigrants were miners, or connected with mining, is a myth," but it is clear that in the 1850s the vast majority of Cornishmen arriving in South Australia were in fact copper miners. Between 1848 and 1860 the occupations of the majority of adult male Cornish migrants were recorded in the shipping passenger lists (see Appendix 5). Of these 2,117 Cornishmen, no less than 1,797 - or 84.9 percent - were miners, whilst many of the others were in allied or service industries such as engineering, blacksmithing, quarrying, carpentry, and masonry.
As shown above, most of these Cornish miners came out in response to the demand from the S.A.M.A., but others went to Kapunda, to the mines in the Mount Barker and Callington district, and to the various workings elsewhere. Thomas Nicholls, for example, came out from St. Austell in 1856 to participate in the opening of Wheal Ellen at Strathalbyn. He had been a miner "... from an early age"\textsuperscript{233}, and had had extensive experience at Wheal Maria (part of the Devon Great Consols complex), South and West Caradon, Fowey Consols, and Par Consols. It was probably because of this experience that he was engaged by the Wheal Ellen directors, who also brought out an accomplished mining engineer - John Cornish, from Helston - in 1856\textsuperscript{234}. It was not only Henry Ayers, then, who had a predilection for Cornishmen. Every other mine company official in the colony was on the look out for Cornish miners, and most came to realise that the decline of copper mining in Cornwall could only serve to increase the supply of Cousin Jacks to South Australia.

The rapid decline of the West Cornish copper mines was due fundamentally to their becoming extremely deep, less rich (in some cases, almost worked-out), and consequently more costly to work. Their age meant that they were becoming technologically obsolete, and outmoded management techniques did not help the situation. On the world market, fluctuating copper prices contributed to the erosion of Cornish profitability, while increasing overseas competition gave momentum to the Cornish decline. This competition came first of all from South America, from countries such as Chile and Cuba. In 1845, for example, one South American mine, the Cobre, produced 22,741 tons of ore - far surpassing even the greatest Cornish mines, such as United Mines with 14,374 tons, Wheal Maria (Devon Great Consols) with 11,288 tons, or Tresavean with 6,433 tons. Moreover, Cornish
ore could only make an average of £5 15s 6d per ton, while the Cobre ore realised £14 0s 6d, and the rich Chilean copper made £29 13s 6d. This competition was soon reinforced by the development of copper mines in U.S.A. and in South Australia (in 1845, Kapunda ore was realising £14 15s 3d per ton), and so the Burra and other South Australian mines - which depended so much on Cornish labour - were in part responsible for undermining the Cornish mining economy. 236

When Francis Dutton visited the U.K. in 1845 to promote his Kapunda mine, one "mining gentleman" ridiculed his idea that South Australia would come to challenge the Cornish industry. "Pooh! Pooh! my dear sir", 237 exclaimed the gentleman, "... all the ore you will ever produce from South Australia will be but a drop in a bucket of water!" 238 Dutton's only comment was that "Time will show...", 239 and others shared his opinion of South Australian potential. As early as July 1845 the South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register had predicted that, with the rise of the colonial mines, "... many of the Cornwall... mines, at present worked at an enormous expense, compared to the value of the ore, must be abandoned", 240 and in February 1846 a correspondent from the Perth Inquirer (published in Swan River Colony) wrote that "I am sure that all the inferior copper mines of Cornwall will in a few years be rendered useless" 241 through South Australian competition. Also in 1846, the Devonport Telegraph and Plymouth Chronicle feared that "... it is certain that the very rich ores from South Australia will operate most prejudicially upon the mining interests of Cornwall... ." 242 because the colonial producers could send their ore to the Swansea smelters as cheaply as could their Cornish rivals. The coasting vessels plying between Cornwall and Wales charged relatively high rates for the transportation of ore, and yet,
as Seymour Tremenheere explained to the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, South Australia was a wool-exporting colony, with the result that

... the wool-ships on account of the lightness of the cargo are obliged to take in a large quantity of ballast, and they are therefore glad to take the lead and copper ore at a merely nominal rate of freight; at the time in question about eight or ten shillings per ton. That circumstance was considered as bringing their mines, as it were, actually into Europe, or at all events as placing them upon an equal footing with European mines... 243

As South Australian copper increased in output, the Register noted grimly that, with this increase being due to the efforts of Cornish miners in the colony, it was now "... Cornwall against Cornwall". 244 But, surprisingly, the Cornish did not see it that way. Although mention of the dreaded "Chili bars" would send a shiver down the spine of any Cornish mining man, "Few if any in Cornwall begrudged the success of Australian copper..." 245 because the South Australian mines were "... regarded as nothing more or less than extension of Cornish mining enterprise to the Antipodes..." 246.

But Cornish sentiment apart, it was clear that a "vicious circle" had become established, with the expansion of the South Australian mining industry further eroding Cornwall's economy, and thus creating a still greater supply of unemployed miners anxious to find work in the mines of South Australia. Their arrival in the colony facilitated even further expansion of its mineral output, and thus the vicious circle was perpetuated. A brief respite was provided by the Victorian Gold Rush, when J.R. Leifchild wrote that "The scales may be said to be suspended over Australia and Cornwall, and the fall in one produces a corresponding rise in the other". 247 But the vicious circle was again set in motion by the resurgance of the South
Australian copper industry in the late 1850s. More particularly, it received new vigour from the discovery of the incredibly rich copper deposits on North Yorke Peninsula, at Wallaroo in 1859 and at Moonta in 1861, in a district soon to be known across the world as "Little Cornwall". As the Northern Star, published at Kapunda, put it - South Australia was by now "... out-Cornwalling Cornwall altogether."

---XIV---

The development of the North Yorke Peninsula mines, together with the excellent harvest of 1861, stimulated demands for a resumption of immigration. One petition circulated at Kapunda called for a "thousand miners" to be brought out to the colony, and the Government was so inundated with petitions that £25,000 was allocated for immigration. At the end of 1862 this was followed by the so-called "Sutherland Act" (officially the Waste Lands Sales Act) which allocated one-third of the annual land-sales revenue to the immigration fund, to be used to finance assisted passages.

This act, coming as it did at a time of deepening crisis in the Cornish copper industry, precipitated a further wave of Cornish migration to South Australia. Throughout the early 1860s Cornish copper mines were closing, including some of the larger workings such as Basset United and Crenver & Wheal Abraham, while a number were desperately trying for tin - among them Cooks Kitchen, South Frances, and Wheal Buller, to name but a few. As in the 1850s, unemployed miners from the West moved to the East Cornwall mines. But the capacity of these mines to absorb newcomers was limited, and in any case the wage rates and living conditions in the East were hardly superior to those
that had formerly obtained in the West. Many, therefore, went
to the East Cornwall copper and silver-lead mines, but, find-
ing no permanent solution there, decided instead to go overseas.
Such was the experience of one John Prout, as he recorded in his
diary:

I could never remember anything about my birthplace
(Crown), for my mother took me to Camborne when a
baby. When I was eight years old I went to work at a
place a little down from Dolcoath tin mine at a place
called Red River. I had to work from seven till five,
with an interval of half-an-hour for dinner, as a tin-
dresser for a penny per day. When I was 10 years old,
I had three pence per day. Then, in 1852, we went to
Liskeard (East Cornwall) to live, but instead of
stopping in that town we went 3½ miles out to be near
the mine in Menheniot Parish. There I went to work
in Wheal Trelawney mine, and had 6d per day to start
with. That was dressing silver-lead ore.

When still a young boy, Prout was put in charge of the
ore stamps, and later progressed to engine-driver. But life
at Menheniot was little improvement on that in Camborne, so in
1865 he came out to South Australia where, at Moonta, he went
underground as a miner for the first time in his life.

In the entire period 1862 to 1870 some 13,265 immigrants
were recorded in the shipping passenger lists of whom 3,235 —
or 24.4 percent — were from Cornwall. And of the 1,007 adult
male Cornish migrants for whom occupations were recorded in the
period 1862-67, some 366 — or 36.3 percent — were miners, while
371 were labourers (many, no doubt, engaged in the mining in-
dustry), 57 blacksmiths, and 65 agricultural labourers. The
great influx from Cornwall commenced in 1863; and in 1864, a
year of heavy immigration, over 16 percent of all migrants were
from Cornwall, the West Cornish mining district of Marazion
sending as many as 150 people to South Australia. And in
1865, another year of heavy immigration, an incredible 42.5
percent of persons entering the colony were of Cornish origin. Every ship arriving in that year sported a massive Cornish contingent, 211 out of 315 passengers on the "Queen Bee", 214 out of 358 on the "Lady Milton", 242 out of 388 on the "Gosforth", and so on. This stream continued until 1867, many coming out to go to the North Yorke Peninsula mines. One passenger on the "Canterbury", which arrived in the colony on New Year's Day 1867, recalled that,

There was a considerable number of Cornish on board, and not a few of these afterwards became Peninsula residents. The Stockers, a musical family settled at Wallaroo Mines; while John Opie, his wife, son, and two daughters (Temperance and Prudence), made their new home in what then known as Pomroy Street (Moonta) ... The late Fred Hancock ... was another of the Canterbury passengers ... George Treais and Tom Worth, single men, as soon as they reached Moonta found work at Wheal Hughes mine. They were natives of St. Dominick parish, overlooking Tamar, in the Royal Duchy. 256

The Moonta and Wallaroo mining companies, of course, took advantage of the poor economic conditions in Cornwall. The average wage rates they could offer fluctuated between 36/- and 45/- per week, depending on the price of copper, which were not as startling as those that had once obtained at the Burra, but which nevertheless sounded like abundant riches to unemployed miners in Cornwall. The growing demand for miners at Moonta and Wallaroo could be only partially satisfied by recruitment from Kapunda, the Burra, and the Victorian diggings, and so in April 1864 the Moonta Mining Company wrote to Messrs. A.L. Elders, its agents in London, instructing them to recruit miners in Cornwall. The company, secretary, Mr. T.F. McCoull, wrote that

You will learn from the Adelaide papers that the miners at Moonta and Wallaroo Mines are now out on Strike - this circumstance coupled with the fact that considerable difficulty has been experienced hitherto in getting really good hands, has induced the Directors to send to Cornwall through you for fifty men to be brought out
under the Assisted Passage Regulations of the Government...

Not long afterwards, the Moonta company, on the advice of Captain Henry Richard Hancock, asked A.L. Elder to send out an additional 200 miners from Cornwall. And, although none of these miners was ever used in strike-breaking activities, they proved invaluable to the Moonta Mines in their formative years. Demand continued to outstrip supply, however, and towards the end of 1864 McCoull was complaining to Captain Hancock that shiploads of Cornish miners arriving at Port Adelaide were being snapped-up by agents from the Burra Burra mine. For the widespread departure of men from the Burra to go to North Yorke Peninsula and to the mines in the Far North had created an acute shortage of skilled labour there, too. As early as July 1859, Henry Ayers had remarked to J.B. Wilcocks that "... mineral discoveries in the far North..." threatened to draw away the Burra miners, while in December 1864 the S.A.M.A. informed the Government that "... the supply of Miners arriving in the Colony is very far from being equal to the demand, and at the Burra Burra mines good men are much wanted", at wage rates of between 30/- and 40/- per week.

The Wallaroo Mining Company, like its Moonta counterparts, also decided to recruit direct from Cornwall, and by the end of 1864 a party of its men had arrived on the "Tarquin", while a further supply of smelters and miners were preparing to come out with Captain Paul Roach - a mine manager recently engaged in Cornwall. The Wallaroo company did experience some little difficulty, however, because it refused to give long-term guarantees of employment to intending migrants. Many Cousin Jacks, if they had to go abroad as "free agents", would prefer...
to travel to the United States. However, Messrs. A.L. Elder (who acted also as the Wallaroo company's London agents) were able to send out a party of men on the "Queen Bee" for the Wallaroo Mines in 1865, with further groups being despatched during the year. Others on the "Queen Bee" were intended for the Moonta Mines, while many Cornish immigrants made their way to the district on their own initiative.

The great crash in Cornish copper occurred in 1866, when many of the famous Cornish mines - among them, Great Wheal Busy, Wheal Tolgus, Fowey Consols, and Par Consols - were abandoned or suspended. There were further closures in 1867 - Wheal Reath, Hallamaning and Croft Gothal, St. Day United - and by 1870 everyone of the great Gwennap mines were closed, with only a handful of East Cornwall copper mines still in production in 1874. And, although a restrictive migration policy from 1867 to 1871 served to prevent an unchecked flood of Cornishmen in South Australia, some 7,380 miners left Cornwall for destinations overseas during 1867, while the "Cornwall Central Relief Committee" gave financial and other aid to migrants who could not secure assisted passages. A number of these found their way to Wallaroo and Moonta, and when a liberal Immigration Act became law in 1872, Cousin Jacks again came to the colony in considerable numbers, so that between 1872 and 1879, 6.9 percent of the 24,339 migrants recorded in the shipping passenger lists were Cornish.

Again, many of these migrants were miners. In the early 1870s there was still a considerable demand for them on North Yorke Peninsula. In September 1872, in fact, one of the Moonta directors had suggested that 5,000 miners be recruited from
Cornwall at the expense of all the dividend-paying mines in South Australia. This plan was abandoned, however, when it was pointed out that almost all this expense would fall inevitably on the shoulders of the Wallaroo and Moonta companies, as they were by now the only truly viable concerns in the colony. The Burra, too, in a desperate bid to boost its failing production, endeavoured to obtain further supplies of miners from Cornwall. In early 1874 a handful of miners from the "Dalhousie" and "West Australian" were engaged by the S.A.M.A., and in December 1875 Captain Sanders had written to his brother in Cornwall asking him "... to make a selection of good Cornish Miners...". By 1876 the declining mine could no longer afford to pay its employees the high wages they had previously enjoyed, and many miners were leaving because they could earn much more as well-sinkers on newly opened up properties in the North. Captain Sanders was reduced to accosting men as they disembarked from the emigrant ships, in July 1876 it being noted that he had "... secured nine Cornish miners from (the) late arrival in Adelaide...".

More generally, the South Australian Government in the 1870s encouraged immigration because it wished to expand the colony, particularly by opening-up and populating the hitherto virgin lands of the North. This policy was closely associated with the ministries of James Penn Boucaut, himself a Cornishman, who planned a system of railways to penetrate the far-flung corners of South Australia. Indeed, it was not until February 1879 that the rate of immigration was again cut back as a result of changing Government policies.
As before, there was an adequate supply of miners from Cornwall, the West Briton noting that during the first six months of 1875 no less than 10,567 migrants had left Cornwall for the Australian colonies. But now, the demise of copper having already occurred, it was a crisis in the Cornish tin mining industry which was the cause of this migration. As noted above, during the 1850s and 1860s many Cornish mines had turned their attention to tin, which in 1872 appeared to be the saviour of the Cornish economy. However, no sooner had the industry become profitably established, than Cornish tin was all but priced out of the world market by Australian competition, principally from Tasmania. Ironically, one of Tasmania's greatest tin producers was the "Cornwall Tin Mine", while a number of the managers of the Mount Bischoff mines - on the far-famed "Mountain of Tin" - were Cornishmen. Captain W.H. Wesley and Captain John White, for example, both hailed from St. Just-in-Penwith. As the West Briton remarked in 1875,

In the history of mining in Cornwall it has known no such disastrous year as 1874 ... Australia, which has been made the home of many Cornishmen, threatened at one time to annihilate altogether tin mining in this country.

The 1870s, too, were a time of agricultural depression in Britain, with competition from North American produce being compounded by a series of extremely bad harvests at home. There were epidemics of foot-and-mouth disease and swine fever, and falling wheat prices contributed further to agrarian poverty all over the U.K. Britain alone of all the major European states, with its commitment to Free Trade and the economic philosophy of laissez-faire, refused to protect the agricultural industry, and, with wages being reduced, "... there was a steady migration of young labourers to Canada and Australia...". A Royal Commission into the causes of the depression found Corn-
wall less badly hit than other parts of the U.K., this being due to changing agricultural patterns - less wheat was being grown in Cornwall, and instead there had been a movement to horticulture and stock farming. Nevertheless, the depression, occurring as it did in conjunction with the tin mining crisis, had the effect of boosting emigration from Cornwall - a number of the Cornish arrivals at Port Adelaide in the 1870s being agricultural labourers and their families, attracted by the colony's rural expansion policy.

---XV---

By the late 1870s, growing unemployment in the North Yorke Peninsula mines served to discourage Cornish immigration to the colony. The local Miners' Union, which had emerged during the 1870s, became increasingly hostile to immigration, and the newcomers themselves wrote back to Cornwall with the news that the great days of South Australian mining appeared to be over. During the early 1870s the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser had carried quite uncritical articles on emigration from Cornwall, but by the end of 1873 the tone of newspaper reporting was beginning to change. At a meeting at Moonta Mines in August 1873, the miners decided to send a deputation to Parliament to protest against continuing immigration, although there were still some willing to support the inflow of migrants because they had relatives back in Cornwall whom they would like to see out in South Australia.

In May 1874 the miners were dismayed to learn that Mr. Gowling, a newly-appointed South Australian migration agent in the U.K., had decided to pay particular attention to Cornwall, when it was already clear that unemployment on North Yorke Pen-
insula was continuing to grow. Many felt that their kinsfolk at home in Cornwall were being tricked into coming to South Australia, when in reality they would be better-off elsewhere. A highly satirical article appeared in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, purporting to be an account of a typical emigration meeting in Cornwall, in which the supposedly unscrupulous tactics of the migration agents were exposed. The article was entitled "Report of an Emigration meeting held in St. Just, Cornwall near England, last evening, Sir John St. Aubyn in the chair", and gave a selection of "questions" and "answers" designed to reveal both the "dishonesty" of the agent and the "gullibility" of the Cornish.

Mr. TREVORROW would ask if there were any snakes there?
Mr. GOWLING would answer that there had been snakes in the colony, but the last one had committed suicide several years ago.
Mr. TREVASKIS would ask if there were any 'skieetas there?
Mr. GOWLING in reply said that the white man had, by means of his higher civilization, so trained the mosquitoes that they had been found a very useful ally in stinging the natives back into the interior, thereby transforming what might have been a great scourge into a great blessing.
Mr. GILES would ask if people stood on their heads out there?
Mr. GOWLING replied that they did sometimes by reason of the earth being spherical. When it was twelve o'clock in St. Just, the earth was upside down in Australia. But of course every honest man would be in bed at that time, so that it was all in favour of the colony, as rogues could not do much injury to lives or property if they had to do it on their heads.

Similarly, in November 1876, Edward Trewidden of Kadina, the township adjoining the Wallaroo Mines, wrote to the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, explaining how he and his wife had been deceived by the migration agents. He wrote,

What sort of a joke do you call this? I had just got back to Camborn from America where I had been working and picked up a few dollars to marry my little maid, and meaning to take her back to the Lakes, where I had done considerably well. Well, Grace said so me, says she, "Isn't it very cold out there Ned?" "Well, Grace,
says I, "it is tarnation cold I must say..." "There was a man giving a lecture on going to South Australia, Adelaide", says Grace, "and I thought he gave a pretty good account of it, and it is never cold out there, and I think I could bear the heat better than the cold of America. He said miners' wages was 45s to 50s a week, and that bread and beef, and mutton, and tea, and sugar, were very cheap, and everything else in proportion." 285

Swayed by Grace's enthusiasm, Edward decided that their destination would, after all, be South Australia; and they eventually made their way to Kadina. However, as Edward said,

What did I find when I arrived here? Why - nothing at all; that's the way to say it! I went to a man that I knew home in Camborn and I asked he if he could point me out a job of work. "You've come in a poor time, Ned", says he, "they are sacking men here instead of putting them on..." 287

And so, as Edward soon found to his cost, the talk of earning 45s to 50s per week was pure deception. And as far as the cheap food was concerned,

... why there isn't none here, and what is is as dear as snuff. If you should see Camborn market, you wouldn't stomach what they call beef and mutton here - why an ounce is worth more than a pound. And as for turnips, why, I haven't seen one yet fit to throw at a dog. I call a good yellow turnip with a bit of fat beef or mutton a good dinner for a man, and a nice drop of soup either for a family. 288

Edward Trewidden continued in this vein for several more paragraphs, pin-pointing his criticisms of the colony and showing how he had been misled by the migration agent. He had had, of course, considerable experience overseas in North America, and so his complaints were not the moanings of raw "green-horn", unaccustomed to the rigours of life on a mining frontier. Moreover, his criticisms were corroborated by the comments sent home in 1877 by another "New Chum" (as newcomers to the "Little Cornwall" district were known). Although he found Adelaide "... a fine little town, very little inferior to Truro at home", 289
this "New Chum" was not impressed by the colony as a whole. He wrote that

... this is one of the most barren places I have ever seen, and many of the poor cattle are dying of starvation, and I am telling you the truth, William, when I say that the cows out here are feeding on the horse-dung! Is this the beautiful country we heard so much about at home, the land flowing with milk and honey? 290

And if the migration agents were to come in for such criticism, then, some of the "New Chums" felt, part of the blame ought also to be attached to the Rev. J. Thorne, a Bible Christian minister who had been at Moonta in the prosperous days, and had then gone back to Cornwall where he widely advocated emigration to South Australia. One correspondent to the Yorkes Peninsula Advertiser said that he had

... heard a new chum cursing that Bryanite preacher, called Thorne, as he had said there was plenty of work in South Australia for miners, and they need not fear about getting work, for the Captains of mines would come on board ship and put them straight to the mines. 291

By now the increasingly organised and vocal "Moonta Miners Association" was entirely convinced that the continued immigration of miners mitigated against the best interests of both the Yorke Peninsula men and the New Chums coming out from Cornwall. The miners' venom was directed, not at the intending migrants back in Cornwall (with whom they deeply sympathised), but against Government policy, migration agents, and "free lance" propagandists such as Thorne. In September 1879, John Prisk, the miners' leader, argued that the men ought "... to be writing home to their friends in Cornwall ... to give them a truthful account of how things are here". 292 If this was done, Prisk felt, "... it would keep others from coming out to swell the number of unemployed here". 293 The Association continued to lobby the Government, and it is significant that when finally
immigration was severely cut-back, in 1879 and 1880, it was largely in response to public pressure. 294

---XVI---

A more liberal immigration policy was again instituted in 1881, and this coincided with an exciting - if rather temporary - revival in the South Australian copper industry. This revival was centered principally on the Wallaroo Mines, where new lodes were struck in the old Devon Consols sett, and as early as May 1881 Captain Hancock was taking steps to acquire new supplies of miners. 295 In October 1882 the Wallaroo Mines directors began to discuss the feasibility of sending someone back to Cornwall to recruit more miners, who could perhaps be accommodated at Wallaroo Mines in new cottages to be built by the company. 295 A fortnight later Captain Richard Piper was selected to go to Cornwall, and in the following March the Moonta Mines directors announced their intention of procuring 100 Cornish miners. 297

On his arrival in Cornwall, Captain Piper inserted an advertisement in the West Briton, the most widely read Cornish newspaper. It announced:

Wanted immediately, Fifty good Miners, including steady young men, also married men with their families, to proceed to the Wallaroo Copper Mines, South Australia. For rates of wages and all particulars apply at once in person, to Mr. Richard Piper, 3 Falmouth-road, Redruth. 298

On 4th April 1883, the Wallaroo Mining Company telegraphed Messrs. A.L. Elders in London to instruct Piper to increase the desired number of miners to 250. 299 At the Mines themselves the erection of new cottages was obvious evidence that something was afoot, but the directors were unwilling to release details concerning Captain Piper's journey. Local gossip, needless to
dwelt on the purpose of Piper's voyage overseas, and the people were asking:

Where is Captain Piper? And is he going to bring coolies or Cornishmen? And supposing the Dolcoath Mine stops working will he engage all the miners in a mass to come out here?  300

Piper finally arrived in South Australia in August 1883 with 408 "New Chums" on the "Oriana", "Glen Osmond", and "Roundsdad". 301 Most of these went to live in the "New Chums" cottages at Wallaroo Mines, with 70 going to live at Moonta Mines. Captain Hancock called meetings at both the mines to introduce the New Chums and to explain why they had been brought out. Hancock said that he had spoken to one New Chum who had declared "... that he had eaten more meat in Australia in the short time he had been here than he would have eaten in a year in Cornwall", 302 and the miners generally took kindly to the newcomers. However, not even this made for happiness and harmony, because many of the "New Chums" felt they had been tricked into coming to the colony by Captain Piper, who had apparently described North Yorke Peninsula in over-glowing terms. One report claimed that "... many of them complain of being deceived ...", 303 and another, rather tongue-in-cheek, announced that,

They were told that the Company had built them five-storied houses, such as adorn the streets of Plymouth, with gardens in which the vine and fig tree flourish exceedingly. That the noble horse roamed the fertile plains and in the shady woods of Wallaroo, awaiting his new chum master's hand. That in the same woods the "Wallaroos" ran about waiting to be shot.  304

That the discontent of these New Chums was genuine, is evidenced by the fact that a number of them - John Kinsman, Samuel Curginben, William Annear, and 26 others - disappeared from the district before their contracts, negotiated by the companies in 1883, had expired. 305 News of these occurrences,
filtering back to Cornwall, would hardly encourage others to come to South Australia. And, although the occasional Cornish miner still made his way to the colony during 1884 and 1885, attention was by now fixed firmly upon the gold and diamond fields of South Africa. In 1886 assisted immigration came finally to an end, and the flow of Cornish migrants, which had run so strongly since 1836, dwindled to a halt. There were the odd few who came out, at their own expense, after 1886, but these could not in any sense be considered a part of the mainstream of the migration from Cornwall to South Australia. John Tremelling, at Wallaroo Mines, was joined in the colony by his aged mother from Crowan after the death of her husband, and Ellen Roberts came out from Wendron to be with her daughter, Mrs. Perry of Cross Roads (near Moonta), when her husband died.  

Albert Henry Nicholls, born at Gunnislake in 1863, arrived in South Australia in 1887 to work at the large Adelaide store of "John Martin & Co." He had previously worked in a leading Plymouth drapery for several years, and this experience was no doubt an important factor in his being offered the job in Australia. Edward Dawson, born in Cornwall in 1858, was perhaps the very last of the Cornish colonists, for, having worked unsuccessfully as an artist in Cornwall, he came out to South Australia in 1906 to start an auctioneer and land agent business at Tumby Bay, on the West Coast. The North Yorke Peninsula mining district, the remaining focus of Cornish influence in South Australia in the early twentieth-century, experienced a second era of great prosperity between the years 1898 and 1919. But now the demand for miners at Wallaroo and Moonta was matched by local supply, the exodus to Broken Hill and the Western Australian gold-fields having lost its momentum by the turn of the century, and the local population becoming relatively stable.
In 1923 it was rumoured that unemployed Cornish tin-miners were considering migration to North Yorke Peninsula because "People in Cornwall think Australia is a country of money. Government officials tell them they can earn lots of money mining or farming out there." But it was never a practical scheme, or one likely to materialise, for by 1923 the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines were themselves being abandoned.

To all intents and purposes, then, the real migration of Cornishmen to South Australia had ceased in 1886, and Cornwall itself was left a depopulated and derelict land. In 1893 a visitor to Cornwall wrote that "... the Cornish miners have mostly emigrated..." and that, to find the Cornishman engaged in his traditional pursuit, one had to travel to Australia where "... in some Woolloomooloo, or other place of name infinitely repetitive, you shall who seek, find him..." For those who remained in Cornwall, it was time to look back and reflect on more than a half-century of frantic emigration. The final word, perhaps, should go to the *West Briton*, which in November, 1894 lamented,

There was a time when Gwennap was alive with the clang of stamps, and thousands of tons of ore went down the Carnon Valley to Devoran for shipment; when the Perran and St. Agnes districts were busy hives of industry, and East Wheal Rose was a name to conjure by. Where are they now?
NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 2

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2. Published annually in S.A.P.D.
4. S.A.A. 1529, Alphabetical Index to Application for Free Passage from the United Kingdom to South Australia, 1836-40.
7. South Australian Register, 4 November 1846.
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11. South Australian Register, 1 January 1857
13. Peoples' Weekly, April 8 1905, and April 28 1917.
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18. Peoples' Weekly, 7 September 1912.
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35. S.A.A. D 6029/15(L), Ibid, Poster issued by Isaac Latimer "Free Emigration to Port Adelaide, South Australia".

36. S.A.A. D 6029/16(L), Ibid, Poster issued by Isaac Latimer "Entirely Free Emigration to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales".

37. S.A.A. D 6029/17(L), Ibid, Poster issued by Isaac Latimer "Free Emigration to Port Adelaide, South Australia".

38. S.A.A. D 6029/18(L), Ibid, Poster issued by Isaac Latimer "Emigration to South Australia".


40. *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 30 August 1839, contained details of South Australian population figures.


42. *South Australian Record*, 22 February 1840.
131.


44. S.A.A. 1529, Op.Cit. All further details of applications for free passage lodged in Cornwall, as discussed in this chapter, are drawn from this source.

45. Ibid. On many of the 1837 applications, the ships of departure were also shown.


47. Although North Petherwin (along with neighbouring Werrington) was then legally part of Devon, the parish lay west of the Tamar and was socially and geographically an integral part of Cornwall.

48. For example, James Grylls came out on the "Somersetshire", Abraham Pethick on the "Cleveland", Samuel Saunders on the "Recovery", and William Edwards, William Bassett, Robert Dunstone, and Enoch Tonkin on the "Java" - see Chapter 5 for details of these migrants.


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69. South Australian Record, 12 September 1838, 10 October 1838.

70. South Australian Record, 2 December 1839.


73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.


76. Ibid, pp.28-30.


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83. South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register, 20 September, 1845.

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129. South Australian News, July 1847.
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131. West Briton, 18 May 1855.
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136. Ibid.
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143. Ibid.
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148. West Briton, 23 May 1851.

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151. Jean P. Fielding, For the Wind Passeth, unpublished M.S. p.113
152. S.A.A. D4800(L), Abstract of Diary of The Late Francis Treloar of Watervale, Taken Out by his Son Frank, introductory notes.
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172. South Australian Record, 12 September 1838, 10 October 1838.
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228. Ibid.
232. This view has been attributed to Dr. Tregenza by June Lander, Cornish Life, August 1975, p.38.
236. This competition is evident in the following Decennial World Production of Fine Copper (in tons) Statistics:

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<th>U.K. (mainly Cornwall)</th>
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<td>88,100</td>
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<td>325,400</td>
<td>440,900</td>
<td>677,749</td>
<td>1,026,200</td>
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239. Ibid.
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241. South Australian Register, 15 April 1846. Quotes from Perth Inquirer, 18 February 1846.
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256. Peoples' Weekly, 23 April 1927.
263. S.A.A. BRG 40/537, Wallaroo Mines Proprietors, Out-Letter Books, 1860-70, Mair to Young, 6 December 1864; Mair to Elder, 27 September 1864; Mair to Anon, 12 August 1865.
264. Ibid., Mair to Elder, 26 August 1864; Mair to Elder, 27 January 1865.
265. Ibid., Mair to Elder, 27 March 1865.
268. West Briton, 17 May 1867.
269. West Briton, 6 September 1867, 7 May, 1868.
273. Ibid., Ayers to Sanders, 14 December 1875.
274. Northern Mail, 14 July 1876. The Northern Mail was published at Burra.
276. West Briton, 27 September 1875.
279. West Briton, 7 January 1875.
282. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 8 July 1873, 5 August 1873.
283. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 12 August 1873.
284. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 8 May 1874.
285. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 22 May 1874.
286. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 7 November 1876.
287. Ibid.
288. Ibid.
289. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 9 February 1877.
290. Ibid.
291. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 18 September 1877.
292. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 9 September 1879.
293. Ibid.
294. Ibid.


297. Ibid., 8 November 1882; 18 March 1883.

298. West Briton, 22 January 1883.


300. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 27 April 1883.


302. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 6 July 1883. See also South Australian Advertiser, 15 August 1883; and S.A.A. BRG 40/543, Ibid., 20 August 1883.

303. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 24 August 1883.

304. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 31 August 1883.

305. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 8 September 1885.

306. For example, see S.A.A. BRG 40/542, Op.Cit., 2 April 1884.

307. South Australian Primitive Methodist, July 1898; Peoples' Weekly, 8 April 1911.


312. Ibid.

313. West Briton, 8 November 1894.
CHAPTER 3 - THE MINERAL KINGDOM

Every study dealing with Cornwall and her miners records, with almost boring regularity, the old Cornish adage which asserted that "Wherever a hole is sunk in the ground ... - no matter in what corner of the globe - you will be sure to find a Cornishman at the bottom of it, searching for metal".1 But nowhere outside Cornwall, did the saying ring so true as in South Australia, where Cornishmen played a central role in the development of the colony's mineral industry throughout the last century. The Cornish were involved in the industry as prospectors, miners, captains, engineers, mechanics, but their influence ran deeper to affect such things as mining architecture, mining technology and terminology, and even the organisations and practices of the industry. Physically, the mines themselves looked like direct transplantations from Cornwall - with their stone-built chimney stacks capped with sections of red brick, their Cornish beam-engines and engine-houses, their horse-whims and count-houses, and even the dry-stone "hedges" constructed in the time-honoured Cornish fashion.2 In the earlier days, all mining equipment - from engines to crucibles - was imported direct from Cornwall, and later as the industrial base of the colony expanded, the wants of the mining industry were met by local foundries which, more often than not, were owned or worked by Cornishmen.

Employment in the mines was according to the peculiarly Cornish tribute and tutwork systems, where the miner worked on his "own account" (see Chapter 8), and many mining companies were organised on the Cornish "cost-book" system. This was a system of no-liability (described in some contemporary accounts as "un-limited" liability, which conveys quite the wrong im-
pression to the modern reader) and, in its many variations, found favour in South Australia in the 1840s and 50s - partly because local capitalists, many of whom had been almost ruined in the crisis of 1841, would not risk investment in companies for which they would be held financially responsible in the event of failure, but also because the system was a central feature of Cornish mining practice. In the case of the Burra Burra mine, the South Australian Mining Association embraced the system on the strong recommendation of John Bentham Neales - a Plymothian and mining adventurer with a deep knowledge of Cornish practice - and this was symptomatic of the Association's desire to run the mine on Cornish principles. It also, for example, emulated the Cornish mining welfare tradition, and, as illustrated in Chapter 2, went to extraordinary lengths to recruit Cornish copper miners.

At the end of 1856, the South Australian Legislative Council took steps to encourage "... the system so favourably known as the "cost-book" system in Cornwall", and throughout the 1860s the Wallaroo Times newspaper carried articles explaining and advocating its use. John Bentham Neales, in the meantime, continued in Parliament to emphasise the particular virtues of a system in a young colony wishing to nurture an industry which involved, inevitably, the injection of large quantities of risk-capital. Another development at the Governmental level, was the eventual creation of an independent legal system to administer the mining industry. This involved the setting-up of a special Warden's Court, presided over by an appointed Warden, and, although this was a practice similar to that found in many mining regions from the Forest of Dean to California, it was particularly reminiscent of the Cornish Stannary system, with its Stan-
nary Courts and Lord Warden. The Cornish miners themselves welcomed any separate or preferential legal treatment given to the South Australian mining industry, and at one stage sought to petition Parliament for the creation of an entire Stannary system on Yorke Peninsula. Although South Australia was surprisingly late in setting-up a fully-fledged Department of Mines, Cornishmen were employed from the earliest days by the Government to oversee its mining responsibilities. Captain James Trewartha was the Government mineral surveyor in the 1840s and 50s, and W.H. Matthews and Captain Rosewarne were two well-known Cornish mine Inspectors towards the end of the century.

In many ways, the Cornish captains were the backbone of the South Australian mining industry. Although many mines in the colony were starved of capital and did not enjoy the extensive investment programmes necessary for long-term expansion, resourceful Cornish mining captains (practical rather than "book-learned" men, many having worked their way up from the ore-dressing tables) employed their intuition and powers of improvisation to the full to try to make "going concerns" of mines situated often in remote, harsh, and difficult country. They used methods already well-tried in Cornwall, and on their lips were mining terms that were "... pure Celtic Cornish and not English at all..." so that the language of the South Australian industry was entirely Cornish-inspired.

The Cornish miners, for example, spoke of "... the Burra Bal", bal being the Cornish word for a mine, and their ubiquitous prefix "Wheal" (literally, a working) was an element in many South Australian mine names. Wheal Friendship, Wheal Prosper and Wheal Virgin were names completely reminiscent of Cornwall, and as early as June 1848 the West Briton had occasion
to note the increasing popularity of the prefix in South Australia. Many years later, an argument raged in the correspondence columns of the *Yorker's Peninsula Advertiser* as to the correct usages of the terms "bal" and "wheal" (see Chapter 6), Cornish mining men considering a precise and accurate use of their terminology to be of prime importance. Some mines were given the names of famous workings back in Cornwall, perhaps for sentimental reasons but often in the hope that they would prove as spectacularly rich as their Cornish counterparts. Callington, Crinnis, Ding Dong, Phoenix, Tresevean (sic), Great Devon Consols (sic), United Hills, and Bottallock (sic) were all South Australian mine names drawn from Cornwall. In addition, there were no less than two Carn Brea mines (named after the Cornish Carn Brea), together with a third just over the border in the Barrier Ranges. The Barrier, too, could boast its own Botallick (sic), together with a Dalcooth (sic), a Tincroft, and other mine names of Cornish origin. In South Australia, many mine names, although not drawn directly from Cornish examples displayed an obvious Cornish influence - there was a Trengoff, a Trevue, a Truro, a New Cornwall, an Old Cornwall, and two Duke of Cornwall - while the Two Jacks' mine was perhaps named after the "Cousin Jacks" who had first discovered it. Many small workings, in fact, were named after their discoverers, and again the Cornish influence was all-pervasive - there was Benalack's Mine, Ivey's Claim, Williams' Silver-Lead, Jenkin's Claim, Harvey's Return, Kirkeek's Treasure, Phillips' Copper Show, Davey's Mine, Hicks' Shaft, Williams' Discovery, Toys' Find, Simmons' Claim, Jago and Harris' Prospect, Harris Hill, Peters' Hill, Paull's Copper Mine, Paull's Consolidated, Paull's North Extended, Vickery's Claim, Whitford's Claim, Edwards' Copper Mine, Tren- owden's Claim, Hooper's Luck, Cornelius' Claim, Stephen's Section, and numerous others.
Cornish terminology, of course, extended to things other than mere mine nomenclature; with many mining practices, mining implements, and geological formations all having unique Cornish descriptions - most derived from the Cornish language, but some having developed from Old English, and even French and German influences. Mine refuse was known as "atall" (or "attle"), a "caunter" was a cross-hand blow performed by miners, a "coor" (or "core") was an eight-hour shift, a "costeen" an exploratory trench, an "adit" a mine drainage tunnel, a "kibble" a shaft bucket, a "vugg" an underground cavity, and a "whim" a winding device. A good vein of ore was said to be a "keenly lode" or a "champion lode", while a lucky strike of rich ore was known as a "sturt". The sudden broadening of a lode was termed a "squat", while a "stope" was a place where the actual mining was carried on, and a "stull" was a supporting timber. A fine imposed on a tributer for lost time was a "spale", and a "halvaner" was a miner who received half the value of the ore he extracted. "Halvans" itself was the refuse of ore after treatment, while "shoad" was the scattered or dispersed parts from exploratory work on a lode. Clay-slate was always "killas" to the Cornishman, and pyrites (and sometimes also arsenic-impregnated rock) was known as "mundic".12

"Flookan" was a parcel of ground which separated one part of a lode from another, and "gossan" was a term used variously to describe iron ochre or the back of a lode. "Pryan" described soft, clayey ground, "elvan" was hard, close-grained stone, and "prill" was high-grade ore. A "buddle" was a pit in which ore was washed, while a "fitcher" was a hole which was difficult to bore, and a "pitch" was a section of a mine worked by a tributer or party ("pare") of tributes. An abandoned mine was said to have been "knacked" and a particular mine working within a
larger group was known as a "sett". The rocking beam of an
engine was called a "bob", a mining capitalist was an "adven-
turer", and a manager or foreman was a "captain". A man work-
ing on the surface was said to be "at grass", while the ground
around a mine was known as "the country". "Crowst" and "crib"
were the West Cornish and East Cornish words, respectively, for
a lunch-break, while the mine office was the "count-house", and
the changing room the "dry". Depths were always measured in
"fathoms", and the prefix "Cornish" was itself used in innumerable
situations - men talked, for instance, of Cornish engines,
Cornish captains, Cornish boilers, and Cornish stamps. All these
terms, and probably many more besides, were given currency in
South Australia by the Cornish miners - who also introduced a
number of mining proverbs, sayings, and superstitions (see
Chapter 6).

