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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When the first colonists arrived in South Australia, many wished to recreate in the new land a "Britain in the Antipodes". South Australia was, after all, not actually a colony but in fact a Province of Great Britain, and it was settled for the most part by English-speaking immigrants drawn from the United Kingdom - even to the point, at one stage, of attempting to maintain a balance between the peoples from the "Three Kingdoms" of England, Ireland, and Scotland in direct proportion to their relative populations at home. And despite the "liberal, dissenting" atmosphere of early South Australia, many envisaged the transplantation of the British social system - "the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate" - the major adjustment being a removal of barriers to opportunity, advancement, and social mobility for the industrious and ambitious. Emotionally, the early settlers were Britons first and Colonials second; and the cultural patterns and social activity they strived to create was inevitably modelled on their experience at home. The first buildings erected in Adelaide were mean and simple structures, but later impressive government and commercial buildings emerged - emulating the grandest British architecture, evidence of a civic pride comparable to that of London, Dublin, or Edinburgh. And to complete the "British scene", attempts were even made to introduce flora and fauna from the U.K. into South Australia.

But despite these influences, South Australia could never become a replica of the British Isles. To begin with, it was over 12,000 miles from the "mother country" and this distance itself ensured that the development of South Australia would be
along unique and individual lines. Moreover, the early colonists were not beginning with an entirely clean slate upon which to write their ideas. South Australia was already settled by an Aboriginal people, and the European immigrants were severely constrained by the geographic and climatic conditions they encountered. Heat, water shortages, and inverted seasons were un-British in the extreme (there was never a chance of a "White Christmas" in Adelaide), and the countryside could never look like that of Britain. The eucalyptus tree, in its infinite forms, dominated the landscape, and the wild-life was decidedly unusual - kangaroos, wombats, and goannas must have presented a strange spectacle to the newly-arrived immigrant unversed in the peculiarities of Antipodean fauna.

Against this background it was inevitable that, however hard the colonists might try to re-establish their old lifestyles in their new home, the unique South Australian conditions would have their own lasting effects upon the social and cultural life of the colony. This was true for the Cornish in South Australia no less than for any other group, and so it is important to examine their experiences in South Australia - particularly in the light of their background in Cornwall - and to observe how these experiences changed over time: how social relationships were created and maintained, the effect of "distance", the nature of geographic and social mobility, social conditions, the creation and development of cultural patterns. Of course, in studying the social and cultural environment created by the Cornish immigrants, it is always necessary to draw a distinction between those who settled in mining communities such as Burra Burra and North Yorke Peninsula - which were in many ways truly "Little Cornwalls" - and the individual Cornishmen who settled elsewhere. There were occasional concentrations of non-mining
Cornish immigrants, such as at Spring Farm near Clare, together with large Cornish contingents in both Adelaide and Gawler. But those communities which were unmistakably "Cornish" in their atmosphere and environment were always the ones associated with the South Australian mining districts. A.L. Rowse has alluded to this dichotomy, which also existed in the U.S.A., and argues that individual migrants,

... arriving in ones or twos as a family, or even as a group, were not numerous to impose themselves. They merged well, though often their specific names still identify them, and many of them remembered their origins, where they came from, kept a tincture of Cornishry.

These individual migrants, Rowse says, would

... merge more rapidly into the surrounding population, become absorbed - even if something remains in their temperament, in conscious or unconscious memory. It is only where a group is large enough that it can impose its ways and remain distinctive for a longer period, and that means the mining settlements.

As this chapter will show, what Rowse claims is essentially correct. However, some sociologists have asserted that the assimilation of individuals from one culture (in this case Cornish) into another (Anglo-Saxon/South Australian) is "... at least a three generation process...", so that the "tincture of Cornishry" retained by the non-mining settlers would linger for almost a century. And, moreover, in the South Australian experience, individual Cornish migrants (even those who did not go to the mining towns, and here the dichotomy argument breaks down) were bound together in the colony as a result of friendships made on the emigrant ships, through their religious life, and as a result of "extended family" relationships being re-created through the wholesale migration of persons from particular localities in Cornwall.
Even a cursory glance through the Shipping Passenger Lists reveals that rarely did Cornish immigrants arrive in South Australia "in ones and twos". Usually the Cornish arrived from Plymouth in large groups on certain emigrant ships, having been selected and despatched in batches, and it was only natural that during the long voyage to the colony relationships would spring up between the passengers, Cornish people feeling an affinity with others from Cornwall - especially if from the same districts. Often friendships and alliances (and occasionally enmities) were forged on board ship that would last a lifetime in South Australia. The commercial and personal partnership of Philip Santo and James Crabb Verco immediately comes to mind as a perfect example of this process. Both men came from East Cornwall - Santo from Saltash, and Verco from Callington - and they met on board the emigrant ship "John Brightman" in 1840. Once in South Australia, their friendship was cemented and perpetuated through business links, involvement in the Church of Christ, and their political alliance. In some cases, even, romances blossomed during the voyage to South Australia, and many Cornish couples who had first met at sea were married upon their arrival in the colony. Henry Pinch, a blacksmith from St. Mabyn, came out to South Australia in 1848 at the age of 20 on the "Duke of Bedford", where he met Frances Hicks, a Mevagissey girl some six years his senior - "... they showed a strong inclination for each other, and eventually Mr. Pinch popped the question, and his offer was accepted." Similarly, John Jenkin, born in the parish of Perranzabuloe in January 1832, met his future wife (from Redruth) on the steamship "Omega" in 1851.

It has been shown elsewhere that "... religious institutions were the greatest source of help and companionship..." for
newly arrived settlers in the colony, and this was especially so for the many Cornishmen for whom the Methodist church was the central feature of their lives. It was significant that when Daniel John Adcock (who had arrived in Adelaide from Cornwall in June 1850 on the "Fatima") wrote home, one of his main talking points was religion, his comment being that "... Chapel is always crowded". In the same way, when Samuel Bray arrived from Falmouth in 1839, he lost no time in seeking out other Cornish Methodists and joining in their chapel activities. In April 1839 he wrote home to his father, enthusiastically describing chapel life in Adelaide and comparing it with that in Cornwall:

We have met many who love God and his people also. We have a chapel as large as Budock Chapel, and about one hundred in the society. They held their quarterly meeting on the 27th March; we were invited to take tea with them; we went, and enjoyed ourselves very much. We have a travelling preacher here, and a good society. We have a little chapel now, but we have as large a chapel as that at Penryn nearly finished. May God make it the birth-place of thousands of souls; amen and amen."  

The Cornish in Adelaide, then, tended to "stick together" because they had come to know each other well at sea, or because they were Methodists, but also simply because they were Cornish. Individual migrants arrived in the colony, wrote home describing it in favourable terms, and soon they were joined by all sorts of friends and relatives. Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, grandparents, cousins, fiancés, best-friends, next-door-neighbours, all came out on the advice of those who wrote home - and this was especially so for the Cornish, living as they did in small, close-knit and often isolated settlements in Cornwall. Once in South Australia, the most important social relationships for these migrants were with their friends and relatives from Cornwall. Even when they moved out of Adelaide, to settlements in the Hills or on Gawler
Plains or even further afield, these relationships remained significant and some colonists were prepared to travel many miles through the bush on visits to maintain contacts with their Cornish friends. The importance of those friendships is evident in the comments in letters written home to Cornwall.

Marmaduke Laurimer arrived from Falmouth in 1838, and in the August he wrote to his mother, telling her not only of his own experiences, but also of those of his friends who had accompanied him from Cornwall:

Alice Champion is married, a very good match she has got, her husband was in the Van Dieman's Land Company's Service ... The Montgomerys are doing well, Robert will be a father before you receive this letter ... I have seen Mallett, Robins, and Organ, the latter lost his child at sea - they are all doing well. If Mrs. Mallett could see her younger son, she would kiss him to death. He has grown such a nice little fellow. 12

Charles and Mary Dunn, from Piper's Pool in the Parish of Trewen, set up a blacksmith business in Currie Street, Adelaide, during 1839. Although they must have had any number of commercial relationships within the city, they chose their close friends from people they had known at home - there was Grace Sloggatt, and Mr. Dinham and Mr. Harvey (both from Camelford) who together ran a drapery and grocery shop in the city.13 In 1846, William Rendell of Linkinhorne in East Cornwall received a letter from his father who had emigrated to South Australia a short time before. Amongst the news it contained were details of his father's Cornish friends who had taken land alongside his at Mount Barker,

William Tonkin has a farm to himself of 40 acres, and six good working oxen. Joseph Bull has a section of 80 acres and six working bullocks ... William Tonkin has had this year about 400 bushels of wheat, and will have more next year. 14
Other Cornish friends of William Tonkin of Mount Barker included Peter and Sarah Medler (sic., Medlend), originally from Biscovey near St. Blazey, but who by January 1848 were living near Adelaide where Peter was a miner. Peter wrote to his brother in Cornwall:

Mr. Tonkin's son William, we hear is doing well, he has got forty acres of cultivated land in the district of Mount Barker, about 30 miles from the city, he lives near the old John Rundle, and has got 3 children and we believe are quite well. 15

Another Cornish miner, Thomas Davey, lived at the Burra but had friends and relatives throughout the colony. In a letter to "Elizabeth" (his fiance), he explained that

I am living and working with my brother-in-law, Loamme(sic) Williams, and I like the colony very much. My father and mother, Elizabeth, and Mary, and John, are living in Adelaide; my brother William and William Chapel is working at the Mount Barker copper mines, and they are doing very well: Elizabeth and Mary is dressmaking, for it is a very good trade in this colony. 16

Similarly, the first friends and contacts made by William Prowse, who arrived from Penzance in December 1848, were Cornish. He wrote home in the following January to say that he was friendly with Thomas Matthews - also from Penanzce - and that "I am working with Mr. Coles from Helston ... I have made a table and form for Geo. Archer that left Madron Churchtoun." 17 Even James Sawle, from Truro, who detested the colony from the moment he set foot upon it, wrote home - displaying an obvious pleasure at meeting his fellow Cornishmen - explaining that he had been offered work "... with a master mason, who came out from the neighbourhood of Bodmin..." 18 and that "... I went into a quarry last week, there were two men at work from Perranwell." 19 And when Joseph Orchard, from Mawgan-in-Meneage, landed at Port Adelaide in July 1848 he was met from the ship by numerous friends and relatives. There was Mr. Rogers, with whom he had
once lodged in Ponsanooth, his cousin, his brother-in-law and two children, and also a brother-in-law of Mr. Rogers who had been living in the colony for seven years. It was not surprising, then, that Joseph should reassure his parents in Cornwall by emphasising "Do not think we are without friends here..." In addition to those who had greeted him at the Port, there were the two sisters (so he wrote) of James Julian who had married Bessey Williams of Garras in St. Mawgan parish; and he himself had found lodgings with a Cornish Methodist, Mr. Thomas Barker: "He is from Wendron, a Class Leader."21

Over 20 years later, in 1869, when the colony had been well established for many years and social life had had an opportunity to mature, the links of friendship and kinship between individual Cornish migrants were still clearly of importance. William R. Cornish, who had just arrived in the colony and found himself employment as a commercial traveller, wrote to his relatives at Frogwell Mill, near Callington in East Cornwall. Although he complained of the excessive heat and the flies, he was anxious to visit old friends from Cornwall and to see his hometown's namesake in South Australia:

I went around a few days since and saw Mr. Pearce's friend. Mr. Pearce has been very ill but better now. Tell Miss Pearce Callington is near twice 20 miles but it lies in my journey so if I have any time to spare will call on Captain and Mrs. Prisk. 22

---II---

But just as the experience of colonisation had brought the individual Cornish migrants in the colony closer together, so the same experience made links with home more difficult and sometimes tenuous. Geoffrey Blainey has demonstrated the importance of "distance" in moulding Australian social history,
and has spoken of the "Tyranny of Distance" in attempting to articulate its effect upon the nineteenth-century colonists. Cornishmen tended to be itinerant, even cosmopolitan, but still this could not detract from the fact that Cornwall lay half-a-world away from South Australia. And this was as true for the Cousin Jack living with his compatriots in the mining towns as for his more "isolated" counterparts in farming districts or in Adelaide.

The "English Mail", bringing news from home and returning with letters from the colony, was the settlers' principal means of communication with relatives in the Old Country. The arrival of the Mail ship would trigger tremendous excitement in Adelaide, and the days before its departure were spent by many in the frantic writing of letters for friends and relatives at home. As the secretary of the Wallaroo Mines wrote in January, 1863, explaining a sudden lull in local activity, "The English mail has left today - and for the last two or three days people have been so busy with their letters that little else has been attended to...".

In those days, the voyage to the U.K. from Australia was long and arduous - frequently letters were delayed for many weeks or even many months, and on occasions correspondence never reached home at all. Mail sent out to the Australian colonies had even less chance of finding its way smoothly to the persons for whom it was intended. Often, migrants would leave only vague forwarding addresses when they moved about the colonies in search of work; and roving Cornish miners would frequently move from one mining camp to the next, making them almost impossible to trace. Vast numbers of unclaimed letters piled up in General Post Offices in the colonial capitals, and in

...
December 1873 the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser published a list of names of persons thought to be living in the "Little Cornwall" mining district, for whom letters were waiting in the Adelaide G.P.O. - Mrs. Trineyman at Wallaroo Mines, Joseph Thomas at Kadina, F. Williams at Wallaroo, Mrs. L. Whitford at Moonta Mines, and many more.25

The position was made worse for the many illiterate people who could neither read nor write. On receiving a letter they would be in the infuriating position of having to find someone kind enough to read it out for them before they could learn its contents. And when wishing to reply, they would have to endure the embarrassment of dictating personal and intimate details, intended for loved ones at home, to friends who had consented to write their letters for them. Loamme Williams, at the Burra, had to ask his brother-in-law, Thomas Davey, to write home to enquire if his own parents in Cornwall were still alive, because he himself did not know how to write a letter. Dutifully, Thomas Davey wrote to his parents

Please go to St. Just, and ask Matthew First, my uncle, whether Loamme Williams' father and mother is dead or alive, and to write to them (i.e. Loamme and family) as quick as possible to let them know how they are. 26

The effects of the vast distance between Cornwall and South Australia went further than just the difficulties of communication between friends and relatives in the two lands. Some of the "better-off" Cornish migrants owned houses, small-holdings, or plots of land in Cornwall and, instead of selling them before their departures, a number decided to keep them so that they would have at least some assets and income if by chance things "went wrong" in the colony. One such Cornishman was Thomas Medlyn, who came to South Australia with his wife Grace in 1854.
He owned a small farming property, Polpenwith, situated on a wooded creek of the Helford River, a mile or so from Constantine Churchtown. The document he prepared on the eve of his departure for the colony, regulating the management of his property, would have been typical of countless similar documents drawn up by intending migrants from Cornwall -

"Know all Men by this presents that We Thomas and Grace Medent (sic) of the Borough of Helston for divers good causes and considerations thereunto moving have nominated, constituted and appointed William Johns of the aforesaid Borough of Helston Landsurveyor our true and Lawful Attorney for us in our name and stead to receive and take a moiety of the Rents, issues and profits of the Tenement and called Polpenwith in the Parish of Constantine now occupied by William Rawling as Yearly Tenant under Yearly rent of £17 ..." (27) and so on.

Although Thomas noted, once he was in the colony, that "... there is great complaints with the working people...", he himself had a certain measure of economic security as he was employed as a mounted-police trooper in Adelaide. Nevertheless, this did not prevent him from worrying and fretting about the state of his property in Cornwall and when, in 1862, he had not heard from either his brother or William Johns for a very long time, he became alarmed. He wrote to Johns in agitated vein - was Polpenwith being properly managed and maintained? How much money was owing to him? Ought he to sell the property? Today, this might seem a trivial concern. But in the nineteenth-century, with its unreliable communications, it was a matter of some importance. In Thomas Medlyn's case, "no news" must have been "good news", for instead of being financially disadvantaged through the mismanagement of his property at home (as he thought he might be), he attained a comfortable level of economic well-being and social importance in the colony. His son, William Charles Medlyn, born in Adelaide in 1868, was obviously a man of considerable social standing - becoming a
captain in the 10th Regiment Australian Infantry, a Justice of the Peace, and Secretary of the Adelaide Hospital. But for other, less fortunate, families a loss of assets at home might easily combine with ill-luck in the colony to produce only destitution and misery.

The effect of distance, too, acted not only upon those migrants who had left Cornwall but also upon those who remained, so that the South Australian colonial experience had widespread repercussions far beyond the borders of the colony. For example, many in Cornwall, particularly the wives of miners who had stayed behind while their husbands went abroad to seek their fortunes, relied for their very existence on money sent home to them. As the West Briton remarked in October 1863,

It is ... highly gratifying to learn that wherever the Cornish miner goes, he is generally well received, and rarely fails not only to benefit himself, but those of his friends remaining at home, by the welcome remittances which arrive by almost every mail.

But the situation became less happy when, for some reason, the flow of money dried up; and the West Briton itself noted another disadvantage of wholesale migration when it declared that "...the small trader is suffering greatly from bad debts, suddenly made through customers emigrating..." The severest hardships and saddest cases, however, occurred when the death of a migrant in the colonies left relatives at home emotionally devastated and sometimes financially destitute as well. When Richard Hancock from St. Austell was killed in the Glen Osmond quarries, near Adelaide, in 1864, his companion John Pascoe had to write home informing the relatives of the sad details. One can imagine the effect of such shocking news upon the relatives, although some, in the face of such bereavement, remained remarkably calm and came to grips with the situation with a
surprising degree of stoicism and courage. Such was the reaction of Jane Berryman of Polwin, in the parish of Cury on the Lizard peninsula, whose son died soon after his arrival in South Australia in 1857. Jane wrote a brave letter to the Immigration Agent in Adelaide, notable for its restraint and composure:

Polwin, Cury, Cornwall
Nov 18th 1857

Sir,

Yesterday I received your letter informing me of the death of my son - I had heard the sad news some months since, and about the latter end of last September I send a letter - requesting you to send the property home - since then I have heard the expense would be considerable, for the freight. If this letter arrives before you dispose of the clothes I should be obliged to you to give Mary Hodge the silver watch and a book titled Josephus History of the Jews, I wish her to have them as a present from me.

Except, Sir my sincere thanks for your kind letter - and believe me

Yours truly

Jane Berryman

P.S. Mary Hodge is a young female who emigrated in the same vessel and an intimate friend to the deceased.

Even where no death was involved, the widespread migration of friends and relatives would constitute a great loss to those who remained, and a subdued atmosphere would often fill homes - and sometimes whole villages - as a result. John Boaden wrote that when the Orchards left Mawgan-in-Meneage in 1849, the whole parish felt a sense of loss - "... the emigration of the Orchard family seemed to give a melancholy tinge to every thing...". And not surprisingly, the Boadens and Orchards being related by marriage, and there being Orchards at Carrabone, Gerras and Trelowarren Mill, and Boadens at Burncoose, Tregadjack, Gweek, Mawgan Churchtown, and Bojorrow.

Particularly distressing were those instances where wives in Cornwall lost contact with their husbands in South Australia - this was truly the "Tyranny of Distance", and an occurrence
that was more frequent than might be imagined. Indeed, so
common was the situation that, according to the West Briton in
January 1864, a certain Mr. S. Morcom offered the specialist
service of tracing "lost" friends and relatives in South Austra-
ia. He would undertake the search for 2s 6d (5s if the "cus-
tomer" lived abroad) and charged an additional 5s for the placing
of advertisements in newspapers. "In case of death, a certific-
ate properly attested, can be furnished, or where property is
left, the same will be recovered." Many could not afford such
services, and tried to make enquiries themselves. In 1869, for
example, a Mrs. S. Sleep wrote from Cornwall to the Moonta
Mines Directors asking for their help in attempting to trace her
husband whom she had heard was now working on North Yorke Penin-
sula. The Directors could do little more than pass her letter
on to Captain Hancock, requesting him to look into the matter.
And even as late as 1920, advertisements were still appearing
in newspapers calling for information about long-lost husbands
and other relatives. One such advertisement in the Moonta
Peoples' Weekly asked,

Will Gilbert Thomas, formerly a Miner, of Camborne,
Cornwall, England, who left there about 30 years ago,
and who is believed to have arrived in Australia about
28 years ago, or any person who can give any information
regarding him, or as to his whereabouts, please communi-
cate with the undersigned at the address mentioned


Many women who lost contact with their husbands in this
way were, as a direct result, plunged into poverty. One elderly
lady in Helston workhouse recalled the days when she had lived
at Carnkie, in the Camborne-Redruth mining district, and her
husband left her to try his luck in South Australia. For some
reason - perhaps both were illiterate, or letters went astray -
they lost touch with one another, and the poor woman was left
without means and with two children to support:

Many times I have gone to the wash tray without breakfast, and my two dear children have had to stay until I came home without any food in the house. I have cried myself to sleep many a night. One night I shall never forget while I live. I lost heart, so I took my two children to a water shaft at Bassett mines, with the intention of drowning them and myself; but the captain of the mine saw me just in time. I told him my trouble and he wrote to Captain Hancock in Australia, and found out my husband was working there. He could not do anything, but asked him to write to me. Captain Hancock's daughter sent me £1. I often wished I could write; I would thank her so much. 40

Sometimes such separations led to unusual predicaments, such as the tragi-comic situation outlined in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser in March 1882. Apparently some twenty years earlier a certain Lavinia Allen of Helston had married a Cornish miner named George Lory. After some "unpleasantness" between the two, George left his wife and children to go to the Antipodes, and Lavinia thought it the last she would ever see of him. Later she formed a relationship with one James Colenso Arthur and together they left Helston to go to live elsewhere, calling themselves man and wife and having several children. In March 1880, however, some property was left to Lory, and advertisements were placed in the leading American, Australian and New Zealand newspapers in an attempt to trace him. Eventually he turned up in Australia and, on learning of his good fortune, announced his intention of returning to Cornwall and that - being repentant - he looked forward to a reunion with his wife and children! The newspaper story, unfortunately, does not reveal how the problem was ultimately resolved.41

---III---

A further aspect of "distance" which warrants investigation is the extent to which Cornish migrants coming to South Australia
did so with the intention of ever returning to Cornwall. S.P.B. Mais, commenting on the nature of Cornish emigration in 1934, remarked that the Cornish "... express their love of home, as an Irishman does, by going to the ends of the earth in order to earn enough to return to it." This was certainly true for many of the Cornish who went to North America, the U.S.A. being "the next Parish after Lands End" to the Cousin Jacks who would plan a voyage to the States with less trepidation than they would a trip across the Tamar "into England". It was not unusual in nineteenth-century Cornwall to learn of migrants returning from the Americas after moderate success there, and in the late 1850s George Henwood observed that St. Day, because of its returning migrants, "... appears to be a colony of miners who have worked in mines in various parts of the world." But even in the U.S.A., as John Rowe has pointed out, there were two classes of Cornish migrants - those who were itinerant "birds of passage" and those who settled there for good. Thus permanent settlement abroad was in the minds of at least some of those who left Cornwall, and those coming to South Australia must have had a keen realization that the colony was in no way a "neighbouring parish". Many would have felt that in embarking upon the enormously long voyage to Port Adelaide, they could never hope to see home again. Indeed, Joseph Orchard from St. Mawgan wrote in exactly this vein to his parents and relatives:

On Saturday the 18th (March 1848) we left the Depot at Plymouth and went on board the "Westminster", leaving our friends and the land of our nativity, never expecting to see either any more in time. It was truly a great undertaking.  

Of the thousands of Cornishmen who did make their way to South Australia, very few - evidence suggests - ever returned to Cornwall on a permanent basis. Some who "made good" in the colony returned home on holidays in later life, but they came
back again for it was by then in South Australia that they had their roots and their families. There does seem, nevertheless, to have been a difference in attitude between even those Cornish who went to South Australia and others who joined the Victorian Gold Rush. Many who went to the Rush from Cornwall did intend returning home and, as noted in Chapter 4, a number did in fact do so — especially those who were successful on the goldfields. Indeed, a great many of the Cornish who visited Victoria during the Rush years may never have seriously contemplated permanent emigration but were attracted instead by the prospect of making a quick fortune. It was a gamble; they would go to Victoria, uncover wonderful deposits of gold, and then return to Cornwall to a life of relative luxury and ease. It was a view that contrasted strongly with the more sober attitude of the South Australian Cornishmen, who in coming to South Australia looked forward to creating a new life in the colony, with better prospects and security for their families.

But it is easy to over-generalise and it must be admitted that there were those, albeit a minority, who did return to Cornwall. Their activities and destiny were as much a part of the Cornish "colonial experience" in South Australia as that of the migrants who stayed, and so they warrant at least some investigation. When James Penn Boucaut, the celebrated South Australian Premier and Supreme Court Judge, returned on holiday to his native Cornwall in 1892 he met an old man in Saltash who had emigrated to the colony in the early days with Philip Santo. But during the financial crisis of the early 1840s this man had decided to return to Cornwall "... because of what he took to be the smash-up of South Australia when Governor Gawler's bills were dishonoured." Similarly, when the equally celebrated John Langdon Bonython visited Cornwall he came across a man in St.
Keverne churchyard who had spent some 25 years out in Australia before deciding to return home. 47

Others who returned home to Cornwall after many years in South Australia included a certain Mr. Williams - "... an old Moonta identity..." 48 - who retired to the Cornish mining village of Pensilva, and a Mr. Preston - formerly a resident of Cross Roads, near Moonta - who purchased "some acres" 49 on the banks of the Tamar at St. Ann's Chapel, where he grew strawberries. In the same district, at Calstock, there also lived one Captain Dunstan - apparently the same Edward Dunstan who was dismissed from the Wallaroo Mines in 1869 as a result of his mismanagement. Dunstan lived the life of a recluse, rarely receiving anyone into his home, and spent his time brooding - reflecting, perhaps, on lost opportunities and a career cut short. But when Thomas Cowling junior visited Cornwall on a trip home from South Australia he was determined to seek out Dunstan, and called on him, "dropping" the names of a few North Yorke Peninsula mines as a means of introduction. Cowling later recalled,

I spoke of Yelta, Paramatta, Wandilta and half a dozen other mines as though they were all within the parish of Calstock. Following a few more remarks on my part he became talkative and said: "Evidently young man, you must have spent some time in Australia, for you have mentioned names of places not unknown to me". 50

But even if Dunstan harboured ill thoughts of South Australia, other returned miners looked back with a certain nostalgia to their days spent in "Little Cornwall". As late as July 1921, George Jose of Illogan wrote in whimsical vein to the People's Weekly, recalling his days as a Moonta miner:

Sir: I have before me, right here on Carn Brea hill, an edition of your largely-circulated paper, dated 1895. Some grand reading I can assure you ... Oh! how I fancy the old place and my school days at Moonta Mines. Dr. Torr was my headmaster. I feel proud of Moonta. Why, you have turned out Prime Ministers (sic), members of
Parliament, reverend ministers, and mine captains ... I left Moonta in 1902, and I should like to be back in those good old days again, but its onward ever onward - no going back. 51

Now in his old age, Jose knew he would never again see South Australia. But there had been others in earlier days who had in fact returned to Cornwall from the colony with the intention of permanent settlement there but then, for various reasons, decided after all to go back again to South Australia. Such was the experience of Solomon Rowe James, a Cornish farmer born at Kestal, near St. Hilary Churchtown, on September 4th, 1842. As a youth he had worked as an agricultural labourer but at the age of 22 he emigrated to South Australia with the intention of going to the Kapunda mines. But instead he found employment as a gardener, first at Gawler, then at Sandy Creek, and within a few years had become a successful farmer and chaff-merchant at Gilles Plains. Having saved a small amount of money, he decided to return to Cornwall and purchase a farming property there. On arrival, however, Solomon found to his dismay that many other Cornishmen were also returning from different parts of the world with the intention of buying land. Unable to compete against these richer Cousin Jacks, he came back to South Australia in 1872, in the following year - perhaps as some kind of consolation - marrying a Cornish-born girl called Mary Broad. In somewhat different circumstances Edward Constantine returned to South Australia from Cornwall, not through economic pressures but because he missed his friends and relatives. He had first arrived in the colony with his wife in 1874 and had made his way to North Yorke Peninsula where he had found employment in the Wallaroo Smelting Works, eventually rising to the position of foreman. He retired in 1899, and fulfilled his life-long dream by returning to Cornwall to
spend his final years there in peace and contentment. But in the twenty-five years spent in the colony there had developed for Edward a whole series of personal relationships so that, by 1899, it was South Australia and not Cornwall which was now really "home" for him. In the event, he spent ten years in retirement in Cornwall - a surprisingly long time - before coming back to South Australia, where he lived at Bridgewater until his death in 1934.43.53

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This two-way movement between Cornwall and South Australia was an important feature of "the colonial experience", but equally significant was the "international mobility" of certain South Australian Cornishmen. This mobility was confined almost entirely to the miners, who traditionally moved from one mining camp to another looking for work, and manifested itself in two ways. First of all, there were those who came to South Australia from Cornwall via some other country, such as the U.S.A. or New Zealand; and then there were those who came firstly to South Australia and then later moved on - either permanently or temporarily - to other lands.

There were a great many Cornish who came to South Australia by way of the Americas. Captain Henry Roach at the Burra and the Warmington brothers at Wallaroo and Moonta are obvious examples, but there were so many more besides them. Captain Thomas W. Gregor, for instance had had many years experience in copper mines in Cornwall, the U.S.A., and the West Indies (probably Cuba) before coming to South Australia as a mining consultant.54 And Paul Barbary, born in St. Austell in 1817, arrived at Moonta in 1868 after having "... travelled exten-
sively in Australia and America". Some of those coming to
South Australia were from among the "Cornish Badgers" (as A.C.
Todd has dubbed them) of Wisconsin, such as Captain George
Verco from Marazion who as a young man worked briefly in Bodmin
before going to the Wisconsin lead-mines, then Ireland, and
finally South Australia in 1845. Other "Badgers" included the
Captains Thomas Cowling and Matthew "Harry" Henry East who left
the Callington district to visit Wisconsin prior to their
journey to South Australia in 1862, when they came to work the
New Cornwall Mine at Kadina. Some came from America's own
"Little Cornwall", the copper-mining district of Keweenaw in
Upper Michigan. William Henry Moyle, for example, went first
overseas to North America in 1857 - having already worked as
an engineer in Cornwall for almost a decade - to assist in the
errection of two Cornish engines on the Lake Superior mines.
Within two years he was in Australia, and was working at the
Kapunda mines by the end of 1859.

W.H. Harry, born in St. Austell in 1831, went with his
wife Mary - also a native of St. Austell - to Jamaica and then
to Lake Superior as a miner, and came ultimately to South Australia
in 1864 - first of all to work in the Kapunda mines, and later
turning his hand to farming. Captain John Rapson, originally
from St. Ives, was another South Australian of some note to have
spent time in North America, and very likely there were numerous
others too - certainly too many to record in any detail.

Indeed, on at least one occasion in 1881 the Wallaroo Mines
Directors had actually advertised in American newspapers for
copper miners to come to the colony. That Cornishmen from
the United States were not entirely an uncommon sight in South
Australia was evidenced by the number of miners who dressed
Californian-style with wide-brimmed hats and gaudy neckerchiefs,
and more particularly by the emergence of the term "White Washed Yanks". This was a phrase coined by the Cousin Jacks on North Yorke Peninsula (and later also in use at Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie) to describe Cornishmen who had lived and worked in the U.S.A. and thus adopted the American accent and manner of speech. Many writers, including D.H. Lawrence, have noted similarities between the Cornish and American accents (and the fact that Cornishmen can easily acquire the American speech), and South Australia's own John Langdon Bonython asserted that it was the Cornish "... who supplied the American with the Yankee twang ... the twang of the American is only the Cornish accent inordinately developed." And to confirm the authenticity of these "White Washed Yanks" one need only to turn, for example, to the letter written home to Cornwall by Edward Trewidden of Kadina (who had been in Michigan) in which he used the American idomatic expression "tarnation".

Canada - perhaps, for the Cornishman, "the next parish after the U.S.A." - also had its share of Cousin Jacks and a number of these inevitably found their way to South Australia. John Riccardo Stephens, born in St. Agnes in 1827 and who arrived in South Australia in 1853, had been first to New Brunswick in Canada and Bermuda in the West Indies before coming to the colony. And not all the Canadian Cornish were miners, for Canada was then - in spite of the Ontario mining district - still primarily an agricultural country. Richard Sloggett, for example, was a farmer. Born in Cornwall on 16th January 1817, he went to Canada as a young man before turning his attention to South Australia where finally he purchased a section of land at Native Valley. Latin America - both Mexico (as A.C. Todd has shown) and the South American countries - was a destination for many Cornish miners, and again a few of these Cousin Jacks
settled eventually in South Australia. R.V. Rodda, a son of the celebrated Captain Richard Rodda, mined in South America before coming to the Central Colony to erect his smelting works at Kadina. Another miner, William Jenkin, went to South America as a youth to seek his fortune. Apparently he was not successful, or at least was unimpressed, for by 1856 - while still a young man of only 22 - he was already in South Australia and making his way to the Burra in search of work. A similar experience was that of John Reed, from Redruth. He left his home town in 1837, at the age of 18, to gain wealth and fulfillment. He went first to North Cornwall, but finding nothing there to capture his imagination he crossed the Tamar, like William Jenkin, to seek his fortune abroad - first of all in England, and then in Chile. But it was not until after his arrival at the Burra in March 1847 that he felt any inclination to "settle down". Soon he was married, and he became active in the Primitive Methodist Church - at Burra Burra, and later at Moonta.64

Another Burra Methodist who had spent some time in Chile was Henry Crougey. He was born near Carnmarth in March 1825 in a small cottage almost on the edge of Gwennap pit - the famed venue of the Methodist Whit-Monday services - and as a youth he joined the Wesleyan choir at neighbouring Carharrack. At the age of 21 he married Ann Bray of Twelveheads, and, only fifteen months after their marriage, they emigrated to Chile where Henry worked as a miner for over twelve years. From Chile they went briefly to California, and in 1865 came to South Australia. Henry worked at the Burra until the closure of the mines there in 1877, and then went to the gold-mines at Ballarat and Clunes before finding employment in the Moonta Mines. In later life, unfortunately, he suffered greatly with "miners' disease", a
form of lung complaint he had contracted in the unhealthy Chilean mines, and he died finally of the illness at his daughter's home in Broken Hill in 1910.65

South Africa, of course, was another great home of the Cornish miners – rivalling South Australia and the North American mining states. But few Cornishmen seem to have come to South Australia from South Africa, mainly because the Rand became a popular destination for Cousin Jacks towards the end of the century when the demand for miners in South Australia was diminishing rapidly. But one exception to this rule was Joseph Jolly, born in Cornwall in 1844, who went to South Africa with his parents as a youth and who later made his own way to South Australia to work in the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines.66 Not surprisingly, rather greater numbers of Cornishmen came to South Australia from New Zealand. Indeed, in pre-Federation days many regarded New Zealand as merely the seventh Australian colony, and migration from there to South Australia would raise few eyebrows: it was just like coming from Queensland or Tasmania. Some, like William Grey, migrated from Cornwall to New Zealand but were drawn to the Australian "mainland" by the Victorian Gold Rush and later found their way to the mines of North Yorke Peninsula.67 Others, such as Johathen Uren – a miner born "... of a sturdy Cornish stock..."68 – went first to New Zealand but found the land lacking in opportunities and quickly moved on to South Australia. But some stayed longer: there was, for example, Phillipa Jane Bartle, born in Crowan in 1830, who married in 1855 and went with her husband to New Zealand circa 1861. They lived there for some 16 years, coming eventually to South Australia circa 1877. They settled at the Burra, presumably as storekeepers or farmers, for by then the mines were in swift decline.69
Turning to the second feature of Cornish international mobility, the movement of Cornishmen away from South Australia, the first inducement to Cousin Jacks to leave the colony was the discovery of gold in California in the late 1840s. Among the "forty-niners" were many Cornishmen, and a number had travelled to the Rush by way of South Australia. There was Thomas Teague from Reedy Creek, Thomas Hosking from Gawler, and Richard Snell from the Burra, and no doubt others besides. But within a year or so they were all back in Australia, the news of gold discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria having drawn them home (along with other Cousin Jacks who had gone to California direct from Cornwall). In South Australia, interest in California quickly fell away. During early 1850 Port Adelaide had been full of ships bound for California - the "Broadaxe", the "Robert Henderson", the "Pauline" - but by the end of 1851 it was Victoria that was the destination of much of the colony's shipping. The effect of the Californian Rush upon South Australia's Cornish community was thus a limited one, but there were, however, later movements to North America. It was not altogether unusual, for example, to see announcements such as the following in newspapers in South Australia's mining districts: "Mrs. T. Penrose and family left here (Moonta) on Wednesday morning, en route for America. They will join Mr. Penrose at Salt Lake City, their future home." Those who went to the U.S.A. from South Australia were no doubt enticed by stories of American affluence, but sometimes the fate of those who went was hardly enviable. Thomas Angove, for instance, left Kadina for North America in 1874 but within four years he was dead. Some said that he had been gunned-down
at a card gambling table, but others had heard that he had been crushed by a runaway railway truck which had careered into a gunnis (open-cut trench) in which he had been mining. Similarly, in 1913 the *Peoples' Weekly* recorded that another Moonta Cornishman, William Pryor, had been killed at Bicknell, Indiana, in the Tecumseh No. 2 Mine. But such isolated instances did not deter others from going, the last major movement of Cornish from South Australia to North America being the visit of a party of Moonta miners to the Klondike Gold Rush in 1897.

New Zealand, too, and again not surprisingly, was visited by numerous Cousin Jacks from South Australia. But few actually settled there, most regarding their visits as being purely "local". Captain James Datson of Moonta, for example, visited the South Island in July 1862 following the gold discoveries by Hartley and Riley on the Molyneux River. He and his brother spent several months prospecting at Tuapeka, Wakatipu and on the Shotover River, but by the end of 1864 were back on Yorke Peninsula. Thomas Major, later Mayor of Port Pirie, made a similar visit in the early 1860s, as did William Henry Matthews when he went briefly to the West Coast Rush in 1867. Even Captain Isaac Killicoat, one of the great Burra identities, managed to slip a trip to New Zealand into his long and chequered career. Killicoat also visited New Caledonia; and when Captain John "Jack" Warren resigned his post as manager of the Hamley Mine (near Moonta) in 1877 to run the Balade Copper Mines at Onegan in New Caledonia, he was joined by an enthusiastic band of Cornish miners anxious to journey with him - among them William Stephen Bray from St. Just-in-Penwith and William Stocker from Biscovey.
In the period 1880 to 1910, there was a small but discernible movement of miners from Wallaroo and Moonta to South Africa (mirroring the great exodus from Cornwall to that country during the same years). Charles Simmons from Menheniot, had worked variously at Peak Downs, Broken Hill, and Kalgoorlie before leaving Moonta for South Africa some time before 1905. He later returned to South Australia, dying in the Adelaide suburb of Unley in 1917. An identical experience was that of Charles "Charlie" Pyatt, born in Camborne in 1860. Pyatt was one of Captain Piper's recruits of 1883, but he worked only briefly at the Wallaroo Mines before moving on to Moonta, Broken Hill, and Western Australia. And finally, leaving his family safely behind at Moonta Mines, he sailed for South Africa. He stayed on the Rand for several years, returning sometime before his death in January 1910. Some of the Cousin Jacks who went to South Africa were Australian-born rather than strictly Cornish, but there was little to distinguish them from those from Cornwall, and there was no doubt in anyone's mind that they were indeed Cousin Jacks. There was, for example, James Collingwood Coad, born at Moonta, who spent many years at the Bloemfontein mines in the Orange Free State, and Nicholas Nicholls - also a "Moontaite" - who died at Boksburg in the Transvaal in 1912. The Cornish were sometimes unfairly criticised as being a parochial race, but in truth they were a cosmopolitan people par excellence - not only did they roam the world, but also being born at Johannesburg, Moonta or Butte City was as much an entitlement to be called "Cousin Jack" as if one hailed from Camborne or St. Austell.

Newspaper reports in the Peoples' Weekly brought news of Cornishmen in America as well as in Cornwall, and one Cornish journal was interested enough in Moonta-born Cousin Jacks to
record that James and Albert Retallick — "... Australians, but of Cornish descent — their mother being a native of Redruth..." — had won the reputation as the champion stopers of the Knight's Deep mine and probably of all South Africa. Significantly, this report was later reprinted from the original Cornish source in the *Peoples' Weekly* itself. Indeed, the Peninsula newspapers from time to time carried articles reflecting upon the international nature of the Cornish influence, noting that the Cornish "... go to Lake Superior or Nevada, ... to the Brazils, or across to Africa and then to Kimberly ... (to) Spain or Norway, or any part of Europe, or ... to the Australian colonies..."

Cornish international mobility was matched to a considerable extent by an "internal mobility" within Australia — a movement of Cousin Jacks between the various Australian colonies (see Chapters 2, 4 and 9); and also within South Australia itself, where Cornish miners moved from one mining town to another as the fortunes of the different mines rose and fell, and where Cornish farmers shifted from one agricultural region to the next as the frontiers of cultivated land were pushed ever onward (see Chapters 3 and 5). The motivation for such movement was, of course, primarily economic. But there did develop among many of the Cornish miners a certain quality of "restlessness" which spurred them on from camp to camp, from one mining field to another. To the miners themselves, this was known as "ringing" and one old-time prospector, Fred Blakeley, claimed that it was possible to observe the symptoms of "ringing" as they developed: "Instead of working a man finds himself walking about the field, going from one claim to another, having a yarn with this fellow and that, between two minds what to do next." Eventually, the digger would persuade one or two others to move on, and together they would leave to try their luck elsewhere.
Cornishmen were sometimes mobile in the extreme. The wanderings of George Prout in Victoria have already been described (see Chapter 4), but it is interesting to note that even after his purchase of land in that colony in 1866 he did not settle down. By 1874 he was back in Adelaide. He worked in the city as a carpenter but, tiring of this "domesticated" life, he made his way to the ill-fated Mount Browne gold rush in north western New South Wales. After only a few months he returned to South Australia to become manager of the "South Australian Prospecting Association" on whose behalf he searched for mineral deposits in the far-north of the colony. He attempted to work his way through to the Barrier Ranges but, like many other luckless Cousin Jacks, was forced to return by the appalling drought conditions which had already defeated him at Mount Browne. In the latter part of 1882 he briefly revisited the Echunga diggings, but was soon in Queensland where he had been commissioned to report on the Union Mine at Mount Davenport. From 1883 until 1886 he was captain of the Kirker's Creek mine (also in Queensland), but then resigned his position to devote his energy to the erection, in Sydney, of plant he had designed which would dry gold amalgam through the use of mercury vapours. Although this scheme was successful, Prout soon found to his cost that the process had already been patented in the U.S.A. and so, disillusioned, he returned to Adelaide – spending the next four years mining magnesium between Eurelia and Edeowie.

In 1889 he journeyed to the U.K. with the intention of patenting a copper-to-iron welding process, only to find again that he was too late. However, he made good use of his time in Europe, visiting mines in Cornwall, Wales and Sicily, and acquiring the directorship of a caustic-soda company in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Prout returned to South Australia in 1892,
and was in 1894 engaged to report on newly-discovered gold-mines at Coolgardie in Western Australia. He came back to Adelaide, although returning briefly to the West to inspect the Kalgoorlie claims, and in 1897 went to the U.K. in yet another ill-fated attempt to acquire a patent - this time for a new form of ore-stamps. By now, of course, he was beginning to age; and so he retired to Adelaide, ending his days as a small-time dabbler in mining shares.84

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George Prout's career was also indicative of a certain upward social mobility experienced by many Cornishmen in South Australia, and which was often linked with geographic mobility - both "international" and "internal". Prout's own experience was hardly that of "Log Cabin to White House", but was nevertheless impressive. He began as a mere pickey-boy at the Glen Osmond mines but rose in later life to mine captain, engineer, company director, and capitalist. As J.J. Pascoe wrote, Prout "... like many of his countrymen, (was) for years ... a mining man of influence in Australia."85 And although he was a dyed-in-the-wool mining man, Cornish upward social mobility was often reflected in occupational mobility (miners-turned-farmers and others). This is demonstrated in Meryl Kuchel's valuable study, where it is shown that of the 104 traceable Cornish passengers from the ships "Omega" (1851), "Hooghly" (1856), "Queen Bee" (1865) and "Salamanca" (1866), 23 maintained their previous occupational status, 72 were upwardly mobile (and able to maintain their improvement), while only nine were downwardly mobile.86 Other, less rigorous, studies have also confirmed these findings and again suggest that the Cornish in South Australia were generally a socially upward mobile group.87 That so many Cornishmen became Mayors or Chairmen of local councils
is further evidence of this, the most extreme examples of
Cornish upward mobility being the fortunes of the Parsons,
Rounsevell, and Bonython families.

John Langdon Parsons was born at Botathon in North Cornwall
in 1837. He studied to be a Minister in the Baptist Church, and
arrived in South Australia in 1863. He preached in several places
in the colony (and also briefly in New Zealand), but soon as-
pired to a Parliamentary career. In 1878 he was elected as the
Member of the House of Assembly for Encounter Bay, and had
achieved a Ministerial position by 1881. In 1890 he became one
of the first members of the Northern Territory's House of Assembly,
returning to the South Australian Parliament as a Legislative
Councillor in 1901. He was by then a public figure of some note,
and had already gained entrance to Adelaide "society" through his
marriage (his second) to Rosetta Angas Johnson, a granddaughter
of the celebrated George Fife Angas. His son, Herbert Angas
Parsons, perpetuated the upward movement. He was born in North
Adelaide in 1872 and was educated at Prince Alfred College and
the University of Adelaide. He became a lawyer and was admitted
to the Bar of the Supreme Court in 1897, in later years becoming
a Member of Parliament and a Government Minister. Like his
father, Herbert Angas Parsons married wisely - Elsie Bonython (a
daughter of the great John Langdon Bonython) becoming his wife in
April 1900.88

The rise of the Parsons family was impressive, but perhaps
more so was the experience of the Rounsevells. In 1839 William
Rounsevell was a common agricultural labourer at Tregenna in
the parish of Altarnun on Bodmin Moor. In that year, on the
advice of Rowland Hill, he emigrated to South Australia, where
he found work as a police constable in Adelaide. By the time
he visited the Victorian diggings in the early 1850s he had
already established a lucrative coaching business, "Rounsevell's" becoming a by-word in South Australia for efficient and reliable public transport over long distances. At one time he had as many as 1,000 horses in use on his coaching runs, and when he sold his business to Cobb & Co., William Rounsevell made such a handsome profit that he was able to purchase the "Glen Para" property in the Barossa Valley for £15,000 - a considerable sum in those days. He renamed the property "Corryton Park", reflecting an alleged family connection with the Corrytons of Pentillie Castle in Cornwall (those who aspire to social station are usually concerned to establish aristocratic forbears). His sons John (born in Cornwall) and William Benjamin (born in Adelaide in 1842) inherited his fortune on his death, and expanded the family's holdings by acquiring pastoral properties such as "Moolooloo Station" near Blinman and "Taunta" on the Coorong. Both men became Parliamentarians, and although John died in 1902, William Benjamin survived until 1923 as a revered "old colonial" of Adelaide society. He was for a time Mayor of Glenelg and lived in the suburb at "Tremere", a house he had inherited from his father-in-law, Samuel Carvosso (also a Cornishman). He owned a number of race horses, and operated in the racing world under the "nom-de-course" of W.B. Corryton.89

The fortunes of the Bonython family were particularly noteworthy, for they represented the resurgance in South Australia of a "bona fide" aristocratic line which in Cornwall had all but lost its former glory. In the sixteenth-century the Bonythons of Bonython and Carclew were amongst the principal landowners in the Hundred of Kerrier in West Cornwall, but by the 1800s the sole remaining property was a small section of land at Trencrell in the parish of St. Columb, where Thomas Bonython worked as a cobbler. Sensing that he had little future in
Cornwall, Thomas and his wife Ann (from Torpoint) went to Canada, where their son George Langdon Bonython was born. They later returned briefly to Cornwall, but migrated to South Australia on a free passage in 1840, with George remaining in London to train as an architect. He married in 1844, and in 1848 in London the John Langdon Bonython was born. George and family migrated to South Australia in 1854 and settled in Adelaide; ten years later, in 1864, the young John Langdon Bonython beginning his life-long association with the Advertiser newspaper as a junior assistant. He showed promise as a reporter, and became something of a protege of the paper's owner-editor, a man named Barrow. Only nine years later, Bonython was offered the editorship of the Advertiser, but he refused as he wished to enter into the ownership of the newspaper. He became a junior partner in the company in 1879, and by 1893 was sole owner. In 1884 he had finally accepted the job of editor, a position he was to hold until his retirement in 1929. Under his guidance the Advertiser became the most popular South Australian daily, eclipsing and finally absorbing the rival Register, and its success contributed to Bonython becoming almost certainly the wealthiest man in South Australia. His son, John Lavington Bonython, born in 1876, was also closely involved with the Advertiser, and later became Mayor of Adelaide — the name of Bonython being associated perhaps more than any other with the city in the years before the Second World War. Like the Roundsevells, the Bonythons were interested in their Cornish ancestors — but this was as much evidence of their deep attachment to Cornwall as it was of a desire to establish their aristocratic credentials.
Although it is important to examine these cases of upward mobility, it would be wrong to concentrate on the impressive success of the few without considering the experiences of the broad mass of Cornish immigrants. Meryl Kuchel has indicated that the majority were able to improve their social status, but it is also necessary to investigate their actual social conditions - were they physically and materially better-off in South Australia than in Cornwall? It is difficult to make comparisons for the individual Cornish migrants working as farmers or artisans, and one is more or less confined to general statements. John Tregenza, for example, has said that between 1860 and 1890 the Australian worker was "... better off than anywhere else in the world...", and Derek Whitelock has argued (although he neglects to mention the depression of the 1880s and 1890s) that in South Australia

... immigrants usually found plenty of work for wages in or around Adelaide, and good opportunities to prosper, given reasonable luck, through private enterprise. Food and accommodation were usually cheap and plentiful. Even during droughts and depression, there was usually more than sufficient to eat. Supply generally exceeded demand in labour, and the workers benefited accordingly.

With the mining towns, however, one can be more specific and it is thus possible to examine in some detail the social conditions that obtained in communities such as Burra and Moonta, and compare them with conditions in Cornwall. That miners' wages were considerably higher in South Australia than at home has already been noted, and that many of the Cornish settlers considered themselves better off than in Cornwall is plain from their comments in letters to friends and relatives, as noted in earlier chapters. Other contemporary accounts tended to confirm this view. Johnson Frederick Haywood, a resident of the Burra, wrote in 1847 that
Of Beef and Mutton, the primest joints sold at 1d per lb, and wages were so high at tsubwork or tribute that a Miner rarely came away from the Butcher's Store with less than 20lbs of meat on his shoulder. 93

This contrasted strongly with the situation in Cornwall where "... the Cornish miners ate far less butcher's-meat than other classes of labourers..."94 and where, as late as 1864, miners claimed that "We cannot afford more than 3 or 3½ lb of butcher's-meat a week..."95. Indeed, it was said that in far-western Cornwall, in the districts of St. Ives, Lelant, and St. Just, miners rarely ate meat at all but existed almost entirely on gruel and vegetables.

In eighteenth-century Cornwall, the miners were notorious for their violence, vulgarity and intemperance. By the middle of the following century, however, the situation had changed radically. Although hard-drinking still occurred in some of the more urbanised areas such as Camborne-Redruth, while even as late as 1850 it was considered dangerous for a stranger to enter the "rougher" districts such as Breage and Sithney, the Cornish miners as a whole had acquired a new reputation as being civil, responsible and sober.96 This was achieved largely through the influence of John Wesley and the Methodists, and it was significant that at the Burra the Methodists played a similar role in transforming what was originally a riotous mining camp into a peacable and broadly law-abiding community. In October 1846 one report alleged that at the Burra"... drunkenness exists ... to a frightful degree. Wages are so high that the men have the means of gratifying their worst passions and it would seem ... that they are doing so."97 Haywood was of the same opinion, and recorded in his diary in 1847 that at one of the local inns (there were no less than 13 in the early days),
... the toughest characters congregated, breaking windows, singing and fighting, and ... the landlord used a cricket bat to clear his house at night - on pay nights, Saturday, fights would be coming off all the afternoon and evening, and ring formed and kept by two policemen, who were powerless to do anything but see fair play - on Sunday mornings also there were often 8 to 10 matches (pugilistic) come off at the back of the Inn, the house being closed on that day. 98

Two years later, in August 1849, another report recorded that "... the brutalising amusements called prize fights are rife at Kooringa and its neighbourhood...", 99 but by that time local inhabitants were taking steps to improve conditions in the district. During 1849 a party of Cornish miners submitted a petition to the Colonial Secretary, drawing his attention to the immorality and lawlessness that existed at the Burra and demanding that some action be taken.100 Foremost amongst the petitions signatories were Thomas Ninnes (from Towednack) and Samuel Bray (from Falmouth), who were both pioneer Methodists in the Burra and Clare districts. The first Wesleyan Minister visited the Burra in 1846, while the Primitive Methodists opened their chapel at Kooringa in 1844, and the Rev. James Rowe - the first Bible Christian Minister - arrived at the end of 1850, largely in response to a request from the miners. Together, these Ministers and their laymen set out to tame the Burra and, as the evidence in the diary kept by the Rev. John G. Wright (Primitive Methodist) during the 1850s showed, they were to a considerable extent successful. (See Chapter 7) Even as early as 1849, one observer claimed that there was a "... visible improvement in the state of society at the Burra..." 101 which contrasted with the situation a year or two before when the district was "... a hell upon earth". 102 By the end of 1849 another correspondent could make the amazing claim that at Burra "The almost total absence of crime among a population of nearly 5,000 inhabitants, speaks volumes for the morality of the people..." 103 Thus the
efforts of men such as Thomas Ninnes and James Rowe were responsible for turning the Burra into a relatively civilized and certainly Christian community - a transformation which, although compressed into only a few years, was strongly reminiscent of the Cornish experience and contrasted with the conditions in many of the gold-diggings camps in the eastern colonies.

Of course, excesses did not disappear over-night and it is possible to point to numerous disturbances in the years after 1850 - in October 1855, for example, there was a violent brawl in one of the inns resulting in the death of a miner, while in May of the same year one William Gendall was arrested for stabbing his wife, and in 1866 Samuel Trevena was fined for assaulting a police trooper. But generally, after those early years of violence and degredation, poor social conditions at the Burra derived not so much from the physical behaviour of the inhabitants, but rather as a result of poor housing, the prevalence of disease, and what one might term the rigours of colonial life. The South Australian Mining Association did much to alleviate the housing problem by constructing cottages for its workers, but their erection did not keep pace with demand, and in any case many miners appeared to begrudge paying the rents that were charged or resented the loss of independence implicit in residing in the Association's own property. Thus a great number of miners adopted the extraordinary practice of excavating houses in the banks of the Burra Creek, thus creating Burra's famous "dug-out" dwellings. The first of these was apparently excavated circa 1847 and they remained in use well into the 1850s, although the particularly bad floods of 1851 drove many families to seek accommodation elsewhere. Very possibly, however, a few of the dug-outs were in use at a much later date, for several survived the effects of weather, time
and vandalism to last into the twentieth-century. Clearly, when they were first dug they were intended only as temporary affairs - Henry Pinch lived in his until he had built a cottage at Redruth, and James Blatchford (another early Methodist pioneer) stayed in a dug-out at Welsh Creek (adjacent to the smelting works) for only as long as it took him to save enough money to move elsewhere. 105 Inevitably, though, many of these "temporary" homes became permanent as time went on. Some were made quite comfortable - a few even had strips of carpet fitted, and one of the larger dug-outs saw service as a boarding-house! A number of contemporary accounts of the Burra dug-outs have survived, a report in the South Australian News of April 1848 noting that the miners,

... for want of houses excavated little caverns, divided into apartments, in the steep banks of the creek. Many of these we visited, are fitted up in the neatest style imaginable and form cool and comfortable habitations. They extend for about three miles on both sides of the creek, and contain a population of 400 or 500 persons... 106

When the Rev. James Rowe arrived at the Burra he lived first of all, with his wife, in a room only 10 feet square of a 4 roomed dug-out owned by a Mr. Nettle. It seemed to Rowe that "... the banks swarmed with people like a rabbit warren from Redruth to the cemetery (at Kooringa)". 107 Although the dug-outs were by all accounts made as "liveable" as possible, there were disadvantages of living in the creek. Haywood recorded one of the more amusing problems when he noted that on the top of the bank, above each dug-out, there was

... usually placed an empty flour barrel to show pedestrians the danger of walking into a chimney or the fire at the foot, there was however no prevention to a passerby dropping a brick or stone, or log, into the iron pot boiling or stewing below, and thus the jokers indulged themselves. 108

One such "joker" was John Hele, who in 1848 was employed
as a bullock-driver on the Burra-Port Adelaide run. "Bullockies" were traditionally a wild, hard-drinking breed, and Hele was no exception. He recalled in 1905 how in those days the bullock-drivers camped outside Kooroinga but that after their drinking sessions, they would venture into the township to "... carry on all sorts of nonsense...". They took particular delight in tormenting the creek-dwellers, Hele remembering that

... I have seen men fall right through chimneys into the fireplace, and as can naturally be expected scared the inmates very much. I have seen food in the act of being cooked forked from the top of the chimneys and taken right away, and when the cook returned to see how the meal was progressing was surprised at its mysterious disappearance.

When "Old Colonist" visited the Burra in 1851 there were some 2,600 people living in the dug-outs, and he drew attention to a more serious problem when he noted that "... infantile diseases are greatly prevalent...". He also considered that, with the constant threat of flooding, inhabiting the dug-outs "... equals the madness of living under Mount Vesuvius...". There had been a number of floods before 1851, with several of the houses being washed away, but the worst inundations came during that year - there being three major floodings of which the one in June was the most serious. One miner was killed when his dug-out collapsed on top of him, and those who were made homeless were found temporary accommodation in chapels, stables, the hospital and tarpaulin tents. As one eye-witness recalled, there was "Much loss and ruin caused."

With the departure of the great majority of the miners for the Victorian gold-fields at the end of 1851 and during 1852, it seems that only a relative few of the dug-out houses were restored, and thereafter the number of creek-dwellers declined. However, the floods did not sweep away all the problems assoc-
iated with the life at the Burra. Disease, for example, remained a constant evil. In 1847, Allan Thomson, the "bal surgeon" at the Burra, had written to Henry Ayers (the S.A.M.A. secretary) complaining that fever was widespread as a result of the "... Slaughter Houses & C., Stock Yards, and Piggeries attached to the different stores, together with the chamber filth thrown out of the cottages, and that deposit in the creeks". 115 Ayers himself complained in 1850 about pigs and dogs running wild in the cemetary, and in May 1855 three miners - John Julien, Robert Roach, and John Bowden - were fined for allowing their pigs to wander at will amongst the cottages.116 Typhus fever continued to claim many victims, such as 24 year-old Mrs. Treglown who died in February 1866,117 and the district's unpleasant conditions survived for many years. In 1872 Kooringa was said to be "... the shabbiest town in the Australias..."118, its cottages "... the most squalid in the British Empire..."119.

---VIII---

At Kapunda, social conditions (including the behaviour of the miners) never seem to have been as bad as at early Burra. The first settlers lived in tents, but houses were quickly erected and at no time was there anything to compare with the Burra Creek dug-outs. Writing in 1846, Francis Dutton noted that

... several rows of substantial cottages, on a uniform plan, are already erected, a hill of clay slate on the property affording excellent building stone, which being tinged more or less with copper, give the walls of the cottages a pretty mottled appearance. The miners having their families now living with them, are happy and contented, and are not continually wanting to go to town. (i.e. Adelaide) as they formerly did ... A chapel, which will also serve as a school-house, is by this time completed. 120

Nevertheless, life was not always as rosy at Kapunda as Dutton might have us believe. Over the Christmas of 1865, for
example, three local inhabitants (one appropriately named Boose) drank themselves to death - an indication that intemperance was a problem, while a few years earlier in November 1860 a miner called James Bastian had killed William Moyle in a public house brawl. The mine area itself, with its shafts and ponderous machinery, also posed dangers for the unwary particularly as the miners' cottages were built along-side the mine, thus giving children and others easy access to the area. One of the favourite "dares" of the youngsters at Kapunda was to steal a "ride" on the balance-bob, or "walking beam" as they called it. This bob was situated at the mouth of the engine shaft and acted as a counterbalance to the weight of the pump rods. It had an up and down rocking action, there being a heavy weight at one end, and it was this which attracted the children. The miners became extremely angry when they discovered anyone "riding" the balance-bob, ostensibly because it interfered with the pumping operations, but no doubt also because they knew it was a dangerous practice. In Cornwall there was a children's rhyme in which a balance-bob "Scat the old man back in the shaft", and in fact at the Burra in 1875, Captain Sanders' son John (then only a school-boy) was "... frightfully crushed in the lower parts of his body..." when he fell under a balance-bob during a game of chase.

The miners working underground - at Kapunda or Burra, or anywhere else in the colony for that matter - were also in some physical danger. There were runs of ground, the occasional fire, and from time to time miners were seriously injured or even killed. But there were no major disasters, and the mines were on the whole considerably safer than those in Cornwall - one reason being that the workings (with the exception of Wallaroo and Moonta) were far shallower than their Cornish counterparts.
In 1863 J.B. Austin could write that "The deepest mine in the colony the Burra, is only one-fifth of the depth of some of the Copper Mines of Cornwall", and that at most of the other workings little more had "... been done that what would be called 'surfacing' in Cornwall". In later years, of course, the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines became very much deeper (by 1923, Taylor's Shaft at Wallaroo Mines was down 3,000 feet - well over half-a-mile), but still they were remarkably free from serious accidents. Indeed, between 1866 and 1900 there were no more than 83 deaths in the whole of the North Yorke Peninsula mines, a number of these being due not strictly to "mining" accidents as such, but rather to scaldings, boiler explosions, being crushed in machinery, and so on. Some of these deaths, too, represented children and others wandering into the mines area and falling down shafts or being killed by machinery. Six year-old William Northey, (a son of Captain Northey) for example, fell down a shaft at Devon Consols in 1874, and in 1886 seven year-old Joseph Williams was killed by riding a plunger pole at Hughes' Shaft, Moonta Mines. Explosions underground accounted for a number of the actual mining accidents, the most serious being in 1878 when William Bennett, James Crabbe and Edward Quintrell were killed, an inquiry attributing the explosion to the negligence of one John Roberts. Rock falls, such as that which killed Henry Angwin in the Kurilla mine in 1879, occurred from time to time; and accidents involving man-skips also caused some loss of life - William Hobb of Cross Roads, for instance, was killed in 1893 when he put his head out of the skip in which he was riding and had it dashed against the shaft wall.

In marked contrast to many workings in South America, South Africa, and even Cornwall, South Australian mines were generally considered "healthy". Certainly, there were deaths from
"miners' disease" or "miners' complaint" (broad terms covering all sorts of lung disorders from consumption to phthisis and silicosis) but they were not common, and often the disease had been contracted in Cornwall or overseas before the miners had come to the colony. General health conditions, however, were appalling at both the Moonta Mines and Wallaroo Mines settlements, and, whilst the miners' pay may have been well in excess of that received in Cornwall, actual living conditions were as bad - and on occasions far worse - than at home. This was due to the fact that (rather like the Burra dug-outs) "temporary" cottages erected on the mineral leases in the early days (without due consideration to sanitary arrangements) became "permanent" as the years passed. Literally thousands of people lived on the mineral leases, many of the make-shift cottages being badly overcrowded, and as a result a disease outbreak would quickly become an epidemic. As at the Burra, the miners at Wallaroo and Moonta took it upon themselves to build their own houses because of the acute shortage of accommodation. The mine companies did erect some cottages, principally for their captains and other senior employees, but in the early days the "... Cornish miners and their families ... were living in great discomfort in a town of calico (Wallaroo Mines) amidst dust, heat and flies...". It was not surprising, then, that they should wish to erect more substantial dwellings at the earliest opportunity, and they did so, building their cottages - with the tacit approval of the companies - on the actual mineral leases.

