



The Cornish in Western Australia, 1850 to 1930

by

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Anthony John Nugent

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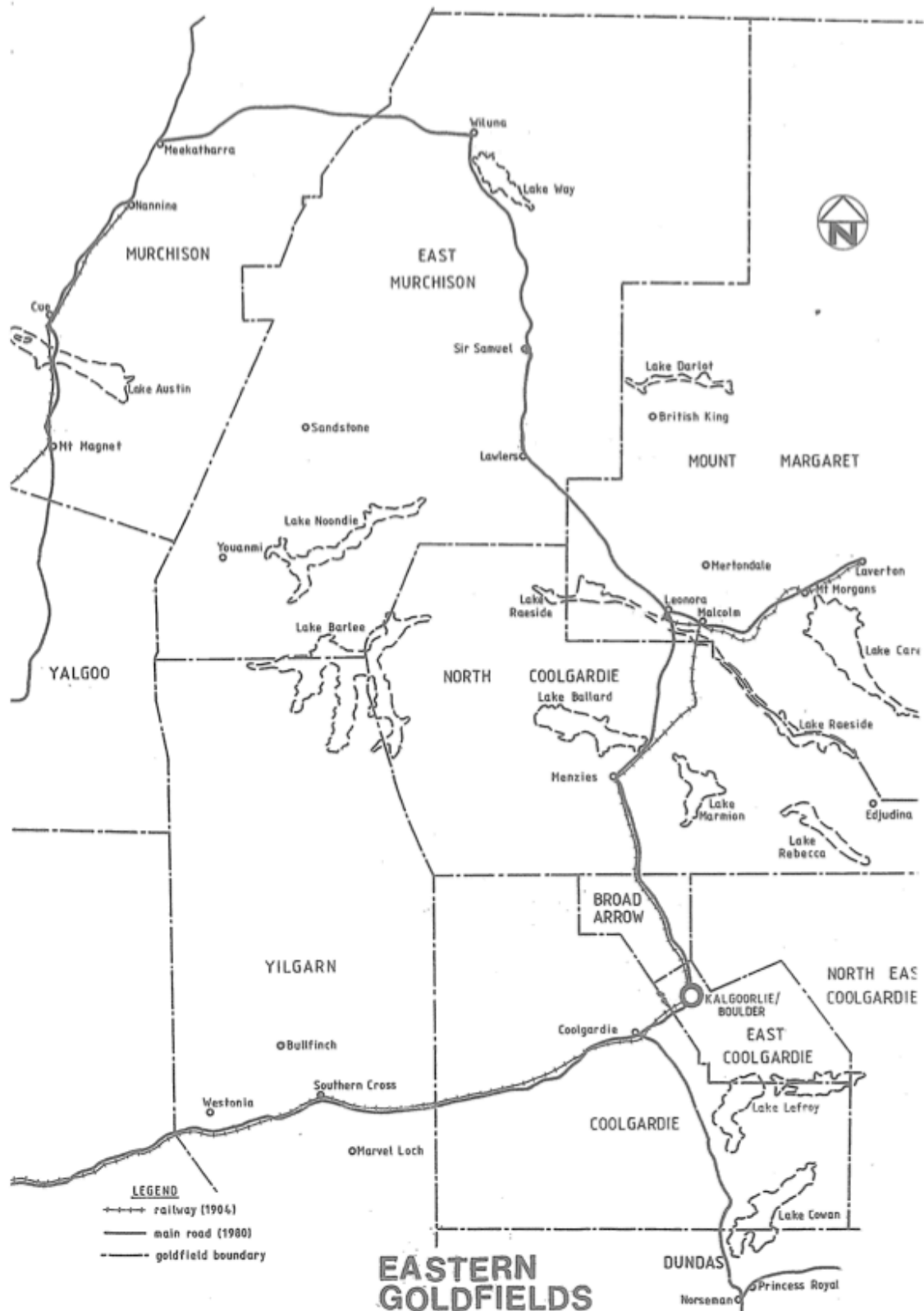
ABSTRACT

While the Cornish contribution to European settlement in South Australia has been extensively researched and documented, this is not the case for Western Australia. Apart from some local histories concerning long-abandoned mining communities and the rare publication of family histories, the historiography of the Cornish in Western Australia is noticeably sparse. This thesis will, therefore, seek to address this somewhat perplexing admission by opening a window on Western Australia's significant Cornish heritage. With that goal in mind, it is the intention of this thesis to emphasise the vital contribution made by Cornish-Australians to the development of Western Australia during a formative stage in its history. Moreover, the findings in this thesis confirm the view that the Cornish, and their offspring, were largely responsible for creating Western Australia's mining industry.

Nevertheless, mining was only one crucial aspect of the Cornish-Australian contribution to Western Australia's economic development. This thesis has revealed the extensive contribution that Cornish-Australians made to the cultural, social, religious and political growth of Western Australia. It has also identified the subtleties inherent in the myth of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny where mutual aid and assistance reinforced the Cornish conception of 'One and All'. In sum, this thesis will contribute to a better understanding of the vital role that Cornish-Australians played in the early European history of Western Australia.

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MAP OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA
(Source: *The reference atlas for Australia and New Zealand*)



MAP OF THE EASTERN GOLDFIELDS

(Source: *The Institution of Engineers, Australia*, Western Australian Division, 2001)

INTRODUCTION

On 11 June 1921 the Australian Prime Minister, William Morris Hughes, after visiting the second Lord St Levan, at St Michael's Mount in Cornwall, was quoted by the Australian Press Association on the subject of immigration. He said, in part:

For a long time, I have been impressed by the splendid qualities of the Cornish people who have made their homes in Australia. They reside on nearly all the great mining fields of the Commonwealth and everywhere they have become most estimable citizens.¹

Although Hughes was equally effusive about the people of Devon, it was the Cornish who gained most of the attention when excerpts of the interview were published in Australia.² Indeed, the comments attributed to Hughes occurred at a time when Western Australia was actively seeking immigrants of the 'right sort' for its fledgling Group Settlement Scheme.³ A few years earlier in 1918, Western Australia, had joined the other states in establishing a scheme to settle returned servicemen on the land. The ensuing soldier settlement scheme was likewise predicated on turning men of good character into a 'sturdy producing class' of yeoman farmers.⁴ In 1919, at the Royal Princess Theatre in Bendigo, 'Billy' Hughes took up the theme of character by asserting that after the repatriation of servicemen had been concluded, only the right sort of British immigrant would be permitted to settle in Australia.⁵ Doubtless, the publicly expressed fears of organised labour that Australia would once again become a dumping ground for undesirables dictated that only skilled agricultural workers were wanted, the very people that Britain least wanted to part with.⁶ What then were the

¹ *Telegraph*, 'Cornish Immigrants', 15 June 1921, 4.

² *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate*, 'Mr. Hughes on Cornishmen', 15 June 1921, 7. *World*, 'Cornwall Impresses Billy', 15 June 1921, 5.

³ *Australasian* 'West Australian Affairs', 21 October 1922, 38.

⁴ Bruce Scates and Melanie Oppenheimer, *The Last Battle, Soldier Settlement in Australia 1916 – 1939*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2016, 34.

⁵ *Daily Mail*, 'Mr Hughes in Bendigo', 31 October 1919, 6.

⁶ *Westralian Worker*, 'Migrants and the Settlement Fake', 28 April 1922, 1.

underlying factors that encouraged Hughes to recommend the Cornish as the right sort of immigrant and to what extent did the myth of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny inform the prime minister's opinion?

To understand how the Cornish gained the fulsome support of the Australian prime minister in 1921, it is worth noting that demographer and emigration historian Dudley Baines described nineteenth-century Cornwall as probably an emigration region comparable with any in Europe.⁷ Indeed, Baines observed that Cornwall lost 10.5% of its male population, along with 5.3% of its females, during the period from 1861 to 1900, a statistic that does little to discourage the notion that something very profound was happening in Cornwall.⁸ As Eric Richards argued in *Britannia's children*, approximately 18 million people left the British Isles between 1815 and 1930, a figure that has since attained the label 'Great Emigration' such was its global significance.⁹ Bernard Deacon has nominated a figure of 225,643, as representing the number of Cornish who went overseas between 1841 and 1891, while suggesting a similar number left for England and Wales during the same period.¹⁰ Nevertheless, before examining the lives of those Cornish-Australians who gravitated to Western Australia between 1850 and 1930, it is necessary to say something about how this thesis is structured. In keeping with Prime Minister Hughes's observation that the Cornish 'reside on nearly all the great mining fields of the Commonwealth', the first four chapters will examine the Cornish contribution to mining in Western Australia, while the second four chapters will largely focus on the activities of Cornish-Australians in both politics and in the development of the Group Settlement Scheme.

⁷ Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, 157–59.

⁸ Philip Payton, *Cornwall*, Alexander Associates, Fowey, Cornwall, 1996, 236.

⁹ Eric Richards, *Britannia's children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, Hambledon & London, London, 2004, 6.

¹⁰ Bernard Deacon, '“We don't travel much ... only to South Africa”: Reconstructing nineteenth century Cornish migration patterns', in Philip Payton (ed.), *Cornish studies fifteen*, University of Exeter Press, 2007, 10. See also Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 28.

In 1978 Philip Payton, in the introduction to his PhD thesis on the Cornish in South Australia, observed that the Cornish had left an indelible imprint on many parts of Australasia, but that it was not possible given the focus of his thesis to offer more than a glimpse of the Cornish elsewhere. This thesis, however, will take up that challenge and examine the important role that Cornish-Australians played in the socio-economic development of Western Australia from 1850 to 1930. It should be noted that much of what Payton had to say about the Cornish in South Australia will have relevance to Western Australia. Nevertheless, as this thesis intends to argue, there are clear differences. In terms of colonial Western Australia, the most compelling difference was the gold rush that began in Halls Creek in 1885 and culminated at Kalgoorlie in 1893. The nearest that South Australia got to its own gold rush was in 1896 at the Royal Phoenix Mine in the Barossa Valley where, despite significant investment in infrastructure, no payable gold was found.¹¹ Moreover, the copper boom that had sustained the South Australian economy in the 1840s and 1870s had passed its peak by the 1890s. Consequently, like many of the Cornish miners who made their way to Victoria during the gold rush of the 1850s, Western Australia witnessed the arrival of Cornish miners in the 1890s. However, unlike Victoria, Western Australia attracted a significant number of Australian-born miners of Cornish descent from Bendigo, Ballarat, Broken Hill, Charters Towers, Cobar, Forbes, Kadina, Kapunda, Moonta and Wallaroo. Moreover, it was from this cohort of colonial Cousin Jacks, many of whom retained the Cornish dialect of their parents, that the greatest impact on Western Australia's socio-economic and political development would emerge.¹²

In Australia, officially at least, there has been little consideration of Cornish identity, with the historical delineation between the English and Cornish losing much of its immediacy and

¹¹ *South Australian Register*, 'Gold Mines in South Australia', 26 June 1896, 6.

¹² *Daily News*, 'The Cousin Jacks' Pioneers of Bendigo Stories of the Cornish Miners', 27 April 1927, 7.

relevance because of the ‘tyranny of distance’. The Scots, Irish and Welsh were more readily accepted as culturally and ethnically separate and Australian records on the whole reflect this understanding. Nevertheless, it should come as no surprise that in Australia, as on other mining frontiers, the Cornish were considered something other than English. Indeed, James Jupp’s *The English in Australia* makes a point of emphasising that the Cornish were notably more homogeneous and culturally distinct than other English migrants during the peak period of Cornish migration to Australia from the 1840s to the 1880s.¹³ Although, lacking official recognition in Australia, the Cornish presence was no less profound than that of the other members of the ‘Celtic Fringe’. Nowhere was this sense of difference more profound than in the scattered mining communities of eastern Australia. Even today the towns of Cobar in New South Wales, Bendigo in Victoria and Moonta in South Australia continue to acknowledge the significance of their Cornish heritage.

Part of the reason the Cornish left such an indelible imprint on many Australian mining towns is that they forged a distinct ethno-occupational identity that was truly transnational in scope. In a paper on the Cornish in Latin America, Sharon Schwartz echoed Gillian Burke’s earlier conclusion that Cornish miners represented the ‘light infantry of capital’ and were, therefore, flag-bearers of the British Empire.¹⁴ In the decades after 1830 the Cornish extended the international mining frontier first to South America and then to North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, by which time the network had reached formidable proportions.¹⁵ Again, as others have argued, the reason the Cornish were so successful in this endeavour was that they cultivated a global reputation for mining excellence based on a

¹³ James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, 8.

¹⁴ Sharon P. Schwartz, ‘Creating the cult of ‘Cousin Jack’: Cornish Miners in Latin America 1812-1848 and the development of an international mining labour market’, Exeter University, 1999, 2. Available at <https://projects.exeter.ac.uk/cornishlatin/Creating%20the%20Cult%20of%20Cousin%20Jack.pdf>, accessed 27 August 2019.

¹⁵ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 20.

network of informants whose assistance aided new arrivals and the process of assimilation. Moreover, the network ensured at least some measure of prosperity found its way back to Cornwall in the form of remittances.¹⁶ Indeed, the inherited ability to mine at depth and a working knowledge of steam engineering greatly assisted in this enterprise and was arguably why Cornish miners were able to resist the encroachment of less skilled miners from other parts of Britain and Ireland.¹⁷ Moreover, Deacon and Schwartz have argued that while Cornish identity was often ambiguous and interchangeable with English, the alleged superiority of Cornish hard-rock miners ensured that on the mining frontier, at least, the Cornish achieved a degree of national recognition denied them at home.¹⁸ As Payton observed, the deployment of a distinct ethno-occupational identity on the mining frontier was dubbed the myth of ‘Cousin Jack’. In essence the myth signified that Cornishness either by birth or descent had equipped the individual with an inherent superiority both as miner and frontiersman. That said, references to Cousin Jenny, the female counterpart to Cousin Jack, are significantly less common, with most ruminating on the subject of pasty making. Despite this lack of recognition, Cornish women were nevertheless considered equally resilient and able to meet the demands of the frontier.¹⁹ In America, as elsewhere, the foregoing gave rise to the widely held belief that the Cornish were ‘clannish’ and, indeed, that ‘cousins’ could always be enticed to leave Cornwall if the rewards were sufficiently attractive, as was the case with Western Australia.

It is clear from the above that an important element in any discussion of Cornish migration is how best to approach the myth of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny. As Payton has observed, the

¹⁶ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 94.

¹⁷ Philip Payton, ‘The Cornish diaspora, 1815-1914’ in Donald M. MacRaild, Tanja Bueltmann and J.C.D. Clark (eds), *British and Irish diasporas: Societies, cultures and ideologies*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2019, 281.

¹⁸ Bernard Deacon and Sharon Schwartz, ‘Cornish identities and migration: a multi-scalar approach’, *Global Networks*, 7:3, 294.

¹⁹ Philip Payton, ‘Cousin Jacks and ancient Britons: Cornish immigrants and ethnic identity’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 25:68, 56.

term Cousin Jack, and its female equivalent Cousin Jenny, had become a common ethnic identifier on the mining frontier to differentiate the Cornish from less-skilled ethnic groups.²⁰ Furthermore, Payton argued the myth was fundamentally a mutual aid and assistance initiative that became more significant as the mining frontier expanded across the globe. Western Australia became an integral part of the Cornish international mining network in the 1850s. As they did elsewhere, the Cornish played a crucial role in Western Australia's nascent mining industry from the moment Captain John James was appointed manager of the Geraldine Mine, near present-day Northampton, in August 1850.²¹ This marked the start of an undertaking that saw local entrepreneurs like George Shenton and Robert Mace Habgood, import miners, their families and equipment from Cornwall aboard a number of vessels, including the *Zephyr*, *Robert Morrison* and *Rob Roy*, until the last contingent of Cornish migrants arrived at Geraldton in August 1881.²²

The absence of previous research on the Cornish in Western Australia presents both opportunity and difficulties. Indeed, one particular aspect – non-white immigration – was seen by many of the Cornish-Australians examined in this thesis as an existential threat to their livelihoods. The following passage from *Tudor Cornwall* by A.L. Rowse perhaps illustrates better than anything the pioneering spirit that Cornish-Australians regarded as a vital aspect of their ethnic heritage:

Impossible as it is to reconstruct ... their lives were for the most part of sterner, simpler stuff, their lot harder, filled almost wholly with labour and endurance, the struggle to wrest a living from the soil, the begetting of their children, birth, marriage, death. In the end their lives can never be wholly without interest for us: for they were our forefathers.²³

²⁰ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 13.

²¹ Ken Spillman, *A rich endowment: Government and mining in Western Australia 1829–1994*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, WA, 1993, 18.

²² *Victorian Express*, 'Shipping Report', 13 July 1881, 2.

²³ A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, Macmillan, London, 1969, 449.

With that insight in mind this thesis will adopt the tool of prosopography, a methodology that was defined by Lawrence Stone as the investigation of a group of individuals who share a common background and whose biographies are subjected to a range of uniform questions.²⁴ Unlike traditional approaches to history, prosopography takes information on individuals and pools it to better explain social change, particularly as it pertains to politics, economy, culture and ideology. However, although group analysis can provide valuable information on shared beliefs and values, Cornishness, as Deacon and Schwartz have argued, presents its own set of difficulties, not only in terms of its ambiguity and interchangeability with Englishness, but also its significance to those colonial Cousin Jacks and Jennys born in Australia.²⁵ Notwithstanding that important caveat, the sources consulted are those found in local newspapers, family histories and government records. That admitted, frequent allusions to the broader history of Western Australia will be made throughout the thesis in order to provide context and to avoid unintended hagiography, particularly when the discussion turns to the alleged qualities of Cornish migrants over other ethnic groups from the British Isles and Ireland. Furthermore, unlike some earlier studies that have repeated the well-worn trope that ‘at the bottom of every hole in the ground you will find a Cornishman’, this study will ‘cast its net’ further by looking at a wider cross-section of individuals whose only relationship to each other is a shared Cornish identity.²⁶

It is worth noting that, from the vantage point of the Australian prime minister in 1921, the Cornish domination of hard-rock mining in Australia had become a distant memory. However, before 1900 Cornish miners ran most of the lead and copper mines in the Mid West of Western Australia and many of the tin mines at Greenbushes, where they established a

²⁴ Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’, *Daedalus*, 100:1, 1971, 46.

²⁵ Lawrence Stone, ‘The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History’, *Past and Present*, 1 November 1979, 3-4.

²⁶ Jim Faull, *The Cornish in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1983.

presence 1888. After gold was discovered at Southern Cross (1888), Coolgardie (1892) and Kalgoorlie (1893), Cousin Jacks would become the most influential ethnic group on the Eastern Goldfields. In 1901 the respected Warden of Kalgoorlie, John Michael Finnerty, put the Cornish dominance in perspective:

In the early days... a Cornish miner coming from anywhere was almost sure of getting a job... [and] for those who did not happen to be 'Cousin Jacks' [they] had to make room for those who were.²⁷

It is striking that Geoffrey Blainey made a similar observation with respect to Broken Hill when he argued that some mine managers gave vent to their personal prejudices by only taking on miners from certain towns in Cornwall or, at the other extreme, refusing to employ Cornish miners at all.²⁸

Despite clear evidence that Cornish managers controlled many of the leading mines on the Eastern Goldfields, the historiography has little to say about this period of Cornish domination. There are some modest exceptions, including Blainey's *The rush that never ended* (1969) which, as seen in the brief example above, largely focuses on the Cornish in eastern Australia. Moreover, despite its title, Blainey's *The golden mile*, is equally reticent in acknowledging the important role that Cornish-Australians had in the early development of the Eastern Goldfields.²⁹ *Golden destiny* (1993) by Martyn and Audrey Webb is a thorough examination of the history of the Eastern Goldfields which does discuss the Cornish-born Captain William Oats and Frederic Charles Burleigh Vosper, the editor of the *Coolgardie Miner*, in some detail. However, as with Blainey, the Cornish domination of the Eastern Goldfields and the large influx of colonial Cousin Jacks that Warden Finnerty first encountered at Southern Cross in 1889 are barely mentioned. Edwin Jaggard has two

²⁷ *Evening Star*, 'Mining Managers Association Social', 8 March 1901, 3. John Michael Finnerty married Captain Oats' daughter, Bertha Mary, at Southern Cross in 1891.

²⁸ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended: A history of Australian mining*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1960, 295.

²⁹ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 252.

influential papers on the controversial political career of Vosper, including ‘Bread and democracy: F.C.B. Vosper in the Roaring Nineties’. Similarly, the Moonta-born John Scaddan has been the subject of a number of labour history books and articles that discuss his political career and the controversy surrounding his resignation over conscription in 1917. Meanwhile, much of the early work that sought to define the mythic qualities of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny resorted to well-known tropes. Geoffrey Blainey, for instance, once opined that ‘The spiritual Cousin Jack, born of Cornish smugglers, was renowned for his dual morality on the Australian mining fields’.³⁰ In a similar vein, in discussing the exploits of the well-travelled Bennet Penhall in California, A.L. Rowse noted that ‘[Penhall] is so given to stretching the long bow [that] perhaps we may regard him as an interesting example of the bragging which is a not un-Cornish characteristic’.³¹

Notwithstanding the characterisations mentioned above, the Cornish were infinitely more complex than mere allusions to smuggling, bragging and stealing would suggest. Indeed, the recent historiography, as well as being less trite, has concentrated on the significance of the Cornish to the global mining labour market. As noted previously, contemporary studies have focused on how a distinct ethnic identity and a dialect infused with mining terminology helped the Cornish achieve favourable employment outcomes on the mining frontier. Moreover, as the number of Cornish miners grew their reputation for ‘clannishness’ and for ‘sticking together’ was emphasised by the establishment of a network of institutions and customs, including Methodist churches, Freemasonry, friendly societies, brass bands, pasties and wrestling contests.³² Indeed, as this thesis will argue, the notion of mutual aid and assistance took many forms, including Cornish associations like the one created in Western

³⁰ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 124.

³¹ A.L. Rowse, *The Cousin Jacks: The Cornish in America*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1969, 260.

³² Philip Payton, ‘The Cornish diaspora, 1815-1914’ in Donald M. MacRaild, Tanja Bueltmann and J.C.D. Clark (eds), *British and Irish diasporas: Societies, cultures and Ideologies*, 2019, 285.

Australia (1920) which attempted to privilege the selection of Cornish immigrants during the period of group settlement.

There are a growing number of studies that offer a more nuanced analysis of the socio-economic importance of the Cornish in many settler societies. These include a PhD thesis by Philip Payton, *The Cornish in South Australia 1836 to 1936* (1978). This is perhaps the closest in scope to this study on Western Australia in recognising the impact of the Cornish in many areas of South Australia's socio-economic and political development. Unsurprisingly, Payton argues that the Cornish were largely responsible for the rapid development and expansion of South Australia's mining industry. This is true of Western Australia where, like neighbouring South Australia, the Cornish also played significant roles in the Methodist Church, the temperance movement, as leading figures in the labour movement and in trade unionism.³³ In *The Cornish miner in Australia* (1984), *Making Moonta* (2007) and *The Cornish overseas* (2015) Payton reaffirms his core thesis that the Cornish were at the forefront of the global expansion of the mining frontier and that their skill and enterprise as self-employed contractors created the conditions for capitalist organisations to dominate international mining and investment.³⁴ Although mining in far-flung locations became synonymous with Cornish miners, Payton's *The Cornish farmer in Australia* (1987) has shown that this view is far from complete as farming was also an activity that attracted Cornish settlers.³⁵ Jim Faull's *The Cornish in Australia* (1983) devotes a brief chapter to non-mining immigrants. However, his book's primary focus is Cornish miners in South Australia,

³³ Philip Payton, 'The Cornish in South Australia: Their influence and experience from immigration to assimilation, 1836-1936', PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 1978, 725.

³⁴ Philip Payton, 'The Cornish diaspora, 1815-1914' *British and Irish diasporas: Societies, cultures and Ideologies*, 2019, 290.

³⁵ Philip Payton, *The Cornish farmer in Australia, or, Australian adventure: Cornish colonists and the expansion of Adelaide and the South Australian agricultural frontier*, Dyllansow Truran, Redruth, 1987.

as is Oswald Pryor's *Australia's little Cornwall* (1962).³⁶ Nevertheless, it should be stressed that this thesis is not entirely focused on Cornish miners, but it will seek to redress a general lack of historical research on Cornish miners in Western Australia in comparison to South Australia.

The transnational aspect of Cornish migration has been the subject of studies that began with the Cornish in America and the work of Hamilton Jenkin (1927), Arthur C. Todd (1967), A.L. Rowse (1969) and John Rowe (1974).³⁷ All of these authors, to some degree, discuss the flow of Cornish miners to the Americas starting in the silver mines of Peru and the arrival of Cornish engineer Richard Trevithick in 1817.³⁸ From the 1820s to the 1830s Cornish miners 'conquered' the rest of Latin America before gravitating to the iron mines of Lake Huron in Canada and the copper mines of Upper Michigan in the 1840s. The California gold rush (1848–55) was likewise a major attraction and after that had run its course Cornish miners moved on to the Grass Valley and Nevada City in the 1850s, and from there to Utah (1860s) and New Mexico (1870s), and then to Arizona and Colorado in the 1880s. The Hosken family, who are discussed in some detail in this thesis, are proof that Cornish miners were highly sought after and mobile during the nineteenth century. In 1852 Martin Hosken, who spent much of the 1830s at the Morro Velho Gold Mine in Brazil, became the first member of his family to arrive in Western Australia to take over the running of the Geraldine Mine.

³⁶ Jim Faull, *The Cornish in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1983; Oswald Pryor, *Australia's little Cornwall*, Rigby Limited, Adelaide, 1962. See also Ruth Hopkins, *Where now Cousin Jack?* and *Cousin Jack, Man for the Times: A history of the Cornish people in Victoria*. In New South Wales there is Patricia Lay's *One and All: The Cornish in Nineteenth-Century New South Wales*.

³⁷ Alfred Jenkin and Kenneth Hamilton, *The Cornish miner*, David and Charles Reprints, Newton Abbot, Devon, 1972; Arthur C. Todd, *The Cornish in America*, Bradford Barton, Truro, 1967; A.L. Rowse, *The Cousin Jacks: The Cornish in America*; John Rowe, *The hard-rock men: Cornish immigrants and the North American mining frontier*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1974. See also Gillian Burke, 'The Cornish diaspora of the Nineteenth Century' (1984); A.C. Todd, *The search for silver: Cornish miners in Mexico, 1824-1947*, Publication details (1977), A.C. Todd, *The Cornish miner in America* Publication details (1995), Shirley Ewart and Harold T. George, *Highly respectable families, The Cornish of Grass Valley, California, 1854-1954*.

³⁸ Sharon P. Schwartz, 'Creating the cult of 'Cousin Jack': Cornish miners in Latin America 1812-1848 and the development of an international mining labour market', 1-2. See also Sharon P. Schwartz, 'Cornish migration to Latin America: A global and transnational perspective', PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2003.

However, before focusing on the Cornish in Western Australia, it is necessary to say something about the reasons for the great exodus from Cornwall that Baines described as comparable with any in Europe. The timeframe suggested by the movement of Cornish miners in the Americas (1820s to 1880s) points to a number of factors. Helpfully, Payton has used the following headings – each spanning a decade – to suggest the push-pull factors that were largely responsible for Cornish migration during the period under review. Under the heading ‘Reforming Thirties’ he suggested that the end of the Napoleonic wars and peace with the United States after the War of 1812 provided many in Cornwall with the opportunity to again consider emigration as a means to escape both poverty and, as many in Cornwall saw it, the unwelcome depredations of a distant church and state. The ‘Hungry Forties’ is self-explanatory, but it does highlight that besides Ireland there were areas in the British Isles, including Cornwall and the Highlands and islands of Scotland, where the potato blight caused near-starvation. The subsequent two decades can be characterised as being unique to mining in Cornwall, including the copper crash of the 1860s and in the following decade the fall in tin prices resulting from production emanating from the Malay states and Mount Bischoff in Tasmania, thus making the deeper Cornish tin mines unprofitable and forcing their abandonment.³⁹

Returning to the earlier assertion attributed to James Jupp that the Cornish remained culturally significant until the 1880s, this would appear to be the case for Western Australia, bearing in mind John Michael Finnerty’s comments in 1901 that the 1890s represent the apogee of a significant Cornish presence in Western Australia.⁴⁰ Thereafter, and broadly in line with Jupp’s uppermost date of the 1880s, the Cornish influence waned as immigration reduced to a mere trickle. The reasons for this decline were twofold. First, Cornish miners showed a clear

³⁹ Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, 15.

⁴⁰ James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, 8.

preference for South Africa and the gold mines of the Witwatersrand and later the diamond fields of the Kimberley, largely because of its relative proximity to the British Isles and the higher wages on offer. Indeed, when the Second Boer War ended in 1902 South Africa resumed its position as the preferred destination for Cornish miners, prompting historian A.L. Rowse to observe that prior to the First World War people in Cornwall knew more about what was happening in South Africa than they did about other parts of the United Kingdom.⁴¹ Moreover, as Payton has argued, there were an estimated 7000 Cornish miners working on the Witwatersrand by 1905, each earning in the vicinity of £300 per annum, at a time when miners in Western Australia were earning in the region of £208 per annum. Nevertheless, even £208 per annum was still considerably better than the £70 per annum which represented the average nominal earnings in the United Kingdom in 1905.⁴² Eric Richards in *Britannia's children* commented on the importance of Cornwall's relationship with South Africa and noted that Cornish miners 'moved easily back and forth to South Africa, responding efficiently to the needs of each economy and in tune with their own priorities'.⁴³ Second, as British investment in the Eastern Goldfields declined after 1895 and the alluvial gold deposits began to play out, the prospect of significant unemployment in the mining industry militated against further recruitment of Cornish miners. Moreover, as noted above, this development had little impact because Cornish miners were by then showing a clear preference for South Africa.⁴⁴ However, it is apparent that importing Cornish mining expertise to Western Australia was no longer the imperative it had been just a decade earlier.

⁴¹ Jonathan Hyslop, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself "White": White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War' *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12:4, 411.

⁴² Philip Payton, *Cornwall*, 245. See also *West Australian*, 'Miners' Wages', 3 April 1903, 5; and Gregory Clark, 'What Were the British Earnings and Prices Then? (New Series)' Measuring Worth, 2019. Available at <http://www.measuringworth.com/ukenpcpi/>, accessed 22 July 2019.

⁴³ Eric Richards, *Britannia's children*, 215. See also Richard Dawe's South African perspective in his MA thesis, 'The role and influence of the Cornish in South Africa' (Middlesex Polytechnic, 1986) and *Cornish Pioneers in South Africa: 'Gold and Diamonds, Copper and Blood'*, Cornish Hillside Publications, St Austell, 1998.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 206. See also James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, 187.

In the 1900s, as the need for miners declined, the Western Australian government turned its attention to recruiting agricultural workers through the expedient of professional recruitment agents based in Great Britain. The job of these recruiters was to tour the British countryside giving lantern shows and talks to prospective emigrants about the prospects of a better life in Western Australia.⁴⁵ As well as targeting British agricultural workers, Western Australia had a considerable number of former gold rush miners from South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales who were encouraged to take-up Crown land under the auspices of the Homestead Farm Act 1893.⁴⁶ As already acknowledged, former Cornish miners and their offspring in the Mid West began purchasing land as early as the 1860s. Moreover, land came with the promise of power and influence although, as far as can be ascertained, no one with a Cornish background was able to achieve the power and influence to rival that of the colony's established territorial and social elites.⁴⁷ Despite this, my research has identified influential Cornish-Australians who went on to form the Western Australian Cornish Association in 1920 as a mark of respect for Cornwall's status as a Royal Duchy and ostensibly to mark the visit of the Duke of Cornwall, HRH Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII.

When Western Australian Premier James Mitchell opened the first group settlement at Manjimup in April 1921, Cornish-Australians were making their presence felt both politically and in commerce. However, this coincidence and its importance remain largely unremarked in the historiography of Western Australia. Indeed, the names of the members of the Western Australian Cornish Association read like a who's who of the state's political elite. It included John Scaddan MLA (1876–1935; Labor/Nationalist, a former premier), William Charles Angwin MLA (1863–1944; Labor, the Minister for Lands), Sir George Foster Pearce (1870–1952; Labor/Nationalist, Federal Minister for Home and Territories) and John Henry Prowse

⁴⁵ *The Citizen*, 'Western Australia', 27 March 1920, 6.

⁴⁶ *Bunbury Herald*, 'The Greenbushes Tin-Fields', 7 February 1896, 3.

⁴⁷ *West Australian*, 'The Menzies Railway', 24 September 1896, 6.

MHR (1871–1944; Country Party member for Swan until 1922 and then Forrest).⁴⁸ In the public service there was the St Ives-born John Tregarthen Short who worked his way up from stationmaster at Peterborough, South Australia to become the Commissioner of Railways for Western Australia.⁴⁹ In business there was the Lostwithiel-born Thomas Coombe, a noted timber and iron merchant, and his son Thomas M. Coombe who was a prominent theatre owner and advocate for migrants of the right sort. Perth's mayor, Sir William Lathlain, who as a Nationalist would become a member of the Legislative Council (1926–32), was a member. There were also prominent women, including the Ludgvan-born prohibitionist Grace Leggo Holder who became a noted advocate for liquor reform after arriving in Western Australia in 1912.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the Truro-born Mary Ann Juleff was building a reputation as an outspoken activist for many worthy causes ranging from migrant welfare, to women's issues, the plight of returned servicemen and settlers recruited for the Group Settlement Scheme. Indeed, the welfare of group settlers was also a concern for John Trezise Tonkin, the grandson of Cornish immigrants, who formed a branch of the Australian Labor Party at Forrest Grove in 1923 while employed as the head teacher at No. 6 Group, Nuralingup.⁵¹ Tonkin, notably, went on to become premier of Western Australia in 1971. Doubtless, such an assemblage leads one to speculate whether any ethnic-based association in Australia has come close to equaling, let alone surpassing, the number of powerful individuals then linked to the Western Australian Cornish Association in the 1920s.

The first chapter of this thesis will discuss the arrival of Captain Martin Hosken in 1852, as well as other members of his family who collectively established the first permanent Cornish

⁴⁸ *Daily News*, 'Topics of the Day', 13 September 1920, 4. The Hon. Jabez Edward Dodd MLC is listed as being on the working committee. But he was not Cornish. He was born in Callington, South Australia on 14 June 1865. His father was born in Warwickshire (1833) and his mother in Berkshire (1837).

⁴⁹ *West Australian*, 'Mr. J. T. Short Dead', 27 January 1933, 18.

⁵⁰ *West Australian*, 'Miss Grace Holder', 18 May 1928, 7.

⁵¹ G.S. Reid and M.R. Oliver, *The premiers of Western Australia 1890-1982*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1982, 94.

presence in the Mid West of Western Australia. A useful resource for this period is the highly informative history of the Hosken family written and published by a descendent, Martha Jean Smallacombe, in a book titled *The Hosken odyssey*. This family history has proved invaluable in establishing the details of the Hosken family's early life in Northampton and Geraldton. After Hosken the next significant figure was Captain Samuel Mitchell who arrived at the Geraldine Mine in 1867. Mitchell can rightly be considered the archetypal Cornish miner who, along with his Redruth-born brother-in-law James Reynolds, came to represent the pioneering aspect of the myth of Cousin Jack.

Chapter two will cover a period of consolidation when the mining settlement known locally as the 'Mines' or 'Cornish' town assumed its current name, Northampton, in 1864 before becoming the terminus of the first government railway in Western Australia, following the completion of the Geraldton–Northampton railway in July 1879. The temperance movement, as is well documented, was an important strand of Methodism and a significant element in the liberal-nonconformist tradition in Cornwall.⁵² However, the Hosken family in Northampton appear to have been unencumbered by notions of propriety engendered by the movement for temperance, and the family embraced hotel ownership with some success, as did many other Cornish families. Indeed, at one point during the late 1880s Cornish families were managing at least seven hotels in the Mid West. Chapter three focuses on Captain Samuel Mitchell, who was considered one of the finest mining men in Western Australia, and his brother-in-law James Reynolds. While Mitchell and Reynolds seemed to have enjoyed a close professional relationship, their personal relationship was mired by scandal and the guilt associated with the loss of Mitchell's sister Christina and nephew Samuel James Reynolds aboard the emigrant ship *Kapunda* when it sank off the coast of Brazil in 1887. Mitchell's reminiscences in a

⁵² Bernard, Deacon, 'Celtic frontier or county boundary? Competing discourses of a late Nineteenth Century British border' in *Crossing Borders: Histories, Theories and Identities, Conference at Centre for Border Studies*, University of Glamorgan, 2004, 6.

pamphlet titled *Looking backward: Reminiscences of 42 years* in 1912, although limited in scope, do offer some insight into the life of a Cornish mine captain during the period under review. Chapter four introduces Frederic Vosper and Captain William Oats of Southern Cross who, along with Samuel Mitchell, represented a significant Cornish presence in the Legislative Assembly in 1897. Vosper and Oats through their association with the Coolgardie Anti-Asiatic League also represent a significant Cornish contribution to the federal Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 (the ‘White Australia Policy’). Indeed, another figure closely associated with the Coolgardie Anti-Asiatic League was George Foster Pearce, the then secretary of the Trades and Labour Council. As this thesis will show Pearce, the son of Cornish-born James Pearce, would go on to become Australia’s Minister for Defence during the First World War.

Chapter five will consider the journalistic careers of Frederic Vosper at the *Coolgardie Miner* and Sidney Hocking at the *Kalgoorlie Miner* and their prickly relationship. It will also focus on the life of Harry Kneebone, a journalist with the *Coolgardie Miner*, who began his career after a failed prospecting expedition to the Murchison goldfields with his Cornish father Henry Kneebone in January 1895.⁵³ Moreover, Harry Kneebone was present when the Liskeard-born Josiah Crabb famously played a major role in the rescue of Italian miner Modesto Varischetti from the Bonnievale Mine in 1907. Following in the footsteps of Vosper, Oats and Mitchell, other Cornish-Australians entered the Western Australian Parliament during the early 1900s. They included John Scaddan, John Barkell Holman, William Charles Angwin, Albert Thomas and William Trezise Eddy. Thomas and Eddy would join Vosper in becoming the leading proponents for the building of the Coolgardie–Esperance railway line. Chapter six will consider the career of architect Joseph Allen who, in keeping with many

⁵³ *Daily News*, ‘Shipping’, 16 January 1895, 2.

young people of his generation, decided to 'try his luck' in Western Australia. He soon obtained a position with the government working under Charles Yelverton O'Connor on the Fremantle Harbour project as an assistant engineer. After that project Allen designed the Oddfellows' orphanage at Cottesloe and buildings for Strelitz Bros in Fremantle and Perth. He also designed the Victoria District Co-Op flour mill at Geraldton and a grand residential property for Richard Strelitz named 'St Just', no doubt a nod to St Just-in-Roseland near Allen's birthplace of Perranzabuloe. Incidentally, his friend and political adversary William Charles Angwin from St Just-in-Penwith, would also take a major interest in the Fremantle Harbour project as the Labor member for East Fremantle.

Chapter seven will focus on the Truro-born Mary Juleff who, by 1908, had become the acting secretary of Citizens' Welcome League (CWL), an organisation founded on the principal of offering the hand of friendship to migrants from the 'old land'.⁵⁴ After the demise of the CWL in 1909, Juleff founded the British Immigrants Association (BIA) and from 1911 to 1927 she was a leading figure in the Western Australian National Council of Woman.⁵⁵ Her career was punctuated by administrative roles with numerous entities from 1907 onwards. Apart from the two mentioned, the most notable were the Liberal Party, the Women's Auxiliary, and the National Party. The Leederville Silver Chain, the Soldiers Welcome Committee and the Industries League can likewise be added to her list of good causes. However, Juleff was also a prominent member of the All-British Association (ABA), an anti-German pressure group that wanted to intern all enemy aliens for the duration of the First World War. Unfortunately, two of the numerous people caught up in the anti-German hysteria fanned by the ABA were of Cornish extraction, Henry Shugg, whose family came from St Ives in Cornwall and leading public servant, Alfred Colenso Kessell, whose family came from Penzance.

⁵⁴ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 28 March 1908, 10.

⁵⁵ *Daily News*, 'Mrs. Mary Juleff', 4 December 1928, 11.

Chapter eight will focus on Cornish-Australian involvement in the Group Settlement Scheme. Arguably, the most comprehensive treatment of Western Australia's Group Settlement Scheme was written by J.P. Gabbedy whose first volume describes the scheme's political origins and administration with the second volume concentrating on the settlers and their experiences. Despite his thoroughness, Gabbedy does not consider the Cornish contribution to the Group Settlement Scheme, except to acknowledge that William Charles Angwin MLA was born in Cornwall in 1863 and that Angwin described his birthplace as 'that home of sturdy pioneers and still sturdier democracy'.⁵⁶ While in opposition in parliament Angwin was a firm advocate for group settlement, he was however appalled by the lack of financial oversight exercised by the government under Premier James Mitchell.⁵⁷ Consequently, on assuming government following the Labor Party victory at the 1924 state election, Angwin was given the task of fixing the financial mess left by his predecessor and was appointed the Minister of Lands and Group Settlement. Furthermore, the involvement of high-ranking members of the WA Cornish Association in a plan to place unemployed Cornish miners on land in the South West in the early 1920s has received little scrutiny from those authors who have published articles and books on group settlement. No analysis of immigration and land settlement in Western Australia can be considered comprehensive without reference to Mary Juleff and her contribution to the welfare of immigrants. Moreover, Juleff was a prolific letter writer on a multitude of issues, principally those concerning British immigration and land settlement, but she ranged widely and her many letters to the editor often touched on matters that generated much debate.