At the economic level, the Cornish mining influence was
practical to the well-being of the colony. It was the discovery
and exploitation of mineral deposits in the 1840s - made possi-
ble by Cornish enterprise and labour - that rescued South
Australia from the economic doldrums. Mel Davies has noted that
the Burra mine "... attracted much needed capital and labour to
the Colony..."13, and that the smelting industry helped to
"... strengthen its economic base".14 He has also shown that,

... important to the local economy were the multiplier
effects of wages paid to the mine workers, carters, wood
cutters, and others employed by the Association... In
export earning capacity, copper and copper ore were often
more important in the South Australian context than wheat
and wool combined... 15

And if this was true for the Burra, then it was equally so
for the Moonta-Wallaroo mining complex which developed rapidly
in the 1860s and remained South Australia's largest industrial
producer until 1923. P.R.G. Dunlop, in his "Economic Importance of Moonta to South Australia", has written that the mines "... made a significant contribution to the economic progress and stability of the Moonta district and to the State as a whole", and has further argued that "In one sense, the copper miners rather than the pastoralists were the true pioneers of South Australian colonial development".

Geoffrey Blainey has asserted that most nineteenth-century mineral discoveries, not only in South Australia but in the continent as a whole, were made as a result of deliberate prospecting during periods of depression - often by shepherds and agricultural labourers working on their own initiative or on the instructions of their employers. Roger Burt and M.J. Morrissey have criticised this theory, pointing out that it is extremely difficult for the layman to recognise or locate mineral lodes. But, in South Australia at least, even those entirely unversed in minerology would have little difficulty in recognising the startling blue and green carbonates of copper (azurite and malachite), while the silver-lead gleam of galena would attract all but the most unobservant of eyes. And, moreover, with one in ten of the early colonists hailing from Cornwall, it was inevitable that Cornishmen wandering through the Adelaide Hills would encounter the many rocky, mineralized outcrops to be found there. That South Australia was the last Australian colony to be settled but the first to develop its mineral wealth is an oft-quoted paradox. Its explanation lies in the fact that there was considerable prospecting during the crisis of the early 1840s, the accessability of ore in the Adelaide Hills facilitating its discovery, extraction, and transportation. But of over-riding importance was the presence of
Cornishmen in the colony, a number of them former miners, who had the ability and inclination to indulge in prospecting work. As Royce Wells has written, "A large percentage of all mineral discoveries in South Australia last century were made by Cornishmen."  

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It seems that the idea of forming a mining company in the colony was first mooted as early as 1836, although it is doubtful whether any payable lodes had been discovered at that date. In 1838, James Nicholls, a Cornishman, collected a large number of silver-lead samples from the Adelaide Hills, and at one point he was able to trace a lode for a mile - this presumably being at Glen Osmond where "The first undoubted indication of the existence of silver-lead ore was made in 1838, on a section belonging to Mr. Osmond Gilles, at the foot of the hills near Adelaide." At the time, no efforts were made to develop the find, although, with the onset of financial troubles a year or two later, attention was again turned to the possibility of extracting mineral wealth from the colony. Johann Menge, a German mineralogist, assembled a collection of what he claimed to be 16,000 mineral samples found in the hills, and then, in February 1841, Hutchins and Thomas, "... we believe two emigrants from Cornwall..." made a new discovery of silver-lead at Glen Osmond. Although they were "... persons in the humbler walks of life..." they were also "... practical and experimental miners..." and secured the section of land (908) on which the discovery had been made. Subsequently, a small company with a capital of £6,000 was formed and by April 1841 Australia's first metaliferous mine, Wheal Gawler, was in production.
At first only six miners were employed (on tribute and tut-
work), but the workings expanded quickly, with bal-maidens
recruited to wash and dress the ore - the only recorded instance
of females being engaged to work on South Australian mines.29
In 1843, a second mine, Wheal Watkins, was opened on Robert
Watkin's 80 acre section (910) to the south of Wheal Gawler.30
And then in December 1846, Osmond Gilles opened his own mine,
the Glen Osmond Union, and operations were commenced under the
management of Captain J.B. Pascoe, a Cornishman.31 The Enter-
prise was started in the same locality during 1847, and was soon
joined by MacFarlane's Mine and Wheal Hardy. Although Wheal
Gawler was taken over by a German company in 1850 and then
worked entirely by German labour, it is clear that most of the
early Glen Osmond miners were Cornishmen. Captain Stephen
Lean worked at both Wheal Watkins and the Glen Osmond Union, and
the miners under he and Pascoe bore Cornish surnames such as
Trewartha, Knuckey, Thomas, Veal and Ede.32 George Prout, later
a prominent Australian mine captain, worked as a pickey-boy at
Glen Osmond, as did Stephen Carthew from Redruth, and William
Odgers arrived from Cornwall in 1848 to work in the local mines.33
William Mitchell was at Glen Osmond for a year before becoming
fourth captain at Burra Burra in 1849, and later, in 1863,
William Trethowanan came out from Cornwall to work in Wheal Wat-
kins.34 The Victorian Gold Rush brought the development of the
Glen Osmond mines to an abrupt halt. But the Glen Osmond Union
and Wheal Watkins were both worked intermittently at later
dates, while in 1888 there was something of a revival with
several of the old mines being resuscitated and new ones - such
as Wheal Augusta and the Mount Osmond - being opened.35
In 1843 came Australia's first discovery of copper, at Kapunda, some fifty miles north of Adelaide in what was then isolated pastoral country. Francis Dutton described how, when rounding-up stray sheep in the district he discovered what he first thought to be "... beautiful green moss..." but which proved on closer inspection to be malachite. He confided his discovery to Captain Charles Bagot who then admitted that his own son had made a similar find in the latter part of 1842. Together the two men, Dutton and Bagot, quietly acquired the mineralized land through a special survey, and set about working the copper deposits. A sample of ore was sent to Swansea where it assayed at 21.5 per cent copper and sold for £21 per ton. Captain Bagot later recalled how,

This result of our first trial was encouraging, and induced us at once to prepare for opening the mine in a regular and permanent manner. To effect this I agreed with Robert Nicholls, a Cornish miner, for a twelve month to work on tribute. He forthwith began, and in a little time turned out a fine pile of good ore.  

The mine was developed as two distinct workings, Wheal Dutton and Wheal Charles, and soon it was found necessary to recruit further supplies of miners. Francis Dutton wrote that,

Amongst the general population of the colony were some few Cornish miners who were quietly following pastoral and agricultural pursuits; when we gave notice of intending to commence working the mine, the pickaxe was quickly resumed by them, and we gave them a liberal "tribute" for the first year (£3 6d per £1) to set the thing going. These men were highly successful, and raised a considerable quantity of rich ore.  

In early 1845 a horse-whim was erected to keep the mine dry to the fifteen fathom level, and sales at Liverpool and Swansea for the 252\(\frac{1}{2}\) tons of ore raised during 1844 and 1845 realised a total of £6,225. By 1846 a considerable community had grown up around the mine, its flavour being overwhelmingly Cornish. William Trevena, for instance, was the first person
to build a house at Kapunda. He was born at Redruth, Cornwall, in 1818, and had worked there as a miner until 1838 when he migrated to South Australia. He became a well-known local identity in Kapunda, as indeed did others of these early Cornish settlers. John Dunstan came out to the colony in 1847 at the age of 21 and worked in the Kapunda mines for twenty years. Similarly, William Christopher, from Stoke Climsland, arrived at the township in 1848 and was employed in the district as a miner and farmer for the rest of his life. Some, like Stephen Carthew, who came to Kapunda from Glen Osmond while still a boy, did not stay long, but moved on to other mines as the colony's mineral industry expanded. Carthew himself had a diverse career, visiting Tungkillo, Burra, Moonta, the Victorian gold-fields, and Broken Hill before retiring. Ralph Kestel, from Portreath, was also a fleeting visitor at Kapunda, working there as an ore-dresser for only a year before moving on to the Burra in 1848. John Liddicoat, too, spent only a short while at Kapunda, soon, like many of his compatriates, being lured away by tales of the wealth of the mighty Burra Burra.

Cornishmen continued to arrive at Kapunda in the late 1840s - Henry Waters from Penzance, Thomas Axford from Chacewater, Henry Bastian from Truro - and the mine's ability to attract immigrant Cousin Jacks survived well into the 1850s, and even beyond. John Rogers, for example, had worked in Cornwall as a miner for ten years before coming to South Australia in 1853 to go to Kapunda, and Thomas Badge, another Cornishman, arrived at the mine in the same year. Grace Boundy, from Tresamble Hill, Gwennap, spent three years at Kapunda with her husband, from 1854, before they moved on to Kanmantoo. And in 1860, Captain Thomas Nicholls, a man with vast mining experience in both Cornwall and South Australia, was engaged to
run the precipitate works at the mine, while also being placed in charge of the Kapunda smelting works for the last seven years of the mine's existence. Henry James Truscott, born in St. Austell in 1855, arrived at Kapunda to work as a miner as late as 1876, only two years before the mine's closure - surely one of the last Cornishmen to arrive in the district. Most of these miners, of course, lived in the township of Kapunda itself; but a number inhabited the adjoining settlement of Helston - named after the ancient borough of Helston (and a Stannary town to boot) in West Cornwall.

With its large complement of Cornish miners, development work at Kapunda proceeded quickly, with 1,800 tons being sent to Swansea in 1846. However, soft ground made timbering increasingly difficult, and during 1847 and 1848 an influx of water hampered operations. In 1847, a second-hand 30 inch beam-engine was ordered from Cornwall, and it arrived at the end of 1848 - certainly the first engine to be acquired anywhere in Australia. Ore stamps and winding-gear were erected at about the same time, a smelting furnace was constructed in December 1849, and in January 1851 a second engine - this time of 36 inches - was purchased. The acquisition of second-hand engines from Cornwall was a practice advocated by the Register newspaper, and it urged that other South Australian mines follow the example of Kapunda:

We know that there were many engines of abandoned mines in Cornwall for sale, of 60 and 70 in cylinders ... The old engine of the Hallenbeagle, with 70 in cylinder and 200 horses' power, with two good boilers, all in excellent repair, was for sale for £600 in September 1848... 52

Although pump-engines of 30 and 36 inches were hardly powerful enough to ensure long-term security from water as the
mine workings became more extensive, initially they proved extremely useful. After the arrival of the first engine in 1848, production increased to about 2,500 tons per annum, this level being maintained until the departure of the miners for Victoria in March 1852 caused the mine to shut down.53

In addition to the Kapunda mine itself, there were in the same locality the South Kapunda (worked by Captain Henry Francis) and the North Kapunda and Wheal Gundry (both worked by Captain Gundry), while in later years further mines were opened-up - the Lacamore (discovered by Captain John Rowe in 1864), and the East Kapunda (developed in 1875 on the advice of Captain Prisk of Callington).54 These were mostly insignificant workings when compared to the Kapunda mine, although the South Kapunda was worked intermittently throughout the last century - in the mid-1860s by a Cornishman called Captain Charles Daniels.55

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The discovery of the Kapunda mine, not surprisingly, turned the attention of the Adelaide Hills prospectors from silver-lead to copper. The Montacute Mine, only ten miles north-east of Adelaide, was in operation by early 1844 when 32 tons of copper were extracted under the watchful Cornish eye of Captain Tyrell. The mine was temporarily abandoned in 1847, but was revived in 1848 under the management of Captain Morcom, another Cousin Jack. By the time it was again abandoned in the mid-1850s it had raised 2,000 tons of ore.56 As at Kapunda, the miners were principally Cornishmen. John Robins worked at Montacute for six months before going to Tungkillo, and J. Harris - from Liskeard - stayed there for seven years, moving
on to Kapunda only when the mine was closed.\textsuperscript{57} William Gumnow born at Padstow in 1821, had driven beam-engines at Wheal Rock and Perran Great St. George in Cornwall before migrating to South Australia in 1847. He went first to Kanmantoo as a miner and from there to Montacute, finally making his way to the Burra to resume his old occupation of engine-driver.\textsuperscript{58} Thomas Roberts was a miner-prospector cast in the typical Cornish mould. In Cornwall, he had worked in the small Green-with mine, near Truro, and he came out to South Australia in 1839. He was engaged to work in the Montacute in 1844, and was later taken on by the South Australian Mining Association, prior to the Burra discovery, to open up mineral sections along the River Torrens and to prospect in the hills.\textsuperscript{59}

Adjacent to the Montacute were the mineral sections belonging to the Adelaide Mining Company. They were first tried in 1844, and by 1847 there were 23 miners working there on tribute and tutwork. In 1848, Captain Tyrell took a contract on the mine for three months, working at the exceptionally high tribute of 12s in the £ - an indication that the ore was of poor quality. Little work was apparently done after the expiry of Tyrell's contract, for by 1854 only 500 tons of ore had been brought to surface. The mine was then abandoned, except for brief re-workings in 1864 (by Captain East, from Calstock), and again in 1888.\textsuperscript{60} A North Montacute was opened in 1845, and in the same year the Mukurta mine, three miles north-east of Montacute, at Highercombe. was discovered.\textsuperscript{61} Francis Dutton had a high opinion of all these mines, arguing that their development "... will undoubtedly be furthered by their engaging, as soon as possible, the assistance of practical Cornish mining captains, as the proprietors of the Kapunda mine have done".\textsuperscript{62}
In 1844, copper was also located at Waterfall Gully and at Stonyfell (both in the Adelaide Hills) while in April 1845 the London Mining Journal noted that 50 tons of ore had been raised at the Yattagolinga copper mine at Rapid Bay, south of Adelaide. But, after Kapunda, the major discovery of copper was at Burra Burra, in virgin bush country almost a hundred miles north of Adelaide. In June 1845, two shepherds, William Strear and Thomas Pickett, living seven miles apart on the banks of the Burra Burra Creek, made separate discoveries of copper ore - the tell-tale malachite and azurite - and both traded the secret of the locations to commercial groups in Adelaide. These rival groups, the "Nobs" and the "Snobs", competed for possession of the land but, to raise the £20,000 necessary for the 20,000 acre survey insisted upon by Governor Grey, they were forced to combine their efforts. Having purchased the property, the two groups divided the land - the "Snobs" (the South Australian Mining Association) drawing the section to become the Burra Burra mine, and the "Nobs" gaining what was to be the Princess Royal.

The Princess Royal was initially very successful. It was worked during 1847 and 1848 by miners on tribute, under the management of two Cornish captains, Messrs. Bath and Richards. However, by 1851 the mine's capital was all but expended, and so the mine was closed and the land sold as a sheep run. Total proceeds from the Princess Royal during its short life amounted to £7,000, ultimately paying a dividend of 13s in the £ for the original cost and outlay. The "Nobs", then, had drawn the poor section of the 20,000 acres, leaving the spectacular riches to the "Snobs" who had a veritable bonanza in their neighbouring Burra Burra property.
On the 24th September 1845, Thomas Roberts, the S.A.M.A. prospector, was sent up to the Burra, in charge of nine other Cornish miners, to begin work. On their arrival they opened the first sett, which they called Great Wheal Grey (in honour of the Governor), and by October the men were raising 60 tons of copper ore per week - mostly malachite and azurite - which assayed at an incredible 71.25 per cent copper. It was immediately obvious that this mine - the Monster, as it was popularly known - was the richest find in the colony to date, and great excitement was created in Adelaide. A contemporary verse, composed in those heady days of 1845, conveys something of the atmosphere which pervaded South Australia following the Burra discovery:

Have you not heard of the Monster Mine?  
There's never a man to be got to dine,  
There's never a clerk who will pen a line,  
At my behest or thine.  
They are all gone to the houseless North  
To gaze on the Monster Mine. 

The Montacute company complained that its men were deserting to go to the Burra, and miners presented themselves at the S.A.M.A. offices in the hope of being recruited. A party of German miners was turned away, but when Cornishmen, who had been "... recommended as good miners..." applied for work, they were engaged immediately. When it was found that the demand for miners would soon outstrip supply, it was decided after all to employ Germans, but, from their names - Lean, Teague, Pedlar, Edwards, Gregor, Thomas, Cundy, it is clear that most of the early Burra miners were Cornishmen.

The captains too were exclusively Cornish. Henry Roach, from Redruth, had worked in Cornwall at the Tresavean mine and had visited Columbia before coming to South Australia to become
General Superintendent of the Burra Burra mine in January 1847. He retained this position until his retirement in 1868, and in his day was as important and influential as H.R. Hancock was to become at Wallaroo and Moonta. A visitor to the Burra in April 1848 wrote that he encountered "A Captain Tre-something, and a Captain Pen-something..." for Roach was careful to recommend for employment as his assistants only men with a thorough knowledge of Cornish mining practice. In June 1847 Captain Matthew Bryant was engaged as second captain, in March 1848 Richard Goldsworthy - from Bodmin - became third captain, and William Mitchell was appointed to the fourth position in 1849. Also in 1849, Samuel Osborne became chief ore-dresser, while the year before S. Penglaze had been appointed "grass captain". Philip Santo, from Saltash, was employed as Clerk of The Works at the Burra in September 1849 and, although his sojourn there was only brief, his responsibilities were wide - including the construction of the engine-houses and mine buildings, the maintenance of Association cottages, the supervision of carpenters and mechanics, and the purchase of timber for the mine. The engineers, too, were Cornishmen. Peter Spargo was chief Engineer from 1849 to 1851, and he was replaced by John Congdon, from the Caradon Mines in Cornwall, who came out to the colony as a stoker on the steamship "Omega". His assistant was W. Barnicoat, who came to the Burra from the Cornish-named mining settlement of Penrice, near Angaston. Other positions of responsibility were also given to Cornishmen. Mr. Boswarva was put in charge of clerical and administrative work at the mine, and two Cornish masons, Ambrose Harris and Thomas Paynter, were entrusted with the physical construction of engine-houses and chimney stacks. John Snell
was the celebrated pitman (underground pump mechanic) of Morphett's Shaft for many years, and when he retired he was replaced by his son Joe. The tributers and tutworkers, as already noted, were for the most part Cornishmen. Some, like James Datson, who were to become famous South Australian captains, served their "apprenticeship" at the Burra, while others were already well-qualified by the time they arrived at the mine. William Phillips, for example, had worked as an engine-driver at United Mines, Gwennap, for many years before coming to South Australia. Although he lost the use of one hand in an accident, he continued to work underground at the Burra until the erection of the mighty Schneider's engine, when he reverted to his former occupation. Nicholas Dunstan Bennett, from Constantine, had been born into the Cornish mining tradition - his father was captain of the Polberrow mine at St. Agnes - and, having emigrated to the Antipodes, it was almost inevitable that he would find his way to the Burra. The same was true for other Cornish mining men, such as Nicholas Martin from Penzance and John Quintrall from Polladras Downs in the parish of Breage.

D. Bradford Barton has written that "It would be interesting to know the exact proportion of Cousin Jacks amongst the Burra Burra miners", and a clue is provided by entries in the copper ore day books, wages returns, and similar documents. In 1848, of 63 tributers listed 47 bore either exclusively or typically Cornish surnames. In 1860-61, of the 198 tributers listed 135 had Cornish names - William Trevorrow, Henry Bosanco, Thomas Andrewartha, Thomas Yelland, James Tremewan, and many more. Only three - Henry Pelz, Charles Eisler, and William Whita - bore Germanic names, while many of those with English surnames such as Hill, Bishop, and Buckingham could well have been Cornishmen. And, of course, the Cornish element was not confined to the trib-
The early Burra community has sometimes been portrayed as being divided up fairly rigidly on ethnic lines, with the miners being exclusively Cornish, the smelters all Welsh or German, and the bullock-drivers Irish. But in reality, race was not the sole determinant of occupation and the Cornish, being the dominant group, found their way into most jobs.

A number, like Richard Roscrow, were employed in and around the mine as general labourers, while many worked as teamsters on the Burra - Pt. Adelaide, and later Burra - Port Wakefield, runs. James Grylls, from St. Buryan, owned a number of drays working on the Burra road, while William Escott, from Rosehill near St. Ives, was working bullock-teams in the Burra district for more than twenty years. Henry Pinch, from St. Mabyn, had the distinction of bringing the first team owned by the Patent Copper Company to the Burra, and Ludgvan-born James Thomas was driving bullock drays while still a boy. Robert Wait came out from Cornwall in 1848 to work as teamster at the Burra, and Nicholas Pedler was on the Burra run when not helping out on his father's farm at Salisbury.

The Cornish, then, were an all-pervading influence at the Burra mine, and, as at Kapunda, their efforts facilitated rapid development work. The mine was organised on the tribute and tute-work systems, "survey day" being the first day of each month, and by November 1849 there were some 782 men employed directly in the mine. At the end of the first financial year of the mine's operation (March 1846), 3,000 tons of ore had been raised at very little cost, and in the first six years of production some 80,000 tons were shipped to the United Kingdom, yielding a profit of £438,552. The firm of John Williams and Son of Truro and Scorrier House was appointed the S.A.M.A.'s Cornish agent early
in 1847, and it arranged for the sale of this ore at the Swansea ticketings. A number of settlements sprang up at the Burra, and in April 1846 the Register declared that "... we shortly expect to find our mining villages vying with those of Cornwall and Devon". The Association township was named Kooringa (although the Directors had earlier determined to call it Truro), and of the several other Burra "suburbs" three were graced with the names of Cornish towns – Redruth, Copperhouse, and Lostwithiel. The miners frequented the "Cornish Arms" and the "Redruth Arms", and at Redruth they lived in streets whose names "... read like a map of Cornwall ..." – St. Day, Truro, St. Just, Mevagissey, Lelant, Ludgvan, Illogan, Tregony, Trentham, Morvah, Sancreed, Crowan, Helston.

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Transport was something of a problem during the winter months when the Burra road was "... literally strewed with laden drays bogged up to their axles", but the first major difficulty to be encountered was the incursion of water into the deeper workings. Accordingly, in August 1847, Henry Ayers wrote to John Bibby and Sons, the S.A.M.A.'s agent in Liverpool:

The Directors wish you to procure for them as soon as possible a second hand steam engine as used in the mines of Cornwall. It is to have a fifty inch cylinder with eight or nine feet stroke and seventy fathoms of shaftwork complete, including ten inch plunger lift, matching pieces, seatings, buckets, windboxes, strapping plates, castings for balance bob, pulleys for shears, centres for capstan, lathe, and two new boilers which had better be shipped in parts and put together here, as also any other articles of great bulk where practicable as our mine is nearly a hundred miles inland and the only means of cartage is by Bullock Drays... Ayers added that if it was impossible to acquire a second-hand engine, then the agent should approach the major Cornish foundries for tenders for the construction of a brand-new one.
He also asked that Captain Robert Roach of Tresavean, an uncle of Henry Roach, be allowed to inspect the pit-work before it was shipped to South Australia, and, almost as an after-thought, mentioned that the "... Directors also require you to forward us a crushing machine such as are in common use in Cornwall". The plans for the engine-house, stack, and boiler room were sent out direct from Cornwall, and, a second-hand engine being unavailable, a new one was especially constructed by the Perran Foundry. Not long after, in early 1849, Ayers wrote to Richard Hallett and Sons, the S.A.M.A.'s agents in London, asking them to obtain tenders for a 30 inch whim engine, together with winding gear and chain, from the Hayle and Perran foundries. Ayers also requested that the foundry "... cast the name 'Burra Burra Mines' on the engine bob..." and that "... the boilers ... be of the usual Cornish construction as they consume less fuel". Four months later, in the August, Ayers was again writing to Hallett, this time asking for a 30 inch stamps engine, to be used in ore-crushing, and requesting that it be "... as near as can be made a duplicate of the Winding Engine ordered in mine of the 28th April last..." so that the same set of engine-house plans would suffice for both, thus saving considerable time. In the December, Ayers wrote to Hallett yet again, telling him to procure from any Cornish foundry a vast amount of mining machinery and materials, ranging from pit-work to iron nails. As before, Captain Roach was to inspect the pit-work before it was despatched.

During 1849 and the early months of 1850, it became apparent that, with the mine becoming ever deeper, the pumping-engine and horse-whims would not be sufficient to keep the workings free of water for very much longer. Thus a further order was placed through Hallett for a giant 80 inch pump-
engine, to be constructed by either the Hayle or Perran foundries. Ayers stressed that the engine would have to arrive by March 1851 at the latest, and as an incentive offered a bonus of 10 per cent on the contract price if the engine could be at London, ready to be shipped, by 20th November 1850. Any loss of time, he said, would lead to "... an event I dread to contemplate." 105

By March 1851 not even the plans for the engine-house had arrived, and Ayers was fearful that any further delay... will be attended with most disastrous consequences to the interests of this Company, and to a great number of our workmen, as we have too much reason to apprehend that our present appliances will be inadequate in keeping our water in 'fork' during the coming winter, and the stoppage of our operations would then be inevitable. 106

Richard Hallett had himself personally visited Cornwall to acquire the plans and had despatched them at Falmouth on 17th December 1850, but they arrived too late to be of any use during 1851. 107 Fortunately, the existing pumps were able to keep the water in check throughout the winter. The engine, built at the Perran Foundry and christened "Schneider's" by the S.A.M.A., finally arrived and was erected during 1852. It was started, amidst great celebrations on 16th September, and the hero of the day was the chief engineer, John Congden, who had supervised its erection. The Association rewarded him with a gift of £50 and a substantial pay rise to £4 4s. per week. 108

The Cornish influence at the Burra, then, involved not only the immigration of Cornish miners but also of Cornish engines. And in addition to the machinery noted above, the S.A.M.A. imported other supplies direct from Cornwall. In May 1851, for instance, it ordered three copies of copper ore tables pub-
lished by F. Symons of Redruth, along with three copies of "... a small work common in Cornwall, being Tables for ascertaining the quantity of water contained in ores". Numerous miscellaneous items, from turpentine and iron bars to energy paper and chemicals, were supplied by J.C. Lanyon Jun. of Redruth; crucibles were obtained from 'Bolithos' smelting works at Calenick, near Truro.

Just as the Burra had led the way in the production of ore and the acquisition of machinery, so it acted as a strong impetus to the development of smelting in the colony. In April 1848 the Register had written that "Smelt we must, here, or in one of the neighbouring colonies (for) ... we are possessed of something more than a Cornwall..." and earlier, at the beginning of 1846, a furnace had been constructed at the Burra. However, technical difficulties were encountered, and during 1846 Dr. Edwin Davy opened his own smelting works at Yatala, Port Adelaide. Davy was born at Ottery St. Mary, in Devon, and was a relative of Sir Humphrey Davy, the celebrated Cornishman. The S.A.M.A. abandoned its unsuccessful smelters at the Burra in 1847, and for a time sent parcels of ore to the works at Apoinga, south of the Burra, which were then run by a Cornish mine captain called John Rowe. Smelting works were also set up at Callington and Kanmantoo by the Thomas brothers, from Hayle in West Cornwall, and in 1848 G. Walters, a representative of Schneider Brothers of Swansea, arrived in the colony to smelt the Burra ores. Thus the Patent Copper Company was established at Kooringa, being taken over in 1853 by the English and Australian Copper Company. This firm erected a second smelting works at Port Adelaide in 1861, at the same time reducing its output at Kooringa, and was able to meet the
smelting requirements of a great many of South Australia's mines in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Smaller works also existed at various times, at Kapunda, Glen Osmond and other mining centres, while later a massive plant was constructed at Wallaroo.

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The amazing success of the Burra mine created an atmosphere of "coppermania" which prevailed in the colony from 1845 until Victorian gold stole the lime-light in the early 1850s. It was reasoned that if the Burra lodes were so rich, then the surrounding country must also be full of copper. The experience of the Princess Royal soon disproved that theory but little notice was taken of the lesson that it taught. The Bon Accord mine was opened near the Burra property in 1846, for example, and had little success. It was tried again on several occasions, in 1858 by a Cousin Jack called Captain Jeffery, but by 1863 was recognised as a complete failure. To the southwest of Burra, near the township of Clare, lay an area known as Emu Plains. In 1849, Captain James Trewartha, while on a visit to the Burra to report on the small Murray Scrub mine, examined the plains, and a few months later Captain Matthew Bryant was searching the area for an alleged outcrop of copper. By July 1850 a shaft had been sunk on section 1995, and, following a favourable report from Captain Bath, the Emu Flats Mine was started under the command of Captain Berriman, another Cornishman. Apparently the S.A.M.A. soon acquired the claim (which was later renamed the Stanley Mine), for in November 1851 they let it out on tribute to Joseph Trevean. Trevean gave up his pitch to go to the Victorian rush, and the mine was again reworked in 1858-59 and 1872-73.
Adjacent to the Emu Flats Mine was the property of the Royal Mining Co., opened up in 1850 by Captain Berriman and 22 miners. It, too, was purchased by the S.A.M.A., but was only worked intermittently through the 1850s. A mile away was the Karkulto mine, worked by Cornish miners such as William Smith Bennetts from Camborne. It was started in 1850-51 by the S.A.M.A. as a source of iron ore for use as flux in the Patent Copper Co.'s smelting process, but it was later reworked as a copper mine as the iron ore was taken as a good indication of copper ore at depth. Evidently the Association thought it had found a second Burra, for it installed a Cornish pump engine and by 1863 had lavished £30,000 on development work — all with little result. Thirty miles south of Burra, near Riverton, the Belvidere copper and lead mine was opened in 1848, and two very interesting manifestations of "Coppermania" were the Mount Remarkable Mines (discovered in 1846-7, 175 miles north of Adelaide) and the Port Lincoln Mine (opened-up in 1848). The former, although never successful, was the first of innumerable "far-northern" mines, while the discovery of the Port Lincoln set in motion a long history of copper mining on Eyre Peninsula.

In the Adelaide Hills, "Coppermania" resulted in the opening of yet further mines. Wheal Acraman, near Montacute, was worked from 1848 to 1851 under Captain Long, a committee member of the Cornwall and Devon Society, and in 1848 the Prince Albert Mine was discovered 9 miles east-north-east of Adelaide. Stephen's Section, in the same district, was opened in 1848, and a Riversedge Mine was started near Wheal Acraman. Wheal Boone was probably also another of the hills mines; and in 1847 copper was found, too, on the coast a few miles
south of Adelaide, at Hallet's Cove. The Worthing Mining Co. was formed and it brought out Captain Alfred Phillips, together with 5 other miners and mining machinery, from Cornwall, working the lode until operations ceased in 1857 through water inundation.126

One of the most exciting developments in this period was the starting of the copper mines at Tungkillo (30 miles east-north-east of Adelaide) - Reedy Creek, Great Wheal Orford, and the optimistically-named Wheal Rothschild.127 The Australian Mining Company, owner of Reedy Creek, was floated in London with a capital of £400,000, and soon there was a sizeable community at Tungkillo of some 580 souls - "... mainly Cornish miners",128 men like Henry Adams from Tuckingmill, James Spry from Launceston, and John and Edward Dunstan from Wendron.129 The Captains, too, were Cousin Jacks - messrs. Dennis, Paul, Morcom, Jury and Cornelius - and they were joined in 1851 by Captain Phillips, from the Worthing Mine.130 Development at Reedy Creek continued through 1847 and 1848, and in 1849 Harvey and Co. of Hayle built two engines, of 36 inches and 48 inches respectively, for the mine.131 One of these engines was erected in April 1850 when "... the miners and inhabitants of Tungkillo welcomed it in true Cornish fashion"132, but by 1852 the mines were abandoned as the men had departed for Victoria.

20 to 25 miles south-west of Tungkillo lay a tract of mineralized country running from Mount Barker through to Callington. In 1846 copper was discovered on property held by the South Australian Company. Although it was primarily a land-oriented concern, it decided to exploit the mineral deposits and "... in spite of itself, it was caught up in the mining
mania of the 'forties..."133. One South Australian Company official wrote that "Every time I visit this property I am more convinced of its immense worth"134, but, although it was at first a tremendous boost to the company's morale, in the long-term it proved a "... serious loss".135 The Kanmantoo started in 1846, with tutworkmen exploiting the great "Kangaroo Lode" which was said to be 12 feet wide. A parcel of 300 tons was sent to Swansea, some of the ore assaying as much as 50 per cent copper, and, on the strength of a favourable report from Wales, a new company, the Paringa, was formed to work copper near Kanmantoo. The Paringa met with certain difficulties, and in 1849 was formed into the Britannia Mining Company.136 The Britannia owned several other local mines, such as the Tresevean, and by the end of 1852 a dozen or more mines had been worked in the area. There was the Menkoo, Wheal Rose, Wheal Fanny, Wheal Prosper (worked in 1851 by Captain Lean), Wheal Fortune, the Preamimma, and Wheal Harmony; and it seems likely that Mary Consols (worked by Captain Tyrell) and the Pheonix (worked by Captain Trestrail) were also in the same locality.137

Work at Wheal Emma was commenced in April–June 1850 under Captain Mitchell who had been especially brought out from Cornwall, and the Callington mine itself (sometimes also known as the Bremer) was being worked by 1849.138 In the same year, Wheal Maria was "... in the course of being worked true Cornish style"139 under Captain Simmons, and, although it was at that time yielding copper, it was at a later date also worked for silver-lead, as was the neighbouring Wheal Margaret (then under the management of Captain Paul).140 Lean, Tyrell, Trestrail, Mitchell, Simmons, and Paul were all Cornishmen, and it was not surprising that the Mount Barker district was at one time
The mine names were nearly all Cornish-inspired, and the miners lived in the Cornish-named settlements of Callington and St. Ives (later a village of Kelynack was also built in the area).

One of the leading characters for many years in the Callington district was Captain Absolom Tonkin, born in St. Blazey in 1829. He arrived in South Australia circa 1847 to work in the Paringa mine, but soon moved to the Kanmantoo. From there he went to the Tresevean as second-captain, and in 1851 was appointed manager of the Callington mine. In later years he opened a general store in Callington township, but, although he had retired from the industry, he never lost his keen interest in copper mining. Another of Callington’s Cornish miners was Robert Peters, who went there from Montacute, and Samuel Stanton made his way over from New South Wales to work in the mine. Henry Treloar, born in Cornwall in 1825, worked in a number of the Mount Barker mines before going on to the Burra. And William Bray, from St. Just-in-Penwith, married the youngest daughter of Captain William Penhall (who was himself "... well known in the Mount Barker and Callington districts...", having arrived in the colony from St. Austell in 1847). Thomas Cornelius, from Redruth, was the first captain at the Paringa, and Kanmantoo also had its share of Cornish miners. There was a tributer called Boundy, from Gwennap, and a John Curnow who came out from Halsetown.

Samuel Doney was underground captain for several years, and the manager in the early days was Captain Richard Rodda. Rodda also ran Wheal Maria for a time, but was especially known for his work in the Barossa Valley. He came from Penrice,
near St. Austell, and arrived in South Australia in 1846 to work the mineral deposits on George Fife Angas' land in the Barossa. Although Rodda reported unfavourably on the sites already selected for mining, he suggested several locations where exploratory work might be fruitful, and soon he was involved in a number of ventures in the district. As Jean Fielding has written,

Rodda was a man of great energy and, in the ensuing years, his capacity for investigation and development was tremendous. He was undoubtedly the most active mining man in the early days of the Colony.

He laid out the mining village of Penrice (named after his birth-place) near Angaston at the top end of the Barossa Valley, and by 1847 had two promising sets already in production - the Greenock Creek Mine, and the Lyndoch Valley Mine. By 1850, Rodda had opened-up Wheal Friendship, 1½ miles from Williamstown, and later he was responsible for the development of the North Rhine claim, ten miles from Angaston. He was also associated closely with the Crinnis Mine, again near Angaston, which was "... named after the celebrated Crinnis Mine of Cornwall...", a working which had realised "... an almost fabulous amount of wealth". The South Australian Crinnis did not prove as good an investment as its Cornish name-sake, but still J.B. Austin could write in 1863 that "The late Captain Rodda entertained a very favourable opinion of the place..." Wheal Barton was another copper mine worked on Angas' property, being situated at the northern extremity of the Barossa district near Truro, a township "... named after the Cornish glory." The captain, however, was not Rodda, but John Rowe, who relinquished his position at Apoinga in 1849 to go to the mine. He in turn was replaced
(or perhaps supplemented) by Captain Peters, and the mine's secretary was one J.A. Tregonning.

Strathalbyn, a few miles down the Bremer River from Callington, also saw mining activity in the days before the Victorian Gold Rush. There were three main copper mines, the Strathalbyn, Breadalbyn, and Glenalbyn—names which spoke of Scotland rather than of Cornwall. One of the shafts was called, somewhat romantically, "Arthur's Seat", which perhaps suggests a Cornish influence—although the Celtic Arthurian tradition was shared by the Scots as well as the Cornishmen. Certainly, there were Cornish miners at Strathalbyn in those early days. Henry Waters (a different person from the Henry Waters at Kapunda) arrived in the colony in 1847, and worked at Strathalbyn in 1850 and 1851. Like South Australia's other mines, the Strathalbyn ventures fell victim to the gold-rush, closing down in 1854.

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The Victorian Gold Rush, indeed, brought a decade of extensive, almost feverish mineral development to an end. By December 1851, the smaller mines were already closing. Kanmantoo was abandoned in 1852, as was Kapunda, and even the mighty Burra Burra ground to a halt. In March 1851 there had been 1,042 men working on the Burra mine. This figure declined to 360 by March 1852, to 157 by the following September, and was soon less than 100—only a handful of these being underground miners. Ore raised fell from 23,000 tons in the year ended September 1851 to a low of 2,000 for the year ended September 1853. In November 1852, Ayers wrote that "... the opera-
tions of this company are in great measure suspended from the want of the necessary labour",\textsuperscript{162} and the lower levels of the mine were allowed to fill with water, as the pump engineers and drivers had all gone to Victoria.

The recovery of the South Australian mining industry did not occur until further supplies of miners arrived from Cornwall and, more particularly, until the men began to return from the Victorian gold-fields. Of the numerous mines that had been in operation in the Adelaide Hills before the rush, only Wheal Watkins was again worked successfully.\textsuperscript{163} But there were various attempts to re-open other mines, while several newly-discovered claims were started during the 1850s. At Tungkillo, the Reedy Creek was reworked in the late 1850s,\textsuperscript{164} and again in the late 1860s, when Captain Paul exclaimed that "... no man can conceive a just estimate as to the quantity of ore standing even to the surface",\textsuperscript{165} and Captain Pascoe discovered deposits assaying as much as 15 5/8 per cent copper.\textsuperscript{166} The Kanmantoo was leased to various individuals after 1854, the ore being treated at Richard Rodda’s smelting works at Scotts Creek, and in 1861 a new "Kanmantoo Mining and Smelting Co." was formed with a capital of £12,000.\textsuperscript{167} By 1864 this venture had failed, the mine being reworked from 1869 to 1874 by the "New Kanmantoo Mining and Smelting Co." with Captain Penberthy, a Cornishman, as manager.\textsuperscript{168} The neighbouring Callington mine was also re-opened. A 60 inch pump engine was erected during 1857, and the mine won the praise of J.B. Austin, a mining expert, through its successful use of Vyan's rake buddle in retreating the "smalls" or refuse.\textsuperscript{169} Although never really a viable concern, the Callington was tried again on several occasions during the last century, the final major reworking being in 1907.\textsuperscript{170}
In the Barossa district, Richard Rodda supervised the re-opening of Wheal Friendship (a mine that was again worked vigorously in the late 1870s under Captains Richards, Percy, and Trestrail), and in 1854 his old Lyndoch Valley Mine yielded 200 tons of ore. The Lyndoch was reworked briefly in 1866-7 by Captain Tyrell, in 1876 by Captain Percy, and finally in 1888 by William Wincey – a small-time Cornish adventurer, resident in Gawler. The North Rhine was developed rapidly from 1858 under Richard Rodda, the Mining Journal noting the erection of a pump engine in 1860, and was run until its abandonment in 1863 by Captain Barkla (often misspelt as "Barker" by the Adelaide press, which always seemed to have difficulty with Cornish surnames). A short-lived attempt to rework the Crinnis Mine had already proved a failure by the time J.B. Austin visited the site in the early 1860s, and Wheal Barton apparently lay idle until 1878.