Government townships were soon laid-out at Moonta (adjacent to the Moonta Mines), Kadina (adjacent to the Wallaroo Mines), and at Port Wallaroo (known generally as plain Wallaroo, the township being situated on the coast some miles west of the actual mines). Most of the miners, however, continued to live
on the mineral leases. The largest settlement was Moonta Mines itself, with Wallaroo Mines coming a close second, and there being a whole series of "off-shoots" and "suburbs" such as East Moonta, Yelta, Cross Roads (Weal Hughes) and Newtown. The entire district, "Little Cornwall" or "The Copper Triangle" as it was often called, was contained in or around a tract of land which formed an isosceles triangle with "sides" (Moonta-Wallaroo and Moonta-Kadina) measuring some 10 miles and a "base" (Wallaroo-Kadina) of 6 miles. Physically, the triangle became a curious mixture of mines, small farms, several concentrated settlements, and numerous scattered cottages, together with the three commercial centres, the skyline being dominated by engine-houses and Methodist chapels. This random, partly urban/partly rural, pattern was in many ways reminiscent of Cornwall - especially of the "ribbon development" of the Camborne-Redruth mining district. The comparison can be taken even further, Moonta and Kadina being equated with Camborne and Redruth; Wallaroo with the port of Portreath (or perhaps Hayle); Moonta Mines, Wallaroo Mines, Yelta, Cross Roads, and so forth with Tuckingmill, Illogan, Troon, Lanner, and St. Day. The ultimate comparison, of course, is that both areas were the principal centre of mining activity in their respective regions (Cornwall and South Australia) and were inhabited largely by Cornish miners and their families. One visitor to "Little Cornwall" in 1873 was clearly fascinated by this unique environment the miners had created, for there was nothing else to compare with it in South Australia:

There is no attempt to form streets here, but houses have been built in every direction, each on its little plot of ground, with tank and fence... To the stranger this all presents a novel and pleasing appearance. The noise of engines and gear, the clink of the blacksmith's hammers... the hoarse rattle of chains and the escape-ment of steam, the sight of immense chimneys and tall
engine-houses, crushing machinery and pumping machinery..., tramroads and skipways at your feet, overhead, and in tunnels under your feet, huge piles of ore...—all combine to impress the least observant of spectators...and to see the cottages all around, with the trim housewife waiting for her husband to come home after morning core, the glimpses of snugness and comfort within, the chapels rising up above the other buildings as if it was a great city, forms a picture as beautiful to the artist as it must be gratifying to the lucky shareholder who is a part proprietor of all around him. 132

Other observers also commented on the random nature of the cottages, which were built in an ad hoc fashion, in 1875 the Rev. W.H. Hosken (himself a Cornishman) writing that "The mines, as they are called, make a queer place. No streets, everyone builds his little cottage just as fancy leads him". 133 Anthony Trollope, after his visit to the district in the early 1870s, also remarked that the miners "...have built habitations for themselves round the very mouths of the shafts, and in this way... vast villages having sprung up—consisting of groups of low cottages, clustering together..." 134. The cottages were actually built of wattle and daub, or baked-mud bricks, and hardened by the fierce Australian sun—were surprisingly durable. Violent storms and torrential rain (another Australian feature) did pose problems, however, in 1877 flood waters on the mines settlements actually washing away several cottages. As one contemporary report noted, "... in a few instances rooms dissolved...!" 135.

The miners' cottages in the Moonta-Kadina-Wallaroo district have often been described as "Cornish", but they seem hardly familiar to those who know the solid, two-storey, granite structures of Cornwall. If anything, they are more reminiscent of peasants' or crofters' cottages in remote parts of Ireland and Scotland, and many—having acquired verandahs and bristling with corrugated iron—invite instead the designation "colonial
South Australian". However, it may be that those miners' cottages that have survived in Cornwall are examples of a superior kind, while ruder, single-storied structures (like those on Yorke Peninsula) have long-since disappeared as a result of weathering in the damp Cornish climate. Indeed, in nineteenth-century Cornwall there was a clear distinction between the comfortable terraced cottages to be found in the larger towns, such as Camborne, and the more humble miners' cottages elsewhere which often had "... only one floor and only two rooms...". This second type of dwelling would be extended as families expanded (a practice also common at Moonta and Wallaroo Mines), and the scores of temporary cottages which sprang up in the villages of Tremar, Coumbe, Darite and Pensilva in the 1850s, after the development of the Caradon Mines, perhaps resembled those erected in similar fashion and in similar circumstances in "Little Cornwall" a decade later.

The fact that the Cornish on North Yorke Peninsula tried to keep their cottages as tidy and comfortable as possible was noted by several writers, Oswald Pryor recalling that in some "The 'best' room had a carpet and there was a harmonium with Wesley's Hymns reposing on the cover...". However, despite the efforts of Methodist-inspired self-improvement, there were all too often extreme cases of destitution and squalid conditions on the mineral leases. In May 1875, for example, John Sparnon had just arrived from Cornwall. He had acquired a cottage at East Moonta, but had soon fallen ill. He was not yet eligible for payments from the company's Club & Doctor Fund, and so when members of the local Trade Union called to see him they found "... a perfect wreck of humanity, with an almost heart-broken wife and seven small children, ... in a state of utter despair". Had it not been for the charity of their neighbours, the
whole Sparnon family "... must have died from starvation and
cold, as they had not sufficient clothing to keep them warm." 140

There was a Poor Relief system to which the destitute could
appeal, but by 1877 the Relieving Officer - a dour Scotsman
called Edwards - was spending £1,000 (per annum?) at the Penin-
sula. When approached by a deputation led by the Rev. Octavius
Lake (Bible Christian) and John Prisk (a Union Leader), Edwards
declared that it was impossible to increase support for the
destitute on the mines settlements. He argued that "... there
was little to excite pity in seeing children shoeless. He had
known plenty of Scotch children who would prefer being without
shoes", 141 and added that many of the so-called destitute
widows were in fact taking advantage of the Relief system:
"Most of these women were in the prime of life, and where they
had children of ten years of age, these could look after the
rest while the mothers worked." 142 He was referring to cases
such as that of one widow, with two children, who admitted that
she did own a sewing-machine but that "... work was so scarce
... she could not earn 6d a week", and of another who conceded
that she did in fact have a mangle but was too ill to take in
work. 143

---IX---

Perhaps even more alarming than extreme poverty was the
insanitary conditions that were prevalent on the mineral leases.
No matter how clean individual householders might have been, the
total absence of drainage and sewage facilities made squalor
almost inevitable. In April 1877 one horrified observer
condemned the miners' "earth closets" as "... filthy and dis-
gusting...", 144 while another complained that

... many of the residents do not study their neighbours' interests, and are quite unscrupulous as to where they
throw their soapsuds and filth, and if the erecting of
a pigstye or closet close to their neighbour's back door will cause an annoyance, they are but too highly gratified. You may oftimes see dead cats, dogs, fowls &c lying about the streets in a state of putrefaction. 145

Later, in 1884, one report on a thousand cottages at Wallaroo Mines concluded that although some houses "... were clean and tidy, ... the majority of them were just the reverse ...". 146 Cottages erected by the company were "... built in accordance with sanitary requirements, and are very comfortable ..." 147 but elsewhere dwellings were squalid and their "... closets are almost without exception in a foul condition". 148 Cows, pigs, goats and poultry were allowed to wander about the settlement without hindrance, and many cottages were hopelessly overcrowded. The report instanced one case where William Bonnetta, a miner from Cornwall, had been suffering from fever for six months. He lived in a cottage occupied by 12 persons, 7 of whom slept in one room measuring 12 feet by 10 feet, the others sharing another of 9 feet square. Such conditions, of course, were not unknown in nineteenth-century Cornwall, where mining towns from St. Just to Gunnislake were notorious for their overcrowding and squalor. On North Yorke Peninsula, however, the situation was exacerbated by the weather - both directly and indirectly - through the effects of drought and the primitive methods of water conservation employed by the miners. In the dry season of 1864/65 it did not rain on the Peninsula for six months, and water was bought in the settlements for 6d a bucket. Another bad year was 1877, and in 1879 the Government was reduced to carting water to the Moonta district (11,000 hogsheads being brought in in six weeks). 149 Tanks were sunk into the ground to try to collect water, so that there would not be shortages during the dry weather, and every cottage had its own rain-water tank. However, because of the insanitary
conditions on the mineral leases, these tanks soon became polluted and were breeding-grounds for all kinds of bacteria.

Not surprisingly, therefore, there were periodic outbreaks of disease which swept the mines settlements, decimating the infant population. Cholera and diphtheria struck from time to time, but typhoid (also known as "colonial fever" or "black measles") was the real enemy. The district was probably never entirely free of the fever until 1900, or perhaps even later, but the worst period of all was 1873 to 1875. During 1873 there were 327 burials in Moonta cemetery, mostly typhoid victims, with the Register noting that during June there were up to four funerals a day. In November 1874 there were no less than 119 deaths in the Wallaroo-Moonta-Kadina triangle, and in one 20 hour period in the following December 16 deaths occurred, more than 50 persons dying of typhoid in that month at Moonta alone. The Central Board of Health, in distant Adelaide, became alive to the problem during 1874 and urged the Moonta and Wallaroo companies to take steps to improve the conditions on their mineral leases. The Moonta Directors, in spite of all the evidence, retorted that "... the unhealthiness of the place (is) ... grossly exaggerated..." and that the district "... compare(s) favourably ... with any other locality", the company having "... always on hand a large supply of wholesome rain or distilled water available to their employees at cost price...". Nevertheless, the Central Board of Health took strong action, announcing in May 1875 that its Inspectors now had the power to inspect every cottage, to have any insanitary dwelling pulled down, and to determine the maximum number of people permitted to live in any one house. Miners on the mineral leases were to be prevented from drinking water from their own tanks and were not allowed to keep a pig within 50 yards of their cottages.
Interestingly, the Cornishmen resented this outside interference, declaring that it was "... uncalled for, unworkable, and illegal ... a wilful waste of public money...". 155

There may have been some improvement at the time (the typhoid epidemic was checked), but by the mid-1880s the situation had again deteriorated. In 1884 the Moonta Directors were severely criticised by the Central Board of Health for allowing poor conditions to continue on their leases, and in the September they were ordered to improve the cottages of William Hosking, Charles Burk, and Josiah Pengelley within 90 days if legal action was to be avoided. The Directors reacted, on Captain Hancock's advice, by appointing their own local health inspector (as did the Wallaroo Directors) and in 1887 they created a local health board - consisting of Captain Hancock, doctors resident in the area, and two Ministers of religion. 156 They were relatively successful, but could not prevent an outbreak of diphtheria at Moonta Mines in 1891, the source of the disease ultimately being identified as contaminated milk sold in the area. 157

It has been argued that in Cornwall social conditions were made worse because of early marriages and large families. "The miners often marry young...", 158 wrote Government Commissioners in 1842, "although, as is frequent in Celtic communities, the matter is often delayed till the circumstances of the girl with whom they have been 'keeping company' render marriage indi- pensable." 159 On North Yorke Peninsula, early marriages and large families were also common, and it is interesting that one Methodist Minister in the district complained that 90 per cent of marriages he solemnised "... had to take place to save dishonour." 160 In this light, it is also interesting to consider
the accusations of one observer who wrote in 1877 of "... the great immorality existing on the Mines". He argued that in an area "... renowned for its Christianity, you may see sights and hear sounds that would shock the modesty of any right-feeling human being...", and claimed that young ladies were "... almost afraid to go to Chapel..." for fear of being sworn at and hooted after. But generally, the mineral lease dwellers were a peaceable and responsible people, and, for a community of 25,000 souls, there was remarkably little crime; as at the Burra the Methodists were a tempering and guiding influence for the local populace.

The question of whether the people were actually "better off" than in Cornwall is in the final analysis a difficult one. For the most part they earned more and ate more. Many also lived longer (in 1865, miners in Cornwall rarely lived beyond 40, but as on the Peninsula it was not uncommon for people to survive into their 50s, 60s, 70s and sometimes even 80s and occasionally 90s), but squalid conditions, and above all "colonial fever", were perennial threats. Depression years, too, such as were experienced in the 1880s and 1890s led to periods of unemployment that were as miserable as those in Cornwall, as evidenced by the widespread departure of Moonta and Wallaroo miners for Broken Hill and Western Australia during those years. The Burra miners of the 1840s might have felt as rich as kings, but it was not surprising that those who arrived on Yorke Peninsula from Cornwall in the 1880s complained bitterly of being deceived by recruiting agents.

---X---

As noted above, the "Little Cornwall" community of Wallaroo, Moonta, and Kadina was in many ways physically and socially
reminiscent of Cornwall's own mining districts. Culturally, too, it came to acquire a distinct Cornish flavour, while other mining towns were also known for their Cornish atmospheres, and the individual migrants elsewhere in the colony retained their "tincture of Cornishry". However, the transplantation and development of cultural patterns was not an easy or automatic process. For the first miners in districts such as Burra and Moonta, their initial impression was not of having arrived in a "home from home" but rather of being set-down in a strange and alien wilderness. It was not until they themselves had created a community, with its own social and cultural patterns, that later immigrants would find themselves in a familiar and friendly environment. And even then, South Australia's mining districts could never be exact replicas of their Cornish counterparts, and so cultural development would be inevitably along lines moulded by Australian conditions and thus different from that in Cornwall. In Adelaide, and other non-mining parts of South Australia, this was doubly so. First reactions would again be of a strange and alien land, but instead of the migrants gradually creating a new "Cornish community" they would become assimilated into a broader society, their "tincture of Cornishry" becoming less relevant in their everyday lives as the years passed. Thus their perceptions of Cornwall and "Cornishness" would become ever more Romantic and nostalgic (a process much accelerated by events in the twentieth-century, as discussed in Chapter 10).

To begin with these non-mining settlers, a closer inspection of their initial reactions reveals the enormity of the impact of the new environment upon them. In 1911 Richard Best, from St. Dennis, could still recall his first impressions of South Australia and how he felt on arrival in the new land:
What are our thoughts! Well are they graven on my mind! For three months (i.e. on the ship) our food had been assured without anxiety and little effort on our part. Where would tomorrow's meal come from? What welcome awaited us in this strange land! Had we made a mistake! Should we find ourselves stranded with the struggle of the Old Land renewed or would it be a stronger struggle in a new land commenced! How conflicting the thoughts and emotions that swayed us. 165

Some, like John Martin from Stithians, admitted that at first "... you would think the land was good for nothing..." but that growing familiarity with the colony would improve one's estimation of its worth. Charles Dunn, in a letter to a friend at Hext Mill, Lewannick, noted that an immigrant's first impression depended largely on whether one arrived in summer or in winter. He had landed in Port Adelaide during the summer months and "... gave a bad account of the country; it was then looking dry...". The winter rains, however, turned the vegetation green and luxurious and he was forced to change his mind about South Australia. Thomas Sleep, from Falmouth, was unfortunate in that his father died soon after their arrival in Adelaide, and Thomas was forced to spend his first weeks in the colony living in a tent with his brother Samuel, his mother, and a girl called Ann Pierce. He was determined, however, to make the best of things in South Australia, writing stoically that "You can scarcely conceive how comfortable these tents are made". Others were in fact stimulated by the new environment, it being said that Nicholas Dunstan Bennett, from Constantine, "... was so favourably impressed with the colony that he would not have cared had he been landed here quite unprepared". Similarly, William, Joseph and James Pedler wrote to their brother Thomas in Truro, noting that "... the only thing that makes us uncomfortable is the absence of our families."

Joseph Pedler, in a letter to another brother at Perrenarworthal, added that "The natives of the place are very civil...", the
presence of Aborigines in the colony accentuating the feeling of strangeness and difference for the newly-arrived immigrant. Indeed, a great many Cornish settlers commented on the Aborigines in their letters home. Thomas Davey admitted that "We were very much surprised to see the natives", while John Holman told his father in South Petherwin that "The natives are quite harmless".

Adjustment to this environment meant adaption, and ultimately assimilation into colonial society. This was not a smooth process, and the strength of the Cornwall and Devon Society in Adelaide in 1851 indicated that many Cornishmen were still very much aware of their separate identity, the Society being not so much a nostalgic "Cornish Association" but rather a pressure group designed to win specific advantages for the Cornish (and Devon) community. In the same way, the Cornish in Adelaide were sensitive about their reputation. In the Register in December 1848, William Stevens of Brown Street wrote that he wanted "... my brother Cornishmen (to) ... know how disparagingly they are spoken of by some persons in Adelaide...". Stevens had visited a store to sell a batch of shovels, the storekeeper exclaiming that "There's not a d---d Cornishman in the colony that would use them, for they are too lazy." Stevens, understandably indignant, retorted that "... Cornishmen, 'one and all', are a match for any other countrymen any day, and more than a match for the best counter-jumper in the colony." Later, in 1870, one Adelaide newspaper considered the Cornish community significant enough to note that "Many Cornishmen in the province will read with regret (of) the ... death ... of Mr. Cyrus Redding, one of the literary men of London. Born at Penryn, Cornwall, in 1785."
Another indication of the prominence of the Cornish community in early Adelaide was the staging of Cornish wrestling matches in the city. In February 1848, for example, the Register carried the following advertisement:

I, William Hodge, weighing 12 stone 12lbs, challenge any man in South Australia, to wrestle, Cornish or Devon style, two lock falls out of three to decide the challenge, for the sum of £20 or £50, the challenge to stand good for one month from this date. For further particulars, apply to Mr. Oatey, "Boars Head, Rundle Street." 178

William Hodge was something of a local champion, in November 1851 another advertisement announcing a grand "CORNWALL V. DEVONSHIRE"179 match to be held at the Brecknock Arms, King William Street, with William Hodge representing Cornwall and John Hoskin wrestling for Devon. There was to be seating for 2,000 people (Cornish wrestling must have been very popular), and the match was to consist of two "falls" — one played in the Devonshire style, the other Cornish. In the event of a tied game, the two wrestlers would toss a coin to decide in which style the deciding "fall" would be played. This concern to distinguish between the Cornish and Devonshire forms of wrestling was all-important. Celtic wrestling had survived principally in Cornwall and Brittany, but was also practised in parts of Wales, Cumberland, and Devon (in the latter county — its survival perhaps being due to the Cornish mining influence in the Tamar Valley and on Dartmoor). Inevitably regional variations developed and, while a Cornishman could play a Breton without too much argument over rules, there were important differences between the Cornish and Devon styles. In particular, Devon rules allowed a wrestler to kick his opponent's shins, while this was forbidden in Cornwall. Thus, without rules for a particular match being determined beforehand, a Devonshire wrestler would turn-up with his legs protected by straw tied to his shins,
while the poor Cornishman would be bare-legged! In South Australia, the match organisers tried to be fair, although the Cornish style tended to predominate. J. Wills, for example, was the champion of the Cornish style at Gawler in 1859. 180

But despite the popularity of wrestling, the "tincture of Cornishry" retained by immigrants from Cornwall was more noticeable in some individuals than in others. Some, like Thomas Smith 181 - from Penzance - who had settled in Angaston and later at Port Wakefield, displayed their Cornish background through their enthusiasm for brass bands ("banding" was a favourite Cornish pastime); and Samuel Arthur, who farmed in various parts of the colony, was "... very fond of sporting activities, particularly horse trotting, referring to his "tratters" in true Cornish style." 182 Others displayed this "Cornishness" by returning home on holiday after a life-time in South Australia. William Hill, for example, arrived in the colony from Wendron as a young man, and, in 1880 (only five years before his death), he returned home on a visit "... spending some time in his native town in Cornwall, which ever had his enthusiastic regard." 183 Sometimes such sentiments were passed on to generations born in South Australia. Joseph Grigg, for example, was born in Launceston in 1832. As a youth he worked on Horrel Farm in the neighbouring parish of Werrington, before marrying a Miss Mutton of Boscastle and emigrating to South Australia. His son Joseph, born in Adelaide, inherited his feelings for "home" and visited Cornwall on no less than three occasions - each time welcomed as "cousin" by the remaining members of the Grigg family. 184

Cornish place-names turned up in unlikely parts of South Australia, reflecting again individual migrants' fond memories
of home. As well as the many Cornish-named mining towns – Redruth, Copperhouse, Lostwithial, Helston, Truro, Penrice, Saltash (in the north of the colony, near the N.S.W. border), Callington, and so on – there were a number of rural settlements named after localities in Cornwall. Cornish farmers often chose Cornish names for their properties, so that scattered across the colony one could find "Trevale", "Carn Brea", "Constantine Farm", "Treview", "Pencarrow", "Kenwyn", "Lanhydrock", "Boskenna", "Trenouth Farm", "Trevarno", "Trewinna", "Bowithick", "Boconnoc", "Cotehele", "Nantithet", "Trevenson", "Trevalsa", and no doubt many others. House names – such as "Little Cornwall" and "Ludgvan House" – could be equally evocative, and several country towns were able to boast Cornish names. Kersbrook, in the Adelaide Hills, was thus named in 1841 by John Bowden, after his birthplace in the parish of Linkinhorne. Neighbouring Millbrook was named in 1856 by John Tippett, a local storekeeper and orchardist, his choice being influenced "... by the fact that Millbrook in Cornwall was the last town he worked in before leaving for South Australia."¹⁸⁵ The Hills settlement of Mylor was laid out in 1891 (in honour of the birthplace of James Penn Boucaut)¹⁸⁶, while the village of Roseworthy, near Gawler, was named by James Gartrell after his home-village in Cornwall. There was also a Penryn, near Cowandilla; and Trelyn – a division of Spalding – was named in memory of one Frank Tresise. St. Agnes, near Tea Tree Gully, was named by Dr. William Thomas Angove. Other places (townships, suburbs, and hundreds) were also named after prominent Cornish colonists and politicians, there being a Bassett Town, a Hundred of Bice, a Hundred of Bonython, a Daveyston, a Hundred of Hooper, a Hundred of Ninnes, a Hundred of Parsons, a Hundred of Pascoe, a suburb of Harris (Port Pirie), a Hundred of Rounsevell, a Hundred of Santo, a Sowden Hill, a Hundred and township of Verran, and a Hundred of Waterhouse.
Perhaps in a minority, but nevertheless of extreme interest, were those immigrants who developed a passionate devotion to Cornwall, which they tried to voice at any available opportunity. One can surmise that J.J. Pascoe, the author, was of Cornish birth or descent, for (in addition to the evidence of his name) he used every excuse in his History of Adelaide (finally published in 1901) to praise the Cornish and their achievements. He wrote that "... a large Cornish element is found in the population of South Australia ... the energy and ambition of Cornishmen found for them prominence in colonial public affairs and commercial life",\(^{187}\) adding that "... it is small wonder that Cornishmen make good miners".\(^{188}\) He believed that the Cornish were

... a branch of one of the world's oldest races, a people whose earlier history is enveloped in mystery and romance, and whose later feats, performed mostly upon the perilous sea, have enriched ... story and poem... 189

Equally fervent in his enthusiasm for all things Cornish was Richard Jagoe, born in Truro in 1833. In Cornwall he worked as a seaman, but in 1849 came to South Australia with his parents. He worked variously as farm labourer, draper's runner, gold-digger, mariner, and auctioneer, finally becoming a Sanitary Inspector and also the shipping correspondent for several leading Adelaide newspapers. One occasion in February 1893 Jagoe accompanied the Governor (His Excellency Earl Kintore) on a cruise along the South Australian coastline in the "S.S. Governor Musgrave". He kept a journal of the voyage, the entries revealing that, even at the age of 60 and 44 years after leaving Cornwall, he was as consciously Cornish as ever. One of the banquets held on board ship, he wrote, could "... be likened to Whitsuntide or Gwennap Feast Day for the eating and
drinking commenced early...", 190 and he noted that at Port Victoria he "... saw the Treasurer, Rounseville (sic, W.B. Rounsevell) by name and a Cornishman at that". 191 Richard Jagoe was also concerned to establish a Cornish aristocratic connection, claiming descent from Sir John de Trejago of Fentongollan, in the parish of St. Michael Penkevil (Trejago having been High Sheriff of Cornwall in the reign of Edward VI).

Of similar inclination was John Langdon Bonython. As a youth, in Adelaide, his parents encouraged his interest in Cornish history and genealogy. He read the Cornish histories by Tonkin and Carew, and in 1868 was much excited by an entry in the Gentleman's Magazine concerning the Bonythons in Tudor Cornwall, and which gave details of the survival of a "Bonython Flagon" which had apparently been used at the coronation banquet of James I and VI. Similar articles appeared in the Royal Cornwall Gazette in April 1875, the Gentleman's Magazine in 1879, and the Western Antiquary in 1881. By then, Bonython had located and acquired the famous "Flagon", and in 1882 he was able to secure various other Bonython relics - a silver cup with the Bonython arms, a gold ring with a crest, old dresses, books with old Bonython signatures, and a silver seal with the family coat of arms. Later, he was able to purchase other "heirlooms" - including family portraits - and in South Australia had two houses built, which he named after ancient aristocratic seats in Cornwall with which the Bonythons had been associated: Carclew and Carminow. Carclew was a strange "Gothic Revival" type building in North Adelaide, but Carminow - built in greystone and situated amongst the trees on Mount Bonython in the Hills - looked for all the world like a Tudor gentleman's house plucked straight out of Cornwall. Indeed, Bonython incorporated a few stones from the ruins of the Cornish Carminow into his
building, and for its gardens imported rhododendrons from Trelowarren and other stately-homes in Cornwall. 193

Bonython at times expressed a desire to retire to Cornwall, and in 1895 the Quiz and the Lantern had no doubt that he would, writing that

By and by he will shake the South Australian dust from off his shoes and go to live in picturesque Carclew, in "the land of a lost language", surrounded by a perfect halo in the traditional glory of the Bonythons. 194

But it was never to be, and instead Bonython stayed in South Australia - becoming self-styled leader of its Cornish community, his own view of Cornwall and "Cornishness" epitomising the increasingly Romantic, nostalgic and sentimental perception of "home" shared by growing numbers of Cornishmen in the colony. Significantly, this nostalgia was to be found mostly amongst those who were residents of non-mining areas; one reason being that, unlike the inhabitants of "Little Cornwall", they were not members of a living Cornish community, but also because they did not have their recollections of home sharpened by the memory of what it was like to work at the bottom of Dolcoath mine or Botallack. And while "Cornwall" for men such as Bonython meant Trelowarren, Tregothnan and other fine houses, for the average Cousin Jack it was the overcrowded hovels of St. Day or St. Just.

A colleague and contemporary of John Langdon Bonython was James Penn Boucaut, one-time Premier, Supreme Court Judge, and Acting Governor. He was born at Mylor in West Cornwall in 1851. Although his father was a Guernseyan (hence his French-sounding name), Boucaut was a proud "... son of Cornwall ... (as) he has more than once boasted ... on public occasions." 195 He came
to South Australia with his parents and brothers while still a youth but not before he had "... received those delightful impressions found in quaint legend and hoary tradition so dear to the heart of every true Cornishman". He attributed many of his attitudes and dispositions to his Cornish background, and like Bonython developed a consuming passion for Cornwall and its heritage. In 1892 he revisited Cornwall, an experience he found both joyous and depressing. Joyous because he was returning to his native home; depressing because he realised that now - with his life almost over - he had missed his opportunity of spending his days in Cornwall, but also because he found Cornwall a down-trodden, derelict, and depopulated land. He went to Mylor Church and wrote that "Though I was not seven when I left this part - now alas! fifty three years ago, and have never seen it since - I knew every step of the way and at once detected the alterations, which were few." He also visited Saltash, where he had lived before migrating to South Australia, and found that "The old town is now become very second rate".

And while touring Cornwall he,

... passed through some miles of mining country with the mines deserted, the engines gone, and the engine-houses and chimneys going to ruin, giving a melancholy tinge to the country. Australia and America, with their richer mines, have beaten poor old Cornwall, which now seeks amends by growing vegetables for the Londoners...

Back in South Australia, Boucaut joined forces with John Langdon Bonython to help found the Cornish Association of South Australia, the Cornish Magazine noting soon after that "Both are enthusiastic Cornishmen". The Association was inaugurated at a banquet in Adelaide Town Hall on 21st February 1890, its foundations being further evidence of the growing Romantic, nostalgic view of home. The yearly subscription was 5 shillings, membership being open to all who were "... Cornishmen by birth, descent or long residence." Its aims were to
... assist in forming and maintaining friendly intimacy and interest among those who are of Cornish birth or extraction, to keep alive Cornish customs; to encourage the settlement of that colony(sic!) in this; and to disseminate information regarding South Australia in Cornwall; and to assist any who may be in difficulty or distress. 202

Boucaut was the first Chairman and President, Bonython and W.B. Rounsevell were Vice-Presidents, and C.A. Hornabrook, W. Treleaven, and J.B. Champion (Mayor of St. Peters) were Vice-Chairmen. The inaugural banquet, during which the Rev. J. Reed Glasson declared "... that South Australians and Cornishmen were synonomous terms ...", was widely reported in both Cornwall and South Australia, accounts of the proceedings even finding their way into such obscure journals as the Commercial Shipping & General Advertiser For West Cornwall, published in Penryn. Branches of the Cornish Association sprang up in localities outside Adelaide - a particularly strong branch being formed at Gawler by James Short from Truro and James Martin from Stithians - but in practice the Association was dominated by Bonython, partly on account of his standing in the colony but also because the members deferred to him as he was "... a student of the history of Cornwall and its people, concerning both of which he is a recognised authority". His son, J. Lavington Bonython, also became intimately involved in the Association, to some degree inheriting his father's enthusiasm for Cornwall. Certainly, "Lav" (as he was affectionately known by friends) had a feel for the Cornish identity, writing of his journey to Britain in 1896 that,

Early in the morning (of 10th May) land was visible, this being my first glimpse of England - Cornwall I mean for that was the coast sighted, and Cornwall is not, I am told, in England, but only near it. 207
Branches of the Cornish Association were also formed on North Yorke Peninsula, but cultural development in the mining towns was significantly different to that among the individual Cornish migrants in Adelaide, Gawler or other parts of the colony. Certainly, elements of Romantic, nostalgic change could be detected at Moonta and environs at the end of the century. But for the most part there was created in the mining towns a living Cornish culture which, in the case of "Little Cornwall", developed ultimately in its own right without - necessarily - reference to the experience back "home". The first mining town to acquire a Cornish identity was Kapunda, where the majority of the first miners in 1844 were Cousin Jacks. The Duke of Cornwall's birthday was always observed as a public holiday by the inhabitants of Kapunda, and local housewives baked the traditional Cornish food, one old resident of the township recalling in 1929 that his 

... earliest recollections of Kapunda go back three quarters of a century ... (and included) ... a plate of Saffron Cake fresh from the oven, and the vivid yellow colour of which I can still often, through the lapse of so long a time, plainly visualise. 209

The Cornishmen also formed their inevitable brass bands, one report in 1861 noting that the players in the Kapunda Mines Band were "... all Cousin Jacks with the exception of one, and he's a foreigner..."210. When the Northern Star, Kapunda's first newspaper began publication in 1860 there were still enough Cornishmen in the district for it to carry "News from Cornwall" items. Letters and articles in the Cornish dialect were also published from time to time, the writers' obvious knowledge of Cornish and Kapunda topography indicating that they were locally composed. One such article, addressed to "Cussa..."
Josey, Rosemurgy, Ashton, three miles this side of Germoe, Breage, Cornwall", described the "Keepunder Bal", while another was supposedly a letter "From Cousin Molly Jones of Kapunda to Cousin Betty Hicks, Gwendern (i.e. Wendron) Cornwall". The everyday speech of the Kapunda people, not surprisingly, absorbed many Cornish idioms, so that, for example, someone who had laughed heartily had "... scat me chacks laffin...", while anyone sent to jail was said to have been "... put to Bodmin..." (an allusion to the notorious Bodmin Goal in Cornwall).

During the 1860s and 1870s many of Kapunda's Cornish families moved on to the newly-developed mines at Wallaroo and Moonta, and in 1878 the Kapunda Mine was finally abandoned. However, the Cornish element of the local community must have remained significant, for in 1879 when appeals were sent to South Australia for aid for the destitute in Cornwall, the people of Kapunda were in the forefront of the colony's relief organisation. A public meeting was held at Kapunda in May 1879 during which reports of distress amongst the Cornish miners were read from correspondents in Marazion, Penzance, Helston, Redruth and Truro. The Mayor of Kapunda, J. Rowett, thanked "... God his father brought him from Cornwall when he was young", and Henry Wheare — who had emigrated from Marazion in 1847 — felt that "South Australians should support the Cornish miners in their distress, for to the energy of some of them in opening up the mines, the colony owed its prosperity." Other, non-Cornish, Kapunda residents considered that this was so, one arguing that the relief organisation "... must not be considered a Methodist movement..." while another said "He should be sorry to see it made altogether a Cornish question". No less than 31 guineas was collected for the relief fund at the
meeting, and by the time the English Mail sailed in the June more than £4,000 had been subscribed in South Australia, £300 coming from Kapunda alone.219

But even if the Cornish element remained strong, Kapunda was never a completely Cornish town, there being also a large Irish community, together with representatives of other nationalities. Bettison identified three main ethnic groups in nineteenth-century Kapunda - the Celtic (composed mostly of the Cornish and Irish), the Anglo-Saxon or English, and the Germans. 220 The main Irish influx occurred after 1854, probably in response to the labour shortage occasioned by the departure of the miners to Victoria, and their arrival seems to have caused some resentment. Bettison notes that "Within the Celtic groups ... the Irish were not viewed locally in the same light as ... the Cornish",221 and one feature of life at Kapunda was a continuing rivalry between the Irish and Cornish. This may be interpreted as a clash of Celtic temperaments, although there was certainly an element of class antagonism. The Cornish were the "labour aristocracy" at the Kapunda and other South Australian mines - captains, tributers, tutworkmen - whereas the unskilled Irish were normally given the more menial labouring tasks. There was also a religious aspect - the Cornish were often Methodists and sometimes Orangemen, and thus fiercely opposed to the Catholicism of the Irish.

Kapunda was certainly not alone in its Cornish versus Irish experience - Rowse, Rowe, Todd, and Lingenfelter have all pointed to its existence in North America, and Geoffrey Blainey has shown that it was an Australia-wide phenomenon222 - but the feud does seem to have been particularly bitter within the township. One particular instance occurred in May 1862 when a number of the
miners claimed that their ore was being unfairly assayed. Threatening letters were sent to the captain, and a public meeting was held to discuss their implications. The Cornish put their weight firmly behind the captain, thus suggesting that the Irish were responsible for the intimidation and poisoned-pen letters. With the situation perhaps becoming a little ugly, several speakers found it politic to express "... their opinion that the writer was neither a Cornishman or an Irishman..." in an effort to diffuse the confrontation. Violence actually did break out some years later when, in the election of 1893, Patrick McMahon Glynn - the hero of the Irish community - was surprisingly defeated by James Wharton White. Glynn blamed his defeat on religious bigotry, and one eye-witness recalled that "The bone of contention was the Irish vote...". The declaration of the election result was followed by fighting and rioting, and it was significant that the two men who were most badly beaten by the enraged mob both bore Cornish names - James Rowe and W. Pengelly.

When Michael Davitt, the Irish Land-League agitator, visited Kapunda in the 1890s he was surprised by the degree of Irish sentiment in the district and observed that it felt as though "... Kapunda was somewhere in Connaught instead of being fourteen thousand miles away". Kapunda's Irish identity, then, was at least as important as its Cornish, and perhaps more so in the years after 1880 when many of the Cousin Jacks had left the town. On balance, it was probably true that more space in the Northern Star and its successor, the Kapunda Herald, was devoted to Irish rather than Cornish items - although this was perhaps not surprising when it is recalled that the editor of the Herald was for several years none other than Patrick McMahon Glynn. It may also have been that the Irish were more
vociferous in their defence of their identity than the Cornish, for, as Davitt noted, they embraced the cause of Irish Home Rule with an impressive level of commitment and enthusiasm.

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Like Kapunda, the Burra townships were to some extent a cosmopolitan community, but the Cornish do seem to have been numerically and culturally the dominant group. The great majority of the mine workers were Cornishmen (as Henry Ayers himself noted in 1854), the Methodist influence pervaded the district's religious life, and Cornish traditions thrived. It seems unlikely that the Burra's various townships were constituted on ethnic lines (Redruth and Copperhouse being Cornish, Llwydyyr Welsh, Aberdeen Scottish, or Hampton English), but nevertheless the different groups remained distinctive. The South American muleteers (brought over in 1853,227 probably at the suggestion of Captain Roach who had worked in South America) were Spanish-speaking, and the sprinkling of Welshmen who were employed in the smelters and mines were numerous enough to warrant the occasional visit of a Welsh-speaking Minister of religion.228 Many of the Kooringa tradesmen were English and Scottish, and there were also Irish and German settlers.

The Marriage Register for the local parish church of St. Mary indicates the degree to which Burra residents tended to marry within their own ethnic groups. Cornish men married Cornish women so that, for instance, one finds John Williams, butcher of Kooringa, being wed to Mary Warren; George Truscott, miner of Kooringa, marrying Loveday Yellen; Francis Trezise marrying Mary Jane Tamblyn; Joseph Prior and Priscilla Thomas being married; also Richard Richards and Eliza Bastian; and Thomas Nankervis and Mary Anne Grenfell. Similarly, the
Germans intermarried - Herman Petz and Lisa Schneider; Ernst Bohn and Matilda Sonnemann; Fred. William Reinhardt and Louisa Henrietta Schneider, Conrad Leinert and Julie Dahle. The Cornish-Irish conflict was also evident, one disturbance being noted in August 1867 when two parties of workers - Irishmen and Cornishmen - were entrusted with the construction of a stone hedge on the Booboorowie property, north of the Burra. "On the morning in question, one of the Irishmen laid in wait for a Cornishman and attacked him. A fight ensued between the two parties in which the Cornishmen got the worst." In the same way, in the elections of 1851, the Burra Cornish - the self-styled "... sons of ancient Britons..." opposed the Irish-born candidate G.S. Kingston and his "... sons of Tipperary..." the Cornish cry being "Mildren for ever, and down with the Greens."

The Cornish were well aware of their separate identity, the Rev. Charles Colwell (from Cornwall) telling Wesleyan chapel-goers at Kooringa in March 1859 that the Cornish were "... the real descendants of the Celts...". They liked to maintain links with home, so that in 1863 Malachi Deeble lectured to the Kooringa Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society on the subject of "Cornwall and Its Mines" and the Burra Institute took copies of the Mining Journal - carrying as it did numerous articles on Cornish mining. As the years passed, the settlers' actual memories of home did become increasingly sentimental, this changing mood being captured in the poetry of "Cousin Silvia":

'Twas Grannie who lived near the old Burra Mine,  
And we often went up on a Sunday to dine  
At Redruth, where Grannie lived. Grannie would tell  
Us stories of Cornwall when she was a 'gel',  
Oh, not in the world was a country so fine  
As Cornwall.
In another of her poems, "Lucky Find, 1845", Cousin Silvia drew an intentionally Romantic link between Cornwall and the Burra. Written in Australia, it reveals an understanding of Cornwall and her legends (the magical qualities of the Holy Well at Madron) and if only for that reason warrants recording here in full:

The boys and girls of old Penzance,
Truro, Redruth, and Newlyn —
Throw pebbles in the Madron Well
Asking its depths their fates to tell:
'What luck, blue deeps of Madron?'

'One takes the road', the waters said,
'By stages up to London.
One in the Rocket train will ride,
To Manchester, and take his bride'
Rippled the sparkling Madron.

From Plymouth, on a ship, a few
Will sail into the Southland:
'Remember Cornwall, the old Home,
When to strange waters ye are come
Cautioned the waves of Madron.

Of all that laughter-loving band,
Throwing for luck at Madron:
A shepherd left the Cornish rills,
And came at last to Burra hills,
After the storms of Neptune.

'Twas here he found the copper-ore
Outcroppings: 'Now, by Madron!
Eighteen Hundred Forty-five
Brings luck to man and boy alive:
The Mine is worth a fortune!'

And, oh, ye emerald Malachites!
Ye azure deeps of Madron!
A harvest of five million pounds
Was taken from those Burra mounds —
What luck! What chance! What fortune! 237

Burra did not get its own newspaper until 1876, the year before the mine closed, but when the Northern Mail (soon renamed the Burra News and then the Burra Record) first appeared, it carried numerous Cornish items. There were, for example, various dialect stories — similar to those published at Kapunda — one especially amusing article being "Bill Davey's Opinions":

... I be ony a underground miner, and worked to Bal ever
sence I wur ate yeer old; but my woman be a first rater, and larned the dressmaking to Truro, and a fine passel of things besides. My neame's Bill Davy, and narry man o' size can clem a badder bettern me, an'ef you doant bleeve it just ax Capn' o' Devon Consols, where I worked to home. 238

And when, in May 1879, South Australia received its plea for aid from Cornwall, the Burra Record printed a letter from the Rev. John S. Pawlin of Truro (first published in the West Briton) in which the plight of the Cornish miners was described at some length.239 Although Burra had enough trouble of its own through the closure of its mine, the local residents responded to the call. At Redruth Wesleyan Chapel a special sermon was preached on destitution in Cornwall, and a "Cornish Relief Fund Committee" was set up in Kooriinga. By June 1879 the Committee had collected £60 while the local Wesleyans had raised an additional £24, making a total Burra contribution of almost £85 - a considerable effort for a district itself beset by unemployment and shortage.240

The life-style and activities of the Burra folk also exhibited a genuine Cornish influence. The Duke of Cornwall's birthday, as at Kapunda, was observed as a general holiday, and the miners formed their traditional brass bands.241 Of particular significance was the popularity and survival of Cornish wrestling. One report in 1848, noting that wrestling was "... the favourite amusement of Cornwall...",242 described how up to 1,000 people would gather at the Burra to watch the matches. A cash prize (usually of around five guineas) was awarded to the overall winner of the bouts, with lesser prizes being given to the "runners-up". One memorable match occurred in December 1859, when three days over the Christmas period were allocated for the bouts to be played-off (there were many entries), the venue being the "Miners Arms" hotel and the game being "... con-
ducted in the real Cornish style."243 The local wrestlers did well, but a sensation was caused when the first prize was won by J. Wills, the Gawler champion. Various references suggest that Cornish wrestling remained alive at the Burra until perhaps as late as 1877 when the mine closed, a report in January 1863 noting that the miners had spent their Christmas "... lounging round the taverns, playing skittles and wrestling...",244 and the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser recording in 1874 that Nicholas Martin had died suddenly at Kooninga after wrestling.245

One intriguing entry in the South Australian in 1848 was the remark that "Monday the 6th March was a great day amongst the Cornish people at Burra..."246. The day, celebrated by the staging of wrestling bouts, was evidently a public holiday at the Burra and it may be significant that the preceding day - March 5th - was St. Piran's Day. Hamilton Jenkin suggests that the Cornish miners' practice of celebrating St. Piran's Day (St. Piran being their Patron Saint) declined and disappeared in the first half of the nineteenth-century, but he also notes that March 5th was before that date always recognised as a public holiday and feast day at the mines in Cornwall.246247 It is just possible, then, that the practice lingered long enough to be brought to South Australia - in this instance March 6th being the day set aside for the festivities, the 5th falling on a Sunday when, of course, the more religious of the miners would not tolerate "Sabbath-breaking".

A second and equally intriguing enigma was the existence of "Johnny Green", the miners' mascot. He was a life-size figure of a Cornish miner, cut from a sheet of boiler iron and erected - by the mine carpenter, Ben Opie - on the shears above Morphett's Shaft.248 In one hand "Johnny Green" held
aloft a Cornish pick, in the other a miner's gad. His origin as a mascot and his nomenclature (Green is not a Cornish surname) are a mystery, but two possible explanations come to mind. The first is that he was, perhaps, a physical representation of the "pick and gad men" - small underground spirits or elves who, according to Cornish lore, inhabited the depths of the mines, going about their business, which was often malevolent and occasionally altruistic. Certainly, as will be shown, Cornish miners in South Australia believed in faery folk (such as Jack o' Lanterns) but, while "Johnny Green" was represented in the normal human form, the "pick and gad men" - also often known as "knackers" - were said to be "... little withered, dried up creatures, of the size of children twelve months or two years old, with big, ugly heads, faces like old men, and ungainly limbs."249 A second, and hopefully not too fanciful, explanation is that perhaps "Johnny Green" was a latter-day expression of the old Cornish custom of erecting greenery (bushes and the like) atop the shears on St. John's Day.250 It is but a short change from "St. John's Greenery" to "Johnny Green", and this was perhaps what occurred - either consciously or unconsciously - in the minds of the Cornish miners at Burra Burra. Moreover, it is clear that the Burra population did celebrate St. John's Eve, this being a Christian festival which had absorbed the earlier pagan, Celtic rites performed on June 24th, Midsummer's Eve.

In nineteenth-century Cornwall, Midsummer's Eve was traditionally celebrated by the lighting of bonfires. This was a custom which was brought to South Australia by the Cornish miners, and which survived at the Burra for many years. Although June 24th actually falls in the middle of winter in the southern hemisphere, the miners retained the traditional date - no doubt
to coincide with the celebrations in Cornwall, but also because to light enormous fires in the bush in the Australian midsummer would be clearly imprudent. June 24th was kept as yet another public holiday at the Burra, it "... being a red-letter day in Cousin John's calender..."251, and was, according to a report of June 1863, "... celebrated by divers juveniles who lighted up numerous bonefires (sic)."252 Of special interest was the fact that the miners let-off "... logs of wood and hundredweights plugged with blasting-powder..."253 - an obvious survival of the practice in Cornwall of "shooting" (blasting) holes in rock-formations to celebrate the coming of Midsummer. An earlier report, in 1860, claimed that Midsummer Day was an excuse for "... no small measure of rejoicing and festivity..."254 at the Burra, while another in 1865 recorded that both the 20th and 24th June were celebrated as public holidays.255 By the mid-1870s, the practice of lighting Midsummer bonfires had apparently disappeared, but still June 24th was a day set aside for celebrations - in 1877, for example, the Koorintha Primitive Methodist Chapel holding its Anniversary on that date.256

The Cornish miners at Callington also kept Midsummer's Eve, one observer there alleging that it was "... always observed by miners as a holiday in commemoration of the first coinage of tin in Cornwall."257 In 1859 the Callington mine owners chose June 24th as the occasion for starting and christening their new 60 inch Cornish pump-engine. They celebrated the event by holding a great dinner in the nearby "Tavistock Hotel", a custom which had been followed after the starting of Schneid-er's engine at Burra in 1852,258 and also in June 1850 at Tungkillo when - according to the diary of one Reedy Creek miner -

Tables were arranged in the timber yard at the mine, for 120 persons, who partook a Bullock, which was roasted whole, outside the yard, and at 2 O'Clock
they all assembled to prepare for the Christening of the Engine... 259

That day "... plenty of Balhannah Beer and Brandy..." flowed at Tungkillo, and these "Public Dinners" remained a feature of South Australian mining tradition until at least 1882 when an enormous feast was held to commemorate the re-opening of the Blinman mine. These dinners would be attended by the adventures (shareholders), company officials, local dignitaries, the mine captains, and representatives (or sometimes the whole body) of the miners, the expense being met by the company itself. This, too, was the survival of a Cornish custom, being derived from the old "Count House" dinners in Cornwall where, as in South Australia, miner and owner dined together in "... a scene of homely festivity..." Hamilton Jenkin contends that the Count House dinners survived for as long as the cost-book system did, the large amounts spent on food and drink being not too heavily scrutinized in those days of no-liability companies!

---XIV---

In contrast to both Kapunda and Burra, the "Little Cornwall" community (or at least its mineral lease settlements) was more homogeneously "Cornish". And, as the North Yorke Peninsula mines far outlasted those elsewhere in South Australia, it is in "Little Cornwall" that one can most successfully trace the creation and development of cultural patterns. In the earliest days, Cornish settlers on the Peninsula would find little to remind them of home. Captain Dunstan's wife refused to join him at Wallaroo Mines for "... a whim rope wouldn't be strong enough to draw her..." to the Peninsula, while another early resident described the district in distinctly unendearing terms. It was, he said,
... the place where there's neither water, grass nor trees - only scrub, interminable, horrible, dwarf scrub, maintaining an incessant struggle for existence in the parched, scanty, hard-baked soil. That is the desert, country where squatters were ruined, where shepherds used to grow mad in their solitary existence... 264

Gradually, however, the Cornish miners and their families transformed the wilderness - first of all building their strange little cottages, and then creating a life-style which in several respects reflected their background in Cornwall. Indeed, so much so that by the time Peter Thomas arrived at Kadina in the 1870s, newly arrived Cornish migrants found themselves in an environment which not only physically looked like home but which was also very "Cornish" in its social and cultural activities. Peter Thomas recalled the feelings of uncertainty and doubt he felt whilst travelling to the Peninsula on the stage-coach. All his fears were dispelled, however, as the coach pulled up in Kadina, when

... someone called out, who's that - old Bill? (apparently Thomas' father) - how is Redruth looking, meaning the ... place that I came from in Cornwall, and then another called out is there anybody there from Camborne. Thus was my reception at Kadina. As I soon found out, I was not the only one from Cornwall, and I replied asking how is the bal looking, meaning the mine, and the answer was, plenty of ore. 265

When the Wallaroo Times, the Peninsula's first newspaper, began publication in 1865 it carried innumerable "News from Cornwall" items, one way in which the local inhabitants were able to maintain links with home and thus preserve their "Cornishness".266 Dialect letters and stories were also published, performing a similar function, but soon a genuine Cornish culture was established on the Peninsula itself. Its focal point was at Moonta Mines, the largest of the mineral lease settlements, but Wallaroo Mines and the various other "offshoots" and "suburbs" also became recognisably Cornish. The townships of
424.

Moonta and Kadina could sport large Cornish contingents, in addition to the tradesmen and artizans of various nationalities who had their businesses there, and at Wallaroo the population was "... mostly from Wales and Cornwall." The Welshmen had been recruited largely to work in the Wallaroo smelting works, a number arriving in the mid-1860s from copper and iron smelting districts of South Wales such as Cwm Avon, Taibach, White Rock, and the famous Hafod Works. As many were Welsh-speaking, a Welsh Chapel was created at Wallaroo and, in its early days at least, the Wallaroo Times carried articles in the Welsh language.

To visitors from outside, North Yorke Peninsula's Cornish identity was unmistakable. In 1873 Anthony Trollope wrote that "... so many of the miners were Cornishmen as to give Moonta and Wallaroo the air of Cornish towns", while another observer in 1876 described the district as an "... Australian Cornwall...". As early as 1868, one report had claimed that "Under the shadow of the wings of the two great companies, the Moonta and Wallaroo, lives a people in manners, customs and social habits, distinct from the ordinary population of the colony." W.G. Spence, having visited the district in 1889, recalled that the local inhabitants "... lived isolated from the rest of the colony, remaining more Cornish than Cornwall itself", and certainly this isolation was important in maintaining the Peninsula's sense of difference and protecting it from assimilatory forces that were at work elsewhere in South Australia. In many ways a self-supporting community (especially after the growth of an agricultural hinterland), "Little Cornwall" was almost a hundred miles from Adelaide, and far-removed from other comparable centres of population. Colonists in other parts of South Australia considered North Yorke Peninsula as almost a different world, and perceived the Cornish miners as
a barely human race. In the 1890s, when many Cornishmen left to go to Western Australia, trainloads of miners would arrive at Adelaide from Moonta to join the Fremantle-bound ships. Crowds of city-dwellers congregated at the station to witness the strange spectacle, one commentator writing that,

Some of the Adelaide folk who had assembled to witness the arrival of the "Port Munta" people appeared surprised that they were so much like ordinary beings. As the Cornish men and women alighted from the train and proceeded from the station, one young lady, who evidently had not been far outside the precincts of the city, remarked in astonishment to her mamma, upon whose arm she gracefully leaned, "Are those people really Cousin Jacks? I thought they had long tails." 274

Similarly, at the turn of the century one Adelaide man went to the Peninsula in search of work, and recorded bitterly that,

My first impression of Moonta Mines was - what had I let myself in for? It was soon made clear that I was a foreigner with habits and opinions to be viewed with suspicion. 275

The Cornish did indeed consider themselves a race apart. They made frequent use of the phrase "Cornwall, near England", 276 and to some degree remained aloof and intentionally distinct from other settlers in the colony. In terms of geographical size and shape, Yorke Peninsula is not unlike Cornwall - it has been described as "The Ill-Shaped Leg", 277 a term one could equally apply to Cornwall - and just as the River Tamar was a physical and psychological barrier between the Cornish and their neighbours at home, so the "Hummocks" range of hills served to cut the Peninsula off from the main body of South Australia. For the inhabitants of "Little Cornwall", the "Hummocks" came to acquire the same special significance as the Tamar - the beginning and end of "home" - and there emerged on the Peninsula the expression to "... send ee over the Hummocks", 278 a threat used to warn people unwelcome in the community. It was perhaps a
measure of the local identity that one of the most prized acquisitions of the Moonta Mines Institute Library was a set of the four-volumed Parochial History of Cornwall, and that Peninsula farmers gave their stud stallions names such as "Young Tregeagle" and "Duke of Cornwall". And as if to reinforce the point, the Moonta Bible Christian Minister, the Rev. John Thorne, remarked in 1874 that,

He felt very much at home on the Peninsula, it was more like Cornwall, almost surrounded by the sea and insulated in position, the miners preserved the same rugged characteristics that marked them in Cornwall, and preserved their independence. Wherever they went they never forgot themselves as Cornishmen; they carried their principles and convictions with them and never failed to give them expression and effect.

The Peninsula people were also perceptibly Cornish, their accent and dialect identifying them immediately. As noted in Chapter 3, the miners used a large number of Cornish dialect words in their work, but many others survived in the everyday speech of the local populace. Most of these dialect words, of course, were remnants of the old Cornish language. It seems unlikely that many (or even any) of the Cornish settlers on North Yorke Peninsula - or elsewhere in the colony - would have had a developed knowledge of the language itself, although, as emphasised in Chapter 1, a handful of persons in nineteenth-century Cornwall did apparently have a reasonable command of Cornish. Moreover, Mrs. L.M. Robson recalled that her great-aunt's mother, who lived in Gawler, knew several Cornish language phrases which she lapsed into when angry or agitated. It may also be the case that the demise of Cornish as a naturally spoken tongue in Cornwall in the last century derived not only from the continuing pressure of "official" English, but also from the fact that those classes - the miners, agricultural labourers, and fishermen - who were the last to speak the language were precisely the
same people who left in their thousands during the "Great Migration". If that were so, then there must be at least some likelihood of there having been Cornish-speakers (however limited their vocabulary) on the Peninsula. Certainly, it is clear that a great many dialect words absorbed from the language were in general use in the North Yorke Peninsula mining settlements, along with others from Old English and other sources.

"Nuddick" was the word used to describe the nape of the neck, a "zawn" was a chasm or deep pit, "cloam" was earthenware, "clidgy" was toffee, and "fuggan" was a kind of heavy cake. To "minch" was to play truant (while a "minchy-man" was a school inspector), a "brandis" was a kettle tripod, a "kidley-wink" was an ale and spirits house (or "sly-grog shop"), a "stickler" was a wrestling referee, and bad weather was said to "slottery". To "louster" was to work physically, to be "mazed" was to be bewildered or mad, and to "scat" was to push or slap. To "clunk" was to swallow, to have the "glumps" was to be sulky or depressed, to "scrowl" was to boil, and a "kroggen" was a sea-shell. A "griglan" was a heath, something that was satisfactory was "fitty", a small girl would be a "deer littel maid", and something that was approved of was "handsome" or "brave". Primitive Methodists were known as "Premetees" (just as Methodists in Cornwall were "Methodees"), fools were "chuckle heads" or "buffle-heads", and colleagues at work were "comrades". Tree roots were "motts", a Methodist tea-meeting was a "teafight", and it seems likely that "sour-sobs" - the yellow weeds which bloom all over South Australia in spring - were also Cornish-named. There is also some suggestion that the Australian term "larrickin" (a mischievous or troublesome fellow) was introduced by the Cornish - certainly Jago included it as a dialect word in his Cornish glossary of 1886. However, it may be that Cornishmen
in Australia picked-up the use of the term, taking it back to Cornwall where Jago mistook it for an indigenous Cornish word. 282

---XIV---

For the most part, these words were used quite unconsciously in ordinary conversation by the Peninsula folk. But some were also incorporated into dialect stories and letters in local newspapers, their composition becoming a fine art and a source of amusement (and occasionally offence) for the local people. The best pieces were those written during the 1870s by "Jan Rogers", an anonymous writer with an obvious knowledge of both Cornwall and Yorke Peninsula. A few complained that his telling characterizations of Cornish people showed them in a poor light and that such pieces could "... never be written by a Cornishman". 283 "Jan Rogers" responded by insisting that he "... warnt born out Horse Downs for nothing ... I caant be nothen else but a Cornishman." 284 One of his most delightful efforts was a dialect letter from "A New Chum to his Friends in Cornwall, near England" in which he portrayed the confusion felt by many Cornish newcomers as to the role and purpose of Trade Unions. As explained in Chapter 8, Trade Unions were slow to develop in Cornwall, and to the average Cousin Jack "the Union" meant the Poor Law and workhouse. Hence the "New Chum's" confusion - he knows the miners' Union is nothing to do with the Poor Law and perceives (but does not understand) the various attitudes concerning the legitimate (or otherwise) functions of Trade Union-

Sum time ago wen the waages was cut ere, the men ad a strike, and thare was sum fine doins wat I can heer; and ever sense they av got a Union. Now a Union out here esnt zaccly like a Union es one, for one tes for peepel wen they do git ould an caant git a livin for to go in. You knaw ould Jan Rekerd an Mary Tommas an Maary Joans went in the Union wen they got ould an cud only crawl bout. But this ere Union out ere in Munta es a different kind or thing - tes a kind of club in wich men do pay sum munny evry week (wct for, I doant zaccly knaw).
Sum do say tes for to keep a good place for a man they do caall a Prisidunt - that es a little king, like a thing - an sum do say tes for to git cheep things, for the shopkeepers es too dear, an sum do say that tes for to ave munny to strike aegen wen they do cut the waages, but I doant knaw myself. Ima goin to ave a chat with Mary Jane bout et sum ov these days an then sheel maake me understand things a little better, for shees a wunnerful sharp wommun, wich you hall do knaw.

Although "Jan Rogers" wrote in humorous vein, he was clearly a serious student of the Cornish dialect. Others were also aware of the heritage that lay behind their speech, one correspondent to the York's Peninsula Advertiser in 1873 arguing that the original spelling "Huel" of the common Cornish prefix "Wheal" (meaning, literally, "a working") ought to be adopted by companies when naming their mines. He also felt that the title "Wheal Hughes Mine" was a grotesque tautology, plain "Wheal Hughes" being both sufficient and linguistically correct. This correspondent ("Cornubia" he called himself) drew a response from none other than J. Anthony, the celebrated Inspector of Mines in Victoria. Anthony felt that "Cornubia", in making his criticism, was equating the word "Wheal" (or "Huel") with "Mine" when in reality its meaning was subtly different. "Bal", Anthony pointed out, was the Cornish word for a mine, so that "Wheal Hughes Mine" was not necessarily incorrect. "Cornubia" responded (quite rightly) by stating that Anthony, while being correct in drawing a distinction between "Wheal" and "Bal", had an imperfect knowledge of proper Cornish usage.

And while the "experts" continued to argue the point the ordinary folk carried on making their own natural use of the dialect, they being the real inheritors of the Cornish linguistic tradition. Cornish sayings also enriched the local speech. Miners would claim that "mundic rides a good horse" (the presence of pyrites indicates the existence of payable lodes), while
naughty children were threatened that they would "took to Bodmin". Methodist preachers would preface their remarks with the introduction "as Billy Bray said" (Billy Bray being a famous Cornish lay preacher), while an overstaffed mine was said to be "... like Wheal Scat, where they've got two capns and a clerk looking after four men". An angry man would say that "... I feel so wicket as hed capn when the venturer has knocked the Bal", and a strong lode of copper was said to be "drummen like a old hedge". Crying babies were "screechin like Tregeagle" (Tregeagle being, in Cornish folk-lore, a tormented spirit given impossible tasks to perform), and a worried person was "like Collin's cow, all hurried in the mind." A dull person was as foolish "as a two handled tub", and summer days were said to be hot enough to "scrowl a pilcher" (boil a pilchard). Rude or impolite persons were said to have "deserved a good scrowlen", and there was a strong element of philosophy in the saying that "if wishes were horses, beggars would ride".

Along with these sayings, various Cornish rhymes also survived in "Little Cornwall". Inevitably, most Peninsula folk knew the old mariners' saying "God keep us from rocks and shelving sands, and save us from Breage and Germoe men's hands", but another - reflecting the traditional enmity between Breage and Germoe - was also known to many:

Germoe, little Germoe, lies under a hill.  
When I'm in Germoe I count myself well;  
True love's in Germoe, in Breage I've got none,  
When I'm in Germoe I count myself at home.  239

An equally interesting survival, again with a distinctly Cornish flavour, was the rhyme which went:

There were three sailors of Mevagissey  
Who took a boat and went to sea  
But first with pork and leeky pasties  
And a barrel of pilchards they loaded she.  290
In Cornwall, there were "rhymers" and "street-poets", men who went from village to village and "... who for a copper would make you a rhyme on the spot..."\(^{291}\). The tradition seems to have survived on North Yorke Peninsula, where locally-composed "original poetry", published from time to time in the newspapers, was in the same style of unsophisticated rhyming verse, often with a Cornish theme. The following, for example, appeared in the **Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser** in May 1874:

> The morn was fair at Trewey Mill,  
> And the glorious summer sun,  
> Was shining out o'er Zennor Hill,  
> As if to crown the fun.

> The girls were cheerful, blithe and gay,  
> For all our beaus were there,  
> To take them off without delay,  
> To Corpus Christi fair.  \(^{292}\)

Not surprisingly, the old Cornish catch-phrase "And shall Trelawney die?, Here's twenty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why" was well-known on the Peninsula - on one occasion in 1867, the Moonta miners, having heard that the workings might be suspended, declared that if the mine was abandoned "5000 Cornishmen will know the reason why".\(^{293}\) In the early nineteenth-century, this jingle had been formalised into a patriotic ballad by the Rev. R.S. Hawker. He entitled it "The Song of The Western Men", but to most Cousin Jacks it was simply "Trelawney", and was always remembered in times of defiance, becoming a "Cornish National Anthem". As early as October 1873, the **Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser** published a complete version of "Trelawney"\(^ {294}\) (it is too well known to reproduce here), and in 1875 - when Central Board of Health Inspectors were given widespread powers to enforce sanitary conditions on the mineral leases - one outraged local resident "... invoked (the) spirit of the illustrious Trelawney..."\(^ {295}\), calling upon "... ten thousand Tre, Pol and Pen brigades of a ghostly past..."\(^ {296}\)
and producing a para-phrased version of "The Song of The Western Men":

And shall th' Inspector dare,
And will th' Inspector care,
To brave a thousand Cornishmen
As good as anywhere?

And shall be touch our tanks
Despite our serried ranks?
Then all the rowdy Cornish boys
Will give him backhand thanks! 297

---XV---

The survival of the Cornish words, sayings and rhymes was matched by the survival of various Cornish superstitions, prejudices, and beliefs. In 1877 one critic of the "Little Cornwall" community claimed that the locals were "... the slaves of superstition..."298 and that their "... minds are the miserable abodes of superstition..."299. While obviously an extreme comment, it contained an element of truth. In 1872, for example, one miner at Moonta made it clear that he was not in favour of a "bal-surgeon" as "... he would sooner be attended by an old dear Cornish woman than by doctors",300 and many preferred "home-made" cures to those prescribed by members of the medical profession. Captain Joseph Mitchell of Moonta Mines, for example, had suffered with a bad leg ulcer for 26 years, having burst a blood vessel in 1852. Doctors had given up his case as hopeless, but Mitchell had finally developed his own cure. It was so successful, that Mitchell marketed bottles of his secret lotion, calling it "Mitchell's Salve". James Cornish of Moonta Mines was amazed when his wife, who had been bedridden for 15 years, was "... almost immediately relieved..."301 by the "Salve", while W. Trevorrow claimed that it healed boils and neutralised scorpion stings. Thomas R. Rowe said his serious arm wound was healed "... in three days..."302 through applica-
tion of the "Salve", and "A respectable lady in Cornwall..." also wrote in praise of its healing powers.

New-born babes on the Peninsula would have their gums rubbed with brandy - apparently a legacy of Cornwall's former smuggling days - to ensure that they would never die by hanging. "He may be drowned but he want be 'anged", was the old midwives' saying. The Peninsula folk also believed in "Buccahs", elf-like creatures similar to or synonymous with the "knackers"; and "Jack o' Lanterns" (sometimes also known as "Jackey Lanterns" or "Will o' the Wisp") moved across the fields at night, indicating the position of ore bodies. They were supernatural "dancing lights" and Cornish miners, especially in Wendron parish, believed implicitly in their existence and in their power to find new metal lodes. On North Yorke Peninsula a company was formed to work a section of hitherto unexplored ground after one "sighting" in 1863 and local belief in the Jack o' Lanterns survived well into this century. Similarly, it was believed that some people had the gift of "ore-divining" (or "dowsing"), and as late as 1921 Captain W.H. Hayes of Wallaroo Mines discussed seriously the supposed powers of local "ore-diviners" in a strictly objective, technical report he had compiled for H. Lipson Hancock.

Of course, Cornish culture was not confined to these mystical preoccupations but embraced all kinds of activities. Some observers noted "Cornish characteristics" in the ordinary, everyday behaviour of the Peninsula folk. Stanley Whitford recalled that,

It was a Cornish custom that after a day's work, and having had dinner, men would congregate at a certain spot or corner, and there they would discuss all manner of topics and the usual gossip of the day. The boys and youths did likewise; they too had their corner, away from
the men. They used to play athletics, such as running, jump-backs, egg-in-the-hand, hoop-hoop-whistle-hollow, rounders, etc. After dark we would play snap banker for matches, and draughts. The usual romantic stories from girls to kangaroo dogs would be told.

