STORIES IN A LANDSCAPE

Two creeks cross the landscape of this story. Separated by a rib of low hills, both flow sluggishly, and in dry seasons fitfully, across land sloping gently to the south east. Neither is wide and the scar of their course is not deep. Both can be crossed easily on foot or on horseback. Only wheeled vehicles insist on bridges and culverts. Both creeks have created a margin of narrow fertile plains, wider in some places than in others. Yet despite their unassuming character, both leave the tableland spectacularly, plunging six hundred and more metres to the floor of steep gorges that open onto the coastal plains.

On the tablelands, rivers and creeks are many, but modest. Once there were plenty of swamps and ponds and lagoons, as well. For the original occupiers of the tableland, water sources were crucial to an understanding of the landscape. A creek or a river might have had many names. It was not the sense of linear flow that was important but the waterholes and rapids, the high banks and the overflows which had more significant meaning. Great Dreamtime incidents had once occurred at sites, often near water, which remained recognisable for their spiritual value from one generation to the next.

The landscape was not just an assemblage of named features for these Anaiwan[1] people of the high country. Names were invested with wider cultural meaning — and they were linked. Sagas unfolded across the land. To walk the land was to read the land and generations of women and men knew how to read their

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[1] Anaiwan is the preferred term of N.B. Tindale. He used it to refer to the people who inhabited the central New England from Walcha and Bendemeer in the south to Tingha in the north. See N.B. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia,* Canberra, 1974, p.191. Crowley has added the caution that linguistically there are significant differences within this area between the people north of Armidale whom he leaves with the term Anewan (*sic*) and those farther south termed Nganyaywana. See T. Crowley, 'Phonological Change in New England', in R.M.W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages,* Canberra, 1976, pp.19-50.

journeys. But these stories, once so crucially important in linking landscapes of the eyes to landscapes of the mind, have been lost.[2]

The two creeks which are the focus of this story were, perhaps, part of a saga narrated through the medium of landscape forms by Anaiwan story-tellers. There was a high country, Tuembandian from where the waters came. There was a low country, Alperwan, where these waters lingered and there was a violently broken country, Awarra where the waters leapt. But this is speculation. These words are now desiccated, the richness of their original meaning withered by sterile listing of Aboriginal place names and their European equivalents — a fond occupation of the more educated of the invaders. Tuembandian became Mount Duval, Alperwan, the Armidale Creeklands, and Awarra, the falls country.[3]

New stories were spun on the tableland. Old stories were arrogantly ignored. Only a few old names remained. The first Europeans occupied and re-named the landscape, not as richly as the conquered who had a long memory of how much people and place were one, but in the disjointed fashion of conquerors who graft bits of old stories from old places onto the land they have won. New realities and new ways of looking at the landscape produced a seismic shift in relative importance. Tuembandian decreased in size as it became Mount Duval, a site of little economic importance and of no spiritual significance. But the two creeks which are the focus of this story became swollen with importance. One hosted a village which became a town which became a regional city. The other gave its narrow, rich plains to sheep grazing and agriculture.
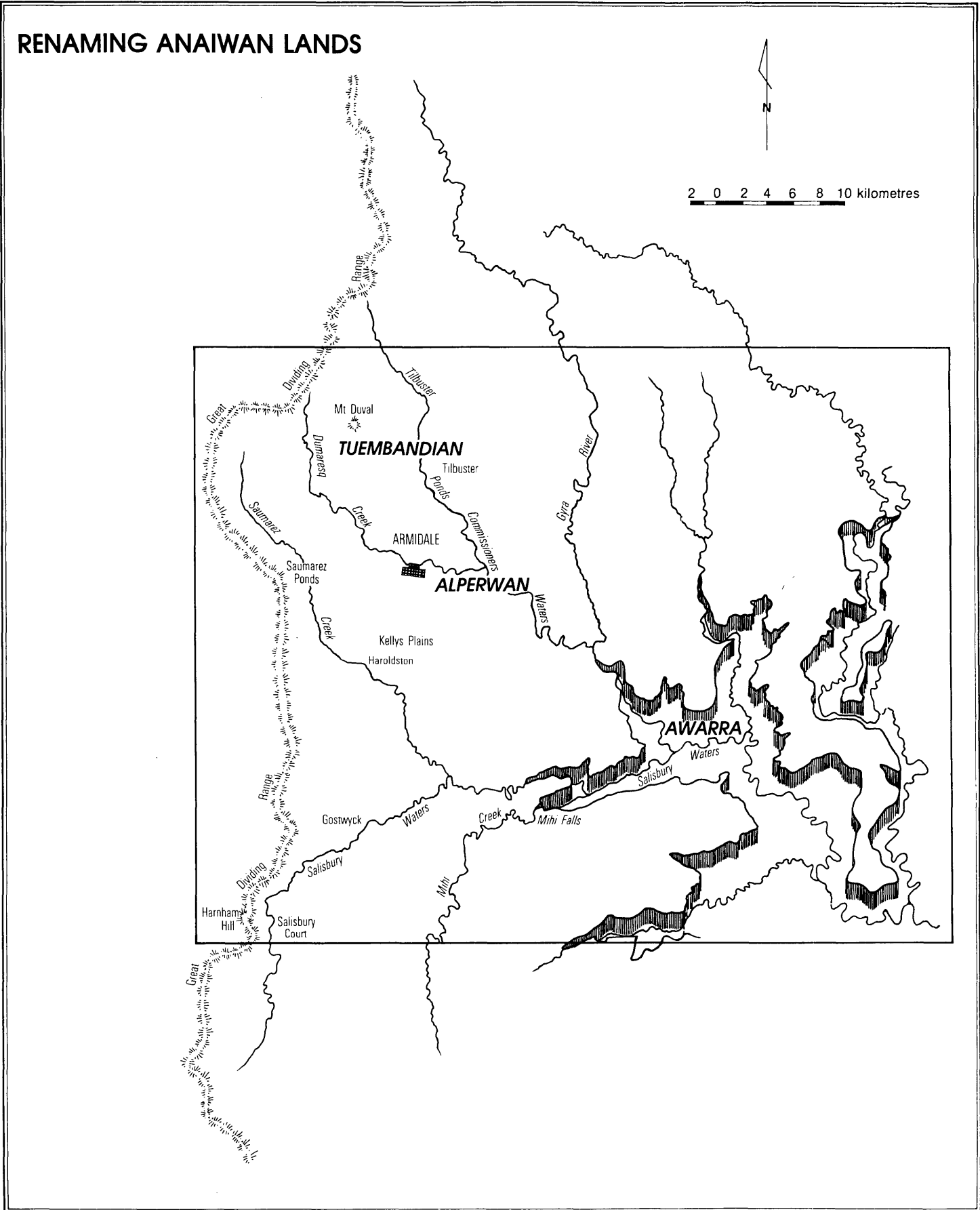
The Europeans called the northernmost of these two watercourses Dumaresq Creek, and the other, Saumarez Creek,

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2   See comment on Nganyaywana stories in W.G. Hoddinott, 'The Languages and Myths of the New England Area', in Isabel McBryde (ed.), *Records of Times Past,* Canberra, 1978, p.57.

3   William Gardner, Production and Resources of the Northern and Western Districts of New South Wales (2 Vols), Vol. 1, Mitchell Library MS, A 176-1, f.32. Gardner claimed that Alperwan referred to the Armidale Plain, a place name no longer in use. However, in his reminiscences Joseph Scholes Jnr. quite clearly located the Armidale Plain as that flat land west of Marsh Street upon which the racecourse was built. See Joseph Scholes, Recollections of Early Days in New South Wales, Mitchell Library MS, Q 991.8/16A1, p.2.

MAP 1.1

RENAMING ANAIWAN LANDS

2 0 2 4 6 8 10 kilometres

Mt Duval

TUEMBANDIAN

Tilbuster

ARMIDALE

ALPERWAN

Saumarez
Ponds

Kellys Plains

Haroldston

AWARRA

Waters

Gostwyck

Salisbury

Mihi Falls

Harnham
Hill

Salisbury
Court

which ran parallel to the south. So it has been since the 1840s. These names, which are coupled on the highlands of Australia, were also coupled on the Island of Jersey in the English Channel. Near a place called Saumarez on Jersey lived a family called Dumaresq who could claim to be 'one of the few Patrician houses of the island'.[4] When Henry Dumaresq occupied his highland pastoral estate in the mid 1830s, he re-created that association of family and place by naming it Saumarez. Other immigrants did the same. The first Commissioner of Crown Lands, George Macdonald, linked his family history to his wilderness home and created an Australian Armidale derived from the Scottish seat of his ancestors, the Lords of the Isles.[5] William Dumaresq, recalling the name of his wife's family home in London, added Tilbuster to the scatter of European place names.[6] Much later, to the south of Armidale on Saumarez Creek, Police Magistrate Robert Issel Perrott named his farm Haroldston after the castle in Pembrokeshire where medieval Perrotts had lived and loved in chivalric style.[7] Pastoralist Matthew Henry Marsh noted this fashion for romantic English place names in his book on his Australian adventures.[8] In 1840 he had purchased a squatting run which already bore the very appropriate name of Salisbury[9] — appropriate because, back home, Marsh's father had been chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury with its famous cathedral. Marsh built a stone house at his headstation and called it Salisbury Court. Not far away he erected a chapel and called it Old Sarum.[10] Immigrant nostalgia and family pride transported to this small part of the Australian bush many other European names. These kept alive proud, old connections between people, place and patronymic.

4   'The Late Captain Dumaresq', *AE*, 28 November, 1868, p.4.

5   Sir Arthur Hodgson, 'Australia Revisited', in *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, London, Vol. XXI, 1889-1890, quoted in Lionel Gilbert, *An Armidale Album*, Armidale, 1982, p.1.

6   Jean Cooper, 'A Chain of Ponds: Tilbuster Station 1835-1985,' *ADHSJ*, No. 29, March, 1986, p.49.

7   A.C. Barrett, 'In Memoriam: Perrott of Haroldston', Perrott Collection, New England Historical Resources Centre (unprocessed), n.p.

8   Matthew Henry Marsh, *Overland from Southampton to Queensland*, London, E. Stanford, 1867, p.53.

9   Licence to Depasture Crown Land beyond the Limits of Location, R.M. Mackenzie (*sic*), Salisbury Plains, 20 July, 1839, Colonial Treasury, Certificates of Depasturing Licences, 1839-40, AONSW, 4/92.

10   Eliza M.A. Marsh, Journal entries for 2 March, 9 March, 16 March etc 1851, Mitchell Library MS, AM 169/6.

So the new arrivals in this landscape had stories to tell as they unpacked their cultural baggage. These were family stories probably a little over-decorated with heroics and chivalry, perhaps a little fanciful when it came to the purity of lineage. But the highland landscapes evoked those family romances and, for others, simple memories of home. The highlands had something of the feel of home about them. Some felt it was Scotland and began to refer, initially, to New Caledonia. Others insisted it was England and their insistence carried the day. By 1840 New England was an officially recognised region[11] created as the setting for new aspirations teased out from old stories.

If old stories resonated in New England, it was not so much because of the landforms, or the deformed trees or the strange animals and birds. The resonance was carried on the wind. Perhaps it was most keenly heard in the magnificent silences of dawn. Even in summer the mornings are crisp and cool. On autumn mornings there are mists on the waters and low clouds cocoon in the valleys. The winters are cold. Starry nights produce frosty dawns. The ground crackles underfoot. Occasionally it snows, perhaps less now than a century and a half ago when every winter seemed to bring a few good snowfalls. Romantic imaginations could style this four-seasoned country as Gothic, an appropriate setting for Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, Wordsworth, or Tennyson — at least until after breakfast when a full-throttled sun called up the Australian bush in its peculiar colours, shapes and glare. But even then the climate could be glorified. Matthew Marsh found it exhilarating. 'The climate is perhaps the finest in the world...' he wrote. He welcomed the bracing cool and marvelled at the accompanying dryness. The constant damp that wormed its way into the lungs of sickly Englishmen back home was absent in New England. The climate was healthy. Marsh claimed that 'in many cases asthma is completely cured [and] consumptive persons often get strong and active while they live on the table land'.[12]

Many New Englanders and New England visitors, subsequently, took the climate out of the hands of the measurers and markers with their passionless interest in maxima and minima, and shaped

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[11]   Sir George Gipps to Lord John Russell, 28 September, 1840, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX, Sydney, 1924, p.841.