The Strathalbyn mines were reworked briefly in 1857, in an attempt to turn from copper to silver-lead, but were soon eclipsed by the neighbouring Wheal Ellen property, which was opened in 1857 and fully active by 1860. The Wheal Ellen company, which mined silver-lead, was determined to work its claim in true Cornish-style. To this end, it acquired a 60 inch Cornish engine, jointly manufactured by the Perran Foundry and Messrs. Nicholls, Williams of Tavistock, and brought out several experienced mining men from Cornwall – John Cornish from Helston, Thomas Nicholls from St. Austell, Henry Richard Hancock from Horrabridge (a mining village just over the border, in Devon), and William Arundel Paynter, from Hicks Mill, Gwennap. Captain Paynter had worked in mines in Cornwall and Cumberland before migrating to South Australia, and it was
while in Cumberland that he first heard about Wheal Ellen. He wrote to his wife, Sophia, mentioning that "... there is a cornishman here about to leave for Australia on Tuesday or Wednesday next, his name is Vial from Chacewater...", and, a few weeks later, in February 1859, he told her that "... I have had a little information as to the mine in Australia...". By the September he was at Wheal Ellen, saving hard to bring out Sophia, and working as the chief ore-dresser and engineer. He stayed at the mine until 1861, when the work became slack, then moving on to the Moonta district, as did his colleague Henry Richard Hancock.

At Kapunda, which at the height of the Victorian rush could boast only 4 employees, work began again in 1854-55 as the miners returned from the goldfields. The mine produced an average of 3,000 tons of ore per annum for the next ten years, but, by the early 1860s, falling copper prices and increasing pumping difficulties made the mine uneconomical. A Scottish firm purchased the Kapunda in 1865, and worked the mine through to its closure in 1878. From 1870-78, only 1,250 tons were being produced annually, much of this through open-cut methods and the retreatment of wastes. In 1875, for example, there were only 40 or 50 men actually working underground. In 1878 there was a belated attempt to concentrate on these underground operations (a new shaft was even sunk) but water inundation was so great that the mine had to be abandoned. The plant - a 30 inch beam-engine, a 36 inch Buhl engine, and five smaller appliances - was sold during 1879, and the mine was only ever worked again by occasional groups of tributers.
The Burra fared only marginally better, and indeed its experience in the post-rush era was entirely congruent with that of the Cornish copper industry - a decline from a position of prosperity in the late 1850s to a period of deep crisis in the 1860s, and complete collapse in the 1870s. It shared, too, many of the problems of Cornish copper, including rising costs and falling ore quality (co-inciding as they did with a period of low copper prices, and competition from Wallaroo and Moonta). By 1865 the Burra Burra mine had lost its strong economic base. A loss of £19,000 was suffered during 1865-66, a prelude to the disastrous years ahead when, between 1872 and 1877, the S.A.M.A. lost £30,000 while producing only 14,000 tons of ore.

Both Henry Brown and J.W. Higgins have argued that poor mining methods practiced in the early days combined with a reluctance to purchase new and modern machinery; to promote inefficiency and thus accelerate the mine's decline. The question of mining methods will be discussed later in the chapter, but it is useful here to consider Higgins' claim that,

...the Directors were always backward in buying machinery for development. Large dividends were more desirable than efficiency. Machinery was bought only as such necessities as shortage of labour, gold-rushes, slumps in copper prices, and water problems called for more economical production. 183

It was true that the ordering of engines from Cornwall always seemed to be left too late, with Henry Ayers anticipating disaster if his often unrealistic delivery timetables were not strictly adhered to, but at the same time it must be considered that the S.A.M.A. pioneered the large-scale importation of Cornish-built machinery into Australia, while suffering the enormous disadvantages of immense distance and poor communications. Indeed, it can be seen that in the years 1858-78 the
S.A.M.A. responded to periods of crisis with innovation, particularly the acquisition of new machinery. During the 1850s, it purchased four engines from the Perran Foundry, and in the latter part of the decade attempted to cater for future needs by acquiring an 80 inch pump engine, instigating prospecting work in the far-north of the colony, and commissioning a survey in Cornwall of the latest ore-dressing techniques in use there. During 1857 the S.A.M.A. had turned down an opportunity to purchase a 60 inch Perran-built engine from the South Australian Copper Mining Co. because its bright-work and boilers were missing, and instead the Directors decided it would be more prudent to acquire a new 80 inch engine direct from Cornwall. An order was placed with the Perran Foundry and, although Ayers made his usual protestations about the delivery dates – declaring that "... we shall be thrown back at least six months..." - the Burra mine was in a position where, by early 1859, it was far from being short of appliances, able to sell a surplus 50 inch engine to the Bon Accord Mine. To ensure the quality of the Perran Foundry's workmanship, the machinery was to be inspected by Captain James Eddy of Consolidated Mines, Gwennap, before shipment.

In August 1858, Captain Roach was approached by James Trestrail, a Cornishman who owned the "Trevale" property near Chain of Ponds, who intimated that he had discovered valuable copper deposits in the far north. Ayers wrote to Trestrail asking him on what terms he would make known the precise details of his discovery, while sending Captain Bryant to the north to try to locate the deposits. Bryant was successful in finding copper in the region of Mount McKinlay, Mount Chambers, and Nepowie Peak. Ayers wrote to Trestrail, in characteristic
fashion, telling him that he was no longer interested in his information, at the same time applying to the Government for leases on the Crown Lands where Bryant had made his discoveries. Bryant himself was rewarded with 20 guineas in recognition of his prospecting work. Far from lacking managerial and business acumen, Ayers was king of the sharp-practice commercialists.

Soon after, in January 1860, Ayers wrote to Thomas H. Williams of Moretonhampstead, Devonshire, instructing him to tour the Cornish mines, particularly those run by John Taylor & Co., to assess the modern washing, crushing and dressing machinery, with a view to providing an estimate for such machinery to be built and shipped to South Australia.\(^{190}\) By the following June, Ayers had received "... sundry drawings of machinery in use in Cornwall, for hauling and washing ore",\(^{191}\) and was ordering a 30 inch whim engine and skips to facilitate haulage at the Burra. At the same time, work was started on retreating the old refuse that had collected in the creek - the "halvans" or "slimes" - with the intention of boosting the overall copper output.\(^{192}\)

Despite this enterprise, the Burra Burra mine was plunged into decline in 1862 through an unfortunate combination of slumping copper prices and an unusually wet winter which made it difficult to keep the mine dry. As a result, work below the 55 fathom level was stopped, and the deepest section of the workings allowed to flood with water. In June 1863 it was feared that increasing competition from the rich Wallaroo ores would render the Burra copper unmarketable\(^{193}\), and in December 1864 Ayers described the state of the copper market - and its implications for the future of the Burra - as "... very de-
plorable..." 194 However, in 1865, the S.A.M.A. displayed a new-found enthusiasm, the first manifestation of this being the commissioning of a special survey of the mine, to be undertaken by three of the colony's leading Cornish captains—Captain Dunstan of Wallaroo Mines, Captain Prisk of Callington, and Captain Roach of Burra Burra. 195 As a result of this survey, a pair of tutworkmen was engaged to drive the 65 fathom level south of Morphett's shaft, while elsewhere in the mine strict economies were enforced: "It is no use men working pitches that will neither pay them nor the company..." 196 In 1866 an entire new shaft was sunk (Graves), and in the August work on Grave's engine-house was begun (although an engine was never installed therein). 197 News of the European copper market continued to be "... of a discouraging nature", 198 but this did not deter the S.A.M.A. from engaging Captain Isaac Killicoat to compile a report on ore-dressing at the Burra, paying particular reference to the functioning of the waterwheel and stamps. Killicoat, too, was a distinguished Cornish mining man of some standing in the colony. He was born at Perranwell in 1809, and was for 19 years grass captain at Tresavean (where no doubt he was a colleague of Henry Roach). In 1848 he was approached by John Schneider, the smelting magnate, and in May 1853 arrived in South Australia to oversee the Patent Copper Co.'s works at Kooringa. 199

By February 1867 the Burra mine was losing £100 a day, and it was determined to suspend all tribute pitches in March, while continuing the tutwork in Grave's shaft. It was also decided to make redundant Captain Opie, while Captain Roach announced his intention, in April, to retire. 200 In an effort to introduce still further economies, a mining expert, John
Darlington, was engaged to report upon the mine in July 1868, and on his advice new dressing floors were constructed, while abandoned workings were re-worked by open-cut methods. Perhaps as a result of his recommendations, the mine was again in full production by 1870, while in 1872 the Directors were "... more hopeful for the future". Captain Paul was sent to observe techniques at the Moonta, Wallaroo, and Paramatta Mines on North Yorke Peninsula, and as a result the renowned Hancock jigger was introduced into the dressing process at Burra, Captain Hancock sending down James Kendall (a Cornishman, not surprisingly) to superintend its use.

In 1873, Captain Robert Sanders, from Cornwall, was appointed the new superintendent of the Burra, and given the unenviable task of making the mine a paying concern. Immediately, he took steps to recruit further supplies of miners from Cornwall, and advertised for a new engine and stamps. He purchased spare machinery from Callington, and instigated a thorough search of the deep workings which revealed the existence of two new lodes - Kingston's and Sanders'. Development and exploratory work continued through 1876 and early 1877, but by the June a further fall in copper prices made necessary a series of drastic economies. Ayers warned that if large savings were not made, the mine would be abandoned, a course of action which had become inevitable by the September. Captains Hancock of Moonta, Osborne of Kapunda, and Higgs of Wallaroo, inspected the lower levels of the mine, before the engines were stopped, to ensure that the miners had "... made everything safe to start again at some future time". The machinery was shut down, and the employees were dismissed on 30th November 1877. Sanders, despite his energy, optimism, and Cousin Jack flair, had failed
to save the once-great Burra Burra, and the old ball was "knack-
ed" as surely as were its counter-parts in Cornwall. The Burra Record felt that the set-back was only temporary, but it was truly the end of an era.

---VII---

However, despite all this, the main feature of the post-gold rush period was not the revival and demise of the Kapunda, Burra, and other mines, but rather the discovery and rapid development of the copper deposits on North Yorke Peninsula, and - to a lesser extent - in the far north. And, as before, the speed and scope of this development was facilitated by the energy and enterprise of Cornish miners and Cornish captains, with mining machinery being acquired from Cornish-owned foundries in Cornwall and South Australia. Indeed, the Moonta-Wallaroo-Kadina complex became so identified with the Cornish that it earned the title "Little Cornwall", these settlements, as Geoffrey Blainey has said, being "... the largest Cornish communities beyond Land's End". Copper had been discovered on Yorke Peninsula as early as 1847, with Francis Dutton and Richard Rodda visiting the claim in 1848, but at that stage the Peninsula was too remote and underdeveloped to warrant exploitation of its mineral deposits. Even in later years, when the district had become settled, the environment was still in many ways unfriendly and uninviting. In 1872, Samuel Higgs, then captain of the Wallaroo Mines, wrote to the Royal Cornwall Geological Society, informing its illustrious members that the "tongue of land lying west of Port Adelaide, bounded on the east by Spencer's Gulf, and on the west by St. Vincent's Gulf. It is about 150 miles long, and varies in width from 25 to 50 miles. It is a country entirely
destitute of fresh water, except in three or four places on the sea-shore, where wells have been sunk in the sand and some brackish water found, which, for want of better cattle drink. The country from the Hummock's range of hills, situated at the head of the peninsula, to the extreme south point, is nearly a dead level, undulating slightly in one or two places.

The only natural vegetation is a stunted mallee tree-scrub, the foliage of which is a dirty olive green. At certain seasons of the year its sombreness is relieved by the yellow blossom of the wattle-tree, with now and then a clump of native peach-trees, and an occasional bush of the native myrtle, with its diminutive white flower. The grass, known as spear-grass, grows rapidly, and for a month or two, in some places, affords fair feed for sheep; but a day or two of a South Australian sirocco (north wind) dries it entirely up, and the whole face of the country assumes the aspect of an arid wilderness.

Before the 1860s, the population of this inhospitable region was extremely sparse, the country being divided into a number of large sheep-runs. On one such run, the Wallaroo property, owned by Walter Watson Hughes, copper was located near the beach - probably when sinking one of the wells mentioned by Higgs - and a small mine, Wheal Mixter, was worked there for some time. However, the first major discovery on Hughes' land occurred in December 1859 when James Boor, a shepherd, found a rich deposit at a site soon to become known as Wallaroo Mines. In 1861 the Moonta Mines, some ten miles to the south-west of the Wallaroo find, were discovered by the much-maligned Irish shepherd, Patrick Ryan (although the Cousin Jacks liked to argue that "... it was most likely his Cornish mate")\(^{211}\), and it was not long before there were countless other claims being worked in the area.\(^{212}\)

In January 1861, the prospectus for the Wandilta company, which was to work a claim near Kadina, was published, and in the February the opening of the New Cornwall mine - again near
Kadina - was announced. By mid-1861, resident Cornish captains, such as George Vercoe from Marazion, were in great demand to report on local ventures, while others were being engaged to actually work the claims - in the September of 1862, for example, Captain Goldsworthy was hired to open-up the Wilkawat (or Nalyappa) property. The Karkarilla, situated on the southern boundary of the Moonta leases, was started in July 1862, and proved to be one of the more successful of the smaller workings on the Peninsula. Although it was abandoned in the late 1860s, it was soon acquired by a new company which discovered a second lode on the western fringe of the property. This new section it labelled the Hamley Mine (the old Karkarilla lode remaining dormant until 1900), the workings being continued until the First World War when the company was absorbed into the Moonta Mines.

The Matta Matta and Kurilla mines, both in the Kadina district, were also good "stayers" - as the Cornish termed the successful mines - but the only other small mine in the Hamley/Karkarilla class was the Yelta. First discovered in July 1862 on the northern boundary of the Moonta leases, it continued in production until 1878 when it was abandoned as a result of the low price of copper. It was again worked sporadically, particularly in the 1890s, and was in 1903 purchased by a French company (which also acquired other properties in the area).

The Doora mine was discovered in November 1862, Wheal Hughes (a very promising sett in the early days) was opened in December 1865 and worked through until January 1870, and, although most of these finds were of copper, petroleum shale was discovered in the Old Cornwall mine in September 1867. By early 1866, the South Wallaroo (later renamed Great Devon
Consols) was being developed under the guidance of Captain Williams, and Wheal Burty was being worked near Moonta. Wheal Fortune was soon opened-up at Greens Plains, and, by March 1867, Wheal Prosper - known locally as Wheal Chips and Leather United - was in production at Kadina. A North Wandilta mine was opened by Captain Nicholls, near the original Wandilta property, and by 16th May 1873 there were no less than 54 mines in production in the Moonta-Wallaroo-Kadina "copper triangle". And, moreover, their captains were almost exclusively Cornish. R.C. Kitto, for example, ran the Albion, Moonta Consols, and North Yelta mines, while Captain Bunney was at New Moonta, Captain Prideaux at the Kadina, and Captain Wearne at Agery. Captain J. Goldsworthy was manager of several local mines, including the Challa, Copper Valley, and South Hamley properties, and Captain Bice ran the Euko, Mattapara, and Poona mines. Other Captains bore tell-tale Cornish surnames such as Warren, Northey, Ellis, Bennetts, Mathews, Lean, Thomas, Snell, Gray, Pascoe, Trenouth, and Edwards, while the names of their mines were equally evocative - Wheal James, Wheal Stuart, Wheal Humby, Wheal Goyder, Wheal Devon, New Devon, North Devon, and so on.

The Cornish, too, had a hand, not only in the management of these mines, but also, in many cases, in their initial discovery. The Cousin Jack who found the Derrington said he had discovered as "... fine a looking lode a Cornishman would wish to see", and Captain John Gray stumbled across a rich deposit of copper - later the Poona claim - while inspecting a newly-dug railway cutting. The Goldsworthy mine was uncovered by a Cornishman named Nottle, and the first copper discoveries at Pekina, some 100 miles north of Wallaroo, were made by Thomas Torr, "A Cornish miner". There was considerable
prospecting work done at Pekina, with several types of mineral being extracted, and one newspaper report noted that "The Cornish miners say they are the best specimens they ever saw."223 Prospectors from Moonta and Wallaroo roamed equally far afield in other directions on prospecting forays, on one occasion in 1888 a Cornishman called Roach discovering ore assaying at 40 per cent to 60 per cent copper at Terowie, some 90 miles distant.224 But some of the most memorable finds were those made nearer home, one of the best known being the discovery of the Paramatta Mine, situated in open country two miles north of Moonta. One day in June 1866 Joseph Lawn, Anthony Down and John Richards - the latter two from Calstock in East Cornwall - were returning from a kangaroo hunting trip when their attention was caught by pieces of malachite lying on the surface. A company was formed to work the deposits, and before long Richards and Downs had made enough money to allow them to retire to Cornwall. The Paramatta was worked for a number of years, and then abandoned. Later, in 1899, the mine was acquired by a French company, and worked well into the early twentieth-century.225

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Local place-names such as Tuckingmill, Helston, Jericho, Menadue, and Portreath, were a clue to Cornish involvement in the North Yorke Peninsula mines; and indeed the very first miners in the district (leaving aside those who had worked at Wheal Mixter) were Cousin Jacks, from the Burra - William Pascoe, Walter Phillips, Richard Walter, and Samuel Truran. Walter Phillips hailed from Bokiddick, a small hamlet under the shadow of Helman Tor, near Luxulyan, in mid-Cornwall, and
he arrived in South Australia to work at Callington before moving on to Burra, Wallaroo, Moonta, and eventually Broken Hill. Samuel Truran came from St. Agnes, and, despite his important role in the opening-up of the Wallaroo Mines, had little success in the district, being declared insolvent by April 1868. Richard Walter fared somewhat better, for in May 1899, when he had become too old to work as a miner, the Wallaroo and Moonta company decided that, in recognition of his pioneering work, they would try to find him some light duties around the mines.

The expansion of the Moonta and Wallaroo ventures, not surprisingly, created considerable excitement in mining districts such as Burra, Kapunda, and Callington, and there was a steady movement of miners and their families from those areas to North Yorke Peninsula throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Thomas Cowling recalled that when he arrived at Yelta, a settlement near Moonta, in the late 1860s, most of the inhabitants were natives of Cornwall who had come to this country before the opening up of the peninsula mines. Several of them had come from the Burra, others from the Kanmantoo and Callington mines, and a few from Kapunda.

Other Cornish families came from Victoria, with many more from Cornwall itself, and they fused with those arriving from the various South Australian mining districts to create an enormously strong and cohesive Cornish community on the Peninsula. It would be clearly impossible to trace the careers of each and every Cornish miner at Wallaroo and Moonta, but nevertheless it is important to examine the activities of at least some of those who became the flesh and blood of "Little Cornwall". Two early arrivals in the district from the Burra
were the engine-drivers William Gummow and William Phillips. Gummow drove engines at Kurilla and at Matta Matta, finally working at the Moonta Mines for 33 years, and Phillips was a driver at the Wallaroo, New Cornwall, and Kurilla mines before going to work in the smelters at Wallaroo.\textsuperscript{231} Edward Moyle was another of the Moonta Mines drivers. He was born in Crowan in January 1840, and came out to the colony in 1860 soon after his marriage to Mary Martin. Together, they lived at the Burra but when the Moonta Mines were opened they decided to move to the Peninsula. Unable to afford transport, they walked the 90 miles or so, and Edward was smitten with a bad attack of sandy blight, from which he never really recovered. But, despite his affliction, he spent many years on the Moonta beam engines, and was a familiar figure in the township until his death in 1897.\textsuperscript{232}

Francis Manuel, from St. Blazey, was also a former Burra miner. He had arrived in South Australia in 1865, quite late in the life of the mine, and like many of his colleagues went to the Peninsula when it became clear that the Burra was in decline. He made his family home at East Moonta, although he was often absent from the district on prospecting expeditions, on one occasion venturing into the Northern Territory in search of gold.\textsuperscript{233} Two celebrated "Little Cornwall" identities who came to the Peninsula by way of Burra were Captains Malachi Deeble and John Tamblyn. Deeble, originally from St. Austell, was a ringleader in the great Burra strike of 1848, but at Moonta became arch-enemy of the local trade unionists. He arrived in the area in 1861 to manage the Kurilla mine, in 1863 becoming Underground Captain at Moonta Mines. He stayed at Moonta until his retirement in 1887, being for many years the confidante and ally of Captain Hancock. John Tamblyn was a
much loved character, working as underground captain at Wallaroo Mines until ill-health caused his retirement in the early 1900s. He was born in St. Agnes in 1833, and Oswald Pryor wrote that he was a man who "... played bowls, umpired cricket matches, grew flowers, loved a good horse, and spoke in a rich Cornish dialect." 234

The Kapunda Cornish were also represented in some strength on the Peninsula. John Retallick, born in St. Austell in 1815, had spent eighteen months at Kapunda before arriving at Moonta in 1865. Later he went for some time to Queensland but returned to Moonta, finally purchasing a store at Moonta Bay. Another St. Austell man was John Isaacs. He came to the colony in 1867, with his parents, at the age of 11, and went to work in the Kapunda mines, moving on to Wallaroo and Moonta while still a youth. 235 From Callington, in 1868, came William Bray, together with his father-in-law, Captain William Penhall. Also from Callington, were the Captains Thomas William Cornelius and Thomas Cornelius - a well known father-and-son team in the early mining days. They arrived in the Moonta district in 1869, but their experience on the Peninsula was not a happy one. Thomas William, the father, died only five years later, in 1874, while his son was killed in a tragic accident underground in Moonta Mines in 1897. 236

Of those who came to "Little Cornwall" from Victoria, perhaps the most famous were the Captains James Datson and James Pryor. Datson was born in Cornwall in December 1837, the third son of Hugh Datson, and came to South Australia in 1847 with his father and brother, William. They journeyed to Victoria during the goldrush, and it was not until 1861 that they left
Geelong to return to the Central Colony. James became underground captain at the Yelta until 1877, when, on the eve of the mine's closure, he was offered a senior position by Captain Hancock at Moonta. James Pryor was born at Rame in the Parish of Wendron in 1845, and as a boy worked in the local tin mines - Retanna Hill and the Wheal Lovell group - before going to Victoria in 1866 to work the alluvial gold claims near Ballarat. He arrived at Moonta in 1869, and by 1873 was underground captain at the Poona mine. He later became a close colleague of Captain H.R. Hancock at Moonta and Wallaroo, and in 1908 was appointed Acting General Manager of the mines when H. Lipson Hancock was touring overseas. One miner who knew him well, wrote that

He was an austere, grey-bearded man, self-educated and self-contained. Lipson Hancock stood somewhat in awe of him; but he was his greatest support, strong in those points on which Hancock was weakest. 238

Also from Victoria, came William and Keziah Pearn, who had been married in the Cornish parish of Lezant in 1852, and migrated to Australia in 1855. William mined at Bendigo until 1864, when they moved to Moonta. It is not recorded when William died, but Keziah lived to the grand old age of 92. John Nancarrow, born in Redruth in 1840, arrived in Victoria in 1857, when the great days of the rush had already passed, and, somewhat disappointed, made his way to North Yorke Peninsula as soon as the mines were opened. He settled at Yelta and was acknowledged by all who knew him as "... an outstanding figure", 239 being one of the pioneer Methodists on the Peninsula.

From Cornwall direct, came men like Methuselah Tregoning, born in Wendron in 1850, who was an engineer for 30 years and
more at Moonta from 1867 until his death in 1899. William Nancarrow was chief carpenter at Moonta Mines for almost as long as anyone could remember; and John Noble, born in Penryn in 1838, was foreman blacksmith in the Mines workshop from the mid-1860s until the turn of the century. Alice Williams, from Constantine, arrived in the district with her husband in 1876, and lived at Newtown, a suburb of Kadina, until her death in 1923.240 Another well-known Peninsula identity was Charles T. Harris, or "Charlie the Carpenter" as everyone called him. Born at Penpillick, near Tywardreath, in June 1823, he arrived in South Australia in 1876 and became carpenter at the Hamley Mine, living in the district until his death in 1915. Christopher Faull, an old-time Wesleyan said to be "powerful in prayer", was a prominent character at Moonta in the 1880s. He came from Trenoweth, in the parish of Crowan, where he was born on 29th August 1844. He arrived in the colony in 1864 with his brother Joseph (later killed in a mining accident at Peak Downs, Queensland) and made his way to Moonta. It was not long before he had married Susan Jane Berryman, from Camborne, and in 1874 he was appointed class-leader at Yelta Wesleyan chapel. By the 1880s he was a captain, and became notorious as the "side-kick" or "off-sider" of Captain Skinner. Later he went to Western Australia, and retired finally to Mount Barker, where he died in 1926.241

From St. Austell, in 1865, came Joseph Bray. When not down the mines hewing the rock, he was hard at work preparing material for his Bible Christian Sunday-School class, and it was perhaps on the strength of his scholarly reputation that he was appointed Librarian at the Moonta Mines Institute in 1895. George Vercoe, born in Marazion in 1815, was a mining
man of considerable repute in South Australia. With already considerable experience in Cornwall, Ireland, and America, he arrived in the colony in 1845, and, after periods in New South Wales and Victoria, began mining on Eyre Peninsula with Captain James Barkla (later an underground captain at Moonta). The Wallaroo discoveries drew Vercoe to the Peninsula in the early 1860s, and he was appointed captain of a small mineral claim near Kulpara, succeeding Captain Thomas Bryant. In later years he became manager of the Yelta mine, and was the discoverer of the famous Buchan's lode at Moonta Mines - it being said that he and Captain James Warmington extracted two tons of ore in only two hours on the day of its discovery. From Moonta, he went to the Karkarilla as manager. He was forced to retire through ill-health, but participated in mining ventures in both New South Wales and New Caledonia before finally giving-up his occupation altogether.  

Another of North Yorke Peninsula's celebrated captains was Thomas Anthony, who was born in Hayle in May 1830. By the age of ten he was working in the Cornish mines, and had risen to the position of captain at 25. The Yudnamutana Copper Co. brought him out to the colony in 1862 on a five-year contract to work their Blinman mine in the far north. On the expiry of his contract, in 1866, he moved to the Peninsula as captain of the Kurilla until its abandonment twelve months later. From there he went to Yelta, then again to the Kurilla during a brief reworking, and finally to Wallaroo Mines. Subsequently, he returned to the Kurilla, working it successfully through a decade of low copper prices, until his death in May 1885. Of equal note were the Captains Thomas and Richard Cowling, another of the colony's celebrated father-and-son teams.
Thomas was born at Baldhu, in West Cornwall, in 1827, but later moved to Gunnislake, in the East, to work at Wheal Edward. He spent some time in North America, but in 1862 emigrated to South Australia with his friend, Captain Harry East, to run the New Cornwall mine. From the New Cornwall he moved to Wheal Hughes, leaving there after twelve months to replace Captain Anthony at the Yelta, and later he was at North Yelta and, finally the Hamley. When he retired from there in 1884 he was succeeded by his son, Richard, who had been second captain since 1878. Richard was born at Gunnislake and as a lad had worked in the Drakewalls Mine before joining his father in South Australia in 1867. Like his father, he was variously associated with Wheal Hughes, the Yelta, and the North Yelta, but it was with the Hamley that his name is always linked.

To this already extensive list of Cornishmen, could be added the names of countless others. One ought to mention, for example. W.H. Hayes, who arrived in the colony in 1865 at the age of seven, and was a senior captain at Wallaroo Mines until 1921. And then there was Paul Roach from Ludgvan, who came out in 1864 to become second captain in the Wallaroo Mines; and Captain Dunstan, another of the Wallaroo men; and Nicholas Opie from Wendron. Nor can one ignore Captain Tredinnick, Dunstan's brother-in-law, who was brought out from North Downs, Gwennap, in 1864, his task being to introduce the tribute systems at Wallaroo Mines. Another great tribute captain, skilled in the art of ore valuation, was Captain Philps of Moonta Mines. And then there was the famous Samuel Higgs himself - Past Secretary of the Royal Cornwall Geological Society, and a son-in-law of Sir Humphrey Davy - a man of immense standing at home in Cornwall, being a member of the
celebrated Penzance family which amassed a fortune from its interests in Wheal Providence and Wheal Margery. 246

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By 1875 it was estimated that there were some 20 to 25,000 people resident on North Yorke Peninsula, mostly Cornish immigrants and their Australian-born descendents, and these people were responsible for the rapid development of the Wallaroo and Moonta district. 247 Although there were numerous claims in the area, it was the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines which provided the economic backbone of the Peninsula. 248 Ultimately, through financial pressures, the two mines were forced into amalgamation, but until 1890 they were independent concerns, albeit operating in close co-ordination. In its thirty years of independence the Wallaroo Mines raised 491,000 tons of copper ore, averaging at 11 per cent, the most productive years being between 1866 and 1875 when 25,000 tons were being produced per annum. By 1876 the slump in world copper prices had affected the profitability of the Wallaroo Mines, with an average per annum loss of £26,000 being sustained between 1876 and 1880. During 1878 and 1879 very little ore was raised, and, although full-scale production was revived in 1880, and even expanded in 1883, the economic prospects of the mine remained gloomy throughout the 1880s. For the entire period 1860-1889 there was an overall profit of £91,000, but profitability fluctuated wildly, ranging from a surplus of £49,000 in 1872 to a loss of £45,000 in 1878. The average number of employees for the period was 580, the greatest number being 1,003 in 1872 and the least being 43 in 1879. Numbers were restored through renewed recruitment from Cornwall, but there was again a considerable decline from
Although the Wallaroo Mines was a marginal concern after 1876, it continued in production - if somewhat erratically - as the profits from its smelting works at Wallaroo (which totalled £749,000 by 1889) compensated for its losses, the Directors always hoping that a rise in copper prices at some point in the future would restore profitability.

In those early decades, the Moonta Mines were economically stronger than their Wallaroo counterparts; in its first year of operation the company raising 9,000 tons of ore at a cost of £38,000 while realising £101,000 profit. By as early as 1865, it was alleged that the Moonta and Wallaroo workings combined were producing ore equal in quantity to half that produced by all the Cornish mines. Then 10 years later, in 1875, it was shown that the Moonta Mines alone had already outstripped the performance of even the mightiest of the once-great Cornish copper mines. In the period October 1861 to July 1875, Moonta had raised 236,160 tons of ore worth £4,000,000, while the Consolidated Mines, in Cornwall, had raised only 230,296 tons of ore, worth £2,893,482, between 1815 and 1856. The Dolcoath, Fowey Consols, Tresavean, and United mines all similarly fell short of the Moonta performance, and even Devon Great Consols had, between 1844 and 1856, managed to produce 230,296 tons of ore, valued at only £1,402,807.

In the entire period 1862-1889, production at Moonta Mines averaged 19,000 tons per annum, with the ore at 19 per cent copper, but, although the output and quality of the ore declined very little, the amounts of earth and rock removed to sustain this level increased dramatically over the years. Consequently, costs rose and combined with low copper prices to produce the
Moonta Mines' first years of loss in 1878-79. As a result of improved methods and better administration, profitability was restored in the early 1880s, but by the end of the decade the mines were again in financial difficulties. The Moonta Mines were the single greatest employer of labour on North Yorke Peninsula from 1862 to 1889. Within three years there were 1,000 men working at the mines, the numbers rising to almost 1,700 by 1877. Thereafter, the total workforce declined, although the number of underground miners continued to increase as it became more and more difficult to maintain production levels. The common economic problems of the Moonta and Wallaroo companies led to their amalgamation in 1889-90, it being reasoned that a large firm would be better able to withstand the pressures of adverse market conditions, while at the same time benefitting from various economies of scale. This premise was shown to be correct, and the new company, by pursuing a "...bold and enterprising policy..."251, paved the way for a new era of prosperity in the twentieth-century. Together, the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines - before and after their amalgamation - dominated the colony's mining scene, in 1873 Anthony Trollope noting that "... when men talk of the mining wealth of South Australia they allude to Wallaroo and Moonta."252

This position of pre-eminence, and the ability to survive in lean years when mines elsewhere were forced to close, derived in part from a willingness to undertake mechanisation - certainly mechanisation facilitated the rapid expansion of output in the early days, through the acquisition of pumping, winding, stamping, and ore-dressing machinery. The Wallaroo Mines began to plan for the purchase of Cornish beam-engines soon after operations were commenced, and in July 1864 the
Directors resolved to obtain from the Bedford Foundry a 22 inch rotary beam-engine, with crusher, crusher rolls, whim chain, brasses, kibbles, and plans for an engine-house and crusher-house. The Foundry was owned by Messrs. Nicholls, Williams & Co. of Tavistock, and the Wallaroo company noted that it had "... supplied similar Engines & C before...". Although situated on the Devon side of the Tamar, the Bedford Foundry can be considered an integral part of the Cornish mining industry, and it is significant that the Foundry was recommended to the Wallaroo company by Captain East, who hailed from Calstock on the Cornish bank of the Tamar.

East's influence at Wallaroo Mines, however, was short-lived as he was only there "on loan" from the New Cornwall company during and immediately after the strike of 1864. He was replaced by Captain Dunstan, whose personal preference was for machinery constructed by William West & Co. of St.Blazey, in mid-Cornwall. On his advice, kibbles, dialling instruments and other miscellaneous equipment, was obtained from West's during 1866, and in the following year an order was placed with the Foundry for 6 jiggering machines, while in 1868 four Cornish boilers and 400 fathoms of whim chain were purchased. For very large engines, the Wallaroo Mines relied upon the long-established and world-famed Foundry of Harvey & Co., of Hayle, in West Cornwall, in 1876 acquiring from it a 60 inch pump engine to supercede the elderly engine then in use on the old Hughes engine shaft. This new engine was installed above a newly-sunk shaft, the old Hughes engine apparently then being used for a man-engine - a Cornish-designed device to allow the miners to "ride" to surface. Other materials were also obtained directly from Cornwall. As early as 1862, it was
197.
decided to import "... 100 Cornish shovels..."\textsuperscript{257}, while in 1864 copies of "Penrose's Ore Tables" were obtained from Cornwall.\textsuperscript{258} One of the problems of ordering equipment from the other side of the world, was that precise and complete specifications had to be given if the correct materials were to be sent out. In May 1868, for example, when pump leather was ordered from Bolitho's of Cornwall, Captain Dunstan had to take great care to describe exactly what he required, because earlier supplies were "... next to useless".\textsuperscript{259}

In 1875 it was decided to purchase "... Pitwork from Cornwall",\textsuperscript{260} but the Wallaroo Mines, whenever possible, also purchased surplus items from mines in South Australia. In 1867, for instance, it brought an engine from the North Rhine company, and in 1883, during its period of expansion, acquired the famous New Cornwall 80 inch pump engine. Although originally purchased from Harvey & Co. in 1862 at a cost of £30,000, the Wallaroo Mines obtained it for only £3,000, and included in the sale was the actual engine-house, which was moved stone-by-stone to its new location.\textsuperscript{261} Some materials were in fact obtained brand new in South Australia. Tallow candles, used underground by the miners as their sources of light, were purchased from the Cornish-owned company of Champion Brothers of Bowden, near Adelaide. Miscellaneous mining equipment was often acquired from the Adelaide Foundry of Jones & Co., another Cornish-owned establishment (see Chapter 5), in 1878, for example, the Wallaroo Mines ordering 33 winze kibbles.\textsuperscript{262}

The Moonta Mines, like its Wallaroo counterparts, began to organise the importation of machinery and materials from Cornwall at an early stage. In February 1862, the company ordered
a 60 inch pump engine from Harvey & Co., this being the celebrated Hughes' engine which performed the bulk of the Moonta Mines' pumping duties until the mine closed in 1923. Flushed by the success of its first eighteen months of production, the Moonta company, in early 1863, ordered a second 60 inch engine. But it soon realised that it had been too hasty, and that a second engine of such large proportions was not really necessary; and so the next ten months were spent trying to extricate the company from its contract.263 This could have done little to endear the Moonta Mines to Harvey & Co., and it was no doubt a wise decision when the company resolved that in future it would obtain its engines from Nicholls, Williams' Bedford Foundry.

In July 1864, it asked the Foundry to send a 22 inch rotary beam-engine "... with the least possible delay..."264, and, the Bedford Foundry specialising in horizontal engines, the Nicholls, Williams influence accounted, perhaps, for the several unusual, long, squat engine-houses to be found at Moonta Mines in those days. The surplus 60 inch engine sold to the Wallaroo Mines in 1872 was apparently also Cornish-built, as was perhaps the 30 inch engine ordered in May 1868 for Richman's plant, then under construction.265 Other equipment, from rope and chain to rivets and pressure-guages, was also imported direct from Cornwall, and in 1866 the company purchased miners' theodolites (delicate instruments costing at least 16 guineas a piece) from the firm of W. Wilton of St. Day - Wilton being a Cornish mathematician and mining adventurer who had made his money from investments in the West Seton and South Frances mines.266

In 1880, the Moonta Mines ordered a beam-engine from Messrs. Hathorne, Davey of Leeds, Yorkshire, which seemed to be a departure from the Cornish tradition. However, Henry Davey, co-
owner of the Foundry, was born in Tavistock in 1843, the son of a Cornishman, and his firm was responsible for the construction of several famous Cornish engines - the most celebrated being the 40 and 80 inch compound engine built for the Bassett Mines, Redruth, in 1897. The Moonta Mines' decision to order from Hathorne Davey, therefore, was still in keeping with Cornish practice. It also, like the Wallaroo company, acquired second-hand Cornish engines in Australia - in 1868 paying the Kurilla mine £21,000 for one such engine, and in 1871 purchasing another from a Victorian mine. Its orders for candles, too, were placed with Champion Brothers, and as early as 1865 it experimented with the acquisition of materials from South Australian foundries. In January of that year, it ordered winding gear from Wyatt's North Terrace Foundry in Adelaide. Wyatt, a one-time committee member of the Cornwall and Devon Society, had begun producing machinery in the 1850s. In February 1851, for example, he manufactured a variety of pumping and stamping equipment for Reedy Creek, the Patent Copper Co., and Wheal Margaret. The Moonta Mines, however, were not impressed with the quality of Wyatt's products. T.F. McCoull, the mine's Secretary, made snide comments about "Colonial Workmen", and the company decided that in future it would obtain even the smallest items from Cornwall "... in consequence of complaints from the Mines as to the quality of the material obtained in the colony...". But even that had its drawbacks; in 1866, for example, machinery required urgently was held up for several months when the ship in which it was carried began to take water and had to return to Plymouth for repairs. In time, therefore, the Moonta company returned to purchasing locally-produced equipment. And in Martin's Foundry at Gawler (owned by James Martin from Stithians - see Chapter 5), it
found a competent and reliable supplier of items such as winding gear, stamps, and Cornish boilers. In later years, too, the Moonta Mines produced increasingly sophisticated machinery in its own workshops - by 1889, for example, it was manufacturing heavy, pneumatic rock-drills.273

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If some of the credit for the development of Wallaroo and Moonta must be given to the Cornish foundries which produced their engines and machinery, then equal attention ought to be devoted to the effects of the fascinating managerial regime of Captain Henry Richard Hancock. Hancock was born at Horrabridge, near Tavistock, in 1836, some three or four miles from the Tamar, in Devonshire.274 He could not, therefore, claim to have been Cornwall-born, but Hancock was a common name in Cornwall, and it is possible that he belonged to one of the many Cornish families which moved to the Tavistock district during the nineteenth-century. Certainly he was brought up in the Cornish mining tradition, working as a youth in Devon Great Consols, a mine perched on the banks of the Tamar itself. The Cornishmen at Wallaroo and Moonta, while acknowledging that he was not a proper Cousin Jack, conceded that he was "near enough to one"275, although many - especially the local trade unionists - never forgot that "... the manager of the Moonta is a Devon Dumpling."276 The name of Captain Hancock became famous across the world, wherever there were Cornish miners, and he is a legendary figure in Australian mining history.