Another commentator confirmed these practices, writing that

On the evening of my arrival, (at Moonta) I looked out on the square and saw that some youths had made it a course for two dogs and a rabbit, until they got tired of the sport. They then clustered together and sang well-known hymns, tunefully and with the parts well sustained.

Singing, particularly Cornish Carols, was indeed a popular pastime in "Little Cornwall", being associated very much with the activities of the various Methodist chapels (see Chapter 7). And it was not only the men and boys, of course, who practised these "Cornish" pastimes. Young girls, for example, chanted and clapped to the "... old folk-song with which most Cornish children at home, in the colonies or in "furrin parts" were familiar":

Annie Mack, dressed in black, Silver buttons down her back. She likes coffee, she likes tea, She likes sitting on a Chinaman's knee.

Cock-fighting, indulged in by the roughest miners, was a less innocent amusement. It became illegal but, just as in Cornwall where illicit cock-fighting was strong at St. Ive, Liskeard and Callington in the 1870s, so local devotees of the "sport" on North Yorke Peninsula continued to practice it. It died out finally, not through legal action, but as a result of the moral pressure brought to bear by the Salvation Army in the 1880s. Another less savoury aspect of the Cornish inheritance was the spirit of inter-town rivalry - harmless enough while it fostered a spirit of healthy competition, but dangerous when
it degenerated into violence and bred unthinking bigotry. The
great rivalry between Camborne and Redruth became almost legend-
ary, but similar situations were evident elsewhere in Cornwall -
there was ill-feeling between Padstow and Wadebridge, Breage
and Germoe, Corran and Mevagissey, Pelynt and Duloe. On North
Yorke Peninsula it was the same, with one correspondent in 1875
lamenting that it was always "... Wallaroo and Kadina versus
Moonta...", and another adding in the following year that
"Everybody says that a very good feeling does not subsist be-
tween Wallaroo, and Kadina, and Moonta." People from East
Moonta were known as "Copper Tails" while those from Moonta town-
ship were "Silver Tails" (reflecting the supposed social super-
iority of the latter over the former), and fighting between
gangs of youths from the different settlements was not unknown.
As an instance of the continuing ill-feeling, it is interesting
to note that in May 1888, following the creation of the Yorke's
Peninsula Football Association, a serious dispute broke out
between the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines Young Turks teams, result-
ing in the resignation of an umpire and a re-play on neutral
ground at Kadina.

To return to the more constructive features of Cornish
culture, one fascinating aspect of local activity was the prac-
tice and popularity of "Sacred Drama". Although associated
with the work of the Methodist chapels, it deserves some atten-
tion here for it was apparently a latter-day survival of the
old Cornish miracle play. In Medieval times, plays such as
"Gwryans an Bys" (the creation of the world) had been staged in
the open-air Plen-an-gwarry (playing place), and - five hundred
years later, following the Reformation - their echoes could still
be heard in the "Sacred Dramas", whose home was by now the
Methodist chapel. "Sacred Drama" was especially popular at
Wallaroo Mines, where plays such as "David and Goliath" would
draw large crowds, \(^{318}\) but it seems to have appealed only to the
Cousin Jacks. To the non-Cornishman, these plays were gauche
and naive to the point of embarrassment, one critic of a perform-
ance at Wallaroo Mines writing that "The sacred drama or miracle
play has had its day..." \(^{319}\), although conceding sarcastically that

It is true that, in some remote villages in England (and
them almost confined to "Cornwall, near England") the
story of "Moses", groping its way for the first time
finds admirers in village girls, and a rehearsal for the
delightment of those to whom the story is new. \(^{320}\)

The Cornish may have had their critics, but few could find
fault with the high level of proficiency achieved by the mu-
sicians in the numerous brass and other bands formed on the
Peninsula. One of the earliest was that founded at Moonta by
George Bargwanna, "Bargwanna's Band" becoming a familiar -
almost necessary - component of every local Sunday School
Anniversary, Trade Union parade, and Temperance march. The
"Moonta Mine Band", composed entirely of miners, was in exist-
ence by April 1865, while "Mr. Ricard's Kadina Brass Band" was
appearing regularly by September 1875. In 1876 E.G. Tregoning
formed his "Cross Roads Fife and Drum Band", and in 1895 the
most celebrated band of them all - the "Wallaroo Town Band" -
was formed. One of its leading members was Arthur Chynoweth,
who had come from the Burra to work in the Wallaroo Smelting Works
and its conductor was for many years Henry May - father of the
celebrated May brothers, and local Wallaroo dignitary. \(^{321}\)

The Temperance movement was strong on North Yorke Peninsula
(see Chapter 7), but this did not prevent the Cousin Jacks from
undertaking their own home-brewing. In Cornwall, most working
class families - miners, farmers, fishermen - made their own
"herby beer". Although it always had a distinctive, unmistake-
able flavour there was no fixed recipe or "hard-and-fast" rules about how it ought to be brewed. Rather like the Cornish pasty, its actual contents depended on what was to hand and what one could afford. In "Little Cornwall" the miners' brew called "swankey" was obviously a development of this "herby beer", one old Cousin Jack telling Nancy Phelan that,

They brought the recipe out from Cornwall. It had yeast and malt and raisins and hops and sugar and God knows what else. You left it for a few days before you corked the bottles and you had to tie the corks to keep them down. 322

---XVI---

In 1865 the Wallaroo Times commented that "Of all people in the world Cousin Jack loves his holiday...",323 and on North Yorke Peninsula there was plenty of evidence to support the assertion, the miners observing many of the time-honoured Cornish feast-days and holidays. Of St. Piran's Day there was no trace, but others were celebrated with an enthusiasm that was hardly matched in Cornwall itself. Survey-day, when tributers and tut-workmen negotiated or renewed their contracts, was a time of general merrymaking, and - as at Kapunda and Burra - the Duke of Cornwall's birthday was recognised as a general public holiday.324 Whit-Monday, too, in accordance with the Cornish tradition, was also a miners' holiday on the Peninsula and was said to be more important to the Cousin Jacks than the Queen's Birthday.325 At Christmas the miners sang their Cornish Carols, and

To say that the miners' cottages were profusely decked with evergreens would be almost superfluous, for it is well known that Cornishmen, wherever they may be, delight in keeping up the good old custom of decorating their hab-
itations at this season of the year... 326

Midsummer's Eve was "... according to Cornish custom..."327, celebrated as a holiday on the Peninsula. Bonfires were lit on the mineral leases almost from the earliest days of settlement,
it being recalled that even as early as 1867 there were more than 50 major bonfires in the Moonta Mines area alone. One old resident remembered the great Wheal Hughes fire of that year, when an abandoned bough-shed was set ablaze as part of the festivities, and how the spectators were kept supplied with a steady flow of "... swankey and saffron cake".328 "Shooting" was also an integral part of the celebrations, in 1881 it being alleged that "... the amount of powder, dynamite and other explosives used by the youngers was almost enough to bombard a town",329 while in the following year "... from early morning crackers and other fireworks were being set off almost without limit..."330 June 24th, being a public holiday, was also an opportunity for local organisations to hold their football matches, band concerts, tea-treats, and parades. On one occasion the Governor visited the Peninsula to witness the festivities, and in 1886 more than a thousand people marched in an impressive Wesleyan jubilee demonstration.331

The starting of new engines at the Peninsula mines were often marked by holidays for the employees of the mines concerned, and by the traditional Public Dinners. The 1860s was a period of feverish expansion on the Peninsula, with the result that many engines were started and thus many dinners held. When the famous 60 inch Hughes' pump engine was started at Moonta Mines in 1865, Captain Hancock together with "... most of the notabilities of Moonta..."332 and a local brass band were on the bob-platform for the christening. In the festivities that followed, a large quantity of beer was consumed by those who had attended the ceremony. Captain East invited all the local captains to celebrations attending the starting of the 80 inch New Cornwall engine in 1866, for "It was a good old Cornish custom to meet together on occasions like the present, and show a friendly
feeling, although engaged on different mines". There was a similar ceremony at the Yelta Mine in 1871, and at the starting of the Paramatta engine in November 1869.

By the liberality of the Directors a plentiful dinner had been provided for every miner or other person in connection with the mine. In the new smith's shop, three tables were laden with the good things to be eaten. Around these tables a pretty considerable number of persons sat - the mine employing about 150 miners.

Such dinners were, of course, a survival of the old Cornish "Count House" dinners. But some felt that the Cornish tradition would be more correctly adhered to if dinners were provided at every survey-day, instead of just at the relatively infrequent event of starting an engine, one correspondent to the Wallaroo Times in 1868 writing that,

All Cornish mines, poor and low as colonial miners regard them, never fail to furnish a good dinner on each pay-day, and a sumptuous repast at each "owner's account", and a drop of punch for those who do not prefer weaker beverages, but resort to Lemonade. I may add that South Australia will always be wanting in mining spirit and effort until this old and sociable custom is introduced.

Nevertheless, other traditional holidays, such as Easter, were always observed enthusiastically by the Peninsula folk, and on all these occasions Cornish wrestling matches were held as part of the festivities. The largest matches occurred at Christmas, Easter, and on June 24th (or Midsummer's Eve, "... as Cousin John still persists in calling it..."337). "Wrestling Rings" were formed adjacent to the public houses in the three main towns, such as at the "White Lion" at Wallaroo, the "Miners' Arms" and "Wombat Hotel" at Kadina, and the "Royal Hotel" and "Miners' Arms" at Moonta. The matches were extremely well organised, with often 50 or more people participating in the final play-offs, and the bouts being spread over as many as four or five days. Men always entered the matches as individ-
uals (rather than as representatives of teams or districts) but, as the Wallaroo Times noted in April 1869, matches often became a clash between the different settlements, a further expression of inter-town rivalry. There was one occasion, for example, when John Doney of Moonta met William Mitchell of Kadina in a final, with the Moonta men supporting Doney and the "Kadina"ites" backing Mitchell — "... after a sharp tussle Doney threw his man over his head and landed him in true Cornish style amid great cheers." 338

An almost legendary figure on the Peninsula was John H. "Dancing" or "Dancer" Bray, a one-time Moonta wrestling champion who achieved widespread acclaim in 1868 through his brilliant triumph over the Ballarat champion. The match was held at Moonta and, as Thomas Cowling recalled, the two men struggled for some time with equal points, the locals fearing that the Ballarat man would get the better of "Dancing" Bray. But then suddenly,

... like a flash of lightning, he (Bray) brought off the "Flying Mare" trick. It was said that 20 captains who were there declared they had not seen anything equal to it in Cornwall. Now when a man has had "The Flying Mare" trick played on him, he generally admits he has been beaten, but on this occasion the Victorian claimed another round. But it had been better for him had he given in at his first throw, because in less than 10 seconds he was on the broad of his back "flat as a flounder". Then followed a shout such as might have been heard when Sebastopol was captured. 339

Elias Nankivell also remembered John H. Bray, and how he was beaten finally by W. Renfry of Wheal Hughes:

For many years wrestling was the chief sport, and great struggles have been witnessed at Moonta. I have forgotten many of the old wrestlers names. I will just mention a few of them. I will start with the Moonta Cup, held by Billy Curnow of Kadina. The cup had to be wrestled for at Moonta. So Billy journeyed to Moonta fearing only one man, and when he threw him he ran across to the post office and sent the following wire to big Jim Curtis, publican at Kadina — "Threw my man,
am now sure." But it was not to be, for Dancer Bray, of Moonta, threw him, so the cup was at Moonta again. Dancer walked with a stiff back for a while and thought he was secure, but when it came to the final in the next wrestling, he had to meet a very quiet young man from Wheal Hughes, by the name of W. Renfry. This man had been coached by Ned Nankivell, of Moonta, who was at that time considered very smart with the toe. Renfry threw Dancer, and the cup went back to Kadina. This cup was finally won by John Whinen of Wallaroo Mines. 340

Judging from the profusion of newspaper reports, Cornish wrestling was at its most popular during the 1860s, but of the fact that it survived for many years after that date there can be no doubt. In January 1883, for instance, a grand wrestling match to be held at the "Pier Hotel", Moonta Bay, was announced. It was "Open to all comers living within three miles of Moonta" and it was anticipated that 30 pairs would participate in the play-off. Thus, by implication, there were at least 60 practising Cornish wrestlers within Moonta alone in 1883, not counting those who lived at Kadina and elsewhere. Thereafter, however, news of wrestling matches was rarely encountered, although as late as 1895 it was noted that Moonta miners on the Western Australian goldfields were taking part in bouts at Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie. The decline of Cornish wrestling, therefore, was probably very gradual, with men such as "Dancing" Bray giving up the game when they became too old to play well, and with the younger, Peninsula-born generation preferring sports such as cricket and Australian Rules Football.

---XVII---

This decline was also mirrored in the more general cultural change that was occurring in "Little Cornwall", one newspaper report at the end of the last century noting that

The settlements on the Mining leases were like villages from Cousin Jack's country dropped in South Australia. Miners and their families brought out all their old manners and customs, and as long as the first generation lasts those habits will not pass away. But the patriarchs
are gradually crossing the bar and their children are forgetting and forsaking many of those traditions which were part of their fathers' lives and beliefs. 344

The passage of time was the main catalyst in cultural change, but children born on the Peninsula were also subjected to deliberate homogenising and assimilatory processes. The introduction of compulsory education for all in 1875, whatever its benefits (and they were manifold), had the effect of eroding both the Cornish outlook and the Cornish mannerisms of local children. In the system of loyalties inculcated in school, Cornwall and Yorke Peninsula would have featured only marginally, the important elements being South Australia, Britain, Queen and Empire. And, moreover, schoolchildren were warned that they "... must not make use of any Cornish expressions..." in their writing or their speech. Whether or not they were punished physically for breaking this rule, the children were made to feel that the Cornish dialect was not legitimate English and that it was inferior to the standard speech used and taught by their teachers. In such a climate, not only would use of the dialect decline, but other distinctly Cornish attributes would also come to be viewed in the same light.

In November 1883, one local resident, recognising that the district's Cornish identity was being slowly but perceptibly diminished, wrote angrily to the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser:

And shall Trelawney die,
Then twenty thousand Cornishmen,
Will ask the reason why.

Sir - So essentially Cornish are we that we would think not only our habits and national amusements would prevail, but that our Mayor, magistrates, and leading men would be chosen from among them, and that our church music would be sung in our places of worship, and funeral anthems at our burial services. 346

Non-Cornishmen, he argued, were infiltrating the community
and taking positions of importance which ought to be given Cornish people, and that non-Cornish Ministers were allowing un-
Cornish practices to creep into their chapel services. He crit-
icised the poor performance of chapel singers, saying that they "... compare unfavourably with Cornwall, with its hundred sonor-
ous voices, or even with Kapunda or Burra Burra...". 347 Local Ministers, he claimed, were not worried by these declining standards, "... but then they are not Cornishmen". 348

Cultural change, however, was not merely a matter of the Peninsula' Cornish identity being continually eroded. There was, in addition, the growth of an increasingly Romantic, nostalgic view of Cornwall and "Cornishness" - similar to, but not yet as developed as that found in Adelaide and other non-mining centres - and there was also the emergence of a new outlook in which the Peninsula, rather than Cornwall itself, became the focus of Cousin Jack loyalty. These two elements of cultural change were first apparent in the closing decades of the last century, and became increasingly important in the period 1900 to 1936 (as detailed in Chapter 10). It might be argued that the local reaction to the Cornwall distress call in 1879 was the first indi-
cator of Romantic, nostalgic change. The Rev. John S. Palwin's letter, reprinted in full in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, was couched in terms calculated to bring tears to the eyes of all true Cornishmen. The vivid descriptions of roofless engine-
houses and crumbling chimney stacks would have moved all but the most unsentimental, and they had their desired effect for, as at Burra and Kapunda (and also Clare, Adelaide, and Ballarat), the locals formed a Cornish Relief Committee and set about raising substantial funds. 349 Another indicator, perhaps, was the visit of the Rev. Dr. Kelynack, a Cornishman, to Moonta in 1881. Everyone hoped that in his address he would include a liberal
sprinkling of Cornish anecdotes, but in the event he "... never said so much about Cornwall as was expected, and (many) ... were disappointed in that respect". 350

In 1885 Dr. Torr, on his return from the U.K., was careful to include long descriptions of his journeys in Cornwall in his address, and as a result his lecture at Moonta was much appreciated. 351 An article in the *Peoples' Weekly* in December 1895, entitled the "Cornishman's Christmas", 352 was overtly sentimental in the treatment of its material; and that a self-conscious element was beginning to creep into Cornish culture was evident in a report of a literary meeting at Cross Roads in 1897 when "Mr. J.S. Angove, with his Cornish oration, was as usual the feature of the evening." 353 Over twenty years after the advent of universal education, the Cornish dialect was becoming a source of curiosity and amusement. Earlier "dialect letters" had reflected an interest in the dialect as it was then currently spoken, but these later literary "orations" had an air of detachment which indicated that the dialect - as a living speech - was being lost. The Cornish accent remained but the actual dialect, the words and sayings, was gradually falling into disuse.

The formation of branches of the Cornish Association of South Australia at Moonta and Kadina in 1890 was the most obvious example of Romantic, nostalgic cultural change in "Little Cornwall". Significantly, however, one local observer commented that,

> We should think Moonta not only a good place to establish a branch, but that it could not be bettered, as there is no doubt a stronger one could not be organised anywhere else in the colony. 354

Moonta, then, was generating its own high level of local patriotism, supplementing and to a degree replacing that of
Cornwall. This was epitomised by the saying "If you haven't been to Moonta, you haven't travelled", which became current in the 1880s and 1890s as many Yorke Peninsula miners moved on to Broken Hill and Western Australia. Pryor claimed that the phrase was coined at Broken Hill, as a result of bantering between Cousin Jacks from Moonta and Bendigo, but it was apparently known in the North American mining camps before then, and had also been heard in Cornwall. Moonta became the focal point for Peninsula patriotism probably because the Mines settlement there contained the great majority of Cornish miners in the district. The local "rhymers" and poets, who had earlier written about events in Cornwall, reflected the changing outlook by now addressing their work to Moonta itself. Thomas Burtt, for example, wrote in 1885 a laudatory poem "Ye rowing men of Moonta" in which he intended to immortalize the exploits and victory of the Moonta rowers at the Port Pirie Regatta. There was nothing about Zennor or Mevagissey or Breage, but that the success of the poem rested on Cousin Jack patriotism there is no doubt:

And in the days which yet shall reach us
   As the circling years go round,
   When at Easter folks shall gather,
   Sports to share in all around.

Some will say "Don't you remember
   (To forget would be a sin),
   How, in Pirie's Bay at Easter,
   Moonta boys did bravely win?"

In another of his poems, "The Solemn Moonta Mines", Burtt offered an intensely personal interpretation of Moonta. He wrote the poem after a return from several years of absence, the "... dirge-like sound and muffled reverberations..." of the mines at night awakening in him a sensitive appreciation of the unique, rather awesome environment and atmosphere of Moonta Mines.
Hark! methinks I hear the echo!
Of these solemn Moonta Mines;
Sadly sounding distant far-off,
Over flow'rets, trees and vines.

Listen to the Ceaseless throbbing,
Of those engines measured slow;
Telling many a weary spirit
How it shares a world of woe.  

359

Burtt was fortunate in that he had a degree of literary
talent, so that he could express his innermost feelings in
verse. But the average Cousin Jack, poorly educated and not
given to poetic out-pourings, had to articulate his sentiments
of Moonta loyalty through the insistent repetition of his
catch-cry "If you haven't been to Moonta, you haven't travelled."
CHAPTER 6 - NOTES AND REFERENCES


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Religious Nonconformity was a principal element of life in the nineteenth-century in both Cornwall and South Australia. Few areas of the United Kingdom were so overwhelmingly identified with the Methodist movement as Cornwall was, and the distinctly "Cornish" brand of Methodism that emerged became a central part of the Cornish cultural inheritance. Early South Australia was a "Paradise of Dissent", and Nonconformists in the colony were numerically and socially stronger than their counterparts anywhere else in Australia, or indeed in the British Empire if one excepts areas such as Wales and Cornwall. The strength of Nonconformity, particularly Methodism, in the colony was in no small measure a result of the extensive Cornish immigration, and thus religion was one of the abiding links between Cornwall and South Australia. It would be wrong to assume that all Cornishmen were Nonconformists, but Cornish Nonconformity had its power base amongst the working and lower middle classes – precisely those groups which migrated to South Australia – and in any case its influence was to be felt in all facets of Cornish life, whether overtly Nonconformist or not. The same was true in South Australia where, as Kay Connolly has written, "... because the Methodist groups were so vigorous and strong ... their culture could in turn influence the attitudes of society in general."¹

The success of Methodism in Cornwall was due, as argued in Chapter 1, to its ability to meet the spiritual and social needs of the Cornish people. John Wesley recognised that this was so, noting that "... there is a fair prospect in Cornwall, from Launceston to the Land's End",² and he visited Cornwall no less
than 32 times between 1743 and 1789. At first Wesley was greeted by the Cornish with hostility and suspicion, but ultimately he and his followers were able to transform Cornwall. Wesleyan "societies" (as they were called) sprang up all over the land and in their wake came the ubiquitous Cornish chapels. Being in part a reaction against the staid practices and attitudes of the Anglicans, Wesleyan Methodism - once it had become established and "set in its ways" - itself experienced dissension and reaction. As a result, various breakaway Methodist denominations were formed. The story of factionalism and reunion in Cornwall is a complicated one (though ably told by Thomas Shaw in his *A History of Cornish Methodism*), but three main denominations emerged - as they did in South Australia - the original Wesleyans, the Primitive Methodists, and the Bible Christians. Generally speaking, the Wesleyans tended to be middle-class while the other two denominations were more closely identified with the working-class - a distinction that also became noticeable in South Australia. The Primitive Methodists tried to adhere as closely as possible to the original teachings and style of John Wesley, although socially and politically they were the most Radical of all the denominations (in contrast to Wesley's Toryism). The Bible Christians were more exuberant and emotional than the other denominations, their meetings being characterised by their dancing, shouting and weeping - behaviour of which the straight-laced Wesleyans thoroughly disapproved.

In contrast with the Primitive Methodist movement, which was born in the English Midlands and later brought to Cornwall, the Bible Christians had their origins in Cornwall and always maintained their centre of gravity in the South Western peninsula. The founder of the Bible Christian movement was one
William Bryant (or O'Bryan as he liked to call himself) who was born at Gunwen in the mid-Cornish parish of Luxulyan in 1778. He was at first a local preacher in connexion with the Wesleyans, but was expelled from the movement as a result of his criticisms of Methodist practice. In 1815, therefore, he formed his own denomination - the Bible Christians - in the parishes of Weet St. Mary and Launcells in North Cornwall. The movement soon spread over the border into North Devon, where O'Bryan found loyal allies in the Thorne family of Lake Farm, Shebbear. One of the Thornes, John, later became a Bible Christian Minister in South Australia, and for a time worked amongst the Cornish miners on North Yorke Peninsula. By 1816 the Bible Christian Connexion had about 100 members, mostly in Cornwall, and ten years later it was well-established in both Cornwall and Devon and relatively strong in Somerset, Gloucestershire and Bristol - particularly the Kingswood mining district. With the establishment of its training college, Shebbear, in North Devon, became the spiritual home of the Bible Christian denomination. However, the "Bryanites" - as the denomination's followers were often known - were so closely associated with Cornwall and their Cornish founder that it was not altogether unusual to see erroneous but unwitting references (in South Australian newspapers, anyway) to "Shebbear, Cornwall".5

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Not surprisingly, many of the Cornish who went overseas in the nineteenth-century were Methodists, and if "... the Great Emigration is the crown of the Cornish accomplishment, then John Wesley is seen to be its brightest jewel."6 In the case of South Australia, Cornish Methodists were especially attracted by the colony's "liberal, dissenting" atmosphere (see
Chapter 2), and many of the Cornish miners drawn by South Australia's mineral riches were also Methodists of one kind or another. In 1844 the Methodist population of the colony was 1,666. This figure had increased to 22,210 by 1861, and by 1881 had reached an enormously impressive 63,239. The Rev. Harry Alvey considered that this increase occurred "... largely through the coming of Cornish miners and their families", but the success of Methodism in South Australia was achieved not only through numerical strength but as a result of the movement's ability to adapt to - and in fact exploit - the conditions associated with the colonizing process. As the frontiers of the colony were pushed ever onwards, as a result of new mining ventures or agricultural expansion, the various Methodist denominations could likewise expand their spheres of influence. Unlike most other religious bodies, the Methodists did not need fixed buildings or paid clergy to survive, the local (or lay) preachers providing the impetus for Methodist expansion. Where no chapel existed they would hold services and class meetings in their own homes or those of other Methodist members, and they were prepared to ride many miles through wild country to preach to settlers in outlying districts. As Kay Connolly has said, "While their individual zeal carried the Methodist cause to remote and new areas, their work was a unifying force". And, as will be shown, a great many of these stalwart local preachers were Cornishmen.

The government and administration of the Methodist denominations also favoured the movement's expansion in South Australia. Although they were ultimately tightly controlled (in both financial and spiritual senses) from their centre, there was in fact a hierarchy of power which, at the local level, allowed a considerable degree of individual freedom of action. This
combined with the Methodist commitment to self-help, individual improvement, and sheer hard work to generate all kinds of local fund-raising and other activities such as tea-treats, lectures, bazaars, outings, and picnics. In this way, Methodist societies throughout the colony were able to meet, through their own initiative, the costs of chapel buildings. This was a situation reminiscent of Cornwall, where local societies financed their own chapels, and in South Australia - as in Cornwall - the result of local fund-raising was that the Methodists became the colony's foremost chapel builders. The austere, way-side chapel became as much a feature of rural South Australia as of Cornwall, and of the 1,170 places of worship in existence in the colony in 1900 no less than 608 belonged to the Methodists. 9

The first Methodist service in South Australia was held in early 1837 at Glenelg, on Holdfast Bay near Adelaide, by Edwards Stephens - a brother of John and Samuel Stephens and son of the Cornish preacher, the Rev. John Stephens. 10 Within a few years chapels were erected - Samuel Bray from Falmouth wrote in 1839 that he attended a chapel as big as that at Budock and that one the size of Penryn chapel was almost completed (see Chapter 6) - and by 1843 there were in addition regular Methodist services being held in 16 isolated homes and 30 preaching stations. 11 At first, the Wesleyans seemed to have been the strongest denomination, but there was also a group of New Connexion Methodists who "... were tortured for a time by the attentions of a Cornishman from Truro, James Sawle", 12 the author of several fiery letters to Cornish and South Australian newspapers. This was the same James Sawle who criticised the colony so vehemently after his arrival in 1841, although it is not clear if he was the Rev. J. Sawle who preached at Angaston from 1849 until 1854. If he was, then he must have experienced a change of religion
for the Reverend Minister at Angaston was a Congregationalist. Certainly, the Rev. J. Sawle was from Truro, in Cornwall. He preached at the Union Chapel, erected on the Penrice road in 1844, a place of worship that was used by both the Baptists and the Congregationalists. In November 1854 he was killed when he fell from his horse near Tanunda, his sorrowful congregation then sending back to his native Truro for a stone memorial which they erected in his memory. 13

Amongst the first Cornish settlers in South Australia were several Bible Christians (the denomination was then only 20 years old), and for a time they met in a court-house in Adelaide. 14 They found it difficult, however, to attract "recruits" from outside the Cornish community, and the Bible Christians made little progress until after 1844 when there was the influx of Cornish miners to Kapunda and Burra Burra. There were no ordained Bible Christian Ministers in the colony at that time, and thus the organisation of the denomination in South Australia was left in the hands of a few determined and dedicated local preachers. The most important of these was James Blatchford, a Cornish miner who was born at Stoke Climsland on 2nd December 1808. He had begun work in Cornwall at the age of 7, and when he was 13 years old his mother died. Abandoned by his father, James found himself responsible for feeding, clothing and generally bringing up his sister, aged 11, and his 9 year-old brother. As one contemporary biographer recalled,

At length he went to live at a public house, where he took to drinking and smoking. Full of rollicking humour, he was the life of the company. Dancing and wrestling were favourite pastimes. 15

He was saved from this life of sin and frivolity, however, by the Bible Christians and at the age of 26 was converted to
their faith. His first wife, whom he had married two years earlier, died soon after but before long James had married a Bible Christian girl, Charity Jury. Together they emigrated to South Australia in 1847 in the sailing ship "Avoca", James earning the nickname "The Parson" because he held services during the voyage. Once in the colony, he found work at the Burra Burra mine. At first he attended the Primitive Methodist services at Kooringa, but soon he met John Stephens — another Bible Christian from Cornwall — and they held a prayer meeting in Stephens' house at Redruth. Other like-minded Cousin Jacks were also attracted, and in a short time there was a strong core of Bible Christian activists at the Burra — Thomas and John Pellew, John Halse, Mary Richards from Marazion and her husband Thomas, and John Vivian. Vivian was born at St. Austell in 1809 and had joined the Bible Christians at Tavistock. He was later active in the denomination at Ashburton (in Devonshire) and at Liskeard, emigrating to South Australia in 1845 where he went to work in the Burra Burra mine.\(^{16}\)

James Blatchford held the first Bible Christian service at the Burra, preaching to a congregation of fifteen persons. Not long after the South Australian Mining Association granted land for the erection of a "Bryanite" chapel, a building which the local members financed and constructed themselves — Charity Blatchford sewing the calico for the ceiling. The chapel could seat 200 people and after it was opened both a Sunday School and a choir were formed.\(^{17}\) All of this was achieved before the first Bible Christian Minister had set foot upon South Australian soil, and the Bible Christian Conference at Shebbear was so impressed by this progress — and by the South Australian call for trained guidance — that it decided to send two Ministers to the colony. As the Bible Christian Missionary Society recorded
during 1850,

If one subject more than another, has, during the year, engaged the solemn deliberations of the Committee, it is that of opening a Mission in that far distant colony, Australia. This undertaking, for a society whose income is so limited, burdened at the same time with a debt of nearly four hundred pounds, was felt to be one so bold, and involving such an amount of responsibility, that the Committee could not but regard it as a matter demanding the utmost deliberation. At the same time the calls from Australia for Missionaries were so loud; the prospects presented by some of our warm-hearted and judicious friends who emigrated thither, so cheering; the offers of some noble-minded friends at home so generous; and the brethren who volunteered to go, in the view of the Committee, so suitable, that the whole appeared as a Providential call, which it was thought it was our bounden duty at all hazards to obey. 18

The two Ministers who had volunteered to go to South Australia were James Rowe and James Way. Way was a Devonshire man, but the Rev. James Rowe was born in Cornwall at Penzance in October 1824. The Conference at Shebbear in 1850, when it was decided to send the two men, was by all accounts an intensely emotional and moving occasion. It was always remembered as the "Weeping Conference", and in 1905 F.W. Bourne described the scene that had occurred when the two Missionaries had pledged their commitment to spreading the Bible Christian faith in South Australia:

... standing in a circle on the platform, (they) joined hands in solemn covenant that they would remain one in heart when oceans rolled between them. Fervent ejaculatory prayer and loud shouts of praise continually ascended to heaven. The weeping, the rejoicing were general. 20

Although James Rowe was then only 25 years of age, he had already had considerable experience as a preacher. He became a local preacher while still a "teenager", and at the age of 21 entered the Bible Christian Ministry. He served in the Week St. Mary circuit in North Cornwall, and at Bideford and Brentor in Devonshire, before leaving with Way on the "Anna Maria", which sailed from Plymouth in August 1850. Once in South Aus-
tralia; Rowe made his way to the "North Mines" (as Burra and Kapunda were then sometimes called) Recalling, in 1902, his early days in the colony, he wrote that,

... things were primitive and strange to us. We travelled to the Burra in a spring cart, staying at night, by the way, in a rough bush pub. The heat was almost unbearable and sleep impossible ... (but) The loving welcome and subsequent hearty co-operation of the splendid men and women, among whom we had come to labour, made up for it all. The names of Blatchford, Halse, Pellew, Richards, Ould, and others remain a joy to me to this day.

Rowe remained at the Burra for a month, and then moved on to Kapunda where the Cornish miners had also founded a Bible Christian society. The first services were conducted there during Christmas of 1850, in the open air, while a room was rented for services during 1851 until the chapel was completed. From Kapunda, Rowe moved on to Adelaide, preaching as he went, and after a short time in the city set out on the return journey to the Burra. However, after his energetic start, he fell ill and was unable to resume his work with quite the same vigour as before. As Rowe himself recalled,

At the end of a month I journeyed to Adelaide on foot, visiting and preaching at Kapunda, Lyndoch, and other places en route. The weather was excessively hot, and I suffered much from exposure and thirst. On my return journey I fell ill at Kapunda, and for weeks my life was despaired of, and it was two years before I fully regained my strength.

During 1852 Samuel Keen, from Devonshire, was sent out to help Rowe and Way, his fare being paid by the dissenting philanthropist and land-owner, George Fife Angas. Between them, the three men laid the foundations for the growth of the Bible Christian denomination in South Australia. Within ten years the Connexion had more than a 1,000 members in the colony, and had erected 37 chapels, valued at over £10,000. South Australia had become established as the centre of Bible Christian
activity in the Australian continent, in much the same way that Cornwall was the centre in the United Kingdom.

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Although the Primitive Methodist Connexion was essentially an English Midlands movement, it attracted considerable support from the Cornish in South Australia. As early as 1841, a long article on the colony appeared in the Primitive Methodist Magazine, and it seems likely that Cornishmen were amongst the congregation when a Primitive Methodist chapel was opened in Adelaide on 11th October 1840, on the west side of Light Square. Certainly, the Cornish in the Mount Barker District - farmers and later miners - were active in the denomination. In 1848, for example, Nicholas Brokenshire, a Cornishman and secretary of the Sunday School at Stoughton, near Mount Barker, wrote of the "civilizing" effect of Primitive Methodism in the district:

On my arrival here I used to see many children belonging to the white population, who, in their manners, bore too striking a resemblance to those of the poor black natives - running about the bush and over the hills barefoot, and with scarcely any clothing; and, apparently, neither fearing God, nor regarding man. But now I have the pleasure, every Sabbath morning, of meeting from 55 to 60 of these dear children in the home of prayer; and I believe ... that this neighbourhood is already becoming a praise in the colony.  

By 1849 the Primitive Methodist Connexion could note that "In Adelaide and surrounding villages we are steadily progressing, both in numbers and piety", and at Mount Barker "The spiritual state of this Mission is encouraging." And in September 1849 the Primitive Methodists amongst the Burra miners opened their chapel at Kooroona, the names of the local preachers - Rowe, Symons, Hayes, Berryman, Prior, Scoble, Moyle, Nicholls - suggesting an overwhelming Cornish influence. The Wesleyans were also active in early Burra. As early as 1845 a
Wesleyan Minister had visited Kapunda, and in 1846 the first Wesleyan service was held at the Burra in the house of John Chapman, one of the miners. The names of the first class-leaders at Kooringa again illustrate a strong Cornish involvement - Chapman, Moyses, Whitford, Jeffery, Trehair, Bray - and thus all three major Methodist denominations owed their genesis at the Burra to the efforts of the Cornish miners. By 1847 the Adelaide Wesleyan circuit had been divided into three - Adelaide, Willunga (where there was a large Cornish population) and North Mines (Burra and Kapunda) - in the same year the Rev. Daniel J. Draper writing home that

I have ... the pleasure to inform you that a new Wesleyan-Methodist chapel has been opened at the famed Burra Burra Mine, one hundred miles north of Adelaide. The proprietors leased me an acre of land for ninety-nine years, and I laid the foundation-stone of the chapel in March last. Since that time ... the cause has much improved through the labours of Local Preachers and the zeal and piety of the members. There is no place of worship within seventy miles of this which has now been opened; indeed, there has been no population near the spot until within two years. Now it is fast increasing, and at present there cannot be less than fifteen hundred souls. Many of them are from Cornwall, a considerable number of whom were members of our society at home, but had, in various instances, become totally careless and worldly. I rejoice to add, that the Lord is working amongst these, and several have already found their way back to the fold of Christ.

In 1848, the following year, Draper again wrote to the British Wesleyan Conference, this time requesting further Missionaries to be set out because of "... the number of persons who come out from our societies and congregations in Cornwall, and are like sheep without a shepherd...". He and his two colleagues, Harcourt and Thrum, were hard pushed to adequately service the rapidly expanding colony, but nevertheless they were surprisingly successful. The "civilising" influence of the Methodists in early Burra has already been discussed in Chapter 6, but the particular impact of the Wesleyans in this
respect deserves further attention. There is the story, for example, of how young Luke Teddy, a rough-and-ready Cousin Jack, was converted and joined the Wesleyans at Kooringga in the late 1840s. Born in Cornwall in 1827, Luke Teddy came to South Australia at the age of 20 to work at the Burra Burra mine. As one observer recalled in 1904,

In the early days Burra was for a time pretty lively, and the young Cornish miner, like many of his mates, abandoned himself in the excitement of the place, and became a noted pugilist. 32

In one of his boxing matches, however, Teddy was beaten badly. He lost partial use of his eyes, and was in other ways severely injured. He was given help and sympathy by the Wesleyans, and was converted to their faith. He remained a devout Wesleyan from then on, and years later donated the land for a new chapel at Baldina, near the Burra. For the last seventeen years of his life Teddy was completely blind, but he never despaired, for he had found peace and security amongst the Wesleyans. 33

Sympathy, help, and understanding was one method of "civilising" a community, but the Wesleyans (apparently more so than the Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists) were also adept at enforcing strict discipline and exerting moral pressure. Although often harsh, such discipline and pressure was always administered with a keen sense of justice, as in the case of Brother Adams when in August 1852 a special meeting of the Kooringga Wesleyan class-leaders was held to,

... investigate a serious charge which had been preferred against Brother Adams by Sister Nicholas. The nature of which is as follows. Some weeks ago she heard the said brother, making use of the following language to his eldest son, at his back door, while in a rage of passion, 'Go along you Buggert'. Sister Nicholas mentioned the above to Brother Pascoe, by whom it was told to others. She never once named the circumstance to the Brother charged. 34
Adams went along to face the class-leaders but Sister Nicholas refused to attend, even after the meeting was adjourned for a day to try to persuade her to appear before them. Adams insisted that the word that he had in fact used was "bosherrr" (his version of the incident being corroborated by his son) and that "... since his conversion to God he had never made mention of the other word".35 Having examined the evidence, the class-leaders judged that Adams was "... perfectly innocent..."36 of the charge against him, and they further resolved,

That it is the united opinion of this Meeting that Sister Nicholas having violated the laws of Scripture and Methodism in not speaking to Brother Adams respecting the language said to have been used by him, in her hearing. And, in making mention of the same to Members of the Church, deserves its unanimous censure (carried unanimously). 37

In another incident Brother Rowe was forbidden to "... take any active part in Divine Service for some time..."38 as punishment for selling fruit at the Burra racecourse, and in many other ways the Wesleyans were able to impose their strict, up-right code of behaviour upon their members. Thus was Burra transformed, and the "Word" brought to other isolated parts of South Australia. However, just as the Wesleyans did not have the monopoly of Methodist influence (in spite of, rather than because of their strictness), so the Methodists themselves did not have a monopoly of Nonconformist activity in South Australia. In Cornwall the Methodists were far and away the most important of the Nonconformist groups, but this was not quite so true in South Australia where the non-Anglican Protestants included groups such as the Presbyterians (principally Scottish and Ulster immigrants), the Church of Christ, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists.
Although the Church of Christ (its members originally known as "Scotch Baptists") was founded in South Australia by an Ulsterman, one Thomas Margarey, four Cornishmen - Philip Santo, James Crabb Verco, Henry Pearce and George Pearce - were largely responsible for the denomination's growth and success. Santo, born in Saltash in 1818, had joined the Baptists in Cornwall at the age of 19. On arrival in South Australia in 1840 he gave his allegiance to the "Scotch Baptists", as did his friend James Verco who in Cornwall had been a Primitive Methodist. Assessing the importance of Santo's contribution in the early religious life of the colony, H.R. Taylor has written that "To this kindly Christian man may be attributed much of the success in laying the foundations of the cause of primitive Christianity in South Australia".39 Santo and Verco were instrumental in erecting the colony's first Church of Christ, in Franklin Street, Adelaide, the two men contributing more than £10 towards the total cost of £90 and actually building the chapel themselves (both were tradesmen in the building industry). The Church was opened finally in January 1846, the Register remarking that the "... body of Christians, commonly known as Scotch Baptists, but who eschewing all denominational distinction, call themselves the Church of Christ..."40, had commenced worshipping in their new chapel with only the minimum of ceremony and publicity, this being in accordance with their "... retiring and unostentatious habits".41

In 1849 when Philip Santo went to the Burra to become Clerk of the Works at the mine, the South Australian Mining Association granted him land on which to build a Church of Christ, and one of Santo's early converts was George Pearce, also a former Prim-
itive Methodist. Pearce proved a gifted lay preacher. His powerful imagery was popular with the unsophisticated Cornish miners, although being only roughly educated, he was uncertain of Biblical allusions. On one occasion, referring to the Second Coming of Christ, he declared confidently that "Then shall that glorious Scripture be fulfilled, Jack's as good as his master". George Pearce ultimately became President of the denomination, and it was not long before Verco was made Deacon. Henry Pearce, apparently a relative of George Pearce, became a stalwart of the Franklin Street Church, and by 1851 the denomination had more than 70 members in the colony, with Churches in Adelaide, Willunga, and Burra Burra. Later a second Adelaide Church was built in Grote Street, where Santo, Verco, and George Pearce were all lay preachers for a time. Verco's son, Joseph, described the Church meetings in his "Early Recollections", and therein are valuable character studies of the three Cornish preachers. Joseph wrote that,

... Mr. Santo was ... liked by the (Verco) boys because his sermons were shorter and simpler and much more pathetic. He often shed tears which would run down his cheeks and have to be caught in his pocket handkerchief. Mr. James C. Verco was also an occasional preacher. He wrote out his sermon in full and read it verbatim to his audience, and not infrequently it ended with the mournful strain of the unconverted, 'The harvest is passing, the summer is ending, and I am not saved'.

George Pearce, according to Joseph Verco, was a man to whom congregations "... listened with great pleasure and profit ...". His work at the Burra had given him a reputation as a strong preacher, and Joseph agreed that

He was certainly a naturally gifted man. He had a remarkable memory and so had a mind stored with historical and scientific facts and with the doctrine and incidents found in the Word of God. His addresses to the church were quite original, full of information of various kinds, well and simply constructed, never aggressive or tending to excite unnecessary prejudice, and clothed in telling and accurate diction. He had
little or no training from any master and was almost wholly self-taught. He simply stood before his audience with his eyes closed, and only occasionally looked out of them between scarcely separated lids. 46

Of the other Nonconformist groups, the Congregationalists had some following amongst the Cornish in the colony. The Rev. J. Sawle has already been noted, but there was also, for example, the Rev. Charles Hodge – from St. Austell – who preached at Port Elliott, Victor Harbour, and McLaren Vale, and William Nancarrow who was for some time Deacon and Chairman of the Congregational Church in South Australia.47 The Baptists, too, had Cornish members, the most important being the Rev. John Langdon Parsons, from Botathen. He was for many years Minister at the Tynte Street chapel, North Adelaide, the content and style of his sermons giving the impression of a learned, serious, intellectual theologian – a far cry from the stereotype of the unsophisticated, "Bible-thumping", hell-fire-and-brimstone Cornish preacher. His message was not only the "repent and be saved" upon which many dwelt almost exclusively, but went deeper to convey, for example, the importance and meaning of Christ's words "It is finished" at the Crucifixion, and the especial significance of the imagery and language of St. John's Gospel.48

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But despite all this, the development of the Nonconformist denominations in South Australia, with their strong Cornish influence, was not always easy or straight-forward. Early South Australia quickly earned a reputation as a haven of religious freedom (i.e. one in which the Nonconformists could thrive), but this was threatened through the implementation of financial State-aid to the various denominations. The Church of England welcomed State-aid – it needed cash to build churches
and pay its clergy, and after all it was the State Church - but the Nonconformists, already well used to raising their own funds, resented State interference in their affairs and supported instead the principle of "Voluntaryism": individual, freely-given aid donated by denominational members. In 1841 the "Society for the Preservation of Religious Freedom in the Province" was formed, its aim being to fight State-aid and uphold Voluntaryism. Its chairman was Edward Stephens, who had conducted the first Methodist services in the colony, and one of its leading committee members was the Truronian, James Sawle. The Society was supported strongly by John Stephens, through the medium of his Register newspaper, and the threat was averted. It loomed again in 1846, however, when a system of per capita State-aid was proposed (and later implemented), and a new "League for the Preservation of Religious Freedom" emerged to counter it, again with Edward Stephens as Chairman. The debate dragged on (with some of the less Radical Wesleyans actually supporting per capita State-aid), but in 1851 the Legislative Council renewed the system for only a further six months, after which time it was allowed to lapse. A reconstituted Legislative Council after 1851 did not seek to re-establish State aid, one of the Council's most vociferous supporters of religious freedom being Penzance-born George Marsden Waterhouse (although Ian Auhl notes that he was the "... son of a Cornish Methodist Minister..."), it seems in fact that Waterhouse's father was a Yorkshireman). When the South Australian Constitution granting self-government was implemented in 1857 there was no mention of religious relationships with the State, and South Australia became the first British territory to break entirely the link between Church and State. As the Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review, in its article "Religious Equality in South Australia", noted in 1890:
Civil and religious equality have been definitely established. They (South Australians) have no House of Lords, no state-endowed church, and no system of sectarian education subsidised by the state. 51

Another early threat to the progress of religious Nonconformity in the colony was the effect of the Victorian Gold Rush - an effect which not only eroded the numerical strength of the Nonconformists, through the wholesale departure of Cornish miners and others for Victoria, but also posed a spiritual threat through the new obsession with gold and worldly wealth. The Bible Christians were amongst the worst hit, the Rev. James Rowe recalling that,

For some time ... we had good congregations and much blessings at the Burra and Kapunda ... but the discovery of gold in Victoria the year after the beginning of our work shattered everything. All the men went to the diggings. Provisions rose to famine prices. Flour was £10 per bag and potatoes 1/- per lb, and our salary was about £30 a year! I need not try to tell you the trials that we had to face under conditions like that. Strong inducements were offered me to abandon my mission and go with the rest to the diggings, but God sustained me in my work, and the faith and self-sacrifice of my wife were a continual inspiration. 52

Similarly, in December 1851, James Way had written that "... our prospects at present are not so encouraging as they were..."53 and that "Everything here is thrown into a state of stagnation, and the general topic of conversation is, gold! gold! gold!".54 Further Missionaries from Cornwall and Devon were needed, he said, but they "... must be men in whose eyes gold does not glitter...",55 for

We have lost both Circuit Stewards, most of our Local preachers, and all our male members here at Adelaide, and most of them at Bowden; they are gone to search for gold ... Br Rowe writes to say, that the principal members and friends at Kapunda and the Burra are talking of leaving. 56
The Primitive Methodists had identical problems, one correspondent writing in 1853 that the Victorian Gold Rush had, ... exerted a withering influence on many of our societies and congregations in Australia. The three mission stations in South Australia, instead of steadily progressing, have suffered severely through the lucrative allurements of the colony of Victoria. The rich copper mines of Burra Burra have been closed for want of hands to work them. The population of the Mount Barker district has been generally unsettled and diminished. Adelaide has been deserted by its able-bodied male population...  

In Adelaide in July 1852, the Rev. Daniel Draper wrote that the Wesleyan denomination had been similarly damaged, and he also drew attention to the more fundamental threat to Methodism posed by gold-mania: 

Gold is brought into the colony to an enormous amount; and I should suppose that the great majority of the working classes must become rich ... (but) You will not be surprised to hear that these circumstances are by no means favourable to the spiritual interests of the people. The amount of worldliness is extreme; and our best people are lamenting the deadness which is induced by so much care respecting gold, as well as by the spiritual privations by those who go to seek it. 

But it was not all bad news, and not all those who went to the Victorian diggings were lost to Methodism for ever. Indeed, one party of miners in Victoria in 1852 sent £56 to swell the funds of the Wesleyan chapel at Kooninga,59 while Brother Halse — one of the Bible Christians from the Burra — "... promised the Lord five per cent of all the gold he may give him".60 Halse also met Brother Blamey, who had been a Bible Christian local preacher in the Luxulyan Circuit in Cornwall, and he too was persuaded to donate part of his winnings to the chapel. On the gold-fields themselves, Cornish preachers from South Australia worked tirelessly amongst the diggers (see Chapter 4), and as the men began to return from Victoria, so the strength and purpose of Nonconformity was again restored in the colony. Although at Kapunda the returned miners continued "... to
consult their own ease, their worldly prosperity, and sensual indulgence..."; despite the fact that the Bible Christians had in 1854 in the district "... opened eight or nine places, where the gospel is much needed", there was at the Burra a "Great Revival" which began at the end of 1853 and maintained its momentum until 1860, when many families left for Wallaroo and Moonta.

James Rowe was thankful that he had stayed in the colony because it had enabled him to prepare the groundwork "... for that splendid work of God known as the great Burra Revival..."; Rowe and Way noting in 1853 that although "We are yet suffering from the absence of a number of our Local Preachers and members who are still at the Gold Diggings...", the arrival of several activists from Cornwall and Victoria "... greatly cheers us with hope...". By the following year, James Rowe could write that,

The cause here has recovered from the shock it received from the discovery of the Victorian Gold Fields. The congregation is good, - all the sittings in the chapel are let, and we have frequent applications for more. That we have the sympathies of the public is clearly seen ,by the money we have raised.  

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By now the "Great Revival" was truly underway, the Wesleyans in 1854 recording "... conversions, the recovery of backsliders, and the prosperous state of the Sunday-schools..." at the Burra, the Kooroonga Wesleyan chapel in 1858 winning more than 500 new recruits as a result of its open air services in Paxton Square (where many of the Mining Association cottages stood). In the same way, the Primitive Methodists could note in 1855 that "... the mission has been recovering from the severe shock it sustained..." as "... more members from Cornwall have gone there. The mines are now at work, and the
population is great". The diary of the Rev. John G. Wright, the Primitive Methodist Minister at Koorina during the 1850s, affords many insights into the events of the Burra Revival. The conversions were often dramatic, one entry in Wright's diary (Wednesday 8th April 1856) noting how,

This has been a day of days. In the morning I was called to visit a poor man who had been for days under conviction of sin. When I entered the house he fell on his knees with horrific groans. For one hour he was in the greater agony. He cried 'I cannot live, I cannot live. I will not let thee go. I will believe.' Soon he found Christ and began to sing 'I never shall forget the day, When Jesus washed my sins away'.

On another occasion, two men and a woman, all three of them deeply troubled, came to Wright's house in the middle of the night to be converted, and on yet another a young boxing champion - known as "King of the Burra" - came asking for help: "A small stone from the book of the Bible smoot him in the heart and he cried for mercy and was soon made happy in the Lord". Thus, as in the early days, the Methodists were a tempering, civilising influence. One does not have to look far for further examples of this, Wright recording in July 1857 that he had,

Attended a prayer meeting at Koorina. A man by the name of F. Cock was brought to God. He had been notorious for crime, had took his wife by the hair of the head and swung her round the room. When made happy he ran round the house praising God. A poor man by the name of Jenkin had not long before got his jaw broken, he got so happy he praised the Lord shouting 'I will praise the Lord, I will praise the Lord though I have a broken chack (cheek)'.

The late 1850s were indeed the great days of Burra Methodism. In 1849 James Jeffery had had to upbraid "... those of the Cornish at the Burra Burra who hesitated to become tee-totallers...", but by 1860 the local residents had become so influenced by the Methodists that the district was alive with bodies such as the "Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society" and the "Redruth Total Abstinence Society". Even relatively mild
forms of "Sabbath-breaking", such as the arrival of the English and Australian Copper Co.'s carts in Kooringa, brought angry responses from the Burra populace.76 The Sunday Schools, in particular, were the pride of Burra Burra. A high standard of performance was expected from the pupils, and especially illuminating were the pieces chosen for recitation at the various Anniversaries. At the Kooringa Bible Christian Sunday School Anniversary held on June 12th 1859, for example, young Absalom Tonkin warned listeners to "Prepare to meet thy God" while Susannah Trevithick recited "A Prayer". "Jesus Wept" was the piece chosen by Elias Nankivell, while Edward Fellows and William Stephens together performed "Two Miners - A Dialogue". In the following year, John Varcoe talked about "The Old Negro's Religion", while T. Trembath tackled "Sacred Mountains", and Elizabeth Hoskin attempted "The Young Master". The prizes awarded were equally intriguing. In 1859 Stephen Davey was presented with Historical Tales for Young Protestants and Elizabeth Curnow received a copy of the Dairymen's Daughter. Richard Hawkin was given a back-number of the Bible Christian Magazine, and both William Prideaux and Francis Rowe acquired backnumbers of the Child's Magazine. In 1861, Richard Andrewartha and John Hawke were each given copies of Burn's Youthful Piety, and Julia Hocking received Jamaica Enslaved and Free. Mary Coombe was presented with Australia and It's Settlement.77

James Way took over from James Rowe as Minister in charge of the Bible Christian Burra Circuit on Sunday 3rd July 1859. During that year the Revival had experienced a new upsurge - at Kooringa, "God made bare his arm, believers were quickened, sinners were saved"78 and Way recorded that at his first service "The scene ... was indeed awfully glorious".79 A new chapel was erected at this time, but only a few months later
... the discovery of the new copper mines at Wallaroo drew away a large number”. Way himself was replaced as Minister at the Burra in 1862 by the Rev. Joseph Hancock. Hancock was a Cornishman, having been born in Camborne in February 1822, and as a boy had worked as a tin-dresser at one of the Camborne mines. He joined the Bible Christians at Carn Brea at the age of 17, and only three weeks later became a local preacher. By the time he was 23 he was Circuit Assistant at Liskeard, and from there he went to work in the Mevagissey Circuit - an enormously large district, stretching from Paramore to St. Mawes - with Hancock gaining a reputation as a result of the many conversions he made during a Revival at Gorran. From Mevagissey he went to St. Austell, where he met Charlotte Pascoe of Higher Menadue, Luxulyan, whom he married in September 1853. Hancock was ordained at Shebbear in 1850, and in 1851 was appointed to the Penzance Circuit. In 1853 he was moved to Kilkhampton where he served with the Revs. J. Trewin and J. Foster (both of whom later went to South Australia), and from there he went to Shebbear and then Somerton, in the latter Circuit working with the Rev. Thomas Piper who was sent to South Australia some time later.

In 1860 Joseph Hancock was himself appointed to preach in the colony. He sailed from Liverpool in September 1860, and went first of all to the Burra where he succeeded Way in 1862. His task was difficult, as many of the miners were leaving, but he had a core of loyal supporters on whom he could rely, for, as Dr. W.G. Terr recalled in his lecture on the life of Hancock in 1913, "The old Cornish and Devonshire miners reverenced their ministers ... and never were ministers more tenderly or reverently regarded than among the miners of Burra ...".
Hancock was responsible, therefore, for maintaining and consolidating the Bible Christian faith at the Burra during the difficult decade of the 1860s. He later worked at Kapunda, Adelaide, Moonta, and Bowden but was forced to retire in 1877 through ill-health. His son-in-law, John Harry from Kilkhampton, was also a Cornish Methodist of some note in South Australia, being Inspector of Schools in the early twentieth-century.

Amongst the Bible Christian stalwarts who remained at Burra after 1860 were Mr. and Mrs. John Snell, from Chacewater. Mrs. Snell, born in 1834, was a prominent activist in the Kooringa chapel until her death in 1902, and her husband John was a Bible Christian local preacher in the district for more than 40 years. Richard Snell (perhaps a relative of John and his wife) had been converted during the great Castlemaine Revival while he was at the gold-fields. He did not return to the Burra until 1876, but was nevertheless an important figure in the struggle to retain the district's religious vitality after the exodus to Yorke Peninsula. During the 1880s there was a minor Revival at the Burra, and Richard played a part in spreading its influence to outlying areas such as Hanson, Baldina, and Farrell Flat.

Another member of the Bible Christian "core" was Mrs. W. Davey, born at Ponsanooth on December 15th 1830. In Cornwall she belonged to the Wesleyan Connexion, but after her arrival at the Burra in 1851 was converted to the Bible Christians by the Rev. James Rowe. She remained active in chapel life until her death in 1904, leaving her husband, seven sons, two daughters, and 42 grandchildren to bolster the strength of the Methodist Church.

Other activists who stayed at the Burra included James Launder, born in Cornwall in 1847, who was a Sunday School
superintendent and chapel trustee until he died in January 1906. And then there was Miss Kent, born in Altarnun in March 1826. She married Isaac Turner, accompanied him to South Australia in the 1850s, and lived for a time at both Bowden and Kapunda before settling at Kooringa. There she joined the Primitive Methodists, keeping her links with the chapel even after she and her husband had begun farming at nearby Black Springs. In 1876 Isaac died and she soon married Jesse Humphreys, a farmer at Stony Gap and later Hanson, where the couple became involved in the Revival of 1880. Mrs. Rawling, born at Ponsanooth in 1815, was another long-serving member of the Primitive Methodist chapel, it being said after her death in 1902 that she was "... another of the members of the Methodist Church at Kooringa, who link us to a generation that has almost passed away". But the Primitive Methodists had already lost many of their most valued members to Yorke Peninsula years before. Edward Moyle, from Crowan, had been an official of the Kooringa chapel before his departure for Moonta in the 1860s; and Eliza Reed (nee Faull), born at Scorrier in May 1872, was a leading light amongst the Burra Primitive Methodists until her husband found work at Yelta. The Wesleyans were similarly affected, although their fortunes at the Burra were much improved by the arrival in South Australia in 1878 of Ernest William Crewes, from Truro. Crewes became an important business-man in the district and was for a time mayor of the Burra, his prestige as a prominent citizen being an asset to the Wesleyans.

At Kapunda, the Revival after the return from the goldfields had not been so marked or dramatic as at the Burra, and after 1860 congregation sizes dwindled as a result of the movement to Wallaroo and Moonta. Nevertheless, it was possible
in 1899 for one observer to look back on the era and recall the spiritual influence "...that had radiated from Methodism in Kapunda...", an influence due largely to the impact of "...the typical Cornish Methodists..." who had settled in the district. A glance at the Kapunda Wesleyan Sunday School attendance register for 1869 shows the continuing predominance of the Cornish — with names such as Crase, Glasson, Verran, Batten, Trevaskis, Treverton, Menhenett, Uren, Carbis, and Dyer — and even towards the end of the century most of the Methodist local preachers at Kapunda were Cornishmen: James Pearce, W.J. Trevenda, Robert Hooper, Elisha Trewartha, Richard Hawke, H.J. Truscott, and others. The Bible Christians, in particular, maintained their evangelical zeal at Kapunda for some time. John Polglase, born in Breage in 1836, arrived in the township in 1859 with his wife, a Miss Trezona from Camborne, and was almost immediately converted to the Bible Christians. He became a Sunday School Teacher and later a Sunday School Superintendent, working for the chapel for over 22 years in various official capacities. William Robins from Truro, who owned the "Pearl" mill at Marrabel, fifteen miles north of Kapunda, was a Bible Christian local preacher in the district from the early 1860s; and John Rogers, another Cousin Jack, was a leading temperance advocate at Kapunda for many years. (He was at one time Grand Master of the Rechabites in South Australia.)

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Elsewhere in South Australia, despite the trauma of the Victorian Gold Rush and the effects of later population movements, the Methodist denominations remained strong, and all across the colony — in both urban and rural areas, in mining and non-mining settlements — the Cornish were often the backbone
of chapel life: local preachers, trustees, Sunday School Teachers, and so on. After 1855 the Bible Christians continued to send out Missionaries (the majority of them unordained local preachers) to South Australia, although the practice did not always meet with success — of those sent out between 1855 and 1860, Charles Lee had an accident on board ship which incapacitated him, Richard Parkin "defected" to the Baptists, and George Gill died soon after his arrival in the colony. However, it was not long before the Bible Christians had a whole string of chapels over South Australia — at Auburn, Watervale, Upper Wakefield, Bowden, Clarendon, Yankalilla, Mitcham, Fullarton, and many other places.97

Chapels were especially thick on the ground in the Bible Christians' Gawler Circuit, each one identified by its intensely evocative Biblical name — Ebenezer, Zoar, Salem, Bethesda, Enon, Hephizibah, Zion, Elim, Emmanuel, Bethany. Equally telling were the names of the local members, many subscribers in the Gawler Circuit in 1859 sporting Cornish surnames, including Edgecombe, Mitchell, Hawke, Matthews, Philip, Varcoe, Dennis, Hawker, Symonds, Hick, and Leane.98 Christopher Temby, born in Crowan (where he "... was hushed as an infant with the songs of Zion.")99 was amongst the first to worship in the chapel at Gawler River, before then services having been held in his own home. His wife, Sarah Glasson, born at Stithians on 23rd January 1826, was also active in the chapel, and even though she became deaf in her old age, she remained a tireless worker in the Two Wells Circuit after her husband had retired to the town of that name circa 1880.100 Richard Stephens, from St. Columb Major, had worked as a local preacher at Newlyn East before coming to South Australia in 1866. He settled first of all in the Barossa district and was for a time a Bible Christian local preacher in the
Another important Bible Christian pioneer was James Mitchell, from Altarnun. He arrived in South Australia in 1845, living first at Reedbeds and then moving, in 1850, to Gawler River. The Rev. Samuel Keen, sent to the colony by the Bible Christian Conference in 1852, conducted services in Mitchell's home until the Salem Chapel on Gawler Plains was built.

The Primitive Methodists, too, were active in the Gawler area, and again the Cornish influence was an important one. From Roseworthy, near Camborne, came William Henry Gartrell. In 1855 he purchased land on the Five Mile Plain, north of Gawler, calling his property "Roseworthy". Aided by his son Edwin, he built a chapel on a spare section of land, then inviting the local Primitive Methodists to make use of it. Edwin at least was satisfied with the arrangement, for it was at the chapel that he met his future wife, a certain Miss Skewes (also Cornish). Redruth-born Ezekial Johns, for many years a farmer in the Gawler River and Virginia areas, was a Sunday School Superintendent at the Primitive Methodists' Carclew Chapel, Johns and his Cornish friends - William Roberts, Peter Rowe, and John Magor - having themselves erected the building. Margaret Secomb, born at St. Kevern on 16th August 1819, had been a Wesleyan Sunday School Teacher in Cornwall. But after her arrival in the colony in 1847, she and her husband settled at Gawler River where they joined the Primitive Methodists. They later moved to Port Gawler, maintaining their denominational loyalty, and 19 years later they went to live in North Adelaide, where Margaret's husband became an official of the local chapel.