In the course of my research I identified three journal articles by Mark Brayshay and John Selwood that deal with the specifics of the Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme.

⁵⁶ J.P. Gabbedy, *Group settlement, Part 1, Its origins: Politics and administration*, University of Western Australia Press, 1988, 202–03.

⁵⁷ J.P. Gabbedy, *Group settlement, Part 1*, 202–03.

The authors trace the lineage of the scheme to Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart Newcombe of the Royal Engineers, who allegedly conceived of the idea of sending groups of ex-servicemen, under the direction of their former officers, to the dominions in order to establish farms. Once placed on a block the ex-servicemen were expected to support each other in clearing and establishing their land holding until each became self-sufficient.⁵⁸ Selwood and Brayshay cite 3 November 1922 as the first public airing of Newcombe's scheme. By 5 April 1923 Newcombe had arrived in Western Australia on a fact-finding mission and before he had left to return home to Great Britain Premier James Mitchell had persuaded him that the state's Group Settlement Scheme was the perfect vehicle for his scheme. However, this thesis will argue that much of the groundwork for the Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme attributed to Newcombe had already been undertaken by members of the WA Cornish Association, namely; Mary Juleff and John Wilcox, who were attempting to get unemployed Cornish miners onto farms in Western Australia as early as 1921.

⁵⁸ John Selwood and Mark Brayshay, 'From one room to another in the great house of empire: Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme in Western Australia', *Journal of the Western Australian Historical Society*, 11:4, 1998, 485–86.

CHAPTER ONE: WESTERN AUSTRALIA AND THE FIRST COHORT OF CORNISH MINERS

In his wide-ranging book on the history of Cornwall, Philip Payton opined that the myth of Cousin Jack was principally based on two precepts – mining prowess and ethnic identity.¹ Payton also persuasively argued in *British and Irish diasporas: Societies, cultures and ideologies* that the skill and enterprise of self-employed Cornish miners created the conditions for capitalist organisations to dominate international mining and investment.² Indeed, the mythic Cousin Jack was frequently acknowledged in the Australian press as examples from the *Kalgoorlie Miner* in 1896 and *Coolgardie Miner* in 1906 attest. In the first example the *Kalgoorlie Miner* quotes an unnamed paper in London as reporting that Germans in the gold-mining districts on the Witwatersrand were imitating, as closely as they could, the Cornish accent and mannerisms in order to gain employment and, perhaps more importantly, the good wages paid to Cornish miners.³ Quite how the Germans managed to mimic the Cornish dialect of West Cornwall without sounding like a stereotypical pirate is open to debate. Nevertheless, despite the apparent absurdity of the proposition, it does say something about the myth of Cousin Jack and the difficulty outsiders had in breaking the Cornish grip on hard-rock mining.⁴ The second example appeared in the *Coolgardie Miner* under the heading ‘Cousin Jack Miner’ and was allegedly sourced from the journal of *Science and Art of Mining*. It describes Cousin Jack as a rugged individual who lives in close-knit communities that largely keep to themselves. Moreover, as the article counsels, the Cornish have a dialect that is

¹ Philip Payton, *Cornwall*, Alexander Associates, Fowey, Cornwall, 1996, 244.

² Philip Payton, ‘The Cornish diaspora, 1815-1914’ in Donald M. MacRaild, Tanja Bueltmann and J.C.D. Clark (eds), *British and Irish diasporas: Societies, cultures and Ideologies*, 2019, 290.

³ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Items of News’, 14 December 1896, 2.

⁴ Philip Payton, *Cornwall*, 1996, 60.

scarcely intelligible. It goes on to claim that the Cornish miner is deeply superstitious, earnestly religious, shows loyalty to his own and rebels against any idea of a master.⁵

With the above in mind, this thesis will examine the Cornish in Western Australia to determine what was a myth and what was the reality. As noted in the Introduction, much of the work on the Cornish in Australia has focused on the eastern colonies. Western Australia, in contrast, was remote and its mineral resources remained largely unknown until the Settlers Expedition lead by Frances T. Gregory, found traces of lead near the Murchison River in 1848.⁶ However, it would be another two years before John James became the first Cornish mine captain to manage a mine in the remote Mid West of Western Australia. Nevertheless, before examining the early pioneers in some detail it is worth noting two important characteristics of Cornish mining that would leave a lasting legacy on mining in Western Australia. The first was the introduction of mining terms like adit, costeen, pitch, skip, stope, take, tut, wheal, whim, winze and vug to the local lexicon.⁷ The second was the widespread adoption of the traditional Cornish employment system known as ‘tribute’ and ‘tutwork’.⁸ This was a contract-based system that maintained a clear distinction between those underground labourers who did the ‘tutwork’ (for example, sinking shafts and driving tunnels, described as ‘dead work’) which rewarded them according to the volume of material removed, and the highly skilled miners under the tribute system who would bid for contracts whose value had been set by the mine captain. Once the value of the ore at grass (surface) had been determined by assay, the miners working under tribute could potentially earn enough money to retire in comfort as happened to four tributers at Moonta in 1870.⁹ Nevertheless,

⁵ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Cousin Jack Miner’, 30 August 1906, 1.

⁶ F.W. Birman, ‘Frances Thomas Gregory’ in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian portraits*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1979, 16.

⁷ Oswald Pryor, *Australia’s Little Cornwall*, 1962, 191.

⁸ Greg J. Drew, ‘The significance of the Australian Cornish Mining Heritage Site’, *South Australia Mining History*, 5. Available at <http://www.samininghistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/drew-2014-acmhs.pdf>, accessed 9 October 2019.

⁹ Oswald Pryor, *Australia’s little Cornwall*, 52.

many miners preferred to remain on tutwork contracts due to the reliability and predictability of their earnings as opposed to the more risky tribute system.¹⁰

Today the name Murchison is readily associated with Western Australia, encompassing as it does the name of a river, the shire where the Murchison River is located, Mount Murchison and the Murchison goldfields. The individual after whom these places are named, Sir Roderick Murchison, is often cited as being the first person to suggest that gold would be found in Australia based on his analysis of rock samples provided to him by Count Paweł Strzelecki in 1839.¹¹ Murchison is also credited as being the first to suggest, during a speech at Penzance in 1846, that Cornish miners familiar with tin streaming should immediately leave for Australia to search for gold. It was Murchison's belief that the application of Cornish mining skills would turn Australia into Britain's own El Dorado.¹² It was not until the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851 that Murchison's prediction would be fully realised, due in no small measure to the mining skills of hundreds of Cousin Jacks.

Meanwhile, an editorial in the *Perth Gazette* in 1863 bemoaned the fact that Western Australia remained an unknown colony to most of the inhabitants of Great Britain. The editorial went on to blame transportation for damaging Western Australia's reputation in Britain:

Possibly the 'Transportation Question' may have induced a few to ask whether the place, the claims of which to be fit and proper receptacle for the felons of England, were so much canvassed both pro and con, is an island, a desert or shut off by a desert from the rest of the habitable world.¹³

¹⁰ Roger Burt and Sandra Kippen, 'Rational choice and a lifetime in metal mining: Employment decisions by Nineteenth-Century Cornish miners' *International Review of Social History*, 46, 57.

¹¹ *West Australian*, 'A Practical Miner on the Discovery of Minerals', 2 February 1884, 3.

¹² *North Devon Journal*, 'The Australian Ophir', 16 October 1851, 6. See also Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 7.

¹³ *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei', 31 July 1863, 2.

Despite, the well-founded fear that convicts were hindering British settlement, there is little evidence to suggest that Cornish miners were discouraged by Western Australia's remoteness or the questionable character of some of its inhabitants. Nevertheless, a more plausible reason for Western Australia failing to exploit its mineral wealth sooner was not transportation, but its sheer size, and the absence of capital and mining expertise.¹⁴

As the preceding comments indicate, there was fierce debate in Western Australia concerning the value of convict labour and their probationary equivalent the 'ticket-of-leave' men on the colony's reputation. The colony's first mine owners also faced a dilemma once the readily accessible surface ore deposits had been removed by the unskilled convict workforce at their disposal. It must have quickly dawned on them that a more considered approach using skilled miners and pumping equipment would be necessary if they were to fully realise the value of their asset. It was this imperative that forced them to look at the source of arguably the best hard-rock miners in the world, Cornwall, and to those Cornishmen already plying their trade in the eastern colonies. Former convict Joseph Lucas Horrocks, owner of the Gwalla Mine near Northampton, is often credited as being the first mine owner to import Cornish miners to Western Australia.¹⁵ Indeed, in some records he has been erroneously described as Cornish: he was, in fact born in Blackrod, Lancashire in 1802. At the age of 49, Horrocks was sentenced in London to 14 years transportation for forging and uttering two bills of exchange totalling £1032 13s.¹⁶ Some six months later he left Great Britain for the last time and arrived aboard the *Marion*, at Fremantle on 31 January 1852. As a merchant, Horrocks was considered a 'gentleman' convict whose class represented just 4% of the 9673, convicts

¹⁴ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 185.

¹⁵ Martin Gibbs, 'Landscapes of meaning: Joseph Lucas Horrocks and the Gwalla Estate, Northampton', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 17, 39. Available at <https://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=980303142;res=IELAPA>, accessed 23 July 2019.

¹⁶ *London Evening Standard*, 'Central Criminal Court – This Day', 9 April 1851, 2. At his bankruptcy meeting held in Manchester on 3 April 1851, Horrocks occupation is listed as merchant and drysaltier. See also *Manchester Times*, 2 April 1851, 4. £1000 would be equivalent to over £100 000 in 2018.

transported between 1850 and 1868.¹⁷ Most of the gentlemen, including Horrocks, proved invaluable to the colonial authorities because of their white-collar skills which could be readily adapted to convict administration. Moreover, Horrocks had some knowledge of medical matters, courtesy of a stint in the Royal Navy as a medical orderly. After proving useful in that capacity, Horrocks was granted his ticket-of-leave status and with it the epithet 'Doctor'. This allowed him to own property and to employ free settlers.¹⁸ In due course Horrocks found a position with the local merchant and staunch Wesleyan, George Shenton, as the manager of the White Peak Mine. After a period of time he took over as superintendent of the Wanerenooka Mine before acquiring his own mine which he named Gwalla.¹⁹

Like Horrocks, the earliest Cornish miners in Western Australia were likely to have been convicts. It is probable that some of them were part of a special contingent of 60 ticket-of-leave men who were sent to establish the Lynton depot at Port Gregory before moving on to the Geraldine Mine.²⁰ According to local folklore, in the early 1850s a Cornish miner named Joe Jones was enterprising enough to attempt the remediation of the flooding problem at the Geraldine Mine by making a lift-pump from hollowed-out trees lined with sheets of lead.²¹ It is not clear if Joe Jones was ever a convict, however, there are a number of convicts who can be readily identified as Cornish. These include the St Austell-born John Hendy, son of tin smelter Thomas Hendy, who was sentenced in 1853 at the Bodmin Assizes to be transported for 10 years for stealing a basket containing, amongst other things, a pasty and a silver watch. There is former tin dresser Joseph Bolitho Johns (Illogan) who was sentenced at Brecon, Wales for 10 years for stealing bread, bacon and cheese. Both Hendy and Johns arrived at

¹⁷ Martin Gibbs, 'Landscapes of redemption: Tracing the path of a convict miner in Western Australia', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 14:4, 605.

¹⁸ Rica Erickson, *The brand on his coat: Biographies of some Western Australian convicts*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1983, 224.

¹⁹ Martin Gibbs, 'Landscapes of redemption', 605–06.

²⁰ Mary Albertus, *Ancient landmarks: A social and economic history of the Victoria District of Western Australia 1839–1894*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1975, 121.

²¹ *Geraldton Guardian Express*, 'Early Murchison Days', 20 November 1937, 6.

Fremantle aboard the *Pyrenees* in 1853. John Ellery (Bodmin), James Thomas (Redruth) and William Joseph Evans (Bodmin) were transported two years earlier on the *Minden* for larceny.²² Some, if not all, were therefore in a position to be part of the first cohort of convicts specially selected for their mining skills and placed at the disposal of the owners of the Geraldine Mine.²³ The arrival of Harry Trembath at that mine in 1864, more than ten years after the first cohort of miners, suggests that other Cornish convicts were similarly engaged until transportation ceased in 1868.

In 1863 reports of serious rioting, but no property damage, at the nearby Wanerenooka Mine saw some ticket-of-leave men force a small police contingent to seek safety in their barracks.²⁴ This was arguably the tipping point for Augustus and Charles Gregory, the discoverers of Geraldine Mine in 1848. Doubtless shocked by the unrest, they began placing advertisements in Cornish and colonial newspapers in an attempt to entice men of good character to the Geraldine Mine.²⁵ The first Cornish miners to arrive at the mine, and the ones who did most to foster the myth of Cousin Jack in Western Australia, were two sets of brothers, Martin and John Hosken from Redruth, and Samuel, James and John Mitchell from Perranzabuloe near Perranporth.²⁶ Samuel Mitchell was the eldest son of lead miner Samuel and his wife Mary Anne (née Saunders). By 1860 Samuel Jnr was working at Wheal Harmony near Redruth, and had married Mary Jane Stephens, the daughter of Captain Hugh Stephens of Redruth.²⁷ In due course, Mitchell was recruited by the mine owner and shipping agent Robert Mace Habgood to take managerial control of the first commercial mining

²² John Hendy was one of 296 convicts transported on the *Pyrenees* in 1853. Available at http://www.cornwall-opc.org/Resc/emigrant_pdfs/hendy_john_1853.pdf, accessed 28 November 2016.

²³ Mary Albertus, *Ancient landmarks*, 121.

²⁴ *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Champion Bay', 10 July 1863, 2.

²⁵ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Latest Telegrams', 27 September 1871, 3. The mine owners included Horrocks, Shenton and Robert Mace Habgood. Habgood was credited with recruiting Captain Samuel Mitchell for the Geraldine Mine in 1867.

²⁶ Shirley Ewart and Harold T. George, *Highly respectable families: The Cornish of Grass Valley, California, 1854–1954*, Comstock Bonanza Press, Grass Valley, California, 1998, 144.

²⁷ *Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 10 August 1883, 2.

venture in Western Australia, the Geraldine lead and copper mine, which was situated on the Murchison River near Northampton.²⁸ Captain Samuel Mitchell arrived aboard Habgood's vessel the 395-ton *Zephyr*, on 11 November 1867. Also, on board were John Osborne, Mitchell's brother-in-law, six Cornish miners, an unnamed woman and a certain J. Mitchell.²⁹ The last named might have been a cousin, but it was clearly not Samuel Mitchell's younger brother, John, or his middle sibling James. John Mitchell was only 13 at the time and still living in Redruth with his parents and sister Christiana Reynolds and her 2-year-old nephew, Samuel James Reynolds.

John Mitchell arrived in Western Australia in September 1877, along with brother James and Samuel's daughters, Ellen and Lillian, in cabin class on one of George Shenton's vessels, the *Helena Mena*.³⁰ Travelling in steerage were five members of the Wearne family, John Tresidder and child, and Redruth miner John Mill and his wife Grace, who were all evidently recruited by James Mitchell. Less than a year later, in March 1878 John Mitchell died aged 24. The specific nature of his illness was unreported, but reference is made to eleven such deaths in Northampton in the previous quarter suggesting a contemporary cause such as typhoid fever, smallpox, tuberculosis, scarlet fever or cholera.³¹ At the time such illnesses were simply referred to as 'colonial fever' indicating – if not a casual acceptance then resignation – that God's will could not be changed. However, for Samuel Mitchell the nature of his younger brother's death remained a mystery and a source of eternal regret, as he felt

²⁸ H.G. Dines, *The metalliferous mining region of South-West England*, HMSO Publications, London, vol. 1, 1956, 369-70. See also *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 13 February 1879 re Samuel Mitchell Snr and the Treleigh mine which did not open until 1875. However, the nearby Wheal Harmony, Wheal Peevor and Mitchell's shaft were in operation at the time, thus suggesting that both father and son could have worked there.

²⁹ *Herald*, 'Shipping Intelligence', 16 November 1867, 2. John Osborne married Nanny Mitchell at Perranzabuloe in 1862. He died in WA 10 months after his arrival, leaving a widow and three children in Cornwall.

³⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Month's Shipping', 1 October 1877, 1.

³¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Country Letters', 17 April 1878, 3.

responsible for urging him to come to Western Australia.³² The funeral of John Mitchell was evidently held in the ‘Cornish style’, which meant that the Gwalla choir preceded the cortege singing all the way to the church.³³

As Samuel Mitchell recounted in his reminiscences, his early introduction to life in Western Australia included a detour to Fremantle Jail where he met the aforementioned Joseph Bolitho Johns, ‘Moondyne Joe’, who was serving a 10-year sentence for killing an oxen with felonious intent.³⁴ The ox was the property of William Wallace of Canning. Mitchell does not discuss what passed between them, which is understandable given that Moondyne Joe had escaped custody in March 1867, months before Mitchell’s arrival. While Mitchell exercised a degree of artistic licence in describing his adventures in Western Australia, he appears to have been genuinely moved when he witnessed the treatment of men on a chain-gang working near Fremantle Bridge. He recalled that prisoners were closely hobbled together to dig, shovel and wheel away the earth, the sight of which, he said, stayed with him for the rest of his life, and prompted the comment, ‘I daresay these men deserved severe punishment, but to see human creatures treated like wild beasts was enough to make one’s blood turn cold’.³⁵ Doubtless, the sight of the chain-gang and stories of the colourful exploits of Moondyne Joe and bushranger Frank Hall suggested to Mitchell that he and his band of Cousin Jacks were about to enter a lawless wilderness. It was, after all, only relatively recently that newspapers in the colony felt able to report that the country had ‘become opened and settled, the natives in consequence of such settlement, cease to be hostile’.³⁶

³² Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward: Reminiscences of 42 years*, Northampton, 1911, Chapter 16, 25.

³³ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Country Letters’, 17 April 1878, 3.

³⁴ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 1, 4–5. See also *Geraldton Guardian*, ‘Memories of Samuel Mitchell’, 23 September 1950, 2; and *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 7 July 1865, 3.

³⁵ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 1, 4. As a Methodist, Mitchell would have considered these men redeemable if subjected to the tenets of the Holy Scriptures and after professing ‘repentance’ for their criminal past.

³⁶ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Editorial’, 9 March 1864, 2. A shepherd named Davis was speared on the Upper Irwin in 1864 for killing a dog owned by the local tribe.

In 1867, despite the claim that indigenous Australians were not a threat, Mitchell and his miners still had concerns and therefore armed themselves accordingly. In due course, however, Mitchell had to concede that Western Australia was not the lawless backwater he had supposed. This was underlined when he recalled arriving at Champion Bay, weapons at the ready, only to find the local inhabitants otherwise engaged in a cricket match. Evidently, Mitchell's embarrassment was so acute that he likened it to approaching a Cornish village in similar manner.³⁷ That encounter aside, Mitchell's Cousin Jacks met their first indigenous Australians on the way to the Geraldine Mine. He recalled that the group were much impressed by the indigenous Australians' skill with the spear and boomerang. However, although Mitchell was reasonably enlightened and soon established good relations with the local Nanda and Thaagurda people, he was like many of his contemporaries, very paternalistic and believed that indigenous Australians should not be spared harsh treatment if their behaviour warranted punishment in European eyes.³⁸

The day after reaching the Geraldine Mine on 26 November 1867, Mitchell carried out his first site inspection and immediately found fault with the placement of the main shaft in the bed of the Murchison River. The location of the main shaft in 1848 was evidently an expedient so that production could start as soon as possible. However, its placement was not, it seems, seriously challenged until the arrival of Mitchell.³⁹ Before discussing Samuel Mitchell in more detail, it is worth recalling that the mine's first Cornish captain was John James who arrived in August 1850 from South Australia.⁴⁰ It would appear that James left

³⁷ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 1, 4.

³⁸ Martin Gibbs, 'The Geraldine Mine: The 1850s lead mining frontier in Midwest Western Australia', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 34, 59–60.

³⁹ Martin Gibbs, 'The technology of colonial ore processing in Western Australia: The Warribanno Lead Smelter', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 15, 55–65.

⁴⁰ Ken Spillman, *A rich endowment*, 18.

Cornwall in 1847, and after arriving in South Australia he quickly built a reputation as an authority on mining matters through frequent letters to the press. His letters appear to have brought him to the attention of the discoverers of the Geraldine Mine, Augustus and Charles Gregory. They offered him the role of manager. However, Captain James spent less than a year in charge before abandoning Western Australia for the Victorian goldfields. Before leaving he recommended another Cornishman, Martin Hosken, as his replacement. In November 1852 James sent a letter to a friend at Swan River in which he described the chaotic scenes at Mount Alexander in Victoria: ‘at the diggings people from every part of the world are seen, in their different costumes, but not any so well fitted for the work as Cornish men’.⁴¹ The high praise that James afforded his countryman at Mount Alexander did little to diminish the notion that Cornish miners were without peer in Australia.

The newspaper report announcing the arrival of Captain Martin Hosken in late 1852, and his accompanying Cornish miners, states that he was tasked with tracing the copper lode and ‘should it be sufficiently profitable, work it’.⁴² Hosken was born in Gwennup in 1814, and his brother John was born in Sithney in 1816.⁴³ The brothers had started mining as children and left Cornwall in the late 1830s to spend time at the Morro Velho gold mine in Nova Lima/Congonhas, Brazil, where four of John’s five sons and one of his daughters, Mary Jane,

⁴¹ *Inquirer*, ‘Mining Journal’, 17 November 1852, 2.

⁴² *Inquirer*, ‘Mining Journal’, 22 September 1852, 2. One of Hosken’s accompanying miners was 21-year-old William Penpraze Tregonning who would marry Alice Hepzibah Smithies in 1854 at York, WA. The couple would have six children and manage at least three hotels. However, Tregonning returned to Cornwall without the family in the 1870s and became a hotelkeeper in Camborne. He died in 1875 aged 44. See also *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, ‘Local Intelligence’, 10 December 1874, 2; and *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, ‘Public Notices’, 19 November 1886, 1.

⁴³ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, The author, Forrestfield, Western Australia, 2005, 4–5. Martin and John Hosken were the only sons of miner John and Mary (née Spargo), who also had three daughters (Ann [1815], Charity [1822] and Elizabeth [1826]).

were born.⁴⁴ It appears that Martin returned to Cornwall briefly in 1851, and then left for Western Australia to begin work at the Geraldine Mine.

At the Geraldine Mine Martin Hosken was beset by problems, the most serious of which was a fire that burnt down his miner's cottage in 1853, causing him to sustain serious burns while attempting to save mine documents.⁴⁵ On one occasion he became hopelessly lost in the bush, without water, having been thrown by his pony. Rather fortuitously, he was discovered some 24 hours later while attempting to regain the road on foot.⁴⁶ Notwithstanding such difficulties, his most pressing concerns were the mine's remote location, which hindered the continuity of supplies, a belligerent convict workforce and a personality clash with the man responsible for building and running the Warribanno smelter, Francis Watson Pearson.⁴⁷ Allied to the indifferent skills of the largely convict workforce, Hosken decided to strike out on his own for an area called 'The Mines' in 1858.⁴⁸ By March 1859 Hosken was managing the Wheal Fortune Mining Company's first mine on a yearly salary of £300, while building a four-roomed stone cottage nearby on Lot 133, which he named Rose Cottage.⁴⁹ It was at this juncture that Martin Hosken was briefly married to Agnes Catherine Shearien, but the marriage did not last and both parties appear to have gone their separate ways.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ See 'Hosken family', Information Sheet No. 25, Heritage Services, Geraldton Regional Library, Geraldton, WA. Available at http://library.cgg.wa.gov.au/Profiles/library/Assets/ClientData/Heritage_Information_Sheets/Information_Sheet_25_-_Hosken_Family.pdf, accessed 18 May 2016. See also Marshall C. Eakin, *The St. John d'el Ray Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1989.

⁴⁵ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Fremantle', 9 November 1853, 2.

⁴⁶ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Editorial', 9 January 1856, 2.

⁴⁷ Martin Gibbs, 'The Technology of Colonial Ore Processing in Western Australia: The Warribanno Lead Smelter', 62.

⁴⁸ Martha Smallacombe *The Hosken odyssey*, 11.

⁴⁹ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 12.

⁵⁰ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 14.



Figure 1: Captain Martin Hosken
(Source: Martha Smallacombe, Ancestry.com)

At the time of Mitchell's arrival, Martin Hosken was managing one of the Irwin District mines, and it was from there that Hosken issued his last mining report for work undertaken at the Woodbengarra Mine, covering the period 1 April to 31 December 1866.⁵¹ This turned out to be Martin Hosken's last foray as a mine manager and from this point onwards he would offer his services as a mining consultant and land speculator in the Victoria District. He would later acquire large pastoral leases totalling 15000 acres as well as some blocks of 190 acres.⁵² His brother had returned to Cornwall in 1846 and was working as a farmer and miner in Redruth before he was declared bankrupt in early 1851.⁵³ The bankruptcy saw the family return to Brazil, where the two youngest children were born. However, by 1860 John and his

⁵¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Business Circular', 30 January 1867, 2.

⁵² Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 17.

⁵³ *Perry's Bankrupt and Insolvent Gazette*, 3 January 1851.

family were back in Cornwall. In 1861 Martin Hosken married Elizabeth Morecombe Bennett and almost immediately the couple left for Western Australia and a reunion with his Uncle Martin.⁵⁴ The following year John and Elizabeth Hosken with their other children and Mary Jane Paul, whose husband Joseph Paul had died in Brazil in February 1861, arrived in Australia.⁵⁵

The evidence suggests that after a brief interlude Captain John Hosken decided that owning a hotel was a better economic proposition than the physical demands and economic uncertainty associated with the lead mining industry. John Hosken's arrival had coincided with the governor of Western Australia approving the establishment of four liquor outlets, two at Geraldton and one each at Greenough and the new township of Northampton. John Hosken was granted the Northampton licence. He then purchased block No. 198 comprising 10 acres from William Burgess for £10 and proceeded to build The Miners Arms Hotel.⁵⁶ He continued to provide investor reports on the viability of numerous mines whilst engaged in the hotel trade, as the following attests:

Mr. John Hosken opened the 'Miners Arms' Hotel on a plot of ground situated between the Wanerenooka and the Gwalla Mines. A location, moreover, that, either by luck or design, was contiguous to the spot surveyed for the centre of the new townsite.⁵⁷

Thereafter, Northampton would be referred to often, not without a little irony, as a 'Cornish' town.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 25. By 1853 John and Elizabeth Hosken had five sons and two daughters, Elizabeth Ann, 13, Martin 11, Mary Jane, 10, John Jnr, 8, William, 5, Thomas who died in infancy in 1852, and Richard born in 1853. Elizabeth married John Youlten in 1857 and Mary married Joseph Paul in Brazil in 1859.

⁵⁵ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 28. Captain John Hosken and family arrived at Fremantle aboard the *Bride* on 19 July 1862.

⁵⁶ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 29–30.

⁵⁷ *West Australian Times*, 'Wanerenooka', 7 January 1864, 3.

⁵⁸ *Victorian Express*, 'The Volunteer Review at Northampton', 1 June 1881, 3.

One of John Hosken's first acts on opening the Miners Arms Hotel, which was remembered with some fondness many years later, was to provide the public with free drinks during the first three days of trading.⁵⁹ This did not sit well with some members of the local Cornish community, as the consumption of hard liquor was considered by many people of 'faith' to be a singular evil.⁶⁰ Indeed, teetotalism had been a popular movement in Cornwall since the late 1830s and by the 1860s temperance had become an important strand of Methodism and a distinctive cultural element of the liberal-nonconformist tradition in the Duchy.⁶¹ The Miners Arms Hotel was, therefore, not universally welcomed:

The new 'Public' was opened a few days ago and as might have been expected a great rush was made, shepherds, hut keepers, miners, &c., eager to spend their savings came in crowds, – drunkenness, fighting, debauchery and theft, caused an increase of business for the Magistrate; and an addition to the Exchequer in the shape of fines.⁶²

The above correspondent went on to question whether it was judicious to allow a tavern so near to the mines and sheep stations. Clearly stung by the criticism emanating from the local Cornish community, John Hosken mounted a spirited defence of the social benefits of his establishment. In a deliberate attempt to placate the locals John Hosken emphasised the commercial and family nature of his business while pointing out that the area was well known for its illicit stills and sly grog trade. Indeed, the sly grog reference was perhaps an allusion to the late Gwalla Mine owner Joseph Lucas Horrocks who many believed supplied alcohol to his miners.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'An Incident of Sixty Years Ago', 15 December 1925, 4.

⁶⁰ Philip Payton, *Making Moonta, The Invention of Australia's Little Cornwall*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 2007, 163–64.

⁶¹ Bernard Deacon, 'Celtic frontier or county boundary? Competing discourses of a late Nineteenth Century British border'. *Crossing Borders: Histories, Theories and Identities, Conference at Centre for Border Studies*, 6.

⁶² *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Champion Bay, Mining District', 15 January 1864, 2. One may infer that the 'correspondent' was Cornish from his intimate knowledge of local mining operations and his reference to the pleasing effect of Cornish carol singing, and 'though distant from our native land, we have the faith of our fathers and dwell in a Christian land'.

⁶³ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'To the Editor', 22 June 1864, 3. John Hosken talks of the police being few in number, struggling to contain the men as they indulged their every whim to excess, rolling their casks into the bush, lighting fires and engaging in orgies of drunkenness beyond description.



Figure 2: John Hosken
(Source: Martha Smallacombe, Ancestry.com)

The following month a letter was published in support of John Hosken. It pointed out the malice behind the criticism and ended with the following observation:

Mr. Hosken's Hotel is generally considered a great boon to the public, and numbers of travellers, who in former days had to trespass on the settler, or lie under a wattle tree, can now avail themselves of the welcome accommodation of a well-conducted road-side Inn.⁶⁴

After this ringing endorsement the recriminations appeared to abate, at least through the conduit of the local press. However, the exchange between Hosken and his anonymous protagonist was emblematic of a particular Cornish difficulty, which revealed itself whenever the purveyors of the 'evil drink' ran headlong into Wesleyan theology and the temperance movement. Indeed, John Hosken perhaps knew instinctively that social drinking was an

⁶⁴ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'To the Editor', 28 September 1864, 2.

important release for men who routinely risked their lives underground. Nevertheless, he was also aware his own community subscribed to a different view that could only be assuaged by total abstinence. Hosken, it seems, was prepared to defend his chosen career and with his sons he would expand further in the hospitality business. Nevertheless, whether Methodists, Rechabites or members of temperance organisations like the Independent Order of Good Templars the Cornish would earn a reputation in Western Australia, as elsewhere, for proselytizing on the evils of alcohol for almost all of the entire period under review.

As commented previously, Captain Samuel Mitchell, was not impressed with what he found when he took charge of the Geraldine Mine on 27 November 1867. He recollected that he had made the best of a bad situation and opined that ‘The mine did not appear to have been wisely opened or worked’, but he conceded that ‘there were innumerable drawbacks in those days that are not known now’.⁶⁵ However, after six months the anticipated flood did arrive causing extensive damage, which temporarily put a stop to all mining operations at the mine. This forced Mitchell and his Cornishmen to move nearer to Northampton to mine for galena’ (lead ore). At this new site Mitchell proved that he was not averse to cutting corners in his eagerness to ship the first lead ore out of Western Australia. He characterised the mining operation in this way: ‘did a little rough-and ready mining and raised a fair quantity of ore’.⁶⁶ Regardless of Mitchell’s questionable mining methodology in this instance, he was proud of his achievements and that of his band of Cousin Jacks, claiming that he was the first to demonstrate the commercial viability of mining carbonates of lead in Western Australia despite the oppressive heat and primitive working conditions.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 1, 4.

⁶⁶ *Geraldton Guardian*, ‘Memories of Samuel Mitchell’, 23 September 1950, 2.

⁶⁷ *Geraldton Guardian*, ‘Memories of Samuel Mitchell’, 23 September 1950, 2.

Based on his reminiscences, Captain Mitchell could not be accused of ‘partaking’ as people of a certain disposition referred to drinking.⁶⁸ Raised by his mother in the strict chapel tradition, Mitchell was taught to avoid drink and blasphemy in equal measure. Moreover, his avowed liberalism placed him and his politics firmly in the Cornish radical tradition of non-conformity. It is, therefore, not surprising that Mitchell assisted financially in the building of the lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars at Northampton. At the opening ceremony in February 1876 Mitchell was called upon to say a few words and remarked that he agreed with the objectives of the Good Templars and ‘sincerely hoped the lodge would go ahead and prosper’.⁶⁹ However, less than a year later Mitchell expressed the view that while he was always prepared to promote a good cause he was not himself a ‘Good Templar’.⁷⁰ Again, some years later, in 1883, Mitchell became a founding member of the Northampton branch of the WA Temperance Union.⁷¹ Nevertheless, Samuel Mitchell’s relationship with liquor is more nuanced than it first appears. During his mining career he did not join the miners when they drank and he often slept fully clothed during their carousing just in case of trouble.⁷² Given Mitchell’s concern about carousing Cornish miners, the description offered by Thomas Bolitho seems a little misplaced:

There are no such men in Australia as the Cornish miners; they hang together, they are the best-behaved people and the most successful people in the whole colony.⁷³

In light of the above, it is significant that Mitchell’s business partnership with Charles Crowther involved selling imported spirits and other liquors under a Merchant Spirit Licence and a jointly held Gallon Licence.⁷⁴ After Crowther died in 1894, Mitchell evidently declined

⁶⁸ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 9, 15.

⁶⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Northampton’, 29 March 1876, 3.

⁷⁰ *Herald*, ‘Northampton’, 17 March 1877, 3.

⁷¹ *Victorian Express*, ‘Northampton’, 17 and 24 October 1883, 3.

⁷² Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 8, 13.

⁷³ *Cornish Telegraph*, 16 June 1858, 2.

⁷⁴ *Western Australian Statutes*, The Licensing Act, 1911 Available at [https://www.legislation.wa.gov.au/legislation/prod/filestore.nsf/FileURL/mrdoc_13783.pdf/\\$FILE/Licensing%](https://www.legislation.wa.gov.au/legislation/prod/filestore.nsf/FileURL/mrdoc_13783.pdf/$FILE/Licensing%20Act%201911.pdf)

to take up the Merchant Spirit Licence, but he did renew the Gallon Licence, which permitted the licensee to sell any liquor in any quantity provided it was not less than 1 gallon. This suggests, at the very least, that Mitchell tolerated drinking in moderation, although, as with many Cornish Methodists, he professed a strong dislike for hard spirits.⁷⁵

When the barque *Samuel* arrived at Fremantle on 13 September 1852, its passengers included Captain Martin Hosken and the Cornish miners William Nancarrow, William Tregoning, N. Spargo and John Hosken.⁷⁶ The last named, as was the case with Samuel Mitchell, was perhaps a cousin, as John Hosken Snr and his son John Jnr, were in Brazil then.⁷⁷ William Nancarrow was the 22-year-old son of an Illogan copper miner. He rose to become the underground manager at the Geraldine Mine. In 1863 Nancarrow was in a position to purchase a pastoral lease of 10,000 acres along with an adjoining 2000 acres, in an area roughly 11 km south of the Geraldine Mine.⁷⁸ He named his station 'Trevenson', perhaps in honour of the chapel or the mine of that name at his birthplace in Pool near Redruth.⁷⁹ In 1865 Nancarrow nominated for migration the 36-year-old Caroline Dennis also from Pool. He married her at Gwalla in 1866. Caroline had a daughter, Emily, who was born in 1849 making her at least 17 years old when she arrived aboard the *Robert Morrison* with her mother.⁸⁰ William and Caroline had two children in Western Australia, Amanda Dennis (1868) and Harriet Hannah (1870), both of whom died within weeks of each other in 1886 from

20Act%201911%20-%20%5B00-00-00%5D.pdf?OpenElement, accessed 6 October 2019. See also *Victorian Express*, 'News', 7 December 1889, 5.

⁷⁵ Philip Payton, *Making Moonta*, 164.

⁷⁶ *Inquirer*, 'Shipping Intelligence', 15 September 1852, 2.

⁷⁷ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 28.

⁷⁸ AU WA S978- cons5018Victoria 04.

⁷⁹ Alfred Jenkin and Kenneth Hamilton, *The Cornish miner*, 158.

⁸⁰ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Death of Mrs. Kelly', 14 October 1909, 7. Emily Kelly, as she was at the time of her death, is recorded as arriving over 50 years ago with her mother, Caroline, to join her father William Nancarrow. However, *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre 1829-1888* entry for William Nancarrow claims that Emily was Caroline's cousin, which is clearly incorrect, but neither does it establish that William Nancarrow was Emily's biological father.

whooping cough.⁸¹ Prior to his death Nancarrow leased some of Trevenson Station to the recently arrived James Mitchell for the purposes of raising merino sheep and horse breeding. This arrangement appears to have ended in April 1887 after William Nancarrow died.⁸² This left Caroline Nancarrow to take over the running of Trevenson Station with the assistance of her son-in-law, William Glass, and his wife Emily and their children. Meanwhile, James Mitchell sold his stock of 20 superior draught and hack horses and went into partnership with his brother Samuel Mitchell in a bid to exploit large copper deposits near the Geraldine Mine.⁸³ The profits from this venture were used by James Mitchell to buy the Miners' Arms Hotel.⁸⁴

As indicated, Emily Nancarrow was married to William Charles Glass. He was born at Medway, Kent, and had arrived in Fremantle aboard the *Zephyr* in 1864.⁸⁵ Glass was recruited by Habgood & Co. to take over the business management of the Geraldine Mine following the departure of Martin Hosken.⁸⁶ Both Nancarrow and Glass came to public attention when they assisted the Edward Hooley expedition in its attempt to open a stock route to the northwest from Champion Bay.⁸⁷ Confusingly Samuel Mitchell recalled this expedition and claimed to have been the first to greet Hooley when he answered a knock at his door: 'to my dismay I saw an object without hat or shoes and otherwise in rags and tatters'.⁸⁸ According to Mitchell, the wretched Hooley was apparently able to continue his

⁸¹ *Victorian Express*, 'Death', 1 May 1886, 2. Harriet's death notice was published in the same newspaper on 18 June 1886. In 1912 it was reported that the vault containing the coffins of Amanda Dennis and Harriet Hannah Nancarrow was in a state of disrepair and that members of the Glass family had been notified. See also *Geraldton Express*, 'Wanted A Cemetery Board', 31 January 1912, 2.

⁸² *Daily News* 'Died' (Nancarrow), 21 April 1887, 3. See also *Victorian Express*, 'To Let' (Mr. Nancarrow's), 16 June 1888, 4.

⁸³ *Victorian Express*, 'W. Hepburn Gale', 5 February 1887, 4.

⁸⁴ *Victorian Express*, 'District News', 6 March 1886, 3. At the time the crude copper ore was carted away in wagons to Wheal Ellen, where it was crushed before being sold.

⁸⁵ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Shipping Intelligence', 24 August 1864, 2.

⁸⁶ *Victorian Express*, 'Particulars respecting the murderer', 24 February 1893, 3.

⁸⁷ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'The Northern Overland Expedition', 20 July 1866, 3. It was reported that Nancarrow had offered a horse and an indigenous Australian tracker to assist Hooley and his party. Glass, the manager of the Geraldine Mine, had accompanied Hooley's party for five days before returning home.

⁸⁸ Samuel, Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 5, 9.

journey to Perth the following day after receiving provisions and enjoying Mitchell's renowned hospitality. However, Hooley's journal, serialised in the *Perth Gazette*, states that he reached Geraldton on his return in November 1866.⁸⁹ This is at variance with Mitchell's arrival at the Geraldine Mine exactly twelve months later in November 1867. It is possible that Mitchell conflated the circumstances of Hooley's second expedition in 1868, with his more celebrated earlier achievement. Indeed, it is noteworthy that Hooley's physical condition on the second occasion did not elicit any undue comment, despite Mitchell's recollection that he looked dishevelled.⁹⁰

In Western Australia the position of mine captain had the same status as in Cornwall and South Australia.⁹¹ It was, therefore, understandable that the community would ask such men to represent them in local politics. In 1882 Captain Samuel Mitchell was appointed a Justice of the Peace and in 1884 he became the first Cornishman elected to the Western Australian Legislative Council.⁹² Prior to this Mitchell had joined Captain John Harvey, William Nancarrow, Captain Martin Hosken and his brother James Mitchell as founding committee members of the Northampton Roads Board (1871).⁹³ Samuel Mitchell served as the board's chairman from 1883 to 1892, while William Nancarrow relinquished his membership in favour of the Northampton Board of Education in 1883.⁹⁴ Former Geraldine Mine manager William Glass also joined the Northampton Roads Board overseeing the spending of £400 of

⁸⁹ *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 'Mr. Hooley's Overland Route to Nicol Bay and Return Route', 28 December 1866, 3.