H.R. Hancock first came to South Australia in 1859, at the age of 23, to work at Wheal Ellen, near Strathalbyn. In 1862
his contract there expired and, although he had the option of renewing it, he decided instead to go to North Yorke Peninsula, having been invited by the Wallaroo Mines to gather "... information and particulars relative to the Mines and the Wallaroo District generally." He hoped that he would be appointed Captain of the Bingo and Wandilta mines, but the Directors felt that the workings had not been sufficiently developed to warrant his being engaged. The Wallaroo Directors, being responsible for bringing him to the Peninsula, were embarrassed by Hancock's inability to find a position, and agreed to pay £50 towards his fare to Britain, should he decide to seek work in Cornwall or Devon. However, in October 1862, Hancock was engaged for three months as an assayer at the Moonta Mines, his term later being extended to the following June, when John Bennetts, the company's assayer, arrived from Cornwall.

From there, Hancock went to the Yelta Mine, but was again re-engaged by the Moonta company, on a part-time basis, to prepare plans of the mines' underground workings. In June 1864, after the demise of Captain James Warmington, the Moonta Directors decided to employ him as Chief Captain (in preference to Captain Trestrail, the other candidate they considered). He began work in the July, and was allowed by the Moonta Directors to hold his position at Yelta concurrently for a further twelve months. His starting salary was £350 per annum, a veritable fortune in those days, and he immediately applied himself with vigour to his new position. He arranged for further supplies of miners to be recruited in Cornwall and Victoria, and his demand that he be allowed to dismiss the existing officers, and appoint Cornish captains of his choice, was agreed to by the Directors. He retained Captain Osborne and Captain Rapson,
although Osborne soon left to go to the Wallaroo Mines, with Rapson becoming increasingly hostile to Hancock and thus later removed. In place of the dismissed men, Hancock appointed Malachi Deeble, William and James Datson, James Barkla, and C. Mitchell. Frederick May became chief engineer, and Bennett Opie was made head carpenter. 

In the closing months of 1864, Hancock formulated a plan for rapid expansion, which was sanctioned by the Directors, some of the development being the construction of a railway system around the mine, and the erection of a "... cookhouse and dining room for the single-men." In 1865 he secured the Directors' approval for a scheme to extend the work in Bower's shaft, and he persuaded them to offer a reward of £50 to anyone discovering a payable lode on the Moonta property. However, Hancock's expansionist policies involved higher costs, and some of the Directors, Walter Watson Hughes among them, accused him of reckless behaviour and bad management. He appeared before the Board to justify his policies, and, although it expressed confidence in him, it also told him that "... the cost of production of ore will be reduced." Although Hancock was given permission to undertake some expansion during 1866-67, he was in June 1867 again warned by the Directors about rising costs.

Captain Dunstan was dismissed from the Wallaroo Mines in 1869, and Hancock was allowed to become temporary chief captain of that venture (although in 1866 he was refused permission by the Board to become a Director of the Bald Hill Mine). The Wallaroo Directors, however, were not anxious for him to stay, because they wanted "... a person of Education, and scientific
as well as practical knowledge..." 286 Samuel Higgs arriving from Cornwall in May 1870 to fill the position. Hancock does not seem to have been perturbed by his failure to find permanent employment at the Wallaroo Mines, for at that time he was pre-occupied with the completion and patenting of his ore-dressing jigger. Although some complained that this "invention" was little more than an adaption of the Warren-May jigger, with improvements effected by Thomas Cowling, it gained world renown, and proved a great money-spinner for Hancock himself. The jigger was used in Australian mines, such as the Burra Burra, but it was also employed overseas in mines like the Anaconda, in the U.S.A. 287

Hancock went on to use his innovatory skills to develop his own design of pneumatic drills, together with large-size kibbles to facilitate ore removal, but by mid-1871 his progressive, and sometimes sweeping, policies had again brought him into conflict with the Board of Directors. The Board had decided to abandon Buchan's shaft, and asked Hancock for his comments. Hancock, because he could not see the logic of the Board's plans, sent a reply which was considered evasive and "... not sufficiently explicit...". Somewhat annoyed by Hancock's response, the Directors decided to proceed with the abandonment, but Hancock declared obstinately that he "... could not at present undertake the responsibility of recommending a course involving so much risk." 289 The Directors, in deference to Hancock's superior mining knowledge, dropped their own plans and gave in to his views, demonstrating the extent to which they had become dependent upon their chief captain. During the early 1870s they agreed readily to his various schemes for the acquisition of a traction-engine, a coasting schooner, a steam-hammer, and the erection of a brass foundry
In April 1877, on the resignation of Samuel Higgs, Hancock became chief captain of the Wallaroo Mines on a permanent basis, thus further increasing his power, prestige, and influence. But it was the events of June 1877 which really indicated how very dependent the Moonta Directors had become upon him. Because the low price of copper threatened the viability of the Moonta Mines, the Board had determined to cease all work, except that of an exploratory nature. Hancock, however, was in total opposition to their view, arguing that the cessation of operations would place the mines in an even more parlous position. The supply of low-grade ore, he said, was so high that the stamps were in motion 24 hours a day. If they were stopped, then a backload of ore would be created that would never be cleared in the event of a rise in copper prices. Moreover, he argued, the proceeds of this low-grade ore, when sent to the smelters, would finance exploratory work to locate high-grade ore which could then be left untouched until copper prices revived. It would also, he said, be a pity to lose the mines' skilled tributers by dismissing them and thus forcing them to move elsewhere. His own plan was to treat as much low-grade ore as possible, while leaving the high-grade ore in the ground - a sensible policy of ore-conservation, which the Directors were forced to agree was the only realistic approach.  

During 1878 and 1879, while the Directors were dismayed by the sudden loss of profitability, Hancock was still looking ahead to the future. He arranged the acquisition of redundant plant from Wheal James and the Parramatta mine, and visited Kapunda and Wheal Barton to observe the latest techniques in ore-dressing. In the early 1880s, he pressed (successfully)
for the purchase of a diamond drill for exploratory work, and began the importation of the durable Oregan timbers to help secure the underground workings. Hancock had given many a headache to the Moonta Directors but they came to realise that it was his enthusiasm and resolute character which had helped to make the Moonta Mines what it was. In recognition of his contribution, therefore, in August 1884 they awarded him six months paid holiday; again demonstrating their reliance upon him by asking "... what arrangement he would recommend the Board to make for the efficient management of the Mines during his absence." Hancock returned from his vacation with as much drive and energy as before, with the cautious Directors in May 1886 having again to remind him to exercise "... prudence and true economy...". In 1889 he became General Superintendent of the combined Wallaroo and Moonta Mines - a position he was to hold until 1898, when he was succeeded by his son, H. Lipson Hancock. He retired to his home in the Adelaide Hills and died in January 1919. His reputation, of course, was tremendous. But because he had often been so very serious, even strait-laced, in his attitudes to work and life, many jokes and "stories" had circulated in the Australian mining camps, asserting that in his private life he was riotous and a "... dreadful libertine." Some people came to believe these yarns, but anyone who had met Henry Richard Hancock knew that they were untrue. One person who came to know Hancock intimately during his later life, wrote that he was

... a benign, white bearded patriarch with an old-world courtesy, and I came to the conclusion that the numerous stories about him ... were myths. That he was a masterful man, there is no doubt.
But in marked contrast to the power and success of Captain Hancock at Moonta Mines, were the dismal careers of the Cornish captains at Wallaroo in the years before 1877. Eneder Warmington, like his brother James at Moonta, was dismissed after the strike of 1864 (see Chapter 8), and, following the temporary regime of Harry East, was replaced by Captain Edward Dunstan, who was chief captain until 1869. Dunstan arrived from Cornwall in January 1865, and almost immediately an atmosphere of mutual antipathy grew up between him and Paul Roach – Roach, although he had already been at Wallaroo Mines for several months, was second captain and thus subordinate to Dunstan, a position he resented. In the February, Roach complained to the Directors of alleged bad management by Dunstan, and the Board, although agreeing that the accusations "... were substantial..." and that Dunstan had shown "... a certain degree of laxity...", ruled that Dunstan's behaviour was not serious enough to warrant dismissal, and that Roach should take care to treat him "... with the deference due to his superior office." In the following November Roach and Dunstan were warned to "... act harmoniously together in order that the interests of the mine may not suffer through the disagreement of two of its chief officers", and, although several months then passed without further trouble, in early 1867 James Harvey, manager of the Wallaroo smelting works, accused Dunstan of consistently inaccurate assaying. This time the allegations were considered serious enough to warrant an independent investigation by Captains H.R. Hancock and Thomas Bryant, but Dunstan, apparently, did not learn his lesson, for, at the end of February 1869, he was finally dismissed on account of his "... improper sampling of the Tributers' Ores..." which had resulted in a large loss
to the company. This no doubt pleased Paul Roach, who remained second captain at Wallaroo Mines for many years after Dunstan's demise.

Samuel Higgs, the eminent Cornish mining captain and geologist, arrived from Penzance during 1870 to replace Dunstan. At first, the Wallaroo Directors were delighted with their new chief captain - his qualifications and reputation were impressive, and he was clearly well regarded in mining circles, while H.R. Hancock was still a relative nonentity. By 1872, Higgs was earning a fabulous salary of £850 per annum, but, as the decade wore on, the Wallaroo Directors found disconcerting the fact that their mine was becoming increasingly unprofitable at a time when the Moonta company was still making a healthy surplus.

The inferiority of the Wallaroo ores accounted in part for this disparity, but the Directors felt that management must play some role in determining performance, and began to wish that they had secured the services of Captain Hancock - who by now was making quite a name for himself. Accordingly, in April 1877, the Board sought the resignation of Captain Higgs. In his letter to Higgs, the company secretary wrote that,

The reason for this decision is that the Mines are at present working at a heavy loss and rather than close them altogether at once, the Directors wish to try if under other management more successful results can be obtained.

As it happened, even Captain Hancock was unable to revitalise the Wallaroo Mines, but still there remained the feeling that somehow Samuel Higgs had ruined the workings. Hancock, with his emphasis on ore conservation, claimed that "Higgs ripped out everything..." of value, and that it would take twelve months of exploratory and developmental work to put the mines on a secure footing. Higgs himself, with his once-great
reputation now sadly dented, experienced difficulty in finding a new position, and was employed eventually by the local fire brigade. And then, in June 1879, he was killed by falling from a horse - a tragic end to a man who had already lost his dignity, and had seen his career reduced to tatters in the few years he had been in South Australia. 305

Higgs' experience, however sad from a personal point of view, is nevertheless of interest because it suggests that he, despite his excellent Cornish credentials, was perhaps guilty of poor management and mining methods. If he had indeed "ripped out" all the high-grade ore ("picked the eyes out the mine", as the Cousin Jacks would say) when copper prices were low, and a conservation policy - such as that practised by Hancock at Moonta - would have been more prudent; then one must agree with the Wallaroo Directors that his management was at fault. Elsewhere in South Australia, it was possible to point to poor management and mining methods, and, if Higgs was typical of Cornish mine captains (and Hancock a-typical), then perhaps it is necessary to reassess the value of the Cornish influence in the colony's mining industry. As all the above has shown, the central role of the Cornish in the development of South Australian mining cannot be denied, but the actual quality of that role can be questioned. A.C. Todd has noted that mining historians have been too eager to lavish unqualified praise upon the Cornish miners, when a more critical assessment of their skills would have been in order. 306

In nineteenth-century South Australia, there were certainly criticisms of Cornish miners and their worth. Satirical articles in newspapers mocked the way in which the Cousin Jacks seemingly "stumbled across" ore deposits whilst out walking or
hunting in the country, and ridiculed the superstitions in which many Cornish miners still believed. Jack o'lanterns, or faery lights, were supposed to illuminate the sites of rich ore at night, and the ore-divining powers of the "dowsing rod" were still accepted as genuine by many. One article, appearing in the Register in 1864, took the form of a humorous report on a "Wheal Bald Hill John Mining Company" (which, of course, existed only in the mind of the author). The "John" element in the title was a reference to 'Cousin John' (an alternative to 'Cousin Jack'), as was the name of the reporting captain - "Jonathon Norwest". The report began by describing how the mine was discovered, a superb characterisation of the Cornishman's superstitions and habits, saying that the find was due to

... the miraculous interposition of Providence by a pious Cornishman, who walking up a Bald Hill by night saw a dog tail-piped with a lantern, running from south to north, and, taking the sight as a splendid surface indication, he immediately took out the Section in conjunction with his friends... 307

The promoter of the company was a "Major Shorwhist, A.S.S.", and its equipment included items such as a "bottomless bucket", a "pick without a handle", and a "blunt gad". The captain's report was a clever mimicry of the often bland and hopelessly over-optimistic assessment of new ventures given by mining captains in South Australia. It claimed that there were "... strong and unmistakable indications of this valuable section having once been part of a sheep-walk", 308 and noted that in the northern level, driven 2 feet 6 inches, the captain had encountered "... metallic roots ... evidently leading to the bottom of a splendid tree." 309 Other articles were similarly disarming, with their sharp and telling wit, and most carried, either implicitly or explicitly, a criticism of Cousin Jack. One piece in the Register in 1872, for example, was a
sham prospectus for a "Great Distented Bubble Mining Company", its property said to be adjacent to "... the world renowned Wheal Barrow Mine..."[^310], and the report being furnished by a "Captain Trepolpen".

Some of the practices of the Cornish miners were based on custom rather than reason, and Oswald Pryor recorded that at the opening of the Wallaroo Mines "One of the miners whirled a pick around his head, and then released his hold. The men began to dig at the spot where it fell."[^311] Such methods were hardly likely to draw praise from "book-learned" mining experts, and the Cornish - both in Cornwall and South Australia - were often accused of professional conservatism, an unwillingness to experiment with new techniques. The *York's Peninsula Advertiser* echoed these criticisms in an article in May 1873[^312] and in 1878 the paper carried a letter - whose author ironically styled himself "Trelawney" - in which the skills of the Cornish miner were attacked with considerable venom. "Trelawney", while agreeing that "... there are some splendid exceptions..."[^313] (i.e. Hancock), and conceding that it was unfair "... to despise the Cornish Miner for his ignorance",[^314] claimed that

... the great mass of Cornish miners are just so many ore-producing machines. Their art is instinct, and they are about the last class of whom to expect any departure from the old beaten track that their grandfathers had trod before her (sic).[^315]

Captain Anthony, perhaps in reply, argued that the Cornishman's conservatism, although not always conducive to progress and efficiency, was based on sound, practical experience, and also accounted for the Cornish miner's suspiciousness of trained geologists and mining experts. To try to articulate the Cornishman's attitude, Anthony recalled a favourite saying of Captain Joe Odgers (an old Camborne person-
ality, known to most Cornish miners): "I have been a barrow-
boy, kibble-filler, tutwork-man, tributer, and cappen, forty
years; and where there's ore there's ore, and where there's
none there's none." 316

The Cornishman's view of "mining experts" was clearly
demonstrated in a letter in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser
in September 1875 when, in response to an erudite report theor-
izing on the future prospects of the Wallaroo Mines, one miner
wrote that "... this may sound very grand to men who never saw
a mine. But to a man that has been bred in Cornwall it is all
humbug."317 But criticism of the Cornish sometimes went further
than merely comments on their conservatism and suspiciousness,
to call into question their competence as tributers and captains.
In 1877, Percy Wells, a shareholder in the Paramatta mine,
accused the Cornish of professional ignorance, and in the
following year Captain John Warren was charged with "... gross
mismanagement and incompetence while in charge of the Hamley..."
318 - despite the fact that he had come to South Australia
armed with first-class testimonials from Captain Charles Thomas
of Dolcoath and Captain Josiah Hitchins of Devon Great Consols.
However, this criticism came from George Vercoe, known for his
animosity towards Warren; and in the light of Warren's later
brilliant career at Broken Hill, it can be treated with a
certain degree of scepticism. Less easy to dismiss, though,
is the evidence surrounding Captain Thomas Cowling and his man-
agement of the New Cornwall. Stanley Whitford, a close friend
of the Cowling family, recalled that there had been

... considerable underhand stoping ... in the New Cornwall
mine, and the hanging wall had not been securely propped
with timber. It fell in and buried considerable
quantities of ore, and it was found too expensive to
recover it. Captain Tom was worried. He confided in my
father, who was very sympathetic. My father said, "Give
me the blame and sack me. I can easily get a job in the
Wallaroo mines, but you cannot be a Captain very easily somewhere else." Captain Tom thanked my father and said, "Dick, if I ever do become a manager somewhere else I will send for you and help you as much as I can." My father was duly blamed and sacked, and subsequently worked in the Wallaroo mines for some time. 319

Thomas Cowling, then, was perhaps not everything his reputation asserted, and, if it had not been for a little Cousin Jack collusion, he may have suffered the same fate as Dunstan and Higgs. Even those who spoke in favour of the Cornish were reluctant to describe them as the world's leading miners. One commentator, in 1877, while arguing the superiority of the Cornish over coal miners, concluded his discussion by stating that "... with the exception of Germany, Cornwall produces the best copper miners in the world." 320 It was true that there had been German mining experts in Cornwall to teach techniques from as early as the sixteenth-century, and it was perhaps significant that a Government report in 1847 noted that at the Poonawerta mine, run by Captain Ey, a German from the Harz Mountains, "... the operations appear to be more systematically conducted than is usually the case in South Australia ..." 321 most other mines, of course, being managed by Cornishmen.

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But, even if the Cornish were guilty of undue conservatism, it was also true that the bad behaviour of a relative few in South Australia was responsible, to some degree, for getting the Cornish whatever "bad name" they may have had. As early as 1850, a bona fide Cornish captain in the colony wrote to the West Briton complaining that there were unscrupulous individuals, who knew nothing about mining, passing themselves
off as Cornish captains with the result that, "In reality there is a great amount of ignorance in mining matters amongst most of those at present engaged in them (the mines)."322 Similarly, in an article in the Register in 1859, a correspondent from Penrice protested that managers were appointed "... under the very erroneous impression that 'so and so is a miner, he ought to know'..."323 The Victoria Mine swindle of 1864, perpetrated by two Cousin Jacks, Penberthy and Williams, did little to enhance the reputation of the Cornish, although there were those who objected to "... this nonsensical twaddle against Cornish miners."324 It was, however, a contributor to the Wallaroo Times in September 1868 who grasped the problem in its entirety. He wrote that many people,

... at the time that silver was found at the "Almanda" (at Scott's Creek), spoke contemptuously of Cornish mine captains for not detecting it before, and saddling one Captain Tremaine with the stupidity. It is questionable, however, whether the accredited mine captains of South Australia will consent to Captain Tremaine being told off as a representative miner. Who is Captain Tremaine? Is he a mere prospector - self constituted "Captain"; or, is he fully qualified, and accredited from some known mining firm of company at home? If the former, Cornwall does not acknowledge him, but hands him back to South Australian speculators as theirs... 325

Thus it was not only sham captains who deserved criticism, but the South Australian capitalists themselves. And it is significant that these capitalists came in for criticism from mining experts and Cornishmen alike. While it was true that Cornish miners sometimes formed themselves into syndicates to undertake prospecting or to work small claims, there were very few fully-fledged Cornish mining capitalists in South Australia. There were a handful of fairly well-known, small-time Cornish adventurers, such as W.J. Wincey, Richard Angwin, F.J. Harris, and the Captains William White, George Prout, and W.H. Morish, but not one Cornishman became distinguished as a prominent
director or shareholder in the major South Australian mining companies. Of the original 86 shareholders in the Burra Burra mine, only 2 were mining men, and neither of them Cornish - John Bentham Neales, despite his knowledge of Cornish practice, was a Plymothian and not Cornish at all. Similarly, few of the original Moonta and Wallaroo shareholders were Cousin Jacks.

In South Australia, as in the U.S.A., Mexico, Canada, and South Africa, it was a situation where, as A.L. Rowse has said, "... the Cornish did a lot of the hard work; others got the lion's share of the proceeds." 327

The mining captain, noted above, who wrote to the *West Briton* in 1850, had plenty to say about the speculative behaviour of South Australia's capitalists. He argued that,

...in almost all the mines the want of capital is felt, and the gambling in shares by no means tends to their benefit; for parties after giving a high premium for shares, by no means like to launch out money to work the mines, and hence the results that attend one-half that are started - they are either stopped for want of funds, or merely in a manner(to use a Cornish expression) to pick the eyes out. Colonial speculators have not patience to follow anything out fully... 328

Poor mining methods and bad management, then, were not necessarily the fault of Cornish captains, be they bona fide or bogus, but derived often from the tendency of colonial capitalists to dabble in share speculation rather than involve themselves in serious mining development. This was a point made again and again by contemporary observers. In 1849 John James, an Adelaide Cornishman, wrote that, although the Burra Burra "... adventures were realising very handsome profits..." 329, he felt that "... unless the proprietors extended their views and operations on the mine..." 330, it would be short-lived. In the event, of course, the Burra survived until 1877, but in a surprisingly candid report on the mine (compiled in
1881, when the property was up for sale) the South Australian Mining Association admitted that, in the early days, short-term profit maximisation was seen as preferable to forward-planning, ore-conservation, and long term development. It recorded that,

Exploratory works according to the Ordinary Rules of Mining were ... almost entirely disregarded and the sole purpose of working was to extract ore from the 'basin' and to make as large a profit as possible ... Of the mines, it may be said that they received no scientific attention whatever, nor any exploratory trials likely to lead to an important discovery of ore... 331

In the later years, of course, Captain Sanders had undertaken considerable exploratory work, and the S.A.M.A. may have been over-stating the case to make prospective buyers believe that there were still undiscovered lodes in the Burra mine. Nevertheless, there were others who claimed that the Burra proprietors had "picked the eyes" out of their mine in the 1840s and 1850s, one correspondent in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser in 1876 arguing that if the Burra had been as well managed as the Moonta it would have fared much better in the post gold-rush era. A Wallaroo Times editorial in 1867 criticised the behaviour of South Australian capitalists, and wished that adventurers in Cornwall would take a greater financial interest in the local mines.332 J.B. Austin, too, had noted that "... the abandonment (of mines) has resulted from want of sufficient capital ...I am well aware there are many of our abandoned mines which would be considered very promising properties in Cornwall".333 Another observer wrote, with a considerable degree of insight, that it was the South Australian capitalists who were responsible for tarnishing the Cornishman's reputation in the colony:

In nine cases out of ten the position of a mine manager in this colony is a very unenviable one, for the reason that many of the shareholders are men who dabble in mining without in the least understanding it; and
because the colony has been fortunate enough to produce a Burra, a Moonta, and a Wallaroo, they think that all the mines they have shares in should turn out equally productive, or the fault is in the management ... I think, Sir, it is a pity that the petty capitalists of South Australia should have anything to do with mining, for they evidently manifest an utter ignorance of its first principles. (signed) A Wallaroo Miner. 334

William Harcus, in his survey of South Australia in 1876, wrote of the colony's "periodic fits of mining mania", with their "mysterious hints", the "knots of knowing hands", the "secret conferences", and all the speculation - much of it worthless and irrational - that this entailed.335 And so, even if Adelaide did become the financial capital of Australian mining, much of the development of South Australia's own mining industry was characterised by poor management (mines being prematurely abandoned, or having their "eyes picked out"), resulting from the unwillingness of local capitalists to heed the basic rules of mining investment and forward-planning. The Cornish miner himself, despite the shortcomings he may have had, could hardly be blamed for this; and the fact remains that the large mining companies - the S.A.M.A., Moonta, and Wallaroo, went to great trouble to recruit Cornishmen because they believed them to be the most experienced copper miners in the world. They cannot have been disappointed with their recruits, either, for the demand for Cousin Jacks remained high through five decades - from the first mineral discoveries in the early 1840s, until the end of assisted immigration in 1886.

---XIII---

And, having pointed to the failings of the Cornish miners, it is only fair to reveal some of their more favourable aspects. Even J.B. Austin, who found it difficult to be anything other than condescending to the rough-and-ready Cornish, with their Celtic temperaments and broad accents, had to admit that
"... though we are apt sometimes to laugh at Cousin Jack we might occasionally gain some useful lessons from him."\textsuperscript{336} And, although the Cornish were essentially practical men, a number did participate in debates in newspaper columns on subjects such as mining regulations and local geology. During 1849, "Tre-pol-per' and other Cornish correspondents in the Register compared the means of granting mineral rights in Cornwall and South Australia; while in 1867 Captain Vivian was able to give evidence to a Parliamentary Committee on the shortcomings of the current regulations. In 1878, ordinary working miners were competent to write to the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, making their own comments on the district's geological features.\textsuperscript{337}

And, if professional conservatism was a Cornish trait, then perhaps it was the ultra-conservative who stayed at home in Cornwall whilst their more progressive colleagues were the ones with enough spirit to venture overseas to the colonies. Certainly, there is evidence to suggest that some Cornish mine captains in South Australia, far from being the epitome of conservatism, exhibited quite extraordinary innovative skills, with a strong gift for improvisation. At Wheal Margaret in 1851, for instance, Captain Paull (unable, apparently to convince the shareholders of the need to purchase a steam engine) designed and erected a novel set of stamps, driven by bullock power!\textsuperscript{338} In April 1868, Captain Barkla wrote of the need to foster greater innovation in South Australia, and in 1883 there was published a story which drew a sharp comparison between those Cornish captains who had remained in Cornwall and those who had migrated to the colony. It concerned a gifted Cornish carpenter, by the name of Borlace, who had apparently designed a new form of ore-separating puddle. He patented the design,
made a model of the budle, and showed it to the principal
captains and engineers in Cornwall. None was interested, how-
ever, in Borlace's invention, and in desperation the young
carpenter gave his model to a friend about to migrate to South
Australia. On arrival in the colony the friend showed the model
to several mining captains, and soon it was in use at the Lady
Alice gold mine, while at the Kurilla "... it appears likely
to answer Captain Anthony's expectations, as a good and econ-
omical saving process."\(^{339}\) The creation of the Moonta School
of Mines was also evidence of the progressive views of at least
some of the Peninsula captains, and it was significant that of
the 13 Council members of the Adelaide School of Mines at the
turn of the century, 4 were Cornishmen - J.L. Bonython, Henry
Adams, J.G. Rice, and D.M. Charleston. The Registrar was J.J.
East, a son of Captain Harry East from Calstock.

The development and survival of mines in remote country,
in districts such as Eyre Peninsula and the far-north, was also
a tribute to the innovatory power - and indeed the sheer stam-
ina - of the Cornish captains and miners. Many of these mines
were situated in arid, out-back areas, sometimes in almost
impenetrable scrub, where water was short, communications
nearly impossible, transport a nightmare, and the miners them-
selves subject to all sorts of unpleasantness, from red-back
spiders to tiger snakes. The discovery of the Wallaroo and
Moonta mineral deposits in 1859-61 had coincided with similar
discoveries elsewhere in the colony. As early as 1856, the
Charlton Mine, run by Captain Remfrey and owned by the Aus-
tralian Mining Co., was opened at Wirrabarra, in the southern
Flinders Ranges, where there was "... a Cornish element in the
community."\(^{340}\) An engine was installed in 1858, but by the
following year the mine had been abandoned. Wheal Sarah, near
Bundaleer Station in the mid-north, was worked during 1858-59 by two Cornishmen, messrs. Bath and Bosance; while nearby, the Broughton River Mine was started in 1859. Although abandoned in 1863, it was again worked during 1872, the manager being Captain Thomas Rodda who, in Cornwall, had been at Wheal Elizabeth (in St. Merryn parish) and at the Old Moor Mine in St. Austell. Again in the mid-north, a "... clearly defined copper bearing lode..." was discovered 7 miles north of the Burra on claims held by the Kingston Mining Co., and during the early 1860s there was a great spate of new finds. The York Mining Venture, the Adelaide Mining Venture, Wheal Marion, the Curramulka Mine, and the Mount Lily Mining Co., were all manifestations of the new wave of "coppermania" that swept the colony as a result of the North Yorke Peninsula discoveries.

At Wheal Alfred, near Truro, work was started in 1863 following a favourable report from Captain Killicoat; and the Balhannah Mining Co., in the Adelaide Hills, was in operation by 1869 under Captain Burtt. A silver-lead mine, the Talisker, was discovered near Cape Jervis, south of Adelaide, in 1862, and was worked through until 1872. For a time it was run by Alfred Jenkin and Son, evidently a Cornish syndicate, and later the manager was Captain Tresize (in the 1880s, he was to run the Bonanza mine at Broken Hill). In the same district as the Talisker, were several other silver-lead mines – Wheal Mary and Wheal Coglin – together with the Great Gorge copper mine. As elsewhere in the colony, the miners in the Cape Jervis district were principally Cornish. James Rodda, for example, came out from Crowan in 1856. He worked at the Burra until 1868, then moving on to the Talisker, and staying there until the mine closed in 1872. James John James did not arrive from Cornwall until 1884, and, although he took up farming at Norman-
ville, he found employment in the Talisker mine during a brief re-working in the late 1880s. Although the overwhelming majority of mines discovered or worked after 1859 were copper, there were - in addition to those at Cape Jervis and Glen Osmond - a number that yielded silver-lead. There was the Aclare (worked for a time by Captain Rosewarne) near Callington, but most were situated in the Scotts Creek/Cherry Gardens district - Wheal Mary Ann (formerly Wheal Maria), Southwell Rose, Wheal Grainger, Wheal Rose, and the successful Alman.

On Eyre Peninsula, the Port Lincoln copper mine, first discovered in the 1840s, was reworked during 1861 when over £4,000 worth of ore was raised by Captain Alfred Phillips. The Lipson's Cove Mine, some 25 miles away, was also opened-up in 1861, following a favourable report from Captain Prisk. George Vercoe, at that time prospecting on Eyre Peninsula with Captain Barkla, was appointed manager, and he ran the mine until it was abandoned in August of the following year. In 1862 the Murninnie Mine was started in isolated country 64 miles from Port August and 136 miles from Port Lincoln. By the end of 1865, Captain Lean had sunk the shaft nine fathoms and amassed 650 bags of ore to be sent away. However, by 1867 the mine was virtually abandoned, and the company was dissolved in 1870.

At Franklin Harbour, a mine was commenced in 1866, while in January of that year the Live and Let Live Venture was discovered at Arno Bay by C. Williams, a Cornish prospector from the Wallaroo district. A syndicate was formed at Wallaroo and Captain Pearce was sent to work the claim. Pearce also managed the neighbouring Yelkie mine, which he said was "... teeming with copper..." In the same district was the Yalpondie Mine, worked by Captain Gray, yet another Cornishman, and the Arno Bay mine was found by a party of prospectors from Kadina.
McKenchnie's Mine, run by Captain Vivian, was in the same area; and nearer Port Lincoln was Wheal Bessie.\(^\text{349}\)

Near Tumby Bay, again on Eyre Peninsula, were several copper mines. The Tumby Bay Mine itself was started in 1866 under Captain Henkel, a German. However, he was soon replaced by a Cornish manager, Captain James, who apparently ran the mine until the end of that year. Wheal Burrawing, near Tumby Bay, was for a time considered an important find, and acted as a magnet for a number of South Australia's distinguished Cornish captains. During 1871, Captain Prisk had undertaken considerable prospecting work in the district, and by the beginning of 1872 an engine was erected at one of the claims. Captains Bryant and Tonkin both visited the mine during the year and expressed high opinions of the workings, and in January 1873 Captain William Datson became manager. "I have received", he said, "all the information Captain Tonkin could give me, which was not much."\(^\text{350}\) He too, was impressed by the mine, but it proved uneconomical to work and was abandoned in early 1874. By January 1876, Captain Parkin, another Cousin Jack, was hard at work getting the mine in "fork" (i.e. pumping out the water), and when Captain Penberthy reported on it in the May he found that a 36 inch Cornish engine had been erected, together with "... capstans, shears, horse whims and whips, blacksmiths' and carpenters' shops, pitman's house and store room, captain's home and several miners' cottages"\(^\text{351}\) But despite this lavish investment, the mine again failed, and the company was wound up in April 1877. Thereafter, Wheal Burrawing lay idle, save for a brief reworking in 1889 under Captain Mitchell.\(^\text{352}\)
Leaving aside the Mount Remarkable find of 1848, the first "far-northern" mine to be worked was the Mochatoona, discovered in 1858-59 by a Cornish prospector from Kapunda, called Thomas. Captain John Rowe, formerly of Apoinga and Wheal Barton, and at that time working at Kapunda as an assayer, was engaged as manager ("Captain Mochatoona" was a nickname that he bore for many years). He went to the mine with a party of Burra miners who hoped "... to find more remunerative employment there, though the Mochatoona is 300 miles beyond the Burra". But the mine proved uneconomical, and by the end of 1860 Rowe was back at Kapunda, although some of the men stayed on until 1869, working on a hand-to-mouth basis. The year 1859 was the date of the Great Northern Mining Company scandal, when, as Geoffrey Blainey recounts, gullible share speculators were tricked into supporting a venture, which, although described in the most extravagant terms, had yet to produce a payable lode. However, despite its ignominious beginnings, the company commenced bona fide operations during 1860. In addition to the Great Northern Mine itself, the company owned a dozen other claims in the district - all situated some 15 miles or so from Blinman in the Flinders Ranges, over 250 miles north of Adelaide. The Great Northern was worked at first by Captain Pascoe, with Captain Garland and Captain Pearson Morrison ("... a gentleman of considerable experience both in Cornwall and America" reporting on the mine during 1863. But by 1866, the mine had failed, and was abandoned by the company. Most of its other claims were similarly abandoned - Wheal Stuart, the Mooroo, the Chambers, the Oratunga, the Two Brothers - but one, the Nucaleena, proved to be a mine of some value, surviving into the 1870s under the successive regimes of Captains Pascoe, Morrison, Garland, and Tonkin.
At Blinman township itself (quite a Cornish community in its day) was Wheal Blinman (later known simply as the Blinman Mine), a working owned by the extensive Yudnamutana Copper Co. Of all the minor mines in South Australia, the Blinman was perhaps the most successful. In its first period of operation, from 1862 until 1874, it raised £250,000 worth of ore, supported a local population of some 1,500 people, and was the subject of innumerable optimistic reports in the London Mining Journal. During that period, the Blinman was managed by the Cornishmen, Captains Anthony, Pascoe, Terrell, and Paull, but despite their efforts, the mine succumbed to its various difficulties - the hardness of the rock, the lack of water (for both drinking and ore-dressing), and the problems and cost of transport. In 1882, after the building of the Port Augusta - Government Gums railway, the mine was revived - this time under the management of Captain William Treffry Bryant, especially brought from the Old Treburgett mine in St. Teath, North Cornwall, to supervise the reworking. He was proud to describe himself as "... a Cornishman ... bred up a working miner ... a self-taught, practical man" 357, and he employed like-minded Cousin Jacks - Edward Nicholls as pitman, S. Rogers as mason, R. Skewes as carpenter, and W. Curtis, J. Snell, and others as tributers. Work, however, was irregular. The mine was developed through 1883 and 1884, but then abandoned until 1888. By 1889 it was again in production, this time under Captain Doble also from Cornwall - the mine later being taken over by a Tasmanian firm and worked into the early 1900s. 358

In addition to the Blinman, the Yudnamutana Copper Co. owned Wheal Gleeson, the Martichudana, and seven other nearby claims, along with the Yudnamutana itself. This mine was opened in 1860, and was worked variously by Captains James,
Terrell, Anthony, and Phillips, through the 1860s and early
1870s, the final abandonment again being due chiefly to trans-
port difficulties. Also in the Yudnamutana district were the
workings of the Northern Mineral Association; the Daly Mine, the
Dominick, and apparently also Wheal Austin, Wheal Susan, the
Pindilpena, and the Yelda - most of which had been closed by
the late 1860s. Other, independent, mines in the locality
included Wheal Frost, Wheal Maria, Wheal Butler, and the
Wirrialpa silver-lead mine.359

Sixteen miles south-east of the Yudnamutana, lay the
Welcome Mines, first worked in 1862. Wheal Hancock, in the same
district, was owned by the Welcome company, and nearby was the
shortlived Ooraldana mine, from which 30cwt of ore, assaying
at 60 per cent copper, was extracted during 1861. Twenty-five
miles north-west of Blinman were situated the Beltana group of
mines, the first of these being the Beltana mine itself. In
1869, Captain Terrell located copper samples assaying as high
as 70 per cent; and the mine was again worked during the 1880s,
at a time when numerous silver-lead claims were being opened in
the district - Wheal Tyrell, Ediacara Consols, Beltana Comstock,
and various others. As late as 1890, the Ediacara was being
worked by old Burra hands who, since the closure of their mine
in 1877, had wandered the northern districts, making their way
from claim to claim, relying on their reputation as Cousin
Jacks to find them work.360

In the Mount Rose district, 56 miles north-north-east of
Blinman, were a number of copper mines, first worked in the
1860s. In May 1860, Captain Prisk reported that the Mount Rose
workings had already been sunk 10 fathoms on a downright lode,
but by 1863 the mine was closed. Subsequently, there were,
between 1872 and 1903, a number of reworkings – the most
vigorouò in 1882-84 under Captain Tregoweth, a Cornishman and
a veteran of the far-northern mines, who considered Mount Rose
"... the richest copper mine yet discovered in the north."351
Six miles from the Mount Rose mine was the Apex Hill, where in
1861 there was an "... immense show of ore on surface...";362
and fifteen miles hence was the Mount Lyndhurst mine. This was
worked in the early 1860s, then in 1870 under the management
of Captain Rosewall, another Cornishman, and again finally in
1897.363

An important group of mines was that in the Carrieton -
Mattawarangala stretch of the Flinders Ranges, Carrieton being
some 50 miles east of Port Augusta. The largest single mine
was the Prince Alfred, worked for copper and to a lesser ex-
tent for silver-lead, the production of ore commencing in 1869
under Captain Thomas Bryant. Bryant worked the mine vigorously
through to 1873 when, "... as the mine has not been able to
repay the cost of fixed buildings and machinery..."364, it was
abandoned. In 1869, Captain Bottrel, from Cornwall, described
the neighbouring Egmont mine as "... a splendid property..."365
and in the same year Captain Ambrose Harris commenced operations
at the adjoining Disraeli claim. The Oratta and North Austra-
lian properties were also worked in the same area during 1869,
and in June of that year Captain Vivian began to extract ore
from a lode, which had been discovered as early as 1861, at the
Mattawarangala Mine itself. He was joined by Captains Nicholls
and Thomas, both Cornish, and together they ran the mine until
January 1871 when Captain Roberts became manager – 1871 being
the final year of the Mattawarangala's operation.366
Forty miles to the North of Carrieton was the important regional centre of Hawker, the focal point of the Flinders Ranges for many northern pastoralists and miners. The Appeanilla Mine, 40 miles north-north-east of the township, was tried very briefly in 1860; and in 1861 three mines were opened at Mount Plantagenet, 12 miles from Hawker: Arkaba Creek, the Wirrawilka, and the Kirwan Mining Co.'s Warcowie Claims. The Wirrawilka was the most successful of these, being opened in April 1861 by Captain Lean, "... well known to all mining men in the colony as a competent and straight forward man..." and survived until 1866 when the company was liquidated. In the Mount Craig district, some 60 or more miles from Port Augusta, there was a cluster of mines worked in the early 1860s - the Napolean (where Paull's lode was a sign of Cornish influence), the Mount Craig, Wheal Emily, and the Kanyaka - the latter managed by Captain Tonkin. Elsewhere in the far north there were numerous other mines opened in the 1860s, in the wake of the North Yorke Peninsula discoveries, shareholders and miners alike hoping each one to be a second Moonta or Wallaroo, and almost all worked by Cornish captains. There was the Great Bradford, opened by Captain Morrison; the Parabarana, run by Captain Thomas Rosewall and Captain Penglaze; the Moorowie, managed by Captain Vercoe; the Augusta Mine, under Captain Charles Thomas; Wheal Bescoe; the Angoragina; and the Spring Creek. This latter mine, situated near Mount Remarkable and run by Captain Barkla, demonstrated the major problem facing the northern mines, which accounted for the inability of most to become good "stayers" - that of accessibility and transport. The Spring Creek lodes contained "... magnificent ore...", and yet

The hills on either side are from 300 to 400 feet in height, and very steep, so much so, that in an ordinary dray - which, by-the-by, is a heavy vehicle - eight bullocks can only draw 15 cwt of ore to the top. Notwithstanding this difficulty at the outset, parties offered
to contract to cart all the Ore from the Mine to Port Augusta, at thirty shillings per ton.