The Wesleyans, or at least the Connexion's Cornish element, seem to have been less active at Gawler, although James Davey,
who arrived in the township in 1848, was an original trustee of Gawler's first Wesleyan chapel.\footnote{106} In later years, the Cornish Methodist influence in the district was perpetuated by new arrivals from Cornwall or from other parts of Australia, and by the children of early settlers who had been brought up as chapel-goers. Thus there was Josiah Odgers, from Perran Wharf, who arrived in Virginia in 1890 and became a prominent local Methodist, representing the locality in the Conferences of 1901 and 1902. There was also William James who had emigrated from Cornwall as a boy with his parents in 1866, but who by the turn of the century was a trustee of the Tod Street Methodist Church, Gawler.\footnote{107} James Bray, from Penzance, had been in the colony since 1865 but did not move to Gawler until 1873. But once in the district he became associated with the local Methodists (which branch it is not known), and was for 25 years a local preacher and a Sunday School Superintendent. He was also first President of the Gawler River Band of Hope, a local Temperance organisation.\footnote{108}

Not surprisingly, a great many of South Australia's Cornish Methodists were to be found active in the numerous chapels in Adelaide and its surrounding suburbs. Samuel Coombe was a Bible Christian from Lewannick in East Cornwall, and it was in his house at Brompton (a settlement to the north-west of the city) that the Rev. James Way preached his first ever service in South Australia. Also from Lewannick was Mrs. Francis Fry and her brother, James Harry, both of whom were involved with the Methodists (probably the Bible Christians) at Brompton.\footnote{109} The Wesleyans at Brompton had the allegiance of one Mrs. Fraser (nee Andrews) who hailed from Penryn in West Cornwall, where she was born in 1832. Her husband, George, was a lighthouse-keeper, and soon after their marriage in 1855 the couple joined
the Brompton Wesleyans, Mrs. Fraser remaining a member of the chapel for no less than 57 years. Another member was James Reseigh, born at Newlyn, near Penzance, on 10th July 1847. He arrived in South Australia in 1878 and soon associated himself with the Methodists, serving the chapel for 25 years in most of its offices — as trustee, circuit and society steward, representative to the Conference, and leader of the Christian Endeavour and Literary societies.110

At nearby Bowden, Richard Alford, born in Cornwall in 1854, was an active Methodist from the time of his arrival in the colony in 1878 until his departure for Western Australia in 1903. And a few miles to the north-east, at Enfield, there was William Short in whose home the first Methodist services in the district were held. William came from Quethiock, in South-East Cornwall, where he was born in June 1819, and arrived in South Australia in 1851 on the "Samuel Bodington". He participated in the erection of the first chapel at Enfield, and was later a member of the fine church that was built finally on the North Road.111 He would have known, no doubt, the remarkable Mrs. Purdon, born in Cornwall in 1832, who, having been converted at the early age of 9, was a woman of "... matured experience..." in whom "... love for the means of grace, and especially for the class meeting was strong".112 John Tremelling, from Crowan, was a member of the Primitive Methodist chapel at neighbouring Dry Creek from 1880 until his unfortunate death in a quarrying accident in 1898.114

To the north-east of Adelaide, in the suburb of Payneham, there was a strong Cornish element in the congregation of both the Wesleyan and the Primitive Methodist chapels. Thomas White James, from St. Hilary, and his brother Charles, from Porthleven,
were both members of the Payneham Wesleyan chapel. Charles arrived in South Australia in 1865 and maintained an unbroken connection with the methodists for 40 years, serving variously as society steward, trustee, Sunday School secretary, Sunday School Superintendent, class-leader and circuit secretary. Thomas arrived in 1876 and was similarly active. John Magor, from Gwennap, had arrived in South Australia as early as 1837. He had participated in the erection of the Carclew Chapel, but by 1860 was resident in Payneham where he was a prominent member of the Primitive Methodists. The Rev. John G. Wright recalled that Magor "... belonged to the old school of Primitive Methodists. He thought much of the class meeting, and did his best to maintain them as long as he was able to go." He died finally in September 1894, aged 80. A mile or two from Payneham, on the edge of the city itself, were the districts of Kent Town and Norwood. Nicholas Wallis Trudgen, the successful Cornish builder and contractor, was a local preacher in the Kent Town Wesleyan Circuit and was also a Sunday School Superintendent. At Norwood, Stephen Hicks, from St. Mabyn, was a Wesleyan Sunday School teacher.

Mrs. F.W. Thomas of North Adelaide had arrived with her parents and five sisters from Stithians in 1849 at the age of 20. She was converted in the following year and in 1851 married Mr. Thomas. They moved to North Adelaide where Mrs. Thomas became involved with the local Methodists, it being said after her death in 1904 that "... the Archer Street Church lost one of its oldest and most valuable members." The same could have been written of old Thomas Trevail, who at the time of his death in 1899 had been an office-bearer at the North Adelaide Primitive Methodist chapel for 30 years. In Adelaide itself, several Cornish families attended the well-known Pirie Street Wesleyan
Among them were the famous Bonythons, but equally important in their own way were Edward and Nanny Johns, from Helston. They emigrated to South Australia in 1849, settling in Adelaide, where Edward became one of the first class leaders in the Pirie Street Circuit. In later years he was given the contract for carting the stone with which the Pirie Street chapel was rebuilt. Immediately south of the city was the suburb of Unley, where the first Wesleyan services were held in a cottage by Henry Broad, a local preacher from St. Columb. He had arrived in the colony in August 1848, and his own home was in Norwood where he had also held services before the erection of a chapel in the suburb. His colleagues included Richard Barrett from Gunnislake, who was for some time a Sunday School Superintendent in the Unley circuit.

Moving some six miles to the south-west, to the coastal district of Brighton, Cornish Methodism was represented by Samuel Prior and William Edwards. William came from Luxulyan and arrived in the colony in 1840 on the "Java". By 1842 he was resident at Brighton, and, in the familiar pattern, the first Methodist services were held in his own home. Samuel Prior was born in St. Austell in 1821, "... and from his parents - farmers on one side and miners on the other - he inherited most of what is best in the Cornish character." He arrived in South Australia in 1847 and settled at Brighton, where he lived for the rest of his life. He helped the Congregationalists erect their chapel at Brighton and the Primitive Methodists build theirs at Glenelg, but he himself was a Wesleyan and a stalwart of the Brighton chapel. The same chapel was also attended for a time by a certain Mrs. Shearing, who was born in Cornwall in March 1834 and arrived in Adelaide with her parents at an early age. After her marriage in 1858, she and
her husband moved to Marion, some five miles south of the city. On occasions they would travel to nearby Brighton to participate in the chapel, but at other times services were held in their own home. 124

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The Cornish, then, played a crucial role in the establishment of Methodism in Adelaide and environs, often allowing services to be held in their own homes, and participating in the erection of chapels. The same was also true of the rural districts, in the expanses north of Gawler, in the Adelaide Hills, and in the country to the south of the city. Rural expansion was a constant if somewhat erratic process, and the Methodists realised the necessity of keeping their own development abreast of this growth. In June 1855, a Primitive Methodist wrote to the Conference in Britain, requesting further Missionaries for the colony:

... some of our brethren are leaving our stations, and going into the Bush, where new townships are being laid out; and they say 'Come after us; we need you in the Bush'; and we cannot attend to these calls. We shall be very glad to hear that two other missionaries are on their way here...". 125

But when the parent bodies in Britain did not have the funds or the personnel to give assistance, the pioneers in the bush districts took it upon themselves to begin Missionary work, and therein lay the strength of Methodism. When mines were opened-up in outlying areas, Cornish miners held their own services and erected their own chapels. In the 1840s, Captain Morcom had commenced Methodist services at Montacute, 126 and in 1859 Captain William Arundel Paynter joined the Primitive Methodists at Wheal Ellen, near Strathalbyn. He had had built a small, two-roomed cottage near the mine in which he allowed the
Primitive Methodists to hold their meetings. They wanted him to become a class-leader, but Paynter felt that he would be more useful if he was to open a Sunday School. In October 1859 he wrote to his wife Sophia, back in Cornwall, exclaiming that "I can tell you there has been great revivals here and I thank the Lord he has revived his work in my soul since I have been here ...". Similarly, at Penrice, a mining village near Angaston, the Cornish were responsible for erecting the local Wesleyan meeting-place. In February 1855, the Rev. Thomas Williams wrote that "I have been invited to Penrice to open a beautiful marble chapel: Captain Rodda has taken the lead in this noble step..." Richard Rodda also became Secretary of the Wesleyan Sunday School in the following January, and the names of the teachers - Davey, Trembath, Tallack, Trethowan, Waters, Treloar, Brokensha, Trescowthic - reveal an important Cornish influence, with Captain Bennett being invited to deliver the sermons at the Anniversary in November 1860. William Pollard, born at St. Endellion in July 1819, was a pillar of the local chapel organisation for many years, having actually been converted at Penrice in 1852. At Tungkillo, a mining community serving the Reedy Creek and other neighbouring mines, the Primitive Methodist chapel was opened circa 1850, one of those who had helped erect it being James Spry from Launceston. And when the Reedy Creek was reworked in the 1860s, James Martin Hosking was responsible for opening the first new Sunday School in the district.

In the Willunga district, to the south of Adelaide, there was an unusually large population of Cornish farmers and slate quarrymen. By 1859, the local Bible Christian chapel was especially strong, surnames as ever being a clue to Cornish involvement - Trenaman, Male, Bastion, Sibley, Harris, Thomas, Williams, Sanders, Pearce, Polkinghorne, Osborne, Nicholls, and
Vanstone. The Wesleyans, too, had the support of local Cornish settlers. There was Elizabeth Cornelius, born in Cornwall in 1816, who, although she had formerly belonged to the Church of England, joined the Wesleyan chapel after her arrival at Willunga in 1857. And William Herring, from Tintagel, who settled in the district in 1865, was a class-leader, society steward, and, after 1881, a local preacher.\textsuperscript{133} At Yankalilla, a few miles further on, the Tonkin family was intimately connected with the Wesleyan chapel. Enoch Tonkin, from Paul in West Cornwall, arrived in South Australia in 1840 and took land at Yankalilla in 1853. His wife became a Wesleyan class-leader, and his son James was for many years a Sunday School Superintendent and local preacher.\textsuperscript{134} In 1856 James married Prudence Trenouth, from Penzance, who half a century later was still remembered by the local Wesleyans as "... a leading light in the Christmas Festival."\textsuperscript{135} A much later arrival in the area was Charles Sanders, from St. Noet, who worked in various parts of the colony after landing at Port Adelaide in 1878, finally settling at Yankalilla where he became a class leader and Sunday School Superintendent.\textsuperscript{136}

In more remote parts of the south and south-east of the colony, a Cornish influence in the establishment of the Methodist denominations can also be traced. Absolom Beaglehole, born in St. Blazey in 1840, was a local preacher at Tailem Bend for 41 years, while Albert Henry Nicholls, from Gunninslake, was active for a time at Bordertown and later at Naracoorte, where he became an official of the local Wesleyan chapel. At Millicent, Samuel Skewes, from Nantithet in the parish of Cury, was a treasurer and trustee of the Methodist chapel, in 1907 being given the honour of laying the foundation stone for the new church. Likewise at Mount Gambier, William Henry Renfrey, born in Cornwall in 1836, was for many years a prominent Wesleyan
and Rechabite. He arrived in Mount Gambier circa 1860, and quickly became class-leader, circuit steward, trustee, and Conference representative. 137

In the Adelaide Hills, not surprisingly, the Cornish were yet again important, particularly in the Mount Barker Wesleyan Circuit. George Venning and his brother John, both farmers from Altarnun, were local preachers, as was Captain Henry Cock - who was born at St. Just-in-Penwith in 1840 - while he was manager of the Bird-in-Hand mine at Woodside. Edward Hender, born in Cornwall in December 1806, identified with the local Primitive Methodists after his arrival at Mount Barker Springs in 1847, but when the Wesleyans decided to erect a chapel in the district he switched his allegiance and donated the necessary land for the building. He became a trustee of this first chapel and was later a Sunday School Superintendent. His son, also called Edward, was senior steward at the Mount Barker Circuit at the turn of the century. 138 The Primitive Methodists at Mount Barker had the support of Harriet Davies, born in Gwennap in 1836, who became involved with the denomination after she and her husband had settled at Littlehampton in 1855. Mary Stephens, born in Cornwall in March 1818, joined the Oakland Primitive Methodist chapel in the adjoining Woodside Circuit during the 1860s, also holding services and class meetings in her own home. 139 The Bible Christians in the area were also strong, a leading member being Thomas Oliver, who arrived in South Australia in 1878 at the age of 18. He settled in the Norton Summit/Uraidla area, and became a local preacher in the Mount Lofty Bible Christian chapel. Another later arrival in the district was John Paull, who was born in Cornwall in 1829. Although he worked in earlier days at both Burra and Kapunda, in the 1880s he was sent to preach in the Strathalbyn and Callington districts as a
As noted in Chapter 5, one of the consequences of the development of the Burra and Kapunda mines and the subsequent shift of population to those areas, was the opening-up for agricultural purposes of the lower and mid-North of the colony. Many Cornish miners-turned-farmers took up land in the region, and others were attracted direct from Cornwall. In this way, some of the most significant Methodist pioneering work by the Cornish in South Australia was performed in this district during 1850s and 1860s. Phoebe Morcombe, from Kenwyn, was a Sunday School teacher at Auburn, Mary Jane Penrose was a Primitive Methodist at Morgan, and Sampson Webb from Chacewater was a founding member of the Primitive Methodists at Steelton. Charles Scob orla Grey, from Helston, was a Bible Christian Circuit steward and local preacher at Balaklava, and at Mintaro there was a considerable concentration of Cornish Methodists. Amongst the Bible Christians there were the Trewrens, the Pauls, the Tre laggans from Gwennap, Mrs. Christopher from Sancreed, and William and Joseph Sandow. William was born at Chacewater on 12th April 1833. After mining at the Burra, where he was converted during the Great Revival, he took up land at Mintaro where he pioneered the Bible Christian faith. His son Joseph was similarly involved, and was later a trustee of the chapel at Gladstone.  

However, by far the most important Cornish impact in the mid-North was at Spring Farm, near Clare, "... that fine old Methodist locality..." as one observer in 1906 described it. It was, as a more modern writer has noted, a district where "... Wesleyan hymns and prayers with a pronounced Cornish accent were to be heard echoing through the nearby scrub and stately gum trees." Amongst the first settlers at Spring Farm were
Samuel Bray and his wife Martha Glasson, both from Falmouth. They were soon joined by other Cousin Jacks and Jennies, many from the Burra, and soon there was a flourishing Cornish community. Thomas Moysos called his new farm "Treview". His wife Mary was the sister of William Blight, born in Pool in 1826, who was in turn married to Jane Bone from St. Just. Jane's brother James also lived in the district, always remembered as "... one of the ablest local preachers this State has ever had". Jane's son, William Henry Blight, was also a local preacher, and he married Mary Hannah Dunstone — apparently a daughter of John Dunstone of "Trevenson" farm. Thomas Ninnes and John Chapman, both Wesleyans from the Burra, selected land at Spring Farm. John married Amelia Teague, born in North Hill, Cornwall, in 1819. Another of the Chapmans, William, married Thomas Ninnes' daughter, Martha Maria. And among the other Cornish settlers at Spring Farm were Eliza Mitchell, born at Camborne in 1820, Richard Mitchell, William Moyle, Walter Treleaven, Thomas Thomas, John Roach, Joseph Prior, John and Mary Pearce, and the Buzacott family.  

This tight, close-knit, inter-married grouping of Cornish families moulded their social life through the medium of the Wesleyan chapel, and were responsible for spreading the Methodist message to surrounding districts such as Penwortham, White Hut, Seven Hill, Armagh, and Clare itself. At first they held their services and meetings in their own homes, but by 1853 the Brothers Bray, Moyses, Chapman, and Treleaven had begun carting stone, sand and rubble to Spring Farm to erect a chapel. The foundation stone was laid on 28th September 1853, the Observer noting that A more propitious day never increased the gladness of a joyous occasion, and the tent being left open on one side, the most picturesque scenery was presented to
view, and rendered additionally attractive by the approach of numerous visitors from Kooringa, Mintaro, Penwortham, and Clare, and various surrounding localities, the growing prospects of a large harvest to come, and many actual proofs of a highly successful cultivation. About noon a large number of truly grateful guests partook of a Dinner which was most kindly and handsomely provided by Mr. Samuel Bray ... Tables (were) surrounded by 100 guests, affording an "earnest" of future prosperity and peace in this 'Goshen of South Australia'. The Tea meeting realised £10-0-0... It is said that the Chapel liabilities will be small, if they are not altogether extinguished by the crowning acts of liberality. 146

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An amusing story of a Spring Farm Revival has survived from those early days, and is recorded by the Rev. Stanley G. Forth in his Methodism in the Clare District. Apparently, on the last night of the Revival a penitent sinner "... who had sought peace every night at the Mission, went forward once more and knelt at the Rail, and prayed earnestly and with tears." At that moment another man, known in the district as a constant backslider, arrived in the chapel and also knelt at the Rail:

The penitent looked up, saw whom it was, and at once turned to the back of the Chapel and seeing Father Moyses and William Blight together cried out in an agony of spirit, 'Brother Moyses come and pray with me, I'll never find peace with Jimmy here, he never pays his debts.' 148

It might seem strange, in the light of the seriousness and commitment of the Methodist pioneers, that such a seemingly flippant anecdote should have survived. But it was in its way typical of the dry Cornish humour (epitomised in Oswald Pryor's Cousin Jack cartoons and jokes), and an example of the specifically "Cornish" brand of Methodism impressed upon South Australia. Blamires and Smith noted the especial significance for the Cornish in Victoria of a profound and dramatic conversion, and in South Australia the same concern was evident. The power of the "Cornish Conversion" is observable in the experience of
Charles Trenberth, a Cornish miner at Wallaroo Mines: "Working with his father in a stope near Taylor's Shaft he went into a level, where he could be alone, and there, fully surrendering himself to Christ, a great joy and peace filled his soul." 149

Similarly, Mary Ann Dunsey, born in Helston in 1832, captured in her diary entry of 16th July 1878 the intense fervour which accompanied her own conversion in the Primitive Methodist chapel, Glenelg:

For more than twenty years I have been striving and seeking to serve God, but could never realize the blessing to this day. Now I can rejoice in God my saviour, and the language of my heart is 'Bless the Lord O my Soul, and all that is within me praise His holy name'. I can now sing 'O happy day that fixed my choice on Thee my Saviour and my God'. And I now desire to enter into a covenant with Thee, O my blessed God, that with Thy help I may love and serve Thee as long as I live. 150

The circumstances which surrounded the conversion of Elizabeth Jane Slee were equally dramatic. She was born at Falmouth on 3rd April 1836, and married at Bodmin in January 1854, emigrating in the following year with her husband who went to work in the Burra mine. The death of Elizabeth's first child brought her to the Primitive Methodists for help and guidance. She recalled that at the child's funeral,

I stood and looked into the grave, and said 'My babe has gone to heaven; but if I had been taken instead of him, where should I be now?' I resolved there and then to give my heart to God and prepare to meet my child again. 151

In the same way, there was an equal concern for the "back-slider" - the person who had been converted but then slipped again into evil ways. For example, it was written in 1895 that Richard M. Andrews, born in St. Hilary in 1845, was "Some years ago ... converted, and identified himself with us (the Burra Primitive Methodists), but ... was soon led away from Christ, and lost his membership of the Church...".152
Much later, however, Andrews realised that he was dying of consumption, "... and during its progress he began very seriously to think of the spiritual condition of his soul, and earnestly sought the Lord for the pardon of his sins...". Cornish fervour was also demonstrated in their love for the simple yet emotional hymns - the South Australian Primitive Methodist, for instance, noting in 1894 that the favourite hymns of Elizabeth Mary Temby, from Camborne, were "Tell Me The Old, Old Story" and "Rock of Ages". Similarly, the identifying qualities of the specifically "Cornish Methodism" were often noted by commentators in the colony. Thus John C. James from Camborne was "... a typical Cornish Methodist...", while James Bennetts, also from Camborne, was a "... dear old miner Methodist local preacher". Elizabeth Piper, born in Roche in 1834, had "A motherly heart, swayed by a Celtic emotional temperament..."; and it was said of John Pearce, as he had spent some time in the United States, that "... Cornish fervour and American zeal were in him happily joined." Even more explicit was the description of Thomas R. Rodda, born at St. Just-in-Penwith in 1832. He was

A Cornishman with some of the finest qualities of his race, with impetuosity, fervour, strength to love, and firmness in friendship - with some very human and brotherly qualities ... He was one of a generation of Cornish local preachers, men of the Billy Bray type, natural orators, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith - Fervid, passionate in their longing to save souls, vehement in their endeavours to serve Christ... Particularly interesting is the allusion to Billy Bray, the Cornish Methodist folk-hero who lived from 1794 until 1868 and was for many years a Bible Christian local preacher and chapel builder in the legendary Hicks' Mill Circuit. Such allusions were common in South Australia, themselves an indication of the level of the Cornish Methodist impact. Reuben Gill was "The
Billy Bray of South Australia", 100 James Jeffrey was Bray's "reproduction", 101 Luke Teddy was "... an ardent admirer of his eccentric countryman, Billy Bray, with whose characteristics he had much in common, 162 and Thomas Peter Axford was "... a Cornish Methodist of the best type..." 163 having been born...

... near Chacewater, Cornwall, in 1843, within sound of the sweet bells of Baldhu Church, beside which lie the remains of the famous Billy Bray, whose noble spirit he seems to have emulated. 144 164

When Richard Coad "... the Cornish temperance lecturer,..." 165 toured South Australia in 1890 he was treated with great respect as he had once worked with Billy Bray at Hicks' Mill, and in an address to the Cornish Association at Moonta he "... delighted his hearers with some of the quaint and funny sayings and life of that well known Cornish revivalist, Billy Bray". 166

---X---

Indeed, it was in Moonta and environs, the North Yorke Peninsula mining district, that Cornish Methodism was most deeply ingrained. J.V. Morgan has suggested that, although the area became known as "Australia's Little Cornwall", an equally apt description might have been "Wesley's Australian Cornwall". 167

It was the district that produced Phillip Phillips, "The Singing Pilgrim", 118 and was known in Methodist circles for its "... Cornish heartiness and enthusiasm". 169 As at the Burra, the establishment of the Methodist denominations was due first of all to the energy of their lay members. The first-ever service on the Peninsula was held in a tent at Wallaroo Mines, and three chapels were erected before the arrival of the first ordained Minister. 170 In 1895 the Primitive Methodists recalled that in the early 1860s "... one of our Burra local preachers, W. Jenkin, opened services at Wallaroo Mines. The work grew, a
station was soon formed, and the Rev. J. Tallack (a Cornishman) was appointed minister.  At Moonta, the first service was preached by James Bennetts, a Cornish miner, in a carpenter's workshop. Soon a wooden chapel was constructed, and later, with the permission of Captain Hancock, a proper stone building was erected. By 1862 the Wesleyans, Bible Christians, and Primitive Methodists all had ordained Ministers resident on the Peninsula, and in 1875 there were no less than fourteen Methodist chapels in and around Moonta, with twenty-one within the whole Peninsula mining district. One report, commenting on the strength of the various denominations in August 1875, drew a picture of the different settlements and their chapels which might just as easily have been a description of Redruth and its satellite villages of Illogan, Lanner, Scorrier, and St. Day. In Moonta township itself there were,

... five places of worship, comprising the Wesleyan Church, a handsome and capacious edifice, affording a sitting accommodation to over 700 persons, the Bible Christian Church, a newly constructed building of smaller dimensions, the Baptist, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic Churches ... Among the buildings of note in the village termed West Moonta, are the Wesleyan Chapel, capable of holding about fifteen hundred persons, the Primitive Methodist Church, nearly as large, and the Bible Christian Church, almost of equal dimensions, all built of stone, and provided with sitting accommodation... East Moonta village contains three stone built churches, belonging respectively to the denominations mentioned. At Cross Roads, a populous village on the Yelta property, there are three or four churches, and one in course of erection; and the building of another by the Wesleyans is about to be commenced. The Paramatta Village, near the mine of that name, contains a considerable number of inhabitants.  

When the Rev. W.H. Hosken, a Cornish Bible Christian Minister from Victoria, visited "Little Cornwall" in January 1875 he was "... persuaded that I have never seen a finer field of labour anywhere in our Connexion..." in either Cornwall or Australia, and he found the other denominations were equally
vigoroua Taylor Street Wesleyan Chapel at Kadina could boast the membership of Rebecca Edwards from Lelant and Edward T. Thomas from Penzance, both leading lights in the local community, while the Methodist stalwarts at Wallaroo Mines included James Trembath from St. Just, William Simons from Tywardreath, and Mrs. Tellam from St. Cleer (her grandmother had been a class-leader in Cornwall under John Wesley). 175 John Cruet, also from St. Cleer, was a prominent Methodist at Cross Roads, while at Yelta there was John Nancarrow from Redruth. Arthur Trembath was a Primitive Methodist at Moonta township, as was John Bishop from Redruth, and at Moonta Mines the activists included William Thomas from Illogan, James Phillips from Callington, and William Manuel from Kenwyn. 176 And while these lay members had undertaken the pioneering work in the district, ordained Ministers, many of them Cornish, were responsible for consolidating the strength of Methodism on the Peninsula.

The first Bible Christian Minister in the area was the Rev. Joshua Foster, born in Cornwall in 1829. He worked in the Kilkhampton Circuit before going to Victoria in 1857, and in 1862 he arrived at Kadina to begin his mission amongst the miners. 177 Not long after, the Rev. James Trewin arrived on the Peninsula. Although born in Devonshire, he came from a Cornish family and had, like Foster, preached at Kilkhampton in North Cornwall. 178 The Rev. Charles Tresise, born at St. Erth in 1843, arrived in South Australia "... in early manhood...". 179 He resided at Moonta Mines "... where he gained much public recognition for his manliness, intelligence, and high Christian character...", 180 entering the Bible Christian Ministry in 1863. He then moved from Moonta to Kapunda and was in later years remembered for his Missionary work in the South-East and in the Barrier Ranges. His son, Charles Milton Rowland Tresise, born
at Millicent in 1878, also became a Minister and worked in both the Wallaroo Mines and Broken Hill Circuits.\textsuperscript{181} The Rev. John Pearce, like Charles Tresise, became a Bible Christian Minister actually in South Australia. He came out from Cornwall with his parents at the age of three, and grew up at Moonta and Kadina, being ordained in 1884 when he was only 23 years old.\textsuperscript{182}

As noted above, the first Primitive Methodist Minister in "Little Cornwall" was the Cornish-born Rev. J. Tallest. Some years later, the Rev. Henry J. Pope, born in Helston in 1844, was posted to the Wallaroo Circuit. He had first of all been at Koorioga, but it was on the Peninsula that he made his reputation. He eventually became editor of the \textit{South Australian Primitive Methodist Magazine}, and was President of the Methodist Conference in 1903. The Rev. D.J. Daddow, also from Cornwall, was another Primitive Methodist of some repute who had worked amongst the Peninsula miners.\textsuperscript{183} One of the first Wesleyan Ministers in the district was the Rev. Charles Colwell, born in Cornwall in 1833. His maxim, "The three Rs: Ruined by Sin, Redemption by Jesus Christ, Regeneration by the Holy Ghost",\textsuperscript{184} was well-known in "Little Cornwall", although Colwell died tragically in 1865, from tuberculosis, when only 32.\textsuperscript{185} Another early Wesleyan, perhaps Colwell's replacement, was the Rev. Thomas M. Rowe. He arrived in South Australia from Cornwall at the age of 20, and, although he at first joined the Pirie Street Chapel in Adelaide, he was soon an ordained Minister at work on the Peninsula.\textsuperscript{186} His namesake, the Rev. G.E. Rowe, in his first sermon in the district "... thanked the Lord that he was amongst brothers and sisters from Cornwall. That set the seal on his popularity at Moonta."\textsuperscript{187} Similarly, when the Rev. S. Trethewie Withington was appointed to the Wallaroo Circuit in 1872 he was hailed as "... a minister long and well known in
Cornwall both as a preacher and a writer of eminence". 188

With both lay members and Ministers drawn from Cornwall it was not surprising that Methodism on North Yorke Peninsula became demonstrably and recognisably "Cornish", at least in the years before Methodist Union in 1900. In 1914, W.H. Goldsworthy recalled that "The early days of Methodism in Moonta were great times. There was as much difference in Methodism now as is between day and night". 189 In similar vein, William Cowling asserted "... that Methodism in Moonta owed its fire to the influence of John Wesley in Cornwall...", 190 while as late as 1935 W. Lamshed wrote that,

I came to Moonta in 1883 just after the famous Captain Piper had returned from Cornwall with his hundreds of immigrants and I am asked to give my impressions of Cornish revivals. What were the miners' characteristics? In things religious, fervid, strong in their feelings, love or hate, emotional in the extreme, passionate if you will... Those were days when preachers spoke of hell with an absolute belief in it as the abode of damned souls... 191

The Revivals, as elsewhere in the colony, were important events in the religious life of the Cornish folk on the Peninsula - opportunities to save "backsliders" and win new "conversions". There was a particularly impressive Revival in 1874-75 after the "Great Strike", one local preacher recording in April 1875 that, although "The Church is ever having to lament the instability and waywardness of many of its members...; More than 150 have been converted in our chapel...". 192 The Rev. J John G. Wright, formerly of Burra Burra, was by then at Moonta and his diary entries afford numerous insights into the events of the Revival. He wrote that "There is grand work doing on in all the Chapels". 193 At Wallaroo Mines "Many were shouting and weeping", 194 and at Moonta there were
Souls saved every night. At Cross Roads 30 souls in three nights. One woman 60 years of age while our people were singing "Come to Jesus" cried out "Yes, I am coming", she came and fell on her knees, found peace and went on her way rejoicing. How grand to see souls cast themselves on the altar. Go when you may, night or day, you hear people singing God's praise. If you see a number of boys, they are singing such hymns as "There be no more sorrow there" or "My all is the altar" or "I am Coming". The work is glorious. 195

Another important part of chapel life in "Little Cornwall" were the Sunday School Anniversaries or tea-treats. One observer wrote in 1878 that ... of 'tea-fights' Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny seem never to tire" 196 ("tea-fight" being the children's word for a tea-treat), and Stanley Whitford recalled what it was like to participate in the Anniversaries at Moonta:

The children headed by a brass band and the school Superintendent marched around the streets in class order, with the teachers beside their respective classes. Upon returning to the school, each child received a large bun and a packet of lollies. Children bought their mugs for tea, and the elders would have a sit-down meal of home-made eatables, for which they paid. In the evening a big public-meeting was held in the church, and the annual report and balance-sheet of the school would be read. 197

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The Sunday Schools were also vehicles of the "mutual improvement" ethos, as were the various adult institutions such as the "Wallaroo Mutual Improvement Association". The Methodist interest in education was a further manifestation of this and, although they never created a system of inward-looking denominational schools (as the German Lutherans did), the Methodists did fight for compulsory, secular State-run education and lent support to private, secular schools. There were several such schools on the Peninsula, erected on the mineral leases with the permission of the Moonta and Wallaroo companies, and run on lines similar to the dame-schools in Cornwall. There was, for
example, a Day Grammar School managed at Moonta by a Mr. Hanlon from Bolventor; and when the Moonta Mines State School was opened in 1876 William G. Torr—a Bible Christian local preacher from Tavistock, Devonshire—was appointed Headmaster. Elsewhere in South Australia, the Cornish became involved in education—John Riccardo Stephens from St. Agnes ran schools at One Tree Hill and the Burra, George Tucker from Penryn set up a school at Glen Osmond in 1859, Jennings Colliver from Helston was one of those responsible for the foundation of the Methodist’s Prince Alfred College in Adelaide, and John Lorenzo Young, whose family hailed from Veryan, formed his own "Young’s Adelaide Educational Institution".

The Cornish Methodist concern for education, however, was especially noticeable on North Yorke Peninsula. The district’s first Inspector of Schools was a Cousin Jack named Hosking, and W.G. Torr was succeeded at Moonta Mines by Samuel G. Sullivan who, despite his Irish surname, was born at St. Ives in 1846. But the most impressive contribution of all was that of Alfred Williams, a man born of "... poor Cornish mining stock..." at Kanmantoo in October 1863. He grew up at Moonta Mines, where he was educated under the guidance of Thomas Cowling and W.G. Torr, and trained as a teacher in 1881. He taught in various schools, and in 1906 was appointed Director of Education in South Australia. Although Williams died only seven years later in 1913, his contribution to the development of the State’s education system was immeasurable, his deputy recalling after his death that "He was determined that ... every boy and girl, whether the child of poverty or of wealth... should have the best opportunities".

In the same way, the Cornish Methodist preoccupation with
mutual improvement led to the emergence of a strong Temperence movement in "Little Cornwall". There is an apparent paradox here, for the miners brewed their "swanky", and there were numerous public houses in the district (together with at least one illegal "kiddleywink" or "sly-grog shop"). Indeed, one visitor to the district in 1873 noted that "... ever and again you will hear sounds of singing from convivial Cornishmen who congregate together over a social glass...". However, it was also true that, with the exception of the out-and-out teetotallers, the Temperance organisations disapproved not so much of beer (considered by many a wholesome, working man's beverage) but rather of the "demon drink" spirits. And, although Reuben Gill would say that "... little calves grow great cows - moderate drinkers become drunkards..." it was hard-drinking that frightened the Methodists. In September 1878 "A Sober Cornishman" warned of the horrors of "... colonial brandy...", while in 1883 another explained that "Intoxicating liquors excessively used spoil digestion, destroy the power of the nerves, inflame the blood, killing its balsamic quality thus rendering it unfit for circulation". By April 1873, the Moonta "Band of Hope" had 300 members, the meetings of the various local Temperance bodies being devoted to analysis of the degredation caused by drink. At Cross Roads in 1877, for example, a debate was held in which T.H. Sowden played the role of the "... publican's representative..." (i.e. a Devil's Advocate) and his son W.J. (later Sir William) Sowden argued the "... total abstainer's interest..." As in Cornwall and at the Burra, such activities had a tempering effect, not only on the level of drinking but on the behaviour of the population as a whole. As early as 1869 one contributor to the Wallaroo Times could note that,
Now, thanks to our temperance and religious institutions, there is to be seen less beer and more whitewash, less absolute filth and dirty contagion, and more clean healthy little cottages with their whitewashed fronts, proper appliances, and in most cases a bit of garden at the back; less ribaldry, hubbub, and drunken rioting, and more decent, engaging, and improving conversation heard. 210

The Rechabite Lodges were amongst the most powerful of the Temperance bodies on the Peninsula, and the Temperance cause became very much institutionalised within the activities of the different masonic lodges. Of particular interest were the local Orangemen, who were not only anti-drink but also anti-Catholic. The Orange Order members were not, as might be supposed, Ulstermen but in fact Cornish - with names such as Penhall, Boundy, Bone, Tonkin, and Bargwanna.211 By 1905 there were lodges at Kadina, Wallaroo Mines, Wallaroo, Moonta, Paskeville, Tickera, and Urania (sic).212 And although in 1878 the Moonta Orangemen incurred the wrath of the local Wesleyans for allowing dancing at their July 12th Battle of the Boyne celebrations, there were close links between the Orange Lodges and the Methodist denominations in "Little Cornwall".213 Even as late as 1904, the Rev. D.C. Harris could tell his congregation at Moonta Mines that, The work of Protestantism would not be finished and the Orange Institution would not survive the need of its existence until the Church of Rome came back to the New Testament and the sway of the Papacy was at an end. 214

Anti-Catholic feeling, however, was always a latent rather than active force on the Peninsula, reflecting, perhaps, the relatively small Irish element in the community. There was some trouble when the foundation stone for the Roman Catholic church was laid at Moonta. "The Cornish men ... declared there would be no Catholic church in their town...",215 and Catholics from Wallaroo and Kadina travelled to Moonta to support their co-religionists. The actual foundation ceremony passed off
without incident, however, and the Cousin Jacks condescended to allow the church to be completed without further interference. Thereafter a "... climate of tolerance..."\(^{216}\) prevailed even though on the 12th July of every year the Peninsula towns resounded to the beating of drums, the stamping of feet, and banners rattling in the wind.

Other aspects of Cornish Nonconformity were less aggressive and more constructive, in particular the musical creativity for which the Peninsula was renowned. The Cornish had their bands and their choirs, but "Little Cornwall" also produced a number of surprisingly talented composers and musicians -- J.H. "Johnny" Thomas, Edward Quintrell, James "Fiddler Jim" Richards, Joseph Glasson, William Holman, Leslie Davey, John Hodge, Thomas Spargo, William Andrew, and several others. "Fiddler Jim" was born at Perranporth in 1828 and arrived in South Australia circa 1857. He went first of all to the Burra, where he joined the Primitive Methodists, remaining a member of the denomination when he later moved to Moonta Mines. There he became conductor of the Primitive Methodist choir, devoting much of his time to the composition of hymns and carols.\(^{217}\) His best known tunes were "Rapture", "Dismissal", and "Everlasting Rest", a number of his works (music and words) appearing in *The Christmas Welcome: A Choice Collection of Cornish Carols*, published at Moonta in 1893.\(^{218}\) No doubt traditional Cornish carols, such as those of St. Day and Padstow, were sung in "Little Cornwall", but those which appeared in *The Christmas Welcome* were carols which had actually been composed on the Peninsula. There was, for example, "Sound, sound your Instruments of joy" by "Johnny" Thomas, "Awake with joyful Strains of Mirth" by William Holman, and "The Prince of Life" by J. Coad. Typical of these Cornish carols was "The King of Glory", by "Fiddler Jim" Richards:
The King of Glory sent His son,
To make His entrance here on earth,
Behold the midnight bright as morn,
And heav'nly choirs proclaim His birth.

About the young redeemer's head
What wonders and what glories meet
An unknown star arose and led
The eastern sages to His feet.

Let Jews and Greeks blaspheme aloud,
And treat the holy child with scorn,
Our souls adore the Eternal God
Who condescended to be born.

"Fiddler Jim's" "Rapture" was a tune often used at funerals - burial services in "Little Cornwall" were impressive, solemn, moving occasions - another favourite hymn being the old Cornish "burying tune":

Sing from the chamber to the grave,
I hear the dying miner say;
A sound of melody I crave
Upon my burial day.

Sing sweetly whilst you travel on,
and keep the funeral slow;
The angels sing where I am gone
And you should sing below.

The sight of several hundred mourners, dressed in black, accompanying a coffin to its final resting place, with the sound of the dirge-like hymns echoing across the mineral leases, was not something easily forgotten. In 1902 the Rev. W.F. James, born in Truro in 1846, recalled the spectacle of the old-time Cornish burial service:

Chacewater funerals were largely attended and the singing was memorable. Never shall I forget the sight of a funeral procession turning the corner of the street leading to the churchyard. The corpse was preceded by some twenty or thirty men, having good voices, with measured step and slow, singing a solemn hymn to an appropriate tune. I have never heard anything like it, save at Moonta.

Another facet of religious life on North Yorke Peninsula was the role of the mining captains. Not all fitted the
stereotype of the upright, Methodist miner-preacher (R.V. Rodda was an alcoholic, Henry Roach was an atheist or at least an agnostic, and Matthew Bryant was dismissed from the Burra mine as a result of his "intemperance"), but there were those in "Little Cornwall" who did. Captains Malachi Deeble and Christopher Faull were both archetypal Wesleyans, their chapel always being known as the "bosses' chapel", and Captain H.R. Hancock was himself a strict Wesleyan local preacher. There were numerous anecdotes concerning the activities of Captain Hancock, E. Major recalling that,

The story goes that once a new arrival went one Monday morning to Mr. Hancock, and asked for a job. The reply was 'no opening'. The man replied, 'that was a lovely prayer you made at the meeting last night, Mr. Hancock'. 'Oh, call in again tomorrow morning. I will see in the meantime what can be done for you' said H.R.H. The man got a job. 222

Equally telling were the reminiscences of another "New Chum" who had found work at the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines. He went

... underground at Moonta Mines in (the) charge of the underground manager, Captain Hayes. He was a local preacher and on the strength of my father's being a parson we spent most of the time sitting in a stope while he told me of sermons he had read, sermons he had heard, and (mostly) sermons he had preached. At Wallaroo Mines I told the underground manager, Captain Opie, that I preferred to learn about mining not preaching. As he was a would-be preacher who had not been 'planned', and as he was jealous of Hayes, he concurred in my choice. But he turned out to be a keen theologian, and having forced me to the admission that I did not believe in a material hell, he called me an infidel and took me up ladders and through winzes, apparently as a punishment. Having got me into a chastened frame of mind, he said I must be a great sorrow to my father. Foolishly, I replied that I did not think my father believed in a material hell either. That started him off again. He reported my heresy to another Captain who said he hoped to God I was wrong, because it was only fear of hell that had prevented him from having a hell of a time when he was young. 223
The "Little Cornwall" Methodists were to a considerable extent responsible for spreading the Methodist denominations to the adjoining agricultural districts. J.V. Morgan notes that "Methodism at Maitland was pioneered from Wallaroo, Moonta and Kadina", the "Word" being brought by both Missionaries from "Little Cornwall" and miners-turned-farmers who had settled in the area. At the laying of the foundation stone of the Maitland Wesleyan chapel in August 1875, for example, Captain T. Tregoweth was in attendance and the Rev. Thomas Rowe officiated. And when Reuben Gill embarked upon a five week lecturing tour of central and southern Yorke Peninsula in 1883 he found that the Methodist and Temperance bodies had already prepared the groundwork well. At Yorketown he spoke on "The Delusion of Strong Drink" in the Wesleyan chapel, but only one listener came forward to sign "the pledge" - all the others were teetotallers already. At Warooka the experience was the same, and at Minlaton - although some had "fallen" - he found a strong Rechabite tent, a juvenile Rechabite tent, and a "huge" Band of Hope - some children walking five to seven miles through the bush to attend the meetings. Maitland was also strong, while Wauraltee holds her own... Ardrossan has started a band of hope. Dowlingville is firm to a man, to a boy, to a girl...". At Kulpara, a rural settlement on North Yorke Peninsula, John Prisk - a Bible Christian and Trade Union activist at Moonta - actually designed the local chapel, and at Willamulka, near Bute, H. Rodda was responsible with others for the erection of the diminutive Bible Christian chapel in 1884. James Bettess, who arrived in South Australia from Launceston in 1877 and came to the Peninsula in 1884, was also a Methodist pioneer in the Bute district, as were James Trengove and his family. In the mid-1870s, James left his job
at the Wallaroo Mines and purchased land at Barunga, moving to Bute circa 1882. He was a Bible Christian local preacher in the district for 33 years, as were his sons James, William, Samuel, and Frederick. His fifth son, Arthur Martin Trengove, was later ordained as a Methodist Minister.

Methodist expansion on Yorke Peninsula in the 1870s and early 1880s was matched by a similar expansion in the Far North during the same period. Kay Connolly has shown that, after the implementation of "Strangways Act" in 1868, the expansion of the northern wheat frontier was accompanied by a new upsurge in Methodist chapel-building, and that the development of social life in the newly-opened-up areas - literary societies, institutes, even newspapers - was evidence of the "civilising" effect of Methodism. The years 1871-82 were important ones for the decentralisation of the South Australian population, the movement of people being linked to the growth of the railways and the profitability of wheat farming, and the Cornish, not surprisingly, participated in this general dispersion of people. In 1872 W.H. Binney moved from Willunga to take up land at Rocky River, and in the same year Wilmott Bryant, from Hayle, journeyed from Clare to join her husband on his new farm at Laura - the Binneys and the Bryants both being pioneer Methodists in the district, as was Helston-born Henry Nicholls who selected land in the area at about the same time. At Jamestown, Mrs. Williams from St. Day was responsible for laying the foundation stone of the local Wesleyan chapel "... which was long regarded as the cathedral of Methodism in the North...", one of its leading members for more than 30 years being William Treleaven from Nanstallon. Thomas Hosking moved from Clare to Terowie in 1873 and became treasurer of the Wesleyan chapel, while Mrs. Pomeroy from Crowan was similarly active at nearby Petersburg
In 1877, Henry Waters, from Penzance, selected land in the Hundred of Booleroo. He became a trustee of the first Bible Christian chapel in the district, and the first sermon at Booleroo Centre was preached from a wagon he lent to a local preacher for the purpose. William Henry Nottle, from Probus, purchased land at Booleroo in 1886. He was a Baptist, and became the Superintendent of Appila North Baptist chapel, the Baptists emulating the Methodist expansion, but on a smaller scale. At Orroroo, Samuel Carter, from St. Agnes, was a prominent Methodist, while Ann Moyle from Breage was instrumental in the foundation of the Bible Christian chapel at Carrieton after she and her husband arrived in the district in 1879.

The rapid expansion of the North in this period, with its corresponding increase in preaching places, meant that further ordained Ministers were needed urgently in the colony. As early as 1873 the Bible Christians had seven Ministers at work in the North – Revs. James Trewin, Thomas Piper, William Richards, John Thorne, John Dingle, William Wesley Finch, and George Henry Paynter – but the Bible Christian Conference of 1876, held in Zion Chapel, St. Austell, had no less than 297 vacancies to fill in Australia. The Rev. John Thorne was in Cornwall to address the Conference, the Bible Christian Magazine recording that,

Br. John Thorne spoke with great ability on the claims of South Australia and of the great need there was for more missionaries to carry on the work in that important colony. 'But', said Mr. Thorne, 'some say you can't get anyone to go; but that to me is not a satisfactory answer. I want to know why you do not go yourselves? (Laughter, and loud applause). We don't want you to get anyone else, come yourselves.'
To some extent Thorne was successful in winning new recruits for South Australia. Richard Carlyon Yeoman, born at Illogan in 1843, had already been persuaded to come out to the colony in 1874. He worked first of all in the Port Wakefield Circuit but then moved to "... the newly opened northern areas ..." where he "... did much to establish the Methodist Church among the pioneer settlers". Two other Bible Christian Ministers who arrived in the colony from Cornwall in this period were the Revs. William Francis James and William Thomas Penrose. Penrose was born at Tregurno in the parish of St. Buryan on 16th July 1850. In 1868 he was converted to the Bible Christians and in that year preached his first sermon, in Drift Chapel. By 1870 he was a local preacher in the St. Just Circuit under the Devonshire-born Rev. J. Raymont (who came to South Australia in 1874), and two years later was sent to the Scilly Isles as a hired local preacher. By the time of his arrival in South Australia in 1896 he was an ordained Minister. He went first to Snowtown, but soon moved to the northern districts, later becoming Secretary of the Conference, and retiring in 1903. W.F. James, from Truro, was ordained in 1872 and was in his day regarded as one of the most successful preachers in Cornwall. He emigrated to South Australia in 1884 in response to the urgent appeal for Missionaries, working amongst the pioneer farmers and eventually becoming President of the Bible Christian Conference in the colony. Two Bible Christian Ministers of Cornish descent ordained in South Australia were the Revs. Arthur Martin Trengove and George Henry Paynter. Both worked in the far-north, Trengove making a valuable contribution to the North Eastern Bush Missions, with Paynter (a son of Captain William Arundel Paynter) being "... the first to hold services and build churches in towns and neighbourhoods in that part of the state". He was also the first to hold
services at Broken Hill and "... did pioneering work in every part of that extensive Silver mining region in the early days". He served in the Ministry from 1877 until 1922, and was Secretary of the South Australian Bush Mission for 40 years.

The Wesleyans, too, could boast a number of Cornish pioneers in the far-north and other isolated parts of the colony. The Rev. John Hosking Trevorrow, born at Lelant in April 1836, was an early preacher at the Blinman mine, while the Rev. John Grenfell Jenkin, born at Penzance in 1865, was at a later date important in the Barrier Ranges. The Rev. Hugh Henwood Teague was born at St. Issey on 10th May 1851. In 1873 he trained as a Minister for the Wesleyan Foreign Mission Society and, after three year's study, went to South Australia where he was sent to Port Pirie. His work entailed riding many miles on horseback to reach isolated families in the new areas, and as a result of his exertion his health failed and he was sent back to Cornwall to recuperate. By 1878 he was again in the colony, and on two occasions was secretary of the Wesleyan Conference. In 1895 he became the editor of the Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal, and earned a reputation as something of an intellectual: "Systematic theology, Biblical criticisms, science, philosophy, and biography obtained a fair share of attention; yet history and poetry were his favourite studies." He was also known for his lively lectures on "Cornwall and The Cornish". The Rev. James Allen, born at Roche in February 1840, was also important in the northern expansion. He was for a time stationed at Jamestown, and from 1884-86 was Chairman of the Northern District. The Rev. John Leggoe, born at St. Just in 1842, was responsible for consolidating Wesleyan Methodism in the Mid-North and South-East after his return from Fiji in 1886, while the Rev. Joseph Guy Mitchell, born in Penzance in
1858, was appointed to Kangaroo Island as a Wesleyan Home Missionary in 1885.\textsuperscript{245} Cornish Ministers - Wesleyans, Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists - continued to arrive in South Australia and, in addition to those already noted here, others who worked in the colony included the Revs. Henry B. Thomas, William Jenkin, Edward Barber, John Watts, John Pringle, J.H. Williams, Stephen J. Batten, T. Britton Angwin, J.J. Nicholls, Paul C. Thomas, J.H. Goss, J.H. Peters, Henry Edmonds, Vivian Roberts, and Samuel Gray - all of them ordained Methodist Ministers from Cornwall. In all, more than 40 Cornish-born Ministers, representing the various Nonconformist denominations, preached in South Australia in the nineteenth-century.\textsuperscript{246}

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But despite all this, the experience of Methodism in South Australia was not one of continual expansion. Severe drought years in the 1880s caused an actual contraction of the wheat frontier in the North, with farmers abandoning properties that were becoming semi-deserts, and much of the Methodist pioneering work was thus undone. The closure of the Kapunda and Burra mines in the late 1870s also robbed the Methodists of two important centres, and even in "Little Cornwall" many families left for Broken Hill and Western Australia in the 1880s and 1890s. The economic depression of those two decades also undermined the Methodist denominations, and many chapels were deeply in debt. On paper, the Methodists were still strong in 1881. Their combined strength was almost 63,300 - comprising nearly 42,100 Wesleyans, 10,500 Bible Christians (a great many being Cornish migrants and their descendents), 10,300 Primitive Methodists (20 per cent of whom were resident in "Little Cornwall"), and 400 New Connexion Methodists.\textsuperscript{247} But in spite of their apparent
numerical strength, the Methodists were suffering increasingly from the effects of the economic climate, the smaller denominations in particular facing the prospect of declining chapel attendance and growing financial difficulties. A report compiled by the Bible Christians Circa 1881 painted an especially gloomy picture:

... we are not strong anywhere, except in the Bowden, Moonta, Auburn and Mount Lofty Circuits ... The once famous society at the Burra is but little more than a shadow of what it formerly was, owing to the closure of the mines four years ago... Kapunda has also declined owing to the almost entire collapse of mining in that neighbourhood... The once flourishing Gawler Circuit has experienced sad reverses. 248

The report blamed the scattered nature of the rural population, a lack of co-operation between preachers and laity, and "... the small jealousies and antagonisms of preachers..." 249 for this state of affairs, but it pointed especially to the effect of competition between denominations. In earlier days the competitive spirit that had existed between the Wesleyans, Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists had been an impetus to expansion and chapel-building, but by the 1880s it led only to duplication and a waste of valuable resources. There were, for example, 15 areas where the Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians had rival chapels, 11 localities where all three major Methodist denominations were represented, and 39 areas where there were at least two chapels belonging to different Methodist denominations. 250 Even in small communities, one could also often find preaching places belonging to Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans, Congregationalists and other Protestant groups, this further increasing the competition. With the realisation that such duplication was ultimately counter-productive, the movement towards Methodist Union in South Australia was set in motion.
Union took 20 years to achieve, and at no time was it a simple process. However, certain changes in Methodism in South Australia at least made progress towards the final goal possible. In the early days, rivalry between the denominations had been fierce to the point of antagonism, and there were on occasions "splits" between the various groups themselves - the most significant coming as late as 1879 when a disagreement at Moonta amongst the Primitive Methodist led to blows being exchanged at one chapel, and to the resignation of a Minister. The Moonta Circuit seceded from the Primitive Methodist Church, but the division was healed by creating two independent Districts in South Australia - Moonta and Adelaide - each with its own organisation and connexional magazine. In April 1888 the two areas were reunited in a new South Australian District, but those at Moonta who refused to be reconciled with their Adelaide brethren formed their own Independent chapels. However, by the 1880s such in-fighting amongst Methodists was the exception rather than the rule, and in any case the distinction which had hitherto kept the denominations apart were by now becoming less noticeable and less important. That Wesleyans were all middle-class and Bible Christians all Cornish was now myth rather than reality, while over the years the laity had gained greater importance in the Wesleyan denomination, and the Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians had become less individualistic and more agreeable to officialdom and denominational bureaucracy. In short, the Wesleyans, Bible Christians, and Primitive Methodists were becoming more and more alike, one correspondent to the Kadina and Wallaroo Times noting in 1895 that

They preached the same sermons and sang the same hymns. Their differences could not be explained. Perhaps the Primitives prayed a little louder, but the Wesleyans prayed a little longer, and was about all the difference between them. 252
Similarly, there had been examples of co-operation between denominations from quite early days. One contributor to the *Advertiser* in 1896 recalled one township where there was only one Methodist chapel, belonging to the Bible Christians, which people brought up as Wesleyans did not hesitate to attend.  

In the same way, John Exebby, who was born in the West Cornish parish of Constantine in June 1830, lived in various parts of South Australia at different times and always went to the chapel that was most convenient regardless of its denomination: "His identification with the different branches of the Methodists freed him from denominational prejudices..." and others who had had experiences similar to that of John Exebby would thus inevitably favour Methodist Union. Elizabeth Mary Harper, from St. Neot, for example, joined the Primitive Methodists at Callington. When she went to Victoria she attended the Wesleyan chapel, but on returning to South Australia rejoined the Primitives.

The first real movement towards Methodist Union was initiated by the Bible Christians. In 1876 the Bible Christian Conference at St. Austell gave permission for a separate South Australian Conference to be set up, this new body declaring in 1881 that

"... after considering the desirability of closer union between the Methodist bodies we do not at present see our way to propose anything definite, but we are determined to avoid all rivalry with other churches, and to cultivate a spirit of union with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ. We have long been ready to come to a common understanding with all the Methodist bodies so as to avoid collision in any part of the colony; and while we believe there is room for us all, we are of the opinion that for want of that common understanding there is often a loss of men and means in carrying on evangelistic work. We record our regret for this and declare that we are ready to confer with the representatives of the Methodist bodies, and hereby express our hope that a closer union may be brought about."
The Cornish element in the Bible Christian movement was divided in its views about closer union. Some did not want to lose the Bible Christian identity and the links with Cornwall and Shebbear, and at Moonta there was a body of opinion which stated that only in the Bible Christian denomination were women treated as equals. In 1896, when a ballot was held on the subject of Methodist Union, one Moonta resident wrote that "... Bible Christian women are now asked to vote in a new order of church life, where they are basically ignored; and in the constitution of which they are not named". The Rev. James Rowe, however, was an active supporter of Methodist Union, and his was a voice that was listened to with respect in the colony. Similarly, the Rev. W.F. James, after his arrival from Cornwall in 1884, became "... one of the prime movers in Methodist Union..." In the Primitive Methodist Connexion, James Peters, from Lanner, also advocated closer Union. His father had been a Bible Christian local preacher in Cornwall, and so Peters was naturally in favour of inter-denominational co-operation. He became Vice-President and Treasurer of the Primitive Methodists in the 1890s, and used his position to press for Union. However, he was opposed by Samuel Stanton, from St. Cleer, who became Vice-President in 1895 and who argued vehemently against Union, as did his colleague the Rev. D.J. Daddow.

Sections of the Wesleyan denomination opposed Union on legal and administrative grounds, but in spite of the divided opinions exploratory talks were held between the different groups throughout the 1880s and 1890s. As early as 1888 the Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists actually voted for Union, but it was felt that the majority was not large enough to be considered a clear mandate on such an important issue. Nevertheless, in May of that year the Methodist New Connexion
did join the Bible Christians, and in 1891 a joint Methodist committee was formed to determine a common approach to social-political questions. In 1894 the Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists again voted for Union, and in a general Methodist referendum in 1896 all three denominations declared in favour of amalgamation. A united Methodist Conference was held in Adelaide in 1899, and the Bible Christian Conference at High Street Chapel, Penzance, in 1900 was the last to be attended by representatives from South Australia, formal Union having been achieved in the colony on 1st January of that year.

The Moonta People's Weekly talked enthusiastically of "... the great idea of a united Methodist Australian people", and at Kapunda the Methodist Minister declared that,

... not only would the union be a great and useful factor in the colonies, but to the town of Kapunda. Let their motto be that good old Cornish one - "One and All" - and let them work together for the cause of God.
CHAPTER 7 - NOTES AND REFERENCES


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CHAPTER 8  THE RADICAL TRADITION

It is only of late that scholarly attention has come to be focussed on Cornish political culture and voting behaviour, and there is as yet no definitive work on Cornish political history. However, even preliminary research in these fields has shown clearly that in Cornwall there has always been (and still is)

... a distinct style of politics - ... anti-metropolitanism ... a desire to preserve the territorial integrity of Cornwall; a lack of overt class-consciousness ... the importance of non-conformity....

This has created an atmosphere which has enabled ". . . the Liberals to retain and add to their historical support by appropriate adaptations to Cornish conditions", and facilitated the development of what the writer has termed the "Cornish Radical Tradition". This tradition emerged in Cornwall in the nineteenth-century and its principal elements were transplanted in South Australia, where they developed in a manner reflecting the Cornish background but at the same time changing in response to new, Australian conditions. This transplantation was at two levels - in the attitudes and dispositions of individual Cornish migrants, and in the political climate or culture created in areas of Cornish concentration such as Burra and North Yorke Peninsula. Four major manifestations of this transplantation can also be traced - a strong link between Methodist and political activity, a tendency towards liberal or social democratic sympathies, the development of trade unionism against the background of the tribute and tidework systems of employment, and the evolution of an advanced Welfare programme in the larger mining companies.
That nineteenth-century Cornwall was a stronghold of the Methodist movement needs no further emphasis, but it is necessary to illustrate that certain significant connections existed between Methodism and politics in Cornwall. Methodism, with its anti-Anglican attitudes, represented a kind of social or religious radicalism, and it was inevitable that as political radicalism emerged so the Methodists would be attracted to its ranks. For many Nonconformist Ministers even today "... politics is about social justice and equality - and the Ministry is a way of serving these ends," and in the nineteenth-century Methodists - laymen as well as preachers - saw their support for political radicalism as merely a practical extension of their Christian convictions. Christianity taught compassion, concern for the needy, the equality of men before God, a contempt for riches; and political radicalism was the means by which God's Word was put into action.

This link between Methodism and Liberalism (and later Labour) in the U.K. has been explored exhaustively by R.F. Wearmouth, and E.R. Taylor has argued that nineteenth-century British Liberalism was the natural inheritor of the Whig Nonconformist tradition: "The struggle for religious liberty came first; that for political liberty followed it, and in both did the Dissenters take the lead." This was true for the U.K. as a whole, but it was most especially true for the so-called "Celtic Fringe" (Ireland apart) where Nonconformity was most deeply entrenched and support for the non-Conservative parties strongest. Hechter's analysis of religion and politics in the U.K., based on census and electoral statistics, lends empirical evidence to support this view; and his county-by-county breakdown - utilising material drawn from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - clearly defines Wales, Scotland and Cornwall as the
most Nonconformist and most non-conservative areas of the U.K. 6

In Cornwall in particular, the link between Methodism and the Liberal Party has always been an obvious one, noted by most Cornish and Methodist historians. Thomas Shaw wrote that "Politically, Cornish Methodists have tended to be Liberals..." 7 and has further noted that "... the Bible Christians were radicals of the old Liberal school." 8 Cornish Methodists were quick to involve themselves in local and U.K. politics, and it is interesting to note that within the first Cornwall County Council, elected in 1889, there were twenty-five Methodists of whom eighteen were Liberals, three extreme Radicals, and only four Conservative. 9 The Methodist influence in local politics is also illustrated by the old story which asserts that at Helston so many of the town councillors were members of the Free Methodist Church that it was often said that the borough's affairs were discussed and settled in the chapel vestry! 10 Similarly, it was not unknown in Cornwall for Liberal politicians to speak from the pulpits of Methodist chapels, their sermons being an intricate blend of Liberal and Christian thought, and conversely, in the great "Liberal Landslide" election of 1906 there were "... accounts of local ministers taking the chair at Liberal and Labour meetings..." 11

Local Methodist organisations in Cornwall made it their business to try to influence legislation passed in the Westminster Parliament. In June 1902, for example, the Ministers and Lay Representatives of the Kilkhampton Bible Christian Circuit in North Cornwall added their voices to the widespread Liberal and Nonconformist opposition to the Conservative Government's Education Bill, which the Cornish Methodists considered would "... increase sectarian differences and make(s) no provision for
freening all National training Colleges from religious or theological tests... and which also violated "... the principle of popular control which should accompany the payment of rates and taxes". The same Bible Christian Circuit also articulated its hostility to Conservative and Anglican forces at a more theoretical level, declaring that

The members of our churches and congregations prize and stand by the privileges of civil and religious liberty won for them by their forefathers at a great cost and handed down to them not simply to enjoy, but to establish and extend.

The Methodist connection apart, the Liberal Party enjoyed growing support from the Cornish people after the "Great Reform Act" of 1832. A.L. Rowse writes of "... the democratic Cornish - monarchy and aristocracy meant little to them, unlike the more conservative English", and certainly a strongly Liberal political culture grew up in Cornwall. Electoral support for the Liberal Party came from the newly-enfranchised middle-classes, and later - with further Parliamentary reform - from the working-classes, but also it came from much of the local gentry who, despite the reforms, could still wield considerable influence in an election. In 1852, for instance, in the East Cornwall Constituency where "... Lord Vivian and Earl St. Germans, with the Tremayne, Molesworth, and Trelawney families, have some influence". T.J. Agar-Robartes (Liberal) and Nicholas Kendal (Protestant/Protectionist) could be elected whilst the Tory candidate, William H. Pole Carew, was defeated.

Indeed, the Liberal Party became firmly and completely established in Cornwall so that, for example, between 1885 and 1910 all six Cornish Constituencies returned Liberal candidates at every election, including by-elections. Often seats were contested, not by opposing Liberal and Conservative candidates,
but by several Liberals of slightly differing political complexions. Thus one memorable election was the "... intense and bitter ... contest between Whig and Radical in 1885..." when the Independent Liberal, C.A.V. Conybeare, defeated the official Liberal candidate, A. Pendarves Vivian, in the Camborne Constituency. It is interesting to note, too, that in this particular contest Conybeare received considerable support from Cornish miners in North America, an indication that Cornish migrants had not only maintained their radical disposition in the U.S.A. but had had it considerably reinforced by their experiences of American democracy. The Yankee Cornish were true supporters of Republicanism, ardent opponents of slavery, and the great champions of Abraham Lincoln.

In Cornwall, politics might not have been so overt, energetic or flamboyant as in the U.S.A., but public support for Liberalism was nevertheless widespread and solid, permeating - as noted above - every section of Cornish society. Some conception of this can be gained from A.L. Rowse's reminiscences of election-time in by-gone Cornwall, and particularly of the political allegiances of his father (born in 1884) and grandfather:

My father voted Liberal - I remember the red and yellow rosette of Tommy Agar-Robartes stuck on the pincushion by the stove in the elections of 1910 - as all the other china-clay workers voted Liberal, because the china-clay captains were Liberals. My grandfather Vanson voted Liberal, because the Carlyons on whose estate he was employed were ... Liberals.

The West Briton newspaper, in those days the principal Cornish weekly, was strongly Radical Liberal in its outlook, providing moral support for the Liberal Party, and serving as a useful propaganda medium during elections. Thus was Liberalism perpetuated, Cornwall surviving as one of the few remaining "Liberal outposts" in the later twentieth-century and experiencing
a vigorous Liberal Revival in the 1970s. But unlike the Welsh experience, this Nonconformist Radicalism did not prove to be the precursor of a deeply-ingrained Labour movement. The Labour Party was slow to develop in Cornwall, and has never been strong, and it has only ever achieved extensive grass-roots support in the Falmouth Dockyards, in the Camborne-Redruth industrial belt, and in the china-clay country north of St. Austell. When finally a Cornish Labour M.P. was elected, his "... political faith and philosophy ... was always founded on personal experience and understanding, rather than on the dogma of the political party he chose to serve..."24 - he was on the Right of the Labour movement, motivated by compassion and a simple desire for social justice, and was suspicious of the Intellectual Left and Marxian theorists.

The strong farming influence in Cornwall accounts in part for the non-socialist nature of Cornish Radicalism, whilst some have asserted that the Cornishman's Celtic temperament served to guide him towards individualist Liberalism and away from collectivist Socialism.25 More recently it has been argued that "... the success of the Liberals in presenting themselves as not only an 'anti-metropolitan' party but also as the radical alternative to the Conservatives..."26 has inhibited the growth of the Labour Party. However, most historians attribute the relative failure of the Labour Party in Cornwall to the weakness of Trade Unionism which is in turn attributed to the economic organisation of Cornish mining in the last century. The English, Welsh, or Scottish coal-miner was often paid low flat-rate daily-wages with little hope of improvement or advancement,27 which, in the gruelling conditions of nineteenth-century mining, bred an atmosphere of hostility between worker and colliery owner and paved the way for the development of a militant Union movement.
But in Cornwall things were very different, and instead of the usual employer/employee relationship there were the Cornish "tribute" and "turwork" systems of employment in which part of the entrepreneurial function was performed by the miner himself.23

---II---

In the tribute system, individual sections of the mine or "pitches" were contracted out to individual miners or groups of miners ("pares") as a result of open bidding. Before this bidding, which occurred on "survey day", each pitch would be inspected by a captain who would ascertain the value of the ore it contained. The mine company would then offer each pitch at "captain's prices". For a rich section of ground containing high-grade ore, the "captain's price" could be as low as just a few shillings in the pound, meaning that for each pound of the value of the ore raised the tributer would receive a couple of shillings. But for a low-grade pitch the "captain's price" might be as high as fifteen shillings in the pound, an incentive for the tributer to work indifferent ground.

Sometimes tribute pitches were in fact let at "captain's prices", but more often there was considerable downward bidding between rival tributers - especially for attractive sections of ground. The effect of such bidding, of course, was to reduce the tributer's share of the ore value to well below "captain's prices", thus lowering his final level of income. The tributers were also expected to provide their own candles, powder and other materials - which they obtained through the company - and at the next survey day (they were usually monthly, or bi-monthly) they would be presented with a "bal-bill" showing the cost of materials and other items deducted from their payment. If a
miner had been forced to draw "subsist" (an advance on earnings) during the period between survey-days, then it was possible that when he received his bal-bill he would (after the various deductions), be entitled to no further income or indeed be in the position of owing the company money.