[12]   Marsh, *op. cit.,* pp.55-56.

it into something more poetic. They associated the climate with mental vigour and muscular morality and contrasted it with the enervated lethargy produced along the humid coast and across the sun-blasted inland. This association and these comparisons were to be important as the European people of New England tried to create and promote a sense of place.

Matthew Henry Marsh also thrilled to a sense of time and space. On one occasion in 1842, he led a small expedition north into what is now the Darling Downs of southern Queensland. Short of food, he went on by himself some twenty five miles. He recalled that experience in his book published when he was back home in England, and a Member of Parliament, twenty five years later. It was obviously prominent in his array of memories of the Australian bush, and he described it with fervour.

> I never enjoyed a ride so much in my life. The pleasure of going alone over ground untrodden before, save by the wild beast and savage, was overwhelming, and as I rode along I mused on the future of this new land, whether it might be covered at some time or other with vines and olives; and whether in the quiet peaceful dale through which I passed some fierce battle might be fought. The excitement of it was delightful - the best run I ever saw was nothing to it. ... I shall never see the like again.[13]

His romanticism relegated the Aborigines to part of the setting as he claimed to be first into a space he saw as entirely his own. He had broken free into a new physical dimension but also into a new social dimension. He was free, for an instant, from social constraint. But he knew time would bring others to fence off their space and plant their conventions. He looked down on the future and saw a masculine world of magnificent battles and farmlands wrought from the bush. His gaze did not fall on home and hearth and chimney smoke. His open space was gendered — a man's inheritance. Many others of Marsh's generation, forgetting entirely the ancient forms and ancient stories of this ancient land, saw a new, young country, essentially male, essentially robust, open and free. Their romantic images had an impact.

Marsh's story has introduced two types of perception which are sufficiently important to become themes in any local or regional history. There is the perception of place and specifically its

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[13]   *Ibid.*,   p.76.

attribute of climate and there is the perception of physical and social space changing over time. But Marsh's was the story of the sojourner looking back, selectively. It was not the story of an immigrant who had made a new home.

About the year that Matthew Marsh went on his expedition north from Salisbury Court, a gentleman teacher came to New England. His name was William Gardner. He was a Scot from Glasgow, middle aged, unmarried, who had obtained a modestly impressive education and had set off wandering. He arrived in Australia in 1838 and spent much of the rest of his life teaching the children of isolated squatters in New England. At one time he was employed on Dumaresq's Saumarez Run but most of his time was spent on stations to the north of Armidale. He died at Oban station in 1860 and was buried there.[14]

Gardner told a different story to that of Marsh. He had begun collecting snippets of information on northern New South Wales about 1842, continued the exercise almost until his death and organised these notes roughly in two volumes of manuscript. He was a man of facts. They interested him, the more so if they could be ordered mathematically or scientifically. He did not insist that his facts be accurate, simply that they be stated with confidence. His writing was as dully passionless as Marsh's was overly romantic. Gardner looked at the same landscape and saw north, south, east, west — one, two three, many. These were the limits of his adjectives. With a few notable exceptions, he described a New England, if not without people, then certainly without characters. People were names, usually listed as property owners or stock breeders and, with the exception of the explorers who inspired him, never described.

There are a few gems in the dust of Gardner's writing. His descriptions of shearing and of early milling operations stand out. There is interest in the story of the Aboriginal guide, Paddy, who discovered for squatter Andrew Coventry a new run which is still called Paddy's Land. He gave a brief but very useful description of the two bearded convict stockmen, the 'beardies', Duval and

14 E.W. Dunlop, William Gardner - Pioneer Historian of New England, *Journal and Proceedings of the Armidale and District Historical Society,* Vol. 1, No. 1, February, 1961, pp.21-24.

Chandler, who gave their names in one form or another to so many features of the landscape of central New England. But large amounts of the manuscript are transcriptions of sale notices, wool prices, news items and feature articles copied from local, regional and metropolitan newspapers. If there is a vision of Gardner working at his manuscripts by the light of a candle 'for his own amusement', as he put it, then that vision shows the extent, not of his labours, but of his boredom. He was filling in space in his life.

At the time Gardner was teaching and writing at the stations to the north of Armidale, a boy named Joseph Scholes (junior) received a sound, practical education from Edward Baker, the denominational schoolmaster in the town. Scholes lived in Armidale for most of the rest of his long life variously describing himself as a bartender, publican, auctioneer, landed proprietor, farmer, alderman and gentleman. With a robust inheritance from his father, Scholes purchased land on the crest of Armidale's south hill overlooking the town, and built a fine two-storeyed mansion for himself and his family. Swept up in the patriotic fervour accompanying the commitment of New South Welsh troops overseas in 1886, Scholes named his house Soudan.

By 1913 Scholes was in his mid-seventies and a respected elder of Armidale. The city was celebrating the silver jubilee of its incorporation and Scholes' memories were commissioned for the occasion. The first official history of Armidale featured Scholes' reminiscences of the 1850s: of pioneer characters who 'did it hard'; of a primitive village made remote by dreadful roads; of battles between the blacks on the edge of town; and of race meetings where the boys in the town 'who fancied their nags', might join in the race for the last quarter mile to test out their mounts and their masculinity.[15] It was the perfect foil to describe the jubilee city with its well-ordered roads, council water supply, gas lights, picket fences, stately buildings, civilised masculinity and impressive statistics. Armidale had scrubbed up well. The citizens boasted of one of the prettiest towns in New South Wales; a climate second to none; and a healthiness that made the city a recognised sanatorium resort. This was celebratory history. It was also the history of

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[15] A.H. Garnsey, Joseph Scholes and S.J. Kearney (eds), *Official Souvenir of the Municipal Jubilee of Armidale: 1863-1913*, Armidale, 1913, n.p.

progress and it was men's history. There were pages of photographs and texts of men in regalia or uniforms showing their allegiance to The Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows; The Ancient Order of Foresters; The Armidale Holy Catholic Guild; the Grand United Order of Oddfellows; The Protestant Alliance Friendly Society; The Carpenters and Joiners' Association; The Eight Hour Day Committee; The Armidale Literary Institute; The Armidale City Band; The Highland Pipe Band; as well as the masculine sports of Rugby Union, Cricket and Horse Racing. Only a portrait of the Lady Mayoress and a photograph of the St Ursula's girls carefully posed around a magnificent harp, suggest that Armidale's splendid progress might have been due also to its women.

Other celebratory histories followed in 1923[16] and 1938,[17] each marking another anniversary in the history of the municipality, each broadly following the theme of the 'March of Progress' in the affairs of men. However, a very different type of history was initiated in 1961 with the production of a regular journal of the newly formed Armidale and District Historical Society. This journal has been significant in bringing many aspects of New England history to a wide audience of regular subscribers. It has been properly recognised as one of the best such publications in Australia.

For most of its long life the journal has been dominated by academics of one or other of the tertiary institutions. A simple classification of contributors to the journal indicates that at least 60 per cent of all published articles were written by university and college teachers. An analysis of the themes of the major journal articles over thirty years reflects both the idiosyncrasies of individual research careers and some of the hidden influences which shape a community's perception of its past. Certain themes have remained constant although emphases have changed. Each decade has seen a small number of good papers on the Aboriginal experience on the highlands. Linguistics, ethno-history and archaeology have been the main emphases. There have been few

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[16]   F.W. Milner (ed.), *City of Armidale: Diamond Jubilee Souvenir,* Armidale, 1923.

[17]   H.W. Oxford (ed.), *Armidale: 75th Anniversary of the Municipality,* Newcastle, 1938.

papers on post-contact history and those that do touch on this period tend to become mired in frontier violence. In recent years oral history has become prominent bringing the voice of Aboriginal people to the journal. The stories are dominated by place and tradition as narrators recall and relive their most significant cultural experiences. But it was only in 1993 that the first paper appeared on the urban experiences of twentieth century Aborigines — a topic for which there would be considerable evidence for research.

History through biography has always been popular with researchers and with audiences, but those treated in the journal tend to be nineteenth century males. Generally the experiences of women in New England have not formed a major theme in the journals of the society. Pastoralism has always been a popular topic for research but little has been done on agriculture and small farming and virtually nothing on the twentieth century. Surprisingly, there is only a very modest contribution to the history of mining which was so important in the development of the region. As might be expected education and the churches have received good coverage and education, along with politics, are the two main themes bringing readers into the twentieth century.

One of the reasons for the wealth of historical writing on New England in general and Armidale in particular was the existence of significant archival material, easily accessible within the region. This wealth of primary sources ultimately produced a number of published local and regional histories. The first of such was R.B. Walker's, *Old New England*.[18] Dr Walker of the History Department of the University of New England relied heavily on the *Armidale Express*, various collections of station records, and published government records such as the *Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, Government Gazettes, Parliamentary Debates* and *Statistical Registers.* His work was an early example of a regional study produced at a time when the concept of regionalism was flourishing. In New England in particular there was an active New State Movement in the 1960s which seemed to give substance to the importance of regionalism and so a regional history at this time is not surprising. Walker's work preceded other academic

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[18]   R.B. Walker, *Old New England,* Sydney, 1966.

publications in the *genre*, most particularly Waterson's history of the Darling Downs[19] and Buxton's study of the Riverina.[20] All three publications emerged from doctoral theses indicating that universities at the time showed some interest in the concept of regional studies in history.

Walker's book is still an impressive history. The structure of the book was novel for the time he wrote. Rather than produce a chronological sequence of events, Walker focused on key character types in explaining the development of the region. Around the discoverers, the pioneers, the squatters, the free selectors and other archetypes he crafted his story, arranging the sculptures in loose chronological order and highlighting each in sequence. The approach had its strengths and weaknesses. All the characters were chosen for their occupational status. Hence the story is largely economic. This was an innovation at the time Walker was writing. An economic approach to regional history allowed Walker to break through the 'events' barrier and write a history that was more analytical than much that had been written previously with a local or regional focus. Certainly, the most impressive feature of Walker's work today is his analysis of the forces shaping and changing agriculture and grazing on the highlands. However, other aspects of New England life were overlooked. Two characters, the clergyman and the schoolmaster, provided insights into the ideas and ideals which shaped colonial life, and, living in Armidale, Walker could hardly omit education and the churches from his story. However, there is no character to bring out family life, nor are there doctors, club organisers, publicans, entertainers or other characters who might help us to understand how colonial New Englanders spent their non-working hours. But above all, there are no women. Only two pages, under the heading of 'pioneers', are devoted to the experiences of women.

As well, Walker was inconsistent in dealing with the concept of 'progress'. He took considerable pains in his final chapter to show that the Aborigines did not share in the onward march of progress. Indeed the attention that he gave to the Aborigines was a feature which made his work outstanding for his time. However, he saw

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[19]   D.B. Waterson, *Squatter Selector and Storekeeper,* Sydney, 1968.

[20]   G.L. Buxton, *The Riverina, 1861-1891,* Melbourne, 1967.

assimilation as the way forward for Aborigines — they would only progress when they became like whites — and his acceptance of such racist terms as 'full blood' and 'half caste', still commonly used in the 1960s, makes his views on race dated.[21]

For the 'European settlers' he was unequivocal. They 'had made remarkable progress'. When he created images of that progress they were sharply economic. The wide empty spaces of the 1850s had given way to a land 'more thickly settled with farms and cottages'[22] by 1900. But even his own story showed that many lives had been broken in trying to service the dream, and the whole wheat industry, which had once flourished in New England, had been destroyed by the coming of the railway — ironically the quintessential symbol of progress.

Almost twenty years after Walker's publication, Dr Lionel Gilbert of the Armidale College of Advanced Education published a history of Armidale which he called *An Armidale Album*.[23] Gilbert wrote primarily for the people of Armidale both to entertain and to gently instruct and, as well, to raise money for the New England Regional Art Museum to rehouse the extremely valuable Howard Hinton art collection.