---XV---

Most of these mines opened in the 1860s succumbed to the difficulty and cost of transport, and yet, even as the post-Wallaroo "Coppermania" was fading, mining companies and individuals continued to prospect in the far-north well into the 1870s. Near the Wirralpa mine, in the Blinman district, the Wirrapowie claim was opened in March 1871 by Henry Paull, an old Cousin Jack and "... a well-known miner and prospector of the northern districts". He sunk a shaft down 23 fathoms, but the low price of copper caused him to abandon the working a year or two later. In the vicinity of the Yudnamutana Copper Co.'s mines, the South Australian and Victorian Copper and Bismuth Co. commenced prospecting operations during 1873, but apparently with little result. At Ilinanawortina Pound, again in the Flinders Ranges, a Monarch Mine was opened in September 1873 by Captain Curtis, a Cornishman; and at Beltana, the Sliding Rock Mine was worked throughout the decade - under the successive managerial regimes of Captains Tonkin, Phillips, Vivian and Matthews. The Sliding Rock was a copper mine (as was the adjoining Great Extended Sliding Rock), but it was apparently located over a deposit of natural gas. One observer noted that in Warren's Shaft:

Blue lights were burning on the wet floor of the drive resembling the flames of spirit lamps or jets of gas ... from the roaring noise ... there must be a vast quantity of it (gas) below the surface.

In addition to these Flinders Ranges mines, there were other "far-northern" workings, in the north-east of the colony - on the prospectors' trail leading from Burra to the Barrier Ranges, a route that was being trod by miners even before the discovery of Broken Hill in the 1880s. The Boolcoomatta Copper
Mine, 43 miles from Mannahill and 150 miles north-east of the Burra, was worked during 1872-73 by Captains Trestrail and Penrose. Captain Trevorrah opened the nearby Wiperaminga in September 1873 but, despite a favourable report from Captain Torr, the claim was abandoned as early as February 1874. 374

Elsewhere in South Australia in the 1870s, various mines were being opened-up or reworked — and, as before, Cornishmen were responsible largely for their operation and management. There was Wheal Paudth, the Palmer Mine, the Lottery Mine at Terowie, Wheal Bassett — run by Captains Thomas and Eddy, the Waukaloo Mine — run by Captain Polglase, and the Wolca — where in 1873 Captain Bennett "... succeeded in initiating the tribute system..." 375. An Onaunga Mine was opened near Mount Barker; there was a Wheal Alice at Stockport; and, in 1870, there was considerable prospecting near Willunga by the Noarlunga Copper Mining Co. The Kanappa Mine, fifty miles north of Adelaide, was reported on by Captains Barkla and Tonkin; and in July 1873 Wheal Maria, on the Bungaree run, was discovered by a Cornish prospecting syndicate, Messrs. Trevellan and Co.. At Williamstown, in the southern end of the Barossa Valley, Captain T.H. Harris opened-up Wheal Margaret in 1873, on behalf of the New Gawler Copper Mining Co.. In the Kapunda district, there was considerable activity in the early 1870s; in October 1872, for example, the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser noting that Captain Trevene had failed to secure Wheal Farley for the Lady Gawler Co. (a rival firm having already purchased the sett). 376 Near Daveyston (another Cornish-named settlement), Captain Hooper was busy reworking Wheal Nitschke — a mine opened-up many years earlier by Richard Rodda — and, although Wheal Nitschke was abandoned during 1874, the neighbouring Wheal Bath continued
to work into 1875. At Ardrossan, on mid-Yorke Peninsula, the small Parara copper mine was worked by Captain T. Tregoweth in 1874, before he departed to work in the far-northern mines. On the Bundaleer run, along the Broughton River, further claims were opened up during the 1870s. United Hills was a mine worked in the district during 1873 by Captain James Roach, and the New Burra was reported on during the same year by Captain J. Dunstan. In the Burra district, in April 1876, a party of Cornish prospectors from North Yorke Peninsula re-explored old workings discovered 17 years earlier by Captain Killicoat, and, having located a payable lode, named the claim Wheal Grenfell - after the leader of the group. 377

Although H.Y.L. Brown wrote, in 1908, that most of the smaller South Australian mines, particularly those in the Flinders Ranges, had been abandoned by 1887, the period 1880 to 1900 was characterised by continuing - if less successful - prospecting work. 378 Garrett's Copper Mine was worked in 1882, McDonnell Copper in 1891, the Mindameneeka in 1890-91, the Urondo in 1895, the Willow Copper Mine in 1888, and so on. 379 As in the preceding four decades, the Cornish continued to play a central role: Captain Thomas Cowling was commissioned to report on the New Hecla in 1888, Captain J.H. Hocking visited the Mount Griffiths mine, and Captains Binney and Pascoe were at the Great Benourie claims. At Clarendon, in the Adelaide Hills, the Mount Bold Copper Mine was worked in 1888-89, and again in 1893-94; and at Fifth Creek, some 8 or 9 miles from Adelaide, were the Mount Stainbanks and Fifth Creek Central claims - both worked circa 1888-91. In the Barossa Valley, the Barossa Silver and Copper Mine was in operation in 1888-89, while in the mid-north various copper mines were tried in the 1880s. Wheal Amy was worked briefly, near Petersburg (later
Peterborough), in 1882; and the Uooloo Copper Mine, north of the Burra, was in operation in 1888-89. In 1882, following favourable reports from Captains Thomas Cowling and Thomas Anthony, the Apoinga Mine was started under the management of Captain Northey, the work continuing until 1884 when the company was dissolved. Captain Northey was also involved with the nearby Edelweiss Mine. 380

On Eyre Peninsula, the Flinders Mine, at Tumby Bay, was opened during 1897 and managed in 1898 by Captain Jane, from Cornwall, while in the same district the Great Montezuma was also worked in 1898. At Ardrossan, on Yorke Peninsula, the Petersville Hill Mine was worked briefly in 1888; while the far north-east of the colony, on the Burra - Barrier trail, there were a spate of copper discoveries in the 1880s, following the development of the Silverton and Broken Hill silver-lead mines. In 1888-89, there were several finds near Olary KIng's Bluff, the Green and Gold, and Smith's Olary, the latter reported on during 1891 by Captain Tregoweth. The Mildaltie Mine, near Mingary, was worked in 1890-91 by Captain W.H. James; and in 1889 the Mount Mulga and Mount Cultaga mines were in operation near Boolcoomata. Near the New South Wales border were the Mutooroo, North Mutooroo, Mutooroo West, Mutooroo West Extended, and Mutooroo Consols copper mines - reported on variously by Captains Osborne, Piper and Rosewarne, and managed from 1887 to 1894 by Captain T. Tregoweth. 381 Most of the local miners, too, were Cornish - with names like Poole, Roberts, Bray, Hancock, Menhennett, Renfrey, and Ellis. 382

In the Flinders Ranges, as in the 1860s and 1870s, new claims continued to be opened up. In the Carrieton-Mattawaran-gala country, the Baratta Hill mine was started in 1888 under
Captain Warwick, a Cornishman, while the Yandowie mine was worked during 1889. In the Hawker district, there were the New Burra Burra, Wyacca, Great Wyacca, and Hawker copper mines—the latter discovered by Captain Datson in 1882. Near Blinman, Wheal Turner was worked from 1889 to 1894, with a brief re-working in 1889-1900, while the Wheal Friendship and Kumando Mines were worked in 1881 and 1882—first of all by Captain Paul, and then by Captain Bryant. A Mount Mary copper mine was opened in 1888 in the Parachilna Pass, 10 miles from Blinman, and in the same year the Pindalpina was reworked by Captains Flood and Benalack, two Cousin Jacks. At Beltana, the Victory Copper Mine was run in 1883 by Captain Thomas Williams, the Puttapa in 1888 by Captain Truscott, and the Mount Bayley mine was reported on in 1900 by W.H. Matthews, the Inspector of Mines. Further north, at Mount Lyndhurst, the Nevada, Great Mount Lyndhurst, Clive, and Barrilla mines were worked between 1890 and 1900; and, at Mount Rose, a visitor to the Vocovocanna Mine in 1882 reported that "The regularity of the side wall of this lode reminds me of the Cornish Copper Mines." In the same district was the Gammon Creek Mine, also worked in 1882.

The Leigh Creek mine, in the district of that name, was worked for copper in 1882 by Captain Thomas Williams, who in the second half of the year went to the adjoining Wirtaweeena property to replace the ubiquitous Captain Tregoweth, the latter having been engaged to work in the Mount Rose area. The Leigh Creek was worked sporadically in the 1880s and the 1890s, and the neighbouring Weedna Springs and Mount of Light claims were first exploited circa 1898-1900. At Farina, the Willouran Mine was started in 1882-83 by Captain Penglaze, and the Warra Warra claim was worked in 1888 and again in 1897-1900. In the Hergott Springs (later Maree) district, the Clara St. Dora
copper mine was worked "... with varying success..." from 1888 until at least 1907, and the Calanna mine was tried briefly in 1887-88.

Yet despite this activity, by the early 1900s there were few mines of any consequence working outside the confines of North Yorke Peninsula, and South Australia's Cornish miners were to be found at Wallaroo and Moonta, at Broken Hill, on the Western Australian gold-fields, and sometimes even further afield. But there remained a handful who continued to wander the remote, out-back areas, - sometimes alone and occasionally in small groups - prospecting in the old mining districts. Most had first come to South Australia many years earlier, certainly before the end of assisted immigration in 1886, and some could recall the heyday of mines such as the Burra and the Kapunda. They were the "Old-Timers" of Australian mining lore, men who roamed the bush from claim to claim, building their "humpies" and brewing their tea in billy-cans; men who often shunned the company of other human beings - delighting in their own solitude - but who could always spin a yarn or two about life in the mining camps back in the early days. They were a breed of men unknown in small, close-knit Cornwall, and yet - to many Australians - they were the archetypal Cousin Jacks.
NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 3


4. South Australian Register, 2 January 1856.

5. Wallaroo Times, 11 May 1867, 5 August 1868, 22 September 1869.


10. West Briton, 16 June 1848.

11. The principal sources used for South Australian mine nomenclature are J.B. Austin, The Mines of South Australia, Rigby et al, Adelaide, 1863; H.Y.L. Brown, Mining Records of South Australia, S.A. Government, Adelaide, 1887; H.Y.L. Brown, Record of the Mines of South Australia, S.A. Government, Adelaide, 1908; and S.A.A. D5986(Misc.), Extracts from the S.A. Register and the Mining Journal relating to copper mines in South Australia, 1840s-1880s.

12. All these terms have been recorded and authenticated by Jean Fielding and W.S. Ransom, "The English of Australia's Little Cornwall", Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, No. 36, November 1971, pp. 167-173. Fielding and Ransom have categorised South Australian mining terms into the following six groups - an analysis which, though useful, fails to consider adequately the influence of the Cornish Celtic language:

1) Regional dialect words, specifically mining and mostly specifically Cornish in origin and usage,

2) General mining terms ... given Australian currency through use by Cornish miners,

3) General mining terms ... given their only Australian currency through use by Cornish miners and referring specifically to the conditions of employment in the South Australian mining settlements,

4) General English words given currency, perhaps only among Cornish miners, because of their specifically mining context,
5) Colloquialisms of dialect origin, mostly specifically Cornish.
6) General English words with specifically Cornish applications. The Cornish origins of these terms can be confirmed by reference to William Pryce, Mineralogia Cornubiensis, 1788, republished by D. Bradford Barton, Truro, 1972.

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p.40.
22. S.A.A. PRG 174, George Fife Angas Papers, S.A. Colonisation Commissioners, 666.
27. Ibid.
28. South Australian, 16 March 1841.
29. S.A.A. D3196A(T), Oswald Pryor, The Glen Osmond Mines and The Presence of Cornish miners there, 1841-51, 1953. Pryor quotes an unidentified issue of the South Australian of 1847 to illustrate that girls were employed as ore-dressers at Glen Osmond.
30. Ibid.


41. Ibid., p.514.

42. Ibid.

43. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 13 December 1912.

44. George E. Loyau, Notable South Australians or Colonists Past and Present, Adelaide 1885.


52. South Australian Register, 20 April 1850.

54. South Australian Register, 1 January 1851; Kapunda Herald, 5 November 1864, 26 October 1875, 4 August 1899.


56. South Australian Register, 18 January 1845, 24 August 1854; Mining Journal, 14 April 1847; South Australian News, October 1846; November 1848.


58. Peoples' Weekly, 3 August 1912.


60. South Australian Register, 5 December 1846, 19 April 1848, 24 August 1854, 19 November 1864; Mining Journal 2 September 1848; S.A.A. GRG24/6/317/1847, Report upon the mining districts by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 13 March 1847.


63. Mining Journal, 19 April 1845.

64. Ian Auhl, Burra Sketchbook, Rigby Ltd., pp.11-12; S.A.A. A858/B4, A.A. Lendon, The Formation of The South Australian Mining Association.


69. Ibid., Ayers to mine superintendent, 24 September 1845; Ayers to mine superintendent, 8 October 1845.

70. Ibid., Ayers to mine superintendent, 8 October 1845; Ayers to mine superintendent, 8 December 1845.

71. Ibid., Ayers to Roach, 6 January 1847; South Australian Register 8 May 1855.


76. Ibid., Ayers to Spargo, 18 October 1850; S.A.A. BRG22/961, Ayers to Roach, 22 February 1849; South Australian Register, 8 May 1855.


78. Ibid, Ayers to Boswarva, 2 February 1846; F.E. Treloar, The Burra Mine: Reminiscences of Its Rise and Fall 1845-1877, Burra Record, Burra, 1929, p.28.

79. Ibid., p.28.


81. Ibid., p.601.

82. Ibid., p.567; Peoples' Weekly, 27 February 1915.


85. S.A.A. 1509, Butts of orders for wages and other expenses, Burra mines.

86. Burra Burra Mines - Copper Ore Day Book 1860-61 (held at Burra National Trust Museum).

87. S.A.A. 1510, Burra Mines: Sundays Documents 1849-61, Wages Return March 14 to April 17 1849.


89. Ibid., p.585; Burra Record, 22 February 1899; H.T. Burgess, Op.Cit., p.556.

90. Ibid., p.374 and p.634.


94. South Australian Register, 8 April 1846.
95. **South Australian Register**, 1 April 1846.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., Ayers to Bibby, 13 October 1848; Ayers to Hallett, 28 April 1849.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid., Ayers to Hallett, 25 August 1849.
104. Ibid., Ayers to Hallett, 26 December 1849.
105. Ibid., Ayers to Hallett, 4 May 1850.
106. Ibid., Ayers to Hallett 24 March 1851.
107. Ibid., Ayers to Hallett, 10 May 1851.
108. Ibid., Ayers to Croydon, 24 September 1852; **South Australian Register** 22 September 1852.
110. Ibid., Ayers to Lanyon, 11 January 1858; Ayers to Lanyon, 10 December 1858; Ayers to Morrison, 29 January 1855.
111. **South Australian Register**, 12 April 1848. Mel Davies, "The S.A.M.A. ...", Op.Cit., deals at some length (with particular reference to the Burra ores) with smelting in S.A.
112. **South Australian Register**, 27 July 1927.
117. **South Australian Register**, 13 November 1851, 24 August 1854, 11 November 1859.
118. *South Australian Primitive Methodist*, January 1898.
119. South Australian Register, 17 April 1851, 24 August 1854, 16 April 1857, 14 May 1858, 11 November 1858, 20 October 1859, 19 September 1860; Mining Journal, 17 October 1857, 13 July 1861.


121. South Australian Register, 23 August 1848.


123. South Australian Register 12 April 1848, 1 January 1851, 30 September 1848, 16 December 1848.

124. South Australian Register 18 November 1848; Mining Journal 4 March 1848, 24 July 1847.

125. Mining Journal 5 June 1847.

126. Royce Wells, Op.Cit., p.53; South Australian Register 1 January 1851.


130. South Australian News, April 1847; South Australian Register, 1 January 1851.


135. Ibid., p.167.

136. South Australian Register, 12 April 1846, 19 April 1848, 22 April 1848, 1 January 1851, 24 January 1851.


138. S.A.A. RN350; Mining Journal 4 August 1849, 3 November 1849.
140. South Australian Register, 1 January 1851; H.Y.L. Brown, Records ..., Op.Cit., p.149 and p.188.
141. South Australian Register, 30 April 1857.
143. Ibid., p.539; Australian Christian Commonwealth, 30 May 1902.
146. Peoples' Weekly, 7 June 1902.
147. Peoples' Weekly, 8 March 1913.
150. South Australian News, September 1847.
152. South Australian Register, 19 April 1848, 14 October 1848, Mining Journal 24 July 1847, 16 October 1847, 12 October 1847, 12 February 1848.
153. South Australian Register, 17 June 1859, 18 March 1850, 24 January 1851.
154. South Australian Register, 4 March 1859.
155. Ibid.
158. Mining Journal 27 April 1850; South Australian Register 24 November 1849, 18 March 1850, 19 July 1850, 8 August 1850, 1 January 1851, 27 July 1927.
159. South Australian Register 24 March 1849, 14 August 1854; Mining Journal 16 October 1852, 23 April 1853, 21 April 1854, 17 June 1854.
164. South Australian Register 24 August 1854, 24 November 1854; Mining Journal 27 October 1855, 31 July 1858.
165. South Australian Register, 14 November 1867.

166. South Australian Register, 13 January 1868.


168. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser 11 July 1873.


171. South Australian Register 24 August 1854, 7 May 1858, 15 May 1876, 24 March 1877, 5 May 1877, 8 August 1878.


178. Ibid., D6029/100(L), William Arundel Paynter to Sophia, 13 January 1859.

179. Ibid., D6029/101(L), William Arundel Paynter to Sophia, 1 February 1859.


181. Kapunda Herald, 6 August 1875.

182. Kapunda Herald, 28 March 1879.


186. Ibid., Ayers to Morrison, 12 June 1857; Ayers to Morrison, 10 February 1858.

187. Ibid., Ayers to Bon Accord Co., 18 April 1859.

188. Ibid., Ayers to Trestrail, 1 September 1858; Ayers to Bryant, 23 July 1860; Ayers to Bryant, 31 July 1860; Ayers to Bryant 22 August 1860.

189. Ibid, Ayers to Trestrail, 14 December 1858; Ayers to Surveyor General, 5 July 1860; Ayers to Surveyor General, 24 July 1860; Ayers to Surveyor General, 28 August 1860; Ayers to Surveyor General, 9 October 1860; S.A.A. BRG 22/957, South Australian Mining Association, Directors’ Minutes 1852-1914, 7 December 1858.


191. Ibid., Ayers to Williams, 18 June 1860.


194. Ibid., Ayers to Morrison, 23 December 1864.


196. Ibid., Ayers to Roach, 24 July 1866.

197. Ibid., Ayers to Roach, 7 August 1866.

198. Ibid., Ayers to Roach, 12 August 1866.

199. Ibid., Ayers to Roach, 29 August 1866, S.A.A., Dr. Charles Davies, Biographies and Obituaries, 27 Vols.


201. Ibid., Ayers to Challoner, 19 January 1872.

202. Ibid., Ayers to Paull, 15 April 1872; Ayers to Swansborough, 3 August 1872.

203. Ibid., Ayers to Sanders, 23 December 1872; Ayers to Sanders, 14 December 1874; Ayers to Sanders, 25 April 1874; Ayers to Sanders, 18 July 1876.

204. Ibid., Ayers to Sanders, 10 January 1877.

205. Ibid., Ayers to Sanders, 18 September 1877, Ayers to Sanders, 9 October 1877.

206. Ibid., Ayers to Sanders, 28 November 1877.
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229. Northern Star 4 May 1861; South Australian Register 20 July 1860, 3 August 1860, 16 February 1861, 29 March 1861, 30 May 1862, 30 November 1864, 17 November 1864, 5 October 1868, 16 January 1871.


232. South Australian Primitive Methodist Journal, April 1898.


236. Peoples' Weekly, 7 June 1902, 11 January 1913, 8 March 1913, South Australian Primitive Methodist, April 1897.


239. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 4 August 1905; Peoples' Weekly, 9 April 1915.


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247. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser 6 August 1875.

248. For details of the economic performance of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines in the period 1860-90, the writer has drawn largely upon Henry Brown, Op.Cit., except where otherwise stated.
249. South Australian Register, 11 December 1865.
250. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 6 August 1875.
254. Ibid, Mair to Young, 1 August 1864.
255. Ibid, Mair to Elder, 29 November 1866; Mair to Elder, 14 June 1867; Mair to Elder, 1 February 1868; Mair to Elder, 3 March 1868.
258. Ibid., Mair to Young, 22 March 1864.
259. Ibid., Mair to Elder, 25 May 1868.
264. Ibid., McCoul to Nicholls, Williams, 26 July 1864.
266. S.A.A. BRG40/538, Op.Cit., McCoul to Young, 27 October 1863; McCoul to Elder, 28 October 1867; McCoul to Elder, 27 March 2866; Northern Star, 21 April 1860.
269. S.A.A. BRG40/538, Op.Cit., McCoul to Hancock, 24 January 1865; South Australian Register, 17 February 1851.
271. Ibid., McCoul to Elder, 26 July 1865.
272. Ibid., McCoul to Hancock, 12 June 1866.


276. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 3 August 1877.


278. Ibid., 4 August 1862, 11 August 1862, 18 August 1862.


280. Ibid., McCoull to Hancock, 21 August 1863; McCoull to Yeita Directors, 11 July 1864; McCoull to Hancock, 18 July 1864; S.A. BRG40/543, Op.Cit., 27 June 1864.

281. Ibid., 1 August 1864.

282. S.A.A. BRG40/538, McCoull to Hancock, 2 August 1864; McCoull to Hancock, 9 August 1864; McCoull to Hancock, 1 November 1864.

283. Ibid., McCoull to Hancock, 31 January 1865; McCoull to Hancock, 3 November 1868.


285. Ibid., 20 August 1866, 10 June 1867, 12 August 1867.


287. Ibid., 26 September 1870, 22 February 1882; Peoples' Weekly 12 January 1935.


289. Ibid., 8 August 1871.

290. Ibid., 5 October 1874, 29 December 1874, 18 October 1875.


293. Ibid., 11 August 1884.

294. Ibid., 31 May 1886.


298. Ibid.

299. Ibid.


301. Ibid., Mair to Harvey, 23 April 1867; Mair to Elder, 3 March 1869.


303. Ibid.


305. South Australian Register, 23 June 1879.

306. This point was made to the writer in a letter dated 14 August, 1977.


308. Ibid.

309. Ibid.

310. South Australian Register, 24 September 1872.


312. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 23 May 1873.

313. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 9 July 1878.

314. Ibid.

315. Ibid.

316. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 9 August 1876.

317. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 17 September 1875.

318. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 10 August 1877, 16 October 1877, 5 March 1878.


320. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 3 August 1877.


322. An unidentified issue of the West Briton, quoted in the South Australian News, July 1850.

323. South Australian Register, 24 October 1859.
324. South Australian Register, 9 August 1864, Wallaroo Times, 24 September 1870.

325. Wallaroo Times, 23 September 1868.


328. South Australian News, 20 July 1850.

329. South Australian Register, 23 September 1848.

330. Ibid.

331. S.A.A. A856/B9, Historical and Descriptive Account of the Burra Mine, with an offer to sell the mine and the other properties of the S.A. Mining Assoc. for £100,000, 28 October 1881.

332. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 21 April 1876; Wallaroo Times 20 November 1857.


334. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 3 August 1877.


337. South Australian Register, 24 October 1849, 17 November 1849, 24 November 1849; Wallaroo Times 13 March 1867; Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 23 July 1878, 30 July 1878.

338. South Australian Register, 24 June, 1851.

339. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 27 April 1883; South Australian Register, 29 April 1868.


341. Mining Journal, 14 March 1857, 15 May 1858, 24 July 1858, South Australian Register, 24 July 1856, 31 July 1857, 9 October 1858, 29 June 1859, 28 July 1859, 19 November 1859, 22 November 1859; Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 29 July 1873.

342. South Australian Register, 30 June 1866.

343. South Australian Register, 15 August 1861, 23 August 1861, 26 September 1861, 4 August 1864, 25 September 1865.


347. South Australian Register, 8 January 1861, 9 May 1861, 18 July 1861, 14 August 1862, 7 November 1865, 16 July 1866, 1 March 1867, 7 January 1870; Frank Masters, Saga of Warrakaleednie, 1850, republished by Franklin Harbour & Cleve National Trust, Franklin Harbour, 1974, p.35.

348. Ibid.


350. South Australian Register, 19 June 1866, 20 July 1866, 5 December 1866, 14 December 1871, 27 March 1872, 20 September 1872, 29 January 1873.

351. South Australian Register, 7 July 1874, 1 January 1876, 17 May 1876.

352. South Australian Register, 5 April 1877, 15 February 1889.


357. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 6 June 1882.

358. South Australian Register, 17 June q860, 16 April 1862, 27 November 1862, 30 September 1868, 18 March 1870, 17 June 1871, 10 March 1882, 13 January 1883, 22 November 1884, 25 January 1888. There were an enormous number of references in the Mining Journal between 23 August 1862 and 16 October 1889. See also Henry Brown, Op.Cit., pp.8-10.


362. South Australian Register, 26 October 1861.


364. South Australian Register, 29 April 1869, 1 July 1869, 3 February 1873, 17 February 1874.

365. South Australian Register, 30 July 1869.

366. South Australian Register, 26 November 1861, 25 June 1869, 19 August 1869, 22 January 1870, 7 January 1871, 30 June 1871.

367. Northern Star, 20 April 1861; South Australian Register 18 February 1860, 21 August 1860, 16 April 1861, 26 June 1861, 12 September 1861, 26 September 1861, 4th April 1862, 2 May 1866; J.B. Austin, Op.Cit., pp.32-34.


372. South Australian Register, 23 May 1870, 14 July 1870, 17 March 1871, 17 August 1871, 15 July 1872, 7 February 1873, 1 April 1873, 10 July 1873, 25 September 1873, 30 January 1874, 1 July 1875, 1 January 1876, 4 February 1877.

373. South Australian Register, 29 July 1872.

374. South Australian Register, 8 June 1872, 14 October 1872, 3 April 1873, 20 June 1873, 17 September 1873, 22 November 1873, 12 February 1874.

375. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 8 April 1873, 25 July 1873; South Australian Register, 27 March 1873, 29 May 1873, 26 June 1873, 22 August 1873, 19 April 1877, 21 August 1890.

376. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 22 October 1872, 8 July 1873, 5 August 1873; South Australian Register, 27 December 1864, 11 March 1870, 30 July 1872, 4 August 1873, 30 August 1873, 22 July 1898.


379. South Australian Register, 10 March 1882, 4 May 1882, 5 May 1888, 12 July 1888, 16 August 1888, 22 May 1890, 7 April 1891, 22 May 1891, 4 November 1891, 10 August 1895.


381. South Australian Register, 2 December 1887, 16 May 1888, 14 August 1888, 15 August 1888, 3 September 1888, 10 September 1888, 1 November 1888, 27 January 1889, 14 March 1889, 26 March 1889, 30 September 1889, 23 January 1890, 1 May 1890, 21 August 1890, 24 August 1891, 1 May 1894, 29 June 1897, 14 October 1898, 22 November 1898.

382. S.A.A. SRG4/34/1, Broken Hill and Silverton Wesleyan Circuit Baptismal Register 1890-93, Baptisms at Mutooroop.

383. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 2 August 1881; South Australian Register, 3 August 1881, 15 June '882, 17 October 1882, 2 December 1882, 4 February 1888, 2 May 1888, 18 June 1888, 21 July 1888, 14 August 1888, 15 October 1888, 3 December 1888, 12 February 1889, 27 February 1889, 16 April 1889, 4 June 1891, 5 August 1892, 7 February 1893, 17 June 1899, 14 June 1900.

384. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 6 April 1883; Mining Journal 23 June 1883; South Australian Register, 7 April 1882, 12 July 1883, 5 October 1888, 29 July 1889, 21 October 1890, 25 March 1897, 23 April 1897, 18 August 1900, 27 October 1900.

385. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 14 March 1882, 25 July 1882; South Australian Register, 10 March 1882, 3 July 1882, 5 July 1882, 16 August 1882, 28 October 1882, 5 July 1883, 28 May 1888, 25 March 1897, 28 October 1898, 6 January 1899, 23 August 1899, 11 August 1900, 29 December 1900; Mining Journal, 19 October 1889, 31 January 1891.

"South Australia, rich in copper, dreamed of gold". So says Geoffrey Blainey; and in that short, crisp sentence he captures the entire essence of the colony's mining experience in the last century. For South Australia was pre-eminently the copper kingdom, but its mining men were always haunted by the prospect of finding gold in abundance on their own territory. Paradoxically, gold had been found in South Australia some years before the first "official" discoveries in New South Wales. J.B. Austin claimed in 1876 that gold deposits had been uncovered as early as 1844 but that "... the finder was not aware of the nature and importance of the discovery...". Certainly, some gold was encountered in the North Montacute mine in 1846, and considerable excitement was caused by a discovery on the Onkaparinga River, near Balhannah, in 1849. In later years there were gold rushes to Echunga, Barossa, Jupiter Creek, Waukaringa, Tarcoola, and other places in South Australia. But these were all minor occurrences when compared to the rushes elsewhere in Australia, and those South Australians who felt the lure of gold were forced to travel to the other colonies in search of the yellow metal. Thus it was that South Australia became intimately involved in the Victorian Gold Rush of the 1850s, with perhaps the principal South Australian contribution being made by the colony's Cornish settlers - especially the miners. They were amongst the first diggers on the Victorian fields and later, when their ranks had been swollen by newcomers direct from Cornwall, they formed a pool of skilled labour in Victoria from which the resurgent South Australian copper industry could draw its much-needed recruits. As will be argued
in Chapter 11, the South Australian Cornish were at a still later date in the forefront of gold discoveries in both Queensland and Western Australia.

The Victorian Gold Rush commenced at the end of 1851, in response to the drain of population to New South Wales occasioned by the discovery of gold in that colony earlier in the year. Cornish miners emigrating to Australia had been urged to prospect for gold in the continent's rivers,\(^5\) and it was significant that the first major discovery of gold in Australia was made by a Cousin Jack called William Tom, after he had been taught the techniques of gold-prospecting by Edward Hammond Hargraves, a veteran of the Californian Rush. Tom came from Cornish Settlement, a village founded in 1829 on the western side of the Macquarie River, 20 miles from Bathurst in New South Wales. It had been established by William Tom senior, born in Bodmin in 1791, and his friend William Lane, also from Cornwall. They were joined by other Cornishmen - George Hawke, the Glasson brothers, Richard Grenfell from St. Just-in-Penwith, Richard Lane, the Bray family, the Pearses, the Paulls, the Thomases, and the Oateses - and soon there was a flourishing Cornish community in the district. Farm names such as "Pendarves" and "Tremearne" were evidence of a strong Cornish influence, and by January 1851 John Glasson was producing copper from his so-called "Cornish Mines".\(^6\) Other Cornishmen had been working copper and lead deposits in the districts of Yass and Bathurst,\(^7\) and so it was not surprising that Tom's discovery led immediately to a vigorous rush which put new towns such as Ophir, Turon, Home Rule, Hill End, and Gulgong onto the map of New South Wales. South Australian newspapers followed closely the activities of the New South Welshmen\(^8\), and at least some of the Central Colony's Cousin Jacks were induced to travel to the gold-fields. The
Alpha Mine at Hill End, for example, attracted a number of men from the Burra - again they are distinguished by their typical Cornish names; Lobb, Jeffree, Pasco, Clymo, Trevena, Hawke, Uren, Penhall, Nicholls, Roberts, Inch, Curnow, Blewett, Northey, Treglown, Bath, Carceek, Trestrail, Thomas, and so on.9

Less than half the diggers on the New South Wales fields were able to make a decent living, and many found themselves working as labourers for the minority of successful men - wages being from 30 shillings to 40 shillings per week, with anything up to £3 for Cornish miners.10 But still men streamed to the diggings, a flow which was not stemmed until the Victorian discoveries were publicised in late 1851. Gold had been located at Clunes as early as March 1850, but little excitement was generated until the discoveries at Mount Alexander in July 1851 and at Ballarat in the following August.11 By the December, the influx of gold-seekers had already begun, between 5 and 7,000 having arrived from the neighbouring colonies of South Australia and Van Dieman's Land. Hardships suffered by these early diggers were compounded by the drought conditions of 1852, but this had the effect of dispersing the people to new districts and thus facilitating further gold discoveries. In the country surrounding Mount Alexander, for instance, fields were opened up at Fryers Creek, Sailor's Gully, Campbell's Creek, Forest Creek, Castlemaine, Ranter's Gully, and Cobbler's Gully. In February 1852 there were 30,000 people in and around Mount Alexander, and by the June there were perhaps as many as 40,000 at Bendigo.12 The South Australian diggers showed "... a marked predilection..."13 for the northern gold-fields around Bendigo, and at one time there were 4,000 South Australians at Mount Alexander alone.
Some of the South Australian Cornish made their way to Victoria from the New South Wales gold-fields. Captain Absalom Tonkin, for example, had left Callington to try his luck at Tuoro and Ophir, moving on to Victoria when the diggings there had become established. He stayed on the gold-fields for 7 years before returning to South Australia to open his general store at Callington. Most, however, went direct from South Australia. By October 1851, the Adelaide newspapers were proclaiming "Gold in Abundance" in the neighbouring colony, and, with business in South Australia being slack at the time, many were inclined to leave for Victoria. The Cornish miners at Burra Burra were at first cautious, sending a deputation to the gold-fields to ascertain the reliability (or otherwise) of the newspaper reports. Excitement grew when the miners came back to collect their families and belongings, and the ensuing departure from the Burra precipitated a mass exodus from all the other South Australian mines. In December 1851 it was noted that 100 miners had arrived in Adelaide from the Burra to join ships bound for Victoria, and they were followed by others during January and February of 1852. The Burra mine soon became starved of labour. In September 1852 G.W. Vivian, the mine clerk, resigned to go to the Rush, leaving his forwarding address as the "Post Office, Bendigo". A fortnight later Captain Matthew Bryant was granted two months leave so that he might visit the diggings, and by the beginning of December the Burra was at a standstill. As the Mining Journal noted, "...the attractions of the gold-diggings began to tell upon the great copper mine, wooing away its lusty Cornishmen to Forrest Creek and Bendigo."

John Treloar, born in Helston in 1832, had worked in Cornwall at the Trewavas Head Mine and Great Wheal Vor before coming to South Australia with his brother James in 1849. He was employed at the Burra as an ore-dresser, and he later re-called
that on the day after the news of the Victorian Rush had reached Burra he caught the 5 a.m. coach to Adelaide, en route to the diggings! He and his friends roamed across Victoria, working claims at Golden Point, Pennyweight Hill, Winter's Flat, Sulky Gully, and Buninyong before moving on to New Zealand. His sojourn there was brief, however, and soon he was back in Victoria as captain of the Carrick Range Mine. Nine months later he returned to South Australia, working for some time as a coach-driver before again feeling the lure of the mining fields - first of all at Mount Browne, and then at Silverton, Broken Hill, and finally Coolgardie. Hugh and James Datson, a father-and-son team, were similarly affected and left for Forest Creek almost as soon as the details of the discoveries were announced. They returned to the Burra in November 1852 after several successful months at the gold-fields, but soon went back to Victoria, staying there until 1851.21

William Gummow, from Padstow, also left the Burra to go to Victoria - prospecting at Pegleg, Ironbark Gully and Forest Creek before coming home to restart the whim engine at Peacock's shaft.22 William Worden, born in Cornwall in 1826, was absent in Victoria for 15 months from his job at the Burra, while James Bone - originally from Bosullow Mill, near Morvah, in West Cornwall - also spent some months at Forest Creek.23 Some Cousin Jacks, like Richard Snell, had only just come back from the Californian Rush when the Victorian diggings were commenced, and went to see if Australian gold were any easier to find than its American counterpart.24 John Jenkin, from Perranzabuloe, had been out from Cornwall only a matter of months before he too felt the urge to visit the diggings, and most of his other Burra mates also "heard the calling" of Victoria - John Dunstan from Stithians went to Forest Creek, as did Henry Pinch from St. Mabyn, while William Richards, born in Cornwall in 1833, spent 7 years
at Ballarat and Bendigo. Even James Blatchford - a pioneer of
the Bible Christian faith at the Burra - went off in the worldly
pursuit of gold. There was William Sandow from Chacewater, and
Stephen Carthew from Redruth, and Thomas Ninnes from Towednack -
all of them Burra Methodists who succumbed to the weakness of
the flesh and the temptation of gold.  

At Mount Alexander "... the Burra miners ... were reputed
to be ... pre-eminently expert in winning gold..." and the
success of the earlier diggers persuaded those who had stayed
at home to also journey to Victoria. Thus the Burra's "lusty
Cornishmen" continued to leave - John Phillips from Wendron,
James Thomas from Ludgvan, Ralph Kestel from Portreath, George
Godden, John Harvey, James Prior, and many, many more. Those
who had done well on their tribute and tulipwork contracts could
afford to take their families and travel by sea, but others had
to attempt the 3 to 4 week overland trek to Victoria. Many were
forced to walk, for they did not have the money to go by dray,
a tremendous undertaking in those early colonial days. The sol-
itude and danger of the overland trip was conveyed in a letter
written home to South Australia by one of the diggers:

On the 20th of last October (1851) I left Adelaide on
foot, with my blanket on my back, accompanied by my dog,
en route for the diggings in Victoria... After travelling
the first 100 miles I came to the first swamp, which I
forzed in about 2 hours, knee deep; on getting out of
which, all track was lost, having been grown over during
the winter. Fortunately I fell in with a few natives,
who put me on the right scent, and with the sun for
my guide, traveled on till night, when I lit my fire
and was literally alone in the desert. 