⁹⁰ *Herald*, 'Public Opinion', 1 February 1868, 3. Mitchell's booklet *Looking backward* indicates he met Hooley in 1878, when clearly 1868 was the correct date, therefore, a misprint is suspected.

⁹¹ Philip Payton, *Making Moonta*, 13–14. Also, Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 121–22.

⁹² *Herald*, 'Resignation of Mr. Samuel Mitchell MLC', 30 May 1885, 2. Mitchell resigned as the member for Geraldton after six months citing disagreements with his constituents and following the visit of Sir John Coode to Champion Bay who was to report on the desirability of starting harbour works.

⁹³ Alfred J. Suckling, 'The history of the Northampton District', Optional thesis, Teachers Higher Certificate, State School Wooroloo, n.d. Available at SLWA, Q994-12/NOR, 142.

⁹⁴ *Herald*, 'The Week', 5 May 1883, 3.

government funding on essential infrastructure prior to succeeding Mitchell as chairman in 1892.⁹⁵

The record indicates that not all Cornish mine captains were keen to settle in Western Australia or were eager to become involved in local politics. For example, Captain James Penberthy of Lelant arrived in Western Australia with the intention of returning to Cornwall at the end of his contract. Penberthy was 28 when he was engaged to take charge of operations at Wheal Fortune for a period of three years. Like Captain Martin Hosken before him he would receive a salary of £300 per annum.⁹⁶ To put that amount in context, in 1847 the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* claimed that striking miners in Charlestown were earning £42 per annum and 73 years later the average Camborne miner was earning, at most, £120 per annum.⁹⁷ Based on these figures one can be reasonably confident that wage stagnation was a major push factor for young Cornish miners like James Penberthy. British newspapers of the period reported that the most ‘intelligent’ and ‘superior’ miners were leaving Cornwall in large numbers for South America and Australia because of the higher wages available.⁹⁸ At the same time, there was significant internal migration to places as far afield as Bolton in Lancashire, where it was noted that Cornishman ‘love it (Cornwall) very dearly, and rarely indeed do they ‘go out foreign’ without entertaining hopes of returning to the oldest county in England’.⁹⁹ In Australia newspapers were openly canvassing the idea of bringing out hundreds of Cornish miners and their families on heavily discounted fares in a bid to counter the cheaper fares and higher wages on offer in South America.¹⁰⁰ The details of Captain Penberthy’s career in Australia reveal the difficulties of balancing family commitments and

⁹⁵ Mary Albertus, *Ancient landmarks*, 342.

⁹⁶ *London Daily News*, ‘Fortune Copper Mining Company of Western Australia’, 17 September 1863, 6.

⁹⁷ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, ‘Food Disturbances at St Austell’, 18 June 1847, 2. See also *Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, ‘Camborne Miners and their Wages’, 10 March 1920, 7.

⁹⁸ *Bolton Evening News*, ‘Exodus of Cornish Miners’, 25 November 1869, 4.

⁹⁹ *Bolton Evening News*, ‘Exodus of Cornish Miners’, 25 November 1869, 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Mount Alexander Mail*, ‘Immigration from Cornwall’, 6 July 1867, 2.

the desire to become financially secure. In 1859 James Penberthy married Mary Ann Anthony and by 1863, when he accepted the Wheal Fortune position, they had two children. In terms of the logic behind Penberthy's decision to leave his family for three years, a paper co-authored by Roger Burt and Sandra Kippen noted that

the decision to emigrate to mining districts overseas, rather than other domestic industrial areas, was soundly based on the relative available wage levels [and that] 'the choice of a career as a Cornish miner during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century was a rational economic one.'¹⁰¹

Captain Penberthy arrived at Fremantle in May 1863 and he was joined a few weeks later by 16 miners with a portable steam engine and its requisite pumping gear. There is little indication from the shipping information that all of the 16 miners were Cornish. However, there is compelling anecdotal evidence in the *Perth Gazette* of 15 January 1864 that they were Cornish. The evidence in question is a reference to carol singing by the recently arrived Cornish miners during the Christmas festivities.¹⁰² Moreover, a shareholders meeting held in September of 1864 also tends to support this contention with the chairman stating that there was now a good body of Cornish miners at work and a favourable outcome for shareholders was soon expected.¹⁰³ There can be little doubt that this group of Cornish miners along with those associated with Hosken and Mitchell were, by the late 1860s, largely responsible for the 'Mines' area being widely known as 'Cornish' town.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, such a notion prompted a correspondent to consider what the territory known as the 'Mines', later Northampton, actually represented. Their answer was pretty unambiguous, 'the peopled land of the hard sinewed Cornishman'. In contrast, the correspondent was apparently less inspired by the

¹⁰¹ Roger Burt and Sandra Kippen, 'Rational choice and a lifetime in metal mining: Employment decisions by Nineteenth-Century Cornish miners', *International Review of Social History*, 46, 47.

¹⁰² *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Champion Bay', 15 January 1864, 2.

¹⁰³ *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 'Fortune Copper Mining Company of Western Australia (Limited)', 25 November 1864, 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Western Australian Government Gazette*, Proclamation of Northampton by Governor Hampton, 19 February 1864, 1.

resident Irish population, or ‘Hibernian’ as they were identified in the article, describing them as ‘plodding’.¹⁰⁵

Captain James Penberthy left Western Australia and Wheal Fortune almost as soon as his contract expired. On 30 October 1867 Penberthy boarded the *Palestine*, loaded with 210 tons of copper ore, and with his engineman he went back to Cornwall to be with his wife Mary Ann and their two children. Whether in response to Penberthy leaving, or as a consequence of diminishing returns, work at Wheal Fortune was suspended and the miners paid off. A report by Charles Crowther, Honorary Secretary of the Victoria Agricultural and District Society, published in November 1867 points to unspecified mis-management and not a lack of workable ore for the mine’s closure.¹⁰⁶ As a result, some Cornish miners elected to leave the district and the colony, with most choosing to start afresh in the eastern colonies.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, Penberthy seems to have left Wheal Fortune with his reputation intact despite the inexplicable ‘leak of capital’ which, at least publicly, Crowther and his committee declined to expand on. Penberthy, nevertheless, returned to Cornwall, where he died in 1900 at his home, East View House, a substantial detached house, in Lelant, aged 65.¹⁰⁸

As already stated, not all of the Cornish people drawn to Northampton to work in the lead mines chose to stay, nor did all them came directly from Cornwall. Indeed, many of the early pioneers like Captain John James, Captain Rowland Vounder Rodda and Captain John Harvey were recruited from neighbouring South Australia. Captain Harvey had initially arrived in South Australia to work under the St Austell-born mine captain, Richard Rodda, at

¹⁰⁵ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Impressions of the Mines’, 30 November 1864, 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Report of the Victoria Agricultural and District Society’, 30 September 1867, 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Geraldton’, 20 November 1867, 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, ‘Deaths’, 14 June 1900, 5.

Penrice near Angaston in the Barossa Valley.¹⁰⁹ In due course, Captain Harvey was sufficiently established to send for his wife Hannah and son John Polzue Harvey to join him; both arriving aboard the *General Hewitt* in September 1858.¹¹⁰ However, six months later the family moved to Western Australia, in all probability because Rowland Rodda, the eldest son of Captain Richard Rodda of Penrice, had recommended Harvey to George Shenton, one of the owners of the Wanerenooka Mine and chairman of the Western Australian Mining Association.¹¹¹ Rowland Rodda had just recently returned to South Australia specifically to engage a mine captain after examining the Western Australian Mining Association's mining operations in 1858 and proclaiming it 'one of the finest fields for speculators in the colonies'.¹¹²

On the passage to Fremantle aboard the barque *Frances* and then to Champion Bay aboard the schooner *New Perseverance*, the Harvey family joined Captain Rowland Rodda and his wife Grace.¹¹³ At the time of his appointment, Rowland Rodda was a noted mine captain and assayer and had offered his services to the Western Australian Mining Association as a manager, if the terms were acceptable. Apart from his own remuneration, his major request was that the owners of the Wanerenooka Mine provide £1900 so that a steam engine, whim and crusher could be procured and then shipped from his native Cornwall.¹¹⁴ The company readily agreed and a three-year contract was entered into beginning in April 1859.¹¹⁵ However, in a little over a year Rodda and his family were back in South Australia, arriving

¹⁰⁹ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, Cornwall Editions, Fowey, 2005, 172.

¹¹⁰ *Advertiser*, 'Shipping News', 13 September 1858, 2. Hannah Harvey is listed before John Harvey, which suggests Captain John Harvey was absent and had probably arrived on an earlier vessel.

¹¹¹ Captain Richard Rodda arrived in South Australia aboard the *Britannia* in 1846. He is listed as a mining superintendent. He and his wife and five children were cabin passengers.

¹¹² *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Western Australian Mining Association', 14 January 1859, 2.

¹¹³ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Shipping Intelligence', 20 April 1859, 2.

¹¹⁴ *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Western Australian Mining Association', 5 August 1859, 2.

¹¹⁵ *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Western Australian Mining Association', 14 January 1859, 2.

aboard the brig *Lochinvar*, leaving Captain John Harvey and three men as the Wanerenooka Mine's only remaining employees.¹¹⁶ The reason for the mine's predicament, according to a contemporary newspaper, was the want of roads, a lack of capital and inadequate pumping equipment.¹¹⁷ There were, however, mutterings about a difference of opinion between the company and Rodda.¹¹⁸ The article in question prompts intrigue by claiming that 'there is a secret feeling kept by 'someone' or other to the great injury of the Mine and Manager, and no credit to the parties themselves'.

The historiography is mute on whether Rowland Rodda left the employ of the Western Australian Mining Association of his own volition or if he was sacked. What is clear, however, is that by the 6 June 1860 the number of men working on behalf of the Association consisted of three men under Captain Harvey.¹¹⁹ A subsequent meeting of the company shareholders makes a strong case for believing that money was a major factor in Rodda's departure. The newspaper report of the shareholders meeting appears to place a good deal of emphasis on the fact that Captain Harvey, and his small crew, had managed to raise more than 50 tons of ore at the cost of only £80.¹²⁰ Notwithstanding this plausible scenario, one can mount a strong argument that Rodda, now free of any obligation to the company, either because he was sacked or because he had resigned, felt able to make imprudent assertions on the public record. This was at a time when the company directors of the various mines were due to meet Governor Arthur Kennedy to seek his public support in building the Geraldton–Wanerenooka Mine railway.

¹¹⁶ *Advertiser*, 'Shipping News', 2 August 1860, 2. See also *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'General Intelligence', 27 July 1860, 2.

¹¹⁷ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 29 February 1860, 2. A deputation from the Western Australian Mining Association, which included George Shenton, pressed Governor Arthur Kennedy to lobby the Imperial government for funds to build a railway between Champion Bay and the Wanerenooka mine at a meeting held on 23 February 1860.

¹¹⁸ *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'Champion Bay', 30 September 1859, 2.

¹¹⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Local and Domestic Intelligence', 6 June 1860, 2.

¹²⁰ *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 'General Intelligence', 27 July 1860, 2.

It is impossible to know whether Rodda had expressed his intemperate views whilst in the employ of the Wanerenooka Mine. However, he courted controversy by writing to the editor of the *Inquirer and Commercial News* to question the veracity of the recently published government census. Under the heading ‘Mines working in Western Australia on 31 December 1859’, the government claimed there were eight copper and four lead mines in work.¹²¹ Captain Rodda challenged this contention by declaring only the copper mines of Wheal Fortune, Gwalla and Drummond were working and, furthermore, that no lead mines were working at all.¹²² Moreover, not content with merely questioning the report’s accuracy, he compounded it by saying, ‘I can understand a Mining Secretary or even Director blowing bubbles, but not an officer of Government’, i.e., the registrar-general. Rodda went on to accuse the registrar-general of overstating the resource potential of the district by saying ‘really this looks so much like a got up ‘Mining Prospectus’ that I could almost fancy myself in Cornwall again’.¹²³ Such was Rodda’s *volte-face* that it is difficult to reconcile his revised negative opinion with his initial positive assessment of the district’s mining potential just twelve months earlier. Whatever Rodda’s motivation, attacking government officials in print was hardly conducive to gaining further employment in Western Australia. Nor were his former employers likely to gain the political favour necessary to help their struggling companies gain the railway they so desperately needed. Indeed, the *Inquirer’s* editorial response to Rodda’s polemic made much of the competency and scientific attainments of those responsible for the mining report and that Rodda was, in effect, questioning their professional competence.¹²⁴ It was perhaps under these circumstances that Rowland Rodda’s

¹²¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Correspondence’, 27 June 1860, 2.

¹²² *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Correspondence’, 27 June 1860, 2. The editorial response noted that Rodda did not mention his responsibilities, namely, the Wanerenooka and Geraldine Mines, as working on 31 December 1859. From the *Inquirer’s* perspective this may be so. However, these mines ‘have been worked and are yet workable’. Perhaps, this explains why the company was providing ore figures in subsequent reports to indicate the mines were still working, albeit with a skeleton crew, after Rodda’s departure.

¹²³ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Correspondence’, 27 June 1860, 2

¹²⁴ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Correspondence’, 27 June 1860, 2

position as superintendent of mines became untenable and is arguably the principal reason why he returned to South Australia with two years remaining on his contract.

Nevertheless, the secret feeling towards the manager held by ‘someone’ is better understood when one considers the circumstances surrounding Rodda’s death. George Shenton, the mine’s owner, was a well-known Wesleyan and supporter of the temperance movement while Rowland Rodda was said to have died in Queensland from alcohol poisoning. Perhaps tellingly, Rodda’s direct subordinate Captain John Harvey was both a Wesleyan and a member of the temperance movement.¹²⁵ Moreover, Harvey, whom Rodda had recruited in South Australia, was on the committee that welcomed renowned temperance campaigner Matthew Burnett to Northampton in 1883. At the first public crusade after arriving in Northampton Burnett delighted his mostly Cornish audience with his often-repeated story of the conversion of Big Ben Angwin, the renowned Cornish wrestler. The conversion evidently occurred during a sermon Burnett gave at Clunes, Victoria in 1866.¹²⁶ On that occasion the sermon’s effect on Angwin was so palpable that it allegedly forced every ‘swill-tub hotelier’ in the town to put ‘paid’ on Big Ben’s grog account. Moreover, Angwin’s transformation saw the previously illiterate wrestler now able to read the New Testament barely twelve months after not being able to read a word.¹²⁷ There can be little doubt that Burnett’s allegory on the redemption of Big Ben found favour with the Cornish community in Northampton, with 260 of the town’s inhabitants moved to ‘take the pledge’ during Burnett’s four-day stay.¹²⁸ Indeed, the preceding offers some insight to the moral dilemma faced by many Cornish miners who were pressured by their community to support the temperance movement, while at the same

¹²⁵ *Perth Gazette and Western Journal*, ‘Western Australian Temperance Society’, 14 August 1841, 1.

¹²⁶ *Victoria Express*, ‘Northampton’, 24 October 1883, 3.

¹²⁷ Robert Evans, *Matthew Burnett, The Yorkshire evangelist*, The author, Research in Evangelical Revivals, NSW, 2010, 110. Similarly, Cornishman Richard Coad was another noted ‘Temperance Evangelist’ who toured Australia during the 1890s delivering lectures on the life of Billy Bray. However, he seems to have not visited WA confining his well-attended sermons to the eastern colonies.

¹²⁸ *Victorian Express*, ‘Northampton, October 7’, 24 October 1883, 3.

time concealing a fondness for liquor. The palpable discontent this fostered – as has been shown – was often not conducive to establishing harmonious working relationships at Cornish-dominated mines as Captain Rowland Rodda's brief tenure amply demonstrates.

Before considering other periods of the Cornish experience in Western Australia, it is worth recording that Mathew Burnett's Perth-based secretary, William Henry Angove Jnr, who organised the 420 public lectures and helped obtain the 7050 pledges during the seven months the crusade was in Western Australia was Cornish.¹²⁹ Angove was the oldest child of Cornish parents, Thomas and Mary Angove, who, along with many Cornish families, had moved to the Tamar Valley, Tasmania in the 1840s to mine for copper.¹³⁰ After spending his formative years in Clunes, where he no doubt first became acquainted with Burnett, Angove moved to Western Australia in 1879 and had a varied career as a licensed land surveyor, acting inspector of mines and a justice of the peace for Dundas.¹³¹ However, Angove's significance, and that of his brother John Edwards Angove, is closely linked to the Great Southern Railway and land settlement which is discussed in detail in Chapter six.

This chapter has discussed how the global reputation of Cornish miners prompted the owners of the Geraldine Mine to engage the services of an experienced mine captain. No doubt the publicity surrounding Roderick Murchison's entreaty in 1846 that Cornish miners leave for Australia at the first opportunity to search for gold informed the Geraldine Mine company's recruitment strategy and the focus on Cornwall.¹³² However, it is clear that both Murchison and the owners of the Geraldine Mine were responding to the well-established 'culture of mobility' that had become a feature of the Cornish way of life from the early 1800s, as is

¹²⁹ *West Australian*, 'Local Telegram', 13 December 1883, 3.

¹³⁰ Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, 109.

¹³¹ *Western Mail*, 'Albany', 23 April 1897, 3. See also *Albany Advertiser*, 'Land Settlement', 22 July 1897, 3; and *West Australian*, 'Land Settlement', 20 February 1907, 6.

¹³² Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 7.

evidenced by the transnational exploits of the Hosken family in Brazil in the 1830s and then in Western Australia in the 1850s.¹³³ Nevertheless, it was perhaps the unreliability of convict labour, the congruent lack of expertise and the mistaken belief that cheap labour would guarantee profits that ultimately decided the matter for the owners of the Geraldine Mine. The arrival of Captain Martin Hosken, along with the Cornish miners Nancarrow, Tregoning, Hosken and Spargo at the mine in November 1852, doubtlessly heralded the beginning of period of significant growth for the nascent colony, due in no small part to the discrete skills of Cornish miners. Soon after the Hosken's arrival Martin, with the aid of his brother John, began constructing the various mine buildings and residential dwellings that would form the basis for the town of Northampton. Prior to that the settlement had variously been known as 'The Mines' or, in some accounts, 'Cornish' town.¹³⁴ As they did elsewhere, Cornish miners proved equally adept at raising stock and William Nancarrow became a noted livestock breeder after purchasing a large pastoral lease in 1863, totalling 12,000 acres, which he named 'Trevenson'. Other Cornish mine captains began to arrive, some from neighbouring South Australia such as Rowland Rodda and John Harvey at the Wanerenooka Mine, while James Penberthy at the Wheal Fortune came directly from Cornwall.

However, it was the arrival of Captain Samuel Mitchell in 1867 that was most responsible for establishing Northampton's distinct Cornish character. Mitchell achieved this by importing a steady stream of Cornish migrants, brought on the vessels of mine owner Robert Mace Habgood, which would see Northampton flourish for the next 20 years. Mitchell was not untypical in this regard. Captain Richard Piper in South Australia recruited 408 men, women and children in 1883 on behalf of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mines, none of whom died on the perilous journey to Port Adelaide.¹³⁵ In the social sphere, the prevalence of 'sly grog' selling

¹³³ Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, 30.

¹³⁴ *Victorian Express*, 'The Volunteer Review at Northampton', 1 June 1881, 3.

¹³⁵ Oswald Pryor, *Australia's little Cornwall*, 50.

at many of the mines discussed saw instances of violence and prostitution, which prompted the government to issue liquor licenses in a bid to stamp out the practice and exercise some control over the sale of liquor. Again, Cornish miners proved adept at seizing business opportunities and John Hosken opened the first hotel in Northampton, the Miners Arms Hotel, in 1864.

CHAPTER TWO: CONSOLIDATION AND THE VEXED QUESTION OF LIQUOR

The discussion will now turn to the consolidation of the Cornish presence in the Mid West of Western Australia. It is clear from the previous chapter that after Martin Hosken and Samuel Mitchell had established a metalliferous mining industry in the Mid West, and one dominated by Cornish miners, a distinct Cornish culture emerged. With James Jupp's analysis in mind, the theme of this chapter and, indeed, one which informs the thesis as a whole, is to determine the extent and influence of Cornish culture on Western Australia. The words of renowned novelist and travel writer Robert Louis Stevenson illustrate the distinctiveness that Jupp was referring to when the famous author encountered a group of Cornish people in 1879 as he travelled by train across the United States from New York to San Francisco. Stevenson opined that he could make nothing of the Cornish. They were, in his opinion, an old-world mysterious race, a people who kept to themselves and who remained foreign even to their English neighbours.¹ Although, Stevenson was using a degree of poetic licence he was making a valid point about the Cornish doggedly holding to their own customs, traditions and folklore, all of which were underpinned by strict adherence to Methodism. With that in mind, the proclamation of the town of Northampton in 1864 and the subsequent influx of numerous Cornish families offers ample evidence of the cultural elements that the Cornish brought to Western Australia. Moreover, unlike Cornwall, the availability of vast tracts of inexpensive land offered Cornish miners and their families the chance to accumulate wealth that would not have been possible in their homeland.

The earliest Cornish miners were mostly active in the Victoria District of Western Australia, an area southwest of the Hutt and Irwin Rivers, and centred on Geraldton. As in other areas

¹ Cited in Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 323. See also Eric Richards, *Britannia's children*, 116.

on the mining frontier the fluctuations in metal prices were a constant threat to the profitability of many of the small-scale mining operations of the Mid West.² It is little wonder then that Cornish miners diversified into other pursuits, including hospitality, small business and farming. In doing so they became an influential demographic in the local community. In May 1867 the *Perth Gazette*, while lamenting the need for a regular steamer service between Fremantle and Adelaide, offered a valid reason why many Cornish miners, like the Hosken brothers, decided to settle here:

They (miners) are told that they can buy for ten shillings an acre here from the Crown, land as good as what they buy in South Australia for three pounds, and for the produce of which they can get here as good (or better) prices, as they can there, and that they can buy land which shall suit the Farmer, the Timber Merchant, or the Miner.³

After the proclamation of Northampton the land that had formed part of William Burges's pastoral lease No. 68 was broken up into 196 town lots and advertised for sale on 26 July, 1864.⁴ Before discussing the accumulation of land and the development of business and capital in some detail, it is important to stress that one of the cornerstones of the myth of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny was the Cornish propensity to 'stick together' or their 'clannishness'. As this aspect of the myth is an important ethnic identifier it is necessary to devote a significant part of this chapter to the relationship bonds that developed, both in families and business, to gauge at least anecdotally, whether the Cornish deserved their reputation for clannishness.

² Rupert Gerritsen, 'Nhanda villages of the Victoria District, Western Australia', The author, 2011. Available at http://rupertgerritsen.tripod.com/pdf/published/Nhanda_Villages_of_the_Victoria_District_WA.pdf, 1-32, 1. accessed 27 October 2016. The Victoria District was an area inhabited by the indigenous Nhanda/Nanda and Amangu people.

³ *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 'Editorial', 10 May 1867, 2. It was further suggested that the WA government place advertisements in SA newspapers to entice miners to the Champion Bay district.

⁴ Alfred J. Suckling, 'The history of the Northampton District', 117.

The sale of pastoral lease No. 68 can be best described as a protracted process with it taking 15 years for the majority of the blocks to be sold. Despite what appears to be a downturn in the local economy because of low ore prices, the names of Cornish miners are prominent in the list of town lot purchasers. John Hosken purchased blocks 101–104 on 24 July 1868; John Harvey blocks 111–114 on 13 June 1871; and John Hosken in June 1874 secured another seven blocks. In 1875 William Hosken purchased two blocks and John Hosken a further nine, William Nancarrow bought one, and Samuel Mitchell and James Mitchell one and two, respectively. In 1876 Samuel Mitchell bought a block in partnership with Charles Crowther. John Hosken, meanwhile, in partnership with James Mitchell, purchased another six. William Nancarrow bought another one, and John Harvey purchased a further seven. In 1878 Samuel Mitchell and Crowther purchased another one, and John Hosken and James Mitchell one and two, respectively. Finally, in 1879, Samuel Mitchell and Crowther secured another two blocks and the younger Martin Hosken in partnership with William Gale also bought one. Based on this information eight Cornish miners were in possession of 52 blocks in Northampton by 1879.⁵

One of the more colourful descriptions of Northampton and its Cornish inhabitants during the period under review concerns the mock invasion or ‘sack’ of the ‘Cornish’ town by the Geraldton Volunteers. The following vignette provides ample evidence of the important role played by Cornish miners in founding Geraldton and Northampton. In 1881, as part of Australia-wide celebrations to mark Queen Victoria’s 62nd birthday, a special train was arranged to ferry the Geraldton Volunteers plus band members and assorted inhabitants from Geraldton to Northampton to mark the auspicious occasion. The railway linking the two towns was still very much a novelty, having been inaugurated on 26 July 1879. Indeed, that

⁵ Alfred J. Suckling, ‘The history of the Northampton District’, 172.

fact alone was enough to create a very festive atmosphere. Entering into the spirit of the occasion, a local newspaper correspondent decided to treat the excursion as an invasion of Cousin Jack territory and, therefore, assumed the role of a war correspondent. In the article there are many references to fighting the Cornish. For example, ‘the despairing charge of the ‘forlorn hope’ up Chiverton heights’ is a reference to Captain Mitchell’s home and the place where he operated a store, assay office, and a stock and station agency. The article mentioned the Siege of Badajoz (1812) during the attack on Mitchell’s home, in reference to the Peninsular War of 1808–1814 where the ‘forlorn hope’ was famously deployed. The ‘war correspondent’ was evidently catching the ‘war spirit’ as he reported:

I could have pistoled a Basuto, shot an Afghan, or bayoneted a Cornishman, with a *sang froid* which a Queensland policeman might envy, but never attain.⁶

Happily, as the article explains, Captain Mitchell surrendered with discretion showing sound judgment as he knew Captain Shenton would cut off his supplies and occupy the railway even if Mitchell and his Cornishmen won the day. As the Geraldton Volunteers marched to the rendezvous at Mrs Hosken’s Railway Hotel, two Cornish miners, one identified as hailing from Camborne, were heard to remark:

I say Ben, you! did’ee ever see so many little men in a regiment afore? Most on’en would do fine for the drives in the *bal* wouldn’t they? with the other replying ‘Yes I think’.⁷

This exchange proved to be another example of the Cornish sense of humour that was later given prominence by the cartoons of South Australian Oswald Pryor.⁸ On their return to Geraldton the Volunteers were complemented on their conduct and it was reported that if anybody was ‘tight’ (drunk) it was probably from eating too much Northampton fowl, ham

⁶ *Victorian Express*, ‘The Volunteer Review at Northampton’, 1 June 1881, 3. The Australian-wide holiday was observed on 24 May 1881.

⁷ *Victorian Express*, ‘The Volunteer Review at Northampton’, 1 June 1881, 3.

⁸ See Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas* and Oswald Pryor, *Australia’s little Cornwall* for many examples of Cornish humour in practice.

and Cornish pasties. As the preceding demonstrates, Northampton in 1881 was as much a Cornish town as its counterparts in South Australia. Its people, as the above article suggests, were considered open and hospitable despite the occasional invasion.

On 4 July 1881 the Cornish community was further bolstered when ten families, numbering 61 people, arrived at Fremantle aboard the *Robert Morrison*.⁹ After continuing their journey on the *Rob Roy* these Cornish immigrants disembarked at Geraldton on 7 July 1881.¹⁰

However, it was not altogether a pleasant experience as it was alleged that certain articles had gone missing from the *Robert Morrison* and suspicion had fallen on the new arrivals. The Geraldton customs officials were given instructions that the entire luggage of the arrivals was to be searched. Whether due to over officiousness or because they were newcomers, the process was conducted in the main street of Geraldton. Naturally, some locals found the spectacle distressing and questioned why turning out 'women's and children's clothing that had been in use during a long voyage' under the gaze of an increasingly sympathetic crowd was necessary.¹¹ It was further alleged in the same report that had the Cornish not been poor working folk that such liberties would not have been contemplated. There is no indication from the record that any of the Cornish immigrants were culpable in the alleged theft. In any event, the arrivals were allowed to proceed on a special train commissioned to take them to Northampton a month later, where it was reported that a large crowd of their fellow 'countrymen' had assembled to greet them.

In July 1881 the Geraldton Hotel was managed by William and Hannah Hosken, but upon William's death in the following month Hannah took over as the licensee. Before this occurred in Northampton John Hosken Snr had sold the Miners Arms Hotel to John Williams,

⁹ *Herald*, 'Shipping Report', 9 July 1881, 2.

¹⁰ *Victorian Express*, 'Shipping Report', 13 July 1881, 2.

¹¹ *Herald*, 'Northampton', 6 August 1881, 1.

a sheep farmer and grazer from Willow Gully.¹² The sale agreement saw the younger Martin Hosken and John Hosken Jnr lease the hotel as partners, with Martin becoming the licensee. After two years Martin moved to Geraldton with his family to become the licensee of the Geraldton Hotel in 1868. John Hosken Jnr took over the Miners Arms Hotel, while the existing partnership was retained. It is noteworthy that during Martin's tenure the Geraldton Hotel became the focus for two major events in the colony's early history. On 1 April 1874 the Geraldton Hotel was the starting point for John and Alexander Forrest's second overland expedition to Adelaide, which set out with six men and 20 horses to survey the colony's western interior.¹³ In October of the same year Governor Frederick Weld arrived in Geraldton to 'turn the first sod' to begin the construction of the Geraldton–'Mines' (Northampton) railway, the first government railway in the colony. As the licensee of the Geraldton Hotel, Martin Hosken had an important role to play in providing accommodation and refreshments at both events. The governor's banquet proved to be a singular success and was described as 'very *recherché*', earning Hosken many plaudits for doing the 'fullest justice to the occasion'.¹⁴ Not content with organising and supplying the refreshments, the Cornish cabal of Martin Hosken Jnr, John Hosken Jnr, Samuel Mitchell and James Mitchell formed part of the ten-man reception committee. The attendance of Captain John Harvey and William Nancarrow not only underscores the strength of the Cornish presence in the Mid West during the 1880s, it also demonstrates that the reputation levelled at Cousin Jacks for 'sticking together' was no idle boast. However, in mitigation, the inherent dangers of working underground probably fostered this aspect of the myth of Cousin Jack as the necessity to trust your 'workmate' was often the key to your own survival in the dangerous confines of a

¹² Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 88.

¹³ F.K. Crowley, 'Sir John Forrest' in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian portraits*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, WA, 1979, 81. A function was held at the Geraldton Hotel the night before the expedition's departure on 1 April 1874.

¹⁴ *West Australian Times*, 'The Governor's Visit to Champion Bay', 30 October 1874, 2. *Recherché* means sophisticated or high quality.

mine.¹⁵ In any event, the clan mentality remained a singular aspect of the Cornish experience enabling relationships to form that were generational in their scope. However, this did not guarantee the Cornish would always ‘stick together’. Cornish mine captains were notorious for criticizing each other’s work and the miners were often of the view that they could run the mine better than the mine captain.¹⁶ Indeed, fault finding was something of an occupational hazard for miners and was not by itself sufficient for the Cornish to abandon their clan mentality. Moreover, the Cornish motto, ‘One and All’, fostered the notion that whatever the outcome, miners and the mine captain, as in life, were in it together.

In 1872 Western Australia’s Wines, Beer and Spirit Sale Act stipulated that the publican would be held responsible, and subject to a penalty, if an intoxicated person were found on their property regardless of whether they had drunk there. In 1876 Martin Hosken felt obliged to point out in the press that his own vigilance had prevented the full weight of the law coming down on him when he thwarted an intoxicated person bedding down in his barn just as the police were about to arrive on their nightly rounds.¹⁷ Naturally, a fine and the damage to one’s reputation would invite objections from others in the community when the liquor licence came up for renewal. Nevertheless, Hosken’s Cornish background is clearly evident as he grappled with the morality of his chosen profession and the desire to see his business thrive as this extract from his letter to the press indicates:

Though engaged in the trade no one deplores the evil of drunkenness more than I do. It is no pleasure to me to see a man take a glass too much; on the contrary. I have often had rows with men for refusing to supply it. But because some men may indulge to excess, notwithstanding all said and done to prevent them, and set law and order at defiance, I fail to see reason why I, because I happen to be a publican, should be liable to persecution and amenable for penalties for those men’s excesses, while I am entirely ignorant of the fact of their being at all on my premises.¹⁸

¹⁵ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 143.

¹⁶ Philip Payton, *The making of modern Cornwall*, 148.

¹⁷ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Our Open Column’, 24 May 1876, 3.

¹⁸ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Our Open Column’, 24 May 1876, 3.

The local member of parliament for Geraldton, Maitland Brown, was prevailed upon to introduce an amendment to the Wines, Beer and Spirit Sale Act so that publicans were not subject to vexatious accusations, allegedly in many cases, from the police. The accusation that most troubled publicans was that they knowingly continued to serve intoxicated individuals leaving them vulnerable to the practice of ‘lambing down’.¹⁹ However, following a Legislative Council debate Attorney General Henry Hocking successfully circumvented Maitland Brown’s amendment, by inserting extra clauses that essentially gave only magistrates or justices of the peace the authority to determine if any publican had been derelict in his or her duty by knowingly supplying liquor to an already intoxicated person.²⁰

The Licensing Act of 1911 provides details of the sliding scale of fees associated with each licence and is a useful resource in terms of understanding the value of each.²¹ The most sought after was the publican’s general licence, which authorised the ‘licensee to sell and dispose of any liquor in any quantity on the licensed premises’.²² The cost of publican’s general licence was assessed against the full annual rent at which the premises was let and other valuable considerations that would allow the Licensing Court to determine an appropriate fee. As a general guide, the hotel licence, which was more restrictive than the publican’s licence, was limited to selling liquor to lodgers, boarders, their guests and persons taking a meal, and was set at £25. At the other end of the scale was the eating house, boarding house or lodging house. The licensee of these entities was not authorised to sell liquor but could provide liquor on the basis that it was paid for and came directly from any licensed

¹⁹ *Western Australia*, Legislative Council, *Debates*, 8 September 1876, 175. According to Acting Colonial Secretary Anthony O’Grady Lefroy, the existing clause was meant to prevent intemperance and protect the labouring man from being fleeced while drunk, popularly known as ‘lambing down’.

²⁰ *Western Australia*, Legislative Council, *Debates*, 6 August 1877, 1876 (Attorney-General, H.H. Hocking) in Committee, Wines, Beer, and Spirit Sale Act, 1872, Amendment, 1877. Majority for amendment 11 votes to 9.

²¹ Western Australian Statutes, Licensing Act, 1911. See Western Australian Government Gazette, 24 February 1911, Clause 27.

²² Western Australian Statutes, Licensing Act, 1911. See Western Australian Government Gazette. 24 February 1911, Clause 28.

house. The fee attached to this licence was £1. The fee attached to running a wayside house, as in John Hosken Jnr's case, attracted a yearly levy of £15.²³ The Gwennap-born William Hosken the only one of John Hosken's sons not born in Brazil, was granted a wayside licence when he became the licensee of the Wayside Inn in 1875.²⁴

In 1871 the younger Martin Hosken joined other influential residents and pastoralists in the Victoria and Greenough districts who demanded that the resident magistrate consider the advisability of establishing a separate territory.²⁵ The demand was the result of longstanding grievances stemming from crop failures, the fall in the price of wool and the closure of many of the district's mines, which the government in Perth appeared to be indifferent to.²⁶ Nonetheless, the absence of Captain John Harvey and Captain Samuel Mitchell and his brother James from the list of signatories suggests that Cornish mine captains were at least indifferent to the notion of separation. Indeed, Martin Hosken was evidently the only one of note to sign his name to the petition. In due course, the separatists' eventually agreed that their plan was probably ill-advised and they undertook to refrain from instigating any further action pending a favourable outcome from the government.²⁷ While the immediate threat of separation was withdrawn it was – as has been argued – enough to guarantee that the first government railway would be built between Geraldton and Northampton.²⁸

A short time after Captain Martin Hosken delivered his last mining report he collapsed and died at Dongara on 26 December 1872, aged 58.²⁹ During, his 20-year mining career Captain

²³ Western Australian Statutes, Licensing Act, 1911. See Western Australian Government Gazette, 24 February 1911, Clause 72.

²⁴ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 56.

²⁵ *Herald*, 'Greenough', 23 September 1871, 3.

²⁶ *Herald*, 'Important Public Meeting at Champion Bay', 26 June 1869, 3.

²⁷ Mary Albertus, *Ancient landmarks*, 361.

²⁸ Mary Albertus, *Ancient landmarks*, 360.

²⁹ *Herald*, 'Mr. Herbert's Lead Mine', 12 March 1870, 3. Hosken's last published letter to the editor was less than a month before he died and concerned 'wheat rust' and the provision of government support to affected farmers. See *Herald*, 'Rust in the North', 30 November 1872, 3.

Hosken had amassed a considerable fortune which he left to members of his immediate family. His brother, Captain John Hosken, who had moved to the Victorian goldfields in 1870, and who was then living in Ballarat with his wife Elizabeth, received one-third of the estate.³⁰ John's son (and, therefore, Martin's nephew), the hotelier Martin, also received one-third. Two other nephews, William, who with his wife Hannah had accompanied his parents to Victoria, and John Jnr, his niece, Elizabeth Youtlen, and his late sister Ann's three children shared in the remaining third of Captain Hosken's estate.³¹

In February 1875 nephew Martin purchased the Wayside Inn and 100 acres of land near the hotel, and his brother William took over as licensee.³² William and Hannah had not long returned to Western Australia, although their return was under somewhat trying circumstances. William Hosken had been working as a grocer at Sebastopol, now a part of Ballarat, where an alleged incident involving the removal of goods obliged him to leave. Although no charges were laid, Captain John Hosken made an *ex gratia* payment of £1000 on behalf of his son to the store owner, in an effort to avoid a lawsuit and a possible scandal in Victoria. Moreover, the father gave his son £50 so that he and his wife could return to Champion Bay.³³ There is every indication that the resultant drain on Captain Hosken's savings prompted him to end his retirement. Meanwhile, Martin Hosken was considering a proposal to build a small settlement which was to be named 'Hoskenville'.³⁴ However, the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Morecombe Hosken, in September 1875, aged 33, seems to have conspired against this idea being realised. Twelve months later William and Hannah

³⁰ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 36.

³¹ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 19.

³² *Western Australian Times*, 'Victoria', 23 February 1875, 6. William Hosken had married Hannah Hale in a Wesleyan ceremony at the Gwalla Church on 3 July 1869. See also Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 189–90. The Wayside Inn would soon be renamed the Irwin Hotel and the adjacent land was purchased for £1050.

³³ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 190–191.

³⁴ *Western Australian Times*, 'Abstract of Sales by Auction', 3 March 1876, 2.

Hosken took over the Geraldton Hotel, while Martin Hosken began selling aerated waters from his home at Trefusis House in Geraldton.³⁵

It is worth bearing in mind that the prevailing settlement patterns in Cornwall during the period under discussion had remained virtually unchanged for many centuries. The inescapable presence of the Duchy of Cornwall meant that owning land was unattainable for most of the population.³⁶ As a result, Cornwall consisted largely of small settlements and some larger market and mining towns with the majority of the Cornish population living at subsistence levels in scattered hamlets and in fishing villages on the coast. This was in stark contrast to the English system of larger nucleated villages that favoured closer settlement and trade which, it has been argued, the Cornish largely eschewed.³⁷ Moreover, in Cornwall and elsewhere in the Celtic west the enclosure system tended to privilege the rearing of livestock over the cultivation of grains.³⁸ In Western Australia James Mitchell and William Nancarrow also showed a clear preference for livestock. However, to suggest that an affinity for livestock encouraged a later generation to promote Cornish and Devonian husbandry as the panacea for the dairy herds planned for the Group Settlement Scheme would be highly speculative given the absence of any definitive evidence.

The liquidation of the assets of the Fortune Copper Mining Company of Western Australia was the catalyst for Martin Hosken's next business venture. In October 1876 he purchased Lot 60 in Gregory Street, Geraldton. On this land, situated directly across from the Geraldton Hotel, he built a substantial dwelling of eleven rooms and various ancillary buildings related to stabling and horse carriage stowage. There was already a deep well on site.³⁹ He named the

³⁵ *Herald*, 'Abstract of Sales by Auction', 19 February 1876, 2.

³⁶ Philip Payton, *Cornwall*, 86.

³⁷ Philip Payton, *The making of modern Cornwall*, 53.

³⁸ Richard Muir, *Reading the Celtic landscapes*, Michael Joseph Ltd, London, 1985, 242.

³⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Advertising' 24 May 1876, 3.

property ‘Trefusis’, the significance of which is open to conjecture. A contemporary source written by Rev. John Bannister suggests one meaning. The 1871 volume in question listed hundreds of Cornish placenames and their equivalent English meaning. ‘Trefusis’, according to Bannister, means ‘walled habitation’ in English, which is not entirely inappropriate given the property included a substantial stone wall that abutted Gregory Street.⁴⁰ While the precise motive for ‘Trefusis’ remains unclear, the building and the name became synonymous with Martin Hosken’s new enterprise, the Trefusis Aerated Water and Cordial Manufacturing Company. From March 1878 onwards, regular advertisements were placed in local newspapers advising the public that Hosken had commenced manufacturing ‘Aerated Waters’ of every description. Moreover, the business was fully equipped with the very best imported machinery and was equal to anything found in the southern hemisphere as the following suggests:⁴¹

Competent judges assert that his [Martin Hosken’s] soda water, lemonade, and ginger ale are equal to any imported, and far superior to anything previously produced in the colony.⁴²

As Martin Hosken was establishing this business his brother John had anticipated the need for a hotel near the terminus of the yet-to-be-completed Geraldton–Northampton railway line. The Railway Hotel was the appropriately named outcome of John and Annie Hosken’s speculative venture when it opened for business in November 1876. However, the hotel’s scale and lavishness did not please everyone with one local suggesting that it exhibited a degree of pretentiousness not entirely appropriate for a small town like Northampton.⁴³

⁴⁰ Rev. John Bannister, *A glossary of Cornish names*, Williams and Norgate, Edinburgh, 1871, 157. There are equally compelling alternatives, including a landed estate and a number of roads in Cornish towns and villages named *Trefusis*. There was *Wheal Trefusis* near Redruth that may have employed members of the extended Hosken family

⁴¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Advertising’, 10 July 1878, 1.

⁴² *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Champion Bay, March 26’, 10 April 1878, 3.

⁴³ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 92.



Figure 3: Advertisement for Trefusis Aerated Waters and Cordial Manufacturing Company.

(Source: *Victorian Express*, 14 January 1880, 1.)

As previously noted, Captain Samuel Mitchell had left Western Australia aboard the *Zephyr* on 16 January 1871 to procure mining equipment and additional Cornish miners.⁴⁴ In order to facilitate this and leave his mining interests at the Geraldine Mine in safe hands, he had arranged for his brother James and brother-in-law James Reynolds to leave Cornwall in July 1870. Notwithstanding, their recent familial connection, there was a distinct seniority divide between the mine captain and his brother-in-law which was reflected in their respective berths aboard their ship. The *Zephyr* arrived on 17 October, 1870, with James Mitchell making the journey in the relative comfort of a cabin while James Reynolds was afforded a second-class berth.⁴⁵ Also in second-class were five members of the Ennor family headed by James Ennor, a miner-blacksmith, who hailed from Phillack near Hayle.⁴⁶ Nineteen-year-old James Reynolds was a native of Redruth, where he was born in 1850, the son of David, also a miner, and Ann Reynolds. On February 4, 1869 James Reynolds married Christina Mitchell, the 20-

⁴⁴ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Shipping Intelligence', 18 January 1871, 2.

⁴⁵ *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 'Arrivals', 21 October 1870, 2.

⁴⁶ *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre 1829-1888*, Entry under Ennor, James, 964. Available at <http://www.friendsofbattleylibrary.org.au/BD%20WA.htm>, accessed 30 March 2017.

year-old sister of Captain Samuel Mitchell at Treleigh near Redruth, Cornwall.⁴⁷ By June 1869 they had a son, whom they named Samuel James Reynolds.

In December 1875 Captain Samuel Mitchell and George Crowther purchased Lot 130 at Northampton, which comprised a small granite cottage built by former convict George White. Mitchell relocated his family from Wheal Ellen and named the cottage and surrounding property Chiverton House. ‘Chiverton’ have been in reference to lead and silver mines in and around Perranzabuloe, Cornwall where Mitchell had been born. The West Chiverton Mine was described in 1865 as ‘one of the great prizes which speculators occasionally find in their pursuit of mineral wealth’.⁴⁸ Whether Mitchell had chosen the name ‘Chiverton’ because he had previously worked at this mine or any of the six other mines bearing the name Chiverton is open to conjecture. Likewise, ‘Chyverton House’, a Palladian-style house near Zelah, built in 1730, is another candidate as the inspiration behind Mitchell’s choice of name.⁴⁹



Figure 4: Chiverton House, Northampton
(Source: SLWA 5001B/128)

⁴⁷ ‘Cornwall Parish Registers, 1538-2010, James Reynolds and Christina Mitchell, 04 Feb 1869; Marriage Certificate, Treleigh, Cornwall, England, Cornwall Records Office, Truro’. Available at <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJHB-VPRX>, accessed 28 October 2015.

⁴⁸ Thomas Spargo, *The mines of Cornwall and Devon: Statistics and observations*, Victoria Press, London, 1865, 91–92. Available at <https://www.archive.org/details/minescornwallan00spargoog>, accessed 18 April 2017.

⁴⁹ Thomas Spargo, *The mines of Cornwall and Devon: Statistics and observations*, 91–109. The correct spelling of ‘Chiverton House’ located near Zelah, Cornwall is Chyverton House. The Chiverton mines included East Chiverton, Chiverton Moor, New Chiverton, North Chiverton, South Chiverton and Wheal Chiverton.

Shortly before leaving Wheal Ellen, Samuel Mitchell arranged for Richard Cory, who was born at Crowan near Camborne, to become the mine's underground manager.⁵⁰ According to shipping records, 39-year-old Cory arrived with his wife Mary Ann (33) and their children Elizabeth Mary (7), Edith (5), Richard John (3), Hannah (2) and one of their twins, Beatrice Jane (5 mths) aboard George Shenton's *Robert Morrison*, along with 154 other immigrants, on February 15, 1876. The other twin, James Henry, appears to have died during the voyage, while Edith died not long after reaching Fremantle.⁵¹ Such was the precarious nature of life in the Australian bush that Mary Ann Cory would herself die four years after arriving. Elizabeth Mary Cory would marry Frank Ward in 1890. After settling in Geraldton, the couple raised six children. Frank Ward passed away in 1934, followed by Elizabeth 12 months later, aged 67.⁵² Her sister Hannah would become the second wife of Captain Samuel Mitchell in 1890, following the death of Mitchell's first wife Mary Jane due to pleurisy. Newspapers in Cornwall often reported the deaths of those overseas; as did the *Cornubian and Redruth Times* when news of the death of Mary Jane Mitchell reached Cornwall in 1883.⁵³ Beatrice Jane Cory would work as a domestic servant and spend most of her adult life living in Fitzgerald Street, Geraldton. She appears never to have married, but she did give birth to a stillborn female child in 1900 and died at the age of 38 in 1914. Richard Cory, for his part, probably passed on his skills as a miner to his son Richard Jnr who joined him at Wheal Ellen. Richard died in 1891. Richard Jnr went to the Murchison Goldfield in 1895, before moving to the Eastern Goldfields in 1896.

⁵⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Immigrants Per Robert Morrison', 19 January 1876, 2.

⁵¹ *Geraldton Guardian and Express*, 'Local and General', 4 July 1935, 2. See also *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre 1829-1888*, Entry under Cory, Richard, 672. Available at <http://www.friendsofbattleylibrary.org.au/BD%20WA.htm>, accessed 18 April 2017.

⁵² *Geraldton Guardian and Express*, 'Local and General', 4 July 1935, 2.

⁵³ *Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 10 August 1883, 2.

When John Hosken Jnr relinquished the Miners Arms lease in late 1873, John Polzue Harvey took over its management. Harvey had managed a small store in Northampton (Harvey & Son) with his father Captain John Harvey selling liquor under the provisions of a gallon licence.⁵⁴ As previously mentioned, sly grog selling, particularly to miners, was the catalyst for the introduction of the colony's stringent liquor licensing laws in an effort to stamp out the practice and bring some order to the selling of hard liquor. In this regard the existing licence holders also had a vested interest in limiting the competition from illicit liquor sales. It was under these circumstances that John Polzue Harvey as the publican at the Miners Arms Hotel allegedly feigned an illness in order to trap Neil Kelly, a sly grog seller, into providing him with a 'glass or two' for medicinal purposes.⁵⁵ Kelly was subsequently convicted of sly grog selling and fined £30.⁵⁶ This conviction was used by the *Western Australian Times* to not only applaud John Polzue Harvey for his actions but also to accuse the government of doing little to stop illicit sly grog sellers. The newspaper singled out the Narra Tarra Mine as being a notable location for illegal vendors selling intoxicating drinks to miners and claimed that the mine was responsible for creating 'truly awful' scenes.⁵⁷ In something of a recurring theme, the Cornish for the most part saw themselves as holding particular values in terms of the consumption of hard liquor. However, as shown already, many Cornish people were actively engaged in selling hard liquor and often justified it in terms of their own probity, as was the case with John Hosken Jnr and John Polzue Harvey. However, this apparent contradiction did not escape scrutiny from one contemporary observer who felt compelled to comment on the 'upstanding' John Polzue Harvey:

Mr. Harvey Jun, who is entitled to the honour of being designated a Sunday school teacher, as well as being a partner in a business usually styled 'a public house business'! Such honours may be regarded superfluous by a correspondent who has pleasure in hinting at what is *truly awful*.

⁵⁴ *Herald*, 'Application for a Gallon Licence', 30 November 1872, 2.

⁵⁵ *Western Australian Times*, 'Correspondence', 28 September 1875, 2.

⁵⁶ *Western Australian Times*, 'Editorial', 3 September 1875, 2.

⁵⁷ *Western Australian Times*, 'Editorial', 3 September 1875, 2.

After speculating that the original story may not have been the outward expression of a well-intentioned ‘Good Templar’, the correspondent cautioned not to follow the example of the Sunday school teacher and publican nor rely on non-existent government aid to stamp out sly grog selling.⁵⁸

It is debatable whether such criticism was aimed entirely at the Cornish. Nevertheless, for a community that prided itself on its temperate behaviour this affront to one of their own would have been keenly felt. Indeed, the Cornish during this period were a large demographic in the British and Foreign Temperance Society having the highest membership per head in the whole of England and Wales.⁵⁹ Whether John Polzue Harvey was stung by criticism of his motives is not known, but he handed over the management of the Miners Arms Hotel to his father’s mining partner, Richard Lucas, in November 1876. Lucas, who had been the licensee of the Greenough Hotel for the preceding five years, vacated that position and was succeeded by Hugh Stephens, another Cornishman, and brother-in-law of Samuel Mitchell. Stephens had been a miner; although he was born and raised at the Lanyon Arms public house at Gwinear near Redruth in 1847.⁶⁰

As revealed earlier, contracted miners like Captain James Penberthy often returned home to Cornwall after earning sufficient funds to invest in property or a business. For those Cornish miners who decided to stay there was often a considerable delay before they were reunited with their families. Captain Samuel Mitchell and his first wife, Mary Jane, who arrived in Western Australia with her sister Emily Winn Stephens and her brother Hugh Stephens, were

⁵⁸ *Western Australian Times*, ‘Correspondence’, 28 September 1875, 2.

⁵⁹ Henry Yeomans, *Alcohol and moral regulation: Public attitudes, spirited measures and Victorian hangovers*, University of Bristol, Clifton, 2014, 48.

⁶⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Champion Bay’, 16 February 1876, 3.

separated for eight years until being reunited in 1875. Hugh Stephens started work as an accountant for Crowther and Mitchell before becoming the licensee of the Greenough Hotel in 1876. Emily Stephens would marry Belfast-born Dr Henry Calvert Barnett, a London-trained surgeon, at Gwalla in 1880. Barnett was the superintendent of the Fremantle Lunatic Asylum until his death in 1897. After her first husband's death Emily married John Palmer Scott-Main at Fremantle in 1899. After divesting themselves of some properties, including an eight-roomed building named 'Pendennis' in Fremantle, they went to live in the small rural town of Steyning in Sussex, England.⁶¹ For Cornish miners the long separation from their families and the well-attested imbalance between the sexes presented difficulties.⁶² Indeed, the Cornish experienced the same social issues that occurred in the wider population, including relationships that were considered socially or morally questionable. One such scandal was that between the recently widowed Elizabeth Lucas and James Reynolds, the brother-in-law of Captain Samuel Mitchell. Reynolds's wife Christina and son Samuel were still living in Cornwall when the executors of the estate of the Richard Lucas, Martin Hosken Jnr and accountant Harry Smith, preferred charges against him based on his:

improper behaviour and wrongful interference with servants, thereby occasioning serious damage to the business of the plaintiffs as executors of the estate and holders of the publican's license of the said hotel.⁶³

The case against Reynolds, who was described as a mine captain employed at the Uga Mine, appears to have gone against him on the evidence of Dr Elliott who had been called to attend Elizabeth Lucas when she was unwell. Dr Elliott noted the presence of Reynolds in Lucas's bedroom, although Reynolds and Lucas denied this had been the case. There seems little

⁶¹ *Daily News*, 'Funeral of the Late Dr. Barnett', 6 November 1897, 2. The funeral was attended by Samuel Mitchell and Hugh Stephens, along with Premier Sir John and Lady Forrest. See also *West Australian*, 'Advertising', 7 March 1913, 2. Emily Winn Main would die in Steyning, Sussex in 1935, aged 85. Her husband John Palmer Scott-Main would also die later that same year aged 64.

⁶² For information on female immigration and the historical disparity between the sexes see J. Gothard, *Assisted female immigration 1860-1920*. In: Jupp, J., (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 2001, 53-56.

⁶³ *Victorian Express*, 'Local Court-Geraldton', 9 October 1878, 3.

doubt that the evidence of Dr Elliott carried more credibility with Magistrate George Eliot and Thomas Major JP than that of either James Reynolds or Elizabeth Lucas. Captain John Harvey of the Uga Mine spoke in support of Reynolds stating ‘that he (Harvey) was frequently at the Miners Arms Hotel and had seen Reynolds there, but had never particularly seen anything improper on his part’.⁶⁴ Despite Harvey’s evidence the magistrate found for the plaintiffs and fined Reynolds £50, plus costs, for causing serious damage to an asset belonging to the estate of Richard Lucas on whose behalf the executors were working. It would appear that the executors were concerned that Reynolds might gain from the Lucas estate if his relationship with Elizabeth Lucas developed further. Nevertheless, in 1881 Lucas gave birth to Reynolds’ son, John Jnr. It is not known if news of the court case or the birth of John Jnr reached Christina Reynolds in Cornwall or whether any of the developments described above informed any of her subsequent decisions. In any event, after an absence of nearly 17 years, Christina Reynolds and her 18-year-old son Samuel James Reynolds decided to leave Cornwall to be reunited with their family in Western Australia. Tragically, they were destined not to arrive. Having booked their passage on the *Kapunda* they became two of the more than 300 people who died when the ill-fated vessel sank off the coast of Brazil after it had collided with the barque *Ada Melmoure* on 20 January, 1887.⁶⁵ Just over a year later James Reynolds and Elizabeth Lucas were married in Northampton. It was destined not to be a long marriage as Elizabeth Reynolds died after what was described as a short illness on 2 June 1889. On the following day she was interred with her first husband Richard Lucas in the small Gwalla Cemetery, with most of the town’s approximately 174 inhabitants attending.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *Victorian Express*, ‘Local Court-Geraldton’ 9 October 1878, 3.

⁶⁵ *West Australian*, ‘Terrible Disaster. Loss of the Kapunda’, 2 February 1887, 3.

⁶⁶ *WA Record*, ‘Northampton’, 6 June 1889, 8. The quoted figure is based on census returns for the population of Northampton 1881 (136) and 1891 (184) and the average yearly increase in about 1889. See the Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive, website: <http://hccda.anu.edu.au>, accessed 4 September 2017.

The sense of loss that accompanied tragic events like the sinking of the *Kapunda* no doubt served to bring the Cornish community together. Nevertheless, there were other factors driving the community apart. The Cornish community in Northampton was prone to the same social problems that plagued their Welsh counterparts in Scranton, Pennsylvania in the United States. Moreover, as William Jones has argued, there were many instances where drunkenness and quarrels often ended violence, and alleged instances of sexual impropriety in Scranton's Welsh community were not unknown in Northampton.⁶⁷ Indeed, the image of respectability that the Cornish and Welsh cultivated was not without its internal contradictions. That admitted, one family tragedy transcending mere anti-social behaviour occurred at Trevenson Station on February 19, 1893. As noted in Chapter one, Caroline Nancarrow assumed the running of the station following the death of her husband William Nancarrow in 1887. She was aided in this endeavour by her daughter Emily Glass and son-in-law William Glass, and their 12 children. The lease arrangement that William Nancarrow had with James Mitchell for a tract of Trevenson Station was evidently not continued after William's death, and was probably the reason why James Mitchell sold his livestock and became the licensee of the Miners Arms Hotel.

As previously discussed, William Glass had married the Redruth-born Emily Dennis Nancarrow at Northampton on 6 September 1866. He was the manager of the Geraldine Mine, working first with his future father-in-law, William Nancarrow, and then briefly with Captain Samuel Mitchell. In 1884 he was elected to the Northampton Roads Board as the third committee member with 14 of the 61 votes cast.⁶⁸ As a new committee member Glass

⁶⁷ William D. Jones, *Wales in America, Scranton and the Welsh 1860–1920*, University of Wales Press, University of Scranton Press, Scranton, PA, 1993, 215.

⁶⁸ *Victorian Express*, 'Northampton Roads Board', 16 January 1884, 3.

assumed the role vacated by Captain John Harvey of issuing cart licenses.⁶⁹ Glass eventually became the chairman in 1892, taking over from Samuel Mitchell.

On 19 February 1893, William Glass shot and killed two of his daughters, Lucy and Ellen, before shooting himself. The inquest held before the acting coroner, Captain Samuel Mitchell JP, on February 21, 1893, found that William Charles Glass had wilfully murdered Lucy and Ellen Glass before committing suicide.⁷⁰ The Trevenson murders and suicide were widely reported around Australia with some accounts more factual than others.⁷¹ Some reports claimed that Glass was known to have a violent temper and that he had recently given himself over to drink.⁷² If that were not troubling enough for the largely Cornish inhabitants of Northampton, the report that Glass was a confirmed atheist who had vetoed any of his children being christened would have been thought an abomination.⁷³ The three jurors at the coronial inquest including Joseph Wasley Harvey, the 31-year-old second son of Captain John Harvey, reached its verdict in a matter of minutes. The jury found that William Glass had murdered his daughters because he was unhappy that 25-year-old Lucy Glass was determined to marry Thomas Brown, an individual whom Glass considered a gambler, a drunkard and a man who was ultimately unworthy.⁷⁴ The note found on the body of William Glass gave his motive:

Trevenson, 19 February 1893. To the authorities. – I have shot my daughters Lucy and Ellen to prevent Lucy marrying the biggest rowdy in Northampton – T. Brown – who is not only a prison bird but has a mother and five sisters who have all been, if not now, common whores, Wm. C. Glass.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Northampton', 27 January 1875, 3.

⁷⁰ *Western Australian Police Gazette*, 'Inquests', 1 March 1893, 37.

⁷¹ *Telegraph* (Qld), 'Northampton Tragedy', 2 March 1893, 6.

⁷² *Victorian Express*, 'The Trevenson Tragedy', 24 February 1893, 3.

⁷³ *Victorian Express*, 'The Funerals', 24 February 1893, 3.

⁷⁴ *Victorian Express*, 'The Coroner's Inquest', 24 February 1893, 3.

⁷⁵ *Victorian Express*, 'The Coroner's Inquest', 24 February 1893, 3.

There can be little doubt that this tragic event and its very public aftermath profoundly affected the Cornish community at Northampton. Indeed, it could be argued that the town never fully recovered as skilled miners left the Mid West for the Eastern Goldfields and the original Cornish settlers passed away. By 1893 Samuel Mitchell, now aged 53, had transcended his role of mine captain to become the 'model man'.⁷⁶ Indeed, it was Mitchell who arranged for the bodies of the deceased Glasses to be moved from Trevenson Station on two drays to the Railway Hotel then being managed by Annie Hosken.⁷⁷ If further evidence were needed that this incident profoundly impacted on the small Cornish community then the presence of Joseph Wasley Harvey and Sidney Martin John Hosken as pallbearers for Lucy and Ellen Glass is informative in that regard.⁷⁸

One can discern from the tragedy the familial relationships that had developed in the years following the arrival of Martin Hosken and Samuel Mitchell. The institution of marriage was naturally one avenue that facilitated the establishment of close familial connections. In Cornwall during this period most marriages occurred within the limitations imposed by occupation and class, which often meant that the fathers of the bride and the groom shared the same occupation.⁷⁹ However, it was difficult to maintain that custom in Western Australia given the very small pool of potential partners for Cornish men and women during the early years of settlement. To address that issue many Cornish miners arranged for partners and/or families to join them once they were settled, a process that could take many years. Arguably, the transition from mining camp to township was a crucial factor in determining when miners decided to bring out their partners and children. In time as the number of established Cornish families grew so did the number of potential marriage partners. Five Northampton marriages

⁷⁶ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Northampton', 2 August 1876, 3.

⁷⁷ *Western Mail*, 'Fearful Tragedy at Northampton', 25 February 1893, 17.

⁷⁸ *Victorian Express*, 'The Funerals', 24 February 1893, 3.

⁷⁹ Bernard Deacon, Sharon Schwartz and David Holman, *The Cornish family: The roots of our future*, Cornwall Editions, Fowey, 2004, 20.

suggest occupational and ethnic linkages. John Polzue Harvey, the eldest son of Captain John Harvey, married Elizabeth Jane Jose, the second daughter of William Jose, in December 1868.⁸⁰ Joseph Wasley Harvey, the second son of Captain John Harvey, married Elizabeth Lucas, the eldest daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Lucas in March 1883.⁸¹ The marriage between Samuel Herbert Mitchell, the eldest son of Samuel and Mary Jane Mitchell, to Adelaide Elizabeth Morecombe Hosken, the fourth child of John and Annie Hosken, was in March 1893. In March 1915 Edith Maud Hosken, granddaughter of John and Annie Hosken, married Richard Owen Lucas grandson of Richard and Elizabeth Lucas.⁸² The marriage of Joseph Wasley Harvey to Maud Hosken, the third child of the hotelier Martin Hosken in 1908, after she divorced her first husband, the Scottish Archibald Campbell, suggests that some second marriages were influenced by custom.⁸³ Naturally, the foregoing is not definitive, but it does serve to illustrate that familial connections were important to Cornish families. But it is clear that finding a suitable marriage partner had the potential to be an emotive issue, and it had devastating consequences in the instance of the Glass family.

Cornish families, as we have seen, were not only important in terms generating wealth through mining, they were also well represented in the farming and business activities of the Mid West. This also applied to the social and sporting milieu of the community. The inaugural cricket match of the Northampton Cricket Club on New Years' Day 1877, with founding members Captain Samuel Mitchell, John Hosken Jnr and Captain John Harvey involved, and the formation of a brass band are just two examples of Cornish influence.⁸⁴ However, it was horse racing that proved to be a particular distraction, finding favour with

⁸⁰ *Herald*, 'Public Notices', 5 December 1868, 2.

⁸¹ *Victorian Express*, 'Northampton Notes', 14 March 1883, 3.

⁸² *Geraldton Express*, 'Northampton', 15 March 1915, 3.

⁸³ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 69. Joseph Wasley Harvey was the licensee of the Hampton Arms Hotel in Northampton. See also *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Geraldton', 7 December 1900, 5.

⁸⁴ *Geraldton Express*, 'Capricious Carplings', 17 July 1912, 3. See also *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Cricket Match at Northampton', 31 January 1877, 3.

Samuel and James Mitchell, and members of the Hosken family. Horseracing, moreover, was the ‘sport of kings’ and was perhaps deemed a fitting activity for local mine captains who were largely responsible for founding the racing club.⁸⁵ The Victoria Turf Club was established on April 24, 1862; it was renamed the Geraldton Turf Club in the early 1880s. John Hosken Jnr was an active member serving as the clerk of the course in 1876, while enjoying some success on the track with two horses (‘Marksman’ and ‘Spinaway’).⁸⁶ Martin Hosken, the licensee of the Geraldton Hotel, hosted club meetings as well as holding a publican’s licence for selling liquor from a booth on the course.⁸⁷ He also raced horses and became the club’s honorary secretary in 1878, after being one of the stewards. The election of Martin Hosken Jnr to the secretary’s position coincided with him leaving the Geraldton Hotel and opening the Trefusis Aerated Water and Cordial Manufacturing Company, a circumstance that might well suggest his growing prominence in the business community. Likewise, Martin’s brother William was also a club member, as was Sidney Martin John Hosken, the eldest son of John Hosken Jnr. Sidney Hosken was also a noted athlete and he participated in many of the Sheffield races held in conjunction with the horse races.⁸⁸ In the late 1880s James Mitchell fulfilled the roles of both honorary treasurer and honorary secretary during a period where there was relatively little racing activity.⁸⁹ Captain Samuel Mitchell had the most successful horse of all the Cornish owners during the Victoria Turf Club’s formative years.

It is noteworthy that Captain Mitchell devotes almost a chapter of his reminiscences to the exploits of his horse ‘Banjo’ which he purchased for £14 from the member of the Legislative

⁸⁵ *Victorian Express*, ‘Victoria Races’, 2 October 1878, 4. The acting stewards during Martin Hosken’s tenure as honorary secretary included Maitland Brown, Charles Crowther, Arthur H. Du Boulay, George Baston, M. Downs, M. Morrissey, Edward H. Wittenoom and John S. Maley.

⁸⁶ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Champion Bay Race Meeting’, 22 November 1876, 3. See also *Victorian Express*, 15 January 1879, 3; and the: *Victorian Express*, 5 January 1881, 3.

⁸⁷ *Victoria Express*, ‘Under the Verandah’, 23 February 1881, 3. A fee of £2 was levied by the turf club for such licenses. The liquor was sold from booths. See *Victorian Express*, 2 October 1878, 4.

⁸⁸ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 130.

⁸⁹ *Victorian Express*, ‘Victorian Turf Club’, 9 November 1889, 7.

Council, Thomas Burges, in the mid 1870s.⁹⁰ The name Banjo was apparently given to the horse to infer that ‘he (Banjo) can go for ever, if properly played upon’.⁹¹ Mitchell claimed that the small, well-proportioned brown gelding possessed remarkable staying power and, as a result, he won many hundreds of pounds in prize money. However, he apparently wagered much more on side bets and wryly added, ‘The money came easily and went freely’.⁹² The meeting held at the Geraldton Racecourse on 9 November 1876 was a high point for Mitchell and Banjo as the horse garnered him £20 for winning the Farmers Stakes, run over 2 miles, and later that same day he won £35 when Banjo won the Victoria Cup, which was run over 3 miles and was optimistically referred to as ‘The Derby of the North’.⁹³ In the next two years Mitchell and Banjo would win more races and both would come to encapsulate the sporting and mining identity of the people of Northampton.⁹⁴ Late in 1878 Mitchell decided to give up the turf and forgo the opportunity to race Banjo in Perth as the Northampton racing fraternity desperately wanted him to do.⁹⁵ However, Mitchell’s reluctance coincided with the deaths of three Hoskens – the hoteliers Martin, John and William – which shocked the small community and was said to have dampened interest in horse racing for years. The loss of Martin Hosken was described in one contemporary press report as being particularly detrimental to the sport of racing in the Mid West.⁹⁶

Given the importance of the Hosken family to the commercial and social milieu of the Mid West, the family’s diminishing influence had a profound impact on the close-knit Cornish community. In 1879 John Hosken became unwell and decided to curtail his involvement with the Northampton Roads Board and reduce his workload at the Railway Hotel. He

⁹⁰ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 12, 18.

⁹¹ *Western Australian Times*, ‘Geraldton’, 10 November 1876, 2.

⁹² Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 12, 19.

⁹³ *Western Australian Times*, ‘Geraldton’, 21 November 1876, 2. Martin Hosken’s horse ‘Verbena’ finished fifth in the Victoria Cup won by ‘Banjo’.

⁹⁴ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Geraldton’, 18 December 1878, 4.

⁹⁵ *Victoria Express*, ‘Geraldton’, 20 November 1878, 3.

⁹⁶ *Victorian Express*, ‘Local and General’, 23 November 1881, 3.

accomplished this by handing over many of the daily tasks to his wife Annie.⁹⁷ The following year his condition deteriorated and he embarked on the *Rob Roy* with his son Sidney for Fremantle to seek a diagnosis and medical attention. However, the precise nature of his illness remained undiagnosed and father and son returned to Northampton two months later. On 14 March 1881 John, then aged 37, had intended to go horse riding despite the deleterious nature of his illness. While the horse was being saddled, he suffered from what was characterised as a 'seizure' or stroke from which he failed to regain consciousness.⁹⁸ Scarcely five-months later William Hosken (34) and Martin Hosken (41) died on successive days: William on 17 August and Martin on 18 August. Evidently, Martin Hosken had been suffering from a heart condition that had first manifested itself in early February 1881 and prevented his further attendance at race meetings.⁹⁹ An obituary stated that he had been ailing from 'valvular contraction of the heart, and consequent dropsy'.¹⁰⁰ William Hosken had been suffering from what was thought to be a cold in July 1881 but a later diagnosis established that it was enteric fever or, more commonly, typhoid fever.¹⁰¹

Some three years before his sons died, Captain John Hosken, accompanied by his second wife Elizabeth Ann (née Hazelhurst), returned to Western Australia to do some prospecting and to see the finished Railway Hotel.¹⁰² He spent much of his time visiting the district's mines and collecting mineral samples in an attempt to interest local mine proprietors in forming partnerships with Victorian speculators. Whether he was successful is unknown, but his visit was widely canvassed as being a potential windfall for the local economy.¹⁰³ In due course he and Elizabeth left Geraldton to return to Melbourne aboard the *Cleopatra* on February 26,

⁹⁷ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 93.

⁹⁸ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Northampton', 23 March 1881, 1.

⁹⁹ *Victorian Express* 'Meeting of the Victorian Turf Club', 2 February 1881, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Local Telegrams', 24 August 1881, 3.

¹⁰¹ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 193.

¹⁰² *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Deaths', 16 July 1873, 2. John Hosken's first wife Elizabeth (Luke) Hosken died at Ballarat, aged 57, on 26 May 1873.

¹⁰³ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Monthly Summary of Mails', 8 May 1878, 1.

1878, with their luggage full of mineral specimens.¹⁰⁴ Back in Ballarat, Captain Hosken displayed his mineral specimens along with an eclectic assortment of seashells, coral, and wild dog and other animal skins. Moreover, in a lengthy piece in the *Ballarat Courier* on the mineral wealth of Western Australia, Hosken offered to join other investors in developing areas he had identified.¹⁰⁵ However, this initiative appears to have been overtaken by events following the death of his three sons. Despite a brief period working as a sharebroker in Ballarat, the tragic events of 1881 were said to have taken a toll on Hosken's health and he died of a stroke on 23 September 1882, aged 66.¹⁰⁶

As is well attested, the provision of social welfare for women during the 1880s was largely non-existent. In the Victorian era marriage and motherhood were considered something for women to aspire to, their main role was to provide comfort and support to their husbands, and to teach their children right from wrong.¹⁰⁷ For many working-class men subscription-based friendly societies provided a range of welfare benefits, including assistance for brief periods of illness and, in the event of death, money for funeral expenses. Martin Hosken had been a founding member of the 'John Shipton Lodge, 5796' of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows, which was established at the Geraldton Hotel on February 21, 1871.¹⁰⁸ Despite this modest safety net both Annie Hosken at the Railway Hotel and Hannah Hosken at the Geraldton Hotel had little choice but to retain their publican's licence and to continue to manage their respective hotels. Emma Hosken, meanwhile, held the title to Trefusis House until 1898, before selling the business to William John Jose, the son of

¹⁰⁴ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Monthly Summary of the Mails', 8 May 1878, 1. See also the shipping details in *The Herald*, 16 March 1878, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ballarat Courier*, 'The Minerals of Western Australia', 5 April 1878, 4.

¹⁰⁶ Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 39.

¹⁰⁷ Martin Pugh, *State and society: British political and social history 1870–1992*, Arnold, London, 1994, 59.

¹⁰⁸ *Herald*, 'Geraldton', 11 March 1871, 3. In 1907 the Geraldton Lodge of Manchester Unity had 160 members and £4000 in assets. Both the Hibernian Society and the Foresters Lodge had folded by 1907. See also *Geraldton Guardian*, 5 July 1907, 2.

Cornishman William Jose, after her husband's death.¹⁰⁹ William Jose had been born in Kenwyn, near Truro in 1819. He had served in the Royal Engineers as a sapper for almost 20 years, including his first seven years of service in Halifax, Nova Scotia, before coming to Western Australia, whilst still in the British Army, with his wife Letitia and two children, Matilda Ann (1847) and Elizabeth Jane (1848), in 1851. After being pensioned out of the Army in 1861 as a result of lameness, William Jose opened a grocery store in Fremantle and successfully ran that business until he suffered a fall which resulted in his death in June 1875, aged 56.¹¹⁰ His third child, William John Jose (1852), spent many years working for Crowther and Mitchell before acquiring Martin Hosken's business and manufacturing plant. In 1886 he relocated the business to a purpose-built factory on the corner of 132 Augustus Street and Gregory Street, Geraldton, and renamed the concern Jose's Trefusis Aerated Water and Cordial Factory.¹¹¹ Although William John Jose died in 1934, the business continued to sell aerated water, cordials and syrups until 1970.

The purpose of the above is to provide an overview of the cohesiveness of the Cornish community in the Northampton. In particular, the development of the hotel trade demonstrates the close familial connections that were a notable aspect of Cornish settlement. In this respect, Captain John Hosken, after abandoning mining due to fluctuating metal prices, was the first to embark on a career as a hotel owner and publican with the Miners Arms Hotel. In 1876 his son and daughter-in-law, John and Annie, opened the Railway Hotel. In 1881 the Geraldton Hotel was managed by William and Hannah Hosken, after Martin Hosken and his wife Emma had embarked on another business venture, opening the Trefusis Aerated Water and Cordial Manufacturing Company in 1878 at their home at Trefusis House in Geraldton. At the same

¹⁰⁹ *Victorian Express*, 'Local and General', 12 October 1881, 3.

¹¹⁰ *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Items of News', 7 July 1875, 1.

¹¹¹ 'Jose's Trefusis Aerated Water and Cordial Factory', *Heritage Council of Western Australia*. Available at <http://inherit.stateheritage.wa.gov.au/Admin/api/file/d19cc25f-579f-9b05-ba1f-a63844dcc30d>, accessed 19 June 2017.

time as members of the Hosken family were pursuing their business interests, Samuel Mitchell and his business partner Charles Crowther were recruiting a steady stream of Cornish immigrants however the arrival of the *Robert Morrison* in 1881 marked the end of that initiative. Over the next few years the transfer of businesses to children or to the children of other Cousin Jacks and Jennys, became increasingly common. John Hosken Jnr made way for John Polzue Harvey at the Miners Arms Hotel. William John Jose acquired the Trefusis Aerated Waters and Cordial Manufacturing Company in 1881, following the death of Martin Hosken.

However, it was arguably the institution of marriage where the Cornish were at their most clannish. Indeed, this thesis has posited several examples of Cornish intermarriage.

Regrettably, not all social interactions were as pleasant as a marriage ceremony and leaving aside the anomaly of the Trevenson murders, the Cornish in Northampton, much like the Welsh in Scranton, Pennsylvania, were not immune to instances of drunkenness and violence and other social ills. Despite the frontier nature of the Mid West lending itself to anti-social behaviour, the Cornish, as they did elsewhere, not only brought their mining acumen, but also important aspects of their culture, including Methodism and the temperance movement.

Moreover, the founding of the Northampton Brass Band, and important customs like celebrating the Duke of Cornwall's birthday, the baking of traditional Cornish fare like pasties and saffron cake, were just some of the cultural elements that the Cornish introduced to Northampton. Nevertheless, it was perhaps Captain Samuel Mitchell, the 'lead king', Cornish wrestler and trombone player who did more than most to give Northampton a distinct Cornish flavour. Be that as it may, by 1895 Mitchell was spending more of his time on the Murchison

Goldfield exploring the low-grade reefs near Cue, Day Dawn, Cuddingwarra and Mount Magnet, and making the case for a railway to connect the Murchison with Geraldton.¹¹²

By 1905 a former resident of Northampton returned briefly after spending many years in Perth. At the end of a lengthy article on the changes he/she noticed on their return and lamenting the demise of a once thriving mining industry, the Cornish were invoked:

No more do you meet the affable Cornish 'bal' man, with his pleasant dialect. Cockyism is spreading its stolid and stodgy fist over the land, and instead of galena glance, black-jack, carbonates and sulphurets, the talk is all of the price of chaff, the newest breed of wheat, or the lambing percentage.¹¹³

¹¹² *Geraldton Advertiser*, 'Room for the Cornish Miner in Western Australia', 31 August 1896, 3.

¹¹³ *Geraldton Advertiser*, 'A Flying Visit to Northampton', 29 March 1905, 3.

CHAPTER THREE: AND THEN THERE WERE TWO: MITCHELL AND REYNOLDS

In 1890 Western Australia became the last colony in Australia to achieve responsible government. Moreover, at this stage in its development there were fewer than 50000 Europeans in the whole of Western Australia, with perhaps only 1300 individuals in the Mid West and as few as 734 white people north of the Murchison River where most of the recent mining was taking place.¹¹⁴ In 1896 Captain Samuel Mitchell wrote a lengthy letter to the *West Briton* ruminating on the suitability of Western Australia for the Cornish miner, saying in part, that there was plenty of room and that the reputation of Cousin Jack meant that Cornishmen were rarely out of work. Helpfully, Mitchell also provided an overview of the weekly wages available in Western Australia ranging from a base of £1 for miners of doubtful ability to £20 for a mine manager. In between these two extremes Mitchell stated that an engine driver could expect to earn £4, surface hands £3 10s and ‘bosses’, probably underground shift bosses, £6.¹¹⁵ Significantly, Mitchell also acknowledged that the global demand for Cornish miners meant that he had recently noticed that very few Cornishmen came to Western Australia direct. They seemed to prefer, he wrote, the Cape [South Africa] and North America, both of which were cheaper in terms of the fare and could be reached in a shorter time period. In his concluding letter Mitchell provided details of the financial impact of the gold rush on Western Australia. As at 16 June, he said, Western Australia could boast of a population exceeding 100,000 and a revenue of over £1,750,000, thanks to the unprecedented level of investment emanating from Great Britain. Moreover, before ending, Mitchell foreshadowed that a gigantic loan bill of £5,000,000 would be proposed by the Forrest government to fund, in part, the Coolgardie Water Supply Scheme. Mitchell was

¹¹⁴ Jeremy Martens, ‘Crown land, territorial integrity and responsible government in Western Australia’, *Studies in Western Australian history*, 30, 2016, 33–34.

¹¹⁵ *Geraldton Advertiser*, ‘Room for the Cornish Miner in Western Australia’, 31 August 1896, 3.

perhaps not fully acquainted with that scheme at the time. Nevertheless, he questioned whether increasing public indebtedness from the current £40 per head was justified.¹¹⁶

By the 1880s the contribution and influence of the first cohort of Cornish miners at Northampton was beginning to wane with the passing of each miner. On 26 December, 1885 Captain John Harvey died after a long period of illness at the home of his son John Polzue Harvey in Fremantle.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, Captain Mitchell and James Reynolds continued to assiduously promote the mineral potential of the Victoria and Murchison Districts despite the low returns from both the Baddera and Wheal Ellen lead mines.¹¹⁸ One notable example of Mitchell's continued enthusiasm was the report and mineral samples he provided for the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition.¹¹⁹ In his report Mitchell identified an area 110 miles in length by 30 miles across and encompassing the Irwin River to beyond the Murchison, as containing the greatest lead deposits on the continent.¹²⁰ He was reticent to go further, pointing out the small scale of many of the mining operations, and the lack of modern equipment and experienced miners as well as a functioning smelter as the major impediments to the area achieving its full potential. Moreover, Mitchell drew a direct comparison with the tin mines of Cornwall, which were then experiencing a brief renaissance, as validating an old Cornish mining maxim, 'When tin is high, men shares will buy; When tin is low, they let them go'. In other words, Mitchell was advocating investing in the Northampton mines despite most of them not being profitable.¹²¹ Alas, the increase in the demand for lead ore did not eventuate as Mitchell had anticipated. By 1888 only three lead mines were operating: the

¹¹⁶ *Geraldton Advertiser*, 'Room for the Cornish Miner in Western Australia', 31 August 1896, 3.

¹¹⁷ *Herald*, 'Telegrams', 9 January 1886, 10.

¹¹⁸ John, Glover, 'Samuel Mitchell, a 'Practical Mining Man'', *West Australian Geologist*, 482, 2010, 5-7.

¹¹⁹ Melbourne International Exhibition, 'Catalogue of Exhibits, in the Western Australian Court', Mason Firth & M'Cutcheon, Printers. Available at http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=MAIN&reset_config=true&docId=SLV_VOYAGER897518, accessed 21 June 2017.

¹²⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'The Inquirer', 25 August 1880, 2.

¹²¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Mineral Resources of Western Australia', 1 September 1880, 1.