The tribute system, nevertheless, gave the miner an opportunity to make use of his enterprise and skill in a manner that was impossible with day-wage labour, and was thus generally well-liked by the miners. By working hard, a tributer could amass a large amount of ore and thereby increase his income; and occasionally he might locate a rich pocket of ore in otherwise unpromising ground and so earn a vast amount of money during a particular "take". But despite the advantages, the tribute system weighed often against the miner.\[29\] In addition to the disadvantages noted above, it was sometimes the case that the lode in an apparently rich section of ground would suddenly give out - leaving the miner with poor grade ore but with a contract allowing him only a small percentage of the value of ore raised. In such situations, tributers were sometimes forced to steal ore from their colleagues in order to make a reasonable level of income, and at other times tributers saved money by not erecting adequate (but expensive) timbering to support their workings.\[30\]

And the greatest feature of the tribute system - along with the associated tutwork system in which contracts were concerned with the amount of ground mined rather than ore value - was that it tended to set miner against miner, forcing the tributer to compete with his fellows at periodic intervals for pitches offered to the lowest bidder.\[31\] This, more than anything, helped to frustrate the growth of Trade Unionism in the Cornish mining industry and retard the development of a wider Labour movement in Cornwall as a whole.
Displays of solidarity by the Cornish miners were rare, certainly before the 1860s, although during periods of shortage and depression, such as the "Hungry Forties", bands of starving miners invaded the major towns – Wadebridge, Callington, Lough- ceston, Redruth, St. Austell, Penzance, Helston – to prevent merchants from exporting corn across the Tamar, and "The fear of an insurrection of the tinners was ... a constant one in eighteenth century Cornwall." On a purely industrial level, however, I. I. Price had noted in 1895 that in Cornwall,

The social reformer ... who has learnt to regard Trades Unions as one of the most powerful instruments for protecting the interests of the workmen ... might well be astonished to find a district and an industry where strikes are said to be unknown, and no combinations or unions exist.

In fact, Price, while capturing the spirit of Cornish industrial relations, was overstating the case somewhat. In 1830 miners from the Pwll Deri Consols mine had protested at the way in which their tribute pitches were set, and the disgruntled miners had held a mass meeting on Par green. The action was short-lived, however, for the ringleaders were quickly arrested and incarcerated in Bodmin Goal. And then in 1842 there was a strike by miners at Consols in Gwennap (they even tried to form a Union), while five years later, in 1847, dissatisfied miners from St. Just-in-Penwith held a protest meeting at Penzance. There were cases of industrial sabotage at Pendeen Consols and North Pool in the 1850s, and at Great Wheal Busy in 1866. In the same year, a friendly society styled the "Miners' Mutual Benefit Association" was formed in East Cornwall which "... claimed the right to decide whether the rates offered to tributers and tutworkers was sufficient". The mine owners, predictably, refused to recognise the Association and locked out its members, while calling in troops to quell the disturbance.
and engaging unemployed miners from West Cornwall to act as
black-leg labour. Twenty years later, in November 1886, the
Western Morning News newspaper noted that "Young Radical miners
are discussing the formation of a miners' union but older and
more experienced men are not eager for it." And it was not
until 1913, with the bitter china-clay workers' strike, that
there was extensive industrial action in a Cornish extractive
industry - and even then the workers were not successful in
achieving their aims.

However, although Trade Unions were slow to develop in
Cornwall, it is interesting to reflect that when they did finally
emerge they bore all the marks of the Cornish Nonconformist
Radical Tradition. The Trade Union activists were often also
officials in the Methodist chapels, class-leaders or local preach-
ers. They were better-educated, articulate, experienced in
organising and the leadership of men, and were thus well-suited
for Union positions. But in addition to this, their industrial
activity - like their support for the Liberal Party - was for
them the practical implementation of their Christian beliefs.
There were, indeed, a number of similarities between Methodism
and Trade Unionism. There was a common emphasis on fellowship,
on mutual support and improvement, on solidarity; and there were
even similarities in organisation and terminology - the members
of both Methodist classes and Trade Union branches, for example,
referred to each other as "Brothers", a term of egalitarian sig-
nificance in both movements.

From much of the above, it might be assumed that the mine
owners' attitude to their employees was one of callousness, or
at best indifference. But in fact there developed in Cornwall a
Welfare system which, by comparison with conditions prevailing
elsewhere, was remarkably advanced and sophisticated, and was of
total importance to the Cornish miner in the years before the
Welfare State. At a number of mines there was a "bal-surgeon"
to give on-the-spot attention to the miners (a practice dating
from the early eighteenth-century), and every worker contributed
weekly to a "Club and Doctor Fund" which paid a miner's medical
bills in times of illness and afforded a subsistence allowance
when sickness prevented him from going to work. At some of the
larger mines there was even a mine barber, employed to trim the
miners' hair and to effect their weekly shaves. Being a
reaction to local industrial conditions, and to a local political
culture and Cornish social attitudes, the creation of these
Welfare systems was in some sense an integral part of the
Cornish Radical Tradition, and deserves to be treated as such.

---III---

As argued in Chapter 2, Cornish colonists formed a signifi-
cant part of the early South Australian population. Many of
them were Methodists: they had been attracted by the colony's
"Liberal, Dissenting" atmosphere, and were responsible in part
for its perpetuation and enhancement. This is illustrated by
the comments in the letters written home by the early Cornish
settlers, whose religious and political views were already truly
South Australian (see Chapter 2). Colonists of Cornish origin
were active in the great debate on Establishment and Voluntaryism,
and again in the later debate on the Constitution. As already noted
it was significant that South Australia, in 1851, became the
first British colony to dissolve entirely the connection between
Church and State - a great triumph for the Nonconformists - and
in 1857, on the achievement of self-government, South Australia
possessed the most Liberal and Democratic Constitution in the
Empire. John Stephens, the son of the Cornish miner-turned-Methodist Minister, had been a central figure in the religious controversy, and was one of the "... most fiery advocates of civil and religious liberty" in the colony. He founded the Observer newspaper soon after his arrival in South Australia, in 1843, and later acquired the Register - both of which he used to propagate his own political and religious views. He emerged as a champion of the working-classes, preaching to them the Methodist ideals of self-help, betterment, and advancement. Stephens was forced to retire from the management of the Register in 1848 due to ill-health, but returned as editor during the great Burra strike of that year to defend the cause of the Cornish miners - remembering, perhaps, his father's heritage. His untimely death in 1850 cut short his career as a Liberal agitator, and the Register soon lost its Radical flavour, but nevertheless his role in defending political and religious liberty in South Australia had been a crucial one.

Another important figure in this early period was George Marsden Waterhouse, born in Penzance, Cornwall, in 1824. That his father was a Yorkshire man might lead us to question his "Cornish credentials", but he was brought up in a strict Methodist atmosphere (his father being a Wesleyan Minister) and was educated at the Wesleyan College at Kingswood, near Bristol - a Westcountry Methodist, mining community, socially not unlike Cornwall itself. And it is interesting that when Waterhouse retired he chose, despite the years spent in the Antipodes, to return to the U.K. to spend his last days at Torquay, Devonshire, in the South West. His politics, too, seemed to reflect the Cornish Radical Tradition, and when elected to the South Australian Legislative Council in July 1851 he advocated Liberal measures such as the abolition of State aid to religion, an extended
suffrage, vote by ballot, the abolition of the Imperial veto on local legislation, a curtailment of the Governor’s financial prerogative, triennial elections, and popular education. He supported the separation of Church and State and, in the debate on the Constitution, opposed the concept of a nominated Upper-House. When he first became Premier in 1861 it was for the sole purpose of removing the troublesome Mr. Justice Boothby – who was seen as flouting the sovereignty of Parliament – from the Supreme Court; and in his later Premierships in both South Australia and New Zealand he "... was interested above all in economic development and the freeing of trade...".

Self-government in 1857 opened the way for other Cornish colonists to become involved in Parliamentary affairs, and again the Liberal Nonconformist element was prominent. Philip Santo, the carpenter from Saltash who had arrived in South Australia in 1840, was indeed described as a "... liberal nonconformist ..." by one of his Cornish Parliamentary colleagues, and was in Parliament continuously from 1860 to 1882 – five years as Commissioner of Public Works. He, like his close friend James Crabb Verco (from Callington) who was in Parliament from 1862-65, was a member of the Church of Christ, and both men were thus inevitably "... great lovers of political and religious freedom ...". Another early Cornish Parliamentarian, again a member of the Church of Christ, was one George Pearce – a farmer in the Burra district, who was a Member of the House of Assembly for East Torrens from 1868 to 1870.

Perhaps the greatest Parliamentary product of South Australia’s "Paradise of Dissent" was James Penn Boucault (from Mylor, in West Cornwall) and his bold programme of reform which, as the Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review observed as early
as 1890, \(^5\) would never have been formulated - let alone implemented - if the correct social conditions had not first been moulded in South Australia by the early colonists. Boucaut - in many ways a typical Cornishman - was himself an Anglican and not a Nonconformist, but on various occasions he had indicated that he wanted "... to express my sympathy towards the Nonconformist churches, partly from my own natural feelings and greatly from old family associations." \(^5\) And one ought also to recall John Pearce's remark that "... we must not confuse Methodism with methodism, the institutional Church with the creative influence which permeated our (Cornish) society." \(^5\) That is to say, Boucaut's early experiences in Cornwall planted in him not only a deeply-felt Cornish patriotism - which he displayed at every opportunity - but also a political and social outlook largely conditioned by the Cornish Radical Tradition. One of Boucaut's great ambitions in life (in the event, an unfulfilled one) was to return to Cornwall to represent a Cornish Constituency in the Westminster Parliament, \(^5\) and it seems likely that if he had carried this plan to fruition he would have become an ideal and typical Cornish Liberal M.P.

Indeed, it is important not to underestimate the importance of the Cornish background in shaping the attitudes and policies of Cornish-born politicians in South Australia, or elsewhere overseas for that matter. L.E. Fredman, writing on the Cornishman Sir John Quick, a Father of Australian Federation and prominent Victorian colonist, was at pains to point out that Quick ...

... embraced Federation as his great cause akin to Free Schools, House Rule or the other great causes of contemporary liberalism. For the immigrant does not start with a clean slate. Quick belonged to a colonial party much influenced by its British spokesmen and the same convictions and pressures of organised Nonconformism. He absorbed these attitudes from wide reading and from his place of origin. The sober Methodism of Cornwall
expounded there in a network of plain but durable granite chapels would cross the seas and help to shape the colonial world in which he grew up. 55

And if this was true for Quick and Victoria, where Non-conformity was weak, how much more so must it have been for South Australia and its large contingent of Cornish colonists? Boucaut himself equated his own political views with the values and outlook of Cornwall and the Cornish people, declaring that "I have always stood by my counties(sic) motto 'One and All' and contemn(sic) and despise more money shoddy aristocracy". 56

Boucaut was first encouraged to enter politics by "... friends who knew my democratic sympathies..." 57 in 1861 when he was an up-and-coming lawyer, and was elected to the House of Assembly on an anti-immigration platform - gaining invaluable support during the election campaign from the working-class Political Association. 58 His first major impact in Parliament was to ally himself with Philip Santo in opposition to Waterhouse's scheme for enlarging the franchise to the possessors of landed property - a policy which Boucaut and Santo felt would give an extra vote to one man at the expense of another (an eminently Liberal Democratic objection), and which they were successful in opposing. The alliance between Boucaut and Santo was reinforced when they decided to stand in partnership for the seat of East Adelaide in the 1862 election, and in assessing their friendship it is interesting to recall that Santo was a native of Saltash while Boucaut, although originally from Mylor, had received his education in a Saltash school.

But Boucaut was still politically naive, and although Santo was returned at the poll, he himself was defeated because he continued to dwell on anti-immigration considerations at a time
when renewed prosperity had killed the issue and the Political Association along with it. Boucaut returned to his legal career, only to become embroiled in the damaging Moonta Mines case (which contested the ownership of the mines), but again entered the political arena in 1865 after being invited to stand for Parliament by the electors of West Adelaide. Boucaut’s candidacy was successful and in this, his second session in Parliament, Boucaut directed his attentions - despite earlier criticisms of the squattocracy - to the drought-stricken pastoralists (including two of his brothers) in the Far North, and was successful in introducing various forms of drought relief. In the wake of the short-lived governments of Ayers and Dutton, Boucaut became Attorney-General under John Hart, and when Hart sailed for England in 1866 he himself became Premier. The great achievement of this first ministry was the final removal of Boothby from the Supreme Court, although this was overshadowed by the mounting criticism of his involvement in the Moonta Mines case, which led to his resignation in April 1867.

In the 1868 elections, Boucaut contested East Adelaide and was surprisingly defeated, a fact attributed by Boucaut to his ambiguous stand but which also reflected his temporary unpopularity. But in those days elections were staggered, there being three sets of polls, and so Boucaut had the good fortune to be returned unopposed for Burra Burra, after having been invited to stand for the seat in a telegram wired to him by the miners and farmers of the locality. Nevertheless, despite their initial support, Boucaut’s popularity fell to new depths as the Moonta affair dragged on, and when he attempted to retain his Burra seat in the 1870 elections, he found himself coming a miserable sixth out of seven candidates. Boucaut returned again to politics at a by-election in July 1871 and retained his new
seat of West Torrens at the next general election, being persuaded in 1872 to join the Ayer's government as Attorney-General. His political opponents branded him a "Red Republican" because of his progressive views, and tried to make further political capital out of the Moonta Mines case - a select committee, however, ended this criticism of Boucaut by establishing that he had not acted improperly in his legal representation of the Mills "association" in the case.

Ayers' ministry did not last, and in the period 1872-75 Boucaut emerged as the clear leader of the Opposition groups in Parliament, in October 1874 introducing his famous Railway Scheme into the House of Assembly. At the next election he was returned as the member for Encounter Bay, and on the re-assembly of Parliament swiftly became Premier. As head of the government, he pressed on with his courageous and far-sighted policy of expansion, planning 13 major railways to traverse the colony and advocating increased immigration to populate the areas thus opened-up. His scheme, however, was to be financed by borrowing £2,200,000, the interest on which would be met through increased taxation. This aspect of the plan, together with the radical, sweeping nature of the proposed legislation, met with stiff resistance from the conservative Upper House and was thus rejected by the Legislative Council on two occasions. Losing the confidence of the Lower House as a result of his failure, Boucaut was replaced as Premier by Cotton, who proceeded with Boucaut's legislation and was able, through the colony's improved financial position, to drop the controversial Stamp Duty tax, thus winning the approval of the Upper House. When Boucaut regained the Premiership in October 1877 several stages of his Railway Scheme had already been started, and he had the personal satisfaction of introducing the later stages. Boucaut's plan
was ultimately of great importance to South Australia, and he has been duly recognised as one of the State's greatest Premiers. (He was also intimately involved with the introduction of State Education in 1875 - a piece of legislation supported greatly by the Nonconformists.)

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The above sketch of Boucaut's political career gives a clear indication of his Liberal political leanings and his enthusiasm for progress, but equally revealing are his private views as articulated in his intriguing correspondence with J. McArthur, one-time secretary of the Cornish miners' Union at Moonta. Boucaut had always been a great friend of the Cornish miners - he had called himself a "... Cousin Jacky" and identified with the miners' causes, giving the Wallaroo and Moonta men his support during the strikes of 1864 and 1874. It was in 1874, after the "Great Strike" in "Little Cornwall", that McArthur wrote to Boucaut, asking for his advice on the newly-formed Union's political policies. In 1874 Boucaut was at his political zenith, in the light of which it is interesting to consider his response. Explaining his general philosophy of politics, Boucaut wrote that,

... the whole State is controlled by a coterie of half a dozen rich men in Adelaide which hates me and has no love for any man who really strives for fair play for the working classes. I have been for many years of (the) opinion which I have very often expressed that our Legislation and system of Government studies entirely too much the interests of capital. I am very glad to see such Unions as yours established... 63

To impress his sincerity upon McArthur, Boucaut declared that, "I wish you to believe that I do not profess liberal sentiments in order to gain power. I should have far more power if I were to hold contrary sentiments", later adding "... I
differ from those who think that the Union should be disassociated from politics.\textsuperscript{65} Enlarging on the roles of capital and labour, Boucaut explained that,

I have been accused of setting class against class. That is absurd. Class was against class long before I came into the world. Such an accusation is a very common thunderbolt launched by capital. I have never heard a man accused of setting class against class who advocated the cause of capital. This is because capital is true to itself while labour is too often true neither to itself nor its friends who become marks for sneering until few men have courage left to face it.

A great struggle between capital and labour is commencing all over the world. Labour was once enslaved. It now demands liberation, and that labour shall no longer be considered as so much animal clay. \textsuperscript{66}

Here Boucaut is veering towards a kind of socialism, and the vision of the future he holds is entirely social democratic:

There is no reason why the man whose industry makes the article should not look forward to the time when he will be on a perfect equality in very respect with the man whose capital aids him in doing so. \textsuperscript{67}

Boucaut criticised the embryonic Moonta Miners' Association because it exercised its power "... by fits and starts which is bad both for the country and yourselves."\textsuperscript{68} and because it "... had no settled principles and no cohesion."\textsuperscript{69} He also urged the Cornishmen not to be divided by sectarian feeling. "Be true to yourselves...", he argued, "- if a Wesleyan vote against a Bible Christian because he is of a rival Church both suffer."\textsuperscript{70} He urged the Moonta Unionists to establish links with like-minded groups in Adelaide, and argued that internally the Union should concentrate on education, whilst politically it ought to agitate for payment of Parliamentary members as a prelude to nominating their own Labour candidates - "... everything comes back to payment of members and education. These are your two great necessities".\textsuperscript{71}
From the Union's point of view, Boucaut's advice was sound, for the miners' display of industrial and political power had indeed been fitting and without direction in the years before 1874. And it is interesting that it was after 1874 that the Union on North Yorke Peninsula became efficiently organised and politically aware. It would, of course, be naive to attribute this development solely to Boucaut's contribution, and instead it is necessary to refer to the changing nature of miners' strikes in South Australia after 1848. In particular, it is necessary to examine the effect of changing attitudes to the tribute and tutwork systems, and of the development of Unionism in South Australia, at Broken Hill, and elsewhere in Australia. In other words, we need to investigate not only the effect of the Cornish background, but also the changes wrought in the Cornish miners' outlook by unique Australian conditions.

The tribute and tutwork systems of employment were adopted in South Australia in the earliest days of the colony's mining development. Robert Nicholls, a Cornishman and the first miner at Kapunda, was engaged by Captain Bagot to work the mine on tribute; and at Burra Burra the systems were in use from the very beginning of mining operations. In 1846, in the Burra's first full year of production, the South Australian News recorded that,

Miners are no longer satisfied to work on owners' account, for less than 30s per week, especially at any distance from town; but the prevalent wish of this class is to be placed on "tribute" or "tutwork", which is natural enough when they know that some of their brethren are earning such splendid renumeration at the Burra Burra Mines.

The success of the systems at the Burra, and the preferences displayed by the Cornish miners, did indeed induce other mines to introduce tribute and tutwork to their workings, and at the
end of 1846 the South Australian News could again note that "... the Cornish system of "tutwork" and "tribute", or one of the contracts suited to circumstances, will doubtless prevail" in the South Australian mining industry. The miners themselves were clearly pleased with this situation, as evidenced by the favourable comments on the tribute and tutwork contracts at Kapunda made by John Oats in a letter to his relatives in Cornwall.

And when industrial conflict broke out at Burra Burra in September 1848, the bone of contention was not the system of employment - with which the miners were well pleased - but rather the results of the assaying performed by the South Australian Mining Association when determining the value of the tributer's ore. Under the Association's rules, the value of ore in a particular pitch would be ascertained by comparing three different assays - that of the tributer who had previously worked the pitch or intended to work it in the future, that of Mr. Thomas Burr (then the mine superintendent), and finally that of Mr. Elphick (a chemist hired by the Directors). The Directors had become critical of Burr's assays, which they considered to be too liberal and too much in the miners' favour, and were inclined to accept the more conservative assays of Mr. Elphick as being the most accurate. They also accused the tributers - or more exactly their representative, Hosken, who performed most of the assays on their behalf - of making the assays "... greater than they really are."77

Burr ultimately lost his job as a result of the accusations, and the miners reacted angrily to the whole situation by mixing together their ores as a protest, and by striking. As is often case in strikes, the venting of one particular grievance brought other grievances to light which were also directed at the
S.A.M.A.. Some miners said that their ore had been left lying around for months before the Association had settled-up, and others complained at the level of bal-bill charges for candles, powder, and the Club and Doctor Fund.78

The disturbance caused some alarm in the colony, one correspondent to the Register noting gravely that 1848 had been a year of European Revolution. In anticipation of violence, a squad of policemen was sent to the Burra, but in the event they were not needed despite the fact that black-legs were "... hauled up to grass, pinioned down to a wheelbarrow..."79 and carried shoulder-high through the town "... exposing them to the gaze and ridicule of 1800 laughing souls."80 The sending of the police, however, was indicative of the Association's general attitude - it was determined to keep tight control over the miners and tended to over-react in industrial situations where diplomacy ought to have been the order of the day. Henry Ayers (the Association secretary), in particular, had a somewhat hostile or at least haughty attitude towards the miners, and an almost fanatical concern to maximise profits and output and to minimise cost. In April 1846, Mr. Boswarva, the mine clerk, had been reprimanded for being too familiar with the miners (his fellow Cornishmen), and he was finally dismissed from the Association's service in November 1847.81 Earlier, in January 1846, Ayers had written sternly to Von Sommer (then superintendent) on the subject of wages:

You will please understand that the Labourers are to have £1 per week only, and the Directors will not sanction a greater sum, this being the very best wages which are given throughout the Province, and if the men choose to leave I can soon replace them by others to any extent you may require. 82

The antipathy and insensitivity displayed by Ayers and the
Directors was clearly a factor in prolonging and aggravating the Burra strike. The Register noted the "... discourteous line of conduct on the part of the Board of Management...",\textsuperscript{83} and it was true that at first the Directors had ignored the miners' memorial concerning the assays, and that later they had refused to treat with the tributers collectively because each was employed on an individual contract. Moreover, after having induced the miners to return to work by finding a scapegoat in Burr who was dismissed, the S.A.M.A. foolishly provoked a renewal of the strike by announcing a reduction in the wages of day-labourers. This time the tributers and tutworkers, though not directly affected, struck in sympathy with the labourers. They said in a memorial that "... all hands, tributers and tutwork men...",\textsuperscript{84} had come together in "... solid consideration...",\textsuperscript{85} and demanded a restoration of existing rates for all "... miners, labourers, carriers on the mine, whim boys, and ore-pickey boys."\textsuperscript{86} The memorial was signed by Malachi Deeble, Richard Trezise, Hugh Bowden, William Moyle, Richard Cocking, James Hosken, and other ringleaders with obviously Cornish names. (Curiously enough, Malachi Deeble later became a prominent captain at Moonta, where he was notorious as a virulent anti-Trade Unionist!)

The Association reacted, again characteristically, by offering at the next survey-day only 7 tutwork bargains and 14 tribute pitches (instead of the usual 70 or 80) with the direction that other miners would have to work on a daily-wage basis - a move calculated to "punish" the miners who would resent the loss of independence involved in having to work as day-labourers. It was also a move which was seen by many as being unnecessarily spiteful. A strike by teamsters was only narrowly averted, and public sympathy moved behind the miners - one contributor to the Register having written a poem ending with the phrase, "So here's
Five Guineas for your cause my old friends Cousins Jackey." 87

The strike finally petered out during January 1849, some of the ringleaders having been ordered from the Association's cottages and left the the Burra, the rest through economic necessity having to return to work. Inevitably, there were further recriminations! Some, like Joe Trevean, A. Penna, Thomas Cocking, M. Rogers and T. Polkinghorne, were re-employed as miners on the understanding that they behaved themselves, while others, such as Messrs. Hoiles, Mitchell and Moyle were told that they might be taken on at a later date, and still others – including Messrs. Bosance, Robins, Hosken and Stephens – were refused work and given notice to quit the S.A.M.A. cottages. 88 Wage rates, needless to say, were not improved, Captain James Trewartha writing an indignant letter to the press, claiming the position of the South Australian miner was "... not a whit better than that of the Cornish miner". 89

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The Burra strike, then, was a clumsy affair – badly handled by both employees and employers – and arose not through a deep-seated hostility to the system of employment on the part of the miners, but as a result of discrepancies in assaying and the general insensitivity of the Association. In no way was it an attempt by the Cornishmen to establish a Union or to combine consistently against their employers. In short, the strike was a spontaneous and ill-organised reaction to a particular situation rather than part of a strategy to alter the basic relationship between employee and employer. Precisely the same could be said of the strike at Moonta and Wallaroo in 1864. It did not represent the emergence of "Organised Labour" on North Yorke
Peninsula, but was in fact an expression of dissatisfaction with the managerial regimes of Eneder and William Warmington, and a reaction against the two companies' failure to introduce the tribute system at their workings.

The Warmington brothers - James, Eneder, and William - were mine captains of considerable experience in both Cornwall and North America, and were appointed to positions at the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines in the early 1860s on the recommendation of the famed Captain Roach of the Burra mine. But their sojourn on North Yorke Peninsula was never a happy one. James was dismissed as Chief Captain of the Moonta Mines in October 1862 on account of his "misconduct", and was replaced by his brother William. In the meantime, Eneder had been appointed Chief Captain at the Wallaroo Mines. However, neither William nor Eneder was successful in establishing satisfactory relations with their staff and workers. By May 1863 an atmosphere of hostility had grown up between William Warmington and Captain Osborne, a potentially difficult situation which had to be smoothed over by the Moonta company. And in March 1864 things came to a head when both the Moonta and Wallaroo miners came out on strike in protest against the "two tyrants".

At Wallaroo Mines a group of timbermen had been instructed by Eneder to repair some shaft work over the Easter Holidays in preparation for the return to work on the following Tuesday. They refused, and on arrival at the mine on the Tuesday, found they had been dismissed. This was an opportunity for the miners to express their dissatisfaction with the Captain, and so the Wallaroo men came out on strike. They marched as a body to the Moonta Mines where the miners were also looking for an opportunity to protest against the equally unpopular William Warmington
The two groups of miners pledged solidarity – one would not return to work without the other – and they began to rationalise and articulate their opposition to the Warmington brothers.

Both brothers were accused of ill-treating men and boys employed at the mines. William, in particular, was accused of severely flogging a young lad; in reply to which he admitted that he had been forced to resort to corporal punishment but that it had not been excessive. The miners, under the leadership of Reuben Gill, Collingwood Kitto, John Lander, and Mr. Knowles, compiled a memorial calling for the dismissal of both Eneder and William Warmington, and submitted it to the Moonta and Wallaroo companies. At first the two companies were unwilling to concede any ground to the strikers, expressing full confidence in their managers and not admitting any complaints against them. But under pressure, not only from the miners but also public opinion (including the tradesmen of Moonta and Kadina), they began to relent – their first concession being to agree to an inquiry into the conduct of the brothers. And then suddenly Eneder Warmington announced his resignation from the Wallaroo Mines. This was due, in part, to his continuing ill-health (he died soon after), but the miners saw it as an admittance of guilt and, sensing victory had been achieved, the Wallaroo men indicated their willingness to return to work. The demise of Eneder having defused the situation considerably, the Moonta miners also agreed to return to work, under the temporary supervision of Captain East of the New Cornwall Mine. At the same time, Collingwood Kitto was created a captain at the Yelta Mine, "... probably to keep him out of the way".94

William Warmington, in the face of considerable public criticism, and the almost total hostility of the Moonta miners,
had little choice but to tender his resignation. The Moonta company felt it had little evidence to condemn William, but still thought "... it would be expedient to accept the resignation". And so peace was restored at the mines, and the way opened for Captain Henry Richard Hancock - then at Yelta - to establish his rule at Moonta. The men themselves were satisfied with their triumph, and were equally pleased when the companies announced that the tribute and tutwork systems were to be introduced at Wallaroo and Moonta. During the course of the strike, Captain Prisk of Kanmantoo Mine and Captain Trestrail of Magill had been engaged to visit the area - ostensibly to report on the progress of the mines, but in reality to sound out the mood of the miners. Among their recommendations had been the advice that a system of employment familiar and acceptable to the Cornish miners ought to be introduced. Clearly, the mine companies though it politic to act on this advice.

The general effect of the 1864 strike at the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines was not to create a rift between employers and employees, as is the case in so many strikes, but in fact to draw the two sides closer together. The miners' venom, in any case, had been directed against the Warwingtons and not the companies. Their quarrell was not with the Directors but with the Captains, the spirit of which was captured by a retrospective article in the People's Weekly over 50 years later. And from the companies' point of view, they had acceded to the miners' demands and in doing so had won their gratitude and loyalty. It was perhaps for this reason that the rapid development of the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines in the years after 1864 was not punctuated by industrial conflict of any consequence, and it was not until a decade later, in 1874, that the mines were again brought to a standstill through strike action.
The 1874 "Great Strike", as it came to be known, has always been portrayed as a rather light-hearted, almost jocular, occurrence, and Oswald Pryor in his *Australia's Little Cornwall* implies that the major feature of the strike was the "sweeping out" of the black-legs from the engine-houses by the miners' wives. But in fact the 1874 strike was a nasty affair, creating an atmosphere of hostility between employee and employer, and laying the foundations for the development of a vigorous Trade Union movement on the North Yorke Peninsula mining fields. The event passed into the lore of local Unionism - its ringleaders elevated to the level of heroes and martyrs - and an epic poem written to commemorate and immortalize the struggle, its melodramatic style adding further to the mystique which grew up around the strike:

And soon they met at Elder's Shaft;  
The "Ring" was form'd, the glor'rous ring,  
Where Cousin Jack stands like a king;  
And freely to each thought gives vent,  
As to his brain each thought is sent,  
In eloquence that's all his own,  
States his opinions quick and clear,  
Nor will he yield to force or fear  
Nor will he back from anything  
He states when standing in the "Ring".  

The initial cause of the strike was a decision of the Moonta Mine Proprietors to reduce the general level of remuneration at their workings, notice of which was posted at the mines on the morning of April 2nd. The miners felt that, in view of the Company's phenomenal profits during the preceding decade, the reduction was completely unjustified. They declared a strike, and were joined by their colleagues at Wallaroo Mines who were experiencing similar problems. The solidarity displayed by the miners was almost complete, the few remaining black-legs working the pump-engines being "swept" from their posts by the enraged Cousin Jennies. Enormous strike meetings were held, at one demonstration the local band thundering out the strains of
"Cheer Boys, Cheer", and at another 5,000 men from Wallaroo and Moonta pledging their unity. The first reaction of the mining companies was to stand their ground, complaining that the men had acted improperly by forcing the stoppage of the pump-engines. But later, after having received a deputation from the miners and listened to their grievances, the Directors agreed to restore the former wage rates for a further two months, and to give in future one month's notice of any impending reduction. For the miners, this was interpreted as a great victory and impressive celebrations were held with bonfires, brass band music, and other festivities.

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The real significance of the strike, however, was not the victory itself, but the new attitudes it created. Having witnessed the benefits of combination in their struggle with the employers, the workers established and maintained an active Trade Union structure. Before 1874 there had been a half-hearted attempt to form a friendly society. The "Moonta Miners and Mining Mechanics Association of South Australia" had been launched in November 1872, it being founded "... on principles of Christian equity and charity". It was, however, more concerned to establish a miners' co-operative store than to engage in industrial action (an article on the means of setting-up a "co-op." was even reprinted from the West Briton in a local newspaper!) although there was a small minority who saw the Association as the precursor of a fully-fledged Trade Union movement. One miner wrote:

We invite the young and old
To join our miners' band;
Come and have your names enrolled,
And join us heart and hand.
Cornwall was never conquered yet,
   By men of mighty powers;
And shall we all in silence sit,
   And show ourselves like cowards?

We have the motto "one and all";
   This coat of arms is ours;
Then let us rise both great and small
   To carry out our endeavours.

Some excitement was created in the Association's ranks in July 1873 when there was a brief strike by tributers at the Blinman mine over the method of setting tribute pitches. But generally the Association failed to capture the imagination of the local miners, and by April 1874 it was almost defunct. 104 The "Great Strike", however, resurrected the Association in a new and vibrant form (it was now known simply at the "Moonta Miners' Association"). A similar Association was formed at Kadina (for the benefit of the Wallaroo miners), and the men at the smelting works were persuaded to join, while miners at Callington, Burra and Kapunda showed great interest in the developments. 105 At first the Associations were very self-conscious and unsure of themselves: McArthur wrote to Boucaut for his advice, the Moonta and Wallaroo men squabbled over the rules and regulations, and two of the leaders - John Visick and John Prisk - quarrelled bitterly. 106 However, despite their difficulties, the Associations welded themselves into a cohesive Trade Union movement which was able to test its strength by demanding "closed shop" conditions at the mines, and was by September 1874 formulating a clear political policy. It called, for example, for land laws to be liberalised, for education to be free and compulsory, for payment of Parliamentary members, for an end to immigration, and for the introduction of a prohibitory liquor law. 107

This last demand indicated a strong Methodist influence within the Union, again reflecting the Cornish inheritance, and
it was significant that the Union ringleaders "... were almost to a man Methodist local preachers". Indeed, the Union was so identified with the Cornish that the small minority of non-Cornish miners felt that they had been ignored and left out. One wrote that "... as Britain is represented by England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales - I consider a mistake was made ... in forming the (Union) committee by selecting all Cornishmen". As in Cornwall, the Methodist attraction to Trade Unionism was both moral and religious, Methodist Ministers at Moonta in 1874 giving their support to the strikers. Addressing a mass-meeting of miners, a local Primitive Methodist Minister - evoking again, as Boucaut and others had done, the Cornish motto - urged them to

One and All, stick to it, my men; you have principle and right on your side and angels look down upon you men who are longing to do right. The God of nations will defend you, trust in God; nothing will harm you, you will come out on the right side presently. God bless you!

The delegation which had visited the Directors in Adelaide had consisted of John Prisk (known as "Honest John" long before the rise of John Verran), T. Rodda, John Anthony, J. Uren, John Visick, and a Mr. Edwards; and one of the principal agitators at the mine was Reuben Gill - a veteran of the 1864 strike. Prisk, Visick, and Gill were the most colourful and vociferous of these leaders, and each displayed in their political and Trade Union activities the relevance of their Cornish Nonconformist backgrounds. John Prisk was secretary of the Moonta Miners' Association for many years. An article in the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser in June 1874 had referred to "... the Holy Land of Moonta under the able leadership of their modern Gideon, Mr. J. Prisk", using these Biblical allusions to describe his qualities. The Rev. Octavius Lake, the Bible Christian Minister at Moonta, was pleased to note that Prisk was "... a lay preacher of the Gospel
in connection with the Bible Christian Church..."¹¹² and added with obvious pleasure that he was "... in good standing among his co-religionists".¹¹³

John Visick (or Visack) came out from Kea in mid-Western Cornwall in 1857 to work as an engineer on the Burra Burra mine. The son of a schoolmaster, he was "A radical all his days...",¹¹⁴ and was firmly committed to the Wesleyan Methodist Church - so much so, in fact, that when the various Methodist denominations moved towards unity in the late 1890s, he joined instead the Church of Christ as a mark of his protest. He was a fervent local preacher and, in addition to his prominent role in the 1874 strike, became a leading member of the Union movement on North Yorke Peninsula. Reuben Gill was even more of an individualist than Visick, and became known as "The Billy Bray of South Australia", after the famous Cornish preacher - an indication of both his preaching style and the esteem in which he was held in local Methodist circles. He was a well-known Bible Christian lay preacher, a Rechabite, and teetotaller, having arrived in South Australia circa 1850 to work at the Burra. He was a much-liked personality and a favourite speaker at the miners' strike meetings. One commentator noted that,

Mr. Gill's style of speaking was extraordinary. Jumping upon the platform as though propelled there by a catapult, he would jerk his head from side to side, and instantly let loose his eloquence at a tremendous rate. ¹¹⁵

Another remarked that,

His rough eloquence would fall from his lips in a rapid stream, and apt metaphor and racy extemporaneous rhyme follow each other with almost lightning-like rapidity, while the attention of his audience would remain enchained throughout his speech. ¹¹⁶

Because of this charismatic appeal and the influence he wielded in the local community on North Yorke Peninsula, the
Moonta and Wallaroo companies saw to it that Gill was eventually unable to find employment at any of the mines, and he ended his days in Adelaide, first as a mechanic and then selling insurance. Indeed, the hardening attitude towards activists on the part of the Moonta and Wallaroo companies was another important outcome of the 1874 strike (Stanley Whitford wrote of "... the iron heel the Hancocks had for Unionists..."118). At the end of the conflict there were the usual recriminations. Three Unionists who tried to stir-up further trouble (Messrs. Tonkin, Sleep, and - quite appropriately - Strike) were dismissed, and the Moonta company informed Captain Hancock of the "... advisability of getting rid of rowdy characters..." while also adding that it would "... not retain in their service men who attempt to interfere with the Management of the Mine". When men were made redundant for economic reasons, it was the Union activists who were the first to be dismissed. McArthur, Union secretary and author of the correspondence with Boucaut, was one of those who lost their jobs, and he wrote a pitiful letter to the Moonta Directors explaining the grave mistake he had made in joining the Union and pleading to be reinstated. Rather uncharitably, Reuben Gill condemned him as a "traitor" and a "Judas".

The Moonta company, in earlier days, had sought Cornish miners more or less exclusively to work at its mines, and when recruiting in Victoria had given strict instructions to its agent than he should not engage ordinary diggers but only Cornishmen with copper-mining experience. But the display of solidarity in the 1874 strike had frightened the Directors, and in an attempt to undermine the cohesiveness of the "Little Cornwall" community they agreed in early 1875 to try to employ Scottish and Irish miners. And a few months later it was suggested
that they obtain "... 200 Miners or Pitskinkers of other than Cornish nationality...". 126

In contrast with the miners’ strikes of 1848 and 1864, the 1874 confrontation heralded a new era of industrial relations at Moonta and Wallaroo. Although one frustrated Unionist claimed in July 1878 that "... a portion of the members have been aiming to make the Union a mere Co-operative store affair..." 127 and that "... Cornish men do not understand the true principles of Unionism and never will during the present generation", 128 the miners became active and organised in a way that they had never been before. Oswald Pryor has written of the great deference and respect shown by the Cornish miners to their Captains (with the exception of the Warmingtons!), epitomised by the view that when cap’en do "... say a thing is, it IS, even if ’tedden". 129 But, although this attitude took many years to disappear, the 1874 strike had the effect of creating a gulf between the men and the Captains. In the early days of the strike, the miners were at pains to make clear that "We have not anything against our Manager or Captains ... but on the contrary we respect them ...". 130 Not long after, however, a reference by one of the miners’ leaders to "... an old cripple..." 131 who hailed from "... a parish in Devonshire..." 132 (apparently directed at Captain Hancock) was greeted with hoots of laughter and cheering by the men. On another occasion, Captains Hancock and Deeble were accused of being un-Christian and irreligious (though some of the miners thought this was going too far) 133, while John Prisk was alleged to have said that "The best news I have for you is that Mr. Higgs (Captain of Wallaroo Mines) is spitting up blood". 134 He was also accused of having urged the men to pray for the deaths of H.R. Hancock and Malachi Deeble. By 1879 the Union's attitude to the Captains in general, and Hancock in particular,
had so hardened that Prisk was able to say that "If Captain Hancock knew how much the men spoke against him ... he would be ashamed to look the men in the face". 135

VII

In addition to the division between miners and Captains, there was also apparent - after 1874 - a changing of attitude towards the tribute and tutwork systems of employment. In the late 1860s there had been a number of criticism, articulated through the correspondence columns of the Wallaroo Times, 136 of the methods of setting tribute and tutwork contracts at the mines, but the systems themselves had then enjoyed the overwhelming support of the Cornish miners. After 1874, these criticisms became more frequent - a particular "bone of contention" being the "five-week month" adhered to by the mining companies for the purpose of determining pay periods. During 1872 and 1874, miners in Cornwall - at St. Ives, St. Just-in-Fenwith, and Camborne - had protested against the "five-week month" and had been successful in securing its abolition. 137 Evidently, the Moonta and Wallaroo men followed the example of their colleagues at home, and were spurred on by newcomers who arrived from Cornwall in the 1870s. One "New Chum" on the Peninsula in February 1877 wrote to his relatives in Cornwall, saying,

... no doubt you will be surprised when I tell you that the system of five weeks' pay which the miners not only in our mine but of almost every mine in Cornwall fought so valiantly to crush is in operation in this far-off land. 138

During 1882, another miner recalled that he had opposed the five-week month in Cornwall and that Captain William Treffry Bryant, now in South Australia, had been one of the first to introduce the four-week pay period. 139 But even more signif-
icant than these mounting criticisms of the practices of tribute and tutwork, was the growing dissatisfaction with the actual systems. For despite the miners' initial enthusiasm for contracting, the disadvantages of tribute and tutwork were as clear in South Australia as they were in Cornwall itself. In 1865, for example, the Moonta Directors had been forced to dismiss two tributers for stealing ore from the company, while just a few months later a further two miners were dismissed for a similar offence. And the systems did not improve with age - in 1889 two tutworkers, Simmons and Trebilcock, were suspended for six months for failing to adequately timber their workings. Even when tributers were lucky enough to strike rich ore, the Moonta and Wallaroo companies were quick to ensure that the tribute was lowered (sometimes to as little as 1s in the £141) for the next "take". It was inevitable, therefore, that as time went on the miners would come to realise that tribute and tutwork were not necessarily the perfect systems that they had always been thought to be. In September 1879 came the first major signs of discontent with the system142, and, perhaps in response to this, the companies replaced the practice of "open bidding" with "private tendering" - the miners now being required to compete for tribute pitches or tutwork bargains by tendering their offers to the companies on slips of paper. However, this innovation made little difference, for, as one observer wrote in April 1880:

"Cornishmen are generally of an envious disposition, the characteristic principle being a dislike to see a neighbour advance a step ahead, and so with tendering. I have heard a remark passed when a miner has heard another is tendering for the same job. "Ef'ee d'get un 'ell have tew tender some law", hence they all tender low and labor is brought below a nominal figure."

That this was so was graphically demonstrated in 1879, when tenders were invited for the sinking of 4 fathoms of a 6 foot shaft at the East Moonta Mine:
Thus while one miner believed the job could only be undertaken economically at a price of £190, the contract went to a man who had tendered as low as £104. It was not surprising, then, that in January 1878 one "... old miner, what do belong to Cornwall..." should write that tribute and tutwork was "... good for the company, but not so good for the workman"; nor was another exaggerating when he observed that:

The fact is we miners cut each other, hence we bring down the price of labor, and it is to be feared that our price is often far below the captain's price, which is cutting wages with a vengeance. 147

With a Trade Union structure now in existence, this growing opposition to tribute and tutwork contracting could be easily organised and articulated. In 1884 there was a brief strike against the systems, and in 1886 there was further trouble following the abolition of "subsist" for long-term contracts (these had been introduced in 1877, and could span several months) and its replacement by the "percentage retained" system. Instead of applying for "subsist" when their funds ran low, the miners were now paid a weekly rate - the amount being calculated as a weekly average of the estimated total earnings over the contract period. However, a percentage of this weekly rate was retained by the companies in case the miners did not realise their estimated earnings, the retained money being paid out on the expiry of the contract. By March 1888 the percentage retained at Moonta had reached 25 per cent, and the miners, considering this figure far too high, came out on strike. The Directors agreed to reduce the percentage to 12.5 per cent, but...
the men did not return to work until Captain Hancock had also promised them an increase in the weekly rates. Later it was also decided, in deference to Union pressure, that a percentage would only be retained if average weekly earnings were above £2-2s-0d per week.

By this time, however, the miners had become heartily sick of the whole principle of contracting. In February 1889 a memorial was submitted to the Moonta company demanding the abolition of contracting, the miners asserting that "...we have borne with the evils too long already for the comfort of our homes and our own peace of mind". When this was rejected, a more moderate proposal was submitted by Messrs. Peters, Pascoe and Rowe "... requesting the Board's assent to a list of rules dealing with underground contracts". The Directors were again intransigent, thus setting the stage for several years of hostility and conflict. During 1889 the Moonta Union became part of the "Amalgamated Miners' Association", an Australia-wide Union based in Victoria, and in the same year A.M.A. branches were also formed at Wallaroo and Kadina. By May 1889, most of the men at Wallaroo Mines were members of the Kadina Branch, and all of the Moonta men - with the exception of the individualistic and rather contrary John Visick - had joined their local branch.

This upsurge in Unionism at the mines was part of a phenomena occurring all over South Australia. The "United Trades and Labour Council" had been formed in Adelaide in 1884, and new unions were emerging while others were becoming better organised and more vocal. The strike of the 400-strong Bookmakers' Union in 1885 demonstrated a new spirit of militancy (interestingly, the Union's leaders bore Cornish names such as Trenwith, Tregilgas, and Hosking), and the rise of Broken Hill in the 1880s
gave Australia a new and vigorous centre of Trade Unionism. Many of the early miners at Broken Hill were Cornishmen from Wallaroo and Moonta, and they returned to the Peninsula brimming over with novel ideas about the rights of labour and the benefits of combination.155 And even for those Cousin Jacks who had stayed at home in "Little Cornwall" came the realisation that their dissatisfaction with the present system of employment could be effectively voiced only through a strong and active Union. As W.G. Spence recalled,

The Cornish miner is generally a man who can do his share of grumbling, and frequently reckons he knows how to run a mine better than the manager, so when Unionism caught on they realised that many injustices might have been remedied years ago had they been organised and pulled together, instead of merely growling as individuals. 156

In Cornwall, as already noted, the miners did not - with the exception of a few gauche attempts - establish the means by which to articulate their grievances, but in South Australia - where there were different conditions and the various examples to be followed - the Cousin Jacks were successful in developing an effective Union. It is interesting to record that the same was true of North America where the Cornish "... in marked contrast with the anti-union tradition in Cornwall... became the leaders of the mining labor movement of the West". 157

With the growing tensions at Moonta and Wallaroo in 1889, a strike seemed inevitable. The Moonta Directors having refused any changes in the system of employment, and the Wallaroo Directors having announced a general lowering of wages, the Union branches had little choice but to threaten strike action. The men stopped work on 13th May, but to try to smooth the situation over A.M.A. representatives from Victoria (W.G. Spence among them) travelled to the Peninsula. In their negotiations
with the Directors, these representatives voiced the miners' criticism of the tribute and tutwork systems. And, although their suggested "sliding-scale" of wages — to be related to the price of copper — was rejected, they were successful in winning a number of concessions. They were also allowed by the Directors to examine the accounts of both companies to satisfy themselves that the present economic situation would allow neither a rise in wages nor a major upheaval in the system of employment. The representatives explained this to the striking miners, who grudgingly went back to work.\textsuperscript{158}

However, "Nothing ... could convince the Primitive Methodist radicals that the Moonta mine was now working at a loss ..."\textsuperscript{159} and agitation against the companies continued, with local Union personalities such as "Uncle Joe" Goldsworthy, John Prisk (the hero of 1874), and Jimmy Peters (the Moonta Branch Secretary) calling for a renewal of the strike. During July and August of 1889 they demanded further alterations to the employment system, and in the December there was a short but successful strike by moulders and fitters who were demanding "closed-shop" conditions.\textsuperscript{160} In the following February, the Union forced the Moonta Directors to honour their "percentage retained" agreement, but antagonism between the two sides continued. Finally, in March 1890, 500 men at the Wallaroo Mines struck (despite the fact that they did not have official approval from A.M.A. headquarters in Victoria), and they stayed out until winning concessions from the newly-amalgamated Wallaroo and Moonta company. But the basic grievance - the system of employment - had not been removed. In July and August of 1891 negotiations took place to try to secure further changes in the letting of tribute and tutwork contracts, but no progress was made and so in the following September the Moonta Branch of the
A.M.A. declared a strike. 161

Although the Rev. A.J. Burt, a local Primitive Methodist Minister, declared to the men that he could see "victory" in their eyes, the strike was characterised by the extreme hardship it caused. As much as £8,507 was sent to the Peninsula - by miners at Broken Hill, Bendigo, and Charters Towers, and by Unionists in Adelaide - but still the A.M.A. found it difficult to maintain its strike payments. 162 Special collections were made by the Primitive Methodist chapel at Moonta, and the Port Adelaide Workingmen's Association was determined that the miners "... shall not be starved into submission". 163 However, after 18 weeks the strike was broken finally by desperate miners going to the mine office to apply for work. The A.M.A. conceded defeat, and in return the company promised "substantial modifications" to the employment system. 164 The unfortunate men who had caused the strike to collapse were ostracised by the local community and branded "92ers" (the strike ended in January 1892) - a name which they bore and were known by even if they went to the Western Australian goldfields. 165 Nevertheless, despite this defeat, agitation against the tribute and tutwork systems continued throughout the 1890s 166. Partly in response to this, numerous adjustments were made to the methods of letting contracts - the most significant being in 1903 when the practice of "captain's prices" was replaced by a "sliding-scale" - based on changes in copper prices - in which the contractor participated directly in the company's profits. 167

The Union itself survived the trauma of 1891, establishing itself even further as an integral part of local community life.
And the company's reaction to the consolidation of Trade Unionism on the Peninsula was not, as might be expected from the above, one of increasing hostility and suspicion. For although the Directors opposed the threat of Unionism itself, they also - quite paradoxically, and again as in Cornwall - developed for their workers a Welfare system which was the most advanced in Australia. This was initially a direct transplantation of the Cornish experience. The South Australian Mining Association had followed many aspects of Cornish mining practice at its Burra Burra mine, one facet of this being the creation of a Welfare system. The Association hired a bal-surgeon, introduced a Club & Doctor Fund, constructed a company hospital, built cottages for its employees, donated land for chapels, and paid for miners to bring their relatives and friends out from Cornwall. Indeed, in some respects the S.A.M.A.'s system was more sophisticated than anything seen in Cornwall at that date. Kooringa, one of the Burra settlements, was Association-owned and controlled (though there was an example of this in Cornwall, at Halsetown), and it has been suggested that the S.A.M.A. refused to allow a newspaper to be published in the township until 1877, the year the mine closed - surely "paternalism" in the extreme. When the Burra Burra mine was first started, in 1845, it had, of course, been necessary for the Association to meet many of the needs of the rapidly growing Burra community, for the mine was situated in hitherto virgin bush a hundred miles north of Adelaide, there being no established services or communications. However, another impetus to the development of these Welfare policies was that it increased the Association's control over its men - as demonstrated in the 1848 strike when the strike-leaders were ordered from the Association's cottages.

Be that as it may, the development of the Wallaroo and
Moonta Mines in the 1860s was accompanied by the establishment of a similar Welfare system on North Yorke Peninsula controlled through the so-called "benevolent dictatorship" of Captain Henry Richard Hancock. Miners were given permission to construct their cottages on the mineral leases, other cottages were erected by the companies, a Club & Doctor Fund set-up, contributions made towards the foundation of local Institutes, sponsorship made of the Wallaroo Regatta and other local institutions and events, pickey-boys employed on condition that they attended school part-time, "old hands" found jobs in the ore-sorting plants when they had become too aged to work underground, musical instruments provided for local brass bands, school-masters given land on which to build their schools, a sanitary inspector appointed to investigate local health conditions, and so on. This Welfare system was developed to its high point under H. Lipson Hancock (see Chapter 10), who succeeded his father in 1898. And while the miners' Union opposed vigorously the system of employment, they supported wholeheartedly the companies' Welfare policies - even though they were not entirely in the miners' favour as they could be used as a method of control by the Directors. John Verran, who became President of the Moonta Branch of the A.M.A. in 1896, said that the Welfare system was "... an excellent feature at Moonta and Wallaroo Mines which did not prevail in many other places". It may have been this accord between the Directors and men over the Welfare policies which prevented industrial relations at Wallaroo and Moonta from deteriorating to the level of that at, say, Broken Hill. Indeed, contemporary writers on mining themes, such as Ralph S.G. Stokes in his *Mines and Minerals of the British Empire* of 1903, often drew comparisons between the relations on North Yorke Peninsula and at Broken Hill.
It was not, of course, that the Peninsula was not highly
Unionised - it was; and in addition to the industrial activities
of the A.M.A. there was also the increasing political interests
of the local labour movement. As already noted, early South
Australia produced liberal Cornish Parliamentarians such as Santo
and Boucaut, and they were followed by others - Henry Vivian
Moyle from Camborne (an M.P. from 1881-84), James Martin from
Stithians (M.P. in 1865-68 and 1885-99), John Langdon Parsons
from Botathen (1878-84, 1890-93, 1901-03), William Rogers (1864-
65, 1868-70, 1872-75), and John Rounsevell (1865-68, 1880-81)173
- all of whom were to a greater or lesser extent "liberals", if
only in the nineteenth-century sense of their commitment to
religious toleration (they were mostly Nonconformists) and
economic progress. But more importantly, there developed within
South Australia's Cornish community, and most especially in the
mining districts, a strong tendency towards political Radicalism
which found its expression, first of all, in electoral support
for individual "liberal" or "progressive" candidates, and later
in a commitment to the United Labor Party. This was again
partly a reflection and partly an adaption of the experience in
Cornwall. It might appear strange to attribute this link with
the Labor Party to a Cornish Radical Tradition when the British
Labour Party has only ever received limited support in Cornwall.
But the U.L.P. in South Australia was in many ways similar to
the Liberal Party in Cornwall - Radical but ultimately non-social-
ist, and drawing much of its moral strength from the Methodist
Church. Dean Jaensch has noted that the U.L.P. professed dem-
ocratic socialism but that in reality the "... emphasis (was) on
'democratic' rather than 'socialism'",174 and that "From its
beginnings, South Australian Labor was a moderate movement,
practical rather than ideological in its outlook and essentially
pragmatic in its activities".175 In the 1890s, when it first
emerged, the U.L.P. was indeed known for its moderate, pragmatic approach - one writer in 1898 noting that its members "... were eminently practical, rather than eloquently visionary ..."\(^{176}\). And so it was that the individualist Cornishman, with his basic desire for social justice but his suspicion of collectivism, could readily identify with and participate in the U.L.P.

That the Cornish in South Australia never lost their individualist spirit - either at the personal or community levels - can also be demonstrated. One observer, recalling the individualistic temperament of the Cornish miners at Kapunda, wrote that in the first election held after the introduction of the secret ballot, the mine company issued instructions to its employees, telling them how to vote. But the strong-willed Cornish behaved otherwise:

The Mine employees were mustered first thing in the morning and were marched in a body in the Mine's time to the polling booth, present at the opening of the poll they recorded their votes and marched back to work. When the votes came to be counted it was found that the ballot papers at the bottom of the ballot box were almost without exception against the "Mine Candidate". \(^{177}\)

Equally telling was the experience of Michael Davitt who, during his tour of Australia in the 1890s, visited the Utopian "communes" that had been established along the River Murray in South Australia. While journeying from Pyap to New Residence he encountered a Cornish fisherman, who was "... a sturdy individualist, as most Cornishmen are at home and abroad..."\(^{178}\) When asked his opinion of the "commune" settlements the Cornishman replied that:

Am I a 'Commonist'(sic)? Not much! I works for myself, and them there 'bush lawyers' up at Pyap will be all for themselves in a short time - that's sartin. It's all very well to talk and read about this Commonism, but its another thing when you come to work it out with
a pick or shovel or fishing-boat. I'm no believer in these new-fangled ideas, I'm not. I'm a Cornishman, I am. I have enough to do to work by my missus and myself. No sir, I'm no Communist. Good-bye. 179

In the Federation debate, too, the Cornish exhibited a fierce individualism. The Labor movement in Australia generally, and South Australia in particular, opposed the Federation of the six colonies - the U.L.P. arguing that not only was the proposed Senate an "undemocratic" institution, but also that Federation would increase taxation of the working classes, hit Adelaide factories through the removal of inter-colonial tariffs, dilute South Australian self-government, and allow the lucrative Broken Hill trade to be siphoned off by New South Wales. Wallaroo was then "... probably the strongest working-class electorate..."180 in the colony, and Federation was opposed by the local M.P.s and by the Peninsula branches of the A.M.A. However, in the 1898 referendum on the issue the district overwhelmingly approved the Federation Bill (482 to 298 in Moonta, 207 to 77 in Wallaroo, and 302 to 67 in Kadina). As in Cornwall, "... where class and regional interests clashed, the latter triumphed",181 the Cornish miners believing that the inter-colonial free-trade associated with Federation would boost the Peninsula's copper industry.

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The Federation issue apart, however, the Cornish were closely identified with the U.L.P., the miners' political Radicalism being evident as early as 1859 when the "Political Association" formed strong branches at Burra and Kapunda.182 The chairman of the Burra Branch was one G. Vercoe (Captain George Vercoe?), the Association's political creed being payment of Parliamentary members, equal rights for all, freedom of speech and the press, an end to immigration, law reform, taxation of
unimproved lands alienated from the Crown, and a belief that the "... happiness and well-being of the mass is paramount to the aggrandizement of the few." The Association's policy was to lend its support to progressive Parliamentary candidates (such as Boucaut) and, although the Association declined and disappeared during the 1860s, this was a practice which survived in the mining towns until the Labor Party emerged in the 1890s.

Boucaut's invitation to stand for the seat of Burra Burra in 1868 has already been noted, and it is interesting that William Benjamin Rounsevell represented the same constituency continuously from 1875 to 1890, and again from 1899 to 1906. Rounsevell was a liberal within the nineteenth-century context, and, although born in Adelaide in 1843, considered himself a true Cornishman—becoming Vice-President of the Cornish Association at its foundation.

At Kapunda, the Cornish miners acted in similar fashion, Captain John "Mochatoona" Rowe being returned as the Member for Light in 1862 "... largely owing to a solid miners' vote". As well as being a Cornishman (he was born at St. Agnes in 1816), he was also a strong Methodist and something of a Radical. He supported the movement for free and secular education, opposed immigration, and was concerned for the working miner—his slogan was "Yorke's Peninsula must be developed by the poor man, Yudnamutana was discovered by a poor man...", his point being that while mines were usually found by humble prospectors, the profits went into the pockets of rich adventurers. The Northern Star, published at Kapunda, noted that Rowe could hardly fail to attract the Cornishmen's vote, being

... a man skilled in minerals, and mineral prospecting, well up in his political catechism—of removal of fees and duties, regulating of mineral leases, reimbursement or remuneration of members... He is a tolerably good speaker and deeply versed in Scriptural history.
On North Yorke Peninsula, similar criteria were important, the Cornish miners being able to exert pressure on Parliamentary candidates through their Trade Union. At the end of 1874 there was some talk of John Prisk standing as a Union-sponsored candidate, but, as one commentator wryly observed, other Union personalities such as Reuben Gill, John Anthony and John Visick would never consent to Prisk being raised to power over their heads! The Union settled down, therefore, to vetting candidates in much the same way that the Political Association had done in earlier years. In February 1875, for example, the miners declared "... in favour of Mr. Richards..." because he supported Boucaut’s railway scheme, defended the mining interest, advocated payment of members, and was in agreement with the principles of Trade Unionism. The fact that John Richards was a Cornishman was also important – he had been born in Helston in 1843, was a mine captain, and contributed to both the Register and Mining Journal on mining questions. He was elected as a Member for Wallaroo in 1875, but stepped down in 1870. Rather tragically, his personal fortunes then deteriorated rapidly – he spent periods in gaol on account of non-payment of debts and for fraud, and in 1881 could be found "sleeping rough" in Adelaide. He died in the Adelaide Destructive Asylum in 1913.

Another Parliamentary candidate to win the approval of the miners' Union was William Henry Beaglehole: and the fact that he was born in Helston in 1834 – and was thus Cornish – was again an important consideration in his election (he was a local Member from 1881 to 1887). By 1891, however, the A.M.A. on the Peninsula was organised and confident enough to begin sponsoring its own candidates. The death of the Hon. David Bews, a local Member, caused a by-election to be held in May 1891 – the A.M.A. selecting Richard "Dickie" Hooper to stand as an Independent
Labor candidate. Hooper was born in Cornwall in 1846, was a Methodist local preacher, and a past President of the Moonta Branch of the A.M.A.. He received the support of C.C. Kingston, South Australia's flamboyant Radical Liberal personality, and it was no surprise when Hooper topped the poll - winning more than twice the number of votes cast for his nearest rival. He thus became the first Labor member of the House of Assembly, retaining his seat until 1902. His victory was a significant event in South Australian Labor history, and heralded the growth of the United Labor Party and of a Cornish-Methodist-Radical element in Parliament.

For although North Yorke Peninsula had become the focal point of the Cornish Radical Tradition in South Australia, its manifestations were still to be found elsewhere. The strong working-class district of Port Adelaide, for example, could in 1898 boast as its Mayor St. Just-born Thomas Grose, a Labor man who - as J.J. Pascoe neatly put it - was "... prominently associated with liberal and democratic associations...". Another Cornish-born Labor man was David Morley Charleston, an enigmatic and rather Romantic figure, a man who talked of the need "To love, and be loved..." and "To dream of perpetual bliss, and feel the union of souls in the one great love for Nature...". He was imbued "... with characteristic Cornish fervour and enthusiasm..." having been born in St. Erth in 1848. As a youth he learnt the engineering trade at Harvey & Co. of Hayle, in 1874 travelling to San Francisco and in 1884 to Australia. He took several jobs, in 1887 finding employment at the English and Australian Copper Co.'s smelting works at Port Adelaide. There he became involved in the local labour movement, from 1889 to 1890 being President of the Trades and Labor Council. Following the introduction of payment for Parliamentary
members on a permanent basis in 1890, the Trades and Labor Council decided - as had the A.M.A. on Yorke Peninsula - to adopt its own Labor candidates, and thus the United Labor Party was born.\textsuperscript{197} In early 1891 the Council chose three prospective Labor candidates, one of these being David Morley Charleston. As the Observer noted in the following May,\textsuperscript{198} Charleston was able to project a good personal image to the voting public, and he also enjoyed the support of the Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal which wrote that the "... ideals of labour were consistent with Christianity..."\textsuperscript{199}

In the elections of May 1891, Charleston was elected as a Member of the Legislative Council for the Central District, along with two other U.L.P. candidates.\textsuperscript{200} He proved a vocal M.P., and in many ways his political views were more advanced and sophisticated than those of his colleagues, revealing the deep intellectual influence of both John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx. His opinion that "To attain happiness is the end and purpose of life in high and low degree"\textsuperscript{201} had strong Utilitarian undertones, but his views on historical development and an inevitable crisis in capitalism were very much in tune with those of Marx.\textsuperscript{202} He supported "... broad liberal Unionism..."\textsuperscript{203} but argued that "The State ... should, if Democracy means anything, completely control Production and Distribution, thereby carrying to its logical conclusion the co-operative system..."\textsuperscript{204} This was to be achieved, however, not through revolution, but as a result of an inevitably slow, evolutionary process in which Trade Unions were to play a central role. He identified himself with the Fabian movement in Britain, and exhibited a strong Methodist stance when he declared that "Divorce, except for proven adultery... I shall oppose".\textsuperscript{205}
Nevertheless, despite this firm left-wing commitment, Charleston quarrelled with the U.L.P. in 1897. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers (of which Charleston was a member) has accused elements of the U.L.P. of working against him, in response to which it was alleged by some that Charleston had shown support for conservative measures. Charleston retaliated by asserting that at U.L.P. caucus meetings in Parliament "... a great part of the time was spent in frivolous talk and barracking..." and the dispute was thus intensified. Feeling that he no longer had the confidence of his Party, Charleston resigned his seat and also from the U.L.P. In the election that followed, Charleston stood as "... an independent liberal..." and was returned with a substantial majority over his U.L.P. rival. Thereafter, he drifted gradually towards the right of the political spectrum. He remained an M.L.C. until 1901, was a Federal Senator from 1901 to 1903, and was later active in organising the Farmers' and Producers' Political Union.

A perhaps less colourful figure, but nevertheless one of central importance in early U.L.P. history, was Henry Adams. He was born at Tungkillo in 1851, the son of two Cornish immigrants, Henry Adams and Jane Maddern. His father was a miner in the Reedy Creek mine, and later the family moved to Moonta Mines, where the young Henry was apprenticed as a pattern-maker in the Mines workshop. He was an active Methodist, and in 1881 married a Cornish girl called Ellen Eddy. He became involved in the Union movement and by 1894 was President of the Trades and Labor Council. In May of that year Adams was elected to the Legislative Council, and he remained part of the backbone of the U.L.P. in Parliament until his defeat in March 1902.
was another prominent Parliamentarian in this period. Although never a member of the U.L.P., he was a Radical Liberal and supported the Labor Party on most issues during the 1890s. His father was a mine captain, and Bice had first worked as a blacksmith at Moonta Mines. He was a Methodist, and in 1875 married Elizabeth Jane Trewenack, who also hailed from Cornwall. Bice became a local Union activist, but could not have been considered a dangerous militant by the mining company as he was given an excellent reference by Captain Hancock when he left the mines in 1876.  