For those who went in groups, and could afford to purchase
a bullock team, the journey was not quite so difficult. John
Whitford, for example, left the Burra with his brothers James
and William, during 1852. They set out on the 9th October,
passing through the Echunga diggings where they "... did not see anything doing..."\textsuperscript{30} and stopped at Macclesfield to load up with flour and bacon. As they ventured east they became troubled by a lack of feed and water for their bullocks, and John complained bitterly about the mosquitoes. They at last found a water hole, but soon encountered the swampy country which was difficult for the bullock dray to negotiate. Then they "... had to go through the short desert which is 18 miles..."\textsuperscript{31} before coming again to civilisation. John noted that "... the mosquitoes and sandflies was tormenting the bullocks..."\textsuperscript{32} which ran off into the bush, it taking the Whitford brothers the best part of a weekend to recapture them. They arrived finally at the Daisy Hill Diggings on Wednesday, 10th November, where the Whitfords found their first gold. Six days later they moved on towards Bendigo, camping on the way at Bullock Creek where they encountered two of their Burra colleagues - Thomas Philips, who "... has done very well..."\textsuperscript{33}, and William BegolhalÌ (sic), who "... has done first rate".\textsuperscript{34} They were told that "... almost all the Burra people are at Forest Creek; Nicholas Tambling ... William Trevena, George Roberts and all the rest of the party..."\textsuperscript{35} and that "... Captain Matthew Bryant is working at Forest Creek by himself..."\textsuperscript{36}. The Whitfords lived frugally on potatoes and "... heavy currant cake..."\textsuperscript{37} (typical Cornish fare), with mutton on Sundays. They were moderately successful, writing that "... we do not wish ourselves back to the Burra again..."\textsuperscript{38} and, although they complained about the high price of flour, sugar, and tea, they concluded that "... it dont cost a great deal to live hear (sic) more than at home."\textsuperscript{39}

Reports such as this no doubt encouraged others to leave the Burra, and "gold-fever" was soon spread to the other South Australian mining towns. One Cornish miner at Kapunda wrote to
a friend in Truro, Cornwall, admitting that he "... had thoughts of going to the diggings." 40 Evidently others at Kapunda had similar thoughts too. For example, there was William Christopher, born in Stoke Climsland in 1821, who spent more than four years prospecting at Forest Creek. John Rogers, another Cornishman, was three months at the diggings during 1853, but later returned to Bendigo for 5 years before finally re-settling at Kapunda. John Rowett, from St. Austell, also participated in the Rush, as did John Dunstan, John Robins and John Harris - all Cornishmen from Kapunda. 41 Another John Dunstan, this time from the Reedy Creek mine at Tungkillo, spent six months in Victoria, and his colleague Thomas Teague made several successful journeys to Forest Creek during the 1850s, the first of these being in January 1852. Henry Waters, from the Strathalbyn Mines, was in Victoria for some 7 months, as was Captain Thomas William Cornelius from the Paringa mine. From Callington came a number of Cornish miners: William Odgers and his son Josiah were on the gold-fields from 1852 to 1854, while Robert Peters needed only 6 months at Bendigo in 1851-52 to amass what he considered a small fortune. John Thomas, born at Hayle in 1839, had arrived in South Australia in 1852 to join his two uncles who had already set up the smelting works at Callington. All three Thomases made their way to Victoria, John remaining there until 1859. 42

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It was not, of course, only the miners who experienced the lure of gold. In Adelaide the excitement was at least as great as at the Burra, and people from all walks of life were tempted to try their luck at the Victorian diggings. At first it was only the unemployed and the destitute who left, so that the initial reaction to the exodus was one of relief. 43 However,
it soon became apparent that "honest labourers" and even the middle-classes were abandoning Adelaide, and relief turned quickly to concern. Francis Treloar, a Cornishman from Penryn, wrote in his diary that "Almost all people were leaving for the diggings and Adelaide was in a state of panic." (Treloar, not surprisingly, joined the Rush. He sailed from Port Adelaide on 9th March 1852, and by the end of the month had marked out a claim at Dinkey Gully.) There was little chance of Adelaide becoming a ghost-town (most diggers left their families behind, and there was a constant coming-and-going from Victoria), but nevertheless the effect of the Rush was dramatic. The Destitute Board warned that it could not subsidise the diggers' families, and the local economy suffered from falling demand and a shortage of labourers. In February 1852, one colonist wrote of the disturbing conditions in Adelaide:

What changes have taken place in thes colony since Christmas! The discovery of gold has turned our little world upside down; thousands left the settlement for the diggings... In Adelaide windows are bricked up, and outside is written, "Gone to the Diggings." Vessels are crowded with passengers to Melbourne, and the road to the Port is like a fair - ministers, shopkeepers, policemen, masons, carpenters, clerks, councillors, labourers, farmers, doctors, lawyers, boys, and even some women, have gone either by sea or land to try their fortunes at the diggings... 45

In Adelaide, as in the mining towns, the Cornish were amongst the first to leave for Victoria. John Allen, born in Cornwall in 1833, had arrived in South Australia in 1847 and worked as an assistant in an Adelaide draper's shop. But as soon as he heard of the gold discoveries he handed in his notice, travelling to the diggings where he spent six successful months at Bendigo. John Harris and his son William were "old colonists", having arrived in 1837. Although John had secure employment, working in a flour mill at Hindmarsh just outside Adelaide, he too was caught up in the hysteria of the Rush, taking his family
in a bullock cart to Forest Creek, Bendigo, and Sailor's Gully for 12 months. Samuel Arthur, born in Cornwall in 1820, was a stonecutter at nearby Bowden. He too visited the Rush, and was so successful that on his return to South Australia he was able to purchase a farming property at Macaw Creek, near Riverton. From the suburb of Mitcham, came Redruth-born Robert Dunstone. He went first of all to the Avoca gold-fields, but later made his way to the Talbot-Clunes-Amherst district where he became apprenticed as a mining engineer. He gained the distinction of becoming the only non-German at the Hoffnung Mine, Dunach, and continued to work in the Victorian gold-mines until he returned to Adelaide in 1878. Evidently, Robert had taken his sister Elizabeth Jane with him to the diggings, for there she married a Cousin Jack called Bill Tresidder - "... a fine jolly old chap ..." and settled down permanently in Victoria.

George Prout was born in Camborne in 1839. Although he had worked as a pickey-boy at both the Glen Osmond and Burra mines, by the time the Victorian Gold Rush broke out he had already returned to his parent's Adelaide home (called, quite appropriately "Little Cornwall"). Although George was hardly 12 years of age, his father considered a trip to the gold-fields would be a good experience for him, and so father and son set out for Victoria. They went, as did many South Australians, to Forest Creek, where George became one of the first boys to attend the newly-erected Wesleyan chapel, and from there went on to Preshaw's Flat, situated between Castlemaine and Campbell's Creek. They returned to Adelaide in November 1852 to collect George's mother, sister, and brother, and then the whole family made their way back to Victoria. Not long after, George fell 75 feet down a mine shaft and broke his ankle, and years later he liked to recall how in 1854 he toured the Avoca and Tarrangower fields on
crutches! From Tarrangower, he moved on to Mount Moliagul, Sandy Creek, Fiery Creek, Glenpatrick, Chinaman's Flat, Clunes, Ballarat and various other gold-fields before finally, in 1866, purchasing land along the Bet Bet Creek.**48** Henry Dunstan, also from Camborne, was another of Adelaide's Cousin Jacks who visited the Rush. He too took his young son, and together they spent several months at Bendigo, not returning until the end of 1852. W. Pengilly, born in St. Ives, was one of those who walked there-and-back from Adelaide to Victoria when the Rush was first announced; and Charles Scaborla Grey, from Helston, then an infant, was one of many children who had to endure the often traumatic, and certainly unsettling, experience of the overland journey and life in the diggers' camps - his father, like most of the Cousin Jacks, having contracted a severe bout of "gold-fever".**49**

Many Cornishmen - farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans - left the country districts of South Australia to visit the Victorian Gold Rush. A number of the early Cornish colonists had settled at Willunga, to the south of Adelaide, and during 1852 a sizeable party of Cousin Jacks left the district to go to Victoria - there was William Chenoweth (from Cambelford), David Oliver, F. Martin, Robert Sleep, George Sara (from Perranwell), and Richard Polkinhorn (from West Cornwall).**50** From Yankalilla, some distance further south from Willunga, came Robert and James Holman, who briefly visited the Rush during its early days. To the north of Adelaide, many Cornishmen had settled on the so-called Gawler Plains, a tract of flat country running from Salisbury through Smithfield and out to Gawler Town and beyond. Nicholas Goodman, for example, was the village blacksmith at Salisbury until he departed for the Rush during 1852, while William Pedler - born at Twelveheads, Kea, in 1829 -
left his father's "Trevalsa" property at Salisbury, sailing from Port Adelaide to Melbourne on the "Anna Dixon". He spent some time at Forest Creek, Bendigo, Eagle Hawk, and Sailor's Gully before returning to help out again on his father's farm. At Gawler Town itself there was John Allen, who in 1852 had only just established his own blacksmithing business. He gambled his future on success at the Rush, and was lucky enough to "strike it rich" at Bendigo. He came back to Gawler, resumed his business, and in time became one of the town's leading citizens. Another Gawler Cornishman was William Henry Mildren, born in Helston in 1825. He had arrived in South Australia in 1847 with his parents, and participated in his father's carpentry business in Gawler. He left for the diggings towards the end of 1851, returning briefly during 1852 to marry his fiancé, Eliza Evens, and then going back to Victoria for a further stint on the gold-fields. Having some success, he was able to purchase land at Hoyle's Plains, in South Australia.

From One Tree Hill, in that stretch of the Mount Lofty Ranges lying east of the Gawler Plains, came John Sampson. He had arrived from Cornwall in 1849 and, after several successful tribute "takes" at the Burra Burra mine, had saved enough money to acquire a small farming property in the Hills. Sampson spent only four months at Ballarat and Bendigo, but returned to South Australia a comparatively wealthy man. Thomas Hutchens, born at Long Rock, near Penzance, in 1826, was another Adelaide Hills settler. On his arrival in the colony in 1848, he had set up a cobbler's shop in the small village of Woodside. He went to the Rush in 1852, and after his return began farming in the Woodside district.
The continued departure of gold-seekers, Cornishmen and others, caused further anxiety in South Australia. The colony's copper mines were forced to suspend operations for there were no miners to work them, and Adelaide was plunged further into the economic doldrums. However, although little could be done to revivify the mines, the resourceful Adelaide men were able to turn disaster into success by first of all organising the famous Adelaide-Mount Alexander "Gold Escort", and then gearing South Australian agricultural production to meet the enormous demand for food from the rapidly expanding Victorian population. Inspector Tolmer was sent to Mount Alexander in March 1852, with the diggers' mail, and acquired from them gold with the promise of £3 11s 0d per ounce. Tolmer returned to Adelaide with 5,000 ounces, and thus the Gold Escort was born. The politician George Marsden Waterhouse, originally from Penzance, addressed an enthusiastic throng of South Australian diggers at Mount Alexander who wished to see the Escort perpetuated, as it in fact was. Economic activity in Adelaide began to increase, and two South Australian Cornishmen who were able to exploit these new conditions to the full were Philip Santo and James Crabb Verco.

Philip Santo, from Saltash, had been Clerk of the Works at the Burra Burra mine from 1849 until the Victorian Gold Rush commenced. He then returned to Adelaide and, anticipating the increasing demand for bread in Victoria, entered the flour trade in partnership with Verco. To ensure penetration of the gold-fields market, they conducted their operations from Melbourne, and Santo used his time in Victoria to indulge in a little gold-seeking himself. James Verco, Santo's companion and business partner, was born at Callington in East Cornwall in 1815. In the 1830s, he had been in Mexico and Texas (where he was embroiled in the wars of Santa Anna) but had returned to Cornwall in 1839
to marry his childhood sweetheart, Ann Cooke of Harrowbarrow. They emigrated to South Australia in 1840, settling in Adelaide. James Verco was by trade a builder, and after Tolmer's Gold Escort had become established he was commissioned by the Government to construct their Adelaide gold-smelters. He also joined Santo in Victoria, on one occasion returning to Adelaide as a guard on the third Gold Escort from Mount Alexander.56

---III---

Towards the end of 1852, the Australian diggers on the Victorian gold-fields were joined by a new wave of immigrants from Britain, Europe, and even California.57 These newcomers gave the diggings a somewhat cosmopolitan flavour (soon to be heightened by an influx of Chinese), but among their ranks were many Cousin Jacks from Cornwall (and California) who served to strengthen the already sizeable Cornish community created by the diggers from South Australia. Like the South Australian diggers before them, these Cornish immigrants displayed a preference for the northern gold-fields. The Cornish were responsible for the White Hill rush, and Long Gully - where only the Cornish miners had the expertise to work the deep lodes - became known as "Bendigo's Little Cornwall". Methodism was strong at Long Gully, Cornish wrestling matches were held there, carol singing parties were formed, and the Cousin Jennies prepared traditional Cornish fare such as saffron cake. As Frank Cusak has remarked, "no social influence was so pervasive in early Bendigo as that of the Irish and Cornish communities..."58

In October 1852 came the Oven River Rush (there were 20,000 on the River by the following January), and in the November the Korong Rush was started. New gold deposits were
uncovered at Canadian Gully, Ballarat, in January 1853, and the spate of discoveries continued into 1854. The continuing success of the Victorian diggings created still further interest in Cornwall in the gold-fields, and during the early 1850s Victoria replaced both South Australia and California as the prime destination for emigrant Cornish miners. Most of those who did land at Port Adelaide departed almost immediately for Melbourne, and the few who made their way to the Burra were greeted there with scenes of desolation and a general air of inactivity – even as early as 1851, before the Victorian discoveries, James Jenkins had written home to Truro from the Burra, noting that "A great number have left this place to go to the Sydney gold-fields ..." and that work was slack. In Cornwall, considerable excitement was created by returning Cousin Jacks landing at Ports such as Falmouth and Penzance with almost fabulous amounts of gold, and several local syndicates – such as the Devon and Cornwall Miners Gold Company – were formed to organise prospecting parties in Victoria. During 1853 a gold-fields display was exhibited in Truro and Falmouth, and in July 1854 it was reported that there were 100 St. Just men at Liverpool, bound for the Australian diggings.

Most of those who came direct from Cornwall to the diggings were miners, together with a fair number of labourers and artizans who pinned their hopes on the fact that they were Cousin Jacks – even if they knew nothing about mining! There were, though, a number of "aristocrat-diggers" so that the goldfields became classless (or at least multi-class) as well as cosmopolitan. One such "aristocrat" was William Pomeroy Carlyon, a son of Colonel Angus Carlyon of Tregrehan, near St. Austell. Apparently William was the "black-sheep" of the family, and Colonel Carlyon thought it would improve his son's moral fibre
if he were to be sent to work in the colonies. Colonel Carlyon corresponded with Captain Richard Rodda in South Australia and John Glasson at Cornish Settlement in an attempt to find a suitable destination for his son, and he finally contracted with William Goyne and John Hammer (a miner from St. Blazey) for them to take the incorrigible William to "... the gold diggings in Australia..." for £50. Goyne and Hammer agreed to stay with William for at least 12 months after their arrival in Victoria. By early 1853 they were at the Ballarat diggings. William wrote home to his father complaining that his hands were "... getting very stiff with work..." and expressing regret for the wild life he had led at home. Goyne and Hammer promised to stick with William "... through the rough and smooth..." but the young Carlyon contracted the dreaded "colonial fever" (typhoid) and was dead by the July. His death was made all the more ironic by the fact that he, Goyne, and Hammer had between them amassed £1133 worth of gold-dust in their short time in Australia.

For those Cornishmen who journeyed to the diggings by sea, whether from Port Adelaide or Plymouth, their first experience of Victoria was Melbourne – which in the Gold Rush days was "... a second San Francisco...". Cousin Jacks from Burra and Camborne, Redruth and Kapunda, congregated in the great city, many of them no doubt staying at the "Great Western Hotel", an establishment run by two Cornishmen and which advertised in the West Briton. Peter Pascoe, a tailor from Helston, was in Melbourne during 1852. He wrote that "Pecunary matters is good," and added that most people there were "...Rich in a manner of speaking and as independent as Lords." Already he had come across two friends from Helston, John Ellis and Edward Toy and estimated that "...there is upwards of a Hundred with their families from Helston" in Melbourne.
On the diggings themselves the Cousin Jacks, whether from South Australia or Cornwall direct, tended to "stick together" - not only at Long Gully, but in most places that they ventured to, a fact epitomised in the comments of one Peter Matthews who wrote from Ballarat in 1853 that "The place in which we live is called Cornish Town, on account of the inhabitants being nearly all Cornish."72 Stephen Curnow, from Marazion, wrote that he "... fell in with (a) Cousin from Gulval..."73. And from Friar's Creek in January 1853 he wrote tellingly that "Cousin William Roach and his Mrs. visited last Sunday has(sic) it was Ludgvan feast."74 By the August he had encountered many other "Cousins" as he called them - "John Lawry, Tom Polmear ... Joseph Williams ... (and) ... some new arrivals they where(sic) from St. Ives, Lelant and St. Hilary."75 Curnow moved on to Spring Gully with Joseph and William Williams, two Cornishmen, and in September 1854 was joined by Thomas, John and William Roach who had just arrived from Burra Burra. He made friends with "... many others from Ludgvan to numerous to mention..."76 and in February 1855 noted that "Cousins John and Thomas Roach left here a few days after Christmas for the Burra I think they intend comming(sic) again as soon as winter sets in."77. Stephen Curnow returned to Cornwall during 1857, but his colleague John Williams was still on the goldfields as late as March 1860. He wrote to Curnow from Reef Pleasant Creek, remarking that "... theair is not manny cornish men cas it is a out of the way place..." but adding that "... Phillip Williams is still in Ballaratt(sic) keeping a otell I think he is getting on very well..."78

Henry Giles arrived in Victoria in 1854 with 30 other Cornishmen, "... principally from St. Day and Chacewater and three from St. Ives - Thomas Bennett, Mathew Thomas and William Daniel."79 Amongst the 15 or so Cousin Jacks he accompanied to
Creswick were "... Richard Eddy from Treen and Matthew Thomas from Treen and David Eddy from Bosigran ... Matthew White, Richard Eddy from Bosigran, John Hosking from Treveal ... and Arthur Chelwell from Zennor Church Town"80 - all the settlements mentioned being located on the five mile stretch of road between Morvah and St. Ives in far-western Cornwall. Giles added that there were also "... two miners, one is from Sancreed called George Thomas, the other from St. Day called Richard Harvey",81 and explained that

George Thomas is my Mate, he and me do belong on one pit we expect to Bottom next week which will be about 60 feet. John and Richard Harvey is together on another pit. Arthur Chelwell is with William Wearne from St. Just in another pit, so we shall all share alike on the gain. 82

In May 1855, Giles and his companions, together with "... a young man from Penryn...",83 had gone to try their luck at Daisy Hill. Giles, however, had injured his knee and while confined to his tent contracted dysentery, from which he died on the morning of May 16th. A friend wrote to Giles' parents, trying to console them by saying that their son "... had a remarkable easy death, died without a struggle or a groan..."84 and assuring them that "... the neighbouring people were very kind to him during his illness, there being many Cornish people near, especially Mary Ann Simmons from Madron Church Town...".85

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Henry Giles' death, like that of William Pomeroy Carlyon, bore witness to the fact that life on the diggings was never easy. Typhoid and dysentery were constant perils, while violence and drunkenness aggravated the already unpleasant social conditions. The mining camps which sprang up around the diggings were by their very nature temporary affairs, breeding grounds for both
disease and vice. One South Australian digger wrote home in June 1852, describing the appearance of Forest Creek:

(It is) ... a large crooked gully, almost a valley, the hills side by side not so much in ranges as in isolated mountains. Cross gullies running into it at intervals. A road-way along the creek with stores by the side of it, built of wood, bark, iron, or canvas - all with flags of different colonies flying. Tents of all different shapes, sizes and materials here and there, some by the road like a street, and some scattered about the gullies and hills in every direction. 86

The diggers who inhabited these make-shift towns of calico and timber were

... as dirty with clay and mud as they can be, as thick as ants, and as busy as bees - such they are on weekdays. But on Sundays - red shirts, blue shirts, red comforters, red night caps, and indeed every colour of the rainbow on some, while others dress more soberly; but dress as plainly as they may, they look strange and rather wild, as not one in 20 shaves. 87

And to survive, the diggers had to be tough. As another South Australian wrote:

We had to fight for our claim. It was nothing uncommon to find a big rough fellow working your hole and disputing your right to it. This, in the early days, had to be decided by a stand up fight, and I must say that it was a quick, if not just, way of arriving at a decision. The diggers would always see fair play. 88

The violence and rough justice of the goldfields was a theme returned to again and again by contemporary observers. As early as December 1851 the Register had warned South Australians that "... life at the diggings must be a life of perfect wretchedness...", there being a need for "... incessant watchfulness with ... frequent resort to strong if not violent measures in self-defence." The West Briton informed gold-crazed Cornishmen in December 1852 that one John Semmens, from Ludgvan Lease, had been murdered in Victoria for the 60 ounces of gold dust he had won; and a deputation of Wesleyan ministers commented thus on conditions at the diggings:
Parties of eager gold-seekers were passed on the way, generally looking most wretched and forlorn. Forest-creek and Bendigo diggings were successively visited and examined; and many old friends, especially from Cornwall, gave the Deputation a cordial and hospitable welcome. The social state of the gold-digging community is described in no very inviting terms. Many and terrible are the hardships to be undergone ... and ... that eloquent peacemaker, the revolver, ... it seems, has found a lodgement in every tent; and every digger being well armed, and prepared for self-defence, men are deterred of acts of theft. Drunkenness appears to have latterly become common, and nearly all the breaches of social order and morality are traced ... to its accursed influence. 92

One might expect the Methodists to have taken the dimmest view of life on the diggings (and indeed of the whole ethos of gold-seeking), but that their lamentations were not exaggerated is more than confirmed by the series of entries in the diary of Francis Treloar, one of the many South Australian Cousin Jacks in Victoria:

6th June 1852 last night a man was shot while stealing a bag of flour...
16th July 1852 Man killed in a hole at Wattle Flat.
12th August 1852 Mr. Manchester, a storekeeper drowned while crossing Sawpit Gully, 8 miles from diggings.
15th August 1852 A man near us was shot.
17th August 1852 A woman fell in a water hole and was drowned. Supposed to be under drink.
9th November 1852 Man was killed today by cart upsetting on him.
11th November 1852 Man killed going down hole. Windlass fell on him.
12th November 1852 Another man killed by hole falling in on him while working. 93

Francis Treloar himself survived the rigours of the gold-fields, and by January 1853 was working as a teamster at the Burra Burra mine, back in his home colony. Other Cousin Jacks were less fortunate, one article in the Mining Journal describing in somewhat excessive language the demise of a young Cornish miner who, defying the protestations of both his parents and sweetheart, made his way to the Victorian goldfields:

He repaired at once to the diggings, where, as he had expected, his profession stood him in good stead. Strange
to say he was singularly fortunate, but so much the worse for him. How often is apparent good but a deceptive reality! how frequently too, we mistake the shadow for the substance! His success excited him to over-exertion and anxiety to secure his glittering prize. These fostered the worm already praying on his vitals, but he heeded it not - gold, gold, gold was ... the only thing in the world that had charms for him ... Comforts he cared not for, sympathies he sought not, health he disregarded; all these would be on his return. Vain hope; deceptive vision! it was too late. 94

Food shortages, and the attendant high prices, were a further source of misery - one observer in 1854 noting that a "... feed of corn..." was between 5s and 7s 6d, while tea was 4s, a bottle of ale 6s, and stabling for a horse for the night 20s. Such prices, it was said, rendered "... a profit of at least 1,000 per cent, and ... were moderate compared with charges a few months before!". Profiteering there certainly was, and before his death Henry Giles had railed against the malpractices and evils of many of the diggers. He wrote that

This is a terrible place for sin and wickedness... there is thousands here who dont pay any attention to Sundays no more than another day. They go shouting and cutting wood and spending the Sabbath in a most fearful way. Butchers do kill Sundays the same as week days ... There is no respect of persons here, Jack is as good as is (sic) Master. There is no use for a man to come here unless he is steady and not given to drink. There is hundreds here who spend their money as soon as they got it... 97

But as at Burra Burra and in Cornwall, some of the worst excesses were eradicated, or at least controlled, by the work of the various Methodist denominations. On the Victorian gold-fields, some of this work was undertaken by missionaries touring the diggings. A few were ordained Ministers who had come to the Rush from South Australia with the Cornish miners but still many more were ordinary lay preachers who arose from the ranks of the diggers themselves. Perhaps the most famous of these was James Jeffery, a Cornishman who had emigrated from
Illogan to South Australia and had worked in the Burra mine. He joined the Victorian Gold Rush, not returning to the Central Colony until 1872. He died finally at Moonta in 1877, aged 61. Blamires and Smith, in their Early Story of The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Victoria of 1886, described Jeffrey as the typical Cousin Jack:

He was a short sturdy man with dark hair and features, twinkling eyes, and a pulpit and platform manner that was quiet and modest. His homely talk, quaint repartee, Cornish brogue, unexpected turns of speech and pertinent illustrations, conjoined with him a great power with the people in the mining districts. 98

James Jeffery held the first-ever religious service at the Bendigo goldfields, and his popularity and success no doubt stemmed from his ability to communicate with the diggers (he was, after all, one of them) through the medium of the parable or allegorical comment. He would, for example, declare that

You diggers mark out a claim and put down your pegs near to a mount, say that it is Mount Alexander, or Mount Tarrengower, or the Wombat Hill, and you will go to work in the hope of finding the gold, and some of you come on a rich patch, and others sink 'schicer' holes; 'tis terribly uncertain about finding the gold; but I'll lay you on to the best place. Here, you diggers, come work out a claim by Mount Calvary. 99

Another Cornish preacher was William Moyle, who also journeyed to the diggings from South Australia. Although he earned a reputation as a man of religion, his gold-seeking was dogged with ill-luck, it being said that "Good father Moyle was always richer in grace than in gold..."100. He went first to Bendigo, moving on from there to Ballarat in 1853, and soon returning in disgust to South Australia. Yet another lay preacher was John Trevelyan - he, however, was dubbed by some a "... religious charlatan ..."101 and considered by many "... an unreasoning Cornish miner."102. John Sherer, in his The Gold-Finder of Australia of 1853, had several amusing stories to tell
about Trevellyan. He first encountered this bogus-preacher at Forest Creek during a funeral ceremony. Trevellyan had agreed to hold the service "... for a small consideration...", and during his address launched out at the wantonness of the diggers, exclaiming that "... gold is the murderer. He is the true Appolyon that is burying your bodies in the earth and plunging your souls into hell." But while in the midst of this tirade, Trevellyan was recognised by a fellow Cornishman who knew him to be an unscrupulous and disreputable fellow. This Cousin Jack, Simon was his name, called out to Trevellyan: "How be the goats and kids at Stithians?" Scherer recorded Trevellyan's reaction, and his subsequent discussion with Simon:

"O Simon, Simon!" replied Jahn(sic), with well-feigned astonishment, and with a view to preserve the character in which he had appeared, "be ye here, too, amongst the worshippers of Mammon?" "Deed am I", said Simon, "and how be ye here, if I should be so bound?" "I came", said John, "to call sinners to repentance". "Then you've come to a fruitful spot", returned Simon, "For there's plenty on 'em here".

Simon later confided to Scherer that Trevellyan was a "back-slider" who had at one time been converted, but had since fallen into evil ways. He had had his name read out in chapel three times for drunkenness, twice for swindling, and at least a dozen times for forging letters and "... evil speaking...". But for all that, Simon admitted that Trevellyan was "... a good preacher ... and has been a great means of saving souls in Cornwall(sic)." Even Scherer was forced to note Trevellyan's moral strength, writing that he

...had the merit of courage, in placing himself (and preaching) in Friar's Creek, where ... the state of society was low in the extreme, and where the greatest insecurity of life and property existed. Bands of the blackest ruffians under the sun were well known to be continually haunting this spot, who every night, and sometimes even by day, committed the most impudent robberies.
Thus the Cornish preachers - whether bona fide such as Jeffery and Moyle, or bogus like Trevelyan - performed a vital social function in ministering to the diggers. But poor social conditions derived not only from violence, drink, and other vices, but also from the plain fact that most of the diggers were unsuccessful in their search for gold. It was certainly true, of course, that Cousin Jacks - whether from South Australia or direct from Cornwall - were in the forefront of the gold discoveries of Victoria. Alfred Chenery was the first to prospect successfully on the Upper Goulburn River in 1853, William Jewell and John Thomas discovered Fiery Creek in August 1854, Jack Bastian started Sailor's Gully, John Northey was responsible for the Stockyard Creek Rush, and so on - with names such as Richard Higgs, H.C.P. Pollard, John Roach, Thomas Kemp, W. Pawley, and W. Polkinghorne being prominent amongst the lists of other official gold discoverers.\textsuperscript{110} There were, too, cases of startling personal success. The Rowe brothers, for example, worked Ferron's Reef near Castlemaine for all of 13 years, at an incredible profit of £400 per week,\textsuperscript{111} while both the world-famous "Welcome Nugget" and "Welcome Stranger" finds were made by parties of Cornishmen - in 1858 and 1869 respectively.\textsuperscript{112} William Mitchell, from St. Agnes, made his fortune as a carrier on the goldfields and went into farming, his "Trevallas" property being one of the largest in Victoria. And John "Cranky Jan" White, from Trewellard, near St. Just, made enough money at the diggings to retire in comfort to Cornwall.\textsuperscript{113} The Cornish party from Willunga, in South Australia, was also particularly successful, an article in the \textit{West Briton} reporting that,

A Cornishman, William Chenoweth, writes to his brother in the neighbourhood of Camelford, from the gold diggings.
He says "I am happy to inform you that I have been successful at the gold diggings. I left here (Willunga) with Daniel Oliver, F. Martin, Robert Sleep, and Richard Polkinhorn (from West Cornwall). We were wanting from here about nineteen weeks. We were ten weeks and four days at the diggings. We worked very hard for the first seven weeks, and made about 1½ oz. of gold each; the other three weeks and four days we made about £4,500, making £900 each. We are truly thankful for our success, for although we have done this, we are one party out of a thousand to do so well. We landed at Adelaide this day week, and I deposited in the bank £853; in about two months I intend going again." 114

As Chenoweth admitted, however, he and his colleagues were amongst the lucky few. It was estimated, for example, that for every 40 South Australians at Mount Alexander, one was making from £100 to £200 per week, seven making double or triple wages, seven "fair wages", and the rest very little more than subsistence or even nothing at all.115 A number had wealth within their grasp, but lost it through recklessness or bad luck. Such was the case of Thomas Major. He was born in Cornwall in 1834 and arrived in South Australia with his parents at the age of 13. From 1847 until 1852 he worked in the Burra mine, but then made his way to the Victorian diggings. After 4 months at Friar's Creek he returned to South Australia with an amazing 18 lb (Troy) of gold. Flushed by his success, he returned to Victoria with his brothers, and not long after opened the first brewery at Ballarat (not all Cousin Jacks opposed the "demon drink"). Selling this, he next invested his capital in the ambitious development of the North Grenville mine. But the resounding failure of this venture left Major almost ruined, and it was only his own enterprise and natural business ability which enabled him to recuperate at least some of his losses through the operation of a wood-carting service and the later acquisition of a livery stable-cum-corn store at Clunes. Even so, he was only marginally successful and worked for some years as a common miner in New Zealand, Victoria and Moonta Mines before again
becoming a prominent businessman, and finally Mayor of Port Pirie.\textsuperscript{116}

It appears that the most successful diggers were those who were first on the goldfields, those who had the "pickings" of the most accessible and easily won deposits. Nevertheless, even if one South Australian could write in April 1852 that Mount Alexander was "... the most wonderful place in the world",\textsuperscript{117} other early diggers reported that "... hundreds are there who curse the day that they left South Australia..."\textsuperscript{118}. And in August 1853, the Register drew what it considered a telling comparison between the fortunes of the Cornish miners at Burra and those in Victoria:

\begin{quote}
Copper Digging v Gold Digging - a father and his three sons, tributers at the Burra Burra Mines, earned during the last "take" - eight weeks - £24 5s 4d per week; and another party of men made nearly £4 per week during the same period - both parties being employed in working "fetches" in the shallow levels. Such wages as those, with comfortable houses and other advantages existing at Kooringa, will bear favourable comparison with the vicissitudes of the goldfields in Victoria. \textsuperscript{119}
\end{quote}

Peter Matthews, writing home to Cornwall from Ballarat in July 1853, noted that "Gold digging his(sic) Chance work, a person might make a fortune in the first pit he sinks or he might sink 20 and Get nothing",\textsuperscript{120} while in the following year Stephen Curnow wrote that many were

\begin{quote}
...wishing themselves Home if the(y) had been Transported for Life the(y) could not Look more sad. Great numbers of Cornishmen lose all confidence as soon has(sic) the(y) loose(sic) sight of Engine houses and white jackets...
\end{quote}

Henry Giles, in February 1855, recognised that the easy days of gold-seeking were gone for good, and in a letter to his parents in Cornwall emphasised that,

\begin{quote}
I would not advise anyone at home to think they are sure of making their fortunes by coming to Australia. There is not the chance now there was three or four years since. A man could not miss in them days. In fact the Diggins
are still very rich but very likely there is fifty to
one on the Diggings now to what there was four years since.
However there is still a better chance for a careful
industrious man here as wheat there is at home. 122

As time went on, the chances of a digger "striking it
rich" on the goldfields became more and more remote, with Richard
Hancock writing home to St. Austell from Bell's Reef (near
Tarrengower) in 1862 saying that he had made only "just enough
to pay for my meat..." 123 and that now, instead of digging on his
own account, he was working on "tripped" 124 (i.e. tribute) for
someone else - a situation he preferred because it was like
being at home. However, he could not have been entirely satis-

fied with his performance in Victoria, for by July 1864 he was in
Adelaide. (He was employed there in the Glen Osmond quarries,
where sadly he was killed in the following September.) Increas-
ingly, there were fewer and fewer diggers in Victoria undertaking
their own prospecting work, and those who continued to do so had
to endure, as one contributor to the Wallaroo Times noted in Feb-
uary 1867, conditions that "... Cornish miners at home would
often call slavish..." 125. Many diggers, especially the Cornish,
resented the loss of individual freedom involved in having to
work for a syndicate or company - and as a kind of compromise
many gold mines introduced the tribute system of employment. 126
This also facilitated the development of deep, quartz mining in
Victoria during the 1870s, as it prevented a wholesale exodus of
Cornish miners to South Australia.

Indeed, after 1855 - and especially during the 1860s and
1870s - Victorian gold-mining became an organised and highly
skilled industry, a period during which the Cornish hard-rock
miners came into their own. Geoffrey Blainey has written of
the "... bold Cornishmen..." the innovators in Victorian mining,"
and noted that "... Bendigo's great Cornish managers and miners mastered easily the problems of deep sinking." The Victorian Parliament, in an effort to promote gold-mining, passed legislation making it possible for companies to be formed under the Cornish cost-book system, and Cornish diggers themselves began to organise into syndicates, using their savings to buy the necessary equipment for deeper mining. Peter Matthews, at Ballarat, joined a party of 22 other diggers in 1855 (including John James, a mason from Polgooth) and together they purchased a steam pump engine. Matthews observed that the mines were becoming "... deep and unpleasant..." and added that "There are a great number of Horse Whims and Steam Engines now in operation at Ballarat." Some of these engines were obtained from Cornish-owned foundries in Victoria, such as Abraham Roberts and Mitchell & Osborne, while others were imported direct from Cornwall. In 1860, for example, Holman's Tregaseal Foundry at St. Just-in-Penwith constructed a 17 inch horizontal engine for the Oven River diggings.

During the late 1870s, when immigration into South Australia was severely reduced, there was a large influx of Cornish miners into Victoria - many of them going to the Sandhurst mines where George Lansell, a local magnate, actively promoted migration from Cornwall. Several mine names, such as the Cornwall and the Cornish United, were evidence of a continuing Cornish influence, and on one occasion it was reported that 73 men from St. Just alone had been counted during an evening in a Bendigo hall. As late as 1886, it was noted in the Cornish Telegraph that no less than 50 miners from the small West Cornish village of Boscaswell had been seen together in one room of a Victorian home, and the minutes and records of gold-town institutions attest to the presence of many Cousin Jacks in Victoria long
after the early Rush days. The Quarterly Meeting reports of the Creswick Primitive Methodist Church in 1885-1888, for instance, are full of obvious and typical Cornish names - Grenfell, Jenkin, Rowe, Moyle, Rodda, Coad, Champion, Berriman, Tregloan, Langdon, Hawke, and so on. There were, too, a number of smaller rushes which revived the attraction of the goldfields from time to time, thus encouraging a continuing - if somewhat insignificant - movement of Cornishmen from South Australia to Victoria. The Snowy River Rush, in the Victoria-New South Wales border country in 1860, was the most important of these. A large number of miners left Burra and Kapunda for Snowy River during April 1860, the Northern Star recording the unfortunate story of "Poor Bill Tremaine" who, while away at the Snowy River diggings, forgot to keep up the payments for his land at Kapunda, and on his return found that it had been sold in his absence.138

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However, despite the enduring Cornish influence in Victoria, it is also clear that a great many Cousin Jacks in that colony were attracted to South Australia as the copper industry began to revive. By the mid-1850s, diggers were beginning to realise that it was becoming increasingly difficult to be successful on the goldfields, and were therefore easily enticed back to the Burra, Kapunda and other mines by promises of high wages and the prospect of a more secure form of existence. And moreover, the opening-up of the North Yorke Peninsula mines during the early 1860s provided a new focal point for the Cornish in Australia, so that Moonta and Wallaroo replaced Bendigo and Ballarat as the principal Cornish magnets. As early as December 1852, Henry Ayers - the S.A.M.A. Secretary - had hoped that, with there being "... a reaction in favour of Adelaide just now..."139, the Burra
miners would come back to South Australia. But he was mistaken, and in the following June he wrote to Captain Matthew Bryant (then still at Forest Creek) asking him to try to recruit for the S.A.M.A. some of its former employees. Ayers has been led to believe that,

...the yield of gold has considerably diminished and with it I should suppose the earnings of the diggers must be much less ... I am anxious to know from you whether from your experience you consider this to be the true state of the case or not and whether you think that a number say fifty or a hundred of our old miners could be induced to return to the Burra Burra if we guaranteed them (£3) three pounds per week for say the first six months after their return. You know the sort of hands we most require in recommencing operations; they should be good active men. 140

Although Bryant took up his task with enthusiasm (he wrote twice to Ayers during the July), Ayers found that a number of the men were returning on their own account, without need of financial inducement, and so he instructed Bryant to postpone recruitment "... for the next three or four months..." 141 to see whether the men who had come back would stay. As it happened, too few miners returned to allow work in the deeper sections to be restarted, and so soon Ayers was writing again to J.B. Wilcocks in Plymouth and Captain Bryant in Victoria, asking both men for Cornish miners. 142 Work recommenced in earnest at both the Burra and Kapunda mines in early 1855, 143 with Henry Ayers writing to Captain Bryant on 2nd January, explaining that Cornish miners would now be engaged at rates of between £8 and £10 per month, and adding that "We shall commence forking the water tomorrow or next day." 144 News that the Burra was back in full operation attracted many Cousin Jacks from the diggings, and by the end of 1855 most of the old Burra hands -together with other Cornish miners from Victoria - were hard at work in the Central Colony's copper mines.
One of the major problems faced by the Moonta, Wallaroo and other North Yorke Peninsula mining companies during the early 1860s was a shortage of manpower. They reacted by "poaching" miners from Burra, Kapunda, Callington and elsewhere, and by encouraging immigration from Cornwall, but at the same time they recruited extensively in Victoria. As early as April 1861, even before the Moonta Mines were discovered, the Register had noted that "The news of the Wallaroo Mines having reached the diggings in Victoria, we find that several Cornishmen have left their gold-diggings to come here and work at their old occupation," (i.e. copper mining). And by 1864 both the Moonta and Wallaroo companies were employing agents on the goldfields to engage Cornish miners. The Wallaroo Proprietors placed an advertisement in the Victorian newspapers which read "Miners wanted for the Copper mines at Wallaroo. Passage Paid. Apply to Messrs. Wooley and Nephew, Melbourne", and the Moonta Directors sent their agent, S.R. Wakefield, to tour the goldfields. He was instructed to engage "... some 200 to 300 miners..." and to persuade others to come to the Peninsula "... on their own account". The recruits were to be "... from the Mines of Cornwall and Wales, and it is only to be experienced and respectable miners...". Wakefield reported from the goldfields in mid-August that he was experiencing some "... difficulty in obtaining the number of Cornish Miners required...", but the Board insisted that he seek only "... Copper Miners and not to engage Gold diggers." They felt that in many areas of Victoria there were "... Cornish Miners ... indifferently employed..." who would be only too willing to travel to Moonta. Clearly, their confidence was justified for by 30th September 150 miners and their families had already arrived at Moonta from Victoria, more than 70 of these having travelled directly to Port Wallaroo on the steamship "Coorong".
The next major movement of Cornish miners from Victoria to North Yorke Peninsula occurred in 1868, when in May Captain Datson was sent to recruit on the goldfields. By 22nd June "... 35 Cornish Miners..."¹⁵⁴ had set sail from Melbourne on the "Coorong", men who were considered "... smart looking fellows."¹⁵⁵ by the company secretary when he inspected them. In late July, 50 more miners arrived on the "Coorong". They were followed less than a month later by a further contingent on board the "Kangaroo", and still more arrived in late August on the "Aldinga". Another 21 adults and one child were said to be en route to the Peninsula by sea, and a further party was travelling overland from Melbourne.¹⁵⁶ After 1868, Cornish miners continued to journey from Victoria to the Peninsula, but on their own initiative. For instance, a party arrived from the diggings in November 1872, and another group arrived from Ballarat in February 1873.¹⁵⁷ Thereafter this movement subsided somewhat, although as late as February 1881 Captain Hancock was in Victoria recruiting miners who were to be brought over to the Wallaroo Mines at the company's own expense.¹⁵⁸

The attempts of the Burra, Moonta and Wallaroo mines to recruit Cousin Jacks from Victoria certainly helped to redress the "balance" between South Australia and her neighbouring colony. But it did nothing to dim the lure of gold, and thus the efforts of the copper companies were matched by equally ardent attempts to discover and develop goldfields in South Australia itself. Indeed, the Victorian Gold Rush had been, paradoxically, an important impetus to gold-prospecting in the Central Colony. In early 1852 there were rumours of discoveries near Kapunda, and at the same time there was considerable digging along the Orkapa-ringa River, where earlier finds had been made in 1849.¹⁵⁹ It was reported, too, that James Trestrail had located gold deposits
on his "Trevale" property at Chain of Ponds, but the first real
discovery of payable gold was by William Chapman at Echunga in
August 1852.\textsuperscript{160} Within a few days there were a thousand men at
the Rush – the Whitford brothers from Burra passed through on
their way to Victoria, as did George Prout and his father, and
later Robert Dunstone spent some time on the field. Echunga was
worked "on-and-off" for many years, and the presence of Cousin
Jacks there was indicated by the names of local claims, such as
Simmond's Gully. And in 1898, when there was renewed interest
in the field, a Cornish party under W. Tonkin from Cross Roads,
near Moonta, secured a lease for 20 years on 20 acres at Echunga
(including the original Chapman's Gully).\textsuperscript{161}

The Forest Range goldfield, discovered in 1854, was also
worked intermittently throughout the last century, but of par-
ticular interest was the Jupiter Creek Rush of 1868. Situated
near Echunga in the Adelaide Hills, Jupiter Creek attracted many
diggers. The \textit{Wallaroo Times} claimed in September 1868 that the
Peninsula miners were leaving in some numbers to go to the Rush,
although less than a month later it recorded that heavy rains had
washed away the diggers' tents and that the miners were "... as
miserable as bandicoots".\textsuperscript{162} There were said to be as many as
1,000 men on the fields, and among them was Henry Adams, from
Gwennap, who preached to the diggers in the iron Wesleyan chapel
that was hastily erected during the Rush.\textsuperscript{163} The Barossa gold-
fields were also discovered in 1868, allegedly by Job Harris
(from his name, perhaps a Cornishman) and his mates at Spike
Gully, where the early claims proved spectacularly rich and
yielded up to £1,000 per man for a handful of fortunate diggers.
Within a few weeks 4,000 men had joined the Rush, and on North
Yorke Peninsula the miners were reputed to be leaving "en masse"
for the Barossa.\textsuperscript{164} One observer wrote in November 1868 that
"I believe some men from Wallaroo have made a good start", and indeed between 1868 and 1871 some £180,000 worth of gold was extracted from the district. Not surprisingly, among the diggers were a number of Cousin Jacks. Thomas Sowden, born at Camborne Beacon in 1832, was one of those who travelled down from Kadina, while Thomas Wetherall Warn visited the diggings on his way from Gympie (in Queensland) to Moonta, and Charles Courtis - born in Cornwall in 1844 - came up from Adelaide to try his luck. As at Echungga, local place names were also a clue to Cornish involvement - there being Tamblin's Gully, Hannaford's Reef, Edwards' Rush, Simmons' Lead, Wheal Francis, and Moonta Hill, each one suggesting in its own way a Cornish influence.