West Wheal Virgin, which was about 3 miles from Northampton, Wheal Fortune, which was owned by the Plymouth-born William Rosser and employed only a few miners, and the revived Uga lead mine, recently acquired by Crowther and Mitchell.¹²² Suffice to say, without the demand for lead the imperative to recruit Cornish miners was no longer warranted. The arrival of George Shenton's *Robert Morrison* in 1881 was perhaps the last occasion a significant number of Cornish emigrants were recruited to work in Northampton's lead mines.¹²³ As was the custom, the sons of Cornish miners would join their fathers underground, often with devastating consequences. On 5 October 1888 a 17-year-old Cornish miner by the name of Thomas Jenkins died suddenly at Northampton. He was buried in the Gwalla Cemetery. Although the nature of his death is not recorded, its suddenness and the fact he was reported to be a miner suggests a misadventure while in the course of his work.¹²⁴

Despite turning 50 in 1888, Mitchell had not lost his capacity for hyperbole and he sometimes announced that he had discovered valuable ore deposits when perhaps a more considered approach was warranted.¹²⁵ The prospect in question was the Whim Creek copper mine situated in the Pilbara region, 1030 miles (1,658 km) north of Perth. On this occasion Mitchell was the acting government inspector of mineral lands for the Victoria District and while visiting the Pilbara in 1889 he reported the discovery of 'a hill of copper ore, the like of which I fancy has been but seldom seen [and] thousands upon thousands of tons of high percentage copper ore laying bare'.¹²⁶ On his return to Northampton, and after hearing the news, some locals were left wondering whether the heat had addled his brain.¹²⁷ In mitigation, Mitchell's

¹²² *WA Record*, 'Northampton', 22 November 1888, 5. See also *Victorian Express*, 'District News', 22 December 1888, 5.

¹²³ *Herald*, 'Shipping Report', 9 July 1881, 2.

¹²⁴ *WA Record*, 'Northampton', 22 November 1888, 5.

¹²⁵ *Victorian Express*, 'The Whim Creek Copper Mine', 11 May 1889, 5.

¹²⁶ *Daily News*, 'Editorial', 26 January 1883, 3.

¹²⁷ *Victorian Express*, 'The Copper Mine at the North-West', 18 May 1889, 2. See also Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 12, 19.

tendency to exaggerate the richness of the mining propositions he found was arguably *de rigueur* for Cornish miners whose tribute system meant competition between tributer (miner) and mine captain was predicated on potential rather than hard evidence. The Cornish tribute system, as Geoffrey Blainey has observed, afforded the tributer the inducement to focus almost exclusively on finding and exploiting the rich ore to the mutual benefit of the miner and the mine owner.¹²⁸ However, as a government official Mitchell needed to be considerably more circumspect than a miner or mine owner when announcing his findings. The record shows many people took exception to Mitchell's tone by suggesting that he had claimed there was a mountain of pure copper ore in order to entice investment from London so that he might personally profit. Coincidentally, this accusation was redolent of the one made by Rowland Vounder Rodda in 1860, when he talked of vested interests overstating the resource potential of the Mines District in order to mislead investors in England.¹²⁹ Such criticism was perhaps not what Mitchell was expecting and for the next few months he wrote at least two articles defending his findings. In his later reports Mitchell was far more restrained and for good measure he began using the post-nominal ME after his name to denote 'Mining Expert'.¹³⁰ There can be little doubt that the storm created by his first report on the Whim Creek copper mine, and other utterances in similar vein, fed in to an ongoing debate on the value of scientific learning as opposed to practical training. One of the leading supporters of the scientific approach to mining was Government Geologist Edward Townley Hardman, FCS, FRGSI, an associate of the Royal College of Science in Dublin, who led an expedition to the Kimberley in 1884 to find exploitable ore deposits. Hardman, for his part, considered 'practical miners' – shorthand for Cornish miners – valuable for the assistance they could provide as long as they worked under advice but thought too many of them resorted to

¹²⁸ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 123.

¹²⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Letter to the Editor', 27 June 1860, 2

¹³⁰ *West Australian*, 'The Whim Creek Copper Mine', 5 June 1889, 3. See also *Victorian Express*, 'Whim Creek Copper Mine, North-West', 5 July 1890, 2. ME was sometimes used to denote 'Mining Expert' as a counter to the increasing number of qualified mining engineers using the same post-nominal in the reports they produced.

‘sinking shafts anywhere their own sweet fancy impels them to work’.¹³¹ Doubtlessly, Hardman was pointing out that there were limits to the role that practical miners could play in a scientific discovery. Moreover, the Stanford University graduate, Herbert Hoover, was similarly disparaging of the ‘rule-of-thumb’ approach of Cornish miners when he recounted his early mining career in his memoirs.¹³² Despite the criticism, Mitchell was considered by his contemporaries to be an accomplished miner and geologist in his own right. However, as Edward Hardman and Herbert Hoover foreshadowed, the days when mining reports produced by practical miners like Mitchell were accepted uncritically were becoming a thing of the past.¹³³

In his reminiscences Samuel Mitchell chronicles that on his return from Whim Creek in 1889 he was asked by the owners to recommend a competent copper miner to manage and work the property. His recommendation was his former brother-in-law James Reynolds.¹³⁴ Curiously, Mitchell fails to mention the family link he had with Reynolds in his reminiscences. However, he notes that Reynolds had previously been engaged ‘all his life’ in copper and lead mining in the ‘Cousin Jack’s country’ of Moonta, South Australia.¹³⁵ It appears that Mitchell deliberately avoided mentioning their personal relationship by claiming that Reynolds had spent most of his life in South Australia. However, James Reynolds arrived in Western Australia in 1870 and was working at the Geraldine Mine until 1873.¹³⁶ In 1878, as discussed in Chapter 2, Reynolds was found guilty of harming the estate of Richard Lucas while he was employed at the Uga Mine, which may have prompted Mitchell to exaggerate the time

¹³¹ *West Australian*, ‘A Practical Miner on the Discovery of Minerals’, 2 February 1884, 3.

¹³² Herbert Hoover, *The memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of adventure, 1874-1920*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, 131.

¹³³ Geoffrey, Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 154.

¹³⁴ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 12, 19.

¹³⁵ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 12, 19.

¹³⁶ *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, ‘Government Dispatch’, 21 February 1873, 3.

Reynolds spent in South Australia. In an interview in 1900 Reynolds confirmed that he had spent a brief period at Wallaroo, adjoining Moonta, in South Australia:

I came here in 1870 and have been in the district [Northampton] ever since, excepting a short period at Wallaroo, and also at Whim Creek, in the North-West.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, Reynolds was credited as discovering a significant lead ore deposit 8–9 miles from Northampton in 1883.¹³⁸ In 1887 he lost his first wife and son when their vessel sank off the coast of Brazil. In 1888 he married Elizabeth Lucas in Northampton, but she died in June 1889. The inconsistency between Mitchell's version and Reynolds's actual movements is indicative of a complex relationship between the two men. While at one level they enjoyed a close professional relationship, their personal relationship seems to have been punctuated by scandal and tragedy. This probably explains why Mitchell only mentions Reynolds in terms of their professional relationship, while omitting details of their personal relationship to obfuscate knowledge of their tragic family connection.

In 1892 James Reynolds was appointed captain at the Whim Creek copper mine by the owners J. and W. Bateman.¹³⁹ At about the same time he married his third wife, 20-year-old Fanny Argles, the daughter of Alfred Argles, a noted mineralogist and mining engineer from Sydney. The latter was reputed to be the eldest son of a London-based barrister-at-law, Charles Argles.¹⁴⁰ The marriage took place at Trinity Church, Roebourne on 16 May 1892. Afterward, the couple settled at the Whim Creek Mine and in the year after their marriage they had a daughter whom they named Minnie. Given the remote nature of the district, it is likely that James Reynolds knew another Cornishman in the area, the Falmouth-born Dr John Sydney Hicks, who had arrived in Roebourne in 1891. Not only was Hicks the resident

¹³⁷ *West Australian*, 'Northampton Mineral Resources', 12 July 1900, 9.

¹³⁸ *Victorian Express*, 'Northampton Notes', 11 July 1883, 3.

¹³⁹ *Daily News*, 'General News', 30 August 1893, 2.

¹⁴⁰ *Victorian Express*, 'Marriage', 17 June 1892, 2.

medical officer and erstwhile magistrate for Roebourne, but he was also appointed quarantine officer for the port of Cossack in 1903.¹⁴¹ Not long after his arrival Hicks was elected unopposed as the member of the Legislative Assembly for the seat of Roebourne.¹⁴² He would serve as the Liberal member of Roebourne, from 24 April 1901 until October 1908.

In 1902 Dr John Hicks joined the Medical Board of Western Australia, where he met Dr William Samuel Trethowan, the son of Samuel Tippet Trethowan who was a farmer from Constantine in Cornwall until he migrated to Melbourne with his older brother William in 1855.¹⁴³ Samuel Trethowan would first embark on a farming career at Creswick in Victoria – where William was born in 1860 – before moving to Oaklands in New South Wales.¹⁴⁴ William Trethowan had a distinguished career in Perth as a surgeon and would serve in that capacity as a major in the 3rd Australian General Hospital unit stationed at Lemnos and Egypt for a period of 12 months during the First World War.¹⁴⁵ As the member for Roebourne John Hicks took an active interest in the welfare of miners. His familiarity and knowledge of mining was a notable asset when he gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the ventilation and sanitation of mines in 1904. Asked to comment on the working conditions at the Fremantle lead smelter, Dr Hicks recommended that employees be periodically transferred to limit their exposure to lead and that hygiene standards be lifted.¹⁴⁶ After his positive

¹⁴¹ *Daily News*, 'General News', 28 July 1893, 2.

¹⁴² *West Australian*, 'State Elections', 3 April 1901, 5.

¹⁴³ *Pilbara Goldfields News*, 'Southern and General', 5 February 1909, 2.

¹⁴⁴ *West Australian*, 'The Late Dr. Trethowan', 21 June 1929, 24.

¹⁴⁵ *Daily News*, 'Distinguished Surgeon', 17 June 1929, 6. William Trethowan had two brothers and a sister – Sir Arthur King Trethowan, MLC (NSW), Edith Charlotte Trethowan and Hubert Charles Trethowan. Hubert was comptroller-general of prisons in Western Australia. Although Arthur and Edith appear to have been born in Australia, their births were registered in Constantine, Cornwall in 1865. This suggests a period back in the UK and probably explains Hubert's birth in Plympton, Devon in 1868. The family returned to Melbourne aboard the *Suffolk* in 1870.

¹⁴⁶ *West Australian*, 'Ventilation and Sanitation of Mines', 21 December 1904, 3.

contribution to the welfare of miners in Western Australia, in the 1920s John Hicks returned home to Falmouth where he resumed practicing medicine.¹⁴⁷

Alfred Argles was destined for an even shorter stay in Western Australia. Indeed, Argles would attract a degree of notoriety in New South Wales in 1904 when he attempted to extract gold from seawater at Broken Head.¹⁴⁸ However, the closure of that operation barely two years later suggests that although it might be possible in theory, the extraction process itself was not economically viable given the miniscule amounts of gold involved.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, an early exposure to mining and miners was a feature of Argles's childhood and he later claimed to have helped Cornishmen John Deason and Richard Oates unearth the Welcome Stranger nugget in 1869, when aged only 14.¹⁵⁰ By 1889 Alfred Argles had purchased the Martin and Carrington claims near Mallina, Western Australia on behalf of Sydney-based shareholders. The resulting company registered in 1890 was named the Alfred Argles Gold Mining Company.¹⁵¹ As with his later gold extraction process in New South Wales, the gold mine established by Argles in Mallina proved ephemeral. In 1890 the mine was equipped with a 5-head Bennett and Speechley battery and a 5 horsepower Tangye pump.¹⁵² In the following year Argles brought in a further 55 tons of equipment to Albany aboard the RMS *Orizaba* from Melbourne.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ *West Australian*, 'John Hicks', 19 August 1946, 10. Note: At the time of his death in 1931, John Hicks still owned a number of town-lots in Fremantle.

¹⁴⁸ *Sunday Times*, 'Something Startling', 14 May 1905, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Brett J. Stubbs, 'sunbeams from cucumbers': An early twentieth-century gold- from-seawater extraction scheme in northern New South Wales', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 26, 2008, 9. Available at http://www.asha.org.au/pdf/australasian_historical_archaeology/26_04_Stubbs.pdf, accessed 30 June 2017.

¹⁵⁰ *Byron Bay Record*, 'Gold from the Sea', 27 January 1906, 9.

¹⁵¹ *Western Mail*, 'The Nor'-West Goldfields, Particulars from Mr. A. Argles at Mallina', 14 June 1890, 31. The company was registered in New South Wales on 21 July 1890, with 32 shareholders.

¹⁵² *West Australian*, 'The North-West Goldfields', 15 December 1890, 3.

¹⁵³ *Western Mail*, 'Shipping Notes', 25 July 1891, 20.

The *Orizaba* not only carried mining equipment but also Argles's wife Elizabeth and their daughter Fanny although only Fanny seems to have made the journey from Albany to the small pearling centre of Cossack, 10 miles (16 km) from Roebourne.¹⁵⁴ In September 1891 it was reported that Alfred Argles had obtained almost 38 ounces of gold from 25 tons of ore, but that the imported machinery proved inadequate prompting Argles to sell the company's interest in the mine.¹⁵⁵ In July 1893 a Scottish mining expert, James Kerr, who had been commissioned by the new owners in London and Glasgow, found that the Alfred Argles Gold Mining Company had left the now flooded mine in a disgraceful state, but that it would be viable if worked again without delay.¹⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Alfred Argles continued to work as a consultant mining engineer and erstwhile investor at Mount Lyell in Tasmania and at the Lady Burdett Coutts gold mine near Canowindra in New South Wales.¹⁵⁷ Argles, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth and son Augustus, then embarked on a fact-finding mission in England, which ended in 1903, prior to the start of gold from seawater venture at Broken Head.¹⁵⁸

In a lengthy interview concerning the mineral resources of Western Australia conducted in 1880, Samuel Mitchell expressed the view that the colony's sparse population and lack of capital was a major impediment to its development. He further observed that these factors had created a 'hand-to-mouth' industry where mines were not been properly 'worked' resulting in only profitable surface ores being removed, while harder to access ores were left along with

¹⁵⁴ *Western Mail*, 'Shipping Notes', 1 August 1891, 19. Fanny Argles left Albany aboard the SS *South Australia* without her mother on 30 July 1891.

¹⁵⁵ *Western Mail*, 'Nor'-West Mining News', 26 September 1891, 18.

¹⁵⁶ *Western Mail*, 'The Mallina mine', 29 July 1893, 6. See also *West Australian*, 'Mining Intelligence', 27 December 1893, 6.

¹⁵⁷ *Byron Bay Record*, 'Gold from the Sea', 27 January 1906, 9. Alfred Argles purchased the London Reef Mine in Canowindra for £3000 and renamed it after his new company, the Lady Burdett Coutts Gold-Mining Company, which he had registered in 1894.

¹⁵⁸ *Byron Bay Record*, 'Gold from the Sea', 27 January 1906, 9.

the mine.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps Mitchell had in mind the Alfred Argles Gold Mining Company and the ‘get rich quick’ attitude to mine development that prevailed in Western Australia during this period. An equally prescient concern held by Mitchell was the dearth of suitable homes for the miners and their families. Indeed, it was arguably the isolated nature of the Whim Creek copper mine and the trying circumstances already mentioned that caused the marriage of James and Fanny Reynolds to end in divorce. Doubtless, the departure of Fanny’s parents Alfred and Elizabeth Argles back east was unhelpful in this regard. Samuel Mitchell was also critical of the widespread adoption of the truck system used by some mine owners to maximize their profits by selling food and provisions to miners at exorbitant prices. The adoption of the truck system by unscrupulous mine owners drastically reduced the amount of money each miner took home as they were docked for food and a range of other commodities.¹⁶⁰ It is not clear if Captain Mitchell thought James Reynolds was complicit in this activity, but the latter was accused by one of his miners of insisting that they deal only with the mine owners, J. and W. Bateman, for their weekly stores. The disgruntled miner further charged that Reynolds made unreasonable demands on his workforce by ‘keeping their noses to the grindstone’ and refusing to pay overtime.¹⁶¹ It should be acknowledged, however, that James Reynolds strenuously denied these and other accusations in a fulsome rebuttal published in the *Victorian Express* in 1894.¹⁶² Away from his mining interests and apparently undaunted by the failure of his marriage to Fanny Argles, Reynolds married his fourth partner, Matilda Ann Sainsbury, the sister of William John Jose, the owner of the Trefusis Aerated Water and Cordial Manufacturing Company, and Elizabeth Jane Harvey (née Jose) in 1899. Matilda Sainsbury was a storekeeper who declared herself bankrupt in July 1898.¹⁶³ Yet

¹⁵⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘Mineral Resources of Western Australia’, 1 September 1880, 1.

¹⁶⁰ *West Australian*, ‘Wanted: A Truck Act’, 27 November 1898, 5.

¹⁶¹ *Victorian Express*, ‘Mr. Reynolds Replies To A ‘Miner’’, 13 April 1894, 4.

¹⁶² *Victorian Express*, ‘Letter’, 13 April 1894, 4.

¹⁶³ *Western Mail*, ‘News of the Week’, 12 August 1898, 40.

by the end of year James Reynolds had purchased Matilda's store following his examination in accordance with the 1892 Bankruptcy Act.¹⁶⁴



Figure 5: James Reynolds, Matilda Ann and Minnie Reynolds

(Source: Ancestry.Com)

The arrival at Albany of Edward Arthur Lanyon (28) and Arthur Treliske Teague (22) aboard the *Orotava* on 30 July 1897 suggests that mining links between Cornwall and Western Australia remained important. Both Cornishmen came from prominent Redruth families steeped in the town's mining history. Edward Lanyon was the third son of Alfred Lanyon of 'Tolvean', Redruth who had made his fortune as a tin smelter and merchant, and a founder member and then sole proprietor of the Cornish Tin Smelting Company (1876).¹⁶⁵ Arthur Teague was the fifth son of William Teague of 'Treliske', Truro. William Teague was a

¹⁶⁴ State Records Office of Western Australia, item 1898/079, Available at <http://archive.sro.wa.gov.au/index.php/sainsbury-elizabeth-1898-079>, accessed 31 August 2017. Not in Bibliog.

¹⁶⁵ *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 'Death of Mr. Alfred Lanyon', 11 March 1915, 4.

wealthy landowner and a director of the Cornish Bank, due in part to his successful management of the Tincroft Mine near Carn Brea, and his various smelting interests.¹⁶⁶ However, the patriarchs William Teague and Alfred Lanyon often clashed over mining issues leading to one notable disagreement in 1874. The disagreement concerned the effect of Australian tin imports on the Cornish mining industry. Captain William Teague had argued that Cornish production had declined by 300 tons per month. Arthur Lanyon demurred by stating it was more like 300 tons over ten months. Lanyon's argument – according to the press report – was generally accepted as being the more accurate analysis.¹⁶⁷ The widespread reporting of claim and counter-claim in Australian papers arguably aided the recruitment of Edward Lanyon and Arthur Teague. Moreover, knowledge of who they were in mining circles no doubt aided their attempt to procure money and machinery during their visit to South Australia in January 1899.¹⁶⁸ Given the reputations of their fathers, Teague and Lanyon were granted honorary membership of the Mine Managers Institute of Coolgardie just a month after arriving in Western Australia.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, in Northampton the arrival of such well-credentialed Cornishmen was seen as a great fillip to the town, and local shareholders and business interests were said to be jubilant at the prospect.¹⁷⁰

Although the Cornish presence on the Eastern Goldfields was significant, it was an Italian entrepreneur Eugenio Vanzetti that these two young Cornishmen befriended. Consolidated Copper Mines of Western Australia was the company's official title, but it was generally referred to as the Vanzetti Syndicate.¹⁷¹ The company's assets included gold mines and 19

¹⁶⁶ *Royal Cornish Gazette*, 'Death of Mr. William Teague', 12 March 1886, 5.

¹⁶⁷ *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News*, 'The Tin Trade and Production of Tin', 13 February 1874, 4.

¹⁶⁸ *West Australian*, 'Mining News', 2 February 1899, 5.

¹⁶⁹ *Goldfields Morning Chronicle*, 'Mine Managers Institute', 30 August 1897, 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Northampton Copper Mines', 15 July 1898, 2.

¹⁷¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Northampton Copper Mines', 15 July 1898, 2.

leases totaling some 380 acres in and around Northampton, and centred on the former Geraldine Mine, with the major mining activity occurring at Mitchell's Four-Mile Pool. Arthur Teague was given the task of reporting on its potential to the Vanzetti Syndicate in his capacity as the new mine manager. The copper ore samples that Edward Lanyon brought back to Perth for the directors Richard Speight and Eugenio Vanzetti in July 1898 were also seen by another Cornishman, Captain William Oats, who was the President of the Kalgoorlie Chamber of Mines and the member of the Legislative Assembly for Yilgarn. Captain Oats reportedly stated that the specimens were equal to anything he had ever seen in Australia.¹⁷² Despite this positive development, a month later Edward Lanyon had made an application for the forfeiture of the Vanzetti lease at Mitchell's Four-Mile Pool. The matter came before the recently appointed Northampton mining registrar Gustavus Varley who found in favour of Lanyon and Teague following the nonappearance of Vanzetti or any of his representatives.¹⁷³ The failure of Eugenio Vanzetti to contest the claim suggests that he was reasonably sanguine about handing the lease to Lanyon and Teague because of more pressing concerns. These included his vaunted proposal to build a mining tramway in three stages from Newcastle (present day Toodyay) to the East Murchison Goldfields, a distance of nearly 500 miles.¹⁷⁴ His scheme was expected to cost in the order of £2,000,000 leaving Vanzetti little choice other than to prioritise his existing financial commitments by relinquishing some of his mining leases.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Northampton Copper Mines', 15 July 1898, 2.

¹⁷³ *West Australian*, 'Jumping Case at Geraldine', 31 August 1898, 6. Gustavus Varley had married the widow of John Hosken Jnr, Annie Hosken, in January 1894. See Martha Smallacombe, *The Hosken odyssey*, 99. Varley formed a branch of the Anti-Asiatic League in Geraldton in 1895. See also *Coolgardie Miner*, 'The Anti-Asiatic League of WA', 8 July 1895, 2.

¹⁷⁴ *West Australian*, 'Mr. Vanzetti's Tramway Scheme', 7 January 1897, 6. On 30 January 1897 Eugenio Vanzetti left Albany for Europe on the RMS *Oroya* and returned on the same vessel on 27 August having left Richard Speight and Frederick Besly to manage his interests. The purpose of his trip was to raise capital for his industrial mining tramway. See *Northam Advertiser*, 'Mr. Vanzetti', 6 February 1897, 2.

¹⁷⁵ *Menzies Miner*, 'Mr. Vanzetti's Tramway Scheme', 15 January 1897, 12.

Having acquired the lease to mine Mitchell's Four-Mile Pool, Lanyon and Teague set about forming their own syndicate from contacts in South Australia and it was from this source that they obtained £9000 in investment funding.¹⁷⁶ By March 1899 the machinery acquired from South Australia had been commissioned. It included timber 'poppet-legs' for straddling the shaft, and a steam engine and its boiler.¹⁷⁷ In concert with a handful of miners Lanyon and Teague sank at least two new shafts, extended two others and mined numerous drives and crosscuts until the Knowles steam pump failed at the 140 ft level. In July 1900 Arthur Teague was interviewed by the *West Australian* on his Cornish background and the mine's future prospects. After acknowledging that his father was one of the best-known mine captains in Cornwall and that Teague mining equipment was prized the world over, Teague then discussed his own exploits as a gold miner and as a rugby player for the Diggers Club in South Africa. He then turned his attention to the challenge and the limitations of the Knowles steam pump he was using, while expressing the hope that a more suitable Cornish pump might soon be obtained. However, his greatest want was to have recourse to a nearby smelter. Tellingly, and just as Samuel Mitchell had done in 1867, Teague criticised the mining methods of his predecessors by stating, 'no mining in the true sense of the word has been done [in the district]'.¹⁷⁸ This remark and others in a similar vein in this thesis suggest that Cornish mine captains were highly competitive and not above criticising each other's work.

Meanwhile, in an adjacent lead mine James Reynolds was carting large amounts of dressed galena to the Northampton railway station for shipment to Swansea in Wales for smelting. In this respect, Reynolds had assiduously avoided using the Fremantle smelter because of its exorbitant rates. Indeed, for Reynolds and Mitchell the building of a smelter at Geraldton

¹⁷⁶ *West Australian*, 'Important Mineral Field', 14 March 1908, 2.

¹⁷⁷ *West Australian*, 'Mining at Geraldine', 7 March 1899, 3.

¹⁷⁸ *West Australian*, 'Northampton Mineral District', 7 July 1900, 9.

would become a *cause célèbre* and they would spend the rest of their careers lobbying tirelessly for one to be built.¹⁷⁹ While most mining was done in isolation, the social milieu of Northampton permitted some interaction with the opposite sex away from the privations of the mining camps. It was while mining in Northampton that Arthur Teague met and married Alberta Haselby, the daughter of the town's former schoolmaster, James Haselby.¹⁸⁰ The couple would have two children while living in Northampton – Sacie Geraldine Malinda Teague (1900) and Arthur Leonard Lewman Teague (1902). Unfortunately, their son died aged 8 months in March 1903, at which point the couple moved to New South Wales.

Unlike Teague and Lanyon, not all mine owners could use the reputation of their fathers as a way of raising funds to buy equipment and begin mining operations. This was borne out when Arthur Teague became embroiled in a brief exchange of letters with the Gibraltar-born Rowland Rees. Rowland Rees, was a former politician and architect who had recently arrived in Western Australia to begin anew after suffering severe financial difficulties in South Australia.¹⁸¹ Not long after arriving in Western Australia, Rees instigated libel proceedings against the *West Australian* newspaper and its high-profile editor, John Winthrop Hackett, seeking £10,000 in damages over the publication of a report critical of the former's attempted purchase of the Wheal Fortune Extended Mine from Captain Samuel Mitchell.¹⁸² The particulars of the libel action before Justice Hensman indirectly involved many leading figures in Western Australia (Premier Sir John Forrest) and South Australia (Chief Justice Samuel Way, Sir JP Boucaut, Sir John Downer, Charles Cameron Kingston, Sir Langdon

¹⁷⁹ *West Australian*, 'Northampton Mineral Resources', 12 July 1900, 9.

¹⁸⁰ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Country News', 20 October 1899, 5.

¹⁸¹ Christine Sullivan and Christine Garnaut, 'Rees, Rowland', Architecture Museum, University of South Australia, 2008, Architects of South Australia. Available at http://www.architectsdatabase.unisa.edu.au/arch_full.asp?Arch_ID=28, accessed 20 July 2017.

¹⁸² *West Australian*, 'Libel Action', 23 November 1898, 3. Arthur Teague was named as providing the mining report that Rowland Rees allegedly used to aid the floatation of his mining company, a claim that Teague vehemently denied. See *West Australian*, 'Rees V. The "West Australian"', 19, 21 and 24 January 1899 for the relevant letter exchange.

Bonython, JH Howe and Sir Edwin T Smith). They were linked to a prospective share purchase in a copper mining company recommended by Rowland Rees.¹⁸³ Of the Cornish-born involved in the libel action, only Chief Traffic Manager of Railways John Treggerthen Short had little or no mining experience. Arthur Teague, William Oats, Hugh Stephens and John Pascoe were questioned on the veracity of their advice to Rowland Rees. Short's involvement was linked to an earlier charge brought against Rees for fare evasion, which Short considered one of the most trumped-up charges ever brought to his notice.¹⁸⁴ However, for Captain Samuel Mitchell and his brother-in-law Hugh Stephens, who were involved in the early negotiations with Rees over the purchase of the Wheal Fortune Extended Mine, the libel action was not a trivial matter.

In June 1898 Captain Mitchell agreed to lease the mine to Rees for a period of 3 months for £150. Mitchell also agreed to sell the mine to Rees for another £850 plus 500 £1 shares in the projected £25,000 listed company that Rees intended to start.¹⁸⁵ Hugh Stephens acted as Mitchell's secretary and was managing the related documentation on his behalf. There was a mining report by Captain Mitchell which Rees used selectively to promote his company and the mine. The report was non-committal, although according to Rees Mitchell's verbal assurances as to whether the mine had more copper than lead erred on the former. During the proceedings Mitchell was emphatic that he had informed Rees that 'he did not know that he could say it was more a lead mine than a copper mine: this remained to be proved'.¹⁸⁶ Allegedly, before seeing Mitchell's written report Rees formed the Northampton Copper Mining Company and began signing up investors to purchase shares. One was John Winthrop Hackett who advanced Rees a £500 promissory note to secure 500 shares.

¹⁸³ *West Australian*, 'A Libel Action', 20 December 1898, 5.

¹⁸⁴ *West Australian*, 'A Libel Action', 20 December 1898, 5.

¹⁸⁵ *West Australian*, 'A Libel Action', 21 December 1898, 5.

¹⁸⁶ *West Australian*, 'A Libel Action', 22 December 1898, 5.

Regrettably for all concerned, the first and only shareholders meeting held on 15 June 1898 dissolved in to acrimony after Captain Mitchell's report was tabled. This outcome was due to the intervention of Charles Deeley, a mining agent, who was acting on behalf of prominent Adelaide investors. Deeley noted Mitchell's guarded stance on whether the mine could produce any significant copper, therefore he asked Rees for further evidence. When this was not forthcoming, Deeley accused Rees of misrepresenting the mine's true worth. In the aftermath Hackett demanded the return of his promissory note. When Rees prevaricated, Hackett published an account of the meeting, which prompted the libel action. In his libel action Rees claimed that by publicising details of the aborted shareholders' meeting in the *West Australian*, which was later printed in the *South Australian Register*, Hackett had compromised his ability to promote and sell shares in his company. In response, Hackett made a counter claim for the return of his promissory note plus costs. However, before revealing the outcome it is worth noting that Rees felt able to purchase shares on behalf of many leading figures who it was claimed had not given their approval. Indeed, there is a degree of conceit underpinning the whole affair that suggests that gentleman at the time thought that other gentlemen were incapable of such underhand behaviour, including in this case, misrepresenting the metal to be mined. Indeed, during an exchange with Hackett's defence council, Mr EA Haynes, Rees took exception to Haynes's line of questioning and retorted 'Your Honour, is that a proper remark for Mr. Haynes to make to one who is so greatly his superior?'. The judge was likewise offended and rebuked Haynes for impertinence. Haynes was suitably chastened and withdrew the comment.¹⁸⁷

Social exchanges like the one described were clearly a significant aspect of life in the colony and far from exposing an egalitarian society it indicates that Western Australia was just as

¹⁸⁷ *West Australian*, 'A Libel Action', 20 December 1898, 5.

class riven and fixated on social status as the mother country. Under the circumstances one can readily anticipate the class difference between miner Samuel Mitchell and Rowland Rees, which probably explains why Mitchell was prepared to overlook the non-payment of £150, when his first instinct was to terminate negotiations.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, it was perhaps class disparity that prompted Rees to accuse Mitchell of jeopardising his mining company and why the latter relented and extended his initial offer by another month. The issue of class came to the fore during the court proceedings when Justice Hensman told Rees not to ‘put on those airs of superiority’, after Rees had shouted at Mitchell to not address him (Rees) in such a disparaging manner, despite Rees having ‘humbugged’ Mitchell long enough to warrant such a response.¹⁸⁹ After taking testimony from 20 to 23 December, Justice Hensman decided to end the spectacle following the appearance of Premier Sir John Forrest, on the basis that Rees was bound to lose and nothing would be gained by proceeding further. With the agreement of both counsels, he ordered that one of the jurors be withdrawn thereby depriving the jury of the ability to render a verdict. Costs were waived and the *West Australian* and its editor were exonerated on the matter of libel. John Winthrop Hackett won the corresponding action for the return of his promissory note.¹⁹⁰ After the court case the behaviour of Rees became increasingly erratic, including an incident in November 1901 when he gatecrashed Parliament House and demanded to be made premier. At that point Rees was hastily committed to the Fremantle Lunatic Asylum. In due course he was returned to South Australia where he died at the Parkside Mental Hospital on 13 October 1904.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ *West Australian*, ‘A Libel Action’, 22 December 1898, 5.

¹⁸⁹ *West Australian*, ‘A Libel Action’, 21 December 1898, 5.

¹⁹⁰ *West Australian*, ‘A Libel Action’, 23 December 1898, 5.

¹⁹¹ Christine Sullivan and Christine Garnaut, ‘Rees, Rowland’. See also *Norseman Times*, ‘Rowland Rees Insane’, 29 November 1901, 2.

The negative publicity surrounding the Rowland Rees libel action had unintended consequences for mining in Northampton as potential investors assumed there was little copper and lead left. However, perhaps more troubling was that lead was becoming too costly to mine as the shafts went deeper. This was borne out when Lanyon and Teague were compelled to forfeit their lease over Mitchell's Four-Mile Pool in July 1903, for non-payment of rent. Before abandoning the mine, Arthur Teague, had provided a relatively mixed status report to Minister of Mines Henry Gregory in July 1901. Teague reported that they were able to extract 100 tons of high-grade copper ore that netted £1200. However, they were obliged to dump tons of low-grade lead ore on the surface for want of a concentrating plant and a smelter. Indeed, this outcome echoed the experience of Captain James Penberthy at the Wheal Fortune Mine in the 1860s, after he had worked down to a depth of 300 ft, Penberthy observed that once the near surface copper deposits had been mined out the lower ore was almost entirely composed of low-grade lead ore.¹⁹²

After providing the minister with the report, Lanyon and Teague spent the next two years fruitlessly exploring other mines in the Mid West. In this endeavour they claimed to have completed 700 ft of driving and rising at Wheal Margaret, Gibson's lease, Tumbarra and Henning's before timbering each shaft and abandoning them.¹⁹³ With the abandonment of Mitchell's Four-Mile Pool and the other four mines, the Cornishmen went their separate ways.¹⁹⁴ In 1903 Arthur Teague became the superintendent at the Eleanora Gold Mining Company property at Hillgrove, New South Wales.¹⁹⁵ He spent 12 years there before accepting the position of mine manager at the Sundown tin and copper mine in Stanthorpe,

¹⁹² *Geraldton Guardian and Express*, 'Early Murchison Days', 20 November 1937, 6.

¹⁹³ *West Australian*, 'Important Mineral Field', 14 March 1908, 2.

¹⁹⁴ *West Australian*, 'Important Mineral Field', 14 March 1908, 2.

¹⁹⁵ *Armidale Chronicle*, 'Hillgrove', 20 June 1914, 3. Arthur Teague would become a local alderman and play rugby against the New Zealand Maoris and cricket for New England. See *Armidale Express and New England General Advertiser*, 'Early Union Tussles Recalled', 10 June 1949, 15.

Queensland in 1914. He would build a home there, which he named 'Carn Brea' in honour of his birthplace.¹⁹⁶ Teague spent the remainder of his working life at the Sundown Mine. He was the manager in 1924 when it was reported that the mine had high concentrations of arsenic that were matched by very few places in the world such as Cornwall, Canada and Spain.¹⁹⁷ Arthur Treliske Teague died in Queensland on 27 August 1944 at the age of 69.

Edward Lanyon remained in Western Australia, first in Fremantle before moving to Mundaring to take up farming. Whilst there Lanyon became active in local politics and was appointed secretary of the Mundaring Progress Association on 2 July 1903.¹⁹⁸ The concerns of the Mundaring community covered the whole gamut from faulty water pumps to the location of the proposed Greenmount Roads Board office.¹⁹⁹ In June 1905 Lanyon lost most of his possessions, which included valuable books and surveying instruments, when his home was gutted by a fire. He had been away from his home when the fire started, having gone to the township to send a telegram on behalf of a neighbour.²⁰⁰ It would seem from his ongoing participation in community affairs that he was able to rebuild his home, probably with the assistance of his friends and neighbours. In February 1906, however, it was reported that Lanyon was leaving for New Zealand.²⁰¹ His last official duty was as an office bearer during the St Patrick's Day celebrations at the Mundaring Show on 17 March.²⁰² By December Lanyon had left Western Australia aboard the SS *Yongala* for the eastern states.²⁰³ Instead of moving to New Zealand, he settled in Tasmania. The reason for this change of plan was purportedly Lanyon's friendship with Norman Kirkwood Ewing, the parliamentary member

¹⁹⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 'Sundown Tin and Copper Mine', 5 April 1915, 10.

¹⁹⁷ *Queenslander*, 'Science and Industry', 10 May 1924, 41.

¹⁹⁸ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 9 July 1903, 4.

¹⁹⁹ *Swan Express*, 'Greenmount Roads Board', 7 November 1903, 3.

²⁰⁰ *Swan Express*, 'New and Notes', 17 June 1905, 2.

²⁰¹ *Swan Express*, 'Puffy Pars', 10 February 1906, 3.

²⁰² *Swan Express*, 'Advertising', 3 March 1906, 2.

²⁰³ *Daily News*, 'Shipping', 11 December 1906, 3.

for Swan from 1897 to 1901, who had moved to Hobart in 1905.²⁰⁴ When Lanyon died in 1935 his obituary noted that he was a close friend of Norman Ewing.²⁰⁵ It is possible that Lanyon and Ewing had crossed paths on the goldfields and that Norman Ewing had gained an understanding of mining issues through an ongoing friendship with Edward Lanyon. Nevertheless, while Norman Kirkwood Ewing would die in Launceston, in 1928, following a brief period as Administrator of Tasmania, the unmarried Edward Arthur Lanyon lived in relative obscurity at his home at Flowery Gully, near Beaconsfield, Tasmania, until he died, aged 69, on 19 November 1935.²⁰⁶ The departure of Lanyon and Teague was undoubtedly a watershed moment for Cornish miners and for the future of mining in Northampton. At one level it showed that the Cornish were just as likely as any other ethnic group to struggle to make a living from mining. Indeed, of the hundreds of Cornish miners who had ventured to this part of Western Australia, only James Reynolds and Samuel Mitchell were still actively engaged in mining. In 1894 Mitchell lost his business partner of many years, Charles Crowther, when he died at Geraldton, aged 63.²⁰⁷ Crowther's death evidently had a deleterious effect on Mitchell's finances and he complains that he had to continue to work because his former business partner's will was arranged in such a way that everything, except his household furniture, had to be sold.²⁰⁸ Mitchell was, however, able to purchase Chiverton House soon after Crowther's death. When James Reynolds was interviewed on the subject of Northampton's mineral resources, he was asked if anybody had made money out of mining. He replied in the affirmative. However, while he acknowledged that many families had become 'well-to-do' as a result of their competence in lead mining, others had made the mistake of assuming that income from mining would endure. It was these families who

²⁰⁴ *Mercury*, 'Mr. Edward Lanyon', 21 November 1935, 5. The claim that Edward Lanyon or Arthur Teague participated in the infamous Jameson Raid in 1895–96 is not sustained by consulting the available evidence.

²⁰⁵ *Mercury*, 'Mr. Edward Lanyon', 21 November 1935, 5.

²⁰⁶ *Examiner*, 'Family Notices', 21 November 1935, 1.

²⁰⁷ *Western Mail*, 'Death of Mr. Charles Crowther', 24 March 1894, 33.

²⁰⁸ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 15, 25.

Reynolds considered had squandered their wealth by living beyond their means.²⁰⁹ It is not clear which families Reynolds was referring to although one could argue that Samuel Mitchell fitted the criteria admirably. In 1887 Mitchell ruefully mentioned that he had mined upwards of £70,000 of minerals from Wheal Ellen and at one stage could have easily returned to Cornwall a very wealthy man.²¹⁰ However, despite his own modest attempt to emulate his hero, William Ewart Gladstone, Mitchell believed the financial cost of representing his electorate was not sustainable.²¹¹



Figure 6: Captain Samuel Mitchell

(Source: SLWA, 5001B/127: Samuel Mitchell (1839-1912), ca.1867, Available: http://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b4589475_2.jpg?agree)

In his obituary for Mitchell his long-standing friend, Roland Charles Howes, described his parliamentary career as not remarkably brilliant and somewhat short. Howes, who wrote under the pen name *Le Grondeur*, opined that Mitchell was ‘too heavily inoculated with the

²⁰⁹ *West Australian*, ‘Northampton Mineral Resources’ 12 July 1900, 9.

²¹⁰ *Victorian Express*, ‘The Governor at Northampton’ 5 November 1887, 3.

²¹¹ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 14, 22.