Gilbert sub-titled his book *Glimpses of Armidale's History and Development In Word, Sketch and Photograph,* which was perhaps unfortunate since the book is far more unified and coherent than that title might suggest. He shaped his book with primary source quotations and photographs, certainly not loosely arranged, but very carefully chosen to join with a well-written text to reveal the changing sense of time and place which was the Armidale story. But more than that he was able to recreate characters from the scant remains people left behind. There is, for instance, the unforgettable soft tragedy in his characterisation of Commissioner George Macdonald, the small, physically-deformed bachelor living in the wilds of New England, loving women who did not return his affections and, through a modest talent in poetry, attempting to surround himself with romantic images, a modicum of taste and a few telling material refinements. Gilbert was more in sympathy

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[21] Walker, op. *cit.,* pp.172-174.
[22] *Ibid.,* p.174.
[23] Gilbert, *op. cit.*

with the poets, artists, photographers, educators and clergymen than with the successful money-makers and his book is therefore a good cultural history.

Gilbert had a marvellous sense of humour. He rummaged through his vast collection of historical material with a smile of anticipation, expecting and finding magnificent farce. Once found, he had the wit to make the most of it. He described in detail the refined opposition of the established churches and the rambunctious hostility of the riff-raff and larrikins to the advent of the Salvation Army in Armidale in 1887. A sample of his writing follows.

> There were, of course, equally dramatic if less academic ways of expressing one's opposition to the Army. One John O'Dea aimed at silencing one meeting by hurling missiles onto the roof of the barracks. This was considered somewhat excessive and young Mr O'Dea appeared before Judge Murray...charged with disturbing a congregation at worship.[24]

There are many such word pictures to keep the reader engrossed. But this strength is also a weakness. There is little analysis. Two questions, at least, are begged of the above incident: Why was there such fierce opposition to the Salvation Army? and why had the Army been thoroughly accepted by 1891 when General Booth visited Armidale?[25] However in fairness it must be said that Lionel Gilbert was not producing integrated, analytical history. He did, after all, claim no more than to provide his readers with glimpses, to pull back the curtains on the city's history as it were. He left room for much more to be written about Armidale.

To write a new story of Armidale is, essentially, to write a different story that, in its own way, will be a creation of its time. It will be a story crafted from what remains of the people of the past revealed through a mind attuned to the urgent issues of the late twentieth century. Thus the past and the present are spliced in a double helix[26] where the present influences the interpretation of the past and the past projects to the present selected images for

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[24] *Ibid.*, p.165.

[25] This type of 'incidental' story was criticised by Peter West in his review of local history writing. See Peter West, 'Writing Local history: Some problems and solutions', *Locality,* Vol. 4, No. 3., October, 1990, p.7.

[26] This term 'double helix' is taken from Greg Dening's, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language,* Cambridge, 1992.

analysis. However, part of the craft of the historian is to unravel that double helix and to avoid being caught up in a process that leads inexorably to local history as the celebration of local elites. The concept of 'progress' is a good example of that double helix. The marvels of technological change in the twentieth century have assured many people today that history is synonymous with progress — that an appropriate metaphor for the relationship between past, present and future is an upward spiral. That helix is reinforced by the discourse about progress that was preached so strongly in the past. Our Victorian ancestors were also convinced that their world was the sum total of all progresses. However, they did not see progress as an inexorable outcome of technological advance as it is seen today. The example of the Roman Empire clearly showed them that moral decline could send the world reeling into backwardness. They cherished their images of the blighted and benighted Aborigines, Islanders, Hottentots and cannibals to reinforce their conviction that progress was subject to moral correctness and racial purity. Being pure and correct, they believed that progress was their reward. These two powerful discourses on progress, one from the present, the other from the past, produce sharp historical images with which we are all familiar: the heroic, sometimes tragic, explorers as the vanguard of change; the sadly evanescent Aborigine disappearing without trace after the first few paragraphs; the noble pioneer reconstructing the landscape; the gold digger extracting wealth from the waste; and the soldier defending the moral values upon which progress depended. Once the double helix is recognised and unravelled, the assumption of progress can be put aside and the essence of progress can be seen as part of the ideology of the past underscoring belief and shaping action.

This example shows the type of historical consciousness which now informs histories of local communities. We are more critically conscious of the voices we hear from the past and the chorus which joins in from the present. There are other trends as well influencing modern local history. The emergence of social history in the last two decades or so has had a powerful influence on local history. A revolution in the collection, care, copying and accessibility of archives has led to an interest in what is sometimes

called 'history from below'.[27]   Others have seen this shift from the histories of elites to the histories of the work-face of everyday life as due, in part, to an ideological change caused by 'the rise of global mass culture with its egalitarian approach to consumption'.[28]   For some years now historians have been aware of the need to include the history of groups previously overlooked.

Recent local histories by Australian authors have widened the scope of investigation beyond a narrow focus on a dominant elite. This approach has often entailed the use of new sources of history, or a novel use of old sources.   David Garrioch's study of local communities in pre-revolutionary Paris, for instance, relies heavily on one archival series of minor police records which were so extensive that most Parisian men and women in the mid eighteenth century were recorded in the documents at least once during their residence in the city.[29]   These sources allowed Garrioch to make a detailed study of the significance of urban communities in defining personal identities and loyalties.   As well, because he was able to examine the behaviours of people from almost all status groups in the city, he was able to indicate degrees of stratification, class formation and social mobility as men and women experienced them in the various quarters of Paris.

In colonial Virginia, another community on the eve of revolution, Rhys Isaac revealed the essential meaning evident in such little-used sources of local history as architectural evidence and the arrangement of physical space and its relationship to status.[30]   Using accounts of community gatherings he exposed the various layers of activity which occurred on such social occasions as court days and race meetings and placed considerable emphasis on dance as an important form of social expression.   His sources allowed him to depict the segregation between high, low and slave cultures in pre-revolutionary Virginia and to examine more

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[27]   Steven Garton, 'Historians and Archives', *Locality*,   Vol. 3, No. 4, August-September, 1989, pp.9,10.

[28]   Lucy Taska, 'Drawing Conclusions and Writing about Places', *Locality*, No. 10, July (*sic*) (presumably 1987),   p.5.

[29]   David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790*, Cambridge, 1986, pp.7, 13-15.

[30]   Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, North Carolina, 1982.

meaningfully those venues, such as the taverns, where the various status groups met and, supposedly, mixed freely.

The recent histories of Alan Atkinson[31] and Norma Townsend[32] on Australian rural communities in the nineteenth century have relied extensively on the time-consuming method of family reconstitution to focus on 'the population at large'.[33] In both books family life was portrayed. This is significant because, of all the social institutions, the family, arguably the most significant in shaping people's lives, is often omitted even from the more recent, professionally written local histories.[34] Atkinson, in particular was able to show that such an omission not only leaves community history barren, but reduces the historian's ability to account for change. Atkinson's history had a flair for insight and he was able to use his sources creatively to gently surprise his readers. On one occasion he pointed out and explained the meaning behind such an easily missed sign as the carving of initials on a tree in 1809. Later he demonstrated a shift in ideology in the Irish-Catholic community by drawing our attention to the baptismal registers which showed a changing preference in the naming of girls by mid century. But good local histories must go beyond the insights that new sources and creative interpretations of old sources can provide.

Many historians recognise the need to examine comprehensively the internal dynamics of communities in times past. Economics, sociology and anthropology influence the writing of history as, generally, the disciplinary demarcations become less distinct. Patterns and structures are sought in explaining the development of local communities. In fact, local studies lend themselves particularly well to a study of social structures and dynamics because the population under examination is manageable.

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31 Alan Atkinson, *Camden,* Melbourne, 1988.

32 Norma Townsend, *Valley of the Crooked River,* Kensington, 1993.

33 Atkinson, *op. cit.,* p. xiii.

34 Although she admired his work, Julia Horne made one criticism of Bill Gammage's history of Narrandera saying: '...there is very little about white families and their relationship to the land and almost nothing about the role of women in establishing strongholds of land.' See Julia Horne, 'Book Review: *Narrandera Shire,* by Bill Gammage', *Locality,* Vol. 3, No. 1, Feb-Mar 1989, p. 7.

Community studies in the discipline of sociology can be useful in showing how concepts of social structure and social dynamics can be applied to a local community. Such studies sometimes concentrate on the interrelationship of social institutions including the family, the economy, religion and organised leisure to show the impact of these institutions on the lives of a relatively small number of ordinary people in a specific locality.[35] Other studies in this *genre* emphasise the dimensions of social inequality which are more easily determined and described for a small community. In Australia, Wild's study of 'Bradstow' in the late 1960s is perhaps the best known of the community studies.[36] He used a structural model which was essentially Weberian to elucidate the status groups he had observed in the community, and the strategies of bonding, exclusion and power which made these groups important in the lives of the residents of the town.

A more recent, more thorough, longitudinal study was undertaken by Ken Dempsey in the Victorian community of 'Smalltown'.[37] Although Dempsey centred his analysis on carefully defined sociological concepts, he was not theoretically constrained by a 'grand theory', and he was able to break free of a limited emphasis on status and class although these characteristics still received good coverage. He analysed the age structure of the community and the relationship between 'old families' and 'itinerants' and his data on gender, a social structure entirely omitted by Wild, was so extensive that he was able to write another book.[38] Such works, which focus on the modern descendants of historical communities, have much to offer local historians.

Most historians prefer to be nudged by theory rather than dominated by it. Rhys Isaac, for instance, who wrote derogatorily of the 'pushers of systems',[39] nonetheless relied on terms such as 'social structure', 'action/meaning' and 'interactional exchange' to reveal pre-revolutionary Virginia as a dynamic society shaped by the activities of individuals who themselves had been shaped by

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[35] M. Stacey, 'The Myth of Community Studies', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1969, p. 135 quoted in R. A. Wild, *Australian Community Studies and Beyond*, Sydney. 1981, p. 32.

[36] R. A. Wild, *Bradstow*, Sydney, 1974.

[37] Ken Dempsey, *Smalltown*, Melbourne, 1990.

[38] Ken Dempsey, *Man's Town*, Melbourne, 1992.

[39] Isaac, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

inherited patterns of behaviour. The theoretical debate between structure and agency obviously shaped his story. As well, concepts of social power and authority were central to his explanations of why people behaved as they did and through the use of his conceptual frameworks he was able to maintain the vitality of the actors as they moved across his historical landscape.

In an entirely different context to the rolling hills and river inlets of tidewater Virginia, Greg Dening used highly refined concepts of power and authority to reveal the mutinous struggle on board Captain Bligh's ship *Bounty*.[40] His 'locality' was the wooden world of an eighteenth century fighting ship - a total institution where relationships were tense because they were so close and ritualised because they were so potentially explosive. The language of power, the rituals of authority, the expectations of deference and the predictability of leadership should have been in sharp focus on the *Bounty*, but, as Dening showed, Captain Bligh blurred relationships with his crew dangerously. Dening's is the new telling of an old story made possible by insights drawn from disciplines other than history.

But the local historian does not need to be restricted to the study of the internal dynamics of an historical community and the changes to those dynamics over time. To do so would be somewhat parochial. An attempt can be made to breach the constraints of parochialism. It was not so long ago that local history was parodied as the field where the antiquarian, the amateur historian and the local busy-body could dodder about together making ill-organised investigations which happily kept them occupied while the mainstream of historians proceeded with more important things. There was a feeling that local history was not the pursuit of university research.[41] However, recent studies of small communities in times past have changed the way national events are understood.

The English historian, Alan Macfarlane, in particular, built much of his career and his reputation on the reconstruction of two historical English communities, Earls Colne in Essex and Kirkby

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40 Greg Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language,* Cambridge, 1992.
41 David Rollison, 'Local History, Academic History and the History of Everyday Life', *Locality,* No. 2, August, 1986, p.5.