By the early 1870s the Barossa goldfields had lost much of their attraction and reputation, but a string of adjoining mines running down through Para Wirra to Humbug Scrub continued to be worked with some success. The Lady Pearce (later reworked in 1896 as part of Menzies' Barossa), the Lady Edith, and the Lady Alice were three such mines, of which the latter was probably the most successful. In 1873 the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser reported that the Lady Alice was making good progress. By 1875 the mine had come under the management of Captain Tredennick, and in May 1878 was still being worked on tribute. The nearby Malcom's Barossa, worked for both gold and copper, was yielding excellent specimens by September 1873, and was tried for a number of years, there being a major reworking during 1882. The Try Again Mine was discovered during 1871 by G. Davy (apparently a Cornishman) who found a rich patch of gold at surface. A pump engine was erected during 1873, the mine then described as being "... what in Cousin Jack's phraseology is termed a keenly thing." Some fifteen miles south of Humbug Scrub lay the Blumberg (later Woodside) gold-diggings. Although first discovered in
1863, serious extractive work did not begin until a decade later. The most notable of the local mines was the Bird-in-Hand, which worked well into the twentieth century. It was run "... old Cornish fashion..." by a succession of Cornish managers, among them Captains Crase, Henry Cock, and James Martin Hosking. Of the various other, less successful, ventures in the area, several also displayed an obvious Cornish influence, such as Carn Brae, the Duke of Cornwall, and Toy's Find.

In the Mid-North of South Australia, where the Burra township provided a steady source of prospectors, there was considerable gold-seeking activity - the most noteworthy occurrence being the Ulooloo Rush of the early 1870s. Gold was discovered at Ulooloo, about 20 miles north of the Burra, in January 1870, and a year later the diggings population was large enough to warrant the erection of a Wesleyan chapel - it being opened during the January by Rev. John Leggoe, one of South Australia's many Cornish-born Methodist Ministers. As elsewhere, Cousin Jacks were very much in evidence amongst the diggers. For instance, the Buzacott brothers, originally from St. Blazey, made their way to the diggings from Clare. After three weeks at Ulooloo they had gathered only 4 ounces of gold and so, somewhat discouraged, they returned home, complaining about the drunken habits of many of the diggers.

Further north, at Waukeringa, gold had been discovered circa 1872. Numerous claims were worked in the area, some of the principal ones being the Ajax, the Alma and Victoria, the Day Dawn, and the East Alma (run by Captain Hosking). George Farwell wrote of the activities of local Cornish-named identities such as "Circus Jack" Davey and James Penna, and argued that "All the evidence suggests that Cornishmen were employed here."
Certainly, there was Captain Edwards, a Cousin Jack who arrived at Waukaringa from the Moonta district in 1874. He advised against an influx of men and money because he considered the deposits were hardly payable, but nevertheless there were 130 men on the field by August 1875, with many Burra miners joining the Rush during 1876 and 1877 (indeed, by March 1877 the exodus from the Burra was so great that Opie's coaches were running a twice-daily service to Waukaringa.) 176 Thereafter, interest in the diggings declined although there were also rushes to nearby Teetulpa and to Mannahill, some 25 miles distant. The first official discovery of gold at Mannahill occurred in December 1885, and soon there were a whole series of claims along the so-called "Birthday" and "Aurora Australis" lines of reefs. As elsewhere, names were a clue to Cornish involvement, there being Ivey's Claim, Jenkin's Claim, and the various syndicates organised by a prospector called Roberts. 177

The Tarcoola goldfields, in out-back country in western South Australia, were not discovered until 1893, it being said that prospectors were first led to the district by Aboriginal legends which presumably asserted the existence of a strange yellow metal in the district. Although there is no direct evidence of Cornish participation in the discovery and exploitation of the goldfields, the names of the diggers in the Wilgena West Syndicate and the Western & South Australia Border Prospecting Association - the two bodies which began the search for gold at Tarcoola - yet again suggest a possible Cornish influence; Nichols, Cocks, Mathews, and Williams (all Tarcoola diggers) being common enough surnames in Cornwall. 178 Elsewhere in South Australia, the closing decades of the last century witnessed gold discoveries at Uraidla and Clarendon in the Adelaide Hills, while, in addition to the major fields detailed above, gold was extract-
ed from numerous other small and obscure sites all over the colony - from the Trengoff mine near Angaston, the Trevue mine near Gawler, Kirkeek's Treasure at Mount Victor in the far north, and at Wheal Murray in the Hundred of Onkaparinga, to name but a few. Some of the colony's Cornishmen, such as Francis Manuel, from St. Blazey, even ventured far into the Northern Territory in search of gold - indeed, as late as March 1903 the Davey-Dennis Arltunga Prospecting Syndicate was formed at Moonta with the intention of working claims on the Arltunga goldfields in the Northern Territory. But despite all this activity, very few South Australians ever made a living - let alone a fortune - from the diggings in their home colony. South Australia, and in particular its Cornish community, had always to look far beyond its borders to find fields of sufficient wealth to satisfy the "lure of gold" it experienced.
CHAPTER 4 – NOTES AND REFERENCES


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CHAPTER 5 WINNING THE LAND

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It may well be true, as P.R.G. Dunlop has argued (see Chapter 3), that it is the Cornish miners who ought to be honoured as the pioneers of South Australian development in the colonial era. But at the same time, it is equally true that the actual process of "winning the land" - clearing the bush, establishing farms, laying-out townships - was the real stuff of pioneering and colonization, a role performed primarily by the agriculturalists who settled the land and the artizans who followed in their wake. As noted in Chapter 1, the majority of Cornish immigrants, certainly in the period 1848-1867, were miners whereas only 13 percent of male Cornishmen for whom occupations were recorded were classed as agricultural labourers or farmers (see Appendix 5 ). However, a further 19.5 per cent were tradesmen artizans or plain labourers, so that the minority of Cousin Jacks who were not miners was nevertheless significant. It was also the case, as will be illustrated here, that many of those who came out from Cornwall as miners later became farmers - a change in occupation which was not as radical as might appear, because, as noted in Chapter 1, the division of labour was not clear-cut in the nineteenth century, with many Cornish miners at home also being part-time farmers.

Further, it is obvious that the link between mining development and the process of "winning the land" was a crucial one, for not only did townships spring up in response to the opening of mines, but also the growth of mining generated other forms of economic activity. The importance of copper exports and the multiplier effects of wages paid to mine employees has already been noted (see Chapter 3), but of at least equal
The story of Cornishmen in South Australia, therefore, is not one involving an absolute division between "the miners" and "the rest", because mining development and agricultural expansion went hand-in-hand, while occupational categories were by no means mutually exclusive. It would be wrong, or at least incomplete, to try to explain the Cornish influence and experience in the colony by referring to their mining exploits alone. Even Adelaide in the 1840s owed its re-envigoration to the mining boom, and Cornish immigrants themselves played a role in the establishment and growth of the city. James Harvey, born in Cornwall in 1818, arrived in South Australia with his sister Harriett on the "Buffalo" in December 1836. He set up a wheelwright's business in the embryonic settlement of Adelaide, one of his first customers being none other than Governor Hindmarsh. He erected Adelaide's first-ever lime kiln, and by 1843 had diversified into farming and blacksmithing. James
paid an unsuccessful visit to the Victorian goldfields in the early 1850s, but was nevertheless an important farmer in the Adelaide Hills district of Meadows by the 1860s.\(^5\)

Another early arrival in the colony was James Grylls, born in St. Buryan on Christmas Day, 1806, who in 1840 purchased land at Beaumont just outside the city. By 1844 he had 10 acres of wheat and one of barley under crop, and owned three cows and three pigs.\(^6\) From Tideford in the parish of St. Germans came Samuel Sanders, who arrived at Port Adelaide on the "Recovery" in 1839. During that year, he formed a mason's business at 79 Waymouth Street, in the heart of the city, and was responsible for erecting many of Adelaide's early buildings.\(^7\) In February 1840 Robert Dunstone and William Edwards arrived along with other Cornish immigrants, on the "Java". Robert, from Redruth Highway, also established himself as a mason. Family tradition insists that he cut the stones from which Holy Trinity Anglican Church, on North Terrace, was built, but in fact that building was erected as early as 1838 – perhaps, therefore, Robert was responsible merely for its maintenance.\(^8\) William Edwards, born in Luxulyan in 1811, came out with his wife Elizabeth and two sons, Henry and William. The family settled in the Adelaide Plains village of Klemzig, where William worked for the South Australian Company, and in 1842 they purchased 20 acres of land at Brighton, a few miles south of the city.\(^9\)

Philip Santo and James Crabb Verco, the two well-known early colonists, also arrived in 1840, on 17th December. Santo was by trade a carpenter and worked in the building industry in the city until appointed Clerk of the Works at the Burra Burra mine in 1849. James Verco and his wife Ann lived first of all with a Mr. and Mrs. Cornish (also from Cornwall) in Currie
Street, Adelaide, but soon started their own shop in Morphett Street. At home, James had learnt the mason's craft under the guidance of John Warwick, "... a legend in the building world throughout Cornwall",\textsuperscript{10} and in Adelaide he was recommended to Charles Sturt, then Colonial Secretary, for the post of Foreman of the Works with the Government. This was a position he held until 1849, when he resigned to form his own business, his most memorable achievement being the construction of the Supreme Court in Victoria Square. In November 1840, Joseph Allen arrived in the colony from St. Ewe. By 1851 he had set up a tentmaker's store (then the largest of its kind) in Leigh Street, Adelaide, supplying tents, tarpaulins, flags fishing tackle, and similar items.\textsuperscript{11} Samuel Coombe, born in Lewannick on 11th March 1828, was a farmer in Cornwall. But on arrival in the colony in 1849 he found work in a brickyard at Hindmarsh, just north of Adelaide, and then in a tannery. After a fruitful visit to the Victorian Gold Rush he was able to set up his own brickworks in Brompton, and at his death in 1899 he was the largest property-owner in the Hindmarsh district.\textsuperscript{12} From Liskeard, in East Cornwall, came R.S. Crabb, who arrived in Adelaide in 1850 at the age of 30, ten years after his parents had emigrated to South Australia. He found work with the Survey Department and was the Government Vetinary Surgeon for more than 25 years.\textsuperscript{13}

The healthy growth of Adelaide after 1844 was checked at the end of 1851 when, as described in Chapter 4, the Victorian goldfields drew away much of the city's male population. However, in the long term the Rush proved an impetus to Adelaide's economic development, as evidenced by the widespread activity of Cornishmen who arrived in the city in the years after 1852. In the light of Cornwall's strong engineering tradition, it was
not surprising that a number of Adelaide's Cornish residents were builders, contractors, and foundry owners. Henry Dunstan from Camborne, made enough money in Victoria to enable him to commence a building and contracting business in the Adelaide suburb of Kensington at the end of 1852, his son later expanding the family holdings by leasing and finally purchasing the Stonyfell quarries. Ralph Kestel, from Portreath, a former Kapunda miner, was also lucky at the diggings. On his return from Victoria he went into partnership with a colleague, forming a construction company at Port Adelaide. Nicholas Wallis Trudgen, born near Lands End in 1840, was one of Adelaide's foremost builders in the period 1855 to 1892. He worked first of all as an employee in an already established building business, but, after a successful spell on the Victorian and New South Wales diggings in 1861-62 (the Snowy River Rush), he started out on his own account. His extensive premises were in Wakefield Street, in the city, and he was responsible for the construction of many of Adelaide's characteristic suburban villas and for a number of important public buildings - for example, the first National Gallery in North Terrace and the fire station in Wakefield Street. Trudgen was for many years President of the Builders and Contractors Association, and in 1886 he became Mayor of the suburb of St. Peters. He died tragically only a few years later, in May 1892, when he fell from a moving tram car and was fatally injured.

Another prominent Cornish builder in Adelaide in the early days was John Penaluna, while some years later, circa 1876, Richard Angwin arrived in the city to set up a contracting business. At about the same time, Richard Barrett left Cornwall for South Australia. He was born in Gunnislake in 1869, and in June 1875 married Fanny Prideaux of Cargreen in the
parish of Landulph. Together, the newly-weds migrated to the colony, Richard finding work first of all as a wheelwright in the Moonta Mines, but after only twelve months moving to Adelaide to become foreman of a carpentry firm. By 1884 he had his own business - "R. Barrett & Co.: Land Agents and Builders" - with premises in Franklin Street, near the city centre. 18

Andrew Jones & Co. was another Cornish-owned enterprise which achieved prominence in the early 1880s. The company, known originally as Messrs. Pappin & Jones, had been set up in Adelaide as early as 1855 and ran a foundry producing engineering components. Until 1882 it was a Government contractor for jetties, harbours and railways but, with the rise of Broken Hill in the 1880s, it turned its hand to the lucrative business of manufacturing Cornish boilers, pump engines and the like for the Barrier mines. 19 At Kilkenny, a suburb of Adelaide, Cornish-born John Coumbe was producing all kinds of equipment from milking machines to railway track at his "Coumbe Iron Works". 20 And at Port Adelaide, Thomas Grose, a mining engineer born at St. Just-in-Penwith in 1837, was for many years foreman ironfounder at the Carron Iron Works, where he specialised in maritime repairs, enhancing Port Adelaide's standing as a shipfitting centre. In 1878 he resigned his position and went into partnership with his old friend, William Thomas. Thomas was born at Treweallard, near St. Just, in 1838 and was, like Grose, trained as a mining engineer. On arrival in South Australia in 1865 he found employment with John Dunn & Co., wheat millers and sellers, becoming manager of their Port Adelaide branch. In 1878, however, he and Grose purchased their own grain milling plant, starting up business in Leadenhall Street, Port Adelaide. Thomas died in 1891, being succeeded in the partnership by his son Henry, but Grose survived to become Mayor of Port Adelaide in 1898. 21
William Hill, born in Wendron in April 1830, arrived in South Australia in 1853 and also found work with John Dunn & Co. He was soon appointed manager of the Adelaide branch and became finally a partner in the company. Adelaide could boast other enterprising Cornish artisans, too. There was, for example, Charles Edgecombe who in 1878 established a bakery and confectionary business in North Adelaide, and Thomas Hobbs who arrived in the colony in 1884 to manage his brother-in-law's wheelwright and blacksmith's shop in the suburb of Walkerville. There was James Peters, from Lanner, who opened a coach-building works in Pirie Street in the city, and P.C. Osborne who started his "Arcade Electrical Supply Stores" in Adelaide in 1889.

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A number of Adelaide's Cousin Jacks were agriculturalists on the plains immediately adjoining the city. The first land to be made available for farming purposes was in those areas, with Colonel William Light (who laid out the city of Adelaide) having surveyed 150 square miles around the town by June 1838. Pressure exerted by newly arrived immigrants led to another 1,000 square miles being made available to the south of the city, while "Special Surveys" were granted to those who could pay £4,000 in advance for sites of 15,000 acres. Light himself died at the end of 1839, and it is interesting that one of his successors was John Phillips, from Camborne, who in Cornwall had worked as surveyor for the Bassett family of Tehidy. Similarly, the man engaged to lay-out Adelaide's parks and squares was W. Pengilly, from St. Ives, who liked to boast that he had planted 100,000 trees during his term of employment with the colonial government.
An early settler on Adelaide's rural periphery was Thomas King, born in Landrake on 11th May 1829. He arrived in the colony in 1845 on the "Isabella Watson" and selected land at Morphett Vale, in 1852 marrying a local Cornish girl called Mary Ann Dungey. King later moved on to Yorke Peninsula, his son Peter then taking over the farm at Morphett Vale.\textsuperscript{25} Especially interesting were the fortunes of the James family, which hailed from West Cornwall. Charles James was born in Porthleven in 1839 and grew up to become a schoolmaster. In May 1865, however, he married 27 year-old Emma Trevenen Gundry, of St. Hilary, and six weeks later the couple set sail for South Australia on the "Electric". At first, Charles worked for a grocer in Currie Street, Adelaide, but not many years later purchased land at East Marden, on the rich plains to the north-east of the city, where he established a market garden. Optimistically, he called his property "Lanhydrock", after the great house and estate of that name in Cornwall. Charles' cousin Thomas, born at St. Hilary Churchtown in 1845, also emigrated on the "Electric". He worked variously as an agricultural labourer at Salisbury, Gilles Plains, and Mount Gambier, then tried unsuccessfully to farm on Yorke Peninsula, finally purchasing 17 acres at East Marden. By 1896 he was exporting oranges and grapes to London from his "Trevarno" property, and at the turn of the century was also trading with New Zealand.\textsuperscript{26}

Another of the family, Solomon Rowe James, also arrived in the colony circa 1865. He was employed first of all as a gardener at Gawler and at Sandy Creek, soon acquiring his own farm at Gilles Plains, to the north-east of Adelaide. He returned briefly to Cornwall, but by the end of 1872 was back in South Australia, where he too commenced market gardening at East Marden. Charles James' two brothers, William Wearne James
(born in Gwithian in 1855) and Thomas White James (from St. Hilary), left Cornwall in the 1870s to work as coal-miners at Ebbw Vale in South Wales. In 1876, however, they sailed for South Australia on the "Northern Monarch" to join their relatives who were by now well-established in the colony. At first, the two brothers, along with their cousin Thomas, took land on Yorke Peninsula, but they were driven off the property by the harsh drought conditions they encountered. Having lost almost everything in his abortive attempt to farm on the Peninsula, Thomas White James could only afford to buy two acres at East Marden, starting out as a horticulturalist. His brother William became manager of a market garden at nearby Beefacres. Before long, however, Thomas White had expanded his own garden to 30 acres, calling it "Kenwyn", while after only 12 months at Beefacres William also purchased property at East Marden. He grew citrus fruits, grapes, peaches, apricots and figs, and by the turn of the century was exporting 3,000 cases of grapes per annum to New South Wales. He also became director of the East End Market, in Adelaide, his colleagues there including John Hammer, from St. Austell, who was Secretary of the Market, and George Phillips, from Redruth, who was one of its leading merchants.

Joseph Rowe Osborn, from Truro, was another of Adelaide's leading horticultural men. He arrived in South Australia in 1873 and joined Thomas Hardy & Sons - grape-growers and wine-merchants. He later became a senior member of the company, despite the fact that he was a strict Methodist and teetotaller. In the district to the north-east of Adelaide, not too far from the James colony at East Marden, was Cornish-born John Green Coulls, who in 1855 paid £4,600 for the Athelstone Flour Mill, with its steam-engine, machinery and fittings. In later years
he purchased adjoining land in the Tea Tree Gully/Athelstone district, beginning market gardening in the area. The first settler at Tea Tree Gully proper was John Trageagle, who arrived from Tregony in 1840 on the "Java" with his wife Ann and five children, and rented land at the Gully from John Morphett. A few years later, in 1846, he acquired a Cornish neighbour – Thomas Roberts – at nearby Golden Grove. Roberts already knew the area, as he had worked in the Montacute mine and had wandered the district as a South Australian Mining Association prospector. He was the Captain in charge of the first miners at Burra Burra (see Chapter 3) and by 1846 had made enough money from his tribute contracts to purchase his property, calling it "Greenwith Farm" after the mine of that name, five miles south of Truro in Cornwall.

Henry Whiting arrived in South Australia from Cornwall in the 1860s, and by 1874 had already built a substantial house and cultivated five acres of land on a section he had purchased at Tea Tree Gully. It seems likely that Henry Whiting was a St. Austell man, for he could tell good clay when he saw it. Having discovered substantial deposits on his own property, he began mining it, and by the 1880s his clay was much in demand from Adelaide potters. George Hannaford also commenced extractive operations opening a stone quarry on his farm at Tea Tree Gully, and other arrivals in the district in the 1860s included Henry and Emily Allen from Hea Moor, near Penzance. A later arrival was Dr. William Thomas Angove, who was born at Mount Pleasant, Truro, in 1854, the son of a mining Captain. He studied to become a medical doctor in London, graduating in 1875, and in 1880 married Emma Carlyon of Cornwall. The couple emigrated to South Australia, where Angove was employed to attend Adelaide's destitute and poor. But he also leased five
acres of land from a Tea Tree Gully vigneron, and entered the grape-growing business. He was responsible for the naming of St. Agnes, a village near Tea Tree Gully, and by 1903 had 100 acres in production in the district. His son, Thomas Carlyon Angove, pioneered grape-growing in the Renmark irrigation settlement, along the Murray River, and it seems likely that Angove's famous "Tregrehan Claret" was named in honour of the Carlyon family of Tregrehan, near St. Austell.  

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At Glen Osmond, to the south of the city, the Cornish element of the population included not only miners, but also a number of agriculturalists - William Williams, John Henry Matthews, John Luke from St. Blazey, and John James Gray from St. Austell. The major Cornish concentration in the southern rural districts, however, was at Willunga and Aldinga. This was a district opened-up in 1838, and was consequently one of the first areas to be farmed in South Australia. With the abolition of the Corn Laws in Britain in 1846, and the later jump in demand occasioned by the Victorian Gold Rush, the Willunga region became pre-eminently a wheat growing district and remained the colony's principal cereal producer until eclipsed by the Mid-North and Far-North in the 1860s and 1870s. The first settler at Aldinga was John Pengilly, a Cornishman, while Abraham Pethick was the first to build a house there. He arrived in South Australia in 1839 on the "Cleveland", selecting land at Aldinga and naming his property "Bowithick" after his old farm on Bodmin Moor, in the parish of Altarnun. He was one of the first to export wheat from South Australia, his sons Henry and Abraham also becoming farmers in the district. Other early Cornish settlers included George Sara from Perran-
well, John Orchard from Wendron, James Binney, and James Sibley Jacobs who ran the Willunga general-store for many years. Honor Vellanoweth emigrated to South Australia from Cornwall with her parents sometime before December 1841. In that month she married Thomas Marshall, a Lincolnshire farmer who had selected land near Willunga. Honor wrote home in January 1842 to her friend, Elizabeth Rowe of St. Ives, explaining how she and her husband were building their house and that already they had had a bumper harvest. They also owned some cattle and intended to grow vegetables, while Honor's two brothers, Bennett and William, were working in the local quarries where "They have a good sale of slate".

Indeed, a great many Cornishmen found work in the Willunga slate quarries. In their hey-day the quarries employed as many as 100 workmen, and the existence of a "Cornwall Inn" in the township was evidence of a strong Cornish influence. Slate was actually discovered at Willunga in 1840, and by 1841 it was already an important export commodity. In 1845, three major quarries were being worked in the district, and, although there was a decline in the industry in the late 1840s, the 1850s and 1860s were periods of continuing prosperity, while the years 1875 to 1900 witnessed a veritable slate boom. Four main quarries were in operation at Willunga during the nineteenth-century - Martin's, Bastian's, Bangor, and Delabolé. Martin's Willunga Quarry was opened in the early 1850s by Thomas Williams and Thomas Polkinghorne, two Cornishmen, but was soon acquired by Thomas Martin. He was born in 1825 in Cornwall, where as a young lad he worked as a pickey-boy in the copper and tin mines. He arrived in South Australia in the 1840s while still a youth, intending to go to the Burra mine. But instead he heard of the Willunga discoveries and went to that district, later taking-
over Williams' and Polkinghorne's quarry. One of his first employees was Richard Best, from St. Dennis, while prior to 1855 he let out portions of the quarry on tribute to James Kernick, W.B. Male and William Cobble Dick, three "... experienced Cornish stone dressers...". Martin continued to work his quarry until his death in 1900, and his son carried on until operations were suspended in 1912.

Thomas Martin also went into partnership with another Cornishman, Sampson Bastian, to open a second quarry. In time, Bastian became sole owner of the quarry, which for more than 40 years afforded employment for a dozen local residents. Messrs. Kernick, Male and Cobble Dick also set up their own quarry in 1856, when the section they had contracted from Thomas Martin collapsed, and it is interesting to reflect that James Kernick came originally from Trevena - in the heart of North Cornwall's own slate country. They named their quarry "Bangor", after the celebrated slate-producing district of North Wales, and remained in the business until 1884 when they sold out to George Sara, who in turn sold the quarry to a certain Harry Richards. "Delabole" quarry was opened in the early 1840s by Sampson Dawe, who named the venture after the great Delabole Quarry in North Cornwall. In 1855, John Allen, another Cornishman, purchased the quarry and, although he sold out briefly from 1860 to 1872, he then re-acquired it, providing slate for important buildings, such as the Adelaide General Post Office, Adelaide Town Hall, and the Museum, until the quarry closed finally in 1903. Adjacent to the quarry there was, in the 1850s, a Delabole Quarry Village, (a settlement large enough to have its own Wesleyan Chapel) where many of the Cornishmen lived. They included Henry Waters, Simon L. Sibly, and William Herring from Tintagel.
Sellick’s Hill, near Willunga, was named after an early Cornish settler (William Sellick), and at Yankalilla - some ten or so miles further South - there was also a cluster of Cousin Jacks. Alexander Sampson was one of the first colonists in the district. He called his farm "Carn Brea", after the hill and village of that name in West Cornwall, and his daughter Jessie married Charles Sanders, from St. Neot, who arrived in the colony in 1878. James Holman, from South Petherwin, came to South Australia in 1839 and took up farming at Yankalilla.

The Tonkin family - Enoch, Prudence, James, John, and John Charles - from the Penzance and Paul area arrived in the colony between 1840 and 1849 and all settled at Yankalilla, while Thomas Trenomon moved to the district in 1849. John Cornish, from Helston, a former employee of the Wheal Ellen company, arrived at neighbouring Normanville in 1868. He ran a store and Post Office at the Talisker mine until the latter closed in 1872, and in 1880 he opened up a general store opposite the Yankalilla Hotel. From 1871 until 1894 he also owned the Gorge Mill at Normanville, and circa 1884 he bought the "Cowrie" - a coasting ketch which plied between Adelaide, Kangaroo Island, and Normanville until it was wrecked in 1889.

Some twenty miles east of Yankalilla, on the mouth of Lake Alexandrina and the Murray, lay Hindmarsh Island. Here John Tremain arrived in 1852 with his wife Jane. They farmed on the Island until 1882 when they moved to Mundulla in the south-east of the colony, near the Victorian border. Their son, William James "Nugget" Tremain became a sheep shearer of some repute in both South Australia and Victoria. In other districts of the south-east there was also a sprinkling of Cornish settlers. Richard Jewell worked a farm of 510 acres at Nara-coorte, and Charles Colwill, a former Burra miner, owned 700
acres in the same area. Albert Henry Nicholls, born at Cunnislake in 1863, arrived in the colony in 1887 and worked in Adelaide for some years before opening stores at Bordertown and Naracoorte. John Benton was a farmer at Millicent from before 1875, and Samuel Skewes, from Cury, purchased a 580 acre farm in the district, calling it "Nantithet" after his birthplace in Cornwall. At Mount Gambier, Robert Peters, a former Callington miner, owned a farm of 400 acres, while Robert Roberts and his son William farmed at Mosquito Plains, Penola, and Mt. Gambier itself. William Henry Renfrey, born in Cornwall in 1836, had established himself as a contractor in Mount Gambier by 1860, and Thomas Burrow, from St. Columb, was for many years the township's only cooper.50

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As noted in Chapter 4, many early Cornish colonists settled in the area known as the Gawler Plains, this being - like Willunga and Aldinga - one of the first districts outside of Adelaide to be cultivated. John Magor arrived from Cornwall in the early 1840s with his wife Elizabeth, and settled on the Plains near Salisbury, calling his property "Carclew". William Andrews arrived with his parents in 1848, his father acquiring 400 acres near Smithfield, which William later inherited. The Goodman family of Salisbury came to South Australia in 1848 from Ponsanooth. Nicholas set up his blacksmith shop in the township, but after 1852 he and his son commenced farming in the district.51 Another Salisbury family was the Pedlers, from Twelveheads in the parish of Kea. They arrived in the colony in 1838 on the "Royal Admiral", William Pedler working as a cobbler until April 1850 when he purchased his 135 acre farm, "Trevalsa". His son Nicholas helped out on the property until
he purchased his own land on Yorke Peninsula in 1872, and the other two sons—William and Darius—inherited "Trevalsa" on their father's death.\textsuperscript{52} William Rowe took up land at Port Gawler in 1850, his son John assisting with the farm until 1867 when he bought 440 acres of adjoining country. William died in 1876, his son John selling both properties in 1880 when he commenced a contracting and carrying business in Two Wells.\textsuperscript{53}

The big influx of Cornishmen onto the Gawler Plains area occurred in the 1850s, a number of those purchasing land during the decade being miners and others who had done well at the Victorian diggings. William Worden, born in Cornwall in 1826, had been a miner at Burra Burra for three years before joining the Rush at the end of 1851. He spent 15 months on the goldfields, then returning to South Australia where he married a Miss Treloor(sic) of Kapunda and selected 550 acres of land at Angle Vale. The experience of John Harvey was almost identical. He too had worked as a miner before going to Victoria in 1852, and by 1858 he was farming 185 acres near Roseworthy, just north of Gawler township.\textsuperscript{54} Others arrived in the district direct from Cornwall during the 1850s—Ezekial Johns from Redruth, James Mitchell from Altarnun, Henry Secomb from Helston, Reuben Magor from Gwennap, Richard Nottle from Lostwithiel, and Thomas Bartlett (who in Cornwall had worked as a rivetter during the construction of the Royal Albert Bridge at Saltash).\textsuperscript{55} Later arrivals on the Plains included Josiah Ogders from Perran Wharf and James Bray from Penzance. Of particular interest were William Henry Gartrell and his son Edwin, from Roseworthy near Camborne. They arrived in the colony in 1847 on the "Trafalgar", in April 1855 selecting land in the Hundred of Mudla Wirra, on the Plains north of Gawler. William named his farm "Roseworthy" and worked the property until his death in
1864. Edwin seems then to have sold the farm, for not long after he moved to Gawler Town.\textsuperscript{56}

The fact that Gawler once sported a vigorous branch of the Cornish Association of South Australia reveals the level of the Cornish influence in the early days of the township. In particular, Gawler Town was always closely connected with the Martin family, from Stithians in West Cornwall. James Martin, in his day hailed as "The Father of Gawler",\textsuperscript{57} was born near the old Stithians Foundry (which had been built by his grandfather) on 23rd April 1821. As a boy, he worked for a wheelwright in Truro, but was later apprenticed as an engineer at the Tresavean copper mine. At that time (circa 1841) the first ever man-engine in Cornwall was installed at Tresavean which, according to A.K. Hamilton Jenkin, was based on a prize-winning model made for the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society by Michael Loam, the distinguished engineer.\textsuperscript{58} J.J. Pascoe insists, however, that

The engineer of the mine (i.e. Loam) prepared a drawing, and Mr. Martin was instructed to construct a model from it for submission to the gentlemen who had to judge its merits. The contrivance was accepted, and ... Mr. Martin's model is treasured in the Polytechnic Hall in Falmouth.\textsuperscript{59}

Martin, therefore, was an engineer and craftsman of some ability. Nevertheless, he resigned his position at Tresavean and went to work in a mill at Ponsanooth. He suffered, however, from increasingly bad attacks of asthma and so in 1847 he sailed for South Australia, believing that the colony's climate would be better for his health. He worked first of all in Adelaide, but in June 1848 moved to Gawler where he had secured a shop. He began by building bullock drays, and Martin recalled that "For the first little while it was a terrible job to get along. Sometimes after paying my men only a portion of
their wages, I had not 4d left to take a letter out of the P.O.."

The expansion of the agricultural frontier, however, led to a growing demand for farming implements which Martin was able to meet by diversifying his production. He was one of the first to manufacture stump-jump ploughs, and was an early experimenter with double and multiple furrow ploughs. By the 1860s, Martin's Foundry had expanded greatly, and James Martin had the plant, expertise and labour to commence heavy mining engineering. At first he produced Cornish boilers, but by the 1870s was turning out pump, whim and stamps engines. He also tried, but this time unsuccessfully, to begin iron smelting, although the failure of the project in no way dampened his enthusiasm or damaged the Foundry's profitability. The rapid expansion of mining at Broken Hill in the 1880s and in Western Australia a decade later ensured that demand for his machinery would remain high, and in 1888 Martin commenced the construction of locomotives for the South Australian Railways. Martin himself became a prominent and respected local resident - Mayor of Gawler, Member of Parliament, and a leading figure in numerous local societies. At the time of his death in 1900, his works site covered 18 acres and the Foundry employed 700 hands, orders for machinery coming from as far away as South Africa.

A number of the craftsmen employed by James Martin were also Cornishmen. There was, for example, Henry Rowe who arrived in Gawler in 1862 and worked in the Foundry as a wheelwright for 10 years. And then there was the brilliant engineer, Frederick May, who was born in the parish of Perranzabuloe in 1840. He arrived in South Australia in 1858 and worked as a mechanic on the Burra Burra engines. With the discovery of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines, Frederick May moved to Yorke Peninsula where, at the age of 23, he was appointed
Chief Engineer at Moonta by Captain Hancock, a position he held for 11 years. In 1873 Frederick May and his younger brother Alfred went to Martin's Foundry at Gawler where Frederick became a partner in the company. And then in July 1885 the two May brothers opened their own Foundry in the township, the works expanding rapidly "... from strippers and seed growers to jigs and boilers and from jigs and boilers to smelting and crushing and pumping and winding plants...". The May Brothers also addressed themselves to Broken Hill's so-called "sulphide problem" - how to separate sulphide ores by mechanical means - when they demonstrated to Captain Richard Piper (formerly of Wallaroo Mines) at the Broken Hill South Mine that separation was possible. In later years, Captain John Warren (formerly of Moonta) claimed the credit for overcoming the problem at the Block 10 mine, but the machinery he employed was that manufactured in Gawler by the May Brothers. Their Foundry also produced much of the plant for the Broken Hill Proprietary Company's smelting works at Port Pirie. In December 1897 Frederick May died, but Alfred kept the business going, so that by 1901 the Foundry was producing the largest mining engines ever built in Australia.

The Success of Martin's and May's Foundries established Gawler as an important commercial centre, vying with North Yorke Peninsula, the Burra, and Port Pirie to be the colony's second principal settlement. Among those attracted to the township were a number of Cornishmen, including members of James Martin's own family from Stithians. His brother Felix arrived in 1850 but died soon afterwards, James then accepting the guardianship of Felix's son, John Felix Martin, who later became a partner in his uncle's business and was, according to Pascoe, "... one of the leading and most able businessmen of
South Australia.64 Another member of the family to settle in Gawler was John Martin, who arrived in February 1855 with his son, John Hearle, and established the "Concordia" farm just outside the township.65

One of the earliest settlers at Gawler was William Bassett, from Tredaule in the parish of Altarnun, who arrived in the colony in February 1840 on the "Java".66 In March 1845 he moved to Gawler where he had acquired Section 8 of the Gawler Special Survey, calling it Bassett Town.67 Another early arrival was Henry Mildren, from Helston, who set up a carpenter's business in the township in 1847; and in 1852, John Harris - also from Cornwall - acquired the "Gawler Stores" which he developed into a large concern, selling both general merchandise and agricultural machinery. Miss Penaluna arrived from Carharrack in 1854, not long after marrying a Somerset man called Philip Cheek, and in 1852 John Allen opened his smithy in Gawler.68 At one time, the township could boast no less than three Cornish cobblers. Thomas Oliver Jones, born in Hayle on 24th September 1830, arrived in the colony in 1849 on the "Samuel Boddington". By 1853 he was farming 120 acres on the Gawler Plains, but in 1854 shifted to Gawler itself where he opened his shoemaker's business. Evidently he was quite successful, in 1867 becoming Mayor Gawler, but by 1868 he had to contend with the competition of a second cobbler, Philip Guy from Liskeard, while in 1871 James Short from Truro opened his own bootmaker's shop in the town.69 Other Cornish tradesmen in Gawler included William Faulkner Wincey, a timber merchant from Falmouth, and Thomas U. Treleaven, from Boscarne who operated a carrying business in the district from 1879 until 1888. Charles Courtis, born in Cornwall in 1844, was for many years foreman of Gawler Corporation.70
Cornish immigrants, then, played a recognisable role in the development of both Adelaide and Gawler, along with their adjoining rural areas, the Cornish contribution often being distinctive, as in the case of the Willunga slate quarries or the Gawler engineering foundries. The same was true of the Adelaide Hills settlements, where Cornishmen were among the first colonists. By 1840 there were already 2,036 acres of land enclosed in the Mount Barker/Strathalbyn district, 646 of which were under cultivation. John Dunn visited the area at about that time, noting that "... there were only four persons settled where the town of Nairne now stands...", one of whom was Mr. Hilman, "... a Cornish carpenter." John Rundle, from St. Blazey, arrived in South Australia in 1840 with his wife and son James (born in 1831), and purchased land at Mount Barker. His neighbours included a Mr. Rendell from Linkinhorne, and William Tonkin and Joseph Bull, all of them Cornish, while in 1847 Edward Hender, a farmer from Cornwall, bought the "Clifton Park" property at Mount Barker Springs. In the same district were the Vennings, from Altarnun - George and his wife Grace, their sons Edward, John and William, and George's brother John. A few miles away, at Scott's Creek, there lived William Rowe Hill. He was born near Lands End in 1815, but worked at Ponsanooth prior to his departure for South Australia in 1837. Hill began farming at Scott's Creek, but also became involved in the timber trade, hiring teams of bullocks to haul logs from his property to buyers in Adelaide. Another farmer in the Scott's Creek area was Joseph Brown who arrived in the colony from Cornwall with his wife and son Thomas in 1840.