Forrest microbe to recommend him to the latter-day electors'.²¹² In his reminiscences Mitchell declared that standing for parliament was the worst, if not the very worst, decision he had made in his entire life.²¹³ Unsurprisingly, his chief complaint was the lack of compensation he received representing his constituents in the Murchison electorate. Ironically, after Mitchell spoke in support of the bill for the payment of politicians, and after it had passed both houses of parliament on 14 November, 1900, Mitchell lost his seat the following year.²¹⁴ A further irritant, which no doubt soured his experience even further, was that he lost his parliamentary seat by one vote to John Leighton Nanson, who was at that time the associate editor of the *West Australian* newspaper. Aside from the closeness of the vote Mitchell cites a number of irregularities that favoured his opponent including the apparent acceptance of 14 informal votes by the returning officer.²¹⁵ Despite seemingly having grounds to mount a challenge Mitchell decided against this course of action, while offering no definitive reason for doing so. At the 1904 Western Australian Legislative Assembly election, Mitchell attempted to re-enter parliament, standing as an independent in the seat of Greenough. However, despite an acrimonious election campaign where John Nanson lost a no confidence vote put by Sidney Hosken in Northampton on a show of hands, Mitchell was again beaten by Nanson, this time finishing a distant third, 108 votes behind the winner.²¹⁶ Once again Mitchell's thoughts on the personal cost of running for parliament suggests his true financial predicament:

A person once in Parliament, and turned out, will, unless he has means, find a millstone around his neck. Such has been my experience.²¹⁷

²¹² *Geraldton Express*, 'Obituary', 12 July 1912, 2.

²¹³ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 14, 22.

²¹⁴ Western Australia, Legislative Council, *Debates*, 7 November 1900, 1538 (Hon. Samuel Mitchell). Available at [http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/vwMainBackground/19001107_Assembly.pdf/\\$File/19001107_Assembly.pdf](http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/vwMainBackground/19001107_Assembly.pdf/$File/19001107_Assembly.pdf), accessed 16 August 2017.

²¹⁵ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'The Murchison Election', 7 June 1901, 9.

²¹⁶ *West Australian*, 'State Politics', 18 March 1904, 5.

²¹⁷ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 14, 22.

While serving as a member of parliament proved to be an economic drain, there was now little financial reward in the once lucrative mining industry. In 1899 Mitchell purchased an option over the Wheal Catherine copper mine in the Yalgoo District from Henry Spalding for £100. Mitchell had some prior knowledge of the property having inspected it in April 1898. He was able to persuade Alfred Edward Morgans, the member for Coolgardie, to join him as a partner.²¹⁸ Mitchell had been publicly effusive about the mine's prospects and was reported as stating:

Judging by the surface indications, he had seen very few better copper shows in Western Australia and, perhaps more significantly, he also believed it contains a great deal of gold.²¹⁹

Not content with merely providing an overview of the mine's mineral riches, Mitchell inexplicably provided its precise location, 5 miles northeast of Yalgoo, thereby, unwittingly, inviting the precise outcome that eventuated.²²⁰ When Mitchell returned to the Yalgoo District some two weeks later after visiting Morgans in Perth, he discovered that most of the copper had vanished.²²¹ The obvious inference was that someone or other had been at the property and removed the easily accessible copper ore. Indeed, Henry Spalding was later to recount that an old digger from Victoria had admitted as much to him stating that the practice of hiding and dolling up ore away from prying eyes was rife amongst miners.²²² The theft was entirely predictable as Mitchell's report was published widely providing miners with ample opportunity to engage in the practice of dolling up. Quite how Mitchell explained the loss to Morgans, who was a respected Welsh mining engineer and mine owner, is open to conjecture. Nevertheless, this disappointment so soon after the Rowland Rees debacle showed that Mitchell's own financial predicament had deteriorated markedly.²²³ From this point on

²¹⁸ *Western Mail*, 'The Wheal Catherine Mine', 22 April 1898, 51.

²¹⁹ *Western Mail*, 'The Wheal Catherine Mine', 22 April 1898, 51.

²²⁰ *Western Mail*, 'The Wheal Catherine Mine', 22 April 1898, 51.

²²¹ Samuel Mitchell, *Looking backward*, Chapter 15, 23.

²²² *West Australian*, 'Gold Robbers', 11 November 1902. 4.

²²³ *Murchison Advocate*, 'The Polar Star Water Right', 11 November 1899, 2.

Mitchell would largely confine himself to providing mining reports and working as the local agent for Elder, Shenton & Co. Ltd, where he sold, amongst other things, Nobel's Glasgow explosives, which were stored in the magazine at his former home at Wheal Ellen.²²⁴

While still a member of parliament Mitchell joined fellow Cornishmen Captain William Oats and James Reynolds in a delegation to Minister of Mines Henry Lefroy in December 1900. The delegation had as its principal objective the building of a government-owned smelter at Geraldton on similar lines to one proposed for Port Augusta in South Australia.²²⁵ This initiative was in response to growing dissatisfaction with the Western Australia Smelting Company, especially its Owen Anchorage smelter near Fremantle, which demanded higher ore concentrations and returned significantly less money than the predominately Cornish-owned smelters at Swansea in Wales.²²⁶ While discussing the issue with Lefroy each of the delegates offered their opinion on why the government should fund this endeavour. Mitchell talked of the benefits it would bring to the Northampton lead mines and the auriferous country on the Murchison River. Reynolds did not think that a private smelter would work in the interests of either Northampton or the colony more broadly, as making large profits would be the principal motivation for private enterprise. Reynolds pointed out that he routinely sent his ore to Swansea as it was cheaper than attempting to dress (process) the ore up to the 70–80% concentration demanded by the owners of the Fremantle smelter.²²⁷ Nevertheless, the overseas option still meant an 18-month wait for funds as the wool ship on which the ore was transported as ballast only came once a year.²²⁸ Oats, the member for Yilgarn, spoke in

²²⁴ *Geraldton Express*, 'Advertising', 3 May 1907, 2.

²²⁵ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'A Smelter Wanted', 14 December 1900, 3.

²²⁶ *Western Mail*, 'Speech by Mr. S. Mitchell, MLA', 9 December 1898, 13. See also *Western Mail*, 'Industries and Railway Rates', 26 May 1899, 47; and Philip Payton, *The making of modern Cornwall*, 78.

²²⁷ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'A Smelter Wanted', 14 December 1900, 3. See also *West Australian*, 'Lead Mining at Geraldine', 28 February 1899, 5. It was reported that James Reynolds had several tons of 60% lead ore ready for transport to England.

²²⁸ *Victorian Express*, 'Minerals and Mining of the Victoria District', 13 September 1890, 2. See also Philip Payton, *The making of modern Cornwall*, 100.

support of the smelter and the arguments put forward by his fellow delegates. In this respect Oats was acknowledged as an expert having famously been the first person to smelt gold from the black quartz mined from Fraser's South Mine at Southern Cross in the late 1880s.²²⁹ Mitchell must have asked his colleague and friend to lend his support even though Oats was chiefly interested in gold mining on the Eastern Goldfields.²³⁰ Despite throwing their collective support behind the Geraldton smelter, they left empty handed when the minister agreed with a report that cited insufficient production in the Northampton mines to warrant the building of a public-owned smelter.²³¹

Like Mitchell, James Reynolds had been critical in a newspaper article of some mine owners removing all of the readily accessible ore in the interests of making a quick profit. Reynolds singled out Wheal Ellen and the Baddera Mine, both previously owned by Crowther and Mitchell, as being typical examples of this shortsighted strategy.²³² Reynolds had diversified his business interests during the 1890s, a period when almost no lead concentrate was being produced at any of the remaining Northampton mines. Reynolds spent part of his time at the store he purchased from his future partner in 1898, and he purchased town lots a 590-acre farm and other properties.²³³ In 1893 Reynolds applied for and was granted a board and lodging house licence for a property opposite the post office on Marine Terrace in Geraldton.²³⁴ At that property he sold firewood and provided a timber cutting service after investing in a small engine and saw.²³⁵ In the next decade Reynolds returned to mining, sinking a 70 ft shaft at the Yaipa Mine lease (no. 1182), 7 miles (11 km) north of

²²⁹ *Southern Cross Times*, 'Captain William Oats, MLA', 20 April 1901, 1.

²³⁰ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Items of News', 2 December 1897, 4. They were often paired when either was absent from Parliament and votes were to be taken.

²³¹ *Western Mail*, 'Mining at Northampton', 29 June 1901, 21.

²³² *West Australian*, 'Northampton Mineral Resources', 12 July 1900, 9.

²³³ State Records Office of Western Australia, AU WA S2114 cons541 1891/2461. Available at <https://archive.sro.wa.gov.au/index.php/reynolds-1917-014>, accessed 31 August 2017. Not in Bibliog.

²³⁴ *Geraldton Express*, 'Advertising', 4 August 1893, 2.

²³⁵ *Victorian Express*, 'Great Reduction in the Price of Firewood', 4 August 1893, 2.

Northampton.²³⁶ He also worked the Baddera South Mine, which he had to relinquish in 1913 after losing the property as a result of a Warden's Court ruling that determined a prior right existed over the lease.²³⁷ In 1917 Reynolds joined Samuel Mitchell's Cornish-born son, Samuel Herbert Mitchell, or 'Bertie' as he was known, at a mining conference held at Kalgoorlie, as representatives of Northampton mining interests.²³⁸ Their primary targets were the Minister for Mines Robert Robinson and John Scaddan MLA. The latter was the son of a Cornish miner and was therefore considered informed and sympathetic to mining interests.²³⁹ As in 1900, Reynolds was hoping the visit to Kalgoorlie would lead to a government commitment to build a smelter at Geraldton.²⁴⁰

Given his father's background, Bertie Mitchell began his mining career by leasing the Victoria copper mine near Wanerenooka in 1891.²⁴¹ Apart from one report in 1899 that indicated the Victoria Mine appeared to be extremely rich, yielding as much as 10 oz of copper to the ton of ore, there were no other reports on Bertie Mitchell's mine.²⁴² This leads to the inescapable conclusion that the Victoria Mine was a small-scale operation which ultimately failed to deliver and is probably why Bertie Mitchell turned his attention to wool and wheat growing. His first foray as a pastoralist was the Geraldine Station which was probably purchased from the proceeds of the Victoria Mine before 1900.²⁴³ Bertie Mitchell then moved to Mount View Station near Ajana: he purchased that property from Thomas Amos Drage and his brothers in 1910.²⁴⁴ Like his father, Bertie Mitchell became a member of

²³⁶ *Western Mail*, 'Geraldton', 7 April 1900, 42.

²³⁷ *Geraldton Express*, 'Local and General', 17 February 1913, 2. See also *Western Mail*, 'Northampton', 1 November 1912, 20.

²³⁸ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Northampton's Mineral Wealth', 3 May 1917, 1.

²³⁹ *West Australian*, 'Personal', 29 May 1917, 4.

²⁴⁰ *Western Mail*, 'The Northampton Field', 11 May 1917, 19.

²⁴¹ *Victorian Express*, 'Northampton', 17 January 1891, 3.

²⁴² *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Cooper-mining at Northampton', 11 May 1899, 6.

²⁴³ *West Australian*, 'Supreme Court', 5 December 1900, 3.

²⁴⁴ *Geraldton Express*, 'Local and General', 4 May 1910, 2.

the Northampton Roads Board and eventually its chairman, while also serving as a justice of the peace. As was the case with Samuel Mitchell, Bertie hoped that Northampton would become the important mining centre it once was. To that end he lobbied for Minister of Mines John Scaddan, who he had met at Kalgoorlie in 1917, to visit Northampton in 1922 in the expectation of garnering public funds to resurrect the Northampton lead and copper mines. Unfortunately, little of substantive value accrued from Scaddan's visit due largely to the deteriorating nature of the Western Australian economy.²⁴⁵ Indeed, Bertie Mitchell witnessed the predicament of many in Perth when he travelled there to coordinate Scaddan's ministerial visit to Northampton and observed 'a great evidence of unemployment'.²⁴⁶

The deteriorating nature of the Western Australian economy likewise impacted James Reynolds despite his attempts at diversifying his business interests. In 1907 it was reported that a significant bushfire had devastated thousands of acres of good feed as it swept through the lease holding of Reynolds and his son John in the agricultural area of Appertarra.²⁴⁷ This setback was surpassed in July 1917 when James Reynolds filed for bankruptcy and was forced to sell his farm and extensive landholdings and five town lots of varying sizes in and around Northampton and Geraldton.²⁴⁸ There is every indication that Reynolds was under some stress prior to his bankruptcy when it was reported that he had suffered from a 'dizzy spell' which made him fall onto the road from his cart causing him to sustain serious internal injuries.²⁴⁹ Following his accident and bankruptcy James Reynolds appears to have retained an interest in the general store, and there is mention of him losing a mine lease on a property near Mitchell's Four-Mile Pool in 1918. The lease in question was determined in the

²⁴⁵ *Geraldton Express*, 'Protheroe Lead Mine', 14 September 1922, 4.

²⁴⁶ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Northampton Notes', 17 August 1922, 3.

²⁴⁷ *Geraldton Express*, 'Northampton Notes', 14 January 1907, 3.

²⁴⁸ *Geraldton Express*, 'Bankruptcy Act Amendment Act, 1898', 14 July 1917, 3.

²⁴⁹ *Geraldton Express*, 'Northampton', 23 August 1916, 3.

Warden's Court to be part of a larger lease that had already been recommended for approval to another syndicate.²⁵⁰ It is conceivable that this rejection represented the last direct involvement of a Cornish-born miner in Northampton's mining industry. In any event his son John would have had little choice other than to become farmer and in 1905 he married Hannah Mary Cripps, with whom he would have ten children. James Reynolds died of heart failure on 13 February 1927, aged 77, leaving what remained of his estate to his fourth wife Matilda.²⁵¹

There can be little doubt that of all the Cornish miners who worked to create the first mining centre in Western Australia at Northampton, Captain Samuel Mitchell was the most notable. Indeed, Mitchell did more than most to perpetuate the myth of Cousin Jack, being at one and the same time a very capable hard rock miner and a leading establishment figure representing the Mid West. Moreover, much of what he said in his reminiscences helped define the myth of Cousin Jack and the pioneering spirit that saw the creation of the first metalliferous mine in Western Australia. In this respect Mitchell was merely reimagining well-established idioms and narratives that had been *de rigueur* in Cornwall and elsewhere on the mining frontier for several generations. An illustrative example was the reputed exchange between the Rev. Thomas Vivian (1729–1793) and William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806) when Vivian acquainted Pitt with the Cornish miners' spirit of adventure and their capacity to continue mining even when profits were low. Indeed, Vivian suggested that this behaviour was comparable to someone engaging in a game of chance in order to win the big prize, which perhaps inspired the adage that 'you have to be in it (the mine), to win it'. This analogy was in response to William Pitt ruminating on why the hardheaded and thoughtful Cornish miner

²⁵⁰ *Geraldton Express*, 'Northampton', 5 June 1918, 4. See also *Geraldton Express*, 'From our Correspondent', 22 July 1918, 2.

²⁵¹ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Northampton Notes', 15 February 1927, 4. See also *Sunday Times*, 'Wills of the Week', 17 July 1927, 2.

would continue to struggle when he was losing money. The reason Vivian had approached the British prime minister was not to procure a handout, but to try and get a reduction on the timber duty in order to facilitate Cornish entrepreneurship, not to stifle it.²⁵²

By its very nature, the myth of Cousin Jack is replete with stories of Cornish mining prowess similar to the alleged exchange between Thomas Vivian and William Pitt the Younger.

However, it was perhaps the cartoons of Oswald Pryor in South Australia where the qualities of obstinacy and invention that William Pitt had dismissed as futile were seen as laudable character traits and absolutely fundamental to any successful pioneer.²⁵³ In this respect Western Australia was equally as, if not more, demanding of such character traits and with Samuel Mitchell to the fore, the exploits of spirited and independent Cornish people in Western Australia would continue to be celebrated by their descendants and the wider community well into the 1930s. Former premier John Scaddan, for one, had a well-founded reputation for championing the myth of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny through stories of his childhood in Moonta and as an adult miner in Kalgoorlie.²⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, given its alleged potency, the myth could sometimes be used to garner political support as William John Jose attempted to demonstrate when, as the mayor of Geraldton, he announced that he was a proud Cousin Jack on his father's side and an equally proud Irishman on his mother's.²⁵⁵ Jose's pronouncement of ethnic fealty occurred at a raucous election meeting held in support of Samuel Mitchell's candidacy for the seat of Murchison in 1901. Mitchell lost the election by one vote and Jose was persistently heckled, so the myth's effectiveness in Geraldton then was hardly comparable to the triumphalism that usually attended any familial association with

²⁵² *Cornish Telegraph*, 16 June 1858, 2. William Pitt the Younger was the great-grandson of Thomas Pitt, the president of Madras from 1698 to 1709, who built Boconnoc House near Lostwithiel.

²⁵³ Oswald Pryor, *Australia's little Cornwall*, 14.

²⁵⁴ *Sunday Times*, 'Peeps at People', 14 August 1932, 7.

²⁵⁵ *West Australian*, 'The Political Situation', 10 December 1901, 5.

Cousin Jack. Indeed, Scaddan once remarked that Cornishmen were all fine talkers who could talk themselves into parliament just as easily as they could talk themselves out of parliament.²⁵⁶ In the neighbouring electorate of North Murchison, a seat that was appropriately styled ‘the pick and shovel electorate’, another Cousin Jack proved Scaddan’s quip contained more than a grain of truth when John Barkell Holman, representing the Labor Party, defeated Attorney-General Frederick William Moorhead.²⁵⁷ This positive outcome and Mitchell’s failure clearly demonstrates that while the myth was not always successful when invoked for political purposes it did engender a mythic quality for those who had occasion to remember the Cornish contribution to the development of hard-rock mining in Western Australia.²⁵⁸

As indicated in Chapter 3, the decision by Richard John Cory to move away from Northampton in the early 1890s was part of a larger movement of colonial Cousin Jacks leaving the eastern colonies to participate in the goldrush. In abandoning Northampton for gold prospecting, Cory reinforces that the Mid West was no longer the attraction it had been for Cornish miners like his father. Before Cory made his way to the Eastern Goldfields, he travelled to the Murchison Goldfields where he challenged the leaseholder of the Calliope Mine for failing to adhere to the labour condition that required a minimum of two miners on site at all times. In the Warden’s Court Cory claimed that there was no-one at the mine on 12 to 14 August 1895.²⁵⁹ However, the warden found there was insufficient evidence to invalidate the lease arrangements and the case was dismissed.²⁶⁰ Less than a year later the 23-

²⁵⁶ *West Australian*, ‘Cornwall in Perth’, 7 April 1924, 6.

²⁵⁷ *West Australian*, ‘The Political Situation’, 10 December 1901, 5.

²⁵⁸ *Geraldton Guardian*, ‘Death of Mr. Samuel Mitchell’, 6 July 1912, 3. Mitchell left his home, ‘Chiverton House’, and £119.17/3 to his son Lees Franklin Mitchell. See also *Western Mail*, ‘Probates and Administrations’, 25 October 1912, 54.

²⁵⁹ *Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, ‘Adjourned Court’, 28 August 1895, 3.

²⁶⁰ *Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, ‘Warden’s Report on the Caliope [sic] Case’, 31 August 1895, 3. Calliope Mine is spelt with double ‘l’ in the *Report of the WA Department of Mines, 1898*. See Table No. II,

year-old Cory removed survey pegs from another lease he claimed to have been monitoring for over a year and proceeded to peg it with his own. Again Richard Cory lost the case and the warden admonished him for removing the existing survey pegs and would have fined him £50 if he had believed his actions had been deliberate.²⁶¹

Towards the end of 1896 Cory decamped to the Eastern Goldfields in search of gold. The electoral rolls list his occupation as a miner and provide his various locations up until 1917. The places recorded – Burtville, Menzies, Mount Margaret, Yilgarn and Dundas – are all redolent of the nomadic life of an itinerant gold prospector. It is doubtful, however, that all prospectors had Richard Cory's mining background and experience. This disparity in ability may explain why Cory often resorted to the Warden's Court when he observed other mine leases not being worked competently. At Laverton in 1907 he instigated two claims for lease forfeiture that were heard at the local Warden's Court, both of which the warden upheld and the leases were put up for public auction.²⁶² Similarly, in 1908, a goldmine lease at Burtville was forfeited after an application made by Cory.²⁶³ In 1910 Cory was granted a gold mining lease and he made another application for forfeiture against a future mining magnate, Claude De Bernales, which likewise proved to be successful.²⁶⁴ As an aside, it should be acknowledged that the vast majority of mining leases during this period were either forfeited for failing to comply with labour covenants or they were simply abandoned and the authorities not informed.²⁶⁵

East Murchison, 18. Available at http://www.dmp.wa.gov.au/Documents/About-Us-Careers/AnnualReport_1898.pdf, accessed 30 January 2018.

²⁶¹ *Murchison and Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, 'Day Dawn Warden's Court', 25 July 1896, 4.

²⁶² *Laverton and Beria Mercury*, 'Laverton Warden's Court', 17 August 1907, 2.

²⁶³ *Laverton and Beria Mercury*, 'Laverton Warden's Court', 15 August 1908, 3.

²⁶⁴ *Laverton and Beria Mercury*, 'Laverton Warden's Court', 24 September 1910, 2.

²⁶⁵ Report of the Royal commission on Mining, Western Australia (1898), 10.

In the midst of this flurry of hearings Cory married Elizabeth Francis Snowdon at Mount Margaret in 1908. The marriage lasted less than a year: Elizabeth died in May 1909 followed soon after by her sister.²⁶⁶ After his wife and sister-in-law died, Richard Cory resumed his nomadic life by prospecting in and around Mount Margaret. In 1912 the *Kalgoorlie Miner* devoted several paragraphs to promising ‘shows’ – the Leviathan and the Blue Danube – that Cory was mining near the abandoned town of Linden, 75 km south of Laverton.²⁶⁷ These old workings had long been abandoned but were now being reworked by Cory and a handful of other miners. It was reported that after a week the Blue Danube Mine had returned just under 3 oz. of gold, which at the time was fetching approximately £3 16s per oz. Moreover, the report further states that Cory was convinced that there were payable quantities of wolfram and asbestos in an auriferous area nearby that had never been prospected.²⁶⁸ These ‘shows’ never developed beyond the occasional find of a few ounces of gold. Cory left Mount Margaret in 1914 for Yilgarn and after 1916 he was resident in Dundas. There is little evidence to indicate what Cory did after 1917 and until his death in 1920, aged 55.²⁶⁹ Before exploring the Cornish contribution to the Eastern Goldfields in Chapter 4, it is worth acknowledging that Richard John Cory spent almost all his adult life speculating on gold mines, from which it seems he derived little personal wealth. In this regard he is probably representative of the vast majority of Cousin Jacks who made their way to Western Australia hoping to ‘strike it rich’, only to find that very few of them would be able to retire comfortably on the wealth generated from their mining exploits.

The evidence in this chapter represents a changing of the guard in Mid West mining circles from the ‘model man’ in Captain Samuel Mitchell to his one-time brother-in-law, James

²⁶⁶ *Laverton and Beria Mercury*, ‘Newsy’, 6 November 1909, 2.

²⁶⁷ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Linden’s Prospects’, 10 June 1912, 3.

²⁶⁸ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Linden’s Prospects’, 10 June 1912, 3.

²⁶⁹ Richard John Cory was interred in the Kalgoorlie Cemetery on 8 June 1920.

Reynolds. As stated in this thesis, towards the end of his career Captain Mitchell gained a reputation for overstating the value of ore bodies. The Whim Creek copper mine in the Pilbara was one notable example when Mitchell in his capacity as the acting government's inspector of mineral lands for the Victoria District provided a highly speculative report. Although the Whim Creek Mine did produce commercial quantities of copper, it proved to be far from a 'hill of copper that had seldom been seen', particularly when some weeks after Mitchell's report became public, all of the near surface copper ore had vanished. It is noteworthy that Mitchell's overly optimistic report fuelled an already growing sentiment that Cornish miners lacked the scientific ability to match the attainments of a new breed of geologists and mining engineers like Herbert Hoover, who with his cohort of American graduates, was primed to supplant Cornish dominance of the mining industry. Nevertheless, James Reynolds remained a prominent figure in Mid West mining circles, earning a solid reputation for his mining ability. The arrival of Edward Lanyon and Arthur Teague in 1897 proved to be the last occasion that Cornish mining expertise was brought directly to Northampton, ending an almost 50-year association. There can be little doubt that much was expected of Lanyon and Teague and their successful trip to South Australia to raise capital was seen as a harbinger of a revitalised lead mining industry. However, Lanyon and Teague were unable to make any of the mines they worked pay and the pair abandoned the Mid West in 1903. In the final analysis, as James Reynolds pointed out, the Northampton lead mines proved to be extremely rewarding for many Cornish miners and their families. Yet the 'model man', Captain Mitchell, was less successful financially than he ought to have been. There appear to be two overarching reasons for this. First, Mitchell's desire to become something of an antipodean version of his liberal hero, William Gladstone, fell considerably short of that lofty goal and the expense associated with representing people in a remote mining community drained his finances and led him to question whether his extensive public service had been worth the effort. Second, in his later years Mitchell courted controversy by overstating the potential

wealth of the mineral deposits which no doubt prevented him gaining the one position he really coveted – the wardenship of Cue.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY AND MINING FATALITIES

This chapter will explore the life of a native of the small village of Tregeseal near St Just-in-Penwith, Captain William Oats who, after mining in Victoria and New South Wales, became the first mine manager in Western Australia to extract gold from quartz rock and the first to provide a dividend to shareholders. Oats' friend, and a colleague in the Legislative Assembly, Frederic Charles Burleigh Vosper from St Dominic, Cornwall, will also be discussed in this chapter. In the mid 1890s the Eastern Goldfields was becoming a hotbed of political dissent as diggers struggled to overcome a range of impediments that they believed were hindering their ability to make a living. In particular, the presence of a small number of Japanese created a fear that they would open the door to hordes of their countrymen and drive out the white storekeepers and miners if given the chance.¹ To resist such an outcome, Frederic Vosper established the Anti-Asiatic League in Coolgardie in December 1894. In subsequent months Vosper opened branches of the league in Southern Cross, Perth and Fremantle, and attracted many Cousin Jacks to join, including William Oats. After gaining significant support from the diggers Vosper demanded that Premier John Forrest receive a deputation to discuss Asian immigration. The premier declined to meet the deputation, thus igniting a bitter feud with Vosper that would blight their relationship from then on. Moreover, Vosper's leading role in the Gold Diggers' Union and in the Goldfields Protection and Advancement League, which called for free trade in an effort to reduce the cost of imported foodstuffs, and his involvement in the Electoral Registration League, an organisation predicated on the enfranchisement of miners in isolated camps ensured that there were many contentious issues to feud over.

¹ E. Jaggard, 'F.C.B. Vosper' in Lyall Hunt (ed), *Westralian portraits*, 106.

In 1889 William Oats was appointed the first manager of the Fraser's South Mining Company property at Southern Cross. In June 1890 an adjoining property named Fraser's Gold Mine was added to his responsibilities. The discovery of gold at Coolgardie in 1892 and Kalgoorlie in 1893 heralded the arrival of many more Cornish managers from the eastern colonies, most of whom took up underground managerial positions. The Cornish managers had considerable power to 'hire and fire' as they saw fit and, invariably, they tended to favour the employment of Cousin Jacks, often at the expense of other ethnic groups. Although the decision to employ Cousin Jacks was based on hiring the most skilled miners, there was a corresponding risk that Cousin Jacks would be exposed to more dangerous activities than other less skilled miners. Indeed, the work of Roger Burt and Sandra Kippen on miner's health and safety in nineteenth century Cornwall illustrates the risks that Cornish miners were prepared to take in order to maximise their income in the shortest possible time. They found that the high accident rate in Cornish metal mines resulting from mishandled shot-firings, roof collapses, falls from heights or the hazards of working in poorly ventilated 'blind ends' meant that few Cornish miners lived to an old age.² Indeed, newspaper reports in Western Australia paint a similar picture. However, unlike Cornwall the presence in Western Australia of large numbers of Australian miners makes identification of Cornish-Australians problematic unless the miner had a Cornish family name or hailed from an Australian mining town with a large Cornish presence, namely, Bendigo, Ballarat, Broken Hill, Forbes, Cobar, Moonta, Kadina, Wallaroo or Northampton. In any event, Cousin Jacks were more likely to be killed or injured in mining accidents because of their reputation and their propensity to work in gangs.

During the height of the Kalgoorlie gold rush in 1896, the Fremantle-born merchant William Silas Pearse resigned as a member of the Legislative Assembly and sold his substantial

² Roger Burt and Sandra Kippen, 'Rational choice and a lifetime in metal mining: Employment decisions by Nineteenth-Century Cornish miners', 50.

business interests to retire in England. A short time after his arrival there Pearse gave an interview to the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, which was reprinted in the *West Australian* in April 1896. In it Pearse articulated the very substance of group settlement by suggesting that Cornish emigrants seek the assistance of well-placed Cornish people in Western Australia to facilitate their settlement prospects.³ Furthermore, and recognising Cornwall's rural setting, Pearse opined that any energetic young person with little capital could, if they possessed some knowledge of agriculture, build a homestead on 160 acres in the southwest of the colony at virtually no cost provided the land was vigorously worked and improved.⁴ Moreover, there is perhaps an implicit understanding in Pearse's comments that the Cornish had a reputation for sticking together and looking after their own. Indeed, Captain Samuel Mitchell and, to a lesser extent, James Reynolds imported many Cornish settlers to Northampton during their mining careers. Suffice to say, the words of Pearse and the actions of Mitchell and Reynolds indicate that the Cornish reputation for clannishness and for supporting each other appears to be well-founded.

³ *West Australian*, 'Cornish Miners and Western Australia', 2 April 1896, 4.

⁴ *West Australian*, 'Cornish Miners and Western Australia', 2 April 1896, 4.

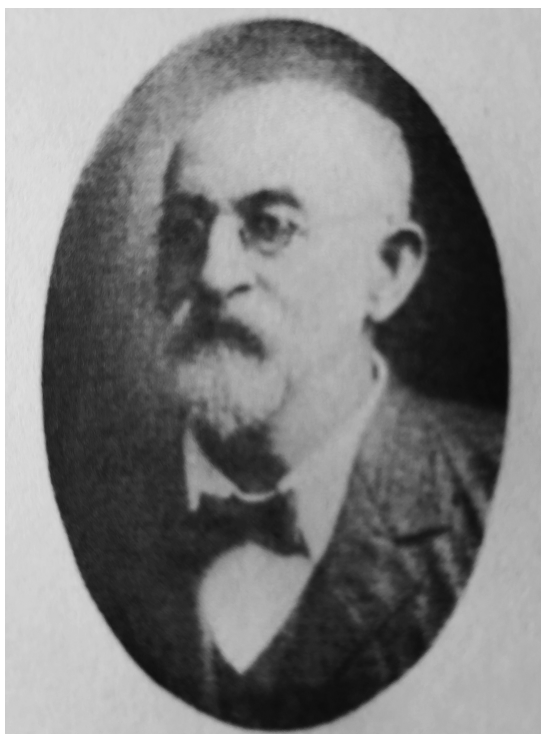


Figure 7: Captain William Oats

(Source: *Biographical Register of Members of WA Parliament 1870–1930*)

In Captain William Oats the Eastern Goldfields had a counterpart to Captain Mitchell in Northampton. However, his origin story contains some inconsistencies. For example, his birth certificate indicates he was born in the Tregeseal Valley near St Just-in-Penwith on 3 May 1838. The rank or profession of his father Richard Oats is given as farmer. However, the 1841 census shows that Richard Oats was working as a tin dresser and that his family was living in a cottage near Holman's foundry in Tregeseal.⁵ This information is at odds with a biographical entry published in Western Australia in 1897 which claims that Richard Oats was a noted local mathematician. A plausible claim given there were many self-taught 'experts' in Cornwall during this period. Whatever the truth, Richard Oats died on 11 August 1842 leaving his wife Jane and his two sons Thomas (1835) and William to fend for

⁵ Warren B. Kimberly, *History of West Australia*, F.W. Niven & Co., Melbourne, 1897, 101. Available at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/History_of_West_Australia/Captain_Oates, accessed 27 September 2017. See also *Southern Cross*, 'Death of Captain Oats', 26 April 1911, 5.

themselves. At the age of 11 William started work at Wheal Owles in St Just. In 1864, when Oats was aged 26, the mine employed 365 people, comprising 90 boys, 45 females and 230 men.⁶ By 1870 William Oats was working as a mine agent and was married to Mary Elizabeth Trevellick (1842), a milliner from St Mary's on the Isles of Scilly. In 1872, their only child, Bertha Mary, was born in St Just.⁷

During his early mining career William Oats was often referenced in the local press in connection with his work at Wheal Owles. However, on two occasions Oats was before the courts. In 1882 he was charged, along with Peter Olds, of assaulting Thomas May at Chapel Street in St Just. Like most young men in Cornwall, Oats was a practiced wrestler and was reported to have 'hitched' May causing both of them to fall to the ground where May sustained a cut to his head.⁸ Notwithstanding the injury to May, the case against Oats and Olds was dismissed after it was determined that May had incited the physical confrontation and was therefore largely responsible for the injury he sustained.⁹ On the second occasion Oats gave evidence on behalf of his cousin Peter Ellis who was petitioning to divorce his wife Elizabeth Ann Ellis on the grounds of adultery. Like many Cornish miners, Peter Ellis had gone to work in South Africa leaving behind his wife and four children in the belief that he could improve the family's financial position. Again, like many Cornish miners, Ellis regularly sent money back to Cornwall for the family's living expenses during his absence. However, during the latter part of 1882 Ellis reduced the remittance money to £5 per month. It appears that Oats had been in contact with his cousin advising him of the developing relationship between his wife and Nicholas Hill. In a follow-up letter to his cousin Oats

⁶ Thomas Spargo, *The mines of Cornwall and Devon: Statistics and observations*, 25–26.

⁷ *Cornish Telegraph*, 'Births Marriages and Deaths', 2 November 1871, 4.

⁸ *Truth*, (Perth) 'Obit. Captain Oats', 29 April 1911, 4. William Oats' fondness for Cornish wrestling was duly referenced in this obituary notice.

⁹ *Cornish Telegraph*, 'Alleged Assault at St. Just', 4 May 1882, 5.

advised Ellis that his wife might be pregnant. As a result of this information, Ellis reduced the amount of money he sent back to his wife. Meanwhile, Oats advised Elizabeth that she should inform her husband of her condition, which she did a month before the child was born. It was later reported that the judge assigned to the divorce proceedings granted an immediate decree for divorce and custody of the Ellis children to Peter Ellis and his mother.¹⁰ As this reveals, many in Cornwall welcomed the money that came from abroad but there was often a social cost that was largely hidden from view. However, in recent years the plight of the women and children left in Cornwall while their husbands worked overseas is beginning to receive the attention it deserves from the academy.¹¹

After the death of his mother in 1884 and prior to the death of his wife Mary Elizabeth in 1885, William Oats met George Lansell, the Bendigo ‘quartz king’, who offered him a position at one of his mines in Bendigo. In December 1886 the *Cornishman* reported that Captain William Oats had left St Just for Australia accompanied by Miss Elizabeth Godolphin Merritt, the former assistant mistress of Cape Cornwall Girls School, who he had recently married.¹² On arrival in Melbourne William and Elizabeth went to Bendigo where Lansell had made his fortune and where many Cornish miners lived and worked. One of these Cornishmen was Senior Inspector of Mines Henry Boyns Nicholas (1829–1898) who hailed from Madron near Penzance. It soon emerged that both men were distantly related, a coincidence that was not unusual but no less welcome as it provided Oats and his wife with the support they needed to settle in Australia.¹³ Suffice to say, Henry Nicholas is credited as the person who provided William Oats with the initial training that enabled him to extract

¹⁰ *Cornishman*, ‘A St. Just Divorce Case in the High Court of Justice’, 14 August 1884, 4.

¹¹ Lesley Trotter, *The married widows of Cornwall: The story of the wives ‘left behind’ by emigration*, Humble History Press, Cornwall, 2018, 1–2.

¹² *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, ‘Marriages’, 3 December 1886, 5.

¹³ *West Australian*, ‘Death of Captain Oats’, 26 April 1911, 6.

gold from quartz rock when Oats eventually moved to Southern Cross. After Bendigo, Oats was appointed by the Adelaide-based directors of the Victory Tin-Mining Company Ltd as the manager of the Victory tin mine at Euriowie in New South Wales.¹⁴ Accordingly, on 3 October 1887 Oats left Adelaide for Silverton and he had arrived safely in Euriowie by 13 October.¹⁵

On arrival, if not before, Oats would have been aware that Charles Thomas was working on behalf of Adelaide interests on the Barrier. Charles Thomas had arrived two months earlier and was in the process of examining tin deposits stretching from Byjerkerno, to the north of Poolamacca, to Pine Paddock and to the south of Wookookaroo Creek.¹⁶ Thomas had earlier worked in the Straits Settlements (Malaya) before arriving in Australia and plying his trade at New Heberton mine in Queensland, followed by a stint in Tasmania and then the Barrier via South Australia.¹⁷ His extensive mining experience soon attracted the attention of the Australian press and numerous press reports mentioned that Thomas was related to Charles and Josiah Thomas, the father and son who ran 'The Queen of Cornish mines', Dolcoath, near Camborne.¹⁸ In his subsequent Australian mining reports Thomas styled himself 'Mr. Charles Thomas M. E. of 38 Cornhill London and East Camborn [*sic*], Cornwall, (tin mining expert)'.¹⁹ After joining forces with Oats the pair co-authored mining reports for both the government and private interests, which were published in Sydney and Adelaide newspapers for the benefit of potential investors.²⁰

¹⁴ *South Australian Register*, 'Mining News', 5 October 1887, 7.

¹⁵ *South Australian Register*, 'The Prospects of Tin-mining on the Barrier', 13 October 1887, 3.

¹⁶ *South Australian Register*, 'The Prospects of Tin-mining on the Barrier', 13 October 1887, 3.

¹⁷ *Mercury*, 'Our Launceston Letter', 8 March 1881, 3.

¹⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 'The Barrier Tinfields', 12 December 1887, 4.

¹⁹ *South Australian Advertiser*, 'Advertising', 5 March 1888, 3.

²⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Advertising', 12 April 1888, 10.

In July 1888 Oats assumed full control of the Stannary Tin Mining Company's mine at Euriowie. By November he had been appointed a justice of the peace, hinting at a prolonged association with New South Wales.²¹ However, despite having the confidence and knowledge to exploit his mining skills, the fickle nature of mining did not always guarantee success. The Stannary Mine was a case in point. It produced meagre quantities of tin and Oats struggled to pump out the water with the equipment at hand. Nevertheless, he thought that with further investment in machinery and sinking two additional shafts to a depth of 300 ft the mine might prove profitable.²² The Adelaide shareholders, with only £369 in reserve, were not inclined to invest the many thousands of pounds needed to prove him right. The company was therefore expeditiously wound up in March 1889 and Oats was forced to look elsewhere for work.²³ On his return to Adelaide Oats visited various mines and inspected machinery, including the new 10-stamp battery installed at the Mount Torrens gold mine.²⁴

Captain Oats' next mining opportunity arrived in the form of the Fraser's South Mining Company property situated near the settlement of Southern Cross in Western Australia. It was at Southern Cross that Oats would bring his experience to bear on extracting the white quartz that indigenous Australians call 'yilgarn'. When Oats arrived at Southern Cross on 18 November 1889 the settlement was, as Geoffrey Blainey points out, little more than a dead-end town inhabited by absconders, debtors and murderers.²⁵ Into this volatile mix Oats recruited a contingent of miners from Sandhurst, present-day Bendigo. Before leaving South Australia, and on behalf of the company, Oats purchased all the tools and equipment he needed and placed an order for the immediate dispatch of a new 10-stamp battery, engine and

²¹ *Adelaide Observer* 'Euriowie', 24 November 1888, 33.

²² *Adelaide Observer*, 'Tin Mining', 16 March 1889, 39.

²³ *Adelaide Observer*, 'Tin Mining', 16 March 1889, 39.

²⁴ *South Australian Chronicle*, 'Starting of the Mount Torrens Machinery', 10 August 1889, 22.

²⁵ *West Australian*, 'Mining News', 13 November 1889, 3. See also Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 172.

boiler from G. E. Fulton & Co. in Adelaide.²⁶ This level of expenditure, which had deterred the Stannary Mine shareholders, most likely invoked a sense of expectation from the Fraser's South Mining Company investors who were seemingly less risk adverse, but no less demanding as Captain Oats was soon to realise.

In June 1890 Oats, with the blessing of the Fraser's South's directors, was appointed the manager of the adjacent Fraser goldmine. This mine, along with Fraser's South, had been named after Hugh Fraser, the original discoverer who held half the shares and was one of three elected directors of Fraser's gold mine, having sold his interest in Fraser's South.²⁷ Notwithstanding the considerable investment in men and machinery, the ensuing 12 months saw an increasingly acrimonious relationship develop between disgruntled shareholders and Hugh Fraser over the latter's reluctance to invest further.²⁸ It was during the commissioning of the Adelaide-built 10-stamp battery at Fraser's Gold Mine in August 1891 that Captain Oats felt compelled to justify the mine's lengthy development to the shareholders. Using a quip that was intended to highlight his long-term strategy of creating ore reserves,²⁹ Oats noted that it would be foolish to go down 1000 ft before obtaining all the gold at 50 ft, as some shareholders had wanted him to do.³⁰ While Oats attempted to justify his systematic approach to mine development there were, as Oats himself claimed, other forces at play that called into question the motivation behind some of the demands that the owners and directors placed on the mine manager. In September 1891 Oats resigned, or was dismissed, from his position as manager at Fraser's gold mine after a confrontation with Hugh Fraser. The

²⁶ *Adelaide Observer*, 'Meetings', 16 November 1889, 39.