Lonsdale in Cumbria.[42] But, beyond that reconstruction, he proceeded to apply his data to a question of national and international significance: What was it about British society which led to the triumph of capitalism, and ultimately industrial capitalism, in England? Macfarlane's comprehensive examination of parish, manorial and court records, particularly in the two villages mentioned above where he had a long unbroken series of records, led him to challenge the received wisdom. He showed that the classic peasant community did not exist in medieval Britain; that there was too much geographic mobility; too much of a reliance on hired labour rather than family labour; too much buying and selling of land; too little evidence of typical kinship networks and extended families.[43] His conclusion was that the cultural configuration of England had been unique for many centuries prior to the supposed watershed in the Tudor era and that capitalism evolved most fully in England because the cultural ground was immanently fertile, not because of revolutionary changes in the sixteenth century.[44]

Macfarlane's work is an outstanding example of the extent to which local research can be used to address major historical questions. Another brilliant contribution using a local history approach was the work of Davidoff and Hall which concentrated on the English middle class in the period 1780-1850.[45] Their focus, too, was on local communities and they chose to study the city of Birmingham and especially its suburb of Edgbaston, as well as two localities in the east of England, Colchester, a market town in Essex and the neighbouring village of Witham. Their chosen period covered the emergence and consolidation of industrial capitalism. They accepted the classic wisdom that such a fundamental change in the mode of production would inevitably produce significant changes in the social structure but they moved away from the usual focus on inter-class relationships and concentrated on the emergence of a new and powerful middle class consciousness during the period. The greatest accolades, however, were reserved for their convincing demonstration that the makers of the English

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[42] Alan Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities,* Cambridge, 1977, pp.150-200.

[43] Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism,* Oxford, 1978, pp.131-164.

[44] *Ibid.,* pp.189-203.

[45] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes,* London, 1987.

bourgeoisie were women as well as men. They showed that the language of class formation was gendered; that gender relationships were structured by property forms as well as ideological imperatives; and that there were significant contradictions between ideology and the practical constraints of daily life.[46] Their approach had allowed the authors to see women in their families and in their communities.

These works and their most salient features described above have influenced my writing of a new history of colonial Armidale. Such a story should begin with a beating of the bounds of time and place. However there is no need for demarcations to be rigorously surveyed. The geographical area to be studied in this thesis centres on the town of Armidale with its nineteenth century boundaries marked out by Surveyor Galloway in 1849 and named by him Canambe, Erskine, Niagara and Galloway Streets. The adjacent farmland is also included because much of the economic activity in the town depended on nearby agriculture. In particular the two main areas of intensive agriculture, Saumarez Ponds to the west of Armidale and Kellys Plains to the south, have been selected for analysis. But in considering the pastoral industry which was also crucial to an understanding of the economic and social functioning of Armidale, it is necessary to go beyond the town and its adjacent farmlands and to consider the pastoral holdings of Saumarez, Tilbuster, Springmount, Gara, Gostwyck, Hillgrove and Salisbury.

The boundaries of time chosen for this project are the early 1850s and the year 1891. At the beginning of the period of study, Armidale was the ungroomed village which Joseph Scholes Jnr recalled in 1913. It was largely a service centre for pastoral workers, gold diggers and travellers, clustering around the intersection of the Great North Road, the road from Port Macquarie and the road to the Clarence River. In some circles, Armidale was known best for its drunkenness, brawling and prostitution.[47] The town was roughly built and, although there was very little land in private hands in the early 1850s, regular sales at auction were creating a small urban land owning class. But it would take some years before this land was substantially developed. Beyond the

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[46] *Ibid.*, p.450.

[47] Evidence of S.H. Darby and F. Vigne, *V&P, 1854,* (2 Vols), Vol 2, quoted in Gilbert, *op. cit.,* pp.81-82.

town boundaries were the great pastoral runs given over to the grazing of sheep and cattle across unfenced plains very sparsely dotted with small cultivation paddocks and a few tenant farms. All interest focused on Rocky River twenty kilometres to the south of Armidale where gold had been discovered in 1852.

The year 1856 was crucial in Armidale's development. In February of that year a new and very rich gold lead was discovered at Rocky River. There is no doubt that the discovery prompted the Australian Joint Stock Bank to open a branch in Armidale, the first branch bank in the north of the colony.[48] On 5 April the *Armidale Express* made its first appearance and during July a petition, which ultimately comprised 1500 signatures, was circulated throughout the north on behalf of the establishment of an Assizes Court in Armidale.[49] It was clear that the town was becoming a regional centre for the location of a variety of social institutions. Land sales were booming and an extension of the Armidale Reserve to the west and south allowed the sale of farmlands along Saumarez Creek. Freehold farming was established and the dominance of the squatters was challenged.

Demographic statistics from the 1856 census show a community with some unusual features. There was a gender skew. Women made up only 32 per cent of the adult population of the town and 28 per cent of the adult population in the police district which included the goldfields.[50] As might be expected, there were as many single adult men in the town as there were married men. It is also interesting to note that the proportion of people whose birthplace was Ireland was greater than the proportion coming from England in the town but not in the police district. The proportion of Roman Catholics in the town was similarly greater than in the district. However one must be cautious in equating Roman Catholicism with the Irish. It is clear from birth, death and marriage records that there was a considerable number of Irish

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[48] Minutes of the Board of the Australian Joint Stock Bank, 16 July, 1856, Westpac Archives, A-3/39.

[49] Petition for the Establishment of an Assizes Court in Armidale, Legislative Assembly Tabled Papers, 1856/287, New South Wales Parliamentary Archives.

[50] The census figures come from Census - 1856. Report to the Hon. Henry Watson Parker, Colonial Secretary, *Supplement to the New South Wales Government Gazette,* No. 47, 28 March, 1857, n.p.

Protestants holding key economic positions in Armidale. But whatever way the figures are looked at, there was a significant Irish presence in Armidale.

By 1891 Armidale was a city which had proudly unveiled an identity featuring schools, churches, a healthy climate and cultural refinement. There were dancing classes, improvement societies, debating clubs, fine art exhibitions and facilities for skating and segregated swimming. There was a sense of eminent respectability about the place. The past belonged to the past. Early on the morning of 30 November 1891 a fire broke out in Bank Cottage one of the oldest buildings in Armidale on the south side of the town facing Mann Street. The building was quickly destroyed.[51] There was time for nostalgia but no regrets. Bank Cottage had been the home of Archibald Mosman one of Armidale's most prominent citizens of the 1850s. He had given his name to a suburb in Sydney, a son had given his name to a town in north Queensland and a daughter was Lady Palmer wife of a former premier of Queensland. But the slab walls and shingled roof of Bank Cottage, which had once been home to them all and a social venue in the town, represented a primitive past. It was best gone.

There was a newness in the air. The talk of the town was of a new reticulated water supply. The pride of the town was the new, grand Imperial Hotel packed during the summer season with tourists wishing to take in the climate.[52] The beauty of the town was its two cathedrals, impressive private school and Gothic Presbyterian Church abutting a beautifully landscaped central park. The victory of the town was its securing of a major proprietary boys' school to serve northern New South Wales.[53] The wonder of the town was that it was being considered as a future national capital in a federated Australia.[54] The past was slipping away and before the end of 1891 there was a sharp wrench. A particularly virulent strain of influenza swept eastern Australia in October and November. The elderly in particular succumbed. Patrick McKinlay and Samuel Gentle, two of the earliest farmers at Saumarez Ponds died. George Faint of Kellys Plains died. Brother Francis Gatti who

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[51] *AE*, 1 December, 1891, p.8

[52] *AE*, 23 January, 1891, p. 8; and 27 January, 1891, p. 4.

[53] Jim Graham, *A School of Their Own*, Armidale, 1994, p. 40, 42.

[54] *AE*, 14 April, 1891, p. 4.

had designed Central Park died, as did publicans Eli Allen and Mrs Stevens. Mary Millikin died of diabetes a little before the influenza epidemic. She had come to Armidale in 1856 as the defacto wife of a much older Owen Gorman, former commandant of the penal settlement of Moreton Bay. The old miller, James Skinner, died aged 80. Armidale's two outstanding aldermen and rival storekeepers over a thirty year period, John Trim and John Moore, both became very ill, recovered, but died the next year. By Christmas 1891 it seemed that Armidale had lost much of its past. It was a good time to take stock.

Statistically, the most obvious change between 1856 and 1891 was that Armidale had grown more than fourfold.[55] By 1891, women and men represented approximately equal proportions of the population. Those born in Australia now represented 77 per cent of the population and of those born overseas 50 per cent were born in England and only 23 per cent were born in Ireland. Armidale was slightly more Australian than the colony as a whole and slightly less Irish. The sharper more obvious differences of 1856 had been blurred by the increase in population and the passing of the immigrant generation of the 1840s and 1850s. Much of the land within the town boundaries had been sold and developed. There was a thriving central business district and extensive residential areas east, west and south of the town with recognisable status attributes. Beyond the boundaries farming was well established at Kellys Plains and Saumarez Ponds and the pastoral stations, now smaller in size than their progenitors of the early 1850s, consisted of land held on freehold title or other secure forms of tenure and were improved by substantial investments in fencing, clearing and buildings. Clearly a property owning class had emerged and there was considerable wealth distributed unevenly amongst the members of the community.

This thumbnail sketch of colonial Armidale is sufficient to indicate the major questions which might be asked about this community as it developed through its formative years. How were the resources of this community distributed? Who were the property owners and developers, where had they come from and

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[55] T.A. Coghlan, *Results of a Census of New South Wales taken for the Night of 5th April, 1891,* Sydney, 1894.

how did they establish themselves? What tensions emerged as they established and developed their enterprises? What was the nature of the struggle for control of the social infrastructure of the town? Who were the main protagonists and what were their aims? What were the experiences of women in this community? What changes to communal behaviour were effected as the proportion of women in the town increased? What happened to the Anaiwan people? How did the outside world shape the social structure evident in this community? What was the configuration of power in this town? How was power exercised, and by whom? To what extent was the power structure accepted or resisted? What were the predominant ideologies in the community and how did their relative importance change over time? Was this an open community with considerable opportunity for social mobility or did the social structure become rapidly stratified? How did the wealth of the community pass from one generation to the next?

In the light of the discussion earlier in this chapter on local history and the strengths of various recent works, the following points need to be made about the approaches used in this thesis. The sources are largely primary and, in the first instance, encompass those made familiar by the earlier writers on Armidale and New England. There is a good run of the *Armidale Express* from 1856 to 1891[56] and various government reports, statistical compilations and census data, familiar to most historians, have been useful. Since the publications of Walker and Gilbert, new materials in the form of diaries and collections of letters have come to light, and archival repositories have made accessible, only very recently, such valuable sources as the conditional purchase files for New South Wales, the deceased estate files of the Stamp Duty Commissioner, the wills of the Supreme Court and various other local and national court records. This thesis is the first academic work to use these very important records.

In terms of methodology, extensive work in family reconstitution was undertaken and was augmented by family histories either compiled by me or loaned to me by others. Very often the life story of an individual or family can illustrate social

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[56]   Only the years 1862 and 1890 are completely missing. The remainder of the collection is almost complete with the odd issue missing in each year.

experiences and patterns typical for many in the community. The most innovative methodology used in this thesis was property and wealth reconstitution. All property owners in the town and surrounding district were compiled for the period 1849 to 1891. As well, a number of attributes for most of these property owners was gathered including occupational status, country of origin, religion, family connections, extent of land holdings, and levels of debt. This approach involved extensive work at the Land Titles Office of New South Wales, and greatly facilitated a discussion of class and class based struggles. It was possible to devise a useful data base on approximately 2,000 landowners in the community.

As David Garrioch pointed out, the nature of sources and the method used to interpret them can throw light on people and relationships in an historical community which would otherwise remain largely hidden.[57] Property reconstitution highlighted some financial relationships which would have remained obscured, and brought to light a large number of small property owners, such as tradesmen and small shopkeepers, important in the town's development, but not part of an easily visible elite or an active faction. Entirely unexpectedly, my own great great grandparents emerged to become part of this story, and their respective life courses had some salient features worthy of note.

The examination of the dynamics of this community has not been dominated by any single major theoretical approach. However, the work has certainly been informed by a reading of a variety of social theories. More particularly, key concepts have been important in fashioning this story. The concept of 'social structure' is one such concept.

Social structure is not a thing. It refers to patterns of relationships between people. The social structure exists only in people's minds and is expressed when people encounter each other and interact in social settings. Fundamentally, the social structure consists of real sets of enduring social relations, rules and roles that organize action and behaviour.[58] These social relations are

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[57] Garrioch, op. cit., pp. 3, 7-8.

[58] Christopher Lloyd, 'Realism, Structurism and History: Foundations for a transformative science of society', Theory and Society, Vol. 18, 1989, p.480.

enduring because they are passed from one generation to the next. With every new generation adult society faces another invasion of the barbarian horde.[59] The new barbarians must be civilised - and civilised quickly. These early lessons are so important that many adults, when placed in social situations where they do not know their roles or how they should behave, feel acute anxiety. Therefore the social structure is re-assuring. At the same time the social structure is constraining and reinforces inequalities between individuals and groups of people over time. The new barbarians must learn their place in society.