At Strathalbyn, two important early settlers were William Rowe and Richard C. Trenouth. Rowe was born in Truro in 1820.
and emigrated to Victoria during the Gold Rush days. In 1855, however, he journeyed to South Australia where he set up the Britannia Foundry in Strathalbyn - in those days by far the largest commercial establishment in the township. He worked as a wheelwright and agricultural machinery manufacturer, in 1878 selling the Foundry to a certain William Dick. Richard C. Trenouth was born at Holmbush, near St. Austell, in 1830, and arrived at Strathalbyn in 1857, where he became a prolific builder. He was responsible for the erection of the tower of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and built the local Institute Hall, the Church of England, the Institute at Mount Barker, and several other landmarks in the district.

To the north of Mt. Barker, at Woodside, there was Thomas Hutchens - born at Long Rock, Penzance, on 12th May 1826 - who had arrived in South Australia in 1848. He worked as a cobbler, but on his return from the Victorian diggings he began farming, an occupation he pursued for 34 years. He also established the Onkaparinga Cheese and Butter Factory, and was an auctioneer and land agent in the district. Further north still, at Kersbrook, there was John Bowden. He was born on 31st July 1798 at Kersbrook in the parish of Linkinhorne, in September 1821 marrying Agnes Turner of South Petherwin. Together they lived at Coads Green in the parish of North Hill until sailing for South Australia in September 1837 on the "Royal Admiral", John's younger brother Jacob, from nearby Fivelanes, also accompanying them. Once in Adelaide, Jacob opened a herbalist's shop in Gilles Street, while John found employment as manager of the South Australian Company's dairy on the River Torrens. In 1841, however, he purchased land near Chain of Ponds, in the Adelaide Hills, calling his farm "Kersbrook" after his birthplace. By 1844 he had 800 head of sheep, 62
cattle, one horse, 13 pigs, 16 acres of wheat, 8 acres of barley, together with plots of oats, maize, potatoes, and a fruit garden. In later years he also expanded his holdings by acquiring pastoral properties on Yorke Peninsula.77

James Hooper, born in Liskeard in 1837, was another Cornish settler at Kersbrook. He did not arrive in the district until 1880, however, as for many years he had worked as a miner at Wallaroo Mines. By working hard and saving still harder he had been able to fulfill his dreams - a property in the Hills - a dream which was apparently shared by other Cornish miners.78

Captain Hancock himself retired to his country retreat, "Ivy-meade", near Mount Lofty, and Captain Thomas Cowling had built a fine house at Norton Summit in anticipation of his retirement. Even Edward Henry Tregoning, a common tributer, had grand schemes. He was born at Halwin in the parish of Wendron in June 1853, and migrated to South Australia with his parents in 1872. He worked in the mines at Kapunda, Western Australia, Moonta, and New Zealand before finally purchasing his farm at Echunga, where he died in 1913.79

In the Barossa district, where Captain Richard Rodda had already ensured a lasting Cornish influence, there were also to be found Cornish settlers and artizans, although, surrounded by Germans, they must have felt much less a community than did their kinfolk at, say, Gawler or Willunga. Truro, at the northern extremity of the district, could not boast a particularly large Cornish element, despite the township's obviously Cornish name. While Wheal Barton was in production there were always miners in the area, but when the mine was abandoned its workers moved on elsewhere, leaving only a handful of Cousin Jacks in Truro. John Short, for example, was a blacksmith and
wheelwright in the township for more than a decade, having arrived from Cornwall in 1855, but even he moved on to Angaston, where his father had settled. At neighbouring Penrice there was also a Cornish element for as long as the Barossa Valley copper mines lasted, but, after the demise of Rodda and crew, it was the Davey family which represented the major Cornish influence at Penrice, Angaston, and Daveyston (their name-sake). Edwin Davey arrived in South Australia with his parents from Penzance in 1849, and for many years the family farmed their lands in the northern Barossa district. In 1864, Edwin purchased the flour mill at Penrice, which had been built some years earlier on the advice of Captain Rodda. By 1885 Davey had established quite a milling "empire", at the end of the century his various sons were running a number of mills in different parts of the colony - there was Maurice Davey at Penrice, G.A. Davey at Eudunda, C. Davey and A.E. Davey at Adelaide, and Benjamin Davey at Salisbury.

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It was in the Lower and Mid-North of South Australia, the "Central Hill Country" as Michael Williams called it, that the link between mining and land settlement - and the Cornish role in both - was most especially noticable. The emergence of populous townships to serve the Kapunda and Burra mines (there were 5,000 people at the Burra in 1850, then the largest concentration of people in inland Australia) led inevitably to the development of all kinds of service industries in the district - general stores, bakers, butchers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, builders, and so on. At the same time, the surrounding rural areas, hitherto considered inhospitable out-back regions unworthy of close settlement, became the valuable hinterland of
important economic centres (the mining towns). The mines also had a direct bearing on agricultural development, for settlers clearing their newly acquired land were able to raise much-needed cash by selling waste timber to mining companies as fuel for the engines, while any surplus hay would also be snapped-up as feed for the whim.horses.82 Moreover, the miners themselves found the prospect of farming in the district attractive (many had been small holders in Cornwall), and when they had saved enough money - usually through good fortune on the goldfields or as a result of a series of particularly successful tribute contracts - they purchased land in the area. The fact that the country surrounding both Kapunda and Burra had neither the dense stringy-bark forest nor the thick, impenetrable scrub found in other parts of the colony, but consisted instead of lightly wooded savannah, made the region all the more attractive to prospective farmers.

Settlement in the wake of the Kapunda and Burra discoveries, then, took three forms - the tradesmen who arrived to establish the necessary service industries, the agriculturalists whose attentions were now focussed on the district, and the miners-turned-farmers who later acquired land in the area. Cornish immigrants, not surprisingly, were to be found in all three categories. At Kapunda many of the first artizans to "set-up-shop" were Cornishmen, recognising no doubt that the high wages paid by the mine company would mean a high level of demand for their goods and services. William Waters, for example, arrived from Redruth in 1840 at the age of 21, and by 1845 had opened his general-store in the main street at Kapunda, living and working in the township for 25 years.83 James Harris, who also arrived from Cornwall in 1840, ran a grocer's and draper's business in Kapunda and James H. Pascoe
found employment in various capacities in the township before selecting 536 acres of land at nearby Rose Hill. Alexander Thomas West worked in a wheat store in Kapunda, later becoming manager of Davey's mill at Eudunda; and the Royal South Australian Almanack and General Directory for 1855 reveals that, just over a decade after the opening of the mine, Kapunda's commercial population included many Cousin Jacks - Philip Trenery, ostler; Edward Batten, shoemaker; John P. Moyle, horsebreaker; Nathaniel Hawke, butcher; William Pearce, innkeeper; Waters & Trevaskis, storekeepers; John Rowe, cattledealer; John Warn, carpenter; and so on.

Of especial interest was Henry Binney Hawke, who arrived in South Australia in 1857 at the age of 31. According to one biographer, Hawke had had a peculiarly eventful childhood, for he was

... orphaned at an early age. Whilst his younger sister was taken into the care of his mother's well-to-do relatives, young Hawke was adopted by Cornish smugglers who, in effect, became his uncles in thought and action ... the impressionable Hawke must have entered the game (smuggling) with all his youthful zest, revelling in the escapades of his guardians, savouring the heady excitement of the chase and eluding his would-be captors.

Be that as it may, Hawke soon left his native Cornwall to go to London, where he earned 9d. a week working in an engineering foundry. By 1857 he was in North Adelaide, again working in a foundry, and two years later he moved to Kapunda where he set up his own foundry business. He became noted for his high-quality cast-iron "lace-work", which graced many a Kapunda verandah, and by 1866, through "... extensive improvements to the foundry...", he was able "... to cater for farmers, millers, mine proprietors and machinists...". He also specialised in weighbridges, and in 1875 introduced his novel seed-
He retired finally in 1883, selling his foundry to Rees Rees and William Thomas.

At the Burra, many of the early artizans were also Cornish, and by 1855 a fair number of the district's tradesmen were, from their surnames, obviously Cousin Jacks. William Bray was publican of the "Ancient Briton" at Kooringa, while John Magor ran the "White Hart Inn", and Henry Nankervis was at the "Cross Roads Hotel". William Oliver was a local stonemason, J. Pearce was a Sawyer, William Trembath a cobbler, Charles Rule a wheelwright, Robert Roach a baker, and so on. In later years, the Burra retained its ability to attract Cornish artizans. Isaac Turner had arrived in the colony in the 1850s and worked at both Bowden and Kapunda before going to Kooringa to set up a brickmaking works, and his namesake, John Turner, came out from Cornwall in 1872 to work in a grocer's shop at the Burra. Also in 1872, George Sara, junior (born at Perranwell in 1839) arrived at Kooringa from Willunga, establishing a building business in partnership with John Dunstan. Six years later, Ernest William Crewes, a shopkeeper from Truro, found work in the district at Samuel Drew's "Cornwall House", the general-store in Kooringa, in 1889 becoming a joint partner in the firm. He was also Mayor of the Burra from 1900 to 1902. At Auburn, another of the Mid-North townships, Simon Wills from Helston opened a draper's shop in the early 1880s, while the Jackett brothers, John and William, from Wadebridge, owned a flour-mill in the district. At nearby Riverton, Richard Burrows from St. Austell set up a blacksmithing business in 1897.

The Victorian Gold Rush proved an important stimulus to wheat-growers in the Lower and Mid-North, thus benefitting Cornish farmers who had already selected land in the area.
or were just arriving from Cornwall. Robert Wait gave up his employment as a Burra teamster to purchase land at Pinkerton Plains, and William Escott, from Rosehill in West Cornwall, another teamster, selected 1087 acres near the Burra. John Fradd, also a Cornishman, bought 900 acres in the same area, while Thomas Bray from Hayle selected land at White Hut, near Clare. At Riverton, Richard Mitchell from Altarnun and his two sons, Richard and John, cultivated their "Trenouth Farm", while in the same district William Harris farmed his 200-acre "North Hill" property (apparently named after the parish of North Hill in Cornwall). Samuel Jenkins, also from Cornwall, owned the "Trewinna" farm which comprised some 230 acres near Riverton township.

The "miner-turned-farmer" phenomenon had manifested itself in quite early days. Henry Treloar, for example, arrived in South Australia in 1846 at the age of 21, working first of all in one of the Mount Barker mines, and then moving on to the Burra. During the 1848 strike (see Chapter 8), he left the mine - perhaps he was one of the ring-leaders expelled by the South Australian Mining Association - and returned to Mount Barker to commence farming there. Most of the miners-turned-farmers, nevertheless, did not commence their agricultural activities until the 1850s, when the all-important Victorian Rush had both increased demand for wheat and provided many diggers with the means to purchase land. Moreover, the great majority of the miners-turned-farmers from Kapunda and Burra decided, unlike Henry Treloar, to settle in the districts surrounding the two townships. John Curnow, for example, was a Kapunda miner before going to the Victorian diggings. After some successful gold-seeking, he returned to the Kapunda area where he and his sons purchased a plot of virgin bush land.
Unable to afford expensive ploughing machinery, they set to with spades, digging four acres which later yielded them 160 bushels of wheat, worth £1 per bushel. William Trevena, from Redruth, had little luck on the goldfields, but nevertheless acquired 300 acres on his return to Kapunda. James Prior, after only 12 months in Victoria, had enough money to begin farming on 617 acres at Allendale, near Kapunda, while John Robins and his son William were able to purchase a farm, a shop, and a flour-mill to boot. Thomas Williams, from St. Austell, was engineer at the Kapunda mine until taking land at Baldina. Thomas Badge was a Kapunda miner and blacksmith before farming at Ross Creek, and John Dunstone worked in the mine until he purchased his "Trevenson" property at Clare.

At the Burra, the story was much the same. James Sampson, from Goldsithney, was one of the first miners to farm in the district, and Henry Pinch, from St. Mabyn, arrived back from Victoria wealthy enough to buy his 784 acre "Pencarrow" farm. William Pryor, born in St. Austell in 1830, later bought land at Baldina, near the Burra, and Captain Isaac Killicoat became an important landowner in the district. Alex Harris, from Kenwyn, was a miner-turned-artizan, a variation on the theme, having worked in the mines before becoming a local storekeeper, but most of his colleagues aspired to be farmers rather than tradesmen. At Spring Farm, near Clare, there developed a veritable Cornish community (see Chapter 7), most of its members being former Burra miners and their families - Captain William Mitchell, Edward Gray from Gwennap, William Blight from Pool, Thomas Ninnes from Towednack, and various others. Thomas Ninnes, who had arrived in South Australia in 1849 at the age of 35, was also responsible for the opening of the important Burra-Kadina track in June 1862, when he and his
colleagues from Clare blazed the trail through the Barunga Gap in the Hummocks range of hills, thus linking the two important mining centres. At Penwortham, to the south-east of Clare, Joseph Sleep purchased land after his return from the Rush, while at Mintaro William Sandow, from Chacewater, farmed his "Trelawney" property. One of the first agriculturalists at Auburn was Christopher Matthews, a Burra miner, while at Hallett, to the north of the Burra, William Henry Richards owned a farm which ultimately covered 1,500 acres. In the same district was John Dunstan, born in Stithians in 1826, who had acquired 1,200 acres some years after his return from the diggings.

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The development of Yorke Peninsula was a process in many ways similar to the opening-up of the Lower and Mid-North, with Cornish immigrants again playing an important role. The emergence of Moonta, Wallaroo and Kadina as large population centres led to the establishment of all kinds of service industries, as at Burra and Kapunda, and the Peninsula was opened-up for agricultural purposes first of all by farmers whose attentions were now focussed on the region, and soon after by miners-turned-farmers from "Little Cornwall" itself. The needs of the mines and mining communities were a stimulus to agricultural development on the Peninsula, but further impetus was provided by the Strangway's Act of 1868. Under the terms of the Act, land could for the first time be bought on credit over four years, with an interest rate of five per cent per annum, purchasers being required to settle on the land and to improve it to the value of 12s 6d per acre. This discouraged the practice of "absentee landlordism", ensured that land opened-up for cultivation would indeed be improved, and gave the
"small man" of limited means the ability to acquire farming property. The latter point was not lost on the Peninsula miners, many of whom — like their compatriots at Kapunda and Burra — wished to change from mining to farming, to be their own "boss", although "winning the land" was far more difficult on Yorke Peninsula than in the Central Hill Country because the land was covered in dense mallee scrub and almost devoid of natural water deposits. As Charles Wesley Bowden recalled, "My father and other from Cornwall, had to do the job properly, or not at all. But I don't think they had any Black Mallee roots to contend with in the Old Country."105.

Partly because of the inhospitality of the region, farming did not immediately follow the establishment of the mining towns on the north of the Peninsula, and thus the first major non-mining Cornish influence in the district was that of the various artizans and tradesmen in the "Little Cornwall" townships. Joseph Williams, for instance, was one of the first settlers in Moonta. He was born at Wendron in 1837 and arrived in the colony in 1848, moving to Moonta in 1861 to establish a butcher's business as soon as the mines were discovered. He lived in the township until his death in 1911. William Chappell, from Illogan, was another early arrival, setting-up his cobbler's shop in George Street, Moonta, in 1864.106 There was also James Trezona, a local storekeeper,107 and John Phillips who worked in Moonta as a mason and a hairdresser, "... the two trades of which he was master."108 Richard Lawry from St. Ives ran a general-store, Edward Pollard from Newlyn built the lime-kiln at East Moonta, and William Abraham managed the "Miners' Arms Hotel". Ephraim Major, born in St. Ives in 1842, was a coach-builder, wheelwright and blacksmith in Moonta for many years, while James Jewell, born at Troon in October 1840, was
a local plumber and iron merchant. John Tippett Harris from Truro owned a bakery in the township, and in 1870 James Tiddy from St. Mawes opened his draper's shop in Moonta. Sampson James, from St. Ives, was another of Moonta's Cornish cobblers, while William Cowling - born at Calstock in 1852, a son of the celebrated Captain Thomas Cowling - became a leading builder and Mayor of Moonta. John Beaglehole, a mason from Helston, erected engine-houses for the Moonta Mines company, while James Dennis - also from Helston - was a local insurance agent, and Michael Whitburn from Praze was the Moonta agent for the "Farmers' Co-operative Union". John Symons was born at Wheal Busy, near Chacewater, and arrived in South Australia in 1857. He settled in Moonta while still a youth, in later years becoming an auctioneer and Mayor from 1890 to 1891.

Moonta's Cornishmen, then, were by no means all miners, and the same was also true at Kadina and at the smelting port of Wallaroo. The *Adelaide Almanack Town and Country Directory* for 1865 showed that even at that early date Cornish artizans were well-entrenched in Wallaroo: Henry Bawden and George Brock were both carpenters, William Madden was a mason, William Bray and Erasmus Paull were carters, John Oates was a teamster, and Mark Hocking, William Jewell and William Trelease were all employed in the Wallaroo Smelting Works. William Phillips, from Gwennap, also worked in the smelters for some time, in the 1870s being Mayor of Wallaroo, and of particular significance was William Henry May, from Perranzabuloe, who established the celebrated May's Foundry. He was a brother of Frederick and Albert May, who set-up the similar foundry at Gawler, and had also worked as an engineer at the Burra before moving on to North York Peninsula. In 1875 William Henry May went into partnership with another Cornishman, Stephen Tonkin, to open
a foundry at Wallaroo. Tonkin left the firm in 1881, leaving May as sole proprietor of the company which gave South Australian farmers such inventions as the "Little Marvel" harvester and the Twin Skim Plough. 13

At Kadina, there were any number of Cornish tradesmen - John Liddicoat, carter; James Martin, butcher; Samuel Mutton, carter; R.V. Rodda, photographer; Anthony Sando, bootmaker; and so on. 14 James Martin, the butcher, was born at Plain Cross in the parish of Perranarworthal in 1833, and emigrated to South Australia in 1853 on the "Thetis". He lived at the Burra for several years, in April 1861 moving to the newly-formed township of Kadina. There, on 12th May, he established his butcher's shop - the first bona fide business in the town - and in later years became one of Kadina's leading citizens. Another well-known Kadina identity was Henry Nankervis, who built and ran the "Kadina Hotel" from 1861 until 1873. 15 And then there was also Daniel Dunn, born in St. Austell in 1844, who in Cornwall had worked as a miner and a police constable. In 1865 he arrived in South Australia, working first of all as a tributer in the Wallaroo Mines where he was lucky enough to earn an average of £5 per week for nine years. After the 1874 strike he abandoned mining, then working as a teamster for some time, and later taking over the "Wombat Hotel" in Kadina, which he ran for many years. The Rosewarne family, originally from Phillack, were important foundry owners in Kadina. 16

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As already noted, the agricultural development of Yorke Peninsula did not commence until quite some time after the establishment of the mining towns. However, even from quite
early days parts of the Peninsula had been leased as pastoral properties, which involved no land improvement but allowed the lessees to graze their sheep and other stock in the scrub. Walter Watson Hughes, the Scotsman on whose property the Wallaroo Mines were discovered, was one such pastoralist. Another was John Bowden, the Cornishman from Kersbrook, who acquired a sheep run on the Peninsula as early as 1847, in 1851 taking out a 14 year lease on 107 square miles in the region of what was later to be Yorketown and Edithburgh. Although described by a modern local historian as "... a very industrious Cornishman..." 117, Bowden's reputation at the time was hardly a savoury one. In 1848 Inspector Tolmer, from Adelaide, was in pursuit of escaped Tasmanian convicts on Yorke Peninsula. Their camp was discovered on Bowden's run, but when Tolmer asked him to lead him to the spot so that the arrests could be made, Bowden "... demurred, making several paltry excuses..." 118. According to Tolmer's account of the story, the cowardly Bowden was persuaded to afford his assistance only after Tolmer had been "... compelled to impress him in the Queen's name..." 119. In 1853 John Bowden was again the subject of Adelaide gossip, when he was sued successfully for £960 damages in the Supreme Court over a breach of agreement concerning the sale of 4,000 sheep. At the same time, his sons left for the Victorian goldfields, and Bowden, by now thoroughly disillusioned, abandoned the run to return to Kersbrook. It is easy to condemn Bowden for his foolishness, but in a way his experiences point to the difficulties, dangers, loneliness and subsequent insecurities with which early pastoralists in remote districts had to contend. Even the successful ones had little taste for the pastoral life - Dick Lander, for example, a Cornishman and nephew of the celebrated Lander of Nigeria, grazed 25,000 sheep on Yorke Peninsula from 1861 until 1866, and was then quite happy to return to "civilisation".
A number of early pastoralists did remain on their land as the Peninsula opened-up for farming purposes. One Cornishman, Stephen Goldsworthy, had arrived in the colony in 1846 and acquired land at Black Point, Yorke Peninsula, in 1855. His five sons later acquired properties in the area, one of them - William Higgs Goldsworthy - becoming perhaps the most important farmer at Curramulka, on Mid-Yorke Peninsula.\textsuperscript{120} By 1863, four years after the discovery of the Wallaroo Mines, the first Hundreds on North Yorke Peninsula were proclaimed. But it was not until May 1866, when 300 acres of wheat were sown at Greens Plains, near Kadina, that the district began cereal production. In July 1866 a survey of non-mining land was made in the districts of Wallaroo, Tipara, Kulpara, and Port Arthur, and, with the passing of Strangway's Act in 1868, the northern part of the Peninsula slowly became available to farmers. John Nankivell, who arrived in the colony from Cornwall circa 1848, was reputed to be one of the first to begin farming on the Peninsula.\textsuperscript{121} And perhaps the first of the district's miners-turned-farmers was John Phillips, born at Wendron on 7th September 1815, who purchased land at Greens Plains as soon as it became available.\textsuperscript{122} His example was soon followed by Joseph Rodda, another Cousin Jack,\textsuperscript{123} and by July 1870 the Observer could note that,

Green's Plains is gradually being occupied for agricultural purposes. There are thousands of acres of good arable land which are yet destined to blush with the fresh verdure of cereal crops. Farmers are struggling manfully to supplant mallee scrub with cornfields.\textsuperscript{124}

In 1872 Strangway's Act was improved and updated, and this combined with a series of excellent harvests in the early 1870s to increase the clamour for more land to be made available and for land laws to be even further liberalized.\textsuperscript{125} In May 1873 an editorial in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser called for greater agricultural expansion in the district.\textsuperscript{126} Twelve
months later a petition from Peninsula miners calling on the Government to open-up land in the Hundreds of Kadina, Kulpara, Wallaroo and Cameron was presented to Parliament. A number of the miners emphasised that they had had farming experience before migrating to South Australia, one exclaiming that "He had been a little bit of a farmer in ... Cornwall, which was the next paddock to England."127 Governments in the 1870s were responsive to such demands, and Boucaut's ministries were especially anxious to facilitate expansion of the agricultural frontier. By August 1875, Bawden's agricultural foundry at Kadina was busily producing implements for local farmers, and more and more land on the Peninsula was opened up for farming.128 In June 1876 the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* could note that "... land in the vicinity is being taken up ... and cultivation is transforming that which was but a desert and scrubby waste .." 129 A drought in the summer of 1876-77 drove some off the land and deterred others from purchasing property, but nevertheless it was noted with some satisfaction in January 1878 that one-third of the area of Yorke Peninsula was now used for farming and grazing, while the region's wheat output amounted to one million bushels, worth £250,000.130

A great many of Yorke Peninsula's early farmers were Cornishmen, and in the north of the district the Cousin Jacks were fairly clearly in the majority. Some - like James Bettess from Launceston, Joseph and Harriett Colliver from Baldhu, and Hannah Tonkin and her husband131 - had been solely agriculturalists in Cornwall, but many more of the Peninsula's pioneer farmers were former miners. John Thomas, from Penzance, had been a Burra miner but after a successful visit to the Victorian goldfields had begun farming in the Mid-North. He later leased a pastoral property in the Far-North but was beaten by
drought conditions, and moved instead to Wallaroo as a butcher and baker. Some years later, however, he purchased land near Bute, on the north of the Peninsula.\footnote{132} The careers of other miners-turned-farmers, though, were generally more straightforward. They worked in the Peninsula mines until they were able to afford a plot of land, and then they set-to, clearing the scrub and establishing farms.

In 1873 William Andrew, a miner from Breage, purchased 419 acres near Wallaroo Mines, while William Jenkin from Redruth selected land at Greens Plains, and James Trengove from Caradon farmed at Barunga and later Bute. John Liddicoat, another Cousin Jack, took 39 acres on North Yorke Peninsula in 1875, and in the following year Paul Roach junior, from Ludgvan, purchased 389 acres near Kadina with the £450 he had saved from several tribute "sturts" (strikes of rich ground).\footnote{133} Thomas Henry Rodda bought land in the same district at almost the same time, while in 1877 Richard Stephens (from Trevarren in the parish of St. Columb) took 340 acres at Kulpara - all of which was burnt out in a bushfire during the following year. John King, born in Cornwall in 1842, bought 424 acres at Wallaroo in 1877, and Thomas and Richard Chappell, from Polgooth, selected land at Alford in the Hundred of Tickera. Richard Borlace went into partnership with a Mr. Prowse to farm at Wallaroo, while David Edyvean acquired 1500 acres near Kadina in 1878.\footnote{134} And there were numerous other Cornish miners-turned-farmers who selected their land on the Peninsula in the great expansion of the 1870s: Richard Ford from Gwennap, John Thomas from St. Ives, James Quintrell from Porthleven, William Rowe Manuel from Lanner, Reuben Glanville Cock from Liskeard, Paul Barbary from St. Austell, Andrew Daddow, William Trethowan, Alfred Tresize, and many more.\footnote{135}
But despite their ardour and enthusiasm, the process of "winning the land" was difficult in the extreme. One contemporary account recalled how Benjamin Rose "With not a few others from Moonta Mines, a good many years ago ... tackled the mallee country for which Yorke Peninsula was famous..." a task which "... might have been described as penal servitude for life." Similarly, Charles Wesley Bowden remembered that,

In the year 1875, my parents selected Section 319 in Agery, Hundred of Tiparra, and proceeded to clear the block and erect a home. Until the first two rooms of wattle and daub (typical of miners' homes) were completed, they travelled from Moonta Mines on Hamley Hill daily by horse and cart - no mean feat.

And after the feverish expansion of the 1870s came the drought decade of 1881 to 1891 (the worst years were 1881, 1885, 1888, and 1891) and the economic downturn of the 1880s and 1890s. The introduction of superphosphate saved many a Peninsula farmer, but numerous others shared the fate of Harry Hooper's parents. Harry wrote that in the early 1880s,

When we went on the land towards Cunliffe ... Father had a single furrow plough and an old spring dray patched up with 'cocky' vine on the shafts, spokes etc. At that time wheat was one and sixpence a bushel and my parents took eggs to Moonta for which the stores allowed them twopence a dozen ... Father sold out for out for £1-2s-0d per acre; a few years later, after the introduction of super-phosphate, the same land was worth from £12 to £15 an acre.

A similar tale of woe was that of Elisha Mayne. He had arrived in the colony circa 1855 and, although he was sending money back to Cornwall to support both his mother and mother-in-law, he had managed to save the extremely large sum of £700 by 1875. He therefore purchased 200 acres of land on the Kadina-Moonta road, about mid-way between the two towns. Although it only cost him £1 per acre to buy, he had to employ casual labour to clear the dense scrub, the final cost of pur-
chase and clearance being nearer £4 per acre – or £800. Already in debt, he had yet to purchase machinery and supplies, and it was a wonder that he was able to struggle on as he did until January 1877 when, succumbing to drought and debt, he decided to abandon farming and sell his land.141 Throughout the 1880s other Cousin Jacks on the Peninsula were forced to make the same decision.142 In January 1882 it was said that Isaac Polkinghorne "... intends leaving the district..."143 (he was selling 440 acres of cleared land), while in October 1883 Richard Scoble was giving-up his 242 acres at Greens Plains, and in September 1884 W. Chenoweth was selling his farm to go to Victoria.144 Some decided to move on to New South Wales or New Zealand, others wanted to return to Cornwall, and still others – like William Ellis, from Penzance – had little alternative but to go back to mining.145 Smallholders especially were hard-hit, and many left the land – George Rule, B.G. Axford, William Veal, Paul Daniels, James Wearne, Ralph Williams, J.J. Langdon, and countless others.146 The only ones who benefitted from the trying times of the 1880s and 1890s were those who managed to last out, acquiring the properties of their less fortunate neighbours at low prices, thus achieving various economies of scale, and also gaining from later improvements in agricultural machinery and technology. Those who survived were lucky, for by the early 1900s Yorke Peninsula had become established as a prime wheat-growing district.

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Although mining was much less an influence, and the Cornish contribution less noticeable, the experience of the pioneer farmers of the Far-North wheat frontier was in many ways similar to that of their counterparts on Yorke Peninsula –
rapid expansion in the 1870s, and disaster for many a decade or so later. The township of Port Pirie was laid out in 1872 as a maritime outlet for the agricultural produce of the northerly areas, and by 1873 boasted a population of 160. William Henry Skewes, from Redruth, opened a chemist's shop in Port Pirie in 1877, and in the same year Thomas Bowden arrived from Porthleven. In Cornwall he had worked in his father's boat-building business, and so it was not surprising that he found employment at Port Pirie as a timberman, in 1883 opening his own boat-construction works. William Henry Moyle, born in Redruth in 1836, also arrived in Port Pirie in 1877. Before then he had worked as an engineer in North America, Victoria, and various parts of South Australia. At Port Pirie he was employed in a flour-mill, but by 1857 had purchased an aerated water factory - "Moyle's Lemonade" becoming a well-known product in South Australia. Richard and Harry Sampson, from Liskeard, were butchers and shipping agents at Port Pirie, and Thomas Major became a local hotelier and ultimately Mayor of the township.

In the wake of Port Pirie's development came the rush to farm the Far North. Strangway's Act and excellent harvests were again an impetus to expansion, and led to demands for country outside the bounds of "Goyder's Line of Rainfall" to be made available for agricultural purposes. "Goyder's Line" had been drawn in 1865 as "... the line of demarcation between that portion of the country where the rainfall has extended, and that where the drought prevails." At that time it was not intended necessarily as a boundary between land that could be farmed successfully and that which could not, but by 1872 it had achieved that function. The line itself began on the west coast of Yorke Peninsula, some way south of Moonta, and swept inland, by-passing the mining towns and sweeping north-
wards. It continued north, a considerable distance from the coast, until it reached Melrose when it looped southwards, then sweeping down the east side of the Mount Lofty Ranges (Burra lay just inside the line) before crossing the Murray and disappearing into the south-east. (see Appendix 6). Demands for more land to be made available led the Government in 1874 to allow settlement beyond "Goyder's Line", and the successful harvests of 1877 to 1879 seemed to confirm the wisdom of this move. 151

At Port Augusta James Bryant, a Cornishman, made his money as a contractor serving the rapidly expanding wheat frontier, 152 while other Cousin Jacks participated in the northerly thrust. Some came from the Yorke Peninsula mines, others from the Burra and Kapunda (where the closure of the mines coincided with the opening-up of the Far North), and even in the Mid-North agricultural areas "Many of the Cornishmen, with little hope of expansion on small farms around Penwortham, sold out and headed north". 153 In 1875 Ludgvan-born James Thomas became one of the first settlers in the Hundred of Narridy, to the south-east of Port Pirie. He, too, was a former Burra miner, but had worked in the extreme Far North since 1857 on the "Umberatana Station" he had founded. John Nunan, another Cornishman, moved from Gawler to take up land in the Hundreds adjoining Port Pirie, and in 1871 William Pengilly became one of the earliest farmers at Koolunga. 154 At nearby Laura, there were the Bryants from Hayle, and Joseph Sibley who moved up from Strathalbyn in 1872. Another Cousin Jack, Paul Martin, ran the general-store at Caltowie until 1886, and in 1871 Edward Dunstan from Wendron purchased 240 acres at Belalie. 155 He had mined at Kapunda, Yudnamutana, Blinman and in Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand, before deciding to become a farmer.
In later years Dunstan recalled what it was like to be a pioneer agriculturalist in the northern districts:

Having decided to take up land in Belalie, Mr. William Symons, my brother-in-law, and I rode up from Kapunda to look over the country. We travelled light with a blanket strapped to the saddle. The first night we camped at a spot near what is now Bundaleer North. We rode over the country (at Belalie) examining it carefully, camped a night at Mount Lock, then at Nanowie... We thought that the northern end of Belalie was the best land but had the serious disadvantage of not having water available. Finally we selected our land near the surveyed township of Jamestown for the convenience of obtaining water supply and education of our children. I took up section 89... and Mr. Symons selected a block just across the Caltowie road. 156

Dunstan continued,

Having become the owner of a piece of virgin unfenced land, our next problem was to get a piece ploughed up to be sown so that we would have seed for the next season. I managed to get six acres ploughed, put in a bag of wheat and reaped ten in return, which seemed very good. Then there was the fencing to be done. There was no timber nearer than Wirrabarra, 25 miles distant. Often I worked part of the day on the farm then put the horses in and went as far as the Rocky River that night, camped there, drove into the Forest next morning, loaded up with posts and out to the Rocky again that afternoon, rested and fed the horses and travelled during the night reaching home perhaps at daylight. 157

Such were the rigours of pioneering life in colonial South Australia, although life for the tradesmen in the townships was certainly less hard than that of the farmers. Jamestown, in the north, grew rapidly to meet the demands of the expanding rural areas. Francis Opie, born in Stithians in 1846, moved up to Jamestown from Adelaide in 1878 to establish a small foundry which, not surprisingly, specialised in the manufacture of agricultural implements. Thomas Trevena arrived from Kapunda with his wife, Amelia Menhennet, to open a store, while Helston-born Edward Wills travelled down from Port Augusta for the same purpose. 158 William Roberts, born in St. Austell in 1834, opened a greengrocer's shop in the township, while in 1879 Thomas Axford from Chacewater purchased the general-store in
the main street. William Treleaven, from Nanstallon, moved his carrying business from Adelaide to Jamestown to be able to tap the lucrative demand of the northern frontier, living and working in the town for more than 30 years. At Terowie, less than 20 miles to the north-east, Thomas Hosking and his wife Margaret (born in Penzance in 1821) opened the first shop, while James Roach - a former grass-Captain of the Burra Burra mine - left his farm at White Hut, Clare, to purchase a new property near Terowie township in 1875.159 And in the neighbouring Hundred of Yongala there were, as Gladys Ward has shown, a number of "... agriculturalists from the Burra ..."160 - local Cornish settlers including James Cook and his wife Ann Tresise, Richard Tyack Glasson, John Jennings, and Charles Thomas.161

The districts of Booleroo, Melrose, and Orroroo, could also boast sizeable Cornish contingents. John Sanders had arrived in South Australia in 1851 on the "Omega", working as a miner at both Burra and Moonta. He became one of the first settlers at Booleroo, taking up sections in the district in December 1875. Henry Bastian and his wife Ann Northey, from Truro, lived at Kapunda (where Henry was a miner) before selecting land at Booleroo. Their son Alfred, born in Cornwall in 1839, farmed an adjoining section, while in the same district were the farms of William Besanko Martin, Samuel Arthur, and William Polglase.162 There was also John Dunstan, another Kapunda miner, who owned 900 acres at Booleroo, and Henry Waters from Penzance, who had been at both Kapunda and Kadina before selecting section 118 in the Hundred of Booleroo in 1877. Nine years later William Nottle, from Probus, acquired section 21, in 1900 purchasing more land in the same district. At Melrose, the Jacka family which owned the local brewery was of Cornish origin.163 And at Orroroo the Cornish included James Teague,
who settled on section 66, and John Arthur, who had been a miner and farmer at Tungkillo before purchasing 640 acres in the district. There was also Richard Ellery, born at Tywardreath in January 1844, who had worked in the Burra, Blinman, Prince Alfred, and Sliding Rock mines in earlier days. Christopher Williams, who had 991 acres in the area, had once been a miner in the Wallaroo Mines, and Samuel Carter from St. Agnes was a shopkeeper at Kapunda and Jamestown before purchasing the general store at Orroroo. Thirty miles to the west, at Beautiful Valley (Wilmington), there was Thomas Henry Harris - a former Burra and Moonta miner - while Samuel Hill, from Kenwyn, was one of the first farmers to settle in the Wilmington district.

No doubt other Cornishmen participated in this northerly thrust, a number succumbing to the droughts and economic depression of the 1880s and 1890s. At first the movement beyond "Goyder's Line" had seemed successful, but the adverse conditions encountered after 1882 led to a retreat of the agricultural frontier, as luckless farmers abandoned their properties, and to a decline in the numbers of flocks and herds. Although many farmers held on, 600,000 acres in the Far North were surrendered and by 1896 South Australia wheat production figures had become "... tragically low...". In a sense the unbounded optimism of the northern pioneers in the 1870s is difficult to understand, for they had examples of what might happen in, for instance, the case of an outback pastoralist, James Dunstan, "... a native of Cornwall", who hanged himself in despair in 1862, and in the misfortune of Hillary Boucaut - from Saltash - whose pastoral career in the Far North had been ruined by the drought of 1864-66. The agony experienced by some settlers in the 1880s is conveyed in a letter written by Walter Treloar (the son of Francis Treloar, from
Penryn) to his brother Frank:

Well, the drought continues, and I am here on the station with a black boy, everybody has gone long ago. This I am sending by a passing black boy to Charlotte. Cattle and horses are dead everywhere in thousands. All outside waters are dry, and the few alive are dependent on the "Pool" which is nearly dry. I have about three weeks flour left and very little else. Never did I dream we should reach this. Arthur and I are ruined men, having lost everything. 169

But despite the failures of farming in the marginal lands, the achievement of South Australian colonial expansion was an impressive one. It was an achievement to which the Cornish contributed - indirectly through their influence in the mining industry, and directly through their participation as agriculturalists and artizans. And as the rural interest grew in economic power, so it developed political power and a political voice. The relationship between Adelaide and country has been traced elsewhere, but it is interesting to note here that one of the most significant personalities in the economic and political organisation of the farming community was William Jasper Venning, from Camelford. 170 At the end of 1881 he began to mobilise the farmers by founding the "Farmers' Co-Operative Association" which was first of all designed to safeguard the economic welfare of the rural community, but which by 1883 was becoming involved in political agitation. 171 Venning himself was also responsible with others for the formation of the "Farmers' and Producers' Political Union", a conservative body which emerged in the early twentieth-century as an opposing force to the mainstream Cornish influence in the United Labor Party (see Chapter 10).

It is difficult to quantify the proportion of Cornishmen in the non-mining population of South Australia at the end of the colonial era, but a survey of surnames in the South Aus-
The Australian Directory for 1900 puts the Cornish proportion of the entire population at 9.9 per cent - or approximately 35,000 people. This is admittedly not a reliable figure, for the Directories cannot be taken as random samples, while the method of estimation is to some extent arbitrary - in any district or township (as defined by the Directory) where the number of Exclusively Cornish names was less than 25 per cent of the total 33.33 per cent of the bearers of Typically Cornish names were deemed to be Cornish, and in areas where Exclusively Cornish names were 25 per cent or more of the total 50 per cent of the bearers of Typically Cornish names were taken to be Cornish. But despite these shortcomings, the figure of 35,000 corresponds fairly closely with the 28,000 estimated from the Shipping Passenger Lists (see Chapter 2). Taking a compromise figure of 30,000, and remembering that the population of the Yorke Peninsula mining towns in 1901 was 12,302 (of which, say, as many as 75 per cent or approximately 9,000 people were perhaps of Cornish descent), the non-mining Cornish proportion of the population may have been as high as 20,000 people. And, as would be expected, the Cornish proportion of the rural population was highest in districts such as the Mid-North and Yorke Peninsula (well over 10 per cent) and at its lowest in the south-east. Thus although the majority of immigrants from Cornwall in the "Great Migration" of 1836-1886 were miners and their families, by the end of the century the majority of Cornishmen and their Australian-born descendents in the colony were involved in economic activities other than mining - a change which reflected both the demise of the mines outside Yorke Peninsula and the rapid expansion of the agricultural frontier.
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