²⁷ *Western Mail*, 'Fraser's G. M. Company', 4 May 1889, 42.

²⁸ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Correspondence' 19 February 1890, 5. See also *Victorian Express*, 'Fraser's', 1 March 1890, 6.

²⁹ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 124.

³⁰ *Eastern Districts Chronicle*, 'Fraser's G. M. Company', 22 August 1891, 6. See also *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Fraser's G. M. Company', 4 March 1891, 4; and Martyn Webb and Audrey Webb, *Golden destiny: The centenary history of Kalgoorlie-Boulder and the Eastern Goldfields of Western Australia*, City of Kalgoorlie-Boulder, 1993, 36.

adjacent Fraser's South gold mine was a separate entity and Oats remained its manager for another four years. The accusation levelled at Oats by Fraser that prompted his departure was that he was unable to manage both mines and supervise the combined workforce of 70 men at the same time.³¹ However, Oats directed shareholders to the substantial work he had undertaken and the recent dividend of £1250 that had been realised, the first in the colony, and the debt that he had repaid, plus the credit balance on hand. On the question of his ability to manage a large workforce, Oats stated that he had considerable experience managing upwards of 500 people during his tenure at Wheal Owles.³² Furthermore, Oats claimed that his departure had nothing to do with his performance, but was linked to the unethical behaviour of one of the directors.

On the substance of the dispute which has been discussed in some detail elsewhere it is only necessary to provide a brief overview of the most salient points.³³ The charge against Hugh Fraser, who identified himself as the director in question, was that he had wagered a sum of money on that fortnight's returns (ore production) not exceeding a certain amount of ounces. To that end he had asked Captain Oats to take high grade ore from a specific part of the mine and place it in a less valuable pile to ensure that he would win his bet, a ploy known as 'salting'.³⁴ According to Oats he refused to comply and therefore had little choice other than to resign. It should be acknowledged that Fraser did not deny he gambled on such outcomes, but that he could not recall this particular incident. He did, however, expand on his reasons for dismissing Oats by providing a list of counterclaims to those made by Oats. In the final analysis Fraser admitted that he often gambled on matters pertaining to the profitability of the mine, which seems to vindicate the claims made by Oats. However, the dispute was not the

³¹ *Western Mail*, 'The Working of Fraser's Mine', 17 October 1891, 21.

³² *Western Mail*, 'The Working of Fraser's Mine', 17 October 1891, 21.

³³ Martyn Webb and Audrey Webb, *Golden destiny*, 53.

³⁴ *Western Mail*, 'Fraser's Mine', 7 November 1891, 14.

first occasion that a mine captain had publicly complained about the dishonest and unethical conduct of a principal shareholder.³⁵ That particular distinction should go to Captain Rowland Rodda who went to the press with a similar claim that directors, with the alleged connivance of government officials, were ‘blowing bubbles’ or overstating the richness of their mines in the 1860s.³⁶ Nevertheless, the concerns of Oats and Rodda would pale into insignificance as copious British investment during the mid 1890s saw many questionable mining companies never pay a dividend.

By 1892 Captain Oats was already 54 years old and the nature of the country to the north and east of Southern Cross meant that he was content to offer his services as a mining consultant. The next major gold find was that made by Arthur Bayley and William Ford at Coolgardie in 1892. This was quickly followed by that of Patrick Hannan, Tom Flanagan and Dan O’Shea at Kalgoorlie in 1893. Despite the controversy at his last mine Oats was appointed as consulting engineer to the Associated Gold Mines, Hannans’ Proprietary Group, Brookman’s Boulder, Lake View and the Great Boulder, the last as its first manager.³⁷ A probable factor in his growing reputation and that of another Cornishman, Camborne-born Captain George Prout, was that they were the only experts to report favourably on the enormously rich Great Boulder group of mines.³⁸ Admittedly, both worked for Samuel W. Pearce and were therefore in a position to claim some of the credit for the Great Boulder discovery. Nevertheless, this discovery was a great boon to their careers, especially as other mining experts had confidently predicted the land that formed part of the Golden Mile was of little consequence and more suited to a ‘sheep run’.

³⁵ Martyn Webb and Audrey Webb, *Golden destiny*, 54.

³⁶ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 27 June 1860, 2.

³⁷ *Southern Cross*, ‘Captain William Oats, MLA’, 20 April 1901, 1.

³⁸ J.J. Pascoe, *History of Adelaide and Vicinity*, Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide, 1901, 511. Available at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/2092654?selectedversion=NBD2076367>, accessed 16 October 2017.

After the Great Boulder discovery it was believed in some quarters that a prospectus without the personal imprimatur of Captain William Oats had little chance of attracting British capital.³⁹ Indeed, the tone of the Kanowna Carbine Gold Mining Co. prospectus in 1896 indicates that Oats was very adept at ‘talking up’ his client’s discoveries:

Taking into consideration the valuable prospects obtained from this reef at the various points opened up. There can be no doubt that when systematically developed to a greater depth this will prove one of the most valuable properties in the Kanowna district. I can highly recommend it to speculators as a sound mining investment.⁴⁰

It should be acknowledged, however, that not everyone had a high opinion of Captain Oats or in his ability to pick a profitable mine. One editorial took exception to Oats denigrating Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie by forecasting that ‘by-and-bye’ both towns would become respectable, thus insinuating that they were not yet respectable. The editor of the *Coolgardie Miner*, Alfred ‘Fred’ Chandler, suggested that previous forecasts attributed to Oats had been ‘wide of the mark’, including some ‘floats’ that had failed to eventuate, and that Oats’ powers of prophecy were ‘not worth a Niagara dam’.⁴¹ Despite the criticism, Oats and Cornish mine captains in general were in high demand in Australia and abroad. In the same year that Oats published the above prospectus he accompanied the American prospector Leslie Robert Menzies, after whom the Menzies Goldfield was named, to the Barossa Valley in South Australia. Menzies had already visited the Royal Phoenix Mine on two previous occasions and the high value he placed on the opinion of Oats was borne out almost immediately when Menzies formed the Menzies Barossa Gold Mining Syndicate. The Menzies syndicate was largely responsible for producing South Australia’s own brief but frenzied gold rush.⁴² After his South Australian sojourn Oats returned to Western Australia to embark on a political

³⁹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Mining and Finance’, 17 June 1896, 3.

⁴⁰ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Advertising’, 3 August 1896, 7.

⁴¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘A Respectable Place’, 1 October 1897, 4.

⁴² *South Australian Register*, ‘Gold Mines in South Australia’, 26 June 1896, 6. After significant investment, including the construction of the largest stamps in Australia, the Menzies Barossa Mine closed in 1901 after it failed to meet its over-hyped expectations. In this instance Oats was the first of many mining experts from WA to assert that the mine was rich in gold.

career, where he wrote a pamphlet entitled *The immediate future of West Australia and our mining prospects*.⁴³ Meanwhile, his erstwhile colleague Captain George Prout had moved to the Norseman area.



Figure 8: Captain George Prout

(Source: History of Adelaide and Vicinity: with a general sketch of the province of South Australia and biographies of representative men, Pascoe J.J. 1901, Available: <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-32986578/view?partId=nla.obj-33000636>)

A biography of George Prout claims that his first mining job was as a 7-year-old ore-dresser at Peach's Mine at Glen Osmond in South Australia.⁴⁴ Aged 10, Prout was working with his father at Burra. In the following decade the father and son lived and worked at various mining centres in Victoria, including Castlemaine, Campbells Creek, Avoca and, finally, Talbot

⁴³ *Western Mail*, 'The Mining Bill, Mr W Oats' views', 28 October 1898, 48.

⁴⁴ J.J. Pascoe, *History of Adelaide and Vicinity*, 511.

where George Prout Snr settled on a farm. His son continued the nomadic life of a miner, taking up the ‘pick and shovel’ at Clunes before moving to Ballarat and then to the Mount Davenport Mine in North Queensland followed by the Mount Brown gold mine in New South Wales. Eventually, like many of his contemporaries, Prout was drawn to Western Australia by the lure of gold. In 1893 Samuel W. Pearce in partnership with William G. Brookman found and pegged out what would become some of the richest mines on the Eastern Goldfields.⁴⁵ Despite Captain Prout’s biography stating that he was in Western Australia as early as 1893, there is little evidence to show that he was.⁴⁶ On the contrary, there was at least one ‘tongue in cheek’ assertion made in January 1894 by a wag at the *Barrier Miner* to the effect that Captain George Prout was ‘undoubtedly the last prominent mining man to head for the goldfields’, following the news that he was about to leave for Coolgardie.⁴⁷ At some point, whether in Coolgardie or after he had briefly returned to Adelaide in 1894, Captain Prout joined the Pearce Prospecting Syndicate and embarked on their 1894 expedition. It is likely that Samuel Pearce knew Captain Prout and his father as both men were widely known in mining circles and in the Wesleyan Church.⁴⁸ Likewise, Pearce was no stranger to the South Australian Cornish community having married Mary Williams, the daughter of Cornish miner Samuel Williams and his wife Rebecca Williams (née Cocking) at Kapunda in 1867.⁴⁹ Still, it was while Pearce was prospecting the waterless country between Coolgardie and Dundas that he discovered and named the Lady Mary Mine, near Norseman, in honour of his wife. After six months of prospecting Pearce returned to Adelaide with his son James in April 1895, leaving Captain Prout in charge of the Lady Mary Mine.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 316.

⁴⁶ J.J. Pascoe, *History of Adelaide and Vicinity*, 513.

⁴⁷ *Barrier Miner*, ‘Moustaches and Crime’, 10 January 1894, 3.

⁴⁸ *Express and Telegraph*, ‘The Late Mr. George Prout’, 18 April 1898, 2.

⁴⁹ *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer*, ‘BMD’, 12 July 1867, 2.

⁵⁰ *Daily News*, ‘The Golden West’, 17 April 1895, 3.

Captain Prout remained the manager of the Lady Mary and the Lady Mary South Mines until 1896, at which point he was asked to hand over all the books and was replaced. At the time Prout speculated that a rumour of his impending departure for Cornwall had caused the company attorney (Mr Quan) to act hastily and terminate his contract.⁵¹ However, the termination of Prout's contract occurred just as the Lady Mary Mine was about to be floated on the Perth Stock Exchange, and it was perhaps felt expedient from a business point of view to have a manager who was not intending to leave. Nonetheless, Prout's 'dismissal' was greeted with degree of incredulity in the mining fraternity given the high esteem in which he was held.⁵² Likewise, in community circles Prout was no less respected: he had been elected as the first chairman of the Norseman Progress Committee. Prout also contributed financially to the building of the first United Methodist Church at Norseman in 1896, the first such church in the Australian colonies.⁵³ Prout was on hand when the first Methodist minister, Rev. Thomas Allen, was appointed. Although not Cornish by birth, Allen had spent many years in Cornwall before moving to South Australia and ministering to the Cornish communities of Kapunda, Burra and Moonta.⁵⁴ It is therefore conceivable that Prout and Rev. Allen already knew each other and why Prout was invited to speak about the religious instruction he received on the Victorian goldfields and the pioneering work of his father at the dedication ceremony on 4 October 1896.

However, by the first quarter of 1897, Captain Prout was already back in Adelaide and the Rev. Allen had taken up a post in Kalgoorlie.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the Cornish connection to

⁵¹ *Norseman Pioneer*, 'The Lady Mary Mine', 10 October 1896, 4.

⁵² *Norseman Pioneer*, 'The Lady Mary Mine', 10 October 1896, 4. See also *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Items of News', 20 October 1896, 2. In the first newspaper account Captain Prout has been superseded, while the second claims he severed his managerial connection.

⁵³ *Norseman Pioneer*, 'Opening of the United Methodist Church', 10 October 1896, 5. The Bible Christians, Wesleyan Methodists and the Primitive Methodists decided to combine in Western Australia to form the United Methodists.

⁵⁴ *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 'The Rev. Thomas Allen', 8 January 1904, 7.

⁵⁵ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Norseman Methodist Church Jubilee', 18 October 1945, 1.

Norseman was immediately re-established at the United Methodist Church, when the Truro-born Rev. Robert Johns Daddow was appointed the next minister.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, another Cornishman, Captain Tom Tregoweth, the manager of the Norseman Reward Mine, became an active member of the congregation and also was the president of the Norseman Hospital Committee.⁵⁷ Around the same time, Cornishman William 'Bill' Treloar, who had been a leading member of the Ballarat Stock Exchange, was appointed manager of the nearby Princes Royal Mine in 1899.⁵⁸ Treloar later became a well-known justice of the peace in Kalgoorlie, before his death in 1909.⁵⁹ Captain Prout, meanwhile, had left Adelaide for England in 1897, essentially to patent an ore-crushing machine, but also to promote Western Australia by embarking on a lecture tour. However, he abandoned both after failing to have his patent registered.⁶⁰ Although George Prout's period in the west was relatively brief, he left a legacy of good deeds, particularly at Norseman. He retired to his Adelaide home, the appropriately named Camborne Villa on Fullarton Road, and died in 1914, aged 75.⁶¹

In 1892 William Oats took his first tentative steps towards a political career when he became the chairman of the Yilgarn Roads Board.⁶² In that August Oats lost to Dr Victor Black by seven votes when he attempted to become the first chairman of the Southern Cross Municipal Council.⁶³ This was a temporary setback as in 1893 Oats was elected chairman, before repeating the feat again at the 1894 election.⁶⁴ It was during the 1894 election that the role of chairman assumed the more lofty title of mayor of Southern Cross. In 1895 Oats did not stand for re-election and Isidore James Knight Cohn, the foremost mail contractor servicing the

⁵⁶ *Adelaide Observer*, 'Rev. R. J. Daddow', 11 April 1896, 14.

⁵⁷ *Norseman Pioneer*, 'Methodist Church', 16 October 1897, 7.

⁵⁸ *Norseman Times*, 'Princess Royal G.M. Co.', 6 September 1907, 3.

⁵⁹ *Evening Star*, 'Captain Treloar', 23 January 1909, 3.

⁶⁰ *Petersburg Times*, 'Mines and Mining', 27 August 1897, 5.

⁶¹ *Advertiser*, 'Personal', 8 July 1914, 14.

⁶² *Eastern Districts Chronicle*, 'General News', 26 March 1892, 5.

⁶³ *West Australian*, 'The Municipal Council of Southern Cross', 16 August 1892, 3.

⁶⁴ *West Australian*, 'Government Gazette', 1 December 1894, 3.

goldfields, was elected. Both Oats and Cohn nominated for the Legislative Assembly seat of Yilgarn in the 1897 election.

Following the influx of thousands of prospectors to the goldfields, many of them Cousin Jacks, it was deemed necessary to change the electoral boundaries for the seat of Yilgarn. This change was part of the Constitution Act Amendment Act, 1896 which stipulated the creation of six electorates in the newly established North-East Province. The new electorates were the Coolgardie, East Coolgardie, North Coolgardie, North-East Coolgardie, Dundas and Yilgarn Electoral Districts.⁶⁵ During the 1897 election campaign Captain Oats, perhaps aware that miners had the understandable reputation of moving to greener pastures once the valuable ore had been mined out, made the following public statement to assuage any fears that he would likewise abandon Western Australia once he had accumulated sufficient wealth:

I am not that kind of man, W.A. is my adopted country, and in W.A. I'm going to live and die. Besides, look at the mines—the W.A. mining industry is only in its swaddling clothes.⁶⁶

It is debatable whether the commitment that Captain Oats made to stay in Western Australia had any real impact on the election result, given the transient nature of the electorate, many of whom were miners from the east of the continent. The same could not be said for the suggestion that one of the other two candidates was a supporter of Asiatic labour. That candidate was Mayor Isidore Cohn, the mail contractor who owned around 600 camels and employed over 60 men, many of them Afghans, on nation building infrastructure projects like the overland telegraph line. There is little evidence that Oats directly accused Cohn of privileging Asiatic labour over white labour. Oats was, nonetheless, in favour of a white

⁶⁵ Western Australian Statutes, Constitution Act Amendment Act, 1896, assented to 8 October 1896. Available at [https://www.slp.wa.gov.au/pco/prod/filestore.nsf/FileURL/mrdoc_14540.pdf/\\$FILE/Constitution%20Act%20Amendment%20Act%201896%20-%20%5B00-00-00%5D.pdf?OpenElement](https://www.slp.wa.gov.au/pco/prod/filestore.nsf/FileURL/mrdoc_14540.pdf/$FILE/Constitution%20Act%20Amendment%20Act%201896%20-%20%5B00-00-00%5D.pdf?OpenElement), accessed 25 October 2017.

⁶⁶ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Captain Oats', 6 May 1897, 3.

labour policy and made statements in that vein that would now be considered utterly racist and unacceptable.⁶⁷ At the time, however, such public utterances would have found favour with most miners, in particular the members of the fledgling Coolgardie Anti-Asiatic League such as Frederic Vosper.

Oats won the seat of Yilgarn with 115 votes with the other two candidates, Cohn and Leckie, garnering 89 and 22 votes, respectively. Isidore Cohn immediately challenged Oats on the grounds that the returning officer, Dr Black, had disqualified certain voters who were entitled to vote and that Oats had been present at the polling station much longer than was necessary for him to cast a vote.⁶⁸ Oats and Black each strenuously denied the allegations. It is worth recalling that Dr Victor Black was not only a medical practitioner and the warden of Yilgarn and, therefore, the local magistrate, but he had also been the chairman of the Southern Cross Municipal Council in 1892 after beating Oats by seven votes. None of which suggests impropriety on his part, but it does indicate a longstanding relationship or even a personal friendship with Oats.⁶⁹ The legal proceedings were concluded at the Supreme Court on 26 August 1897. The Full Court deliberated for 10 minutes and found that, notwithstanding some important matters on which judgment was reserved, on the main point William Oats was confirmed as the elected member for Yilgarn.⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that following the 1897 election, three Cornishmen would take their seats in the Western Australian Legislative Assembly: Oats (Yilgarn), Samuel Mitchell (Murchison) and , Frederic Vosper (North-East Coolgardie).

⁶⁷ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Captain Oats', 6 May 1897, 3.

⁶⁸ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'The Yilgarn Election', 5 June 1897, 5.

⁶⁹ *West Australian*, 'Dr. Victor Black, R.M.', 3 May 1901, 6.

⁷⁰ *Daily News*, 'The Yilgarn Election', 27 August 1897, 3.



Figure 9: Frederic Charles Burleigh Vosper
(Source: *Coolgardie Pioneer*, 15 May 1897, 24.)

Frederic Vosper was born in 1869, the son of inventor Charles W. Vosper who was a mechanical engineer and sewing machine manufacturer by profession.⁷¹ Prior to migrating to Queensland in 1886, Vosper spent a little over six months in the Royal Navy as a rating aboard the training ship HMS *Lion*. His enlistment record indicates that 16-year-old Vosper added two years to his age and was a mere 5 ft 3½ inches tall.⁷² After finding the navy ‘unsuitable’ and holding a statutory right to leave before his 18th birthday, he left the Royal Navy and arrived in Queensland on 3 August, 1886. Vosper worked at a timber mill and as a drover, miner and boundary rider before becoming a journalist and sub-editor at the *Northern Miner* in Charters Towers. As well as journalism, there is the suggestion that Vosper earned additional income from consultancy work as a mining engineer and geologist.⁷³ However,

⁷¹ *North Devon Journal*, 19 October 1922, 5. Charles Vosper received a silver medal at the Royal Cornwall Show, as did Alexander Graham Bell for his ‘Telephone’. *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 31 August 1877, 5.

⁷² National Archives of the UK, *Royal Navy Registers of Seamen’s Services*; Class: ADM 188; Piece: 182 Available at http://www.search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60522&h=643894&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=ffA759&_phstart=successSource, accessed 30 October 2017. See also E. Jaggard, ‘F.C.B. Vosper’ in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian portraits*, 105. The author describes him as being ‘much taller than average, he was very thin and his prominent, clean-shaven jaw set off his long, curling black hair’.

⁷³ Paul D. Twomey, ‘The sedition trials of F.C.B. Vosper’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Queensland*, 12:2, 1985, 203.

there is little evidence to suggest that Vosper had any practical mining experience beyond that gained in Queensland. From his later interests it is clear that Vosper's mining expertise was largely academic and was probably acquired through the books and journals that pertained to his father's engineering business. This probably explains why he opted for journalism in Western Australia, first on the *Murchison Miner* at Cue and, from mid 1894, as the editor of the *Coolgardie Miner*. He was forced to leave Queensland where his anti-establishment brand of journalism had seen him acquitted of seditious libel after two trials in 1891, but then being sentenced soon after to 3 months hard labour for inciting a riot during the 1892 Charters Towers miners' strike.⁷⁴ Despite imprisonment, Frederic Vosper remained resolute in arguing for the rights of workers, which he continued to do almost immediately on arrival in Western Australia. Only ten days after arriving Vosper made his first public appearance at a Democratic Club meeting at the Working Men's Institute in Perth on 4 August 1893. Vosper's remarks at the meeting, some of which were roundly applauded, included a declaration that he was a committed republican and that he favoured universal suffrage and the abolition of parliament's upper chamber, although the chairman of the Democratic Club was quick to disavow the organisation's support for such views.⁷⁵ However, it was Vosper's stance on Asian immigration that made him one of the most charismatic political figures of his day and a rallying point for Cousin Jacks on the Eastern Goldfields.⁷⁶

In late 1894 anti-Asian sentiment had moved from Queensland to become an issue in Western Australia, with Frederic Vosper the prime instigator. In a well-attended open-air meeting of miners at Coolgardie, Vosper not only fulminated against non-white immigration, but he also singled out the Afghan population as being incompatible with British values due to their

⁷⁴ *Telegraph*, 'Release of Vosper', 24 November 1892, 4.

⁷⁵ *West Australian*, 'The Franchise Question', 5 August 1893, 2.

⁷⁶ Eric Richards, *Britannia's children*, 196.

religious practices. His position harked back to the Victorian gold rush when Chinese miners had been similarly vilified and attacked before the Victorian government was forced to restrict Chinese immigration to prevent further unrest.⁷⁷ With history on his side, it is little wonder that Vosper gained a lot of support from Cousin Jacks who were the dominant force on the Eastern Goldfields.⁷⁸ One of them, Captain William John Beaglehole who hailed from Breage near Helston, had arrived in Western Australia in 1893 to manage Bayley's Reward Mine, after working in Victoria and South Australia.

In Coolgardie Captain Beaglehole's reputation was such that he was given the role of chairman as thousands of miners converged on Edwards Hotel on 4 May 1895 to demand an end to Asian immigration. Captain Beaglehole was initially reluctant to serve as chairman until he received assurances that the meeting would hear all sides of the argument and he would remain neutral. The major issue for those present was the refusal of Premier John Forrest to see a deputation from the Anti-Asiatic League, which was seen as a tacit acceptance that it was only a matter of time before cheap non-white labour would be hired to work in the mines.⁷⁹ Following a number of speeches including one from Frederic Vosper, a resolution was moved condemning the premier and calling for a ban on Afghan and Asian immigration. Beaglehole asked if anyone wanted to speak in favour of Afghans and Asians. Mr Goodrich suggested that 'if a deputation was to be sent, why not an Englishman with it! Vosper is no more a representative Englishman than an Afghan'.⁸⁰ Whether Goodrich's comment was a reference to Vosper's Cornish background or merely questioning his sense of fair play is open to conjecture. Nevertheless, the meeting erupted in uproar and Goodrich was not allowed to speak further. Beaglehole then put the resolution to the vote and requested that those in favour

⁷⁷ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 88-89.

⁷⁸ Edwin Jaggard, 'Bread and democracy: F.C.B. Vosper in the Roaring Nineties', *Westerly*, 4, 35.

⁷⁹ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Anti-Asiatic League', 6 May 1895, 3.

⁸⁰ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Anti-Asiatic League', 6 May 1895, 3.

raise both arms. It was observed that 2000 arms were immediately raised signifying that the resolution had been carried unanimously.

Captain William Oats was a founding member of the Anti-Asiatic League of Coolgardie, although it is not known if he was present at Edwards Hotel on 4 May 1895. Oats was nevertheless generous in his praise of Vosper for rousing the miners against non-white people and all but ensuring his own election victory as the member for Yilgarn in 1897. While campaigning for the 1904 state election, Captain Oats was happy to remind people of his role in establishing the Anti-Asiatic League and how honoured he felt to have worked with Frederic Vosper.⁸¹ The significant Cornish contribution to the Anti-Asiatic League and the resultant federal Immigration Restriction Act, 1901, later known as the ‘White Australia Policy’, was not limited to Oats, Vosper or the reluctant Beaglehole. Cornish-Australian George Foster Pearce, who was then the secretary of the Trades and Labour Council in Western Australia, was also a noted anti-Asian campaigner. Pearce was the son of James Pearce who had been born in Alternun in Cornwall on 22 November 1832. After migrating to South Australia aboard the *Ascendant* in 1851, James Pearce trained as a blacksmith and married Jane Foster at Mount Barker in 1861.⁸² George Pearce, the fifth of 11 children, was born at Mount Barker on January 14, 1870. At the age of 22 and a qualified carpenter, Pearce decided to try his luck on the Western Australian goldfields following a downturn in the South Australian economy. He arrived in the west in April 1892. After spending a fruitless period searching for gold, he returned to his carpentry trade and joined the Perth branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Over the next few years Pearce advanced in the union movement and eventually became president and then secretary of the local Trades and Labour Council. In 1895 he was asked to inform the Anti-Asiatic League that the union

⁸¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘South Province Election’, 25 May 1904, 3.

⁸² *Mount Barker Courier and Onkaparinga and Gumeracha Advertiser*, ‘Mr. James Pearce’, 18 April 1919, 2.

body wanted to cooperate fully on any measure that would restrict Asiatic immigration.⁸³

While engaging with the Anti-Asiatic League, Pearce first met William Oats and befriended Frederic Vosper. Later, with the endorsement of the Trades and Labour Council, George Pearce was elected on 29 March 1901 as a free trader and Labor Party member of the Senate in the first Australian Parliament.

While the Anti-Asiatic League and the Trades and Labour Council were as one in excluding people from Australia on racial grounds, the union movement had the additional goal of wanting a fair wage for its members. According to the prevailing union orthodoxy, the best way to maintain a fair wage was to promote worker solidarity in an effort to combat the greater resources of capital. With that objective uppermost in his mind, George Pearce used the slogan ‘Tell the boys to pull together’ which is very similar in sentiment to the Cornish motto ‘One and All’.⁸⁴ As Payton argues, the Moonta Miners Association had previously evoked the Cornish motto for similar purposes during the 1874 Moonta miners’ strike.⁸⁵ Pearce, as a former organiser of the Petersburg branch of the Labor Party and the son of a Cornishman, knew only too well the significance of ‘One and All’.⁸⁶ Moreover, its common usage to convey unity of purpose suggests that many people in Western Australia were also aware of its significance. Although George Pearce, John Holman and John Scaddan readily expressed their socialist values, people born in Cornwall tended to be more independent in their politics. Vosper, for one, considered himself an independent liberal and free trader. Although Vosper was not unfamiliar with the work of Karl Marx and often expressed socialist views, he was also a devotee of William Gladstone and John Stuart Mill.⁸⁷ Despite his liberal

⁸³ *WA Record*, ‘Trades and Labour Council’, 6 April 1895, 7.

⁸⁴ *Westralian Worker*, ‘The Bearers of Labor’s Banner’, 8 February 1901, 2.

⁸⁵ Philip Payton, *One and All*, 103–04.

⁸⁶ *Westralian Worker*, ‘The Bearers of Labor’s Banner’, 8 February 1901, 2. Petersburg’s name was changed to Peterborough in 1917 in response to anti-German sentiment.

⁸⁷ *Coolgardie Mining Review*, ‘Mr. Vosper on Politics’, 3 October 1896, 6.

leanings, Vosper was a passionate defender of the rights of alluvial miners, which set him against the vested interests of the mine owners and the landed elite of Perth. Another Cornish-born member of the Legislative Assembly, Albert Thomas, considered himself an independent liberal, opposed to the narrow focus of socialist ideology, while also rejecting the conservative side of politics.⁸⁸ George Pearce, however, was first and foremost a Labor free trader as was Josiah Thomas in New South Wales: both wanted to reduce the tax burden on working Australians by opposing protectionist policies that kept local prices high.⁸⁹ Despite their other political and ideological differences, it is not unreasonable to conclude that, by and large, all of them supported what was later termed the 'White Australia Policy'.⁹⁰

By the mid 1890s Cousin Jacks provided the bulk of the underground managers and a large number of goldfields workers. However, the arrival of Bewick, Moreing & Co., who took over the management of upwards of 20 major goldmines, severely curtailed the ability of Cornish managers to determine who they employed. The British company turned to the young American mining engineer, Herbert Clark Hoover, to implement its progressive work practices in the mines it owned and operated in Western Australia.⁹¹ The situation before Herbert Hoover arrived is best summed up in a speech made at the Mining Managers Association Social in 1901 by the highly respected warden of Kalgoorlie, the Irish-born, John Michael Finnerty:

In the early days of the fields nearly every mining manager was a Cornishman, and a Cornish miner coming from anywhere was almost sure of getting a job on a mine that

⁸⁸ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Coming General Election', 17 October 1905, 2.

⁸⁹ Phil Griffiths, 'Labor's tortured path to protectionism', Paper submitted to the Sixth Biennial National Labour History Conference, Wollongong, 1999. Available at <https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1020&context=labour1999>, accessed on 25 February 2019.

⁹⁰ *Southern Times*, 'Trades Labour Council', 13 April 1895, 3.

⁹¹ Geoffrey Blainey, *The golden mile*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 1993, 202.

had a Cornish boss; for those who did not happen to be ‘Cousin Jacks’ had to make room for those who were.⁹²

As Warden Finnerty’s remarks indicate, Cousin Jack’s domination of the Eastern Goldfields saw a veritable ‘conga line’ of Cornish-trained mine captains and miners at most of the big mines. The biggest, the Great Boulder, was no exception and during different stages of its early development Cornish mine captains managed the underground work. Those connected to the Great Boulder Mine include William Oats, Bill Roberts, John (Jack) Warrick, William Beaglehole, John Dunstan and Edward Skewes. Other Cornish mine captains mentioned in the record include Jonathan Bray, Martin Carkeek, James ‘Jim’ Craze, William Henry East, Joseph James East, William Hambley, Alfred Henry Harvey, Tom Horton, Jos Liddicoat, Herbert Marshall Lowry, William Henry Mathews, William Nankivell, Alf Northey, Jack Pascoe, Thomas Pascoe, Frederick Rodda, William Henry Rodda, Charles Thomas Rowe, William Rowe, Merts Trebilcock, James Tregurtha, Charles Truscott and Tom Warren. Moreover, there were mine captains or managers like Thomas Gilbert Pearce at Richmond Gem, the Irish Lily, the Lady Loch and the Easter Gift, John Treloar at Reefer’s Eureka and Hannan’s Brown Hill, and Charles Trevena of Chas Trevena & Co., Coolgardie, the promoter of McAuliffe’s Reward and the Duke of Westminster Reef, who made significant fortunes after transitioning from mining into mine ownership.⁹³ Meanwhile, William Harris from Perranzabuloe and Robert Williams from St Germans gained a modicum of fame when they discovered the Devon Consols Joker, a 303 oz gold nugget, at Black Flag in 1895. Although, both men continued to prospect further finds proved elusive and William Harris eventually

⁹² *Evening Star*, ‘Mining Managers Association Social’, 8 March 1901, 3. John Michael Finnerty married Captain Oats’s daughter, Bertha Mary, at Southern Cross in 1891.

⁹³ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 319–20. See also *Inquirer and Commercial News*, ‘McAuliffe’s Reward Mine’, 22 November 1895, 7; and *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Items of News’, 6 March 1896, 2.

returned to South Australia, while Robert Williams resumed work at his Gladstone tin mine lease at Dumpling Gully, Greenbushes where a number of Cornish miners had settled.⁹⁴

It is not often realised that Cousin Jacks suffered proportionally more deaths and injuries from mine-related accidents and illnesses than any other group of miners. Although Cousin Jacks derived some mutual benefit by working with family and friends, they suffered accordingly when accidents occurred. The number of mine-related deaths and injuries was probably in the thousands given the protracted death rate from ‘miner’s complaint’ or more formally, silicosis as the disease could take 10-30 years for symptoms to become apparent.⁹⁵ In May 1898 William Langdon Polmear and Joseph Langdon Polmear were working with a fellow miner Richard Munn at the Great Boulder Perseverance Mine on the Golden Mile. The Polmear brothers were born in Moonta, the sons of William John Langdon Polmear who had been born in Landrake near Saltash and Jane Polmear (née Williams) from St Just-in-Penwith. At approximately 11 pm on 9 May William Polmear narrowly avoided being killed when a large quantity of stone gave way from the surface and fell 70 ft to the mine floor. Unfortunately, Richard Munn was crushed to death. Much was made of William’s good fortune. According to a contemporary report, after sensing danger William had instinctively jumped to one side and miraculously survived. Joseph Polmear was some distance away and was never in danger.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, William Polmear’s miraculous escape was not to last.

⁹⁴ *West Australian*, ‘Mining News’, 18 January 1896, 6. See also *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Personal’, 25 June 1908, 4; and *Western Mail*, ‘Greenbushes’, 13 August 1915, 20. Captains John Dunstan and John Treglown also spent some time in Greenbushes. See *Southern Times*, ‘Bridgetown Notes’, 5 March 1889, 5.

⁹⁵ Beris Penrose, ‘The state and gold miners’ health in Victoria, 1870-1910’, *Labour History*, 101, 2011, 35. See also Cheryl Hayden, ‘Cousin Jack: Postmodern hero or problem child?’, *Australian Celtic Journal*, 8, 2002, 28.

⁹⁶ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, ‘Another Mining Accident’, 12 May 1898, 21

On 28 September 1900 William Polmear's father-in-law, Thomas Glasson, was paralysed from the waist down when he was crushed by a large rock that fell from a shoot at the Great Boulder Mine.⁹⁷ The 57-year-old Glasson lingered in hospital for almost another month before he passed away. Coincidentally, on the same day that Glasson was badly injured, another Cornish miner, Thomas Henry Kitt, was killed by a falling rock at Block 50, Hampton Plains.⁹⁸ Thomas Glasson was a prominent member of the Boulder Methodist Church, the Boulder Masonic Lodge and the Hope of the West Tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites. His well-attended funeral turned in to notable local event with three prominent Methodist ministers speaking at his funeral.⁹⁹ One of them, the Penzance-born Rev. John G. Jenkin, was well known from Geraldton to Kalgoorlie for emphasising the delights of his birthplace and Cornish exceptionalism. He staged popular lectures on 'Cornwall and its people' and had a well-founded reputation for delivering the right sermon for the right occasion.¹⁰⁰ The local undertaker was the Bodmin-born Isaac William Goss who arrived on the goldfields from South Australia in 1896 and established his business I.W. Goss & Co on Piesse Street, Boulder near the soon-to-be-built Queen's Methodist Church. Goss and lay-preacher William Polmear were active members of the Methodist Church and were involved in raising the funds necessary to build the first brick Methodist church in Boulder. Regrettably, when the memorial tablets were unveiled on 28 October 1903 only Goss's name is recorded in recognition of his work in establishing the church.¹⁰¹ William Polmear's contribution is unrecorded because he had been killed some five months earlier on 9 May 1903, under similar circumstances to his father-in-law, Thomas Glasson. Ironically, Polmear

⁹⁷ *Menzies Miner*, 'Mining Accidents', 29 September 1900, 15.

⁹⁸ *Menzies Miner*, 'Mining Accidents', 29 September 1900, 15.

⁹⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Items of News', 31 October 1900, 4. Thomas Glasson left £400 to his wife, Lavinia. See *Daily News*, 'Probate', 15 November 1900, 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Items of News', 25 July 1900, 4.

¹⁰¹ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Queens Methodist Church', 3 November 1903, 13.

died at the same mine – the Great Boulder Perseverance Mine – which had claimed the life of his work mate Richard Munn five years earlier to the very day.

The final incident examined in this thesis concerns the deaths of two Cousin Jacks at the Eclipse Mine at the far northwest end of the Golden Mile on 20 May 1911. Somewhat tellingly, the newspaper prefaced its report by stating that ‘Two victims were added on Saturday morning to the long list of miners who have met with violent deaths in the district’.¹⁰² As in the previous mining deaths, Cousin Jack was both victim and in a position to make a professional judgement about the nature of the deaths. In this instance, Joseph Polmear, who had been intimately connected to previous accidents, was one of the shift managers at the Eclipse Mine. During Polmear’s shift it had been brought to his attention that a large fissure had opened up on the hanging wall or, in non-mining terms, the ceiling area of a leading stope at the 600 ft level.¹⁰³ Polmear reported this to the relieving shift manager, Harry Angwin. After examining the crack, Angwin determined to bring down the dead ground around it by blasting. However, as he was preparing a plug of dynamite to put in the crack the whole face – estimated to be more than 10 tons – came away crushing him and a workmate Benjamin Williams. A third man, Stanley Henderson, was knocked off his feet but was otherwise uninjured. It is not known if Ben Williams was a Cornish-Australian, although that remains a distinct possibility given that he was an experienced miner and a native of Bendigo. Less than a week later an inquest was held into the cause of the accident. In keeping with most mining deaths at the time, where apportioning blame was not a determining factor, ‘the jury returned a verdict of accidental death, no blame being attributable to anyone’.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘A Double Fatality’, 22 May 1911, 4.

¹⁰³ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘The Eclipse Mining Disaster’, 27 May 1911, 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘The Eclipse Mining Disaster’, 27 May 1911, 5.

James Henry ‘Harry’ Angwin, one of 11 children born in Wallaroo in 1879 to Henry and Ann Angwin (née Grenfell), from St Just-in-Penwith, was yet another causality of the mining industry. Although Henry Snr was born in the same village as the politician William Charles Angwin no direct family connection has been established between them. There is however an Angwin connection to the Scaddan family through Harry’s sister, Frances Jane (1872), who married William Henry Scaddan, the brother of future premier John ‘Jack’ Scaddan. The Scaddan family patriarch, Richard, and his wife Jennifer (née Smitheram) had left Gwinear near Penzance for New Zealand aboard the *Accrington* with three of their children in 1863. After spending less than a year in New Zealand the family moved to Victoria where another five children were born, including William Henry (1870). The Scaddan family then moved to Moonta in South Australia where three more children were born, including John Scaddan (1876).

No doubt John Scaddan, who was elected premier of Western Australia in October 1911, knew that Cornish managers routinely employed skilled Cornish miners in positions of trust. However, such favouritism had unintended consequences as the more experienced miners often undertook exploratory work or attempted to make the ground safe for less experienced miners. This practice invariably increased the odds of Cornish shift bosses being killed and no doubt explains why Cousin Jacks were well represented in the number of mining-related deaths. In 1897 the West Australian governor, Sir Gerard Smith, appointed a Royal commission to look at the colony’s auriferous resources. After Chairman Edward Wittenoom resigned, the governor appointed the Somerset-born Hector Rason to head another Royal commission with expanded terms of reference, this time into the mining industry as a whole. Despite this the issue of miner safety received little attention. Indeed, the only recommendation of the 124 listed in the Royal commission on mining that relates to mining fatalities is clause 76(f), which recommended that a representative of the association (union)

that the deceased member was affiliated with should be allowed to attend the Coroner's Court. Specifically, 'shall have the right to be present at the Coroner's inquiry and put questions to witnesses'. The recommendation goes on to state that the mine owner or manager shall be competent to give evidence and the owner or manager 'shall not be held *prima facie* guilty of negligence ... until such negligence be proved in open court'.¹⁰⁵ Despite this recommendation, the evidence is that recourse to an open court was seldom used and when it was, as in the Great Boulder disaster, the mine owners and managers often made only token changes and quickly resumed mining operations as before with the expected result that mining-related deaths continued to happen with some regularity.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that one of the few Cornish contributions to the 1897 Royal commission on mining was the evidence of the Stithians-born Thomas Dunstan, who was at the time the president of the Coolgardie branch of the Australian Workers Association (AWA). On the subject of mine fatalities Dunstan recommended to the commission that only experienced miners be appointed as jurists at inquests involving mining fatalities. Dunstan's recommendation followed the fallout from a fatality at Sherlaw's Perseverance Mine in 1897 when a jury of non-mining people found the company negligent in the death of miner Daniel Mathers. This finding was immediately and vociferously questioned by both the Mine Managers' Institute and the AWA as being inconsistent with the facts and based on the erroneous findings of a jury that had little practical mining experience.¹⁰⁶ The commissioners duly accepted Thomas Dunstan's recommendation and noted in their report the unified position of management and the union in wanting to avert further legal proceedings and recommended 'having practical men on juries when mining accidents are in question'.¹⁰⁷ The

¹⁰⁵ Report of the Royal commission on mining, Western Australia (1898), 36.