But the social structure is not immutable. Laws can be changed and customs can be changed. When change occurs it is the result of the actions of people. There is a fundamental debate in the social sciences about the interaction between agency and structure. How powerful is the social structure in conditioning or regimenting individual behaviour and to what extent can people consciously effect change? As history is concerned with change and continuity over time, a structure/agency framework should be of methodological interest to historians. Not all historians agree. Paula Byrne sees structure and agency as inadequate if not outworn tools to work with.[60] On the other hand Christopher Lloyd sees structures as having 'powers of a *conditioning* kind, which set parameters for the exercise of agential action' but humans have some scope to act against structures and therefore 'individual and collective human action is the fundamental agent of history.'[61] For Lloyd, 'the best social scientific work, such as that now being done under the aegis of social history . . . embodies [the] dialectical relationships . . . between action and structure.'[62] My own views are in sympathy with Lloyd's.

A second key concept is that of a 'social institution'. The social institutions are best understood, simply, as the component sets of the total social structure. They are routine practices, enduring but not immutable, which facilitate the achievement of a specific social

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59 R. Tawney, 'An experiment in democratic education', in *The Radical Tradition*, London, 1964, p. 81.

60 Paula J. Byrne, *Criminal Law and Colonial Subject*, Cambridge, 1993, p.3.

61 Christopher Lloyd, *Explanation in Social History*, Oxford, 1986, p.37.

62 *Ibid.*, p.316.

need or needs.[63] The social institutions have typically been described as the 'cement of social life',[64] encompassing all the basic living arrangements of human beings in their interactions with one another. Most descriptions of social institutions list the family, the economy, religion, education, the law, government and organised leisure.[65] These are not the only social institutions but each of the above is widely acknowledged as a social institution fundamental to the understanding of the complexities of communities.

A major part of this thesis is organised around two major social institutions - the economy and the family. Although the other social institutions are important, the family and the economy impinged upon most people's lives more thoroughly and more fundamentally than did education, religion, organised leisure, or the law. As well, basic patterns of relationships which were endemic to the economy and the family such as the class structure and the gender structure pervaded all the other social institutions. An examination of the experiences of people in their families and in their roles in the economy gets to the heart of community life in colonial Armidale. Certainly the other social institutions are mentioned. The law, in particular, was a major structuring force in the community and did much to link Armidale to the rest of the colony. It was an important aspect of community life which has often been overlooked by local historians. Religion, education, politics and organised leisure all provide examples of tensions within the community. But, for the reasons mentioned above, prominence is given unapologetically to the family and the economy.

The final key concept underscoring this thesis is that of power. It is a concept which has been variously defined but most definitions are simply expressed. Power is usually conceived as a capacity or probability that some persons will carry out their will in relation to others even in the face of resistance — that they will get

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[63] This specific meaning of the word 'institution' will be used hereinafter and should not be confused with the common English usage of the word 'institution' denoting an organisation. See M. Ginsberg, *Sociology*, London, 1934, p. 42; or Ira J. Cohen, *Structuration Theory: Anthony Giddens and the Constitution of Social Life*, Houndsmill, 1989, p.39; or Don Edgar, Leon Earle and Rodney Fopp, *Introduction to Australian Society*, (2nd edn), Sydney, 1993, p.25.

[64] Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, Cambridge, 1989, p.381.

[65] Edgar *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.25.

their own way in social encounters.[66]   In the sense that power is a potential, it presupposes a bias in the system towards individuals but also, importantly, towards certain groups.[67] Thus power is part of the social structure, implicit in many relationships between people.   But there is another dimension to the concept, an active dimension.   Power is a strategy,[68] based upon the access of the powerful to social resources that are unevenly distributed.[69] Power is also ubiquitous and pervades most social relations.[70] We learn of power relationships at a very early age and continue to learn about them all through life.   We go forth with confidence or timidity, caution or temerity, deference or defiance depending upon our past encounters with the power of others.   Because power is so pervasive a part of the social structure, and because people respond differently to the exercise of power, it is too narrow to see power purely in the pejorative sense of struggle and repression.[71] Power is also enabling.   Power 'gets things done'.   It is a fundamental concept for understanding the dynamics of community life.

This thesis consists of nine further chapters.   Chapter Two introduces some characters who will become significant to this story, not because they were powerful or influential but because their stories encompass the spectrum of life experiences in colonial Armidale.   In the first instance, the story of their journeys is told, as examples of those many immigrant journeys which ended in Armidale.   The story of their journeys also illustrates the strangeness of the immigrant experience as new social structures were encountered, old sureties lost and new hopes and anxieties created.

Chapter Three deals with the local economy as it developed and changed between the late 1830s and 1891.   The coverage concentrates on both production and investment in the stable and basically prosperous pastoral industry, the mercurial farming sector

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66   See Max Weber *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, Chicago, 1947, p.152 and Denis Wrong, *Power: Its forms bases and uses*, Oxford, 1979, p.2 quoted in Barry Barnes, *The Nature of Power*, Oxford, 1988, p.6.

67   J.M. Barbalet, 'Power and Resistance', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVI, no. 4, December, 1985, p.541.

68   Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault*, London, 1988, p.77.

69   Cohen, *op. cit.*, p.151.

70   *ibid.*, p.532.

71   Smart, *op. cit.*, p.78.

and the retail businesses, tradesmen's workshops and secondary industries of the town. New technologies, demographic changes and shifts in economic perceptions are used to explain the developments and vagaries of this local economy.

Chapter Four looks at the economy more in terms of a social institution - as a pattern of structured relationships between people. The main divisions between employer and employee and between debtor and creditor are described as are the basic laws such as the Master and Servant Act and the Insolvency Act which, together with capitalist customs, structured economic relationships. The power dimension of those relationships is fully explained as are the strategies of resistance.

In Chapter Five a four class model is devised to show the major economic and social strata in colonial Armidale. The basis of this model is a combination of property ownership, debt levels and occupational status. From the model an attempt is made to gauge social mobility and describe it at a personal level.

Chapter Six concentrates on the family and the pervasive gender structure which emerged from that institution. Every effort is made to show how women and men experienced the family and the gendered domain of public life. Emphasis is given to the common law concept of coverture together with the customary attitudes about the nature of women and men which dominated family and social life throughout the period under consideration. The central significance of marriage becomes evident and an attempt is made to gauge the social mobility of women through marriage using a model based upon that developed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Seven deals with two of the most predominant ideologies in colonial Armidale during the period. On the one hand was an ideology of masculinity which has been central to historical writings on the Australian national character for almost forty years. On the other hand was an ideology of respectability. The gender and class basis of these ideologies is explained and the tension between these two ways of viewing the proprieties of community life are revealed.

Chapters Eight and Nine deal with intra-community conflict. The most obvious locus for conflict was the political process, but political conflict has not been examined in this thesis, partly because much has been written about the political divisions in Armidale and New England and partly because I felt that emphasis should be placed on the struggle for control of local resources such as rural land, urban space and social infrastructure. Chapter Eight is a case study in the major struggle for control and ownership of the rural lands of New England. The dimensions of the struggle and the strategies used by the protagonists are used to show the structures of power, and the possibilities and constraints in its use.

Chapter Nine complements the previous chapter by providing a case study of an urban struggle. It essentially deals with a struggle for control of the streets and public places of Armidale as well as the social infrastructure of the town. To a large extent, the struggle parallels the ideological division described in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Ten looks at the passing of the pioneer generation and the manner in which the community dealt with death as a ritual passage reinforcing the fundamental beliefs of the middle and middling classes. Finally, the chapter examines the manner in which the property owning classes passed their wealth to the next generation. Inheritance was a significant basis for the replication of social inequality and power imbalances. In that sense the last chapter is an end and a continuation.

WORLDS TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

This chapter is about journeys and encounters. It focuses on the people who travelled, often from half a world away, to arrive finally in central New England. It focuses on the adaptations these immigrants had to make, especially their re-ordering of patterns of thought and their recasting of expectations about social behaviour and social relationships. It focuses on the concept of social action, a major theme of this thesis, to show that different patterns of power and resistance are fundamental and pervasive aspects of human sociability. But the chapter begins with an antithesis.

In January 1860 a party of eight young men set out from Armidale. They headed north to Queensland. Their destination was unspecified but would be determined by their aim which was to find good grazing country beyond the boundaries of the known. The expedition was led by John McCrossin and John Mackay, the former a young storekeeper in Uralla, the latter a gold digger at Rocky River and son of a freehold farmer of Saumarez Ponds west of Armidale. The party crossed northern New South Wales and Queensland and pressed on beyond Rockhampton, then the most northerly outpost of European settlement in the colony. Eventually the young men discovered the land they wanted by the banks of a broad river which they called the Mackay. The river today is known as the Pioneer but the city which grew by its banks still bears the name of Mackay. The explorers marked out a series of squatting runs along the river and headed back home. Only one was to return to Queensland to take up his run, stock it and settle for a while — John Mackay. For one other member of the party, the valley of the Pioneer River became a final resting place. Duke, a 20 year old Anaiwan man born on Matthew Marsh's Salisbury run in 1839,[1] died during the journey at the farthest point from home.[2]

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[1] 'Andrew Murray's Diary of Pioneer Journey 100 Years Ago', *Uralla Times*, 14 January, 1960, p.2.

[2] John Mackay, 'A Pioneer Trip to North Queensland', *Uralla Times*, 2 2 December, 1877, p.2.

The story of Duke's journey stands in contrast to all those other journeys made by Europeans whose destination ultimately was central New England. Duke's journey was not made in the hope of economic reward in a new land. There was never an indication that he would gain a squatting run and the cattle to stock it. Furthermore Duke's journey was more emphatically into the unknown than those contemporary Europeans who were migrating albeit to a new land, but a land that could be easily encompassed within their world view. Duke's world view was localised in Anaiwan lands. He would have known of the people immediately beyond and possibly those still farther beyond. But beyond that he entered lands enveloped in a different Dreaming. His journey required a special courage.

By further contrast, many of the Europeans who crossed the planet to the antipodes extended the scope of their personal power by freeing themselves from the greater constraints of social structures back home. At the same time their actions increased the power of their tribe. Duke's journey better represents diminishing power. His own Anaiwan world was increasingly circumscribed and constrained by the actions of the newcomers. In 1838, the year before Duke was born, an infamous massacre of the nearby Werairai people had taken place at a station called Myall Creek. There were other such violent incidents on the highlands during Duke's childhood and initiation years. Even in 1860, during the months Duke was away on the expedition, another outbreak of violence occurred when the Thungatti people from the east moved onto the highlands after being harried and driven from their own country.[3] Within weeks parties from the squatting stations had taught them a lesson sufficient that they were 'not likely to be heard of again near Armidale for some time to come'.[4] Certainly the struggle for the land-based resources of New England between European and Anaiwan people was determined by violence and the victory maintained by threat of violence. This intimidation was a feature of the life of a man like Duke who represented the first post-contact Anaiwan generation. Now Duke's journey was to represent the beginning of the end of the cultural domination of the

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[3]   *AE,* 2 June, 1860, p.2.
[4]   *AE,* 23 June, 1860, p.2.

Juipera people of that river valley in the tropical north where he died. His death heralded their deaths.

The journey to the Pioneer Valley was also about the extension of knowledge. New rivers were discovered, new landscapes traversed and new routes and connections found. But in another sense, the broader cultural knowledge of mid-nineteenth century European Australians was reinforced. The McCrossin-Mackay expedition showed the nineteenth century believers that the land and its resources were there for the taking, created for expropriation by the most enterprising race. The expedition recognised no rights of the original inhabitants and reinforced the belief that, for all intents and purposes, the undiscovered lands of Australia were empty. The expedition showed that individual initiative was the first step towards fair fortune and just reward. Control of the land and its resources was properly in the hands of individuals who marked out their territory, staked their claim and established their rights. The expedition showed that initiative and individualism were the prerogative of men who were the movers and shakers, not women who were the watchers and waiters.