By 1881, Bice had established a merchant's business in Port Augusta, and he was Mayor of that town in 1888-89. He first entered Parliament in May 1894 as a Member of the Legislative Council, a position he was to hold until his death in November 1923. During the 1890s he advocated measures such as tax reform, increased land settlement, encouragement for mining, water conservation, and reform of the Legislative Council, always setting himself against "... repressive legislation...". His views on women and women's suffrage, as articulated in 1894, were especially progressive. He declared that,

I am in favour of Adult Suffrage and because (I) believe that women are equally as intelligent, equally as capable of studying political questions, and of recording their vote as we are, I think they should have the same privileges as men in this respect. Further, without representation there is no right of taxation and under our present laws women are entrusted with the rights of property and are subjected to taxation - consequently they are entitled to rights of representation.

Acting together (but not always in harmony), Hooper, Charleston, Adams and Bice perpetuated the tradition set by others such as Santo and Boucaut in the early days, and established a strong Cornish influence in the South Australian Labor movement at the Parliamentary level which survived into the 1930s and produced the Premierships of John Verran and R.S. Richards (see Chapter 10). Thus the Cornish in South Australia
remained identifiably and importantly "Cornish" in their political as well as their industrial activities, the development of the Cornish Radical Tradition in the colony reflecting to a very great degree the background in Cornwall. And where the development differed from that in Cornwall, at either the political or the industrial level, it was not so much a repudiation of the Cornish experience but rather an adaption to unique Australian conditions.
CHAPTER 8 - NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


13. Ibid.


17. Ibid.

18. Unfortunately there is no history of the Liberal Party in Cornwall, and so it is necessary to rely on electoral statistics to support this assertion.


27. In some coal-mining fields, the rock-miners who sunk the shafts and drove the levels and drives were employed on a contract basis, but the actual coal-miners who worked the seams were more usually paid as day-wage labourers.

28. This point is made in every book on Cornwall and Cornish miners, but it is especially interesting to read the contemporary, nineteenth-century accounts of the tribute and tutwork systems. See Roger Burt (Ed.), Op.Cit..

29. The best and most concise assessment of the tribute system is in Ibid., pp.7-13.

30. Some of the ways in which tributers attempted to "cheat" the system are described in J.R. Leifchild, Cornwall - Its Mines and Miners, 1857, republished Frank Graham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1968, p.144.


33. Ibid., p.152.


39. Western Morning News, 4 November 1886.


41. John Rowe, Cornwall in the Age of The Industrial Revolution, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1953, p.315.


43. Ibid., p.142.


45. For biographical details of George Marsden Waterhouse, the writer has relied upon G.D. Combe, Responsible Government in South Australia, South Australian Government, Adelaide, 1957; S.A.A. RN16, Notes on George Marsden Waterhouse; and the Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 6, 1851-1890, R-Z, Melbourne University Press, 1976, pp.558-559 (entry by Jean Tregenza).

46. S.A.A. RN 16, Op.Cit..


48. He was thus described by James Penn Boucaut, in S.A.A. 98u, Boucaut Papers (Miscellaneous).


50. For biographical details of South Australian M.P.s of Cornish descent, the writer is indebted to Dr. John Playford for access to his extensive files.

51. Primitive Methodist Quarterly, combined volume, 1890, p.264.

52. Bible Christian Magazine, combined volume, 1876, p.525.


54. According to John Langdon Bonython, the Mail, 15th February 1916.


56. S.A.A. 97/379, Boucaut Papers (Political), Boucaut to McArthur, 18 September 1874.

57. S.A.A. 98u, Op.Cit..


59. In an open letter to the South Australian Advertiser, 8 February 1865.
60. South Australian Parliamentary Debates, 1871, p.962.
62. South Australian Register, 7 May 1864, 17 April 1874.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., Boucaut to McArthur, 3 August 1874.
66. Ibid., Boucaut to McArthur, 28 August 1874.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
73. South Australian News, August 1846.
74. South Australian News, October 1846.
75. South Australian News, September 1847.
76. For material relating to the 1848 Burra Burra strike, the writer has drawn principally from the following issues of the South Australian Register: 20 September 1848, 23 September 1848, 4 October 1848, 14 October 1848, 18 October 1848, 21 October 1848, 4 November 1848, 15 November 1848, 25 November 1848, 6 December 1848, 10 January 1849, 24 January 1849.
77. S.A.A. BRG 22/961, South Australian Mining Association, Letters to Burra Mines Officials (Superintendent's Letter Books), Ayers to Burr, 26 August 1848.
78. S.A.A. BRG22/960, South Australian Mining Association, Directors' Letter Books, Ayers to Read, 9 October 1848.
79. South Australian Register, 20 September 1848.
80. Ibid.
82. Ibid., Ayers to Von Sommer, 9 January 1846.
83. South Australian Register, 20 September 1848.
84. South Australian Register, 4 October 1848.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. South Australian Register, 4 November 1848.
89. South Australian Register, 6 June 1849.
90. S.A.A. BRG40/543, Moonta Mines Proprietors, Minute Books, 1861-91, 6 October 1862.
91. S.A.A. BRG40/538, Moonta Mines Proprietors, Out-Letter Books, 1860-70; S.A.A. BRG40/542, Wallaroo Mines Proprietors, Minute Books, 1860-91; and from the following issues of the South Australian Register: 4 April 1864, 5 April 1864, 6 April 1864, 7 April 1864, 8 April 1864, 9 April 1864, 13 April 1864, 15 April 1864, 23 April 1864, 29 April 1864, 3 May 1864, 5 May 1864, 6 May 1864, 7 May 1864, 19 May 1864, 23 May 1864, 24 May 1864, 28 May 1864, 8 June 1864, 17 June 1864, 28 June 1864, 29 June 1864, 1 July 1864, 27 July 1864, 2 August 1864.
92. This was how the men referred to the Warmingtons. See the South Australian Register, 7 May 1864.
93. For material relating to the 1864 strike, the writer has drawn principally from entries in S.A.A. BRG40/538, Op.Cit.; S.A.A. BRG40/543, Op.Cit.; S.A.A. BRG40/537, Wallaroo Mines Proprietors, Out-Letter Books, 1860-70; S.A.A. BRG40/542, Wallaroo Mines Proprietors, Minute Books, 1860-91; and from the following issues of the South Australian Register: 4 April 1864, 5 April 1864, 6 April 1864, 7 April 1864, 8 April 1864, 13 April 1864, 15 April 1864, 23 April 1864, 29 April 1864, 3 May 1864, 5 May 1864, 6 May 1864, 7 May 1864, 19 May 1864, 23 May 1864, 24 May 1864, 28 May 1864, 8 June 1864, 17 June 1864, 28 June 1864, 29 June 1864, 1 July 1864, 27 July 1864, 2 August 1864.
94. According to Ephraim Major in S.A.A. 4959(L), Notes on Moonta and Wallaroo, by E. Major Senior.
96. S.A.A. BRG40/543, Op.Cit., 4 June 1864; S.A.A. BRG40/538, Op.Cit., McCoull to Young, 31 May 1864; McCoull to Trestrail, 4 June 1864; McCoull to Prisk, 8 June 1864.
97. People's Weekly, 16 April 1921.
99. For material relating to the 1874 strike, the writer has drawn principally from entries in BRG40/538, Op.Cit.; BRG40/543, Op.Cit.; BRG40/537, Op.Cit.; BRG40/542, Op.Cit.; and from the following issues of the South Australian Register: 4 April 1874, 6 April 1874, 7 April 1874, 8 April 1874, 9 April 1874, 10 April 1874, 13 April 1874, 16 April 1874, 17 April 1874, 22 April 1874, 7 May 1874, 18 May 1874, 25 May 1874, 4 August 1874, 5 August 1874, 10 September 1874, 28 September 1874.
100. S.A.A. D4876(Misc.), The Great Strike, by W. Shelley, c 1874.
101. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 8 November 1872.
102. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 17 June 1873.
103. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 13 May 1873.
104. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 3 April 1874.
105. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 14 July 1874.
106. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 19 May 1874, 7 August 1874, 31 March 1876.
107. South Australian Register, 18 September 1874.
109. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 14 April 1874.
110. Ibid.
111. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 2 June 1874.
112. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 4 April 1876.
113. Ibid.
115. Unidentified press cutting obituary of January 1884 in S.A.A. Dr. Charles Davies, Biographies and Obituaries, (27 vols.).
117. As early as 1865, the Wallaroo company had attempted to drive Gill from the district. See S.A.A. BRG40/537, Op. Cit., Mair to Young, 7 February 1865.
120. Ibid., 15 June 1874.
121. Ibid., 25 August 1874.
122. Ibid., 21 September 1874.
123. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 10 November 1874.
126. Ibid., 7 February 1876.
127. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 5 July 1878.
128. Ibid.
129. Oswald Pryor, Cornish Pasty: A Selection of Cartoons, new

130. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 28 April 1874.

131. Ibid..

133. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 14 August 1874.

134. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 31 March 1876.

135. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 9 September 1879.


137. West Briton, 2 January 1872, 29 February 1872, 30 March 1874.

138. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 20 February 1877.

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


141. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 6 April 1875.


143. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 24 April 1880.

144. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 8 January 1878.


146. Ibid..

147. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 22 February 1889.


149. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 1 June 1877.


151. Ibid., 12 March 1888.


159. Oswald Pryor, *Australia's..., Op.Cit.*, p.120.


162. *South Australian Register*, 28 October 1891, 14 January 1892; *People's Weekly*, 10 October 1891, 21 October 1891, 14 November 1891, 28 November 1891, 12 December 1891.


166. *People's Weekly*, 23 August 1894, 1 September 1894, 30 March 1895, 10 August 1895.


168. There are numerous examples to be found in S.A.A. BRG22/950, Op.Cit..


170. Again, there are numerous examples to be found in S.A.A. BRG40/543, Op.Cit., and BRG40/542, Op.Cit..


173. This data has been obtained from the files of Dr. John Playford.


175. Ibid., p.593.


179. Ibid.,

181. Ibid.

182. Dean H. Jaensch, Op.Cit., p.457. See also the South Australian Register, 5 November 1859, 30 December 1859.


184. South Australian Register, 27 July 1927.

185. Northern Star, 10 May 1862.

186. Northern Star, 3 May 1861.

187. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 1 September 1874, 20 October 1874, 1 January 1875.

188. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 12 February 1875.

189. Ibid.. See also Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 16 February 1875.

190. Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser, 28 October 1881.


192. People's Weekly, 16 May 1891, 30 May 1891.


194. According to an unidentified issue of the Cornishman of 1919, reprinted in pamphlet form by the Cornish Association of South Australia, Adelaide, c 1920.

195. Ibid..

196. Ibid..


198. Adelaide Observer, 16 May 1891.


and his *New Unionism*, Adelaide, 1890.

203. Ibid., p.1.

204. Ibid., p.5.

205. D.M. Charleston, *Address to the Electors of Port Adelaide*,
Adelaide, 1906, p.11.


208. *South Australian Register*, 8 June 1926.

209. S.A.A. A3 98/A3, *Testimonial provided for John George Bice*
by Captain H.R. Hancock, Moonta Mines, 7 June 1876.


211. S.A.A. 522, *Draft of First Hustings Speech*, by John George
Bice, March 1894.

212. Ibid..
The "Great Migration" from Cornwall to South Australia dwindled and finally ceased during the 1880s, and it was in the same decade that a major movement of Cornishmen away from the colony became noticeable. The Victorian and (to a much lesser extent) New South Wales goldfields had attracted many of South Australia's Cousin Jacks during the 1850s, but the majority of these returned to the Central Colony, as the diggings became more difficult and less profitable (see Chapter 4). A fair number came back to restart the Burra, Kapunda and other mines, while the discovery of the North Yorke Peninsula copper deposits in 1859-1861 caught the imagination of many of Victoria's Cornish miners. By the 1880s, however, Burra and Kapunda had been abandoned, along with many other South Australian mines, while Wallaroo was seemingly on the point of collapse, with Moonta fareing only marginally better. Thirty years of ardent prospecting in the colony had failed to uncover any goldfields even remotely comparable with those of Victoria and New South Wales, and unemployed miners in South Australia had little hope of finding work in other industries for the 1880s witnessed both a slump in the local economy and a contraction of the northern wheat frontier.

Just as the financial crisis of the early 1840s had led to an upsurge in mineral prospecting, so the economic downturn of the 1880s caused many South Australians to search anew for mineral wealth - but not always in their home colony, for copper was by now unprofitable, and the lack of local gold had already been demonstrated. Thus it was that many - most especially the Cornish - crossed the border into the Barrier Ranges of New
South Wales, searching for gold and any other metal they might stumble across. Although obviously mineralized country (there were the usual, tell-tale metal-stained outcrops), the harsh conditions on the Barrier had hitherto acted as a deterrent to prospectors. Many remembered the ill-fated Barrier Rush of 1867, J.B. Jaquet writing in 1894 that,

The history of metalliferous mining on the Barrier Ranges may be said to have commenced this year (1867) when a rush of men in search of gold took place from Burra Burra in South Australia, which was attended with many said results. The prospectors, wandering in the almost waterless and sparsely settled country, endured terrible hardships, and not a few perished miserably of thirst. Many stories are told by old pioneers of the circumstances which led up to this rush... The sole desideratum of the prospectors was gold, and in their search for this metal they must have passed over the deposits of silver ore which twenty years later were to give the field a foremost place among the mineral districts of the world. 1

An equally grim account of the Rush was given in 1904 by Donald Clarke, who wrote that,

The discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales unsettled men's minds, so that when, in 1867, it was reported that gold had been found in the Barrier Ranges, miners from Burra Burra, in South Australia, rushed off to the new land of promise. The tale of the sufferings and privations of many of these unfortunate men will never be told. In an arid, semi-tropical, and almost waterless country, many perished, while the survivors found no gold, and returned with such harrowing descriptions of the place that it was shunned as a land accursed... 2

The 1867 Rush was in several ways a precursor of the Barrier discoveries in the 1880s, one being that it was provoked by the temporary suspension of operations at the Burra in the early part of that year. In February the Wallaroo Times reported an alleged discovery of gold on the Barrier and anticipated that "As the Burra mine will be knocked next month... we would not wonder if some of the miners made tracks for that locality". 3 A few weeks later it was asserted that the "discovery" was a hoax perpetrated by a former Burra miner trying to sell a
worthless claim (he showed a Bendigo nugget to prospective buyers, saying he had found it on the Barrier). However, this did not prevent "The utmost excitement..." from being generated in South Australia. At Kadina, "... no other subject was spoken of or talked over but the Barrier Ranges...", and, although "... many of the old hands did not seem to relish the news...", a number of miners were preparing to leave the district.

At the end of March a Cousin Jack by the name of Waters returned to Burra to pick-up supplies, describing the highly-mineralised character of the Barrier. A contingent of miners left Moonta, "... notwithstanding adverse reports..." and at Wallaroo "The gold fever..." was also being felt. But less than a month later the men were returning, none of them having found gold, and one furnishing a Wallaroo Times reporter with the grisly details of his discovery of a decomposing body on the Barrier trail.

It was small wonder, then, that most prospectors avoided the Barrier. It was not until more than 10 years later, in 1876, that serious attention was again focussed on the district, following the discovery of galena (silver-lead) at Thackeringa. A parcel of 36 tons of ore was raised and sent to the Burra, and from there to Britain. But somehow it was lost during its voyage, and thereafter the Thackeringa diggers lost interest - the workings lying idle until the early 1880s. Then, with the onset of "hard-times" - in South Australia in general, and in the mining districts in particular - prospectors yet again began to cross the border into New South Wales. They included some of South Australia's most hardened diggers, among them John Treloar from Helston and George Prout from Camborne, who pressed northwards through the Barrier Ranges to the Mount Browne dist-
strict (see Chapter 3). This time there was gold to be had, but at a terrible price. Drought, typhoid and heat took their toll, Fred Blakely writing in 1938 that,

It was never known how many perished on that track, but in my boyhood old settlers on the Barrier still told stories of the Mount Brown(sic) gold-rush and disaster. Mount Brown is in New South Wales just within the north-western angle of the state, but the rush was from South Australia to this place. The nearest town was Hawker, in the north of South Australia, three or four hundred miles from Mount Brown, and a man has to take his hat off to these old diggers for blazing a track across such a country — all right as long as rain came, but a death-trap when it failed. 13

The return from Mount Browne coincided with renewed activity on the Thackeringa silver-lead fields, and great excitement was caused by the discovery of the Umberrumbka mine. The township of Silverton sprang up around this new working in 1882 and 1883, and, although the Advertiser warned that "There is nothing but death and desolation on the Barrier", 14 a stream of South Australians poured across the border. Even as late as 1891, two-thirds of the population of Silverton was from South Australia — a great many of them, as Brian Kennedy has written, being "... Cornishmen or sons of Cornishmen...". 15 One correspondent to the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser described the half-starved condition of men at Silverton who had "... tramped it from Adelaide ...", 16 while another wrote that "My advice to miners is 'don't be mad enough to go there'... Many old Moonta men that are here have helped me to these conclusions". 17 Yet another report asserted that "... the miners' whisper is 'that all the Moonta men are likely to return, as they don't like Silverton a bit'". 18

But, however harsh life on the Barrier may have been, the prospect of work and maybe wealth appealed to many an unemployed Cousin Jack on the Peninsula. In November 1885, for example, Captain Luke sent down to Moonta from Silverton for 20 miners
and a blacksmith "...and had no difficulty in securing the number..."19 while only a month before the Register had noted that many were leaving Yorke Peninsula for the Barrier silver-lead fields.20 "Silverton News" became a regular feature in Moonta and Wallaroo newspapers, the articles detailing the activities of Cornish captains such as Captain Phillips on the Umberumberka Extended and Captain Williams in the West Umberumberka.21 Like many embryonic mining camps, early Silverton was a "rough-and-ready" place. But the "civilising" effect of the South Australian Cornish was an important one, the Revs. Charles Tresise and John Thorne crossing the border to establish a preaching place.22 It was not long before, as Geoffrey Blainey has said, one could hear "... the voices of Cornish men and women singing hymns and part-songs as they filed over the hill from the Bible Christian chapel to the Umberumberka mine".23

---II---

Even more important than the rise of Silverton in precipitating the exodus of Cornishmen from South Australia was the discovery of Broken Hill in September 1883 by Charles Rasp ("German Charlie"), a boundary rider from the Mount Gipps station. Broken Hill, an integral part of the Barrier silver-lead field, lay some 20 miles to the east of Silverton. And it was perhaps more than coincidence that one of Rasp's two companions on the day of the discovery was a Cornishman, James Poole from Kapunda. Poole was born in Cornwall in 1848 and worked in South Australia before going to the Barrier. He was one of the original "Syndicate of Seven" who owned the Broken Hill shares, but disposed of his interests in the mines during 1884 and 1885 - before they had realised their true value. He lived variously at Broken Hill, Burra, Kapunda and Western Australia before retiring finally to Kapunda, where he died in 1924.24 Another of the
original "Syndicate" also threw away a potential fortune, losing his shares in the celebrated "game of euchre" - rather fittingly perhaps, for euchre so common in Cornwall and so rare elsewhere that it might almost be considered "a Cornish game".

Little work was done at Broken Hill until October 1884, when a Cousin Jack named Rosewarne began sinking Rasp's Shaft on the "Syndicate's" claim. Soon other mines were started - Broken Hill North, Broken Hill South, The Victoria Cross, the Great Northern Junction - and before long the whole "line of the lode" was bristling with silver-lead workings. The rapid expansion of the Broken Hill mines increased the rate of immigration from South Australia, and the link between the Central Colony and the Barrier became even more intimate. In 1884 one observer wrote that Broken Hill "... geographically belongs to New South Wales, but commercially to South Australia...". 25 Adelaide was, he said, ... by a long distance the nearest city, and Port Pirie its nearest port. The great majority of the people are South Australians, with families and friends in South Australia, and each desire to trade with and benefit (other things being equal) South Australia; and ... much of the capital expended in the district is South Australian.... 26

He might have added that a large proportion of these South Australians were Cornishmen. Many were miners from Moonta and Wallaroo, others were men from Kapunda and Burra who had been indifferently employed since the closure of their mines, and still others were Cousin Jacks resident in Adelaide, Gawler, and numerous other places in the colony. 27 In the early 1880s, Terowie was the most northerly railhead in South Australia, making the journey to the Barrier a long and difficult one. But in 1885 work began on an extension line to Cockburn on the border, and in October 1887 the author of an article "Six Months at Broken Hill By a Moonta Boy" in the Yorke's Peninsula Adver...
tiser was able to describe how he had travelled straight through from Moonta to Cockburn by train. In time, the "Silverton Tramway" linking Cockburn to Silverton and later Broken Hill was opened, and the improving communication system facilitated still further migration from South Australia. There were, of course, those who "... found the Peninsula, bad as it is, better than the silver region...", while some at Moonta would have been deterred by the experience of one John Hamblin who contracted rheumatic fever on the way to the Barrier. Others may have taken heed of "Old Moonta Miner's" warnings about lead poisoning, especially after one Cousin Jack at the Umberumberka had declared that "I would rather work in the old Moonta for 30s a week than here for £25".

But despite all this, the exodus continued. At first it was the unemployed who went, but by 1895 H. Lipson Hancock was noting the shortage of good hard-rock miners on Yorke Peninsula occurring as a result of "... men ... leaving the district for Broken Hill...". To some extent the Moonta and Wallaroo company adopted a policy of "if you can't beat 'em join 'em" by sending groups of its own prospectors to the Barrier district and purchasing local claims. Most of those leaving the Peninsula for Broken Hill, however, did so on their own initiative. An early departure was John Carthew, from Moonta, who went to Thackeringa in the early 1880s, and who later became Inspector of Mines in New South Wales. Another was Charles Pyatt, from Camborne, who arrived in Wallaroo Mines from Cornwall in 1883, but within a few years was working at Broken Hill. Others made their way up to the Barrier from Burra Burra, the Burra Record in February 1890 noting that there were many "... old Burra boys..." in Broken Hill. Indeed, as late as 1905 it was said that there were as many as 300 Burra men on the Barrier, one report asserting that
We are gradually losing our population, the place of refuge being Broken Hill... The other night no less than 30 Burra boys were seen in Argent Street, quietly conversing together, and some distance further on another 'bunch' was seen.

A considerable number of those attracted to Broken Hill in the 1880s were typical of the itinerant prospector-cum-gold-seeker class, and had already spent years roaming across Australia. There was Joseph Kemp, from Redruth, who "... worked on about every mining field in the Commonwealth, and went to several gold rushes", and Stephen Pellew Carthew - also born in Redruth - who had toiled in more than half-a-dozen mines in South Australia and Victoria before going to Broken Hill. William Henry Matthews, later to become the South Australian Inspector of Mines, travelled down to Broken Hill from Darwin (where he had been prospecting for tin), while St. Austell-born John Rowett crossed the border into New South Wales after some time on the Mutooroo and other "far-northern" mines. The Wesleyan Marriage Register for Silverton and Broken Hill in the 1880s and 1890s reveals the extent of the South Australian, Cornish element in the local population. The marriages themselves were solemnized by the Revs. Henry Trewin, Thomas Trestrail, and John Grenfell Jenkin, while those being joined in matrimony included: Robert Hooper from Kapunda and Elizabeth Triplett from Moonta, John Rowe from Adelaide and Catherine Roberts from Moonta Mines, David Isaac from Kapunda and Emma Hall from Devonshire, William Kellaway from Kootinga and Mary Jane Roberts from Moonta, George Snell from St. Just and Janet Pate, William Oliver from Clare and Susan Tozer from Stithians, William Scown from Moonta and Catherine Pergam from Scorrerie, John Hocking from St. Blazey and Elizabeth Whitburn from St. Cleer, Alfred Chappel from Moonta and Catherine Harvey from Camborne, John Mitchell from Kadina and Beatrice Webster from Kadina, and so on.
Local business directories, while not giving place of birth or earlier residence, also reveal more than a smattering of Cousin Jacks. At Thackeringa in 1891 there were miners with names such as Cornish, Davy, Edwards, Polkinghorne, Sampson, and Williams, while at the Purnamouta mine there was a blacksmith called Trewick. The Pinnacles, a settlement named after the mine of that name some 10 miles south-west of Broken Hill, could boast a Britton, a Berryman, a Brokenshire, a Bennetts, a Dunstan, several Hoares, a Martin, a Mitchell, a couple of Pearces, a Peters, a Rosewarne, a Rowe, a Richards, a Sibley, a Trembath, a number of Tremaine, and a whole colony of Thomases.\(^{41}\) The Trembath was probably James Warren Trembath who was born in St. Just-in-Penwith in 1836 and migrated to Victoria during the Gold Rush days to mine at Bendigo. He soon moved on to South Australia, however, where he found work in the Wallaroo Mines and lived at Kadina until 1891 when he went to the Pinnacles. He died there in the mine in 1902, from heart failure.\(^{42}\)

A closer examination of the numerous mines opened-up in the Barrier Ranges before the turn of the century again lends evidence to illustrate the important South Australian, Cornish influence. In June 1886, for instance, the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* noted that the manager of the Junction mine was Captain George Rogers, a man known for his "... experiences in Cornwall and his subsequent experience here (Moonta)".\(^{43}\) A few months later the same newspaper reported that the Round Hill mine was being opened-up by Captain Matthews, and that the celebrated Captain Richard Piper - formerly of Wallaroo Mines - had been appointed underground captain at the Broken Hill Proprietary mine, apparently succeeding Sam Sleep.\(^{44}\) Piper was later associated with both the North and South mines, while James Retallick was at the British, and James Hebbard - well known at Bendigo
and Wallaroo - was at the Central. John Warren, who had earlier run the Hamley Mine at Moonta, became one of the most popular of Broken Hill's personalities during his term as manager of the Block 10 mine, his underground captain being Dick Thomas - another "Moontaite". The Victoria Cross was managed for several years by William Kerby, born in Liskeard in 1854, while perhaps the most important of the earlier Barrier captains was William Henry Morish. Morish was born in Truro in 1844, at the age of 16 migrating to South Wales where he spent two years working in coal and iron mines. In the early 1860s he came to South Australia, where he found employment in the Wallaroo Mines. From there he went to Bendigo, Ballarat and Great Cobar (where he was underground captain), moving to Broken Hill in 1886 as captain of the South and Central mines. He was instrumental in the foundation of the local branch of the Mining Managers Association of Australia, and became something of a local capitalist - dabbling in the shares of the various Barrier mines. A shrewd investor, he had soon amassed enough money to retire to the Adelaide suburb of Plympton.

According to popular tradition, the Junction mine was first discovered by a Cousin Jack called Penglase, while a considerable amount of early prospecting work at Broken Hill was undertaken by the "Devon and Cornwall Syndicate" - a body whose activities were a source of great interest at Wallaroo and Moonta. Many of the claims in the districts surrounding Broken Hill were also worked and managed by Cornishmen, one observer in 1888 writing that mining captains "... renew on the Ranges friendships made in Cornwall and California, New Zealand, Tasmania, and other parts of Australasia," Captain T. Tregoweth, well known in South Australia, ran the Rise and Shine mine fifteen miles north-east of Broken Hill, while Captain T. Rowe "... formerly of Yorke's
Peninsula..." managed the Hidden Secret, near Silverton. Captain Tresize, who had earlier run the Talisker mine in South Australia, was placed in charge of the Bonanza property. From Fullarton, near Adelaide, came Captain Penberthy - a man with "... a good reputation and a mining experience of thirty years ..." - who managed the Big Hill Mine, while the nearby Anaconda was run by Captain Dunstan from Great Cobar. Dunstan was also at the Rising Sun, while Captain Hawke was at the Lady Bevys and the Hidden Treasure, with Captain Stevens at the neighbouring New Mile claim and Captain Bennett at the Rockwell Paddock. In the Thackeringa district, Captain Polkingthorne(sic) was manager of the Gipsy Girl, while the Terrible Dick was named after a certain Richard Tonkin who ran the mine until replaced by Captain Hocking in 1886. The Eagle Hawk was managed by Captain James Eddy, the Great Britain by Captain Hicks, and the War Dance by Captain Ellis.

Some 50 miles north of Broken Hill were the Eurliowie tin-fields, first opened-up circa 1888. In that year Captain Oates, a Cousin Jack with "... considerable experience in tin-mining in Cornwall...", commenced operations at the Victory Mine, while in 1889 Captain William White (a former manager of St. Just United in Cornwall and West Bischoff in Tasmania) arrived from Adelaide to undertake prospecting on behalf of a South Australian syndicate. Captain W. Williams, who had also worked tin in Cornwall, managed the Trident mine, and Captain Thomas - "... an eminent tin miner..." from the Dolcoath mine in Camborne - arrived in the district in 1888 at the request of the New South Wales Government to report on the Eurliowie district. He argued against the tinfields becoming a second Gwennap (i.e. a proliferation of small claims) because this would lead to their premature abandonment, but was nevertheless impressed by
what he saw and could not help comparing Burioie with Dolcoath, Great Wheal Vor, and mines in the Wendron district.\textsuperscript{56} As if to echo this confidence, a number of the mines were given Cornish names – Wheal Byjerkerno bore a Cornish prefix, while the Carn Brea was "... named after a celebrated Cornish mine..."\textsuperscript{57} and Botallack, Dalcooth, Tincroft and Mount Tincroft were drawn from Cornish examples. As in South Australia, the Cornish influence on the Barrier went deeper than personnel and mining terminology. In the early days at least, the Cornish technological contribution was at least as significant as in the neighbouring colony. Machinery from May Brothers' Foundry in Gawler was erected at the "Cornwall Smelters" at the South Mine,\textsuperscript{58} while at Block 10 Captain Warren was successful in applying May-built machinery to cope with the "sulphide problem" (see Chapter 5). May Brothers also produced plant for other Barrier workings – such as the concentrator and crusher at the Umberumberka, and the whim engine at the Britannia\textsuperscript{59} – and as late as 1908 Broken Hill mines were still using pneumatic rock-drills manufactured by Holman's of Camborne.\textsuperscript{60} The Cornishmen themselves also had a thing or two to teach miners from other parts. Compared to the relatively stable ground of Wallaroo and Moonta, the Broken Hill workings had a marked tendency to "creep" and "run together". This made mining dangerous, but "... an old Cousin Jack precaution in unstable ground was to watch the migrations of underground rats".\textsuperscript{61} When the rats left a stope, so did the Cornish! At first, extractive work in the Barrier mines was according to the usual Cornish "... open stope type, using either overhand or underhand stoping".\textsuperscript{62} In the late 1880s, however, the introduction of "square-set" timbering in the mines represented a radical departure from traditional Cornish practice, a change reflecting the arrival of America mining engineers on the Broken Hill scene. By that time Cornwall had lost its pre-eminent position in the
mining world, and so it was only natural that the managers of the massive and still-booming American mines should overshadow the by now eclipsed Cornish captains. But more specifically, in the case of Broken Hill, the introduction of Americans to work the larger mines derived from the fact that most of the Cornish captains on the Barrier had acquired their experience mining copper in South Australia and were unfamiliar with the techniques and problems of extracting silver-lead-zinc ores.

---III---

Nevertheless, the arrival of the Americans could not detract from the importance of the Cornish pioneering work in the district, and in any case the Cornish had already made an enduring impact upon local society. Much of the Barrier's commercial life, for example, was managed by Cousin Jacks. Samuel Gray, born in Cornwall in 1849, arrived in Silverton from Adelaide in 1886 to establish a building firm (he constructed engine-houses for the Central Mine and the Zinc Corporation), while James Burnard - born at Boscastle in February 1837 - came at about the same time from Terowie. Sydney Trenomon arrived in Broken Hill from Moonta to open a general-store, while Ernest William Crewes travelled up from the Burra to open a branch of his trading firm on the Burrowrie tinfields. Richard Warren, from St. Just-in-Penwith, moved from Wallaroo Mines to Broken Hill to set up a store in Oxide Street, while Sara and Dunstan formed a local branch of their building company, and John Mitchell from Kadina opened a draper's shop. Other local traders - such as Pellew and Moore, Penhall Roberts & Co., J.W. Pengelly, and R.J. Hooper & Co. - also exhibited an obvious Cornish influence.

Perhaps more importantly, the path of Barrier social history was also to a considerable extent moulded by the South Austra-
lian, Cornish experience. The Cornish cultural impact was manifested in various ways, despite the fact that — as Geoffrey Blainey has said — Broken Hill was never a Cornish mining town in the way that Moonta and Burra were. There was, however, a suburb of south Broken Hill known as "Moonta Town", and local hotel names such as the "South Australian", "Duke of Cornwall", and "Adelaide" were more than a clue to the district's cultural antecedents. The Cornish were well-known for their mining proverbs and expressions, and in 1888 one visitor to the Barrier recorded a number of miners' sayings that were in use there — "A good prospector is always sanguine", "Great gains are never without the companionship of losses", and so on.

Of particular interest was the story related in 1889 by W.R. Thomas, a tale which tells much about the survival of traditional Cornish lore and lends an insight into the Cornish character of Captain Richard Piper. Apparently, one day a miner approached Piper, requesting a job. Piper replied by asking the applicant if his name was Oates. Somewhat startled, the man answered that it was, and Piper explained his foreknowledge by revealing that he had noticed the miner's stunted fingers. Piper then went on to recount, so the story goes, how 150 years earlier the Oates family had been notorious "wreckers" in Cornwall, plundering vessels that had had the misfortune to be driven ashore on the Cornish coast. On one occasion a ship was wrecked, and the sole survivor of the disaster clambered up the cliff-face. As he reached the top, however, a wrecker named Oates cut off his fingers, causing him to crash to his death on the rocks below. There would now be no survivors to witness the plundering, but then Oates found to his horror that the sailor he had killed was none other than his eldest and favourite son. Filled with remorse, he plunged himself into the raging sea and was
drowned. The other Oates sons then left the district, thereafter living a life of goodliness in Truro. But ever since, according to Piper, male members of the Oates family had been born with stunted fingers on their right hand. 68

Apocryphal or not, that the story should have survived at Broken Hill is in itself significant. Other cultural survivals included the formation of brass bands — the first was formed by a Cousin Jack called Kendall — and the practice of Cornish wrestling. 69 One of the most memorable wrestling matches was the Barrier Championship of December 1890, and a celebrated local champion was Jacob Burrows — a Cornishman who was born in St. Austell in 1838 and had arrived at Broken Hill in 1887 from the Burra. 70 The pervasive quality of the Cornish inheritance was also demonstrated in 1901 when the Barrier Truth newspaper carried a short-story "Union by Love" which, as well as playing upon a Christian Socialist theme, involved fictional characters such as Marion Tregellas, "... a Cornish Barrier lassie...", 71 and "... a jovial young Cornishman, Charles Pentreath". 72 It was also evident in the creation of the Cornish Association of Broken Hill in 1892, the Burra Record noting proudly that,

In a large mining field like Broken Hill, as with all other great mineral centres, it is not surprising to find that the Cornish element is so predominant, for Cornishmen and mining are closely allied. 73

The Association existed for the "... mutual pleasure and profit..." 74 of the Cornish community, while its committee very liberally "In order to make the gatherings more attractive ... decided to admit lady members...". 75 In 1892 John Dunstan, formerly of Burra Burra was appointed President. 76 In less self-conscious ways, the Cornish influence was also exhibited. There were the usual Cornish-Australian "Cousin Jack yarns", a number
revealing the fatalistic humour of the Cornish miner. Geoffrey Blainey records that,

The story, in several versions, is told of the man who offered to break the news to the wife of a miner who had just been killed. A dour and forthright man, he went to the dead miner's house, and his heavy knocking summoned the wife. With a melancholy air he took off his hat and said: "Good afternoon Widow Tregonning". She immediately bridled: "I'm no widow. My husband's down there working". "Would you like", said the news-breaker, "to take a bet on it". 77

Fatalism was an attitude of mind encouraged by the Methodist outlook - God looked after his own, but if a miner was "taken" it was an expression of His Will. A popular hymn at Broken Hill was the one that went:

Far down in the earth's dark bosom
The miner mines the ore;
Death lurks in the dark behind him
And hides in the rock before.
Yet never alone is the Christian
Who lives by faith and prayer;
For God is a friend unfailing,
And God is everywhere. 78

Indeed, many of the Barrier miners were Methodists, this being - as Brian Kennedy has said - "... in accordance with Cornish and South Australian conditions". 79 The first-ever religious service at Broken Hill was preached by Gwennap-born George H. Paynter, a Bible Christian from South Australia, one of his early colleagues being James Bennetts from Camborne, the local preacher who had held the first service at Moonta Mines. 80 Bennetts helped found the Blende Street North Bible Christian chapel in the mid-1880s, while at the Anniversary staged at the Day Dream mine in 1886 it was said that the choir was "... composed chiefly of Moontaites". 81 The ladies who arranged the tea-treat were also "... mostly from Moonta...", 82 and Fred Penhall and William Rowe - both from the Peninsula - addressed the meeting. In 1887, Jacob Burrows (the wrestling champion)
arrived at Broken Hill to establish the Blende Street Primitive Methodist chapel. He was not an ordained Minister but a "hired local preacher", and was reported in 1888 as being "... an effective preacher to the Cornish miners". His iron chapel had seating for 150 people, and his congregation included many Cousin Jacks, such as Eliza Uren from Calstock and Wallaroo Mines, George Trenerry from Newlyn East and Moonta, and John Bishop from Redruth and Moonta.

Although one commentator wrote that "... it is the exception and not the rule for miners to go to Church at Broken Hill ...", it is reasonably clear that the chapel-going section of the population was drawn very much from the Cornish community. At the Roman Catholic Church in 1888 "... the attendance is not very large". But, by way of contrast, the Bible Christian chapel was big enough to seat 400 people and had an average attendance of some 170 to 200 persons, together with a vigorous Sunday School. The Wesleyans, whose Minister - the Rev. A.J. Fry - had been transferred from Port Adelaide, had room for 200 people, but were busy erecting a new chapel, and both the Baptists and Congregationalists were strong. It was also significant that "... interesting theological discussions may be heard, started by miners, who, objecting to dogmas, are nevertheless dogmatic." And the roll book for the years 1892–1912 at the South Broken Hill Wesleyan chapel indicates that the Cornish were clearly in the majority there. Although in 1892 Brother and Sister Prisk were recorded as "Gone to Moonta", many others remained to become stalwarts of the chapel, their surnames revealing their Cornish origins: Dunstone, Scown, Hawke, Angove, Pascoe, Treloar, Bray, Rundle, Tremelling, Luke, Pryor, Rowse, Goldsworthy, Trebilcock, Angwin, Johns, Davey, James, Magor, Rogers, Nancarrow, Tredinnick, Sandow, Prideaux, Osborne, Berri-
man, Nankivell, Kellaway, Odgers, Hicks, Moyses, Sara, Tresize, Pollard, Gilbert, Bastian, Penna, Landor, Trenberth, and many, many more. There were the usual "tea-fights", Anniversary marches, Revivals and other activities associated with Cornish Methodism, while in 1889 W.R. Thomas could write that,

... the finest sight that catches one's eye of an evening in Broken Hill is the gas-lit Wesleyan Church that stands out with all the solemnity and grandeur of an English cathedral - a lasting monument to the home training of our Cornish friends. 89

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The Methodist influence, as in Cornwall and South Australia, was also felt in a variety of other institutions. The Temperance movement, for example, was very strong. John Isaacs, from St. Austell, had lived at Kapunda, Moonta, and Kadina before going to Broken Hill, where he became involved in various Temperance organisations: "No beer in the blood"90 was his favourite expression. However, perhaps a more important influence was that of the Cornish Nonconformist Radical Tradition in the development of Trade Unionism on the Barrier. Brian Kennedy has pointed to the impact of the "... moderate, liberal traditions of trade unionism from South Australia ... Moonta and Wallaroo Mines, especially..."91 and has noted the strong Methodist undertones in the early Barrier movement. One of the first Union agitators was William Rowe, from Moonta, "... a Wesleyan Cornish miner who was opposed to working on the Sabbath...",92 while Josiah Thomas - who became President of the Broken Hill Branch of the Amalgamated Miners' Association in 1892 - was "Yet another Cornish miner ... a Wesleyan circuit steward and local preacher..."93

The Barrier miners began to organise themselves as early as January 1886 when, according to the Yorké's Peninsula Advertiser,
a branch of the A.M.A. was formed at the Purnamoota mine. By May of 1887 there were already signs of friction between miners and management, the men being worried about the effects of plumbism — or "getting leaded" — and expressing hostility to attempts to introduce a tribute-style contract system. The Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser wrote that,

"A number of old Moonta miners and others are having some difficulty with the management of the Broken Hill Mining Company. The difficulty there as here appears to be about the contract system, which is not popular with the men up here any more than in Moonta Mines."

The link between Trade Unionism on the Barrier and on North Yorke Peninsula was made all the more obvious by the widely discussed suggestion in 1889 that the two districts combine to form one enormous A.M.A. branch, while in the November Broken Hill Unionists wrote in support of industrial action taken by their colleagues at Wallaroo and Moonta. One Peninsula activist, Jimmy Peters, explained the link by pointing to the number of Cornish miners from South Australia on the Barrier and noting that A.M.A. "... members were continually coming and going between both towns (i.e. Moonta and Broken Hill)". This solidarity was further confirmed by the events of the "Great Strike" at Broken Hill in 1892, the first major clash between men and management. The struggle of 1892 was difficult and protracted (it lasted from the July to the November), for the mine captains had also organised. Unlike North Yorke Peninsula where, after 1889, there was only one major company, on the Barrier there were a fair number of different, independent ventures. To ensure unity of strength and action, therefore, the captains had in October 1886 formed a local branch of the Amalgamated Mining Managers Association of Australasia. Captain Morish was its first President, while Richard Piper was one of its most outspoken anti-Unionists. Trouble between the two opposing camps
had been brewing for some time. The Barrier Miner in March 1892 complained that Unionists were being victimised, and unemployment and especially plumbism were sources of growing discontent. The frightening effects of lead in the atmosphere on the human constitution were noted by many contemporary writers, the Burra Record recording in 1891 how William Curgenwin had left the Burra to go to Broken Hill but was now "leaded" and confined to bed. In the following year the same newspaper wrote that,

Big stalwart men who left the Burra and Moonta Mines just a year or two ago to toil in the silver mines of the Barrier, are now in many instances past recovery, and the rest of their days apparently must be spent in helpless misery.

Similarly, in 1904 Donald Clark wrote that,

In no town in Australia can one see so many men propped up against walls, or aimlessly wandering about; the women rapidly age, and even the young children have old faces. Fowls, which picked up the surface soil, and cats, who cleansed their fur, soon succumbed, while many children were leaded in this unhealthy town. Miners, working amongst the dust of carbonate ores, become leaded, and even now there are many human wrecks left as relics of the boom days of Broken Hill.

It was against the background of such conditions that the strike of 1892 occurred, the actual precipitating factor in causing the conflict being the renewed attempts by the large mines to introduce the contract system. There were many ugly scenes during the strike, with troopers being brought in from Sydney, and "free labour" engaged from outside to break the strike. By November the strike had indeed been broken, the miners defeated, but of particular interest here was the support shown for the Unionists by the South Australian Cornish. David Morley Charleston, the Cornish engineer and Labor leader, travelled up from Adelaide to address the strike meetings, while the People's Weekly detected a "... deliberately organised conspiracy against Labor, and first and foremost against Unionism.
as its strongest citadel. And when E. Polkinghorne, John Bennett and other A.M.A. Officials were arrested Cornish-born R.J. Daddow — the Primitive Methodist Minister at Kooringa — declared that the martyrs had shown "... self-sacrifice, self-control and moral courage". The defeat of 1892, however, badly damaged the Trade Union movement on the Barrier, although it later re-emerged in a new, vibrant and more militant form Broken Hill gained a reputation as a "Union Town", and in 1906 a local Labor leader, Thomas Ivey from Gwennap and Kapunda, was elected Mayor. And, whereas in earlier days it was Peninsula Unionism that had influenced Broken Hill, it was now a case of Barrier Unionism affecting Wallaroo and Moonta. To some extent this explained the developing confidence of the Peninsula activists, although contemporary observers liked to point to what they saw as growing differences between Trade Unionism in the two districts. For example, in 1903 Ralph S.G. Stokes, while seemingly underestimating the strength of Unionism on the Peninsula, could write that at Moonta and Wallaroo,

... labour difficulties are only experienced in times of abnormal activity, and are speedily dispelled. There are various trade unions in the district, but none is recognised by the company... The fallacious precept of Barrier-unionism that skilled miners are born, not made, is discreetly ignored at Wallaroo, where the guidance of the inexperienced is not left to inspiration.

But, while it was certainly true that the Barrier and Peninsula experiences continued to diverge in the period 1905-1923, the fundamental cultural, social and emotional links between the two areas were still very strong at the turn of the century. Newspaper reports throughout the 1890s provided evidence of these links. In December 1893 the Broken Hill correspondent in the People's Weekly took pleasure in explaining that "... a very large proportion of our population have connections in Moonta, Kadina, and Wallaroo...", while gossip columns in
the Peninsula press included items such as "Jack's return from Broken Hill is looked forward to with great expectation by Janet". During the festive season there was considerable movement between the two districts, one report during the 1890s recording that,

A frequent question just now among ex-Peninsulaites is, 'Har ee goin 'ome Xmas?' I believe there is no other town in Australia from which there is a greater exodus of holiday-makers at this season of the year than at Broken Hill, and on this occasion there is quite the usual number leaving for the well-remembered sights of Kadina, Moonta and Wallaroo.

A further expression of these links was a poem published in the People's Weekly in June 1893, an account of a romance between a Moonta girl and a Barrier miner boy. The poem began by recounting how they met and fell in love:

When first I was courted by a Barrier miner boy,
He called me his jewel, his heart's delight and joy,
It was in this silver city, our town of noted fame,
Where this 11 Block mining lad accounting with me came.

It went on to describe the virtues of the miner boy, and the couple's happiness, but then recording how the miner left the district, deserting his Moonta girl and leaving her broken-hearted. The final stanza tells its own dismal story:

And when I'm dead and gone, this one request I crave,
You'll take my bones to Moonta and lay them in a grave.
Some words write on my tombstone to tell the passer-by,
I died all broken-hearted through that 11 Block miner boy.

Mining disasters also served to draw the two communities together. The Peninsula mines were relatively safe but, as already noted, their Barrier counterparts were rather more dangerous. When John Olds was killed by a rock fall in the Proprietary mine in 1895 his body was brought back to Moonta for burial, and the death of Phillip Eddy who "fell away" in a shaft in 1896 was widely reported in the Peninsula press. Thomas Ninnes, from Cross Roads, was killed in the South Mine in 1902, an event
which was particularly tragic for his mother who had lost her husband more than 20 years earlier in an accident at the St. Ives Consols mine in Cornwall. Especially traumatic, however, were the South Mine disasters of 1895 and 1901. In the former, amongst the dead were two Moonta boys, Arthur Trembath and John Slee (born in Bodmin in 1854), while in 1901 the six men killed included Henry Downs from Yelta, John Prideaux from Kadina, and William Bennetta from Wallaroo Mines.

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The links between Broken Hill and North Yorke Peninsula remained important for many years, but by the early 1900s - with the onset of better times at Wallaroo and Moonta - the exodus to the Barrier Ranges was stemmed, and thus the Peninsula influence there lost its immediacy and on-going character. There were other areas of Australia, however, which had also experienced the impact of the South Australian Cornish. Although none compared with the Barrier, which was in many ways geographically, economically, and socially part of South Australia, the impact was nevertheless discernable and deserves to be traced. As early as 1868 a party of miners left North Yorke Peninsula for the Newcastle coal mines, in New South Wales, while it was reported in December 1871 that Captain Lean had departed from Adelaide to become manager of the Great Cobar copper mine in the same colony - a venture whose deposits were first confirmed by a former bal-maiden from Cornwall, and whose name was perhaps more than coincidently reminiscent of the Cornish word for copper (cober).

The Peak Downs copper mine in central Queensland was discovered in 1861, when a handful of miners from the Burra was
hired to commence operations, but it was not until the copper price rises of 1872-73 that extractive work there began on a large scale.\textsuperscript{116} However, in January 1868 the Register had carried an article on "... the migratory tendencies of Cousin Jack...",\textsuperscript{117} noting that a number of miners had left Moonta for Queensland, while in the same month the Wallaroo Times recorded the departure of some 70 or 80 men and their families who were travelling to Peak Downs under Captain Osborne.\textsuperscript{118} Although a number of these miners wrote back to the Peninsula complaining of fever and high prices, this did not discourage Captain Tredinnick from leaving Wallaroo Mines for Queensland, nor did it prevent the Peak Downs proprietors from recruiting several hundred more miners from Cornwall itself.\textsuperscript{119} In April 1872 the West Briton noted the departure of 200 miners, while in the spring of 1873 another 350 emigrants (including Charles Simmons from Menheniott) left for Peak Downs - enticed by promise of wages of £15 to £20 per month.\textsuperscript{120} By 1877, however, Peak Downs was abandoned, a victim of slumping copper prices. A number of former Peninsula miners, such as St. Austell-born John Retallick, returned to South Australia, bringing with them other Cousin Jacks who had gone to Queensland direct from Cornwall.\textsuperscript{121}

Queensland gold was also responsible for attracting Cousin Jacks from South Australia. A Cornish miner had discovered gold along the Fitzroy River, near Rockhampton, as early as 1853,\textsuperscript{122} but the real excitement - for South Australia at least - did not come until the 1870s and 1880s. In 1872 four Cornishmen, originally from Redruth, travelled to southern Queensland from South Australia, striking rich alluvial tin deposits at Fishers Gully, 160 miles from Brisbane.\textsuperscript{123} But it was gold that most diggers sought, a number joining the gruelling Palmer River Rush in northern Queensland in 1872 which was described in distinctly
uninviting terms in the *West Briton*. The Gympie Rush, too, had its effect. Gold was discovered there in 1867, and, although some - such as Thomas Wetherall Warr and Edward Dunstan, both from Kapunda - left then for the diggings, the most important movement from South Australia to the Gympie goldfields did not occur until the 1880s when economic pressures led the colony's Cousin Jacks to look elsewhere for work. In June and October of 1885, for example, sizeable contingents of miners were noted leaving the Moonta district for Gympie. Others went to Charters Towers, where gold was first found in 1871. The *Register* noted the departure of Peninsula miners for Charters Towers in 1886, while in April 1887 the Disraeli Company advertised in the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* for men to go to its workings at Rishton, in the same district. In 1907 there were still former Burra men in the area, one contributor to the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* in that year writing that "... in Charters Towers, Queensland, I had a hearty greeting from one of the Sampsons, of Kooringa".

During the 1880s a number of South Australia's Cornishmen found their way to Tasmania, but the only other district which could effectively compete with Broken Hill in the closing decades of the last century for the Central Colony's Cousin Jacks was Western Australia. There had been considerable prospecting in out-back regions of that colony from as early as the 1860s, but the first major discovery of gold was by Bayley and Ford in June 1892 at Coolgardie, some 350 miles from Perth. By the Autumn of 1893 hundreds were flocking to the new goldfields, while in the June two representatives of an Adelaide syndicate left South Australia for the west. One of these prospectors was Sam Pearce from Kapunda, a man who had mined in California, Mexico and South Africa as well as most of Australia, the
the syndicate's other representative being W.G. Brookman. They arrived at Coolgardie soon after Hannan's spectacular gold discovery at neighbouring Kalgoorlie, but found most of the ground around Hannan's find already claimed and pegged-out. Thus they moved on to Ivanhoe Hill where they located the tremendously rich gold deposits of the Great Boulder mine. Before long there were other discoveries, and the rapid rise of Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie and Boulder led to a wave of immigration into Western Australia from the other colonies - 16,000 arrived in 1894, 18,000 in 1895, and 36,000 in 1896. Many were from South Australia (indeed as late as 1933 the Census showed more South Australian-born males than Western Australian-born) and, as might be expected, a fair proportion were Cornish.

By April 1894 the Register was noting the departure of Peninsula miners for the west, the People's Weekly in the same month recording that Richard Ellis of East Moonta and his three mates - messrs. Thomas, Arthur and Pryor - had struck a rich reef near Coolgardie. In the August one observer could write that, the Western Australian Goldfields... are attracting large numbers of miners and mechanics from both mines (i.e. Moonta and Wallaroo). I am pleased to find that the West is an outlet for miners - and more especially for those of Yorke's Peninsula, who are preferred above any other miners in the colonies. Bands of unemployed miners continued to leave "Little Cornwall" during 1895 in a fashion reminiscent of "... the palmy days of Broken Hill". One commentator expressed the view that "... this exodus ... will prove as successful in taking away the surplus labor from this district as Broken Hill did", while a Western Australian wrote that on the goldfields "... your miserably ill-paid Moonta miners (have) a chance to earn a decent livelihood". There were further departures through
1896 and 1897, and another wave left the Peninsula in 1899.\textsuperscript{138} Others - such as C.R. Treloar, H. Martin, and Walter Rosewall - left the Burra to go to the West, and there was also a sprinkling of Cousin Jacks from other parts of the colony - Richard Alford from Bowden, Henry Bastian from Booleroo, William Martin from Willowie, and Thomas Harvey from Prospect who was killed at Kalgoorlie when his tent was struck by lightning.\textsuperscript{139} Some made their way to the goldfields by sailing from Port Adelaide to Fremantle and then travelling inland from Perth, but many others chose the overland route. It was some 1200 miles from North Yorke Peninsula to Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie, much of the journey being through sandy, scrubby wilderness. The series of letters written by Daniel and David Williams to their parents while travelling overland from Wallaroo affords many insights into conditions on the route. They left the Peninsula in the early part of April 1894 and by May 30th had reached Eucla, a border town set in the heart of the arid Nullarbor Plain. There they were obliged to pay £8 10s Od customs duty on their horses, writing that

...we had a pretty hard time of it (or rather the horses did) coming from the Bight here the last 3 days we couldn't get any water for them for there was teams in front of us and they took the lot but we got through all right...  \textsuperscript{140}

By mid-August the Williams brothers were nearing the goldfields. They wrote from Diamond Rock Station, explaining that there were many Wallaroo men heading for the West and that,

... there are a terrible lot of teams coming the overland trip and some of them are getting a rough time of it, there's all sorts travelling. Waggons, vans, spring drays, buggies, pack horses, camels, and foot men. Some have come from Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. \textsuperscript{141} David and Daniel began prospecting during the September. At first they were intensely optimistic, writing that "Western Australia is a great country for gold",\textsuperscript{142} but by early November
they were beginning to realise how difficult it was to "strike it rich" and that life on the goldfields was hardly rosy. David informed his parents that,

... I can't write anything interesting about our trip, since we got into the colony it's been nothing else but hunting for water. I hope we will get rewarded for our trouble before long... I don't think this place or these fields are what they are cracked up to be. 143

Daniel wrote again from Coolgardie on 26th November noting that, with the approach of summer, "... there is a good bit of sickness here now, there is not enough nourishment in the tucker ..."). His letter of 10th February 1895 showed him to be in poor spirits - "... we spent our Xmas in a lonely spot where we could see nothing but scrub... I must get a little gold somehow..."145 - and both Williams brothers realised that there was little success to be had in prospecting as individuals. Daniel, therefore, found work as a miner in the large Bendigo Coolgardie venture, while David was fortunate enough to acquire a wheelwright's business in Coolgardie township. With this change in their luck, Daniel believed that "... there's a grand future for W.A. There's a lot of good mines in this country...".146 And because "... there's a lot females getting here now, and the place is getting quite toffy, Dave and I are beginning to wish we brought our Sunday clothes with us."147 This mood of renewed optimism did not last long, however, for the arrival of hot weather in early November was a reminder of Coolgardie's unpleasant summer conditions. The brothers wrote that, "There will be a lot of sickness here this summer...water is getting scarce here now, they are charging 6d a gallon...it's no use stopping here, we might get sick",148 and so they moved on to Perth in search of better conditions.
Unpleasant social conditions - heat, fever, periods of unemployment, and so on - were a subject mentioned in almost every letter home. During January the average temperature at Kalgoorlie was 100°F, and the Cornish miners spoke with their typical dry humour of "Hotgarde".¹⁴⁹ As early as September 1894 "Nine Moonta Boys" wrote back to Yorke Peninsula reporting water shortages and unemployment,¹⁵⁰ while in the November a correspondent to the Cornish Telegraph considered that,

"Western Australia, taken all round, is the most God-forsaken place a man can set foot in. It is an awfully rough life here. I have not slept in a bed for over three months, and only get a wash once a fortnight. The food is also bad; no fresh food of any description - all tinned; and now the weather is very hot it is all in a liquid state... You can't buy water even in this great city of Coolgardie under nine-pence per gallon. I know a man who paid five pounds for watering his three horses for one night. We have been to a good many "new" rushes with no luck at all. At one of them the discoverer of a reef had pegged the land for miles, and when we arrived water was five shillings a gallon. There is no sport of any kind out here - not a living animal except flies, ants, and snakes.¹⁵¹"

In November of the following year the People's Weekly recorded a new wave of disease and water famine,¹⁵² while in January 1896 an East Moonta man wrote that "... Coolgardie is alive with unemployed...,"¹⁵³ and that water was 10d a gallon, flour 6d per lb, bread 11d per loaf, and jam is 1s 6d a jar. Twelve months later the situation had changed little, one Peninsula miner at Boulder describing the goldfields as "... the land of swags, rags and water bags...".¹⁵⁴ It was not unusual to see death notices such as the following in the Kalgoorlie Western Argus - "A young man named John Cocking had died in the hospital from fever. He was a native of Cornwall"¹⁵⁵ - and the behaviour of some of the miners only served to aggravate the conditions. In March 1895 three diggers from Kadina were under arrest for
"... the wholesale murder of blacks", while in March 1896 a cousin Jack named Bluett was in trouble for shooting off his half-brother's finger. But it was disease not violence which claimed the most lives, it being said of one Joseph Lathlean in 1898 that,

Like many others from this district (Moonta), owing to the low rates of wages on the Peninsula, he was forced to seek employment elsewhere; hence went to Western Australia, where he was stricken with pneumonia which left a weakness which soon developed into consumption, and gradually he faded from us.

A number of the miners from "Little Cornwall" lived in the so-called "Moonta Camp" at Boulder, which, judging from the following composition of December 1896, was a decidedly unpleasant and unhealthy locality:

'Tis a number of camps of rising ground, and a few lateens scattered around
Of the same style of architecture:
They're built of poles and old chaff bags, Canvas, calico tents, and rags,
All of different hues and texture.

Tins and bones are lying round, Bags and other filth abound, And things of a similar stamp;
And fever germs have a depot there, And a horrid perfume fills the air, In the Boulder Moonta Camp.

The Moonta Camp looks old and scarred, The the hill they're on looks strange and wierd - It oppresses one with dread;
And the costeen pit, where the lateens wave, Looks like a huge uncanny grave Waiting for the dead.

But, however bad conditions in Western Australia may have been, this did not deter ardent bands of goldseekers from travelling from North Yorke Peninsula (and other localities in South Australia) throughout the 1890s. The very existence of a "Moonta Camp" at Boulder was evidence of the large number of Peninsula miners in the West, while one observer wrote that "... Moonta Camp represents only a very small selection of
Moonta boys on the field...".  

It was certainly true that the South Australian Cornish could be found throughout the Coolgardie-Kalgoorlie-Boulder district, and on goldfields as far away as Norseman, and it was never long before new arrivals from "Little Cornwall" came across old friends from home. At Coolgardie in December 1894 Daniel and David Williams from Wallaroo met several "... Wallaroo chaps..."161 - Harry James, Tom Smith, Jim Samuels, Joe Phillips - while in August 1895 they wrote that "There's a lot of Moonta and Broken Hill people coming here lately".162 In March 1896 there was "... a lot of Wallaroo's over this way",163 and Stanley Whitford from Moonta Mines wrote that when he was on the Western Australian goldfields at the turn of the century "... I was camped with a nest of Cousin Jacks from Moonta".164 There was Jack Pascoe, Stan Verran, Alf Northey, Jos Liddicoat, and Merts Trebilcock. Bill Roberts and Jack Warwick, both Moonta men, were underground captains at the Australian and Great Boulder mines, while Tom Horton - then manager of the Malcom Proprietary - was a former captain of the Yelta mine. The existence of a syndicate named the "Yorke's Peninsula Gold-Mining and Prospecting Co. Ltd." was still further evidence of a Peninsula influence, and the discovery of gold assaying at 100 ounces per ton in September 1895 by a party of Moonta men caused much excitement at Kalgoorlie.165

Moreover, many other Western Australian goldmines were also run by South Australian Cornish captains. In January 1895 it was reported that the Royal Mint, Lake View, Great Boulder, Australian, and Iron Duke mines were managed by men "... well known to Kadina and Broken Hillites...",166 while the captain of the Ivanhoe was "... an old Moonta identity",167 and W. Rowe - manager of the Maritana and Napier claims - was "... late of Moonta".168 There was Captain James Newton from St. Just-in-
Penwith (a one-time underground captain at the Levant mine in Cornwall), and M. Rodda — formerly the accountant at the Block 14 at Broken Hill — was clerk at Great Boulder. The surveyor at Great Boulder was "... an old Moontaite...", the Faith mine was managed by Captain Charles Truscott from Kadina and Ediacara, and the Associated claims were run by James Morton and Charles Davey — both from Moonta. In June 1895 B. Nankivell, "... well known to Moonta and Kadinaites...", was appointed Chief Captain of the Great Boulder, while in December Captain East was at the Hannan's Central. Captain Hancock's son, Leigh, was for a time manager of the Central Boulder, Tom Warren — a former Moonta draper — was captain at Great Coolgardie, W.F. Francis — also from Moonta — was at the Adelaide Sovereign and Kalgoorlie Reef mine, and Alex Roberts from Moonta was at the Kanowna Consolidated. In March 1896 Captain W.D. Rodda was reported at the Coolgardie Golden Run Mine, while the Adelaide-owned Arrow Proprietary was managed by Captain William Hambly. Other managers included Captains William Begelhole and Frederick Rodda, one of the most successful personalities on the goldfields being Helston-born John Treloar. He had started out as a Burra miner but had worked in Victoria, on the Barrier and in New Zealand before making a small fortune in Western Australia. One contemporary account recorded his progress:

Captain John Treloar, well-known to most Australian mining men, has been on a visit to Cornwall — his birthplace — where he has been giving some attention to Cornish mining. He returned to London on Monday (in July 1896) and he will leave for Australia at the beginning of August. Captain Treloar, who had 47 years' practical experience in Australia and New Zealand, and who has been associated with some of the best Western finds, notably McAluliff's Reward, Reifer's Eureka, and Hannan's Brown Hill, has done a certain amount of business here (London), but he thinks that he might have done far better had he taken his Western properties to Adelaide. On arrival at Albany, Captain Treloar will proceed to Coolgardie to report progress. He will then return to Adelaide to rejoin his wife.
There were few Cornish capitalists of Treloar's calibre, but Adelaide investors displayed a keen interest in Western Australian mines, and the Wallaroo and Moonta company made alterations to its smelting works so that it could smelt gold from the West. J.J. East was appointed the company's agent in the West, and the Directors decided that, in purchasing gold for their smelting works, "... the Cornish Ticketing System is the most suitable for the Mines having Gold ores to sell". Some Western Australian mine names revealed a Cornish influence - there was a Devon Consols (named after Devon Great Consols on the banks of the Tamar) and a Wheal Ellen (named after South Australia's Wheal Ellen) - and it was a matter of some pride on the Peninsula when a "Moontaite" was elected Mayor of Boulder in November 1897. The real Cornish influence, however, was at the "grass-roots" level. At the "Moonta Camp" the miners could be heard singing their traditional Cornish carols on Christmas Eve, and a number formed themselves into a cricket team to play Kalgoorlie. Euchre was a popular card game at Coolgardie, and the Cornish figured prominently in the Boulder Choral Society, the Boulder Mines Band, the Amalgamated Miners' Association Band, and the Boulder City Band. Members of the Boulder football team were known as the "amber-and-blacks", after the Cornish colours that they wore, and Cornish wrestling was popular. In September 1895, for example, there was a much publicised match between P. Roachock(sic) of Norwood (Adelaide) and Harry Pearce of Moonta.