Duke carried with him another knowledge bounded by another culture. The skills he had acquired within that cultural knowledge were of use to the white men, hence his position on the expedition, but the wider truth of that old knowledge was no longer dominant. Duke's parents, 'King Brandy and Queen Mary Ann of the Salisbury tribe'[5] had grown up in a world of surety and truth. The true discourses they had learned had explained their kinship network, their obligations within it, and the changing expectations people had, one for the other, as kinship status changed during the life course. But that was a world that was lost, a truth that had ceased to fit reality easily. Duke grew up with two truths which were very difficult to reconcile. According to one truth his parents had considerable status in the old world that was so fully explained. In the other truth they were subjects of curiosity and study, demeaned in status by names such as Brandy and Mary Ann, mocked by titles such as King and Queen and expected to address at

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[5]   'Andrew Murray's Diary...', *op. cit.* p.2.

least some white men as 'massa'.[6] No matter how lowly the status of some immigrant Europeans, their status would be higher than that of the Anaiwan people who had been dispossessed of both their lands and the ascendancy of their truth.

Duke's journey was an antithesis to others who made different journeys, for different reasons. Charles Rich's journey to Armidale began on the outskirts of London in 1836 when he was 18 years of age. For reasons not known he stole some sheep from a farmer in Essex and drove them to the Islington market where he sold them and was nabbed. He was sentenced at the Old Bailey to transportation to New South Wales for life.[7] He was imprisoned on land then confined aboard the convict transport *Mangles* which arrived in New South Wales in July, 1837. On the voyage he experienced the consignment of his body to confined space, the regimentation of exercising and eating, the loss of privacy and the indignity of enduring a designated space made less bearable by leaking water closets which deposited their filth in the convict berths.[8]

In New South Wales he was assigned to Captain William Dumaresq and came under the convict system. By 1845, when he received his first ticket of leave, he was in New England[9] and in 1850 he was conditionally pardoned.[10] In 1854 he married an illiterate Irish woman named Margaret Keating who was 20 years younger than he was, and they settled in Armidale where they purchased two blocks of land in the town. Here their first three children were born. At this point their story might have faded from record, happily ever after in the glow of that special bliss that surrounded the image of the reformed convict. But this was not to be.

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6   Certainly John Mackay liked his 'blackboys' to call him 'massa'. See 'John Mackay brought 1200 cattle to GREENMOUNT in 1862', *Daily Mercury - City of Mackay Centenary Edition,* 6 April, 1962, p.4.

7   Case 2380 in Henry Buckler, *Central Criminal Court Session Papers: Twelfth session held October 24, 1836,* London, George Herbert, 1836, pp.1056-1058.

8   Surgeon's Report *per* ship *Mangles,* 1836-1837, Public Records Office London, Admiralty Medical Journals 1785-1856, Adm. 101/47, AONSW.

9   Ticket of leave 45/1604, Charles Rich, Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Ticket of Leave Butts, AONSW, 4/4202.

10   Conditional Pardon, 50/572, Charles Rich, Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Register of Pardons - Conditional and Absolute, AONSW, 4/4472.

On the night of 11 July, 1859 at the back of the Church of England in Armidale, Charles Rich and two associates were discovered by the police skinning a beast believed to be the property of Henry Dangar stolen from Kellys Plains.[11] At least some crime can be described as calculated behaviour — a strategy in the face of the network of legal sanctions governing society. Such was Charles Rich's crime. He knew the sanctions and the configurations of authority and power. He took the risk and was defeated by an information laid against him and the swift action of the police. Taking advantage of a few hours' delay in the positive identification of the confiscated animal hide, Rich fled from Armidale and a warrant was issued for his arrest.[12] So ended the Armidale interlude in his life. However, the passage of time has given Charles and Margaret Rich another connection with this story. They were my great great grandparents.

John Trim offers the contrast of a similar beginning to Rich but a very different end. In the same week in October 1836 that Charles Rich was tried, John Trim, a young groom and waiter of Bristol, stood before the judge at Somerset Quarter Sessions having been found guilty of stealing blacking. This was his second conviction and he was sentenced to fourteen years transportation to New South Wales.[13] He arrived on the ship *Charles Kerr* in 1837 and by 1839 he had been assigned to Crown Land Commissioner Mcdonald of New England.[14] His response to the authorities under whom he worked was marked by deference and co-operation. Crown Land Commissioner Mcdonald reported his conduct as exemplary and recommended him for a ticket of leave.[15] By the late 1840s Trim had built a store by Dumaresq Creek in Armidale and, shrewdly, he erected a bridge over the creek next to his premises to capture the passing trade. Here, despite his lack of formal education, he prospered mightily and by the time he died in

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[11] Minutes of Proceedings, Bench of Magistrates Armidale, 19 April 1859 - 11 November 1861, ff.47-55, AONSW, 4/5491.

[12] *New South Wales Reports of Crime*, No. 58, 21 July, 1859, AONSW, 1/3356.

[13] List of 250 male convicts by the ship *Charles Kerr*, Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Convict Indents, AONSW, X640, fiche 728.

[14] Death of Alderman J. Trim, *AE*, 4 November, 1892, p.7.

[15] Report of the Conduct of the Border Police in the District of New England for the Quarter 1 April to 30 June 1843, Colonial Secretary's Special Bundle entitled Conduct of the Border Police, New England, 1843-1846, AONSW, 4/1139.1.

1892 he was a city alderman, a former mayor of Armidale and held an estate worth more than £12,000.[16]

These were two convict stories which represented, perhaps, the poles of experience of the 467 male and 5 female convicts listed in the 1841 census for the pastoral district of New England. The convicts comprised 42 per cent of the population of the district in that year.[17] By 1851, with the end of transportation, the expiry of sentences and the granting of absolute and conditional pardons, the number of convicts in the Armidale Police District, taking in most of New England, had dropped to 104.[18] Nonetheless this figure was comparatively high, exceeded only by the Sydney and Parramatta Police Districts and the districts around Moreton Bay. The convict presence had been important in the first decade and a half of European occupation of New England, and, like Rich and Trim, many pardoned convicts stayed on in the area to make a new life as small farmers, bootmakers, publicans, mothers and wives, domestic servants, bullock drivers, shepherds, labourers and police troopers.

Contrasted with the convicts were those immigrants who came freely to New England. Their motives in migrating were varied but largely economic. Some chased resplendent dreams half way around the world and sought to make their fortune. Others harboured modest aspirations that New England would provide a better life. Others sought adventure, and it must be borne in mind that the great majority of immigrants who came to New England in the 1850s and 1860s was young. Many who came intending to stay just so long as to test their luck and try for adventure settled in New England for the rest of their lives.

Richard Hargrave was 22 years of age when he sailed on the *Argyle* for Australia in 1838-39. He was the son of a prosperous Greenwich ironmonger and carried with him a definite plan for gaining his colonial experience and setting up as a squatter. He also brought with him cash and letters of credit to the value of £1,000 and a considerable number of letters of introduction. He joined the

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16 Affidavit under the Stamp Act, Stamp Duties Office, Death Duties Branch, Deceased Estate File 4034 (duty paid 16 January, 1893), AONSW, 20/46.

17 Abstract of the Returns of Population. . . of New England, New South Wales - Census of the Year 1841, AONSW, X947.

18 Census, *Supplement to NSWGG*, 7 November, 1851, No. 128, p.11.

pastoral division of the Sydney merchant firm, Hughes and Hosking, established a number of runs for them along the McIntyre River around Goondiwindi in 1841 and 1842 and enthralled listeners in later life with stories of his battles with the 'blacks' for control of the river frontages which held the main fish traps of the Bigambul people. Hargrave went down in the depression of 1843, thought about returning to England, but in 1845 received a further remittance from his father to re-establish himself. In 1846 he purchased Hillgrove station east of Armidale, married in the following year and lived at Hillgrove until his death in 1905.[19] His was a singular enterprise and it was only in 1857 that another member of his family, his elder brother John, a lawyer, emigrated to Australia. However, John Hargrave remained in Sydney, eventually becoming the eccentric, misogynistic, and controversial, first divorce court judge in New South Wales.[20]

James Venture Mulligan was another young immigrant who, in 1860, voyaged to Australia on his own. However, unlike Hargrave, Mulligan was preparing the way for the immigration of his parents, sisters, brothers-in-law, a brother and a sister-in-law, all of whom arrived only months after his own arrival. One other brother and sister-in-law were already in Australia.[21] Mulligan moved to Armidale, established himself as a butcher and ensured his family were also settled. After a few years he moved on to Queensland where in 1875 he was the significant figure in the discovery of gold on the Palmer River[22] (which river, incidentally, was named in honour of Queensland Premier, Arthur Hunter Palmer, another old Armidale resident and former manager of Henry Dangar's Gostwyck estate). Mulligan's family stayed in Armidale where their descendants still live.

Many other immigrants came as a family unit. Joseph and Sarah Scholes (the parents of that Joseph Scholes Jnr encountered in

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[19]   'Death of Mr R Hargrave', *AE*, 20 January, 1905, p.5 and 'The Late Mr Hargrave', *Uralla Times*, 28 January, 1905, p.3.

[20]   J.M. Bennett, 'Hargrave, John Fletcher (1815-1885)', in Douglas Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 4, 1851-1890, Melbourne, 1972, pp.345-346.

[21]   Lynette F. McClenaghan (ed.), *From County Down to Down Under: Diary of Jas. Vn. Mulligan: 1860*, Armidale, 1991, introduction (n.p.).

[22]   H.J. Gibbney, 'Mulligan, James Venture (1837-1907)', in Douglas Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography:* Vol. 5, 1851-1890, Melbourne, 1974, p.310.

chapter one) left their Manchester home in 1841 and travelled to Sydney aboard the *Cadet* with their three sons.[23] Family oral tradition has it that Joseph had the opportunity of a partnership in his uncle's textile mills in Lancashire but declined the offer in order to emigrate and make his own way in the world.[24] A married sister of Joseph and her husband and daughter emigrated at the same time, choosing to settle in Port Phillip,[25] but apart from that distant connection, Joseph and Sarah were on their own in the new land without even letters of introduction. In the absence of kin in the new land Joseph's shipmates from the *Cadet*, the McCrossins and Pearsons from northern Ireland,[26] became significant influences for the Scholes family, and, after spending a number of years in the Hunter Valley, Joseph, Sarah and their children moved to New England where these old shipmates were already well established.[27] Here Joseph and Sarah prospered as publicans and land owners, she dying in 1882 and he in 1884 leaving a sizeable estate of £12,000 to be divided among six surviving sons and a daughter.[28] The absence of anything like a kinship network in New South Wales must have been particularly difficult for Sarah Scholes who, under other circumstances, would have relied on female kin for advice and support in child birth and child caring. Joseph, on the other hand, may well have missed a trustworthy brother or brother-in-law in his business ventures.

Because of the importance of kin in European family traditions, it is not unusual to find immigrants to New England either joining kin who were already established or arranging for kin to follow them to their new home. John Moore the indefatigable merchant, mining speculator, land owner, political activist and seven times mayor of Armidale arrived in the town on 1 July, 1848,[29]

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[23] Agent's Immigration List of Persons on Bounty Ship *Cadet*, arrived 9 August, 1841, Immigration Department, AONSW, 4/4788, ff.108-116.

[24] Jenny Scholes to John Ferry, 1 June, 1992 (in author's possession).

[25] Edward and Mary Blackburn to Dear Brothers and Sisters, 26 September, 1841(typescript copy), Personality Files – Scholes, New England Historical Resources Centre.

[26] Agent's List of Persons on Bounty Ship *Cadet*, ff.110, 111.

[27] J. Scholes, 'Early Recollections of Armidale', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 1919, p.38.

[28] Deceased Estate File, Z 5696, Joseph Scholes Snr., AONSW, 20/6995.

[29] Statutory Declaration of John Moore, Primary Application Packet 3443, LTONSW, AONSW, K 260110. Also Evidence of John Moore, 'Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works relating to the

presumably to make his fortune. He brought with him, Sarah, his bride of only a few months, and they had made their way to Armidale only a fortnight after their disembarkation from the ship *Canton* which had brought them from Ireland.[30] Their purpose was to join John's sister and brother-in-law, Sarah and James Starr, who had been living in New England since 1838 or 1839.[31] Within a few years John and Sarah Moore had been joined by Sarah's parents, John and Sarah Purvis, and her sister Mary all of whom spent the rest of their lives in Armidale.[32] Thus quite a significant kinship network was established in Armidale.

Such family reunions were very common. John Cochrane, a farmer of Saumarez Ponds, sponsored the immigration of his brother-in-law, James Ferris, his wife and six children.[33] Even a man of very modest means such as George Clutterbuck, a bullocky, sponsored his widowed sister Elizabeth Slow to Armidale from London in 1858.[34] In fact the Armidale Bench of Magistrates' letterbooks for the late 1850s and 1860s are full of correspondence dealing with such sponsorships.

Undoubtedly the most extensive immigrant network in colonial Armidale was that which originated in the neighbouring villages of Renhold, Stevington, Pavenham and Great Barford in Bedfordshire, England. There were at least twelve separate families involved in this migration from north Bedfordshire to Armidale.[35] Most of these people established themselves as farmers at Saumarez Ponds

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Proposed Railway from Glen Innes to Inverell', *V&P, 1892-3*, (8 Vols), Vol. V, Sydney, 1893, p.1150.

[30] List of Immigrants aboard the ship *Canton*, arrived 12 June, 1848, Immigrant Agents' Immigrant Lists, Persons on Board Bounty Ships, February 1848-January 1850, AONSW, 4/4786, f.83.

[31] 'Death of Mrs Starr' *Armidale Chronicle*, 21 May, 1874, p.2.

[32] See death certificates: Sarah Purvis (died 5 February, 1861); John Purvis (died 23 October, 1881); Sarah Moore (died 24 September, 1894); and Mary Baker (died 18 November, 1908), New South Wales Registers of Death.

[33] Description of Person or Persons for whose Benefit the Remittance is made, entry 841, f. 117 Migrant Deposit Journal, AONSW, Reel 2670.

[34] W.R.W. Bligh to the Agent for Immigration, 23 April, 1858, Armidale Bench of Magistrates, Copies of Letters Sent, 24 February, 1858 - 18 April, 1864, AONSW, 4/5486 f. 18; also Death Certificate of Elizabeth Hopkins Slow (died 20 July, 1861), New South Wales Registers of Death.

[35] The surnames involved were Allen, Brazier, Burgess, Chapman, Dawson, Frost, Hare, Howe, Thorpe, Townsend, Tysoe and Wiggins. The connection was first established from marriage and death certificates which led to clear immigration patterns.

west of Armidale and by the second generation, each of these families was connected by marriage to at least one of the others. Many of the families had in common the Baptist religion and by 1891 a Baptist Church had been established amongst the farms at Saumarez Ponds,[36] replacing an earlier church in town which had become derelict.[37] This chain migration to Armidale began in 1845 when the Tysoe, Townsend and Frost families of Stevington arrived in Sydney aboard the Bounty Ship *Elizabeth,* and made their way to New England where each had a work contract with Henry Dangar of Gostwyck station.[38] There were a number of other Stevington families on the *Elizabeth* and these families were contracted to different parts of the colony.

It is not clear why these families emigrated. However all the men on the *Elizabeth* were listed as agricultural labourers and the women as lacemakers. The historian of one of the later immigrant families from Bedfordshire, arguing from secondary sources, has claimed that, in the mid 1840s, agricultural labour in Bedfordshire was being constrained by new techniques and new technologies, unemployment and work house admissions had both increased and the lace industry ceased to be as remunerative as it had once been. Furthermore, certain rural areas such as Stevington seem to have been targeted for emigration schemes[39] and it was not at all unusual for clusters of immigrants from Bedfordshire to end up in specific localities in the colonies.[40] However, why some rural areas of Bedfordshire were targeted and others were not and why the Baptist religion was a common factor in many of the migrations has not been adequately answered.

One other similar migration needs to be mentioned. To the south of Armidale at Kellys Plains there was a small German community with other German families in town and at Saumarez

36 Conveyance and Trust Deed, between Thomas Frazier and Trustees of a religious denomination called Baptists, 20 January, 1891, Register of Old System Deeds, Book 458, Number 162, LTONSW.

37 The *AE,* 17 July, 1891, p.4.

38 Assisted Immigrants Inward aboard the *Elizabeth,* arrived 31 March, 1845, Immigration Department, AONSW, 4/4903, various folios.

39 Leo Lane, 'The Bedford Chapel at Saumarez Ponds - English Settlers in New England', thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Letters, University of New England, 22 January, 1990, pp.5-10.

40 James Collett-White, County Archivist, Bedford County Council to John Ferry, 30 October, 1990, in author's possession.

Ponds. A number of these families came from Eltville, a small town on the Rhine River near Wiesbaden, or from villages nearby.[41] One historian of German immigration to eastern Australia has noted this 'emigration peculiarity' relating to Eltville and its surrounding villages[42] but why this should have been so is not as yet known. However, any explanation for this specific Rhineland emigration to Australia would have to give prominence to the efforts of Wilhelm Kirchner an early German immigrant to New South Wales.[43] Kirchner, a native of Frankfurt am Main, lived for many years at Grafton but made periodic trips home to Germany where he ultimately published a book on his adopted country[44] and helped to organise emigration through the Hamburg shipping firm of J.C. Goddefroy and Sons.[45] It is clear that many of the German immigrants around Armidale in the 1850s were connected with Kirchner's schemes and most of them were probably initially hired by Henry Dangar for his Gostwyck run. Certainly Kirchner was friendly with Arthur Hunter Palmer, Dangar's Gostwyck manager during this period[46] and the Dangars were known to have a preference for German sheep and German shepherds.[47] The Germans added yet another dimension to the cultural mix that was colonial Armidale.

The stories highlighted above have been chosen to reflect the diversity of backgrounds from which Armidale's immigrant population came and the variety of circumstances which brought immigrants to the New England highlands. The cultural diversity

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[41] The Germans from the Eltville region have the surnames Fittler, Schmutter, Post, Laskar and Fuchs whilst others from the Duchy of Nassau include such surnames as Doring, Fischer, Sattler and Trimmler. There were other German families in the Armidale district from Hesse-Darmstadt, Wurttemburg, Hanover, Prussia, Silesia and Hamburg. These places of origin have been determined from a thorough search of naturalisation papers and shipping lists.

[42] Geoffrey Burkhardt, 'The Places of Origin of German Immigrants to New South Wales 1849-1860', in *A Selection of Papers, First International Congress on Family History*, Sydney, 1988, p.29.

[43] Charles Meyer, *A History of Germans in Australia, 1839-1945*, Melbourne, 1990, p.110.

[44] Wilhelm Kirchner, *Australien und seine Vortheile für Auswanderung* (2nd ed.), translated into English by Ralph G. Imberger, Frankfurt, H.L. Bronner, 1850.

[45] 'A Memoir of William Kirchner by his Son Mr W. Kirchner Belmont, Clarence River Historical Society, Newspaper Cuttings (undated) *circa* 1934.

[46] *Loc. cit.*

[47] *AE,* 13 January, 1872, p.6.

would have been quite apparent in Armidale in the 1860s and 1870s. Along the creeklands a few Chinese market gardeners were to be found, their numbers augmented from time to time as new gold or tin discoveries on the highlands brought waves of itinerant miners through the town. The Anaiwan people sometimes camped near the town[48] *en route* north for ceremonial or economic reasons and it was not uncommon for celebratory dances to be held at the racecourse in the traditional manner.[49] The English celebrated Queen's Birthday and the Prince of Wales' Birthday with enthusiasm and there were remnants of such old English customs as the burning of the Guy on 5 November[50] and Harvest Home celebrations, especially amongst the old Bedford farmers at Saumarez Ponds.[51] The Irish celebrated St Patrick's Day with enthusiasm, the Scots took charge of the New Year and the Germans as far as possible maintained their language and customary celebrations.[52] In the streets and stores, English was wrought by all sorts of accents, dialects and brogues as people expressed themselves in the customary phrases and cadences of Oxford and Cambridge, Cornwall, Liverpool, East London, rural Bedfordshire, the highlands of Scotland, the west coast of Ireland or the farmlands of Ulster.

Statistically, Armidale in 1856 was clearly an immigrant town with 59 per cent of the population born overseas. With regard to property ownership 33 per cent of all adult males owned freehold property in the town. There were few who were not resident and most of the owners were storekeepers, publicans, artisans or held minor non-labouring occupations such as schoolteachers, clergymen, court officials and police. Fourteen per cent of women owned freehold property, most, but not all, having the status of either spinster or widow. Only 13 per cent of property owners were Australian born compared to 41 per cent of the total town population. Probably the majority of the Australian born were minors but this does not alter the fact that the emergent property

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48 *AE,* 24 February, 1872, p.2

49 *AE,* 25 October, 1873, p.4.

50 *AE,* 9 November, 1872, p.2.

51 J.J. Anstey to J.D. Bradley Esq. 15 February, 1889, Letter 7830, Department of Public Instruction, School Files - Saumarez Creek, AONSW, 5/17596.4.

52 '*Anzeige* (announcement), 1870' *AE,* 21 May, 1870, p.3

owning classes were overwhelmingly immigrant (see Appendix 2.1).

With regard to ethnicity, 36 per cent of property owners were Irish compared to 33 per cent English born and 12 per cent Scottish. However 49 per cent of property owners were Church of England and only 22 per cent Catholic. Clearly many of the Irish property owners were Protestants. The most valuable property was held largely by English, Scottish and Irish Protestants. The broad implications of the statistics are that Armidale was a male dominated town with at least a potential for ethnic and religious tensions.

In terms of broad census trends it would seem that by 1871 the situation had changed considerably, with only 37 per cent of the population born overseas by that year.[53] However, an analysis of landowners within the town is, again, very revealing. Every person who owned land within the town boundaries in the census year of 1871 was identified. As far as possible their occupations and countries of origin were determined. Altogether there were 194 separate landowners (excluding institutional landowners) within the town boundaries in 1871 (see Appendix 2.1). It was possible to determine the country of origin of 135 of these people. Of those property owners whose country of origin was known, 82 per cent were born overseas. Of those born in Australia many were the children of immigrants who also owned land in the town. John Moore, for instance, had purchased land in the names of two of his daughters and two sons all of whom were Australian born. As will be shown in Chapter Five, the same pattern is evident for rural lands.

Throughout much of the period of this study, the middle and middling classes in Armidale and the surrounding farmlands were very largely immigrant classes. Against the trend, however, the very largest property owners close to Armidale, the pastoralists of Saumarez, Gostwyck and Gara, were all Australian born after 1875. But they are only three proprietors. It is difficult to say how representative Armidale was with its overwhelmingly immigrant middle class. In his study of Camden, Alan Atkinson found that the

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[53] *Census of 1871*, Sydney, 1873, p.413.

second generation of farming families there moved in a general south westerly direction to new areas made available through free selection.[54] There was no such trend for Armidale. With the exception of some pastoral families, there was not a move of second generation farmers and townspeople from the Hunter Valley, for instance, to Armidale. Rather, Armidale was the destination for immigrants,[55] some of whom like the Scholes family may have spent time in the Hunter Valley before moving on, but most of whom arrived in New England within a short time of their arrival in the colony.

The main factors contributing to an overwhelmingly immigrant middle class include, first, the arrival of bounty and other contracted immigrants, many of whom had at least some financial means, to work on the large pastoral properties in the 1840s and 1850s. Henry Dangar of Gostwyck in particular seems to have chosen many of his workers from immigrant sources and gave most of the initial Bedfordshire immigrants their start in Armidale and probably most of the Germans.[56] Secondly, family and kin reunions were important in enlarging this earlier group. The Rocky River goldrush was important especially after 1856 since, in that year the fertile lands around Armidale were thrown open to public auction and former miners were amongst those who established farms and businesses in the area and stayed on. Finally there was a move into the district from the Hunter Valley after the Robertson Land Acts came into force in 1862 and especially after the squatting runs were thrown open to selection in 1866 and most of these free selectors were originally immigrants.

The existence of an immigrant middle class has some important implications. These immigrants came with their own cultural baggage, their own attitudes values and beliefs and there is no reason to believe that these imported ideologies succumbed to convict and working class ideologies already existing in Australia. Russel Ward's history of the development of the stereotype of the typical Australian was, and remains, an important contribution to Australian history. However Ward, or perhaps some of his more

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[54] Alan Atkinson, *Camden*, Melbourne, 1988, pp.112-119.