The Hocking family from Mount Barker founded the Kalgoorlie Miner newspaper, while Henry Kneebone from Wallaroo Mines was later editor of the Coolgardie Miner. Items of "Moonta News" appeared in the goldfields papers from time to time, and there
were occasionally articles on Cornwall and the exploits of Cornishmen - especially in 1897 when Cornish-born Bob Fitzsimmons defeated "Gentleman Jim" Corbett in the world boxing championship. When one Boulder miner named his prize-winning racing pigeon "Moonta Lad" he was expressing strong emotional links with Yorke Peninsula, as were the diggers who in 1896 contributed to the memorial fund for Arthur Trembath - the Moonta boy killed in the South Mine at Broken Hill. The Peninsula Methodists were also active on the goldfields. At Boulder there were three Methodist chapels, each with its own committed members - "... many of them Cousin Jacks..." and in the Battle of the Boyne parade at Kalgoorlie on 12th July 1896 100 Orangemen marched, "... several Moontaites being conspicuous". Several Cornish sayings were current on the goldfields, one being a contemporary version of an ancient rhyme, the still flourishing Caradon mines replacing the abandoned Hingston Down in the new form: "Caradon Hill well wrought, is worth London Town dear bought". There were the usual Cousin Jack yarns, Gavin Casey and Ted Mayman recording that,

The tradition of 'making a bit extra' has always been strong among Kalgoorlie's miners. It is said that Tom Hewitson, a chapel man himself, was once inspecting a level after the face had been fired out. In a dark corner he came on a religious old Cousin Jack, seated on a heap of broken quartz. The Cornishman was practising a hymn for the church choir as he picked over the stone. 'Do Not Pass Me By', he sang, and softly the words echoed through the dark stope as he put aside what he looked on as his portion of gold...

This tradition of 'making a bit extra' was sometimes a cause of conflict, however, such as in March 1896 when William Berryman was charged by Captain Pollard with stealing over £15 worth of gold from Bayley's No. 1 South mine. And, although industrial conflict was never as marked as at Broken Hill, a vigorous Trade Union movement did emerge. The Cornish wrestled
with the Irish for control of the Union\textsuperscript{185} (The Kalgoorlie and Boulder Branch of the A.M.A. was formed in August 1896), but Geoffrey Bolton has noted that "Because so many South Australians came to W.A. in the 'nineties gold-rush they had a considerable impact on the character of the early Labor movement here."\textsuperscript{186} Bolton also argues that a number of Western Australian Labor politicians, including the Premiers Scaddan, Hawke and Tonkin, were "... products of the Cornish-South Australian tradition".\textsuperscript{187} It was perhaps a measure of this influence that contracting (much abhorred by Moonta and Wallaroo men) was not introduced in the major mines until the 1920s, and it is interesting to reflect that Stanley Whitford, the South Australian Labor cabinet minister, had his first taste of industrial action on the Western Australian goldfields. It was there, he said, that "... I developed a realisation of my relative insignificance and the only channel to follow was through the collective effort of the miners ...",\textsuperscript{188} and at the Lake View mine at Christmas 1906 he became chairman of a strike committee.

The most colourful personality in the early goldfields Labor movement was Captain William Oates, who was born at St. Just-in-Penwith in 1842. He was for many years Captain of Wheal Owles, near St. Just, but was persuaded to emigrate to Victoria in 1884 by George Lansell, "... the Bendigo quartz king".\textsuperscript{189} He spent most of his time on the Barrier and in South Australia, however, before moving to Western Australia in 1889 to join the gold prospectors at Southern Cross. He was reputed to be the first person to smelt gold in the West and went to Coolgardie immediately after the initial discoveries there. He was appointed consulting engineer to a number of the major mines, the Kalgoorlie Western Argus considering that "Of all West Australian mining engineers, Captain Oates is the mining engineer par excellence".
In 1894 Oates was elected Mayor of Southern Cross, and in 1897 he stood as a Labor candidate for the Parliamentary seat of Yilgarn on the goldfields. A contemporary account recorded that, He has risen from the ranks, and he believes in men rising from the ranks... He believes in a mutual ground of co-operation between employee and employer. He would like every employee to own a share in the mine in which he is working. 191

Oates, therefore, was an early advocate of "industrial democracy", and, enjoying the solid support of the miners, he was successful in his attempt to get into Parliament on the Labor ticket. One of his Parliamentary colleagues was Captain Samuel Mitchell, born in Cornwall in 1839, who was returned unopposed to the Legislative Assembly in 1897 on account of his support for "... liberal and progressive activity". Another member returned at the same time was F.C.B. Vosper, born in St. Dominick in March 1867, a man known for his "... liberal and democratic..." sympathies and his "... hearty regard for the working people". In Queensland he had been imprisoned for his part in a miners' strike at Charters' Towers, moving to Western Australia in 1892 where he became editor of the Coolgardie Miner. In Parliament he combined with his fellow Cornishmen, Oates and Mitchell, to make the voice of the goldfields miners heard, consolidating the already strong Cornish-South Australian influence in the Western Australian Labor movement.

Cornishmen from South Australia, then, left their home colony in large numbers in the closing decades of the nineteenth-century, travelling principally to the Barrier Ranges and the Western Australian goldfields but also to a lesser degree to mining camps in other parts of the continent. In doing so they made a distinct, identifiable and important contribution to the development of those districts. But at the same time they
inevitably robbed South Australia of some of its best and most vigorous Cornish miners, the "changing horizons" of the 1880s and 1890s being in one respect a prelude to the "twilight years" of the twentieth-century. Paradoxically, however, they served to further increase the standing and reputation of South Australia's Cousin Jacks, so that in September 1901 Captain Henry Richard Hancock could declare that,

Since he left Moonta he had visited many mining centres in Australasia, and in each place he had found miners from Moonta and Wallaroo Mines. He had heard a great deal about them from those in authority over them, but in no single instance had he ever heard one word against them in their capacity as miners, but on the other hand he had heard a great deal in their favour. In Kalgoorlie and other places in the West they were in the front rank as miners, while at Broken Hill they were not a whit behind. Even in far-off New Zealand he heard good concerning them. 195
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By the turn of the century, the Cornish influence in South Australia had endured for over 60 years. The influx of Cornish migrants had ceased fifteen years earlier, but still, in the early 1900s, the Cornish remained a distinct and identifiable group, and their impact was writ large upon many aspects of South Australian life. Although the mines at Burra, Kapunda, and places elsewhere in the State were long since abandoned, and their Cornish communities consequently dispersed, those on North Yorke Peninsula remained as vigorous as ever - indeed, perhaps more so, for the decade after the amalgamation of the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines in 1890 had seen the emergence of a new era of prosperity. The Union of the various Methodist denominations in South Australia in 1900 had a similar invigorating effect in religious circles; and the Methodist Church, with its strong Cornish heritage, remained an important vehicle of Cornish culture well into the twentieth-century. This culture, of course, had been changing and developing throughout the latter half of the nineteenth-century. The Cornishman's view of Cornwall had become ever more Romantic and nostalgic, and in South Australia the use of the term "Cousin Jack" denoted usually an association with Moonta and environs, rather than with Cornwall itself. The continued success of the Cornish Association of South Australia - a very different institution from the Cornwall and Devon Society of the early 1850s - was evidence of the changing perceptions of Cornwall and "Cornishness", and the growth of the "If you haven't been to Moonta, you haven't travelled" attitude demonstrated the fact that the State's "Cornish loyalty was increasingly focused on North Yorke Peninsula instead of directly upon Cornwall. In the South Australian Labor movement, the Cornish Radical Trad-
ition, with its important Methodist element, remained significant until at least the 1920s. But it became increasingly conservative, even out-moded, which accounted in part for the particularly traumatic events of the Conscription Issue crisis, and explained the ideological backwardness of the Labor hierarchy in the 1920s and 30s.

Thus even if the Cornish influence itself remained strong, the actual nature of this influence -- and of the Cornish social and cultural experience generally -- was continually and inevitably changing. This change, moreover, was accelerated by a series of events which served, on the one hand, to alter South Australians' perceptions of "Cornishness", and, on the other, to enhance the developing sense of Australian identity. The end of immigration from Cornwall was the first of these events, others being the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1900, the new attitudes springing from experiences in The Great War, and the effects of the closure of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines in 1923.

The fact that, as a result of the end of immigration in the mid-1880s, South Australia's Cornish community was no longer revitalised at periodic intervals by waves of newcomers from Cornwall (as it had been in the nineteenth-century), meant that the Cornish-born element was decreasing, or at least becoming more elderly, while the number of Australian-born "Cornish" was ever expanding. After 1900, for example, space in the Yorke Peninsula local newspapers was increasingly taken up with death-notices and obituaries of "early colonists". Those who had come to South Australia as young men to work at the Burra mine in the 1840s and 1850s were by now in their "seventics" and eighties", while others who arrived after the collapse of Cornish copper in
1860 were more than "middle-aged", and even those recruited by Captain Piper in 1883 were — by 1900 — mostly in advance of 40. Those who had arrived as children were, by the late 1900s, also becoming old and beginning to die, so that, for instance, the obituary columns in the *People's Weekly* became ever longer as the first decade of the twentieth-century drew to a close — William "Camborne" Mitchell, passed-away at Moonta Mines, aged 65; William Abraham, from Warleggan, died at Moonta aged 66; Mary Snell, from St. Austell, aged 86; Thomas Towan, from Tuckingmill, aged 80; John Pedlar, from St. Kew, aged 78; William Rowe, from Hayle Copperhouse; James Hicks from Chacewater, Lavinia Woodward from St. Ives, James Martin from St. Blazey, Grace Goldsworthy from St. Buryan, Richard Retallack from St. Agnes, Louise Whitford from St. Just, Sarah Trewartha from Breage, Ann Rule from Crowan, Emma Curnow from Marazion, W.H. Williams from Lanner; the lists seemed never-ending.¹

With the links with Cornwall thus becoming more tenuous or remote, it was not surprising that South Australia’s archetypal "Cousin Jack" came to be the miner born and bred at Moonta — a man for whom, despite his apparent "Cornishness", "home" would for ever be Australia and not Cornwall; his familiar environment being the flat, featureless and rather arid country of Yorke Peninsula, very different from the damp, granite-strewn Cornish moors. This was in itself an important cultural change, a phenomenon illustrated by Oswald Pryor (whether consciously or not) in a number of his famous "Cousin Jack" cartoons. In one, a typical Cousin Jack — complete with Moonta billy-goat beard and a broad Cornish accent — arrives back on North Yorke Peninsula from his holidays, and remarks to his friend "Beats me 'ow they all knew I coomed from Moonta":² an indication that Cousin Jacks were associated, not so much with Cornwall, but with the
Peninsula mining towns. In another cartoon, an equally typical Cousin Jack - this time in a Cornish miner's underground outfit - remarks to an inquisitive visitor "I bain't Cornish, Missus, but feyther an' mawther was". Although born in South Australia, he had acquired all the Cornish characteristics and mannerisms.

For those who were born in Cornwall, it was, as the old adage asserts, a case of "absence making the heart grow fonder". While most had been glad to escape the life of grinding poverty in Cornwall at the time of their emigration, as the years passed in South Australia - and their Cornish experience became more and more distant - their view and memories of "home" became ever more Romantic and nostalgic. On North Yorke Peninsula this was just one aspect of cultural change, but elsewhere in South Australia it was the most significant facet of assimilation into the mainstream of Australian life. In Adelaide, for example, where most of the State's population was concentrated, it would probably, by the early 1900s, have been difficult to discern those of Cornish birth (or descent) from the broad mass of people, their overt expressions of "Cornishness" being confined to participation in the Cornish Association (or, to a less obvious extent, in the Methodist Church). Indeed, the raison d'etre of the Cornish Association was essentially sentimental and nostalgic - this being demonstrated more than anything by the writings and sayings of John Langdon Bonython. As before, Bonython was the principal personality in the Association, and his own interpretation of Cornwall and "Cornishness" was symptomatic of the cultural change that had occurred, and was continuing to occur. His preoccupation with Cornwall was not just an interest in what was going on at "home", but was fundamentally Romantic, which for him demanded an involvement at the scholarly and literary level. His many lectures and addresses delivered on Cornish
themes illustrated his passionate, intellectual devotion to Cornwall. He believed fervently in the legend of King Arthur, and nothing gave him more pleasure than to speak on the exploits of Cornish heroes - the Rebels of 1549, Admiral Boscawen, Beville Grenville and the Battle of Lansdown, John Arundell and the Defence of Pendennis. He took care to describe the Cornish as a Celtic people, and had no doubt that Cornwall was a country entirely separate from England. In a paper delivered to the Cornish Association in February 1901, he declared that:

We know that the Romans invaded England. They conquered England, but they never conquered Cornwall. (Cheers) They only established friendly relations. When the Romans retired the Teutons came and they gave the ancient Britons a terrible time, but they never secured any permanent foothold in Cornwall; and though the Normans confiscated the land, they left the people untouched. Cornwall continued to remain a country apart. (Cheers.)

Today, Bonython might well be described as a "Cornish nationalist", and certainly his views on the diminution of the Cornish identity - and particularly his use of the telling word "enemy" - have a strikingly modern ring. He wrote that,

I felt that Cornwall was losing its character, its individuality; that the people were rapidly becoming like people elsewhere; and it is not well for a race to lose its individuality. The Cornish are actually getting ashamed of their idiosyncrasies especially their superstitions. As to the latter, why should they be ashamed of them? They are in the blood ...

The enemy says the Cornishman is a dreamer, he prefers to stand about and think rather than to do some of the things which are so popular with other people. I admit the charge, and should be sorry if the Cornishman lost this tendency to think... because its wealth of imagination is one of the great assets of the Cornish race. (Cheers). The Cornishman is not prepared to sacrifice everything for mere money-making.

Bonython was concerned principally with the Cornish in Cornwall, rather than in South Australia (which in itself tells us much about his own perception of "Cornishness"). Other members of the Cornish Association, while probably not sharing
Bonython's level of enthusiasm, nevertheless held a similar attitude. The Association might hold a "Cornish Evening", an opportunity to munch pasties and reminisce about the "old times" in Cornwall, but, in their day to day existence, the Association members considered themselves - and behaved as - ordinary Australian citizens. "Cornishness" was a quality that could be turned on or off as the situation demanded, an indication that the assimilatory process was already well advanced. The Federation of the six Australian colonies in 1900 lent momentum to this process, for the creation of the Commonwealth gave meaning to the idea of Australian nationality - for the first time in history there existed an Australian Nation-State. The Australians were no longer "Britons in the Antipodes", but increasingly a people apart; and the term "Colonial", once born by many with a feeling of pride, was now an embarrassing, insulting, almost dirty word. Against this background, the Cornish - like other groups - would become more consciously Australian; especially their children born on Australian soil, most of whom had never seen Cornwall and were never likely to. This process, however, did not occur uniformly or consistently across South Australia. As in the nineteenth-century, it was the individuals or small groups who were more easily assimilated, while on North Yorke Peninsula - the last remaining area of Cornish concentration - Cornish culture remained a vibrant, if changing, force for some time to come.

Outside of Adelaide, the Gawler Branch of the Cornish Association remained active into the 1900s, as did that at Clare. But at Kapunda, the Cornish identity had all but disappeared by the turn of the century. The mines there had closed finally in 1878, but even before that date a great many of the Cornish families had left for the richer district of Wallaroo and Moonta.
While it was true that as late as 1900 the local Methodist minister found it relevant to allude in his sermons to the pioneering efforts of the Cornish in the early days, another observer could recall that even in 1891 "Kapunda ... was a very different place from what it was in 1866". Most of the Cornish had departed, and those who remained - like the 80 year-old Mr. Tewartha - were at an advanced age. At Burra, although the mines there had closed in 1877, the Cornish influence seemed to endure more successfully. Guy Fawkes Night had long since replaced Midsummer's Eve as the occasion on which the local populace lit their bonfires, but pasty-baking competitions survived almost to the end of the century. In 1897, John Sampson, born at Goldsithney in West Cornwall in 1831, was elected Mayor of the Burra, while the district's Local Government Assessment Book of 1904 indicates that there were still many Cornish families in the area - John Berryman, a farmer at Spring Bank; Susan Bosence, a householder at Copperhouse; Mary Thomas, a householder at Lostwithiel, and so on. Indeed, one of the foremost landowners in the district at that date was Philip Lander Killiccoat, a son of the celebrated Captain Killiccoat, born in the Cornish village of Perranwell in 1844. He owned 30,000 acres in and around the Burra, and had been Mayor of the town in 1888-89.

That Burra remained conscious of its Cornish heritage is evidenced by an article in the Burra Record newspaper in 1908, discussing the origins of the term "Cousin Jack". It argued that the name "... was first applied to the sons of Cornubia in California..." in 1848, being a corruption of "Cussing Jack", although also noting that "The Cornish papers did not agree..." with that theory. Brass bands, much loved by Cornishmen, continued to flourish at Burra in the 1900s - many of the bandmen
bearing Cornish surnames such as Tiddy, Harris, Bennett, Pascoe, Davey, Pearce, and Truscott. As late as 1916, one Thomas John Treggings wrote a Cornish dialect letter to the Burra Record, reminiscent of those that had been published as much as thirty or forty years earlier in the newspapers at Kapunda, Burra and Moonta. But as in Adelaide, these manifestations of Cornish culture became increasingly sentimental and retrospective — in fact, entirely so by the time the "Back to Burra" celebrations in 1925 attempted to revive something of the atmosphere of Burra's Cornish days. Indeed, as early as January 1903, James Thomas — an elderly Cornish farmer at Mount Bryan, just north of the Burra — had written to friends at Pencoys, near Redruth, admitting rather sorrowfully that "I often in my solitude live over again the happy hours that I spent among you in Cornwall."16

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On North Yorke Peninsula, the process was more complex. While there was certainly a strong element of Romantic, retrospective change, many had yet to develop this sentimental view of "home" and were more interested in learning the practical, matter-of-fact details of current events in Cornwall. Moreover, genuine indigenous Cornish culture continued to exhibit itself in the ordinary behaviour of the Peninsula fold, so that "Cornishness" remained a living attribute and not something that could be consciously "turned on" to suit particular occasions. In addition, there was also the locally-generated culture in which Moonta and environs — rather than Cornwall itself — became the focus of Cousin Jack loyalty and identity. The period 1900-1914, therefore, was characterised by the emergence of an increasingly Janus-like culture on North Yorke Peninsula — one which continued to look back to Cornwall, but was dynamic enough
to develop along its own independent course, within an overall Australian context.

The departure of a number of Peninsula boys in 1900 to fight in the South African War emphasised this Janus-like situation. They fought, of course, as part of the Australian contingents, and it was hardly surprising that, when their thoughts turned to "home", it was the Peninsula and not Cornwall which featured in their imagination. It was said of one of these soldiers that, "His mind wandered back to dear old Moonta on a Saturday evening where in his imagination he could see George Street, with the bands playing, and the thousands of people moving up and down". But, paradoxically, while the soldiers at the front thought of Moonta, the people back on the Peninsula looked to Cornwall for their justifications of the war in South Africa. The proceedings of a meeting of the Powsanoonth Mutual Improvement Society, in Cornwall, was quoted at some length in the People's Weekly, illustrating that the Uitlanders - many of them Cornish - had received rough treatment at the hands of "... the primitive Boer, untouched as he was by the influence of European civilisation". And when it was alleged that the Cornish had displayed great cowardice in their flight from Johannesburg, and that "... the Cousin Jack miners trampled women and children underfoot...", the People's Weekly could note that such reports were "... resented locally by Cornishmen", and protest that the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry had shown great courage on the field of battle during the war.

This Janus-like culture was also observed, albeit unwittingly, by May Vivienne in her Sunny South Australia, a book published in 1908. She could write that "... the majority of the miners in this district are Cornishmen..." and note that the
local shops "... do a big trade in Cornish pasties..."22 -
evidence that Cornish culture was still deeply entrenched in the
area. However, she also pointed out that "... the people living
there have a very high opinion of themselves..."23 - an allusion
to the internally-generated local patriotism. And although the
people of North Yorke Peninsula would combine to assert that
Moonta was "The Hub of The Universe", there remained the fierce
rivalries between the various townships and settlements. This
was to some extent part of the Cornish experience (Cornwall
being notorious for its inter-town rivalries), but it had also
been nurtured and developed on the Peninsula. As a newspaper
editor in 1904 remarked,

Our local watchword 'One and All', stands not for boastful
braggadocio, but for beneficial brotherhood; but its
contents have surely undergone a narrowing process ...
No more excellent motto could be conceived, but when its
use becomes only a weapon of irony, it is time to rescue
it from its degredation. 24

In a different context, but again illustrating these cul-
tural complexities, an article in the People's Weekly in January
1914 extolled the natural beauties of Tasmania - hardly an un-
usual occurrence in an Australian newspaper - but its author
could not avoid a Cornish comparison, writing that those "...
who know anything about Latchley or Chilsworthy in eastern Corn-
wall..."25 would find many similarities between Cornish and
Tasmanian scenery. Of similar interest was a report in 1905,
to the effect that one T. Cluytas Pascoe, a Cornish settler in
New Zealand, had decided to retire "... amongst his own people ...
"26 - not in Cornwall, but in Moonta. And then in 1912 there
was published one of the innumerable "Cousin Jan" dialect stories
that appeared in the Yorke Peninsula newspapers from time to
time, this one, however, purporting to be concerned, not with
Cornwall, but with things "... of public interest happenin
around Moonta, as do come under my notice". 27
As in the nineteenth-century, "News from Cornwall" items — many of them rather mundane, even boring — were printed regularly in the local newspapers. Many, understandably, were concerned with the state of Cornish mining. But others touched on all sorts of miscellaneous events, from the introduction of steam-drifters at Newlyn to the exploits of the Illogan tin-miners' brass band, all of them "... read with interest by our numerous readers who hail from Cornwall." On one occasion, a recipe for "Cornish Sea Pie" was published, while on another a rumour that "... the whole of the mines of Cornwall would shortly be taken over by an American trust..." was said to be "... doubted in some quarters locally". Particularly significant was the series of articles dealing with the visit of Captains Richard Cowling and Richard Eustace to Cornwall in 1907. Cowling talked of the joy of returning to "... dear old Cornwall..." after all his years of absence, and the People's Weekly took delight in reprinting an article from the Cornish Post which noted that Cowling had worked in Drakewalls mine and knew Gunnislake Clitters, while Eustice's "... associations with home mining were with Dolcoath, South Crofty, and Wheal Agar". Even more important was the telling comparison of Cornwall and Yorke Peninsula implicit in Cowling's description of a Cornish wrestling match at Saltash, when "Hundreds of Cousin Jacks ... came up by excursion train from different parts of Cornwall, and you would think by the remarks made, that you were at Moonta". Cowling recounted the wrestling match at some length, describing how Reuben Chapman — the Cornish champion — defeated J. Jefford of St. Austell, an indication that, even if the practice of Cornish wrestling had died out on Yorke Peninsula in the 1890s, there remained an interest in the sport (probably among the older settlers, who had participated in wrestling matches in their youths).
Although athletics, cricket, and Australian Rules Football had already replaced Cornish wrestling as the favourite sports of the younger generation on North Yorke Peninsula, many other aspects of Cornish culture remained an integral part of life in district. It is especially interesting that, while Midsummer Bonfires in Cornwall had all but disappeared by the early 1900s, and had to be rather self-consciously revived by the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies in 1929, they continued to be lit in a spontaneous fashion on North Yorke Peninsula until at least 1922 - a newspaper article on June 24th (Midsummer's Eve) of that year noting that "... as bushes and wood are conspicuous by their absence on the outskirts of Moonta and the Mines, bonfires such as they used to be are now almost a thing of the past". Euchre, an esoteric card-game much played in Cornwall, continued to be immensely popular on Yorke Peninsula (as it still is), while "swanky" - a kind of herby beer - could still be purchased in the local hotels as late as 1902. The Cornishman's love of singing was maintained, so that at Christmas in 1902 a service "... consisting of Cornish carols..." was held at East Moonta South Church, while "... carols and Cornish recitations..." were performed in the following year, and at Agery (near Moonta), in December 1909, a large crowd assembled to sing "... the good old Cornish carols". In 1904, it was reported that Jennie Opie, the Kadina-born choralist, was touring Japan, China, India, and Australia to sing to her enthusiastic audiences, while in October 1907 people thronged to the East Moonta Literary Society's meeting to hear Lesley Davey sing "Lead, Kindly Light" - a hymn which vied with "Trelawney" to become the Cornish national anthem.

The Moonta Mines Male Voice Choir, under the conductorship of Lesley Davey, was formed during 1913; while earlier, in
June 1904, one observer had commented that

If the history of the three Peninsula towns is written, that chapter having reference to their vocalists, instrumentalists, choral societies, opera companies & C, will form one of the most important and interesting records. \(^{43}\)

For in addition to the strong choral tradition, the Cornish practice of banding continued as strong as ever. North Yorke Peninsula was recognised as the hub of the Band Association of South Australia, and in 1904 the Association's championship at Wallaroo were attended by some 8,000 people. Although first place was won by the Pirie Excelsior Band, the competition was dominated by the Peninsula - the Moonta Commonwealth Band, the Moonta Mines Model Band, the Wallaroo Brass Band, the Wallaroo Mines Federal Band, and so on. \(^{44}\)

In their general behaviour, as well as their specific cultural activities, the Peninsula folk also exhibited what might be described as "Cornish traits". In March 1902, for example, the impending arrival of a new Methodist minister at Kadina caused much speculation and excitement, one report observing "... Cornish people are distinguished for a liking of two things - a new parson and a good pasty". \(^{45}\) Some, like Stanley Whitford, proudly proclaimed the Peninsula as "... our Cornish colony", \(^{46}\) while the accents and speech-patterns of the local populace remained very Cornish. Whitford himself cultivated his Cornish accent, perhaps for political reasons (he became a prominent Labor M.P.), and he noted that others born on the Peninsula also acquired a distinct accent. "You would think", he said, "that they came direct from Cornwall when you listened to their Cornish brogue." \(^{47}\) In the same way, it was reported in 1907 that Benjamin Rose "... was a native-born Australian, but coming of Cornish parents and having spent so many years in that Cornwall beneath the Southern Cross, Moonta, his speech betrayed his
Although these were manifestations of a living Cornish culture, Romantic, nostalgic perceptions of "Cornishness" became increasingly noticeable on North Yorke Peninsula in the period 1900-1914. In May 1902, for example, the Lord's Prayer in the Cornish language was published in the People's Weekly. This, of course, was not an attempt at language revival, but merely evidence of an antiquarian curiosity, for "Everything connected with Old Cornwall is always of the deepest interest to Montaives". 49 Similarly, in September 1903, an article on the Cornish language by the Rev. W.S. Lachszyrma, the celebrated Celtic philologist, was reprinted from the Cardiff Western Mail. 50 A piece on the Cornish in pre-Roman times appeared in January 1910, and in December 1904 an editorial in the People's Weekly compared Cornish and Breton legends pertaining to Christmas. 51 Christmas, indeed, always seemed to be an opportunity to remember Cornish ways, nostalgia no doubt being at its peak during the Festive Season. Cornish stories, either dialect or in ordinary English, were always popular. There was one entitled "A Backslider", 52 a tale of a wayward class-leader called Jabez Tremain; and in another, "Aunt Keziah at Corpus Christi Fair", many of the old Cornish sayings, such as "... laughing like a pixie...", 53 were perpetuated. The development of the cementation process for the retreatment of wastes at Moonta Mines was an opportunity for one Cousin Jack to compare it with techniques in Cornwall, through the medium of the dialect letter:

... tes jes like e was ome - down East Wheal Rose way. Ef they lef their shovels overnight in the water, wen the forenoon shif men come nex day the shovels was turned to solid copper. Wan day Cap'n Josiah Thomas, down Dolcoath, was standin talkin to another cap'n about the quarterly meetin', and they got talkin and talkin fer purty near an our; an wen e got up top he appen to look down to es boots, an all the nails was turned to copper! Es, sure nuff! 54
Slides shown at Wallaroo and Moonta in June 1908, with the aid of a "Bioptiscope", illustrated aspects of life in Cornwall (there were even "... 50 flash photos representing every phase of underground working in the deep mines..."\(^55\)). It was, as the People's Weekly said, a show that,"No Cornishmen should miss.."\(^56\) and, as might be expected, the slides proved a great success in the Peninsula towns. Recollections of the early days on North Yorke Peninsula became increasingly common in local newspapers during the 1900s, and amongst them were occasional reminiscences of life in Cornwall - such as those in April 1914, contributed to the People's Weekly by Captain Henry Bice, one-time manager of the Matta Para mine and formerly from St. Blazey, who recalled that his grandmother had been the first woman to preach with John Wesley in Cornwall.\(^57\) Also in 1914, Richard Buckstone wrote of "... those beautiful Cornish lanes covered with furze, brambles, daisies, & C, so dear to many old residents of Moonta and district",\(^58\) while in July 1910 "A Practical Miner" had recalled the celebrations that had attended the opening of a new shaft at Wheal Trelawney, near Menheniot, in East Cornwall:

I think that there are some in this district that can still remember the great festival in connection with that mine, and how the old Cornish miners heartily joined in singing -

And shall they scorn Tre, Pol and Pen,  
And shall Trelawney die?  
Then forty thousand Cornishmen  
Shall know the reason why,  
And shall Trelawney die, brave boys?  
And shall Trelawney die?  
Then forty thousand Cornishmen  
Shall know the reason why. \(^59\)

Perhaps the most obvious, or highly developed, manifestation of Romantic, nostalgic cultural change in this period, was the Moonta Methodists' "Olde Tyne Cornish Faire". The idea was first mooted in July 1902 when the local Methodists, wishing to raise funds to restore the parsonage, "... unanimously decided to hold
an old-time Cornish fair in the Institute..." 60 A report that "The young people have taken up the idea with great zeal..." 61 tells us much about their perceptions of "Cornishness"; and when the "Faire" was held finally in October it included - along with the inevitable pasty-baking and Carol singing - all sorts of activities which could only be described as "Cornish" in a most marginal sense, while the various stalls bore "Olde Tyme" titles such as "Ye Village Florists" and "Ye Village Craftsmen". 62

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Cultural development on North Yorke Peninsula, then, in the period between Federation and The Great War, was a complex process. To a considerable extent, too, it was personified in H. Lipson Hancock, the son of the celebrated Captain Hancock, his own attitudes and behaviour mirroring the cultural changes that were occurring. He had been born and bred in "Little Cornwall", spoke with a pronounced Cornish accent, and was generally considered a "Cousin Jack". One of his colleagues wrote that,

Lipson Hancock had all the Cornish virtues and only one of the vices. He was warm-hearted, hospitable, and genuinely concerned for the welfare of those under him. On Sunday afternoon he visited any old miner who was seriously ill. Lipson's one limitation - and he knew it - was that of suspiciousness, characteristic of Cornishmen. 63

But despite this apparent "Cornishness", H. Lipson Hancock regarded himself first and foremost as an Australian. This did not, however, prevent him from making the traditional pilgrimage to Cornwall (as had other Wallaroo and Moonta mine captains before him), but when he arrived there, his first impressions were exactly congruent with the Janus-like culture from which he came. On the one hand, he experienced feelings of affinity and "belonging", while on the other he knew that Cornwall - a
land he had never seen before - could never really be "home" for him. An article he wrote, describing his visit to Cornwall, succinctly captured these sentiments. He recalled that at Launceston on market-day,

... the crowds of country folk in the streets called up memories of home people at Moonta on Saturday nights. In fact, there is a strong feeling of being as near home in that district as it was ever possible to be, away from the true "homeland" by the sea in sunny South Australia. 64

Like many Cousin Jacks, H. Lipson Hancock was a mining man and an official of the Methodist Church, and, in accordance with the Cornish tradition, took a keen interest in mining welfare policies. However, in spite of this strong Cornish influence, in each of these areas he adopted attitudes and programmes which were to some extent novel, and diverged from normal Cornish practice. In the mining sphere, for example, he was a qualified mining engineer, having graduated from the Ballarat School of Mines, in contrast to his father and other "practical miners" who had worked their way up to be captains. And while many Cornish captains tended to be conservative in their ways, but with a flair for improvisation, H. Lipson Hancock was a meticulous and methodical perfectionist - a man almost obsessed with his concern for order, rationality, and progress. For example, he opposed the use of the term "Captain" to describe a mine manager (although it remained in use, even in company records, at Wallaroo and Moonta until 191865), and was responsible for ending the old Cornish practice of measuring mine depths in fathoms, adopting instead the standard unit of the foot.

In 1895, H. Lipson Hancock assumed full-time management of the Wallaroo and Moonta mines, but being still responsible to his semi-retired father, while in August 1898 he gained control in his own right as General Superintendent. He embarked upon a
"... a bold and enterprising..." programme of development, and in the space of only a few years he transformed Wallaroo and Moonta from typical, rather old-fashioned, Cornish mines to modern, highly mechanized industrial units -- the old Cornish engines and their stone-built houses, and the flimsy "shears" standing above the shafts, giving way to enormous corrugated-iron power-houses and gigantic head frames. At Moonta Mines, where only low-grade ore was left, underground work was allowed to decline, and greater attention focused on the retreatment of wastes through the cementation process. Whereas Moonta had been the more important of the two mines in the period to 1890, after the amalgamation it was Wallaroo which proved the most successful. Production there increased from an average of 2,000 tons per annum in the years before 1895, to over 3,000 tons per annum in the post 1901 era. There was a considerable movement of personnel and machinery from Moonta to Wallaroo, and much of the capital investment undertaken in the 1900s was concentrated on the latter mine.

Two boom periods, 1905-7 and 1911-18, accounted for the steady prosperity of the Wallaroo and Moonta company, the decline and collapse in 1919-23 being not at all typical of the firm's experience in the twentieth-century. By 1918, the company's profits since amalgamation in 1890 totalled £1,301,000 (although this was reduced to £950,000 by 1923), despite the extremely high costs involved in H. Lipson Hancock's development policies. The average number of employees in the twentieth-century was 1,900, the maximum being in 1906 when there were 2,700 men at work in the Mines and smelters. In terms of overall performance, the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines, with H. Lipson Hancock at the helm, produced as much ore as had been raised in the pre-amalgamation era, while completely outliving the Cornish
H. Lipson Hancock's efforts were responsible to a considerable degree for this success. As early as 1898, he had realised that, with the Moonta lodes becoming increasingly worked-out, the Wallaroo Mines would have to be revitalised, with development work there being "... vigorously pushed forward". In 1899 he secured the Board's support for wide ranging capital expenditure, and by October 1900 was pressing ahead with the sinking of a new main winding shaft at Young's, Wallaroo Mines, an enterprise which was estimated to cost £15,000 over 3 years. Nearly £14,000 was expended on machinery for the Moonta cementation process during 1900 and 1901, with underground work there being concentrated in the old stopes to the north of Taylor's Shaft where ore-bearing arches had been left standing in the early days. Several railway locomotives were ordered from companies in Britain during the early 1900s, and winding machinery was purchased from James Martin's Foundry at Gawler. The disastrous fire at Taylor's Shaft, Wallaroo Mines, in January 1904, when the Cornish engine in use there was destroyed, along with much of the shaft, was at first a check to this developmental work. But the company was able to make a virtue out of necessity by incorporating the sinking of a new shaft and the installation of new machinery (including electric underground pumps) into the general modernisation programme. H. Lipson Hancock estimated that although this "repair work" was to cost £25,700, it would nevertheless save £25,600 over the following five years, as a result of increased inefficiency. J. Moyle, the chief pitman, was sent to the Great Boulder Mine, Western Australia, to observe the latest shaft-sinking techniques, so that the new Taylors' could be sunk with the greatest expedition. By the end of 1905,
not only had the new shaft been completed, but also underground pumps had been installed, and a new head-frame and winding house erected. 71

This increased cost, however, coming as it did on top of already high developmental expenditure, alarmed the more cautious Directors, and H. Lipson Hancock was accused of recklessness and extravagance in a manner entirely reminiscent of the complaints made against his father's expansionist policies many years before. In reaction to criticism from the Directors, Hancock protested that,

... much advantage to the Company had already accrued by the progressive policy which he had adopted and would still have accrued but for the unfortunate fire at Wallaroo Mines. He considered, in view of the skill and devotion shown by the great majority of the Company's officers, the remarks of the visiting Directors reflected on all concerned and were not warranted by the circumstances. 72

The Directors bowed to Hancock's superior mining knowledge, as it had done in earlier days to his father's, and withdrew their criticisms. It was significant, too, that less than six months later they were sanctioning the expenditure of £109,000 for new pumps, and extensions to the Devon Concentrating Plant and Central Steam Plant at Wallaroo Mines. Development continued through 1906 and 1907, although in August 1907 the Board warned "... Mr. Hancock that the cost of production must be kept down so as to allow for a fair margin of profits...". 73 During 1908, Hancock visited Europe and North America to inspect the latest mining and smelting techniques, and by 1909 he was back in "Little Cornwall" - planning an expenditure of £20,000 for new equipment at Wallaroo Mines. 74 By 1911, the Directors were freely admitting to Hancock that if they had not allowed his extensive modernisation programme to proceed, then they
would have been in a less satisfactory position. This was especially true in the light of the continued poor performance of the Moonta Mines where, as Hancock said, production was more or less confined to "... the working of fragments of ore left in the earlier days...." During 1913, Hancock instigated prospecting work on the Moonta property to try to locate new ore bodies, and in 1914 he launched a new "Ventilation and Special Development Scheme" for Wallaroo Mines. However, all this was cut short by the outbreak of war in August 1914 when, with closure of the European markets (Germany was hitherto a prime importer of Australian copper) all operations at Moonta and Wallaroo were temporarily suspended, with the exception of pumping, maintenance, and cementation.

Associated with his mining policy, and again reflecting the often contradictory influences of both his Cousin Jack up-bringing and his love of progress, was the "Betterment Principle" formulated by H. Lipson Hancock - the formalising and rationalising of the company's hitherto ad hoc welfare policies into a unified, coherent set of regulations and practices. Lipson Hancock felt that the coercion implicit in both Factory legislation and Trade Union activity was unjustified (and certainly an affront to liberal values), and argued instead that the onus was on the employer to provide satisfactory working conditions and amenities for his workers. At first, his espousal of these views was merely a logical extension of his father's already well-tried welfare policies. In 1896, for example, when Lipson Hancock first came to power, it was decided to pay the fare to Britain of one George Metherall, a young lad injured underground, to allow him to undergo a specialist operation there. And in the same year, Captain Hancock pressed successfully for a donation of £10 to £20 to the Wallaroo Mines Brass Band.
Lipson Hancock felt that such policies were useful "... from a political point of view..." because it increased the company's control over the men and won their loyalty (an indication that mining welfare policies were never entirely altruistic), and was careful to follow his father's example. When William Latham, another young lad, was badly mangled by the crusher at Moonta Mines, Lipson Hancock recommended the payment of £90 so that the youth could be placed in a Home for Incurables, and on another occasion he organised the donation of land at East Wallaroo to the "Wallaroo Benevolent Society" for their proposed old-folks' home.

By 1912, however, Lipson Hancock had decided the present welfare system was untidy and in need of review. Consequently, he developed his "Betterment Principle", which he explained at some length in his booklet describing the mines (first published in 1914), and in an article "Welfare Work in the Mining Industry" which appeared in October 1918. The best exposition of Hancock's welfare work, however, was the report by L.C.E. Gee, Chief Registrar of Mines, in the South Australian Department of Mines Mining Review for the half-year ended June 1919. Gee noted that 1,008 men, or 65.59 per cent of the workforce at Wallaroo and Moonta, had been employed in the mines for a period of ten years or more - a measure of the company's success in retaining its labour - while only 81 men, or 5.27 per cent, had been employed for less than a year. At the same time, Gee thought it was significant that 1,069 employees lived in their own houses (albeit mostly on the mineral leases), while only 122 lived in rented accommodation. He noted that at the Wallaroo smelting-works there were baths, changing-houses, and a general impression of "... tidiness, space, and light", and that at Wallaroo plots of land were sold freehold to employees on easy terms. In Oct-
ober 1912, for example, James Henry Chynoweth secured allotment No. 222 at East Wallaroo, on which to build a house, and in the November Clarence William Opie acquired allotment No. 212. At Moonta Mines there was a vigorous tree-planting programme to improve the appearance of the area, and in addition the company either supplied or contributed to the Moonta Mines Institute, the reference and circulating libraries, a billiards room, recreation hall, rotunda, tennis courts, and children's playgrounds. Similar amenities were provided at Wallaroo Mines, including a pavilion, croquet lawns, a hockey-pitch, and a bowling green with twelve rinks and "... a good club house".

In addition to benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act, the company maintained its Club and Medical Fund. Married men, for example, contributed 1s per week to the Medical Fund and 6d to the Club, while boys earning less than 5s per week contributed 3d to both the Fund and the Club. An adult employee unable to attend work through illness could claim 20s per week from the Fund for up to six months, and would then receive 10s per week for a further six months. Boys would receive half these rates. Gee also saw the sliding scale of wage determination, introduced by H.L. Hancock in the 1900s, as part of the general "Betterment Principle", and argued that profit-sharing of this nature was preferable to this nature was preferable to the usual employee/employer relationship - an echo of earlier defences of the tribute and tute work systems.

And if the "Betterment Principle" was a model of clarity and order, then H.L. Hancock's "Rainbow System" of Sunday School organisation was little short of authoritarian rigidity. At the time of Methodist Union in South Australia in 1900, the former Primitive Methodist chapel at Moonta Mines became the local
Sunday School. H. Lipson Hancock was later appointed its Superintendent, and in 1905, at his request, "... the teachers were called upon to consider the Departmental Plan of Sunday School teaching with a view of securing for this large Sunday School the best possible scheme of reorganization". The "Rainbow System" had already been tried with considerable success at the Marion Lawrance School at Toledo, Ohio, and it was decided to implement its Departmental Plan at Moonta Mines. As H.L. Hancock later explained,

This meant a complete reconstruction, necessitating careful thought and much wisdom, and involving considerable expense. The whole teaching arrangements had to be reorganized and suitable rooms provided, together with the needed apparatus for teaching. Led by the present Superintendent of the School (i.e. himself), the teachers undertook the reconstruction.

In fact, Hancock's approach to Sunday School reorganisation was in many ways similar to his modernisation programme at the Mines themselves, illustrating again his love of progress and providing further insights into his personality. Wooden huts were erected alongside the old chapel, providing accommodation for the various Departments or "Grades", and it was not long before the system was in full operation. The School consisted of ten Grades, ranging from the "Cradle Roll", for children from infancy to 3 years, to the "Home Grade", for those too old or infirm to attend the School itself. Although the emphasis was naturally on the children - there were the Beginners, Kindergarten, Primary, Junior, Advanced Junior and Intermediate Grades - there was also the "Senior Grade", for those from 16 to 23, and an "Adult Grade", for people aged 23 and upwards. To administer the system there were no less than 22 different committees - the "Prayer and Visitation Committee", the "Statistical Department Committee", the "Mothers' Meeting Committee", and so on - while the actual "Rainbow" course of instruction consisted of a number
of pre-determined lessons, commencing with "Lesson 1: The Bible and how we got it" and continuing with a systematic examination of Christianity, culminating in "Lesson 100: The Call of China". 91 There were four additional "Review" lessons to conclude the course, and a whole set of Biblical pictures was provided as illustrations.

The actual practice of the Moonta Mines Sunday School was as rigid and systematic as the "Rainbow" theory. To meet the strict standards set by H. Lipson Hancock, every teacher had to have a firm grasp of "... the principles that underlie the statements of scripture...", 92 and ought to "Guard against teaching anything that will not bear the test of the strictest examination...". 93 Satisfactory results, insisted Hancock, "... can only be attained by efficient teachers", 94 for those who were less than competent placed the scholars "... in danger of moral shipwreck". 95 Sunday School meetings were conducted according to a regimented and unvarying code of behaviour. One visitor to the School remarked, with a mixture of admiration and amazement, that at each meeting

A large card suspended before the superintendent's (i.e. Hancock's) desk bore the legend "I am early". A minute or so prior to the opening of the service this was replaced by another bearing the words "I am only just in time". When the service began, a third card appeared announcing "I am late"... Among the mottoes on the walls, "Study to be quiet" was prominent. 96

If for any reason a scholar was unable to attend a meeting, then he had to have his "Sickness and Out of District EXCUSE CARD" filled in, the appropriate reason for absence first having to be approved by the Departmental Secretary. Hancock himself determined the procedure to be adopted at each meeting, and his almost incredible attention to detail is revealed in his instruc-
tions for the opening formalities:

After the removal of hats and cloaks, under supervision, the different sections are formed into line, headed in each case by the leader of the day. The procession, to the accompaniment of music, passes through the Kindergarten room on its way to main hall for the opening exercises, a junior teacher taking a place after every third scholar. One teacher or helper should be available, if possible, for every three scholars, but at least one for every four or five scholars. 97

Many other examples of the Moonta Mines Sunday School's rather extraordinary mode of operation could also be furnished. But despite its rigidity, the "Rainbow System" seems to have enjoyed considerable success. By 1918, no less than 7,000 visitors had been received at the School, and other Sunday Schools in and around the "Little Cornwall" district - at Yelta, Angery, Paskeville, Greens Plains West, and Wallaroo Mines - had attempted to adopt the system. 98

—-IV——

Although in many ways novel, the "Rainbow System", being stern and somewhat Puritanical, was not out of character with the broad stream of Victorian-Edwardian nonconformity. However, it was never really in tune with traditional Cornish Methodism, which tended to be more exuberant and emotional, and was thus in one sense yet another aspect of cultural change. It was significant that Hancock's system was sometimes criticised for a lack of spiritual meaning, while outside of the Sunday School, much of the old Cornish fervour remained. During the John Wesley Bicentenary celebrations in 1903, for example, there was said to have been "... a stirring time..."99 at Cross Roads (near Moonta), while at Kadina and Wallaroo the congregations bellowed out the "... Old Methodist tunes..."100 with all the vigour they could muster. In 1905, there was a great Revival in the Moonta Circuit, reminiscent of those of earlier days, it being recorded
that "... about 180 or 190 have definitely decided for Christ..."
In many houses there is great joy."\textsuperscript{101} Not long after, the
 evangelical Barrett Brothers visited the Peninsula towns, pre-
 precipitating another wave of religious excitement. Capturing
the mood of the occasion, one observer wrote:

Glory! Glory!! Glory!!! Glory be to the Father, and to
the Son, and to the Holy Ghost! Yes, we have had the
Barrett Brothers on the Mines and have had a glorious
time. If you don't believe it, come and see: Oh, such
a revival! \textsuperscript{102}

In other ways, too, the Cornish influence remained strong
in the South Australian Methodist Church, although it also be-
came increasingly Romantic and nostalgic. News from Cornwall
items were published from time to time in the \textit{Australian Christian
Commonwealth}, the State's Methodist journal, which was in circu-
lation, not only on North Yorke Peninsula, but all over South
Australia - the editor actually being resident in Adelaide.
These items served to perpetuate Methodist links with Cornwall
(at a time when most of the Cornish-born clergy were supernum-
neries, or had even died). In August 1903, for example, the
journal's readers learnt of a revival in the Hicks' Mill Circuit,
and of the installation of new organs at the Carharrack and
Greenbottom Bible Christian chapels, while also receiving details
of the relative strengths of the churches at Redruth, Camborne,
Bodmin, and Week St. Mary, and hearing about the opening of a
new chapel at Torpoint. In February 1904, there was a report on
the Bible Christian Quarterly Meeting at St. Columb, and an
account of friction between the Bible Christians and Wesleyans
at St. Dennis.\textsuperscript{103} Of particular interest to the readers, was
the reprinting of an article from the \textit{Cornishman} newspaper, in
1902, describing how the Rev. G.E. Rowe - a man who "... can tell
a Cornish story exceptionally well...",\textsuperscript{104} and was the first
President of the Western Australian Conference - had now taken
up duties in the St. Austell Circuit. Articles on the Cornish
involvement in early South Australian Methodism also appeared on
occasions. In July 1903, the Australian Christian Commonwealth,
published a letter sent from John Wesley to one Richard Rodda
in 1789 – the original apparently having been brought to South
Australia from Cornwall by Captain Richard Rodda in 1846, and
having fallen into the hands of "A lady member of the Mount
Gambier Church..." to the south-east of the State.

Later, in 1912, an article entitled "Methodism in Angaston"
recalled the "... amount... cheerfully paid by the open-handed
Captain Rodda..." to construct the Penrice chapel in 1856.
The same piece also described the opening of the "Edwin Davey
Methodist Hall" (Davey being another Cornish pioneer) at Angas-
ton in 1911, when the Rev. G.K. Haslam "... gave his lecture
on 'Cornwall and The Cornish', delighting the audience with his
quaint stories concerning the vagaries of 'Cousin Jack'...", the
proceedings being concluded with "A Cornish pasty supper...".

In another article, appearing in the Australian Christian
Commonwealth in August 1906, the Rev. R. Lang recalled that he
had personally met Billy Bray, the famous Cornish lay-preacher,
while several issues of the journal carried fictional "Cornish
Stories". During 1904 there was the long-running serial,
"David Trewithen – Minister", in which the characters bore
ridiculously exaggerated Cornish names, such as "Mr. Polskiddy".

In January 1909, there was a story entitled "Polwhinnick
Folk", while in December 1910 S. Trevena Jackson contributed
an item, "The Cornish Xmas", in which he painted a cozy, nos-
talgic picture of Cornwall preparing for Christmas – the miners
practising their Carols, the mothers baking saffron cakes, and
the boys and girls decorating the snug, Cornish cottages. There
was not, Jackson said, "... a more God-fearing, law-abiding,
Sabbath-keeping, home-loving people than the Cornish Christians".

The Romantic, nostalgic element, then, had become perceptibly stronger, even within the Methodist Church. As early as 1906, it had manifested itself in a letter submitted to the Australian Christian Commonwealth by the Rev. W.F. James — one of South Australia's greatest Methodist ministers, an architect of the Union in 1900 — describing his journey home to Cornwall:

Crossing the River Tamar we were glad to be again in dear old Cornwall. The little fields, with their hedges covered with grass and small trees, the narrow winding lanes and roads; the cosy, two-storied houses, surrounded by gardens and orchards, decked with blossom; the woods, with every shade of green; and delightful valleys, with here and there a gentleman's residence, all thrilled me with rapture, and made us realise that Cornwall was even more beautiful than we thought it. Passing Bodmin Road, Lostwithiel, Par, and St. Austell, familiar in the long ago, we reached snug, clean and well-situated Truro, the chief place in the delightful duchy.

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Politically, the Cornish Methodist influence in South Australia remained important, and was a tangible force into the 1900s. Again, articles in the Australian Christian Commonwealth are evidence of this. In 1903, the journal could hardly contain its glee over Conservative by-election losses in Britain, occurring as a result of "... Liberal and Nonconformist..." opposition to the Education Act. And then, in 1904, there appeared an article on "Christian Socialism", in which it was argued that "... Methodism and Socialism are great and true expressions of the Gospel...". John Langdon Bonython was, at that time, one of the Methodist Church's greatest benefactors in South Australia, and, although he had not been brought up in the Labor-orientated atmosphere of the mining towns, he seemed to have inherited much of the Cornish Radical disposition — perhaps from his father, who was a typical lower middle-class Methodist. Although Bonython did not enter formal politics until 1901, he
had gained considerable political influence before that date through his ownership of the *Advertiser* newspaper. His passion for education was perhaps one manifestation of his liberal leanings, and, although he tried to be "... independent and outside of influence...", he was often identified with South Australia's more Radical politicians. John McConnell Black, in his somewhat biased but always colourful Memoirs, wrote that Bonython "... was the power behind the throne which dominated several South Australian Ministries, notably those of Cockburn and Kingston..." (both Radical Liberals). This, while no doubt overstating the case, illustrates the degree of Bonython's political involvement and confirms his Radical sympathies.

Under Bonython's guidance, the *Advertiser* became "Politically... the fearless exponent of a liberal and progressive policy, and exercised considerable influence in the State and Federal sphere". It had taken an active part in the Federation debate, where it had pressed for "... a democratic federation with the principle of State Rights carefully preserved..." and had "... pioneered the advocacy of a popularly elected Senate". After Federation had been secured, Bonython entered Federal politics, and became a Protectionist Member of the House of Representatives - representing South Australia from 1901-3, and the constituency of Barker from 1903-6. He was a popular figure in South Australia generally, but in the 1901 election he was able to rely especially upon the Cornish vote; partly on account of his political views, but also because he was Cornish. As one observer recalled, Bonython had then just returned from a visit to Cornwall, and while campaigning at Moonta was called upon to give an account of his Cornish experiences: "Not a word was said about politics, but all the votes were caught".
As a Protectionist, Bonython had a natural affinity with Labor M.H.R.s, and with the Radical Liberals. It was not surprising, then, that he lent his support to "Affable Alfie" Deakin; and, when Deakin formed his new Ministry in mid-1905, Bonython firmly expected to take office as a Government Minister. In the event, Bonython was excluded but, despite his disappointment, he remained committed to the Deakin Radical Liberal faction, explaining that "... (I) promise you loyal support, even if such support brings neither consideration nor reward". The Labor Party, however, responded to Bonython's willingness to support Radical causes. In June 1906 the Labor Federal Parliamentary Caucus discussed the issue of "Immunity", identifying those pro-Labor "Independents" who would be allowed to stand in the forthcoming election without opposition from official Labor Party candidates. In the whole of Australia, only eleven M.H.R.s were granted "Immunity". Two of these were South Australians – C.C. Kingston (the former South Australian Premier; a Radical Liberal, and a colleague of Bonython) and John Langdon Bonython himself. This "Immunity" was approved by the U.L.P. in South Australia, thus cementing the Labor-Bonython pact. As the election drew closer, Bonython decided that he would stand down, and not recontest his Parliamentary seat. This may have been as a result of his failure to obtain office in 1905, although at the time he attributed his retirement from Parliament to the pressure of work and other commitments in Adelaide. Thus the Labor-Bonython agreement was never brought into action, its real significance being that it was evidence of the goodwill and trust that had existed between Bonython and the Labor M.H.R.s in the Federal Parliament.

Bonython enjoyed an amazingly long career as a public figure, ranging from the 1870s to the 1930s. When he died on 22nd
October 1939, at the great age of 91, he left an immense fortune, ranging between one and two million pounds. For many years he had been the "Grand Old Man" of South Australia, and had created for himself an extensive personal "Empire", being involved with numerous societies, charities, and other organisations. He had been created a Knight Bachelor in 1898, a CMG in 1908, and a KCMG in 1919. In 1921 he gave £40,000 to the University of Adelaide for the construction of a Great Hall, and he donated the funds which enabled the State Parliament building to be completed in celebration of South Australia's centenary in 1936. In 1924 he represented Australia as a Commissioner at the British Empire Exhibition, and served in various other official capacities on other occasions. Socially and economically, therefore, Bonython became part of the Adelaide "Establishment" structure. He certainly enjoyed the prestige which derived from his standing as a prominent public figure, in 1909 writing angrily to Deakin when Stirling was created a KCMG over his head (or so he thought), and later pressuring the S.A. Premier, R.L. Butler, to secure for him a Baronetcy: "Is there to be no recognition of hundred and seventy thousand given to Government and University", he wrote. In earlier days, Bonython's great aim in life was to retire to Cornwall, but, according to McConnell Black, he later discarded this ambition for he had "... concluded that it was better to be the most powerful personage in South Australia than to become a Cornish country gentleman". But despite all this, Bonython never lost his Radical sympathies - or at least his Radical reputation, as perceived by his critics and enemies. Indeed, it was rumoured that he was refused membership of the "Adelaide Club" - a bulwark of the local "Establishment" - until 1928 "... because of his liberal views". Sir Lavington Bonython, his "... conservative and less able son...", had become a member in 1911.
If the Parliamentary career of John Langdon Bonython in the period 1901-6 represented the high-point of South Australia's Cornish Radical Tradition at the Federal level, then its greatest triumph (and, paradoxically its greatest failure) at the State level was the Premiership of John Verran in 1910-12. Verran was a Cornishman, born in Gwennap (although several reports say Helston) in July 1856, and as a youngster was employed as a pickey-boy at Kapunda. As a youth he moved to Moonta Mines, where he worked underground until his election to the South Australian Parliament in 1901. McConnell Black recalled that Verran "... was the typical Cornish miner, with his burly frame, his goatee and general exuberance", 129 and there can be little doubt that Verran's working-class, Cornish background accounted for his popularity amongst the Peninsula miners. He was President of the Moonta Branch of the Amalgamated Miners' Association from 1895 until 1913, and the Advertiser was certainly correct when it observed in 1910 that "Mr. Verran is the more popular at the Peninsula towns because only nine years ago he was working with his three sons at the 360 fathom level at Taylor's shaft in Moonta...".130 As a committed trade unionist, Verran, not surprisingly, became involved in the United Labor Party; and as with other South Australian Cornishmen, his political views were derived from his religious convictions. He was brought up in the Primitive Methodist Church, the most radical of the Methodist denominations, and became a local preacher and a Rechabite. When the Rev. Brian Wibberly addressed the Moonta mines on the subject of "Christian Socialism" in May 1904, none cheered louder than Verran when the materialist, anti-Christian socialism of Karl Marx was condemned.131 In the pulpit, Verran mixed religious teaching with political debate, an article in the Plain Dealer in 1911 noting that in a sermon delivered at Wallaroo Mines Methodist Church, Verran used the parable of the Barren Fig Tree to
attack "... modern commercialism...". On another occasion, he said "... that his M.P. (membership of Parliament) was due to his P.M. (Primitive Methodism)...", while one report asserted that "Had not Methodism first made him a preacher, politics could not know him now as Premier". To those who argued that religion had no place in politics, Verran answered:

Religion is citizenship, and the relationship between religion and politics is very close... When we come to justice and righteousness and truth these are great elementary principles of religion which affect the base of our manhood. Religion is not a question of going to heaven. It is a question of living and making the world better for having been in it... 

John Verran was first elected to the State Parliament in June 1901 at a by-election, having promised in his campaign to pursue "... liberal measures...". He also pledged himself to reform of the Legislative Council, South Australia's always conservative Upper House, a commitment to which he adhered, even though it precipitated the collapse of his Ministry in 1912. In the State Election of 1902, Verran was returned with a handsome majority, in Moonta 1690 of the 1064 votes cast being in his favour. He again topped the polls in 1905 and 1906, the main political issue at that time being reform of the Legislative Council. The so-called Price-Peake Coalition of Labor and Radical Liberals was returned with increased strength in 1906, but despite this clear mandate given to the Government, only minor reforms were conceded by the Legislative Council. And then in May 1909, Tom Price, the Premier and Labor leader, died. He was replaced by A.H. Peake, the Radical leader of the "Liberal and Democratic Union", but a number of Labor M.P.'s refused to serve under him because the Labor Party was the dominant coalition partner and ought, they argued, to have the right to determine who was to succeed Price as Premier. As a result, Peake was thrown into a new alliance with country and conservative members.
Verran, in the meantime, had replaced Price as leader of the Labor Party, and in the election of April 1910 the U.L.P. was swept into office for the first time in its existence. It had a clear mandate for reform, not only of the Legislative Council but on a wide number of special issues, and it was further encouraged by the Labor victories in New South Wales and at the Federal level, and by Asquith's success in Britain. In "Little Cornwall", Verran was supported by all but the conservative Kadina and Wallaroo Times (which made pathetic attempts to discredit him in the eyes of the miners\textsuperscript{139}), and his glorious return to the Peninsula after his victory was almost in the nature of a Roman Triumph. The Kadina and Wallaroo Times claimed that the "demonstrations which greeted Verran were "... the most miserable specimens of his irresponsibility... Torches and bands and wild words, and gesticulations..."\textsuperscript{140} but a less jaundiced account recorded that

There could be no doubt as to the warmth of the welcome which the Cornish miners sought to give to their President on his being raised to place and power, and the gathering will mark an epoch in the history of Moonta. Bunting was flying all over the town, and all Moonta and his wife were out to take part in the gathering. At Kadina and at Wallaroo hundreds of workers joined the train, and the scene on arrival at Moonta was an animated one. The Wallaroo town band and the combined Moonta Commonwealth and Model brass bands discoursed music as the train drew up to the platform...\textsuperscript{141}

There followed speeches, and cheering, and even the shedding of tears. But the euphoria was illusory, for the Labor victory had the effect of galvanising the hitherto disparate non-Labor factions into a new and strong Opposition force. Ironically, several of the prime movers in this progress towards Opposition unity were Cornishmen, two of them being former Labor supporters to boot. John George Rice, a Methodist from Callington in East Cornwall, was a Radical Liberal who had supported the U.L.P. in the 1890s (although he had never joined its ranks),
and ideologically he was not far removed from the moderate
democratic socialism of the Labor Party in South Australia. In
1906, however, with both the socialists and the conservatives
becoming more organised, Bice argued that the liberals, too,
should consolidate and he was instrumental in the organisation
of the Liberal and Democratic Union. This Union, lead by Peake,
was in turn fused with the Farmers' and Producers' Political
Union and the Australian National League to form the United Lib-
eral Union in June 1910, less than a month after Labor's victory.
The Farmers' and Producers' Political Union had been formed in
1904 (one of its founding members being W.J. Venning, a Cornish
farmer at Crystal Brook). Its organising secretary was David
Morley Charleston, the Cornishman who had pioneered the growth
of the U.L.P. and had been one of the first Labor M.P.s in the
South Australian Parliament. He had resigned from the U.L.P. in
1897, however, and had become increasingly indentified with the
liberal elements of the rural interest groups. With Verran's
victory in 1910, he too, like Bice, was pushed further to the
right and became part of the consolidated opposition. The Corn-
ish Radical Tradition involved an essentially moderate, middle-
of-the-road political stance (rather like the U.L.P. of the
1890s), a position that was difficult to maintain in times of
political polarization. It suffered, therefore, in 1910 when
like-minded men such as Verran, Bice and Charleston were forced
into opposing camps; and was further undermined by the crisis
of 1912 and the controversies surrounding both the Conscription
Issue in 1916 and the Premiers' Plan in 1933. In short, the
Cornish political inheritance became increasingly inappropriate
in the South Australian context as the twentieth-century
progressed.
The fortunes of John Verran and his Government are in a number of ways reminiscent of Gough Whitlam's experience in modern times -- the lurching from one trauma to another, the determined opposition of conservative and Establishment forces, confrontation with Vice-Regal power, the intransigence of the Upper House, and the Labor Party's loss of credibility culminating in electoral defeat and the leader's political demise.

T.H. Smeaton, writing in 1914, recalled that

The path trodden by the Verran Government was not at any time a smooth one; beset as it was by snares skilfully laid by its enemies, as well as by obstacles which were heedlessly cast there by its friends. 142

The Government's first year in office, 1910, was characterised by industrial strife, there being some half-a-dozen major incidents in Adelaide. Verran was placed in a dilemma, for on the one hand, as a trade unionist, his sympathies were naturally with the strikers, while on the other, as Premier, he had to take action to curtail the conflict. The Opposition was able to make political capital out of this situation, claiming that the Government was a pawn in the hands of the Trade Unions and predicting a breakdown of law and order. In December 1910, the Adelaide cart-drivers strike broke out -- an episode which proved particularly damaging to Verran. As before, it was felt by many that he was in league with the strikers, an attitude epitomised by the comments of John McConnell Black:

Jack Verran took a jovial interest in the strike and Gunn, the secretary of the union, used to stroll across Victoria Square from the Trades Hall and consult with the Premier, who sat smoking his short pipe with his legs up on the fence of his boarding house in Landrowna Terrace... 143

The Municipal Tramways Trust, in order to supply its power-house with coal, employed volunteer strike-breakers (some of them armed with pistols) to drive its carts. These volunteers
were intercepted by the striking drivers, and a near-riot ensued. The Governor was a witness to the disturbances, and he summoned Verran to Government House, telling him that his commission would be withdrawn if he was not competent to maintain order in the streets. It was even rumoured that the Governor had threatened to call a gun-boat to Port Adelaide. In the end, the strike was settled peaceably, with the drivers securing better pay and conditions, but great damage had already been done to Verran and his Government. The Opposition was careful to exploit the situation to the full, and it was given additional ammunition in the form of the State mining controversy. In 1910 and 1911, Verran acquired the Wandilta, Yelta and Paramatta mines, all on North Peninsula, and proceeded to work them as State enterprises. This "nationalisation" was seen as evidence of Verran's supposed commitment to "advanced socialism" by his opponents, although it was a genuine desire to expand the mining industry rather than ideological dogma which lay behind his actions. Verran thought it a great pity that copper mines "... should be languishing for want of capital..." (at one of the mines he considered purchasing, Verran argued that all that was needed was "... a good Cornish lift pump to get the water out ..."), and asserted that it was preferable to revitalise the Yorke Peninsula mines than to attempt to open new untried properties in the isolated far-north.

However, Verran's handling of the State mining scheme was inept, revealing a fundamental lack of political acumen, and he needlessly lay himself open to criticism. He enraged conservative opinion when he purchased the Yelta and Paramatta mines without reference to Parliament, and to the accusation that he had acquired the properties before seeking the opinion of mining experts, Verran replied arrogantly that "I am not going to
officers who don't know as much about mining as I do". The fact that Verran was himself a Cornish miner, and that the purchased properties all lay within his own constituency of Wallaroo, made his actions appear as blatant favouritism. The Labor-sponsored Daily Herald defended the purchases, but the Register considered that he was "... wasting public money in a vain attempt to resurrect an abandoned property in his district". Businessmen in "Little Cornwall" supported Verran, although Captain Richard Cowling thought him over-optimistic in his estimation of the mines' worth, while the Kadina and Wallaroo Times condemned the concept of State ownership. Given the ultimate demise of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines in 1923, it is difficult to imagine that Verran's State enterprise would have been successful in the long-term. However, his initial decision to purchase the mines was perhaps not as economically incompetent as the Opposition was able to suggest at the time. While it was true that the Yelta and Paramatta mines had lost £200,000 in the eight years before July 1911, Verran could show that the Yelta had made a profit of £1,000 per month in the early 1900s and that heavy losses in recent years had been incurred through bad management. He envisaged a profit of 3½ to 4 per cent on capital invested, and noted that the two properties had been bought for only £6,000 while the smelting plant at Yelta was worth £20,000 alone. As it happened, the mines were never really given the opportunity to prove themselves (or to benefit from the high copper prices during The Great War), for they were closed down by the new Government in 1913.