[55] See Appendix 2.1: Landowners in the Town of Armidale; and Appendix 5.2: Free Selector Profiles.

[56] Gostwyck Ledger 1862-1868 held by Peter Dangar, Sunset Ave., Armidale.

enthusiastic supporters,[57] has given the impression that the ideology associated with that stereotype was more pervasive than was the case. Louis Hartz's 'fragment theory', and Rosencrance's application of it to Australia, in particular, give too much importance to a radical lower class creed.[58] There were other powerful legends, other stereotypes, such as the noble pioneer, bringing British values and British grit to the Australian bush[59], and a pantheon of imperial heroes to remind an immigrant middling class of a keenly felt heritage. These were the images more wholeheartedly embraced by the Australian propertied classes.

But it is time to return to the immigrants themselves. The stories of their voyage to Australia, from the diaries they kept and the letters they wrote, reveal something of the cultural baggage they brought with them. Their shipboard accounts and their first letters home from the colony also reveal their responses to unfamiliar situations, unusual regimens, new social structures, and new power imbalances.

Part of the stress immigrants experienced was due to the sheer shock of the different. So many sights and so many encounters fell outside the range of previous experiences and most immigrants went through one of the greatest periods of adjustment in their lives while on board ship and in the months following their arrival in Australia. The level of prior education was an important factor in allowing immigrants to assimilate the new world and the new world order. Richard Hargrave was so prepared. He had a good knowledge of geography, of latitudes and longitudes, of the strategies behind the battles between wind and sail and of such concepts as mean time and time differences. He carried with him maps for plotting the voyage and kept a faithful and detailed log for his family back home. Yet he hated the voyage.[60] 'It is a most

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57 Russel Ward makes some disclaimers in the foreword to the second edition of his book. See Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, (illustrated edition), Melbourne, 1978, pp.8-12.

58 Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies*, New York, 1964, pp.275-318.

59 J. B. Hirst, 'The Pioneer Legend', in John Carroll (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush*, Melbourne, 1982, pp. 35-6.

60 The Diary of Richard Hargrave, 12th December 1838 - 2nd April 1839 also Abstract of Journal on board the "Argyle", Archives of the University of New England, A516.

disagreeable life on board to me,' he wrote on the 71st day out of Plymouth.[61]

Hargrave was frustrated by the slowness of the voyage, of becalmings and of tacking tediously across contrary winds for little nett advance. He was dismayed by the occasional fights between crew or between steerage passengers and was amazed that women, too, would fight.[62] He was particularly appalled that the cabin passengers set about quarrelling heatedly over the issue of rations.[63] He reserved special criticism for his cabin mate, Dr Satchell, who stayed up half the night and then rose the next day at the crack of noon. Hargrave doubted Satchell's worth as a colonist and as a doctor. Even his manhood was under question. 'I wonder as a man he is not ashamed of himself to lie in bed, when even the ladies are up & in the Cuddy to breakfast', Hargrave wrote.[64]

Routines — 'proper' routines — were important to Hargrave. Proper routines were an outward sign of an industrious spirit and a dedication to self-discipline and self-improvement. Hargrave had known routines at home and, as a mental exercise, he often calculated the time at Greenwich and imagined, with assurance, what his family back home would be doing at that moment. He disciplined himself with exemplary routines, greeting each morning at the first opportunity and rationing time for reading, purposeful conversation and log book entries. But time was in abundance on board ship and hardly needed rationing. Much of Hargrave's business was filling up time-space. As he lamented on one particularly tedious day:

> I do endeavour to employ myself as well as I can, as this Journal will Shew you, I putting down the most trifling things merely for the sake of employment. I have copied all my letters & done everything I can think of, but the time hangs very heavy on my hands.[65]

If the organisation of one's own routines was a sign of self-discipline, then the organising of the routines of others was a sign

61 *Ibid.*, entry for 20 February, 1839.
62 *Ibid.*, entries for 25 December, 1838; 14 January, 17 March, 19 March, 24 March, 1839.
63 *Ibid.*, entry for 30 January, 1839.
64 *Ibid.*, entry for 30 March, 1839.
65 *Ibid.*, entry for 5 March, 1839.

of power. James Venture Mulligan was only 23 years of age when he migrated to Australia in 1860, and although a £14 steerage passenger without the status of an intermediate or cabin passenger, he busied himself with the organisation of others on board the immigrant ship *Curling*. Mulligan took pride in his Protestant sense of religious righteousness and the visible signs of his secular respectability. He looked for the same in others and, within days of boarding the ship he was the centre of a small coterie of similarly minded young men from the steerage class. The presence of each increased the rectitude of the others and as a group they imagined that they stood out. As Mulligan wrote one Sunday after joining his friends to listen to a sermon on the main deck from an ardent young missionary:

> Indeed we formed a very respectable looking party seated on the forms on deck, infact I think all the choice people was of our party.[66]

No sooner had the new friends bonded in righteousness than they set about improving ship-board life. They formed a committee and drew up a set of rules for the better conduct of the ship, notwithstanding their initial despair that their efforts might have been useless amongst so many uncultivated Irishmen[67] with whom they shared the steerage accommodation. Most of these rules referred to the 'needcessity' to organise routines for cleaning, cooking and galley visits but moral improvement, especially the suppression of gambling and improper language came within the committee's purview.[68] They then presented themselves and their rules to the captain and sought and gained his authority. He seemed happy to delegate responsibility for the organisation of the passengers to a committee of enthusiasts. The committee was further legitimised by a vote of approval from a meeting of all the steerage passengers who had been 'haranged' (Mulligan's term) by Mulligan and his friends about the possible outbreak of typhus on board if routines were not properly organised and supervised.[69]

With the captain's approval this committee became increasingly powerful during the voyage, suppressing gambling and bad

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[66] McClenaghan, *op. cit.*, p.35.

[67] *Ibid.*, p.20.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp.22-23.

[69] *Ibid.*, p.24.

language; making known their disapproval of customary celebrations such as St Patrick's Day and the 'Crossing of the Line'; calling forth passengers and crew for rebuke and threat of punishment; and even admonishing the ship's doctor and purser when they were deemed to be remiss.[70] The committee also organised Bible classes, prayer meetings and hymn singing, sometimes conducted vigorously in that part of the ship where most of the Catholics had their berths until the latter objected by reciting the Rosary even more vigorously. For the young men military drill classes were organised and the rest of the passengers were treated to regular displays of formation marching and drill within the confines of limited deck space. When time passed slowly, Mulligan organised the adults into games of 'Simon Says'.[71] Unlike Hargrave, James Venture Mulligan enjoyed the voyage. He wrote:

> No one need say that ship board is a disagreeable life. I think all passengers may be quite happy if they would but only make themselves social & establish order.[72]

It is not unusual for those who hold power or authority over others to derive satisfaction and purpose from their organising activities.

Once they had landed, most immigrants experienced not only the enormous relief at being freed from the constraints of shipboard life, but also the trepidation of beginning a new life in a land that was not quite like home. Even for the English, who, unlike the Germans and Irish, often saw Sydney as not very different from large provincial towns back home, the social structure of this English colony could deliver surprises. Richard Hargrave expected that status differences would be more clearly demarcated. He was appalled by one example that was drawn to his attention of a convict, John Nash, who had been assigned to his own wife and together they conducted successfully a linen draper's store in George Street. Nash presumed to ride about town without finding it necessary to take his hat off to passing gentlemen and even applied

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[70] *Ibid.*, pp.34, 40, 44-45, 52-53, 61, 66, 76.

[71] *Ibid.*, p.60.

[72] *Loc. cit.*

for a ticket for his only daughter to attend the Governor's Ball. The ticket was quite properly refused.[73]

This was probably an alarming story embellished in letters home and readily told to newly arrived immigrants and visitors as a representation of the strangely deformed presumptions that could emerge in colonial convict society. Given this meaning, the story probably helped Hargrave accept and explain why he was not accorded a better reception in Sydney by those to whom he had letters of introduction. Hargrave certainly needed some reassurance after making a futile trip, a few days after his arrival, to William Macarthur's Camden estate. The journey involved Hargrave in an uncomfortable coach trip to Campbelltown; an eight mile walk from Campbelltown to the Macarthur property; his crossing of a creek; his falling into the creek; his arrival at Camden Park wet and bedraggled; the presentation of his prize possession - a letter of introduction — to Macarthur; the perfunctory acceptance of the letter; and his departure from Camden Park only a few hours later without even a night's accommodation being offered or the prospect of any further assistance.[74] This was indeed a world turned upside down and Hargrave was to find it far more difficult getting a position than he had expected.

If Hargrave experienced a feeling of helplessness, Joseph Scholes, with fewer initial advantages and greater responsibilities experienced the same feeling far more acutely. For him the voyage to Australia was more than disagreeable, it was extremely distressful. He coped less well than his wife Sarah probably because his sense of his own masculinity — of his worth as a father and husband — was under greater threat than her sense of worth as a mother and wife. The construction of masculinity in Joseph Scholes' world ideally entailed the possession of power by the family head over his wife and children to be exercised for the benefit of his wife and children. His letters imply that, as family head, he made the decision to emigrate and that he was responsible for the organisation of the passage. When things went wrong on the voyage he seems to have imposed a burden of personal guilt

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[73] Remarks dated 23 April, 1839 at the end of The Diary of Richard Hargrave.

[74] *Loc. cit.*

upon himself. Powerlessness was a threat to his status within his family and to his self image.

The Scholes family were bounty immigrants and their ship, the *Cadet*, was not the first nor the last to leave port improperly provisioned[75] Joseph listed his grievances in the first letter he wrote home the day after he arrived in Sydney:

> . . . we had 17 children died one young woman and the man overboard making 19 deaths we were half starved of hunger and as Lousy as dogs and our victuals were as dirty as a lot of pigs, our provisions ran short at the latter end of the voyage and we had only a quart of water per day.[76]

Joseph and Sarah often went without so that their children would not want. Sarah took the situation in her stride. Joseph did not. As an old acquaintance who saw them briefly in Rio de Janeiro reported:

> Joseph cried verry much and was sorry to see his children and wife want Meat . . . [Sarah] was in verry good Spirits, quite the reverse of Joseph.[77]

Their problems continued after they landed. Desperate to get established, Joseph took the first offer of employment 'up country'. His new boss, a squatter from the Darling Downs, required Joseph to leave with him straight away. Sarah and the children were to stay in Sydney where their passage north by steamer was to be arranged by merchant friends of Joseph's new employer. Joseph was in the Hunter Valley before he discovered that his boss had no intention of arranging Sarah's passage north and that he expected she would eventually tire of waiting in Sydney and would make her own way to the Darling Downs at her own expense. Joseph had been 'put upon'. He left his employer, returned to Sydney and brought his family back to the Hunter River where he eventually found good employment. But Joseph was embittered and even two years later, he was writing letters home discouraging anyone from

75 R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788-1851*, Sydney, 1969, pp.175-176

76 Joseph Scholes to Uncle Woolner, 16 August, 1841 (typescript copy), Personality Files - Scholes, New England Historical Resources Centre.

77 Edward and Mary Blackburn to Dear Brothers and Sisters, 26 September, 1841.

emigrating to New South Wales.[78] The irony, of course, was that Joseph Scholes was ultimately to do very well for himself in his new homeland and would never return to the old country, not even for a visit.

These stories of immigrants, free and bond, and the pictures of their shipboard life and their early struggles capture some fundamental aspects of the immigrant experience. As they moved on to New England these immigrants carried with them the memories of what life had been like at home, the ideals of what life ought to be like in the new country, and the unease from having lived through the strange worlds of a ship and an unfamiliar shore. On the highlands they created a town and a district and a social order. The old world behavioural cliches, those visible signs of deference and condescension, were absent in the new land, and many said thankfully so. There were differences which any English visitor would notice. Those differences were perhaps most striking in the formative years of the 1850s and 1860s. But the new community ultimately bore a resemblance to old communities far away as it emerged from the memories of those immigrants who, for several decades, controlled the affairs of the town and district.

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[78] Joseph and Sarah Scholes to Dear Brothers and Sisters, 15 January, 1843 (typescript copy), Personalities File - Scholes, New England Historical Resources Centre.