In addition to the cart-drivers' strike and the State mining controversy, the Opposition was able to exploit the Government's practice of "tacking" - the attaching of provisions for new, hitherto indiscussed, public works to the Appropriation
(Budget) Bill. The Opposition argued that "tacking" was a device by which Verran was able to push through legislation of a "socialist" nature, without proper Parliamentary scrutiny. In the Appropriation Bill presented to Parliament in December 1911 there was a "tacked" provision for the establishment of a State Brickworks. This was used as a pretext by the conservative-dominated Legislative Council (the Upper House) to defer the Bill, an action tantamount to the refusal of the Government's Supply. It came as the climax to a series of confrontations between Verran and the Legislative Council. Verran was, of course, the Council's declared enemy, and already there had been several clashes - the most significant being in September 1911 when the Council had rejected - for the second time - the "Council Veto Bill" (a measure designed to limit the powers of the Legislative Council). It had also rejected, laid aside, or permitted to lapse, more than a dozen other Bills - all of them reformist - and with the refusal of Supply, Verran secretly approached "Wait-and-See" Asquith, asking for Crown intervention for "... the Constitution to be so amended by an Imperial Act as to enable the matured will of the people of South Australia on these and all other questions to become law". Asquith replied that it would not be proper for him to intervene, and, following an abortive joint sitting of both Houses, Verran decided he had no alternative but to dissolve Parliament and hold an election.

The "... brief and spirited..." election campaign which followed was described at the time as "... the most important and fiercest political battle ever fought in South Australia..." Verran bitterly attacked Peake, calling him "... a political rogue..." and condemning him and his "...so-called Liberals...(for)... turning from Democrat to Conservative..."
With the Government already discredited and unable to get its programme through Parliament, it was not surprising that the Labor Party was defeated badly in the election. The only constituency not to follow the anti-Labor trend was Wallaroo, where Verran’s "running-mate", J.A. Southwood, defeated the sitting Liberal, Peter Allen — an indication of the survival of an independent political culture among the miners of North Yorke Peninsula. Verran was personally discredited by the defeat of February 1912, and he resigned from the Labor leadership in the following year. Although he attributed this resignation to his wife’s ill-health (he needed more time to be with her), it was also the inevitable consequence of his loss of credibility. Another consequence of Labor’s defeat, was the estrangement of the Methodist Church from the United Labor Party. The Australian Christian Commonwealth, which had formerly supported Verran, claimed in February 1912 that he and his Cabinet colleagues had been too "... prepared to take their orders from the more violent and revolutionary forces in their party", and felt that "... efforts are being made to dominate the Labour Party by the Church of Rome...". This estrangement was made more complete, as Arnold Hunt has shown, by the Conscription Issue and the events of the Great War, and was traumatic in the extreme for the Cornish community — faced as it now was by divided loyalties.

---VII---

The Conscription Issue was an Australia-wide phenomenon, and although the anti-conscription stance was essentially a "conscientious" one, it was seen by many as a Fenian and Popish plot with pro-German connotations. In the Eastern States, the Irish-Catholic element was strong in the Labor movement, and when the Labor Party adopted its anti-conscription policy the
worst fears of those who supported Britain, King and Empire seemed to be confirmed. Although the Labor Party in South Australia was very different from its eastern counterparts, it too was accused of pro-Irish and pro-German sentiments, and again its adoption of the anti-conscription policy seemed to confirm this. The Methodist Church, with its strong anti-Catholic stance, declared in favour of conscription, and so its estrangement from the Labor Party in South Australia became one of principle. On North Yorke Peninsula the effect was dramatic. Those who were Labor men first and Methodists second moved firmly behind their party, while for those for whom religion was politics resignation from the Labor Party was inevitable. The "Moonta Anti-Conscription League" became enormously strong, but at the same time that it was mobilising its support, John Verran was announcing his resignation from the U.L.P. and the foundation of the Moonta Branch of the National Labor Party (pro-conscriptionist, of course). Families were divided, friend set against friend, as the Conscription Issue created the first major rift among the people of the Peninsula mining towns.

Verran retained the support of many local people, but others found a new champion in Robert Stanley Richards, a young trade union activist. Richards was born at Moonta Mines in 1885, the son of Richard Richards of Camborne and Mary Jeffery of Tuckington. He was, paradoxically, a Methodist local preacher, but politically he was noticeably to the "left" of Verran and the earlier generation of Cornish miners. He was, therefore, an anti-conscriptionist, and had an appeal for like-minded, later generation Cousin Jacks born at Moonta. Stanley Whitford, for example, was born in the township in 1878. He was "... opposed to conscription because it violated my ideals as a follower of the International Socialist movement", and was highly crit-
ical of Verran - "... I placed him among my list of damned old humbugs, and he never reinstated himself in my estimation...". Verran was, Whitford said, "... robust, good looking, good voic- ed, but ignorant..." and one "... in whom I had no trust...".

Another of Richards' radical friends was John Nicholas Pedler, born in 1870 at Salisbury, South Australia, of Cornish descent. Richards and Pedler, standing together as official Labor Party candidates, defeated Verran and Herbert (both National Labor Party) in the Wallaroo constituency at the 1918 elections.

Verran, out of Parliament for the first time since 1901, and with his local power-base damaged badly, needed desperately to win new sources of political support.

At first, he tried to do this by concentrating on the German question. Indeed, recognising that his support on the Peninsula was no longer solid, Verran had adopted a popular anti-German stance early in the war. He had argued that it was necessary for the Empire to defeat Germany so that Europe could be cleaned-up, "... just as the Cornish people like their general cleaning up at Christmas". In Parliament, before his defeat in 1918, Verran was one of the "... most virulent anti-Germans ...", and in 1916 and 1917 he introduced Bills designed to disenfranchise South Australia's sizeable German community (both Bills failed narrowly to make their way onto the Statute Book).

In August 1916 he had declared in the House of Assembly that "... Germany must be wiped-out...", and argued that

> It is deplorable to allow those with German blood in their veins to vote in this country. No matter what they cry out, they must have bias for Germany. I am a Britisher and a Cornishman, and no one can take away my feelings of loyalty to my country.

To a considerable extent, Verran was successful in gaining support through his anti-German stance, one contributor to the
People's Weekly asking "Who but a Hun would not say that Mr. Verran is one of the most popular legislators of the State?". With the end of the war, however, the German question lost its immediacy, and Verran again found himself politically isolated. The National Labor Party tried to retain the Methodist vote by embracing the "prohibitionist" cause, but Verran failed (albeit narrowly) to regain his seat in 1921, and his alienation from the main-stream Labor movement was now complete. Like Bice and Charleston before him, he was pushed further to the "right" of the political spectrum, and in 1924 was contesting Wallaroo as a Liberal. In a campaign speech at Moonta he declared that,

He could not see how any country could accept socialistic proposals of socialising all means of industry. He considered the Labor Party ideals took away a man's fundamental rights which were the basis of our civilisation. Home life went when communism came on, and he would never favour any policy which would take away his right to build his home. 173

Verran also blamed the collapse of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines in 1923 on the activities of union militants, although, as R.S. Richards pointed out, all this sounded very strange coming from the man who, more than anyone, had been responsible for developing the Labor movement on the Peninsula. Not surprisingly, Verran was defeated and, with the exception of a brief spell in the Federal Senate from 1927-28 when he was appointed to fill a casual vacancy, his political career was finished. 174 (He died in 1932.) The Conscription Issue and its aftermath, therefore, was a personal trauma for Verran, as well as a generally traumatic experience for the whole Cornish community. Significantly, the same had been true for the Cornish in Western Australia. John Scadden, born at Moonta, had gone to Western Australia with his parents before the turn of the century (as had many Peninsula families), and had been Labor Premier of that State. However, the Conscription Issue crisis caused him to leave the Party and align himself with the forces of "right". Almost
identical was the experience of George Pearce. He was born at
Mount Barker, South Australia, "... of Cornish stock..."\(^{175}\) and
had been to the Western Australian Gold Rush in the 1890s.
"Though essentially a moderate ... he was an agitator and activ-
ist...",\(^{176}\) and by 1910 was representing Western Australia as a
Labor member of the Federal Senate. The Conscription Issue,
however, brought him into conflict with his Labor colleagues and,
like Verran and Scadden, he was forced into the National Labor
camp. Peter Heydon, his one-time personal secretary and con-
fidante, wrote that for Pearce the Conscription Issue was

... the dominating, shattering political experience...
Pearce was not a bigot. A Protestant and of Cornish
extraction, he tried to keep the whole conscription
issue free of sectarian and Irish political issues. \(^{177}\)

Back in South Australia, the "split" in the Labor Party
caused by the Conscription Issue was mirrored in a corresponding
"split" in the miners' Union on North Yorke Peninsula. During
1917 the Amalgamated Miners' Association held a ballot to de-
termine whether it ought to merge with the Australian Workers'
Union. The younger miners, such as R.S. Richards, were in
favour of the merger for "unity in strength", but the older
Cornishmen -- including John Verran -- argued that "We will lose
control of industrial matters locally"\(^{178}\) if the Miners' Assoc-
iation were to lose its identity. The merger went ahead, with
R.S. Richards becoming President of the Moonta Branch of the
A.W.U., John Verran, however, reacted by forming a new Union --
officially The Yorke's Peninsula's Miners' and Smelters' Assoc-
iation, but known to many local inhabitants as the "Bogus" Union.
The Wallaroo and Moonta company was accused of victimising and
intimidating the militants who had engineered the A.W.U. merger,
while the "Bogies" (members of the "Bogus" Union) were in turn
victimised by the A.W.U. men and ostracised by the local commun-


Verran was condemned for supposedly being in league with the "bosses", and for having caused "... much distress in many homes in this district". 180 R.S. Richards' electoral victory in 1918 consolidated the position of the A.W.U., but the antagonism remained. One correspondent to the People's Weekly alleged that Verran had said that the A.W.U. was "... led by Pommies who came from England to escape conscription", 181 while "Old Cornishman" wrote in disgust about the militant tactics of the A.W.U. men. 182

In the early twentieth-century, in the years before the "split", the A.M.A. had enjoyed the support of the entire mining community. Its behaviour was restrained, but it was organised, competent, confident and usually successful in its negotiations with the management. As the Register had remarked in August 1914, "Although politically 'a red hot Labour centre', the Yorke's Peninsula mines have been remarkably free from labour troubles ...". 183 The "split" of 1917, however, with its polarization of conservatives and militants, ushered in a new era of confrontation, the likes of which had not been seen since 1892. This culminated in a brief but bitter strike in 1922, when the A.W.U.'s venom was directed equally at the company and the "Bogies", as illustrated by the fiery words of one of R.S. Richards' pamphlets:

Starvation may drive us back into the Mines; Man's inhumanity to man may make countless thousands continue to mourn; but, whatever the result, we will never forget those men who aided the oppressor, we will never forget those men who played us false, and when the Time comes to show our contempt for them, we will do so in no uncertain manner. In the meantime:

We will speak out, we will be heard, though all earth's system crack;
We will not bate one single word or take a letter back,
For the cause that lacks assistance, 'gainst the wrongs that need resistance,
For the future in the distance, and the good that we can do.

R.S. Richards, M.P.
North Moonta. 184
When the mines closed in 1923 there were some who blamed
the collapse on the A.W.U., while there were certainly some mil-
itants who were pleased to see the company go at last into
liquidation. The Cornish-METHODIST-Labor alliance, the old
Radical Tradition, was by now sadly battered; yet another aspect
of the Cornish inheritance was beginning to disappear in the
face of changing Australian conditions, and one contributor to
the *People's Weekly* in 1927 seemed to sense that the end of an
era was at hand:

... I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the
A.W.U. that caused so much trouble and sorrow at the
mining towns. I was a member of the first A.M.A.,
formed at Moonta Mines, and the leaders were all
Cornishmen, right up to the time of the forming of
the A.W.U.... 185

---VIII---

However, remnants of the Cornish Tradition survived. It
was significant, as Don Hopgood has noted, that during the 1920s
and 1930s the cartoonist's stock image or stereotype of a
South Australian Labor politician was a corpulent Cousin Jack,
complete with Moonta billy-goat beard, and with a red flag hid-
den behind his back (the significance of this being that the
Cousin Jack, despite his moderate, middle-of-the-road reputation,
was in fact tarred with the same old Marxian brush!). 186 This,
perhaps more than anything, showed the link which existed in
the public mind between the South Australian Labor movement and
the State's Cornish community. In some ways, it was surprising
that this link remained - not only had the Cornish political
inheritance become increasingly inappropriate, but also the
closure of the Wallaroo and Moonta mines in 1923 had led to the
dispersion of the local population and the demise of the Penin-
sula community as an important economic and social force. As
John Lonie has written,
By 1930, the A.L.P. itself did not mirror, in its hierarchy, the changes which had taken place in the composition of the work force since the time of the party's inception, and especially since the end of World War I. Rather, its composition and ideology reflected the social situation of the 1890s. Of note was the still very strong Methodist flavour which derived in the first place from the mine workers of Burra and Wallaroo who were of Cornish stock. 187

A number of the Cornish, of course, had left the Labor Party over the Conscription Issue. William Humphrey Harvey, for example, was an ally of Verran. He had been born at Moonta in 1869, and had been an active trade unionist both on the Peninsula and in Western Australia. He became an M.L.C. in 1915, but resigned from the Labor Party in 1917, although remaining in Parliament until 1935. Most other Cousin Jack Parliamentarians, however, remained in the Labor camp, and during the 1920s and early 1930s there was a block of some ten Labor M.P.s of Cornish birth or descent, mostly Methodists, in the South Australian Parliament. 189

John Nicholas Pedler remained an M.H.A. for Wallaroo from his victory in 1918 until 1938, while R.S. Richards represented the constituency until as late as 1949. Thomas Gluyas, born at Moonta Mines in 1864, became President of the Adelaide Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and was an M.L.C. from 1918 to 1931. John Stanley ("Stan") Verran, born at Moonta in 1883, was another trade unionist who found his way into Parliament. He held the "safe" Labor seat of Port Adelaide from 1918 to 1927, but he was considered by his colleagues a man of limited ability, and it was often said that he obtained his seat only because he was the son of John Verran. Thomas Hawke, born at Mount Bryan in 1873, was M.H.A. for Burra Burra from 1921 to 1924, and he was succeeded by Albert Redvers George Hawke (apparently no relation) who retained the seat until 1927. Albert
Hawke came from Kapunda, where he was born in 1900, and as a youth had been dismissed from his job as a greengrocer's delivery-boy for wearing an anti-conscriptionist badge. Later he became Labor Premier of Western Australia. Thomas Tonkin Edwards was actually born in Cornwall, in 1870. At the age of 13 he was working for a milling company at Port Adelaide, but later became a hotel-keeper. He represented Barossa in the House of Assembly from 1939 to 1933.

Leslie Claude Hunkin was born in Tasmania in 1884, the son of a Cornish mine captain. He came to South Australia while still young, and became active in the Storeman and Packer's Union and later in the Public Service Association. He was an M.H.A. for East Torrens from 1921 until 1927, and is of particular interest as he was a speech writer for "Lightning Lionel" Hill, the Labor Premier from 1926 to 1933. He was also said to have "masterminded" the Labor election campaign of 1927, when the Party fought on issues such as deep drainage, road improvement, social services, housing, monopolies, and the White Australia policy (one handbill amongst Hunkin's papers declares, "VOTE LABOR, AND RID SOUTH AUSTRALIA OF A DANGER TO THE PURITY OF OUR RACE"). Also of interest is Henry "Harry" Kneebone, born at Wallaroo Mines in 1876. He worked as a miner in Western Australia for some time, eventually becoming editor of the Coolgardie Miner newspaper. In 1916 he moved to Adelaide to join the staff of the Labor-sponsored Daily Herald, becoming editor of the paper in 1911. This was a position he held, with the exception of a few years in London, until the paper collapsed in 1924. He then became an M.H.A. for East Torrens until 1925, and was in 1931 elected to the Federal Senate. Kneebone was very conscious of his Cornish background, and was for some time active in the Cornish Association of South Australia.
Stanley R. Whitford was a man especially proud of his Cornish descent, and of his heritage as a miner. He had been a unionist both on North Yorke Peninsula and in Western Australia, and had embraced the anti-conscriptionist cause. His enormously long autobiography, as yet unpublished, affords numerous insights into his career and into his own personality. He reveals, for example, how he was influenced by Eugene Debs (the American leader of the "Wobblies"), and describe the impact the visit of Tom Mann to Moonta in 1910 had upon him. He was a strong Methodist, and highly critical of both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. He first entered Parliament in 1921 as an M.H.A. for North Adelaide. Although he lost his seat in 1927, he returned as an M.L.C. in 1929 and remained in Parliament until 1941. In 1930 he became Chief Secretary in Hill's Government, but only a few years later, in 1934, he was expelled from the Australian Labor Party. This was because he had supported the "Premiers' Plan" - an economic strategy devised by the State Premiers in consultation with the Federal Government, which was opposed bitterly by sections of the Labor movement.

In South Australia, the "Premiers' Plan" led to the division of the Labor M.P.s into three distinct groups - the Australian Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and Lang Labor (i.e. those who supported the position of Lang, the N.S.W. Premier). Whitford himself continued in Parliament as an Independent Labor member, and recalled that "This debacle in the ranks of the Labor movement in this State was to me the worst of my experience" R.S. Richards, the veteran of the Conscription Issue, came to power as Premier of South Australia at the height of the crisis in February 1933, following Hill's resignation. He was Premier for only 6½ days, for in the election of 1933 the Liberal Country League was swept into office, the Labor forces being in
complete disarray. Only in the Wallaroo constituency did the non-Liberal forces do well. Richards and Pedler were able to rely on the support of important local power-brokers, such as Bill "Sponger" Tonkin (Chairman of the local Unemployed Association), and Richards was given such an easy reception at Wallaroo Town Hall, when he delivered his policy speech, that his opponents said "... that the Cousin Jacks must have thought it was an evening church service". 194

But after 1933, little of the Cornish political influence remained in South Australia. Richards, Pedler and Whitford were the only surviving Labor Parliamentarians of Cornish descent, and, with the mines having been closed for ten years, the Wallaroo constituency was only a shadow of its former self. It was also patently obvious that a Cornish Methodist background was not an automatic passport to social democratic sympathies - other factors, such as class position and parental influence, were of equal importance. Thus it was, for example, that Police Commissioner Brigadier Leane, a keen devotee of the Cornish Association, was connected with the extreme right-wing Citizen's League, having recruited League members as Special Constables for use against rioting strikes or unemployed workers. 195 Similarly, there was no doubting the Cornish enthusiasms of Sir William Sowden (the son of a Cornish miner). His great ambition in life was to write a book on Cornwall, and at one stage he almost acquired a house in Camborne with the intention of retiring there. 196 However, he too held right-wing views, writing to a friend in Cornwall in 1931 that, "My personal intention is to advocate the abolition of Parliament...". 197 He had a low view of Parliamentary members, asserting that few "... could pass an examination in even the most elementary of political economy...", 198 and, although he was well aware of the effects of the De-
pression, he had

... the feeling that things might have been still blacker
than they are. Besides there are compensations for
sufferers are learning lessons in thrift and prudence
which they ought to have taken to heart years ago. 199

There was actually an attempt to form a right-wing movement
at Moonta during the Depression (although it was not success-
ful) and in the South Australian Parliament there were a handful
of non-Labor M.P.s of Cornish descent. John George Rice was a
Liberal Cabinet member on several occasions between 1908 and
1923 (the year he died), and his son, John Leonard Sandoe Rice,
was also later a Liberal M.P. - as was Herbert Angas Parsons.
The degree of "Cornishness" of Rice Junior and Parsons was
probably slight, although Thomas Pascoe (born at Clare in 1859,
a Methodist, and a prominent Liberal M.P. from 1900 to 1933) was
in 1935 a Vice-President of the Cornish Association. He appar-
tently also enjoyed telling "Cousin Jack" stories and jokes.201

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The Conscription Issue and the aftermath of the Great War
(the closure of Wallaroo and Moonta, and the Depression years)
led, then, to the dissipation of the Cornish Radical Tradition
in South Australia. Other facets of the State's Cornish influence
and experience were also altered and diminished by the effects of
the First World War. As already noted, the Cornish cultural in-
eritance - in South Australia generally, and in "Little Corn-
wall" in particular - had undergone considerable changes in the
period 1900-1914. These changes were perpetuated, accelerated,
and accentuated during and after the War years so that by 1936,
a century after the arrival of the first Cornish colonists, the
State's Cornish community had all but been assimilated into the
mainstream of Australian life.
It is often said that the Spirit of Australian Nationhood was born at Anzac Cove and on the heights of Gallipoli (just as that of Canada was born at Vimy Ridge, and that of the U.S. at Yorketown!) Certainly, a spirit of Australian identity - even pride - grew up amongst the soldiers at the Front, and these "Diggers" were also scathing about what they saw as the bunglings of "Pommie" Generals. If many of South Australian German descent could be drawn into this camaraderie, how much easier was it for the Cornish? In July 1915 the People's Weekly noted that the local boys at Gallipoli were proud of the Australian achievement while Private J.W. Gill wrote from Anzac Cove to his friends at Moonta describing the landing: "Johnny Turk will never forget it. He felt the Australian bayonet then, and he has shown a great disinclination to face it ever since". In similar vein, another Moonta soldier sent home a poem of his own composition, in which he argued that the War was "For the sake of Australia's name". And Trooper Jake Roach, also from the Peninsula, wrote that "If the Empire had a few thousand more men in France and Gallipoli like the Australians I reckon they would make short work of the Germans and Turks". Private William Brokenshine, killed at Gallipoli soon after the landing, was the first Moonta boy to be killed in the War - within nine months 156 other soldiers from the township had also fallen, an appallingly high casualty rate which, clearly, affected deeply the outlook of the Peninsula folk. It was not surprising that Private M. Pethrick should write from an army camp at Weymouth, Dorset, that "There is not much love between the Tommies and the Colonials here".

But despite this growing sense of Australian identity, "Little Cornwall" had still to lose its Janus-like culture. When Albert Jacka, born at Bendigo, was awarded the Victoria Cross in 1915 (he was the first Australian to receive it) the People's
Weekly lost no time in publishing an article entitled "Heroic Sons of Cornwall", in which it pointed out that Jacka was of Cornish descent. And in contrast to the attitude of Private Pethrick, there were those who, while in the U.K. on leave or to recover from wounds, took the trouble to visit Cornwall to see for themselves the land of their forefathers. Private Leigh Lennell, in a series of letters written to his parents at Moonta Mines, described how he and Art Trenwith left the nursing home at Putney to go to Cornwall (Lennell had an artificial arm, "... but it is not much use to me")\(^{209}\). From the "Tywarnhaile Hotel", Perranporth, he wrote that

You will see by this address that I am down with the Cousin Jacks. It is perfectly lovely here, and just like home again. The people talk exactly like the Cornish at Moonta. The scenery and sights are simply beautiful, and as soon as the people knew we were Australians and of Cornish descent, they crowded around us and talked for hours... I feel sure some of them must have relatives in Moonta. Such names as Polkinghorne, Pengilly, Polgreen, Penberthy, are all folk here. Today we went to Bedruthan Caves and to St. Agnes tin mines. I feel quite at home here. They all say, "How art e gettin arm, ma son", and "Es, boy, es". They are all delighted here because we can understand them and can talk like them. \(^{210}\)

While in Cornwall, Lennell came across two former Moonta miners, messrs. Rowe and Penberthy, who now owned an out-fitter's shop in Penzance. He found to his delight that they still received copies of the *People's Weekly* from South Australia, and noted that "They enquired of all their old Moonta friends, and wished to be remembered to them".\(^{211}\) That Lennell's case was not an unusual one, or his enthusiasm atypical, is revealed in the similar letters sent home by Private Lloyd Pollard to his parents on Yorke Peninsula in 1916, while on leave from France. He wrote that

At last I can write to you about my trip through dear old Cornwall -- the places you used to speak of when Roy and I were boys. Then we used to hear dad and grandfather speak of the places I had the pleasure to see. The places
they used to mention came back quite as clearly as if I were quite familiar with them... 212

Pollard wrote with obvious pride about holding "... my first conversation with a Cornishman in his native country...", and said that "It was grand to hear the Cornish dialect...". From Cornwall, Pollard returned to France. But soon after his arrival at the Front, he seriously injured his spine while stretcher-bearing under fire. He spent two years and four months on his back, in bed, before he died. 215

Other soldiers at the Front were subscribers to the "If you haven't been to Moonta you haven't travelled" attitude, a further aspect of continuing cultural change, and Oswald Pryor recorded a very telling story once told him by "A veteran of the 1914-1918 war...". The essence of the tale was that

One evening I was drinking in an estaminet in France with a cobbler, Billy Bray from Moonta. He was small in size but big in heart, and Moonta was his theme song. Some liquid had been spilt on a table, and when the waitress came to take our order Billy said: "Mamzelle you compree the world?" as he drew a circle with a wet finger. She said that she did. "Then", said Billy, dabbing a finger in the centre of the circle, "this is where I come from - Moonta!" To thousands of people like Billy Bray, Moonta was the hub of the universe. 217

It was also interesting that people in Cornwall recognised the Peninsula-born Australian soldiers as kinfolk, one resident of Illogan being moved to write a few verses in their praise, his theme being "Moonta's little but she's great". On North Yorke Peninsula itself, some local inhabitants were also inspired to launch into verse. In one poem "Lest We Forget Trelawney", an anonymous writer drew comparisons between the exploits of Cornishmen in former times and those of the Australians in the Great War. It was truly an example of the continuing, rather curious, hybrid Cornish-Australian culture of "Little Cornwall" - in the
various stanzas there was, for example, the strange juxtaposition of "Bodmin town" and "Gallipoli", with Jonathon Trelawney and King Arthur rubbing shoulders with "Bulgar, Hun and Turk". This culture was perpetuated in the behaviour of the ordinary Peninsula folk, too, so that even as late as 1930 it could be said of a service held to commemorate Anzac Day, that "... the community singing went with a swing, characteristic of Cornish audiences...".

In the local Peninsula newspapers, genuine "News from Cornwall" items became few and far between after the War while the general behaviour of the local populace became discernably less "Cornish". Although the Moonta Harmony Choir specialised in Cornish Carols, a report in the People's Weekly in 1935 bemoaned the fact that spontaneous carol singing was becoming a thing of the past. Cornish pasties, however, remained firmly entrenched, and continued to be baked in a completely unselfconscious way by local housewives. On Peace Day in 1919, every school-child in the district was presented with a pasty, and in 1931 it could still be said that "Moonta is noted for its Cornish Pasties...". Nevertheless, the old Cornish ways disappeared quickly after 1918, and the assimilatory process was given further momentum by the emergence of Anglo-American mass-culture. What would "Cornishness" mean to young people at Moonta, Wallaroo, and Kadina in 1923, when their main entertainment was provided by Mary Pickford in "Pollyana" or Lon Chaney in "The Trap"? The greatest single occurrence responsible for the diminution of the Cornish identity in this period was, however, the closure of the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines in 1923. As Ron Gibbs has written, "It was the mines that were the heart of 'Little Cornwall'. As long as they survived, Cornishmen and Cornish life would remain...". But as soon as they were abandoned, miners left to find work else-
where and the socio-cultural fabric of the district was eroded.

With the end of the Great War in 1918, the demand for copper had fallen dramatically, and copper prices consequently slumped. The mines were shut down temporarily from March to September 1919, and there were further periods of inactivity from January to March 1920, January to August 1921, and February to November 1922, before the mines were abandoned finally on 23rd October 1923. The Wallaroo and Moonta Mining and Smelting Company itself went into liquidation in the November, the reason for the collapse being the classic combination of low copper prices, soaring costs, and impoverishment of the lodes. Anticipating this crash, many — as early as 1919 — had already left the district, bands of unemployed miners gathering in Adelaide, where they created comment by singing their hymns and carols. Some went to Port Pirie (where they found work in the smelters), and others to Whyalla and to the mines at Broken Hill and Kalgoorlie. To offset its losses, the Wallaroo and Moonta company in liquidation dismantled and sold its plant — an operation which took many months to complete, and which afforded at least some short-term employment for local people. In the auction catalogue was listed an almost unbelievable variety of machinery and stores — 7 winding engines, 1 steam capstan, 8 vertical high-speed engines, 2 Cornish pump engines, 6 electric pumps, 6 railway locomotives 7 Cornish boilers, 3 travelling cranes, blast furnaces, converters, a steam shovel, and numerous other items ranging to quite trivial things such as emery cloth and miners’ helmets.

In June 1924, a number of men left to go to the brief re-working of the old Proamima mine, near Callington, where quan-
tities of arsenic were being produced. The exodus continued into the late 1920s and on into the 1930s, more than 3,000 people leaving North Yorke Peninsula in the 10 years after 1923 - 85 per cent of these emigrants coming from the mineral leases at Moonta Mines and Wallaroo Mines. At Wallaroo township a "... strong defeatist attitude..." was prevalent during the 1920s and 1930s, a mood which contrasted with the stubbornness of the mineral lease dwellers:

... when the source of employment was removed, the population proved highly resistant to migration. While many left, hundreds clung on, eking out a bare living by casual labour on farms, docks and grain depots until entitled to age or incapacity pensions. 232

Thus it was principally the younger people who left the district (robbing it of much of its life and vibrance), leaving behind "... a high proportion of aged and infirm..." inhabitants. Although some employment opportunities were created after 1923, this did not check the steady flow of migrants. Indeed, as late as May 1935, a copper mining company was advertising in the People's Weekly for skilled miners to go to its workings in New Guinea. Of course, as is the case with any old mining district - whether in Cornwall or Australia - there were those who insisted that the mines had been closed prematurely, and that hitherto untouched ore-bodies were still awaiting exploitation. In 1924 one "... reputable miner of 55 years' experience in Moonta Mines, in addition to the Burra, Kapunda, Wallaroo Mines, Broken Hill, and Cornwall..." argued that the mines could still be made to pay, given the right kind of development work, and their re-opening was a proposition "... well worthy of the Labour Government's consideration".

Some of the miners, in the belief that there was still ore to be won, took out sections of the old mines on tribute; and
there were a number of "one-man shows" in the district during the Depression years. As early as 1916 the "Cornwall Copper Mining Syndicate" had been formed at Kadina, employing two men to prospect in the old New Cornwall property. The syndicate was soon wound up, although "fossickers" continued to work the New Cornwall and Wandilta waste dumps for several years, while in 1936 there was a brief attempt by a "Kadina Mining Company" to restart the New Cornwall. The Poona mine was also tried intermittently. W.J.L. Polmear, born at Landrake in East Cornwall in 1877, and a former A.M.A. activist, took out a lease on the Poona. When he died, his son continued the work, finally abandoning the property in 1925. In the mid-1930s, the Doora and Duryea mines were opened briefly for prospecting work, and groups of unemployed miners - such as Nankivell and Anderson, Trenwith and Wright, and Barrett, Harvey, Millbank, and Warren - scoured the old Wallaroo Mines property for signs of untouched ore. The Wild Dog Mine was one "show" that enjoyed relative success. It was situated on the eastern fringes of the Yelta leases, and had been opened during 1918 by two miners, messrs. Hicks and Hooper. By 1922 there were ten men working in the mine, and it continued in production until late 1930.237

The most determined attempt to revive mining after 1923 was at Moonta. During 1924 a Moonta Copper Recovery Co. purchased the cementation plant at Moonta Mines, and a Moonta Prospecting Syndicate was formed to rework the south-eastern portion of the Moonta leases. In its first six months of operation, the Recovery Co. produced 156.65 tons of precipitate, averaging at 78 percent copper, and employed 24 men. It suspended cementation during 1926, but was again active in 1927, 1929 and 1936. The Moonta Prospecting Syndicate commenced operations with a capital of £3,000 and worked steadily until 1929. In that year, as
copper prices rose, R.S. Richards (then Minister of Mines) was able to arrange a method of government-sponsored "subsist" (that was the term he actually used\textsuperscript{238}) to support local tributers working in the various syndicates. In August 1929 there were 39 tributers, working in 12 parties, receiving this subsist - and on this basis the Moonta Prospecting Syndicate was able to continue in production. By the end of 1929, £1,401 8s 9d had been paid in "subsist" and other subsidies, the main recipients being the Moonta Prospecting Syndicate and the newly-opened Moonta Extended mine. Together, these two concerns managed a nett return of £1,904 0s 5d between August 1929 and June 1930, and on the strength of this success R.S. Richards was able to persuade the Federal Government to contribute a £5,000 grant to mining in the district.

During 1930, this Federal-State co-operation was extended in the Moonta Mines Development scheme, subsidies being given for the old Smith's and Bennett's shafts to be re-opened. The financial assistance under this scheme was terminated in December 1931, but R.S. Richards was able to keep the workings going by re-organising them on a co-operative basis. Richards considered that this "... was the most practicable way to relieve the serious unemployment amongst the local skilled miners and tradesmen accustomed to mining work...",\textsuperscript{239} especially given "... the interest and willingness displayed by the employees...".\textsuperscript{240} By June 1932, there were some 62 men employed in the various Moonta ventures, and at the end of the year it was said with some satisfaction that head-frames were again dominating the sky-line at Moonta Mines. However, between September 1933 and August 1934 the Moonta syndicates lost £1,297 18s 3d, and they were abandoned from September 1934 until January 1935. Then, with renewed Government assistance, they were again re-opened, permanent closure
coming during 1938.

Although all these schemes were ultimately unsuccessful, it was felt at the time that they had been worthwhile because they had afforded employment to men who would have been otherwise unemployed or forced to leave the Peninsula. However, the survival of the "three towns" was secured, not through these forlorn attempts to revive mining, but as a result of the district broadening its economic base. Kadina emerged as the largest and strongest of the local communities - a regional centre serving an agricultural area stretching from southern Yorke Peninsula to Crystal Brook in the north and Balaclava in the east. Kadina was also one of the three State Storage Centres for wheat, its yards having a capacity of six million bushels. At Wallaroo, the sulphuric acid works (originally an appendage of the smelting works) was purchased by the Electrolytic Zinc company in 1923, the sulphuric acid now being obtained from Port Pirie and a local acid plant used to roast Broken Hill zinc concentrates. May's Foundry continued to provide employment for some local people (although only 10 per cent of its output was designed for local markets), and the port of Wallaroo remained an important element of the Peninsula economy. Moonta found it more difficult to survive (tourism was not yet a force), and became very much a "Dormitory town" for people working at Wallaroo and Kadina.

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Against this background of decline and change, it was inevitable that the local Cornish identity would be even further altered and eroded. This was manifested, first of all, in an accentuation of the Romantic-nostalgic perception of Cornwall and "Cornishness" - something that was mirrored in the style of
local newspaper reporting. One newspaper article referred to Cornwall as "Trelawney Land", another was entitled "St. Piran: The Patron Saint of Cornish Miners", and a third alluded to the influence of the Cornish at Butte, Montana. There were pieces in the People's Weekly on the London Cornish Association, on the state of Cornish wrestling, and on aspects of Cornish history. On one occasion in 1928, an editorial - in response to a spate of burglaries - asserted that "Doubtless we still have amongst us many direct descendants of the pirates of Penzance, as well as the old wreckers and smugglers of Cornwall". Another article claimed that North Yorke Peninsula should become a Mecca for "... our fellow Cornish folk" in Australia, and, as if to make clear its cultural stand, the People's Weekly in October 1934 published "A Land of Romance" - an article dealing, of course, with Cornwall.

The "Back to Moonta" celebrations in September 1927, coming as they did only four years after the closure of the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines, were an opportunity for the local people to remember their Cornish descent. An editorial in the People's Weekly declared:

The Celtic spirit is deep set in folk that hail from Cornwall, and they are Celts on an equality with the Scots, Irish or Welsh. They are clannish to a marked degree, and the love of home and the clan seldom loses its hold in the individual and never in the race, and Moonta people are mostly Cornish.

This was language reminiscent of that used by John Langdon Bonython twenty or more years before, and represented the replacement of a living Cornish culture by one that was self-conscious and "turned-on" to suit particular occasions, such as the "Back to Moonta" celebrations. In Cornwall, the 1920s were a period of "Revival", involving an upsurge of interest in the Cornish
language, the creation of a Cornish Corsedd, and the sowing of
the first seeds of what was to become the modern Cornish nationalist
movement. The People's Weekly followed these developments
with interest, as early as August 1924 publishing an article
entitled "Cornish Nationality". Ten years later, "Renshaw" -
a columnist and frequent contributor to the paper - wrote that
"There are many traits which bring the Cornish much nearer the
Welsh and the Bretons than to the Anglo-Saxon English...", and
another writer claimed that Moonta was the guardian of the
Cornish spirit in Australia:

Our community has been in every sense a bit of old Cornwall,
what with mining, agriculture and fishing. Wherever min-
ing activities are manifest you will find some represen-
tative of Penaznce or St. Ives. Broken Hill and Kalgoorlie
are examples of this, but they are essentially inland centres
of arid regions; but Moonta, in its proximity to the sea, is
able to carry the role of an outpost of the delectable
Duchy. 250

But, however eloquent, the relevance of all this to the
everyday life of everyday people on the Peninsula was probably
marginal. Articles in Adelaide-based newspapers, such as the
Advertiser referred to the Cornish influence in South Australia
in a retrospective and historical manner - hardly the sort of
treatment one would give to a living, on-going tradition. Sim-
ilarly, Phyllis Somerville's prize-winning novel Not Only In
Stone, written during the late 1930s and first published in 1942,
was an account of what Cornish life used to be like in the Penin-
sula mining towns.252 For indeed, by the mid-1930s, the majority
of the district's Cornish-born population has passed away. A
twenty year-old miner, arriving with Captain Piper in 1883, would,
for example, have been over 70 by 1935, while most of those who
had arrived in the great days of Cornish immigration - in the
1840s, 1850s, and 1860s - would have been dead for years. This
was confirmed by one old Cousin Jack who wrote to Oswald Pryor in
1932, lamenting that "... saffron cake is a thing of the past..." and admitting sorrowfully that "I am lost for a good Cornish-man to have a bit of a chat with. They are all dead and buried".

Another 'bld-timer', again in the 1930s, confided to Pryor that, although he was "... one of the later brigade..." he could "... still tell a few Cornish yarns, and give a little entertainment, on some of their habits...regarding the old days of S.A. copper mines", the tone of his letter again being retrospective.

Oswald Pryor, more than anyone, was responsible for preserving and popularising - in his writings and cartoons - the essence of Cornish life on the Peninsula. But the old ways he was recording were already fast disappearing during those years in which he was first moved to capture the local scene in words and pictures. Pryor was the son of Captain James Pryor, from Wendron, and was born at Moonta Mines in 1881. By the age of 13 he was working in the mines, and from 1911 to 1923 was Surface Manager ("grass captain") at Moonta. His first-ever published cartoon appeared in the Quiz and the Lantern in October 1901, and by 1912 he was contributing to the Sydney Bulletin - his sketches being on nationalist, political themes such as the "Japanese threat". In the 1920s he was drawing propaganda cartoons for the Labor Party in South Australia, but before that he had begun to turn his hand to "Cousin Jack" material. It was C.J. Dennis, author of Songs of A Sentimental Bloke, who first suggested to Pryor that the Peninsula community might provide excellent subjects for his cartoons. These cartoons were first published in the Bulletin, but were later collected into two volumes - Cornish Pasty and Cousin Jack's and Jennies. Pryor continued to write and draw until the mid-1960s, almost to the time of his death, his most celebrated work being Australia's Little Cornwall.
Outside of the Peninsula mining towns, expressions of "Cornishness" in the post-Great War era were confined to the Cornish Association of South Australia. In 1919 the *Cornishman* newspaper, published at Penzance, noted that

The Cornish Association of South Australia is, according to reports of its activities, a live institution of Cornish folk, and their Australian descendents. Distance from the "Home Land" serves but to stimulate their love of the Duchy. In all things pertaining to Cornwall, they are the most enthusiastic. And the remarkable feature is that the love and enthusiasm for the county extends unabated to the third and fourth generations of Cornish Australians. The Association's membership contains a long list of distinguished South Australians...of persons who hail from Cornwall or have Cornish blood in their veins. 259

Prominent members included Sir William Sowden, David Morley Charleston, John Verran, Henry Kneebone, and, inevitably, John Langdon Bonython. Bonython remained as passionately pro-Cornish as ever, devoting a considerable amount of energy in the 1920s and 1930s to attempting to purchase the "stately home" of Bonython in Cornwall. In 1921, the owner of the house had died and, with the inheritor of the property being a spinster in New Zealand, Bonython felt he would have little difficulty in acquiring it. However, the spinster refused to sell and Bonython's attempts to purchase his family's ancient seat remained frustrated. In other ways, though, Bonython was able to find an outlet for his Cornish loyalties. In 1904 he had donated a stained-glass window to the Church of St. Corantyn, in the Parish of Cury, "... in Memory of Past Generations of the Bonythons of Bonython in this Parish and of Carclew in Mylor...",260 and in 1925 he gave six bells to the same Church.261 He succeeded Lord Falmouth as President of the Royal Institution of Cornwall in 1931, the Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society for that year recording that Bonython was "... in the forefront of those who serve the Empire in the Dominions overseas",262 and that "... Cornish-Australians particularly are proud of the
In South Australia, Bonython was treated with similar reverence. The School of Mines, paying tribute in 1929 to Bonython's role in its foundation, commented that "His visualisation of the future for the mining industry was no doubt inspired by the Cornish blood of his ancestors". It was no coincidence that a stained-glass window in the hall of the School (now the Institute of Technology) should sport the Cornish Arms and Motto.

However, Bonython's enthusiasm and prestige was not enough to ensure the continuing strength of the Cornish Association. Financially, the Association was hit by the effects of the Depression, and it suffered, too, from the inexorable process of assimilation. Although it maintained links with similar Associations in New Zealand, the Transvaal, and New York, and was able to contribute one guinea in 1931 towards "... the agriculture centre of Ruan Minor and the fishing Lifeboat Station of Cadgwith", the Association's officers were clearly concerned for its future. An appeal from the Camborne Town Band for monetary assistance had to be rejected because of the Association's parlous financial position, and in 1930 the Association attributed its decline to the fact that "... the younger generation had no interest in the old Land (i.e. Cornwall) or its traditions, having been born here with different surroundings". In October 1933, it decided to "... ask other Cornish gatherings to join up with the Cornish Association..." to boost its strength, the Moonta Carol Party, the Kadina Carol Party, and both the "Back to Moonta" and "Back to Burra" organisations being approached. The Association's membership continued to fall, however, a committee meeting in April 1935 again pointing to the twin effects of the Depression and the lack of interest amongst the young. Although the Association was able to survive this crisis (it is
still in existence today), the 1930s was a traumatic decade, witnessing the decline of the Cornish Association from its position as a prestigious South Australian institution to that of a small, rather obscure group of individuals - many of them elderly. It was not the fault of the Association members that they had lost their former glory; rather they had fallen victim to a combination of circumstances which together formed the process of assimilation - the State's Cornish community having turned, slowly but inevitably "... from Cornishmen into Australians".270
CHAPTER 10 - NOTES AND REFERENCES


3. Ibid., p.110.


5. Ibid., p.27.


8. Burra Record, 30 July 1886, 2 November 1904.


12. Burra Record, 18 November 1908.

13. Ibid.,


15. Burra Record, 16 February 1916.


17. People's Weekly, 8 February 1900.


20. Ibid.,


22. Ibid.,

23. Ibid., p.263.


27. People's Weekly, 30 November 1912.
31. Ibid.
32. People's Weekly, 6 July 1907.
33. People's Weekly, 13 July 1907.
34. People's Weekly, 10 August 1907.
38. Ibid.
41. People's Weekly, 30 July 1904, 5 October 1907.
42. People's Weekly, 15 November 1913.
43. People's Weekly, 11 June 1904.
44. Ibid.
45. People's Weekly, 1 March 1902.
46. S.A.A. D3627(L), Stanley Whitford, An Autobiography, p.70.
47. Ibid.
48. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 6 December 1907.
50. People's Weekly, 26 September 1903.
55. People's Weekly, 6 June 1908.
56. Ibid.
60. People's Weekly, 19 July 1902.
61. Ibid.
64. People's Weekly, 5 December 1908.
67. This transformation is illustrated in Philip Payton, Pictorial History of Australia's Little Cornwall, Rigby, Adelaide, 1978.
68. For background economic data, I have drawn upon Henry Brown, Op.Cit.
70. Ibid., 9 May, 1899, 9 October 1900, 23 October 1900, 13 November 1900, 30 July 1901, 22 October 1901, 11 February 1902, 2 December 1902, 1 December 1903.
71. Ibid., 23 February 1904, 1 March 1904, 3 May 1904.
72. Ibid., 5 July 1904.
73. Ibid., 1 February 1905, 9 May 1906, 17 May 1906, 20 August 1907.
74. Ibid., 28 January 1908, 15 December 1908, 10 February 1909.
75. Ibid., 12 September 1911, 3 July 1912.
76. Ibid., 25 November 1913, 17 June 1914.
77. Ibid., 4 August 1914. After the initial dislocation, the Company experienced new demand for its copper from the Allied Armed Forces. Copper prices rose, and the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines worked at full capacity until the end of the War.
79. Ibid., 30 June 1896.
80. Ibid., 10 October 1899.
81. Ibid., 4 November 1902, 10 June 1908.
83. H. Lipson Hancock, "Welfare Work in the Mining Industry", Australian Chemical Engineering and Mining Review, October 1916.
84. South Australian Department of Mines Mining Review, Half year ended June 1919.
85. Ibid., p.53.
86. S.A.A. BRG40/1034, 29 October 1912, 19 November 1912.
87. South Australian Department of Mines Mining Review, Half Year ended June 1919, p.54.
89. Ibid.
91. H. Lipson Hancock, A Digest of Reports: Read at the Half-Yearly Meeting of Officers and Teachers of the Above School, August 18th 1913, with other Recent Records, Moonta Mines Sunday Schools 1914, p.17; H. Lipson Hancock, The Rainbow Course of Bible Study, 1919.
92. Ibid., p.7.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. H. Lipson Hancock, A Digest of Reports..., Op. Cit., p.98.
100. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 24 July 1903.
102. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 5 July 1907.
103. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 7 August 1903, 26 February 1904.
104. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 14 November 1902.
105. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 10 July 1903.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. People's Weekly, 14 July 1923.
125. S.A.A. PRG 129, R.L. Butler Papers, Bonython to Butler (telegram), 1935.
128. Ibid.
132. Plain Dealer, 11 March 1911.
134. Ibid...
137. People's Weekly, 10 May 1902, 8 April 1905, 10 November 1906.
138. For details of the background to the Verran Crisis of 1912, the writer has drawn upon R.J. Miller, "The Fall of the Verra Government 1911-12 - The most determined attempt to abolish the Legislative Council of South Australia, and its failure", Department of History B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965. For background information on the Labor Party, the writer has drawn upon Brian Dickey, "South Australia", in D.J. Murphy (Ed.), Labor in Politics: The State Labor Parties in Australia 1880-1920, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1975.
140. Undated cutting from Kadina and Wallaroo Times (c. June 1910) in S.A.A. PRG96, Oswald Pryor Papers, Scrapbook: "Electorate of Wallaroo, John Verran, etc."
146. Ibid...
147. Kadina and Wallaroo Times, 1 November 1911.
149. South Australia Register, 6 May 1911.
150. People's Weekly, 23 September 1911, South Australian Advertiser, 15 April 1911, Kadina and Wallaroo Times, 13 May 1911.
151. People's Weekly, 5 July 1911.
153. Ibid., p.146.
154. Ibid...
156. Ibid.
158. Australian Christian Commonwealth, 1 November 1911.
164. Ibid., p.401.
165. Ibid., p.399.
166. Ibid., p.397.
167. People's Weekly, 13 April 1918.
169. Donald J. Hopgood, "A Psephological Examination of The South Australian Labor Party From World War One to The Depression", School of Social Science Ph.D. Thesis, Flinders University of S.A., 1973, p.15. (There is also a copy of this under S.A.A. D5617(T).
171. Ibid., p.1095.
176. Ibid., p.17.
177. Ibid., p.79.
179. People's Weekly, 17 November 1917, 1 December 1917, 5 January 1918, 6 January 1918. The writer is also indebted to Mr. Jan Thomas of Moonta Mines for information regarding "the split" on Yorke Peninsula.
183. **South Australian Register**, 4 April 1914.
189. The writer is indebted to Dr. John Playford for allowing me to search his extensive files on South Australian M.P.s in order to assemble biographical details of M.P.s of Cornish descent.
191. S.A.A. PRG 30/21, Leslie Claude Hunkin Papers, Material relating to the A.L.P.
193. Ibid., p.857.
196. S.A.A. PRG96, Op.Cit., "Correspondence", Pascoe to Pryor, 15 June 1944. The writer is indebted to Mr. Fernley O. Pascoe of Camborne for material from his correspondence with Sir William Sovden, viz: Sovden to Pascoe, 14 December 1937; Sovden to Pascoe, 25 May 1938; Sovden to Pascoe, 18 January 1939
197. Ibid., Sovden to Pascoe, 7 February 1931.
198. Ibid.
199. Ibid., Sovden to Pascoe, December 1931.
205. Ibid.
210. Ibid.
211. Ibid.
212. People's Weekly, 6 January 1917.
213. Ibid.
214. Ibid.
217. Ibid., pp.148-149.

221. Some examples are: People's Weekly, 30 July 1921, 10 December 1921, 30 May 1925, 13 January 1926, 27 January 1926, 16 October 1926, 8 October 1927. There was also a series of Cornish Notes between 20 January 1923 and 19 July 1924, but these were Romantic reflections on Cornwall rather than "news from home".


232. Ibid...

233. Ibid...


236. Ibid...

237. For details of mining activity at Wallaroo and Moonta in this period the writer has drawn upon the South Australian Department of Mines Mining Review, published half-yearly.

238. South Australian Department of Mines Mining Review, Half-Year ended June 1929.

239. South Australian Department of Mines Mining Review, Half-Year ended December 1931.

240. Ibid...


243. People's Weekly, 15 September 1923, 6 October 1923, 22 May 1926.

244. People's Weekly, 5 May 1928.


250. People's Weekly, 10 June 1933.

251. South Australian Advertiser, 23 May 1936.


254. Ibid...

255. Ibid., Thomas to Pryor, n.d. but c. 1930.

256. Ibid...


259. Article in an unidentified issue of the Cornishman in 1919, reprinted in pamphlet form by the Cornish Association of South Australia, Adelaide, c.1920.


263. Ibid.

264. Forty Years President: Complimentary Dinner to the Hon Sir J. Langdon Bonython KCMG, South Australian School of Mines and Industries, 1936, p.7.

265. Minutes of Committee Meetings of The Cornish Association of South Australia, 27 June 1931. The Minutes are held by the current secretary, Mrs. May Cocks, and the writer is indebted to her for allowing him access to them.

266. Ibid., 30 August 1930, 27 September 1930.

267. Ibid., 28 October 1933.

268. Ibid., 28 October 1933, 29 July 1934, 29 November 1935.

269. Ibid., 26 April 1935.

CONCLUSION

The examination of the influence and experience of the Cornish in South Australia, then, has led to the unfolding of a vast panorama in which the important and often distinctive impact of the Cousin Jacks can be traced clearly. Many writers have an ethnic axe to grind, and anyone who has crossed the Tamar from east to west will appreciate how easy it is to sing the praises of Cornwall. It is doubtful whether the writing of any kind of history can be - or should be - strictly objective, for the interpretation of evidence will always be moulded by the historian's imagination, enthusiasm, and ideological predisposition. But then, as Hobsbawm and Richards have argued, one "... should avoid confusing the ideological or political motivation of research with its scientific value",¹ which leads the writer in this instance to insist confidently that the hypotheses posed in the Introduction can be accepted, as the evidence marshalled in this study more than demonstrates their validity. The Cornish did indeed migrate to South Australia in large numbers, and their myriad influence was to be found in most facets of the colony's economic, social, and political development. Their experience was often an expression of their distinctive background, and their community was cohesive enough and identifiable enough to allow them to migrate in considerable numbers to other parts of the continent and yet still maintain their identity in South Australia well into the twentieth-century.

For an explanation of their distinct and readily recognisable influence and experience one should look to the three principal attributes of the Cornish community - their numerical strength, their separate socio-cultural identity, and their intimate involvement with the mining industry. All three were connected
closely, but the linch-pin was mining. It accounted for much of Cornish immigration and promoted economic growth, industrial development and the expansion of the agricultural frontier. The Cornish were to a large degree responsible for the establishment and rapid expansion of the mining industry, and conditions in the mining towns allowed both the transplantation and development of Cornish cultural patterns and an important Cornish influence in the shaping of South Australian Methodism, trade unionism, and Labor politics. Conditions in the mining towns bore direct comparison with those in Cornwall, and it was the Cornish mining heritage which facilitated South Australia's involvement in mining development elsewhere in Australia. Significantly, the Cornish identity survived intact as long as the copper mines remained in production, the closure of Moonta and Wallaroo in 1923 being by far the most powerful of the "assimilating agents" discussed in this thesis. It was true, as has been shown, that Cornishmen who were neither miners nor residents of the mining towns could make an important and often recognisably "Cornish" impact, but all the evidence supports the writer's initial premise that if there had been no mineral deposits worthy of exploitation within the colony then less Cornishmen would have been attracted to it and the Cornish influence itself would have been negligible or at least indistinctive.

By 1936, a century after the first immigration, South Australia's Cornish community had ceased to be a vibrant and distinct entity, and those of Cornish descent were virtually indistinguishable from other South Australians. The Great Depression and the aftermath of The Great War had accelerated the assimilatory process, and Australia was then on the eve of involvement in a Second World War which would precipitate still further changes. But, while it is convenient and appropriate for this thesis to conclude its detailed examination of the Cornish community at
1936, it would be naive to assume that thereafter all memory of
the Cousin Jacks was lost suddenly. From time to time the
**People's Weekly** carried articles such as "Recollections of the
Nineties by Cousin Jack"² in June 1945 and the "Cornish Floral
Dance"³ in August 1952, while Oswald Pryor maintained his steady
flow of Cousin Jack cartoons and stories. In 1951 George A.
Hicks, himself a frequent contributor to the **People's Weekly**, 
wrote to Pryor thanking him "... for all you have done in main-
taining the Celtic spirit of Cornwall in Moonta and Australia
generally...".⁴ A.L. Rowse, the foremost Cornish historian,
corresponded with Pryor during 1950, explaining that "It is
extraordinary how true to type your Cornish characters are...",⁵
while in the same year Claude Berry - Cornish author and at that
time editor of the **West Briton** - wrote that,

> It is extraordinarily refreshing and comforting, you know, for us stay-at-home Cornish folk to realise that thousands of miles across the ocean there are Cornish communities who share to the full our love of Cornwall and Cornish traditions and the Cornish humour.... ⁶

Berry's estimation of the level of Cornish sentiment in
South Australia may have been unduly optimistic and Romantic,
but nevertheless the various Local Government Centenaries and
Copper Centenaries held on Yorke Peninsula in the 1960s and early
1970s were occasions to recall the region's Cornish past. More-
over, in 1973 the first of the tremendously successful "Kernewek
Lowender" Cornish festivals was staged in Moonta, Wallaroo and
Kadina ("Kernewek Lowender" being a slightly incorrect rendering
of the Cornish for "Cornish Joy"). There was a Furry Dance, brass
bands, and Cornish wrestling. St. Piran's flag flew from local
government buildings, and the crowds drank swankey and munched
Cornish pasties (20,000 pasties were sold in one day at Moonta
during the 1977 festival). Burra's bi-annual "Copper Festival"
is also in honour of that district's mining origins, and the
Cornish miner even gets a mention in Kapunda's "Irish and Colonial Festival". None of this, of course, is evidence of the existence or resurgence of a living Cornish community, but - however contrived the attempts to rekindle a Cornish atmosphere may seem to cynical observers - the festivals in general and the "Kernewek Lowender" in particular are indicative of a certain pride in South Australia's Cornish heritage. To some extent their existence must be seen in the light of South Australia's current passion for festivals of all kinds (Adelaide is the so-called "Festival City"), but of some significance is the fact that the Cornish Association - by now recovered from the bad days of the 1930s, its membership boosted by the sprinkling of Cornish amongst the post-war British migrants - was in 1977 able to hold an important and well-attended "Cornish Seminar". And, with the exception of the recently instituted "Kernow Marghas Fer" (Cornwall Market Fair) in the old Cornish mining town of Grass Valley in the U.S.A., the "Kernewek Lowender" remains the only example of its type in the world.

Today, when there is no longer even a Wallaroo constituency, the Cornish influence in South Australian Labor politics may have long since been forgotten. But it is nevertheless interesting to reflect that the State's present Labor Premier, Don Dunstan, is himself a descendent of a Cornish immigrant family which mined in California and farmed unsuccessfully beyond Goyder's Line. The Leader of the Liberal Opposition, David Tonkin, is a descendant of Captain Absalom Tonkin from St. Blazey, and it is surprising how many well-known figures in modern Australia are of Cornish descent -- for example, the late Field-Marshall Sir Thomas Blamey, the late Sir Robert Menzies, Air-Marshall Sir Richard Williams (born at Moonta), Geoffrey Blainey, Bob Hawke (President of the Australian Congress of Trade Unions, a descendent of the Hawkes
of Kapunda), Sir Garfield Barwick (Chief Justice of Australia), and Judith Wright (the poet). The minority ethnic groups in modern South Australia - the Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, and so on - are very different from the Cornishmen, Prussians, and Highlanders of the nineteenth-century. But Adelaide road-names such as "Penaluna Place" and "Wheal Gawler Street" are reminders of the Cornish influence in colonial times, while the Adelaide telephone directory bristles with Cornish names from Andrewartha to Yelland. In Cornwall, interest in the Cornish overseas has increased tremendously since the publication of A.C. Todd's *The Cornish Miner in America* in 1967, and it is now generally realised that the "Great Migration" of the last century was as important an event in Cornish history - and in shaping the face of modern Cornwall - as, say, the Tudor Reformation or the coming of John Wesley. Indeed, one can do no better than to echo the words of George Jose of Illogan, a former Moonta miner, who wrote in 1923: "What do they know of Cornwall, Who only Cornwall know?".

FINIS.
NOTES AND REFERENCES - CONCLUSION


4. S.A.A. PRG 96, Oswald Pryor Papers, Correspondence, Hicks to Pryor, 5 December 1951.

5. Ibid., Rowse to Pryor, 20 September 1950.

6. Ibid., Berry to Pryor, 26 August 1950.


8. According to the Newsletter of the Cornish Association of South Australia, July 1978, No. 16, one newspaper in Cornwall carried an obituary of Sir Robert Menzies in which he was hailed as "... a grandson of Cornwall". He was of Cornish descent on his mother's side.


APPENDIX 1:  

CORNISH SURNAMES

There is no complete agreement on what actually constitutes "a Cornish surname", and yet to help identify the Cornish overseas and to make calculations on immigration/population data it is necessary to have a reliable working list of surnames. The most comprehensive list to date is that compiled by G. Pawley White in his A Handbook of Cornish Surnames (1) 1972, but it fails to distinguish clearly between "Exclusively Cornish" and "Typically Cornish" names and omits some important examples such as Kendall, Whetter and Yelland. Fortunately a number of these omissions are included in Piers Dixon's Cornish Names (2) 1975, but Dixon's list, while being analytically good, includes only the more common surnames. The writer has, therefore, compiled his own working lists of Cornish surnames (far too long to include here) by drawing principally upon Pawley White and Dixon and arranging them into two categories - "Exclusively Cornish" and "Typically Cornish".

"Exclusively Cornish" surnames are mainly Celtic and, as well as including the obvious Tre, Pol and Pen examples, embrace more obscure names such as Andain, Biddick, Tallick, and Uglov. "Typically Cornish" surnames are for the most part the common patronymics such as Williams, Roberts, Thomas, Richards and so on, which perhaps the majority of Cornish people bear. However, the writer had some difficulty in compiling his "Typically Cornish" list as some patronymics (for example Jenkin and Bonnetta) are so closely associated with Cornwall that they must be included in the "Exclusively Cornish" list, while others are so rare in Cornwall that they cannot be considered "Typically Cornish" (for example, Stephenson, Watkinson, and Wilkinson). Non-patronymic surnames pose their own special problems. Pawley White defines as "Cornish" the names Griffin, Kelly, Hampton, Lyon, Morgan, Murray, Wallace, Welsh, Paddy, Rees and Scott, and yet these names are clearly far more typical of other regions and would thus seriously distort immigration/population calculations if allowed to remain in the lists. At the same time, H.B. Guppy in his surprisingly useful Homes of Family Names in Great Britain of 1890 notes that Littleton is a Bodmin name "mostly confined" to Cornwall, while Chapman is more common in Cornwall than in most other areas (3) - both surnames have thus been included in the "Typically Cornish" category.

A further difficulty is the existence of long-established but nevertheless "non-Cornish" surnames in Cornwall - for example, England, Montgomery, Buckingham, Bishop - which, owing to their widespread currency elsewhere, cannot reasonably be included in lists from which calculations are to be made. It is also the case that some surnames did not become fixed until comparatively modern times, when the Cornish language had ceased to be the usual medium of communication, and so Cornish people with English-style occupational and descriptive names (White, Brown, Smith, Carter etc.) have inevitably been missed in calculations made in this thesis. But despite these shortcomings, the writer believes that his lists are as comprehensive as possible, and as useful as possible from the point of view of the calculations that it was necessary to make in the thesis.


### APPENDIX 2: IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTH AUSTRALIA, AS CALCULATED FROM S.A.A. 1522, ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO APPLICATIONS FOR FREE PASSAGE FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA 1836-40, and S.A.A. 313 PASSENGER LISTS.

#### a)

<table>
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<th>Years</th>
<th>Cornish Applications</th>
<th>Total Applications</th>
<th>Cornish Applications Approved (Estimated)</th>
<th>Total Applications Approved</th>
<th>Estimated Cornish Immigration</th>
<th>Total Immigration</th>
<th>Percentage Cornish</th>
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<td>9,422</td>
<td>507</td>
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#### b)

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Appendix 2:

b) continued.

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## APPENDIX 3: THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA 1836-1900

**Source:** Statistical Register of The State of South Australia For The Year 1914, South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 1915.

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APPENDIX 4: APPLICATIONS FOR FREE PASSAGE FROM CORNWALL TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1836-40, ANALYSED ACCORDING TO SEX, YEAR OF APPLICATION, OCCUPATION AND PARISH (10 TABLES).

Source: S.A.A. 1529, Alphabetical Index to Applications for Free Passage from the United Kingdom to South Australia, 1836-40.

Note: For the most part traditional ecclesiastical Cornish parish boundaries have been adhered to, except in some instances (e.g. Camelford) where modern civil boundaries make for greater clarity.
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1836, Applications for Free Passage from Cornwall to South Australia, MALES, by Occupation and Parish.

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1 - Probably St. Mawgan-in-Pydar.
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1 - Probably St. Mawgawn-in-Pydar. 2 - Probably St. Stephen-in-Breanne.
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<th>Applications for Free Passage from Cornwall to South Australia, Mails, by Occupation and Parish.</th>
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|name    | cabbage maker | backsmith | baker | butcher | bootmaker | carpenter | clerk | cornet | farrier | joiner | labourer | mason | miller | miner | plumber | printer | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber | plumber 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### Table 5
1840, Applications for Free Passage From Cornwall to South Australia, MALES, by Occupation and Parish.

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TABLE 6

Year Unknown (1836-40), Application for Free Passage from Cornwall to South Australia, MALES, by Occupation and Parish.

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Table 7
1837, Applications for Free Passage from Cornwall to South Australia, SINGLE AND WIDOWED FEMALES, by Occupation and Parish.

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<th>Parish</th>
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<th>Domestic Servant/Servant</th>
<th>Farm Servant</th>
<th>Sempstress Dressmaker</th>
<th>Spinster</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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### TABLE 8

1838, Applications for Free Passage from Cornwall to South Australia, SINGLE AND WIDOWED FEMALES, by Occupation and Parish.

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<td>Table 10 Applications for Free Passage to South Australia, SINGLE AND WIDOWED FEMALES, by Occupation and Parish.</td>
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<td><strong>Domestic Servant/Farmer</strong></td>
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Source: S.A.A. 313 Passenger Lists.
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APPENDIX 6: THE EXTENT OF "GOYDER'S LINE OF RAINFALL"

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