¹⁰⁶ *Goldfields Morning Chronicle*, 'The Sherlaw Mine Fatality', 17 July 1897, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Report of the Royal commission on mining, Western Australia (1898), 209.

recommendation was adopted and subsequent inquiries such as those into the death of Cornish miner Thomas Martin at the Golden Bar Mine in 1905 and the death of Frank Nye in 1909 were dominated by Cornish miners as jurists and expert witnesses. The Golden Bar fatality, for instance, saw the Cornish inspector of mines for Coolgardie, Josiah Crabb, called to give evidence.¹⁰⁸ Aside from this significant development, the absence of Cornish mine captains from the 1897 Royal commission on mining, apart from the well-travelled Captain Edward Skewes, remains all the more inexplicable given the importance of mining to Cornish prosperity and identity. There are two competing explanations for this. The first relates to Warden John Finnerty's observation in 1901 that the Cornish were no longer the dominant force they had been. The second posits that as underground managers the Cornish considered their knowledge superior and they therefore decided to remain aloof from proceedings.

Warden Finnerty's remarks in 1901 concerning the domination and eventual decline of the Cousin Jack presence on the Eastern Goldfields coincided with the re-emergence of South Africa as the preferred destination for Cornish miners. This would appear to be a more plausible reason for the decline in the number of Cousin Jacks on the Eastern Goldfields, rather than the proposition that Cornish miners were 'past their prime' or that they lacked scientific 'knowhow'.¹⁰⁹ On that last point, the pamphlets of Samuel Mitchell's *Mineral wealth of Western Australia* for the Melbourne Exhibition in 1880, Vosper's *The prospectors companion* (Perth, 1894) and *The immediate future of West Australia and our mining prospects* in 1898 by William Oats, demonstrate that Cornish methods were not entirely without merit and, as the re-emergence of South Africa indicates, Cornish mining skills were still very much in demand even as the new century beckoned.

¹⁰⁸ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Golden Bar Fatality', 9 September 1905, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 252.

It is clear from Warden Finnerty's observation in 1901 that Cornish miners controlled most of the mines on the Eastern Goldfields. However, there has been very little discussion about the hundreds of Cornish-Australians who arrived in Western Australia from Bendigo, Ballarat, Broken Hill, Forbes, Cobar, Moonta, Kadina, Wallaroo and Northampton during the gold rush. Indeed, it is likely that the Cornish domination that Finnerty had observed earlier in 1889 included a large cohort of colonial Cousin Jacks, some of whom retained the Cornish dialect of their parents.¹¹⁰ The *Bunbury Herald* lends credence to this claim by reporting an alleged exchange between the newspaper's reporter and a shareholder of the Greenbushes Tin Mine located 11 miles (17 km) northwest of Bridgetown, in Western Australia. To the statement 'I suppose the shareholders are mostly South Australians', the shareholder responds, 'Yes; South Australians, many of whom are of Cornish origin and know something, or think they do, about tin'.¹¹¹ At the time Moonta was perhaps the most Cornish town in Australia, renowned for its brass bands and the well-practiced singing voices of its Methodist choirs especially at services for the dearly departed.¹¹² At Northampton in 1878 the funeral of John Mitchell was described as taking place in the Cornish style and on the Eastern Goldfields Cornish-style funerals were all-too-familiar occurrences as mine accidents and the impact of silicosis took its toll on many Cousin Jacks regardless of their origin.¹¹³ As Payton has argued, the difficulties associated with mining and the notion of prevailing against the odds helped the Cornish establish a global reputation as successful pioneers. It was perhaps inevitable that some Cornish-Australians would see the descendants of their forebearers as exemplifying the qualities needed to succeed in Western Australia.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *Daily News*, 'The Cousin Jacks', 27 April 1927, 7.

¹¹¹ *Bunbury Herald*, 'The Greenbushes Tin-Fields', 7 February 1896, 3.

¹¹² Philip Payton, *Making Moonta*, 163.

¹¹³ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Country Letters', 17 April 1878, 3.

¹¹⁴ Philip Payton, *The Cornish overseas*, 377.

CHAPTER FIVE: JOURNALISTS AND POLITICIANS

Whereas the preceding four chapters have focused on the establishment of a Cornish mining presence in Western Australia, this chapter will discuss the role of the Cornish in politics and the nature of the Cousin Jack network. It should be acknowledged that because the Cousin Jack network was informal there is little direct evidence of nepotism, only the suggestion that a shared Cornish heritage played an important role in some occupations like mining. Indeed, in 1913 the *Kalgoorlie Sun* described the Cousin Jack network as odious, perhaps indicating some residual resentment at the way the Cornish had excluded others from the mining industry.¹¹⁵ Before considering the nature of the Cousin Jack network it is essential to fix it both politically and economically in the social milieu of Western Australia at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1896 the *Coolgardie Mining Review* estimated the goldfields population at 47,000. This figure included 21,000 males, 2300 females and 950 children living within a 2-mile radius of Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie.¹¹⁶ One thousand or so Germans were described as honest, industrious, peaceable and with a high standard of morality. The *Coolgardie Mining Review* also estimated the number of non-Europeans claiming that there were 2550 Afghans, who were mainly camel men, labourers, carters, well-sinkers and merchants. The Japanese comprised 150 men, most of whom worked, while the fifty women were described as ‘professional outcasts’ who carried out their calling under the guise of cool drink shops and laundries. According to the article, the Chinese numbered fewer than a dozen, although there was a real fear that hordes of them would arrive in due course.¹¹⁷ Indeed, it was to curb the expected flood of Chinese immigrants that the Immigration Restriction Act was enacted in 1901.

¹¹⁵ *Kalgoorlie Sun*, ‘In Laborland’, 21 September 1913, 9

¹¹⁶ *Coolgardie Mining Review*, ‘Population’ 26 December 1896, 13.

¹¹⁷ *Coolgardie Mining Review*, ‘Population’ 26 December 1896, 14.

Premier John Forrest had initiated a number of social and industrial reforms, including allowing married women to own property (1892), providing servants with protection from breach of contract by unscrupulous employers, legislating for employees to receive workers compensation for injury (1894) and legalising trade unions in 1900. However, he was never popular with mining interests who resented the high duties on imported food stuffs and because he had ignored the Kalgoorlie–Esperance railway proposal in favour of long-term infrastructure projects like water supplies, hospitals, harbours, schools, law courts and police stations.¹¹⁸ In 1895 the Forrest government introduced dual-title legislation that permitted reef and alluvial mining to occur on the same lease at the same time. However, alluvial miners were not permitted to mine at a depth greater than 10 ft (3.05 m) on a mining company lease regardless of ‘miners right’. When the surface ore began to play out, frustration with the Forrest government boiled over resulting in John Forrest being ‘ruffed up’ by protesting alluvial miners during a visit to Kalgoorlie in March 1898.¹¹⁹ Meanwhile, Frederic Vosper, who had championed the rights of the alluvial miners against large mining interests, was spending a lot of time on the goldfields trying to control the worst excesses of the alluvial miners. Indeed, Vosper’s most notable achievement was securing the release of the four alluvial miners imprisoned at Fremantle Jail for contempt, after they refused an order to stop working the Ivanhoe Venture lease.¹²⁰ It was as a result of Frederic Vosper’s intervention that the offending amendment to clause 103 of the Mining Regulations was rescinded shortly before the jailed alluvial miners – Patrick Hughes, William Bray, Robert Smith and Henry Frost – were released on 6 April 1898.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ F.K. Crowley, ‘Sir John Forrest’ in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian portraits*, 86. See also *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Editorial’, 19 November 1896, 2.

¹¹⁹ F.K. Crowley, ‘Sir John Forrest’ in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian portraits*, 85.

¹²⁰ *West Australian*, ‘The Alluvial Question’, 16 March 1898, 5.

¹²¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Rights of Alluvial Miners’, 7 April 1898, 5.

As the earlier remarks of Warden Finnerty attest, the Cornish controlled most of the mines on the goldfields until the mid 1890s. However, the Cousin Jack network did not disappear overnight when British investment began to decline after 1896. For example, the careers of Frederic Vosper at the *Coolgardie Miner* and Sidney Hocking at the *Kalgoorlie Miner* were doubtless aided by a familiarity with Cornish mining methods. As already acknowledged, Frederic Vosper was a firebrand journalist before entering the Legislative Assembly in 1897 as the member for North-East Coolgardie. Before entering the Legislative Assembly Vosper enjoyed a journalistic career as the editor of the *Murchison Miner* before becoming the owner and editor of the short-lived *Miners Right* based in Fremantle.¹²² He then took on the combined roles of publisher and editor of the *Coolgardie Miner* from the third quarter of 1894, before his election victory momentarily curtailed his newspaper career and prompted his move to Perth, to better fulfil his parliamentary duties. It was while Vosper was in Perth that he met a wealthy divorcee, Venetia Ann Fine, and they and married on 12 November 1897.¹²³ Soon after his marriage Vosper launched another newspaper, the *Sunday Times*, under the banner 'A Journal for The People'. The *Sunday Times* became something of a mouthpiece for Vosper's pet concerns which included, in no particular order, the interests of alluvial miners, mining regulations, the Eastern Goldfields, federation and his ongoing feud with the Premier John Forrest and his brother Alexander Forrest.¹²⁴

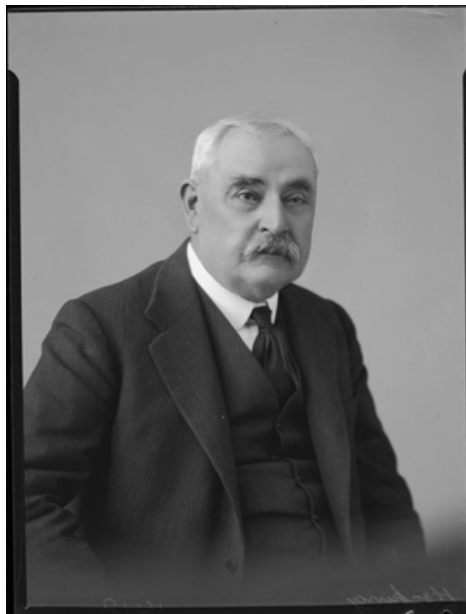
About the same time as Vosper was beginning his tenure at the *Coolgardie Miner* in 1894, brothers Sidney Edwin and Percy Stuart Hocking started the *Golden Age* and the *Goldfields*

¹²² *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Pioneer Journalist', 22 January 1948, 4.

¹²³ Edwin Jaggard, 'Bread and democracy: F.C.B. Vosper in the Roaring Nineties', 38.

¹²⁴ Edwin Jaggard, 'Bread and democracy: F.C.B. Vosper in the Roaring Nineties', 31.

Courier in Coolgardie.¹²⁵ Almost 55 years before this, the family patriarch Nicholas Hocking arrived in Adelaide aboard the *Cleveland* on 18 December 1839. Hocking was described as one of only a few men of capital in the colony of South Australia during its formative years.¹²⁶ Born in Helston in 1794, Nicholas Hocking was accompanied by his second wife, Charlotte, and at least four of the children from his first marriage to Grace Hawke – Nicholas Jnr, Richard, Lucinda and William. The only child from his second marriage, George Henry Hocking, was omitted from the shipping record, a common practice for very young children during this period.¹²⁷ Hocking opened a foundry in the city street that now bears his name, Hocking Place.¹²⁸ His eldest son, Nicholas Jnr, worked in the foundry and in March 1849 he married Sarah Shore. Four of their nine children – Herbert, Ernest, Sidney and Percy – would later move to Western Australia.



State Library of Western Australia

Figure 10: Sidney Edwin Hocking

(Source: SLWA, BA367/5023, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C_Rb2478378)

¹²⁵ Rod Kirkpatrick, 'Hocking family struck a rich newspaper lode in Kalgoorlie', *PANPA Bulletin*, April 2005, 56.

¹²⁶ *Southern Argus*, 'General News', 18 July 1895, 2.

¹²⁷ *State Records of South Australia*, 'Index to passenger lists. Available at <https://www.archives.sa.gov.au/content/index-passenger-lists>, accessed 26 February 2018.

¹²⁸ *Southern Argus*, 'General News', 18 July 1895, 2.

After leaving Prince Alfred College in Adelaide, Sidney Hocking joined the staff of the *South Australian Advertiser* where he spent at least 15 years, many of them as the paper's mining correspondent. His younger brother, Martin Stuart Hocking, who had attended North Adelaide Grammar School would join him at the *Advertiser* in 1887, becoming one of the most popular sporting writers in Australia and remaining at the newspaper until his death in 1927.¹²⁹ It was probably no coincidence that at the time the Hocking brothers joined the *Advertiser*, John Langdon Bonython, who was also of Cornish descent, was one of the newspaper's joint owners.¹³⁰ After a period at Broken Hill, in 1893 Sidney Hocking moved to Coolgardie and began his newspaper and business interests, including a new daily with the assistance of two of his brothers, the *Kalgoorlie Miner*, in 1895. There can be little doubt that Sidney Hocking's background proved invaluable as he toured the mines in his capacity as the *Kalgoorlie Miner's* mining reporter: it was claimed that Hocking was 'well in with almost every mining man of note in Kalgoorlie'.¹³¹ Similarly, John Kirwan, who joined members of the Hocking family in 1896 as part-owner of the *Kalgoorlie Miner*, recalled Sidney Hocking visiting various mines during the afternoon to interview the mine managers for his reports for the *Miner* and the big dailies in the eastern colonies.¹³² It is inconceivable, therefore, that he was not aided in this endeavour by his background given that many of mine managers on the goldfields were Cornish.¹³³

As well as engaging with mine managers, Sidney Hocking sometimes shared a degree of unanimity on certain issues with Frederic Vosper. Indeed, the political firebrand once notably came to the defence of the owners of *Kalgoorlie Miner* when they were accused of libel for

¹²⁹ *Western Argus*, 'Death of Mr. M. C. Hocking', 18 January 1927, 6.

¹³⁰ Philip Payton, *The making of modern Cornwall*, 90.

¹³¹ *Sunday Times*, 'Mentioned in Despatches', 3 February 1935, 12.

¹³² *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'The Late Mr. S. E. Hocking', 5 April 1935, 1.

¹³³ *Evening Star*, 'Mining Managers Association Social', 8 March 1901, 3.

publishing a report of an alleged physical altercation between two members of the Western Australian Legislative Assembly on 23 September 1898. The parliamentarians involved, Frederick Henry Piesse and William James George, both claimed it was nothing more than a robust verbal disagreement, with the member for Murray, William James George, calling the libel action petty and childish.¹³⁴ The request that the libel action be dropped was ignored and in the resultant court case – Legislative Assembly versus the *Kalgoorlie Miner* – the newspaper’s proprietors Sidney, Percy and Ernest Hocking along with John Kirwan and printer Walter Wilcox, were named as co-defendants. In the event, only Sidney Hocking and John Kirwan were summoned to answer the charge brought by Attorney-General Richard Pennefather in the Supreme Court.¹³⁵ The owners of the *Kalgoorlie Miner* were found to have done nothing untoward by merely publishing information provided to them by a reporter, who himself was given the information from an official source (a member of the constabulary), which the reporter then wired to the *Kalgoorlie Miner* in good faith.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the newspaper and its owners were ordered to apologise to the Legislative Assembly in order that the dignity of Parliament be maintained. Frederic Vosper, who was well acquainted with libel laws after his Charters Towers experience, was unashamedly on the side of press freedom and the right of the reporter, Hal Colebatch, who had wired the information to the *Kalgoorlie Miner*, to continue reporting from parliament.¹³⁷ Ironically, Colebatch, who was forcibly removed from the Parliament by the sergeant-at-arms for not obeying an order to leave the press gallery at a subsequent parliamentary sitting, would himself become a premier of Western Australia, albeit only from 17 April 1919 until 17 May 1919.

¹³⁴ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Press and Parliament’, 28 September 1898, 4.

¹³⁵ *Goldfields Morning Chronicle*, ‘ACTA DURNA’, 8 October 1898, 4.

¹³⁶ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Legislative Assembly v. Kalgoorlie Miner’, 19 October 1898, 4.

¹³⁷ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Press and Parliament’, 28 September 1898, 4.

There was at least one other issue where Vosper and Sidney Hocking shared a degree of unanimity and that was the Kalgoorlie–Menzies railway. However, like the line itself, their agreement on the selection of Kalgoorlie over Coolgardie as the starting point for the line to Menzies was something of a compromise after their respective newspapers had lobbied hard for their own community. By April 1896 Frederic Vosper had entered the fray and was elected by acclamation to the committee of the Coolgardie–Menzies Railway League, a lobby group formed to pressure the government to select Coolgardie as the hub for the railway line. Doubtless, Vosper’s work at the *Coolgardie Miner* had recommended him as the ideal foil to counter Sidney Hocking at the *Kalgoorlie Miner* who was accused of ‘stirring up’ the people of Kalgoorlie in order to secure the Menzies rail link for his own town.¹³⁸ Five months after Vosper’s election as a delegate for the Coolgardie–Menzies Railway League, Sidney Hocking was elected as a delegate for the rival Kalgoorlie–Menzies Railway League.¹³⁹ However, there was little to separate the competing factions and many individuals were accused of engaging in political chicanery before the government selected Kalgoorlie in 1897.

In the final analysis the spur that prompted the rapprochement between Frederic Vosper and Sidney Hocking was the real fear that the premier’s brother, Alexander Forrest, and the Perth-based ‘jarrah block’ elites were attempting to push through the Southern Cross–Menzies railway line in a bid to bypass both Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie.¹⁴⁰ It remains debatable whether such a plan was ever seriously entertained by the Forrest government given Alexander Forrest’s involvement in two failed privately funded land-grant railway schemes, the Great Southern Railway and Midland Railway.¹⁴¹ The threat was, nevertheless, taken

¹³⁸ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘The Kalgoorlie Miner’, 6 April 1896, 3.

¹³⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘The Menzies Railway’, 25 September 1896, 2. See also *West Australian*, ‘The Projected Menzies Railway’, 28 September 1896, 5.

¹⁴⁰ *West Australian*, ‘The Menzies Railway’, 24 September 1896, 6.

¹⁴¹ Geoffrey C. Bolton, ‘Alexander Forrest’, BA (Hons) thesis, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, 1952, 59 and 65. Available at <http://parliament.wa.gov.au/parliament/library>.

seriously enough for the two newspaper proprietors to join forces. Consequently, the invective that Vosper had hitherto directed at Hocking's *Kalgoorlie Miner* was now used to thoroughly discredit Alexander Forrest who Vosper saw as combining all of the dubious political qualities of a Machiavelli or a Mephistopheles.¹⁴² The tumult surrounding the Southern Cross-Menzies Railway line and the involvement of Alexander Forrest, along with those families who allegedly ran the colony, inspired the creation of the short-lived Parliamentary Goldfields Party soon after the May 1897 general election.¹⁴³ Speaking at the Bijou Theatre in Esperance on 31 December 1896, ostensibly in support of the Coolgardie-Norseman-Esperance railway line, Vosper referred to free trader George Leak's speech on decentralisation which Vosper considered could be 'brought about by legitimate representation of the goldfields, commensurate with their population and revenue'.¹⁴⁴ Vosper went further by foreshadowing the Parliamentary Goldfields Party and suggesting that, although small in number, the goldfield members would be an independent party if they adopted the Cornish motto 'One and All' and worked harmoniously.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, it could be argued that the *West Australian* newspaper was influenced by Vosper's evocative use of the Cornish motto when it later used it to express a similar sentiment in its 12 May 1897 editorial:

If ever this country is to become as great as its resources warrant us expecting the Government, the Parliament and the people must work together. The old Cornish motto 'One and All' must be adopted.¹⁴⁶

There is little evidence to suggest that Sidney Hocking was inspired by the sentiment of 'One and All'. In any event, Hocking's pragmatic response to the threat of a Southern Cross-Menzies railway, and his extensive business interests, was reason enough for him to avoid the

¹⁴² *Western Mail*, 'Meeting of the Coolgardie Railway League', 25 September 1896, 33.

¹⁴³ F.K. Crowley, *Western Australia's Lady Forrest 1844-1929: A memoir*, Western Australian Museum Information Series No. 7, 1962, 23.

¹⁴⁴ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Delegation at Esperance', 2 January 1897, 5. By 1896, 55 000 immigrants had arrived on the Eastern Goldfields. See Martyn Webb, 'Forrest and the Gold rushes, *Early Days: Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, 1993, 10:5, 480.

¹⁴⁵ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Delegation at Esperance', 2 January 1897, 5.

¹⁴⁶ *West Australian*, 'Vigilans et audax', 12 May 1897, 4.

controversy that Vosper regularly courted. This was especially true of the threat to create a new colony if the Menzies line did not start at Coolgardie.¹⁴⁷ Not only was this notion anathema to Sidney Hocking, but it ‘spooked’ many in Coolgardie and prompted the railway delegates from the goldfields to assure Premier John Forrest that most people in Coolgardie were against separation.¹⁴⁸ Hocking’s position on the matter was clearly evident when he made the following comment at the meeting with the premier to discuss the railway:

No Ministry could possibly have done so much for the fields and for the country as the Forrest Ministry, and credit was due to the present Parliament for having enabled the Government to carry its various proposals.¹⁴⁹

In 1935 the *Sunday Times* attempted to crystalize the key differences between the approach of their former owner Frederic Vosper and that of Sidney Hocking. According to the *Sunday Times* article, Hocking, who was mistakenly said to have been born in Cornwall, was always on the side of established authority and was rewarded for his loyalty with a steady flow of government advertisements and the financial backing of powerful friends when he needed them. Such a cosy relationship, the *Sunday Times* claimed, would have been anathema to Vosper.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, the account of Hocking urging his fellow delegates in the Kalgoorlie-Menzies Railway League to maintain the faith suggests that he may well have had the ‘ear’ of Premier Forrest.¹⁵¹

Despite the suggestion of partiality, the *Kalgoorlie Miner* was generally considered unbiased and a committed organ for the interests of the Eastern Goldfields. Sid Hocking was considered a good owner and, on the domestic front, a keen gardener. Nevertheless, there is every indication that Hocking and Vosper enjoyed a prickly relationship. At the banquet to

¹⁴⁷ *Western Mail*, ‘Meeting of the Coolgardie Railway League’, 25 September 1896, 33.

¹⁴⁸ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘The Railway Delegates’, 9 October 1896, 3.

¹⁴⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘The Railway Delegates’, 9 October 1896, 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Sunday Times*, ‘Mentioned in Despatches’, 3 February 1935, 12.

¹⁵¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘The Menzies Railway’, 6 October 1896, 6.

celebrate Kalgoorlie's success in securing the rail link to Menzies, some of the principal actors were called on to say a few words. Sidney Hocking claimed to be the first journalist to work at both Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie and that his stance on the railway had been vindicated. After John W. Hackett MLC (editor of the *West Australian*) said a few words, Vosper stood, and delivered a barely disguised jibe to Hocking when he said, 'the paper he represented (*Coolgardie Miner*) was the pioneer newspaper on the fields'.¹⁵² Despite failing to realise the Coolgardie–Menzies railway line, it is generally acknowledged that following his election in May 1897 Vosper became one of the most able parliamentarians in the Legislative Assembly. Vosper was, moreover, the antithesis of Captain Samuel Mitchell MLA in terms of his political effectiveness.¹⁵³ However, Vosper's premature death as a result of acute appendicitis on 6 January, 1901, aged 31, ended the very real prospect of his election as a liberal free trader to the upper house of the first federal Parliament of Australia.¹⁵⁴

Following the death of his younger brother Percy in March 1900 as a result of pneumonia, Sidney Hocking assumed managerial responsibility for Hocking & Co. Ltd by taking on Percy's role as business manager.¹⁵⁵ One of Sidney Hocking's first decisions was to abandon mining journalism. While Percy's death made this necessary, the steady decline in the number of Cornish mine captains from the mid 1890s onwards and the resultant diminution in Hocking's mining contacts may have informed his decision.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps aware he had no heirs to take over his business interests Hocking married 21-year-old Effie Louisa Fenn at St John's Church of England, Kalgoorlie on 15 August, 1900 following a brief courtship.¹⁵⁷ The marital home was an imposing Queen Ann style home built on three Kalgoorlie lots, which was

¹⁵² *Hannan's Herald*, 'The Banquet', 9 September 1896, 3.

¹⁵³ *West Australian Sunday Times*, 'Pith of Parliament', 12 November 1899, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Edwin Jaggard, 'Bread and democracy: F.C.B. Vosper in the Roaring Nineties', 43.

¹⁵⁵ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Death of Mr. P. S. Hocking', 9 March 1900, 4.

¹⁵⁶ *Evening Star*, 'Mining Managers Association Social', 8 March 1901, 3.

¹⁵⁷ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'A Kalgoorlie Wedding', 16 August 1900, 4.

started in 1900 and completed the following year. Because of the large number of palm trees that Hocking planted, the property became known locally as the ‘Palms’. The remainder of Hocking’s life was given over to raising his eight children and spells on the Kalgoorlie Municipal Council, including mayor in 1909–10. The Palms remained in the Hocking family to the mid-1960s, while the *Kalgoorlie Miner* remained in the family for 75 years. Sidney Edwin Hocking JP died on 29 January 1935, aged 74. One of his sisters, Emma, who died in Sydney in 1926, also played a role in the family concern as one of the proprietors of the *Kalgoorlie Miner* during its formative years.¹⁵⁸ Of his brothers in Perth, Herbert, who died in 1932, was a member of the Stock Exchange and the honorary secretary of the Blind Institute.¹⁵⁹ Ernest Hocking briefly managed the *Kalgoorlie Miner* before returning to Perth and becoming a prominent figure in mining and horse racing circles before he died in 1943.¹⁶⁰

In circumstances similar to that of the Hocking family, three Kneebone brothers – Thomas, Henry and Martin – left the Dolcoath Mine in Cornwall in the late 1860s for the Wallaroo in South Australia.¹⁶¹ Whilst working at the Wallaroo mines Henry Kneebone married Elizabeth Ann Tonkin, the Cornish-born daughter of Benjamin and Mary Tonkin from nearby Moonta. Three years after his marriage in September 1873, Henry and Thomas witnessed a fatality when a Cornish miner from St Keverne, Charles Pearce, aged 29, was killed instantly when struck on the head by either a rock or a piece of timber that had fallen from a higher level. Thomas was standing next to Pearce who was in the skip handing him timber, while Henry was 12 feet (3.6 m) away in the chamber. In keeping with most coronial inquests into mining fatalities during the period under review a verdict of accidental death was determined and no

¹⁵⁸ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Death of Miss Emma Hocking’, 1 October 1926, 4.

¹⁵⁹ *West Australian*, ‘The Late Mr. Herbert Hocking’, 29 August 1932, 12.

¹⁶⁰ *West Australian*, ‘Late Mr. E. W. Hocking’, 2 July 1943, 4.

¹⁶¹ *Chronicle*, ‘Mr. M. Kneebone’, 17 December 1927, 62.

blame was apportioned.¹⁶² However, in 1881 Martin Kneebone was seriously injured when a charge he had fired only partially exploded ('hung fire') and while attempting to inspect the remaining charge it went off, resulting in his left hand being shattered and his face badly burned. Moreover, during hospitalisation it was found that the explosion had left Martin partially blind and that it was necessary to amputate his left arm just below the elbow.¹⁶³ The footnote to such a horrendous injury appears to have been not a happy one for Martin Kneebone. He moved to Cobar in New South Wales where he spent the remainder of his life punctuated by spells in Dubbo Jail following numerous instances of drunkenness, assaults on police officers and using indecent language.¹⁶⁴ According to the electoral rolls Martin Kneebone continued to claim he was a miner for the rest of his life although in what capacity remains mute. He died in Cornish Town, Cobar in 1927, aged 74.¹⁶⁵

Not long after arriving in Australia 22-year old Thomas Kneebone married 16-year-old Elizabeth Jane Martin at the home of her parents William and Elizabeth Martin at the Wallaroo Mines. Elizabeth Jane had arrived in Port Adelaide along with the seven members of the Martin family aboard the *Salamanca* from Stithians in January 1866. Following the marriage Thomas Kneebone spent some time in Broken Hill and in the copper mines of South Australia before venturing to Western Australia with his Kadina-born sons Thomas Henry and William Kneebone in 1892.¹⁶⁶ However, in 1894 his wife died at Wallaroo, aged 41, before she could join the rest of the family at Southern Cross.¹⁶⁷ Her death may well have been the catalyst for Henry and his son Harry Kneebone Jnr to leave South Australia in 1894 for the

¹⁶² *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 'Coroners' Inquests', 18 November 1876, 18.

¹⁶³ *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 'Wallaroo', 19 November 1881, 10.

¹⁶⁴ *Cobar Herald*, 'A Painful Case', 21 June 1902, 6. See also *Cobar Herald*, 'Police Court', 19 September 1903, 4; and *Cobar Herald*, 'Local and General', 6 October 1906, 4.

¹⁶⁵ *Chronicle*, 'Mr. M. Kneebone', 17 December 1927, 62. See also Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

¹⁶⁶ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'News Of The Day', 27 October 1905, 2.

¹⁶⁷ *Advertiser*, 'Miscellaneous', 4 May 1894, 6.

goldfields.¹⁶⁸ Both Thomas and his son William began mining in Western Australia, with the former mining in Southern Cross until the emergence of ‘miners complaint’ (silicosis) necessitated a stay in hospital in 1899.¹⁶⁹ After treatment Thomas became an engine driver or winch operator on the surface. His other son, Thomas Henry, like his first cousin Harry Jnr, embarked on a career in journalism. After starting as a compositor at the *Albany Advertiser*, he became a sporting journalist on various newspapers, including the *West Australian*, *Truth* (Perth), *Swan Express* and *Geraldton Guardian*, under the pen-name ‘Lochiel’.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, William Kneebone was employed at the Westralia and East Extension Gold Mine, Bonnievale, 9 miles north of Coolgardie. Away from the rigours of mining William found time to indulge in the Cornish fondness for cricket with his first cousin Harry Jnr. Both played for the Press and the *Coolgardie Miner* cricket teams in their regular ‘grudge’ matches against the Police and the *Kalgoorlie Miner* cricket teams.¹⁷¹ On February 24, 1903 William was underground and sitting against the footwall of the stope at the 200 ft level when the rock above him gave way and a large lump of granite fell on his back paralysing him from the waist down.¹⁷² Unfortunately, the medical treatment available could not prevent William’s condition deteriorating over the next six months and he eventually succumbed to his injuries on 22 August. An inquiry into the accident was held on 3 March 1903 before Warden John Michael Finnerty and Isidore Cohn JP. The conduct of miners Stephen J Conroy and Edward Rock who had worked the previous shift to Kneebone’s was examined. While the inquiry did not find Conroy or Rock criminally negligent, they were said to be remiss in not passing on their concerns to the miners taking over from them. Conroy had evidently informed the

¹⁶⁸ Philip Payton, *One and All*, 250.

¹⁶⁹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Local and General’, 15 August 1899, 4.

¹⁷⁰ *Geraldton Guardian*, ‘Local and General’, 17 July 1943, 2. See also *Truth* (Perth), ‘A ‘Truth’ Man’, 30 June 1917, 2.

¹⁷¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Coolgardie Miner v Kalgoorlie Miner’, 21 April 1902, 3. See also *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Cricket’, 7 April 1907, 3. Curiously, Joan Tiver in her book *Harry Kneebone: A son of ‘Little Cornwall’* (Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1987), which is based on her father’s life, fails to acknowledge the existence of Thomas, Martin or William Kneebone.

¹⁷² *Coolgardie Miner*, ‘Serious Mining Accident’, 26 February 1903, 3.

government's inspector of mines after the accident that 'the ground on the hanging wall was a bit 'drummy' and 'might or might not' stand another shift'.¹⁷³ Both men were fined 1s plus costs of £2 1s 4d each.¹⁷⁴ As the *Coolgardie Miner* opined following the death of Thomas Kneebone in 1905, the loss of this son coupled with his ongoing health problems contributed to his premature death from heart failure, aged 57.¹⁷⁵

It is significant that the inspector of mines for Coolgardie, the Liskeard-born Josiah Crabb, who had been called as a witness during the Kneebone inquiry, played a major role in the rescue of Italian miner Modesto Varischetti from the Bonnievale Mine where William Kneebone had been critically injured in 1903. In the 1907 incident Crabb initiated and coordinated the rescue of Varischetti after a flash flood had inundated the workings. The shift boss was a Cousin Jack, Robert Henry Penna.¹⁷⁶ It would take nine days to rescue Varischetti who was close to his physical limit, suffering from severe dehydration and exhaustion, when saved.¹⁷⁷ The extensive press coverage of the rescue made Crabb a household name and prompted the *Coolgardie Miner* to observe that 'Inspector Crabb, who apart from his popularity in his official capacity, is highly esteemed as a citizen'.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, it is pertinent to consider the context of the last sentiment and its contribution to the overall standing of Cornish people and the comments in 1921 by Prime Minister William Hughes when he described the Cornish as most 'esteemed citizens'. Nevertheless, for some observers the rescue of Modesto Varischetti was not Crabb's greatest achievement. That honour was reserved for his pivotal role in the rescue of two trapped miners from the depths of the Marvel

¹⁷³ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Breach of Mines Regulations', 10 March 1903, 12.

¹⁷⁴ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Bonnievale Mining Accident', 4 March 1903, 3.

¹⁷⁵ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'News Of The Day', 27 October 1905, 2. Thomas Kneebone also had a daughter, Florence May, who married Leslie Ashton Provost in 1912. She died in Perth in 1931.

¹⁷⁶ Tom Austen, *The entombed miner*, St George Books, Perth, 1986, 1.

¹⁷⁷ Tom Austen, *The entombed miner*, 26–27 and 43–44. The locomotive driver who ferried the rescuers and their equipment from Southern Cross to Coolgardie was Victor Lanyon, the Wallaroo-born son of Cornish-born William Lanyon.

¹⁷⁸ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'In Coolgardie', 29 March 1907, 3.

Loch gold mine following a cave-in on 13 November 1914. On that occasion Crabb organised and coordinated the 48 miners who were tasked with rescuing Frank Mazza and Michael O'Brien, and attempting to recover the body of James Gorey who had been killed by the cave-in. The surviving miners had already been trapped for a day and half before Crabb and his team arrived from Coolgardie, which was located 30 miles (18.6 km) to the south of the Marvel Loch Mine. Once Crabb and his team arrived it would be another 41 hours before Mazza and O'Brien were rescued; the body of Gorey was not recovered for several weeks. Fittingly, it was another Cousin Jack, the former owner of the Marvel Loch Company Captain Bill Abbott who rated Crabb's effort as the greatest achievement he had ever witnessed.¹⁷⁹ Another glowing endorsement came from Minister of Mines Philip Collier who ended a congratulatory letter to Crabb with the following declaration:

The record of this performance will probably stand for a long time without parallel in the history of Australian mining.¹⁸⁰

Josiah Crabb was held in such high regard that when he became unfit for work due to a 'pulmonary illness' in March 1921, State Mining Engineer Alexander Montgomery FRGS requested that the government show him every consideration.¹⁸¹ The following year he died after 22 years of public service to the Western Australian mining industry.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Tom Austen, *The entombed miner*, 182.

¹⁸⁰ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'The Marvel Loch Disaster', 26 February 1915, 4.

¹⁸¹ *Daily News*, 'Death of Mines Inspector Crabb', 3 March 1922, 8.

¹⁸² *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 7 March 1922, 6.



Figure 11: Harry Kneebone

(Source: *Biographical Dictionary of the Australian Senate* <http://biography.senate.gov.au/kneebone-henry/>)

One of the reporters from the *Coolgardie Miner* who witnessed the rescue of Varischetti in 1907 was Henry ‘Harry’ Kneebone. It was allegedly Harry Kneebone who arranged with one of the rescue divers, Francis ‘Frank’ Hughes, to pass messages in Italian to Varischetti so that an interview of sorts could be conducted.¹⁸³ Harry Kneebone’s association with journalism and the *Coolgardie Miner* began after he returned from a prospecting expedition to the Murchison Goldfields with his Cornish father Henry in January 1895. After abandoning the idea of finding gold Harry Kneebone rekindled his association with journalism at the *Coolgardie Miner*, having previously worked for the *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*.¹⁸⁴ While it is not known if Frederick Vosper had any role in Harry’s appointment, his Cornish mining background no doubt greatly improved his chances of being offered a position. At the *Coolgardie Miner* Kneebone met the Bendigo compositor Edward ‘Ned’ Slater whose

¹⁸³ Joan Tiver, *Harry Kneebone*, 18.

¹⁸⁴ *Daily News*, ‘Shipping’, 16 January 1895, 2.

Cornish father was the miner and unionist, William Edward Grose Salter, who hailed from St Austell.¹⁸⁵ Harry Kneebone and Ned Salter became members of what was claimed to be the oldest labour union on the Eastern Goldfields, the Coolgardie Typographical Union (1894), with both holding the position of honorary secretary at various stages.¹⁸⁶

In April 1900 Harry went to Cornwall with his father to visit his uncle Francis ‘Frank’ Kneebone and his father’s sisters Mary and Winnie Kneebone who were living in Penzance.¹⁸⁷ Before returning to Western Australia Harry Kneebone, along with other prominent Australians, including a future prime minister, Alfred Deakin, and a former South Australian premier Charles Cameron Kingston, visited the Western Australia Court at the Paris Exhibition in July 1900.¹⁸⁸ On his return to Western Australia, Harry Kneebone continued his career at the *Coolgardie Miner*, fulfilling the roles of compositor and journalist before assuming the editorship in 1908. In 1903 Harry Kneebone had married the Bendigo-born Henrietta Whitta, the daughter of miner Charles Whitta, formally of Gwennap, and Elizabeth Keast of Penzance, at the Methodist Church in Coolgardie.¹⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Harry’s father Henry Kneebone had returned to prospecting and became a partner in the Pride of Jourdie North Mine, 23 miles (37.2 km) northwest of Coolgardie, near present-day Jaurdi Hills. At the mine Henry Kneebone reacquainted himself with Inspector of Mines Josiah Crabb in 1906. A few months later a bicycle courier from Coolgardie informed him that his wife Elizabeth Ann had died.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ *Westralian Worker*, ‘First Typographical Union on The Eastern Goldfields’, 15 December 1939, 7.

¹⁸⁶ *Westralian Worker*, ‘First Typographical Union on The Eastern Goldfields’, 15 December 1939, 7.

¹⁸⁷ Joan Tiver, *Harry Kneebone*, 86.

¹⁸⁸ *The West Australian*, ‘Western Australia at the Paris Exhibition’, 23 August 1900, 3.

¹⁸⁹ *The Sun*, ‘Coolgardie Items’, 15 November 1903, 11.

¹⁹⁰ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, ‘Sudden Death at Coolgardie’, 11 September 1906, 29.

In March 1904 Harry Kneebone was elected honorary secretary of the Coolgardie branch of the Parliamentary Labor Party (PLP), his political leanings reflecting his Bible Christian upbringing in Wallaroo where he developed his socialist values and democratic ideals.¹⁹¹ On 31 December 1909 Kneebone returned to Adelaide aboard the *Karoola* to join the *Daily Herald* as a journalist, which was the official organ of the Labor Party in South Australia, and he became the editor a year later. In 1912 Kneebone was controversially appointed as a journalist to the Australian High Commissioner's Office in London. Again, his Cornish background played some role in him gaining the position as the Cornish-born Minister of External Affairs Josiah Thomas was from Camborne, the same town as Harry Kneebone's father.¹⁹² The Sydney *Truth* was particularly scathing and under the headline 'On Its Trail! The High Commissionership in London' it accused prime minister Andrew Fisher of squandering Australian public money by appointing 'ONE OF THEIR OWN PALS, KNEEBONE, A JOURNALIST ON THE ADELAIDE DAILY MAIL', on a salary of £400 per annum to jaunt around England with his wife and five children. The article further charged that Josiah Thomas, who was a nephew of Captain Josiah Thomas of Dolcoath Mine fame, 'probably thought it was a good and safe appointment so far away from Australia, but they reckoned without *Truth*'.¹⁹³ However, the Sydney *Truth* newspaper, which was owned by John Norton, had gained a reputation for sensationalism and Norton, too, was known to detest 'wowsers' and teetotallers, to which Kneebone and Thomas were well-known adherents of the latter.

Although the article can be construed as simply an attack on nepotism in the Labor Party, a barbed response from the *Kalgoorlie Sun* to an interview that Harry Kneebone gave to a

¹⁹¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'News Of The Day', 16 March 1904, 3. See also Philip Payton, *One and All*, 251.

¹⁹² *Daily Post* (Hobart), 'Australia in London', 15 May 1916, 6. See also *Cornishman*, 'Hon. John Scaddan', 13 March 1913, 3.

¹⁹³ *Truth*, (Sydney) 'On Its Trail!', 1 September 1912, 7.

reporter from the *Cornishman* during what was to become a regular visit to the ‘Cornish Riviera’ on 16 August, 1913 suggests there was some negativity concerning any overt expression of Cousin Jack nepotism, which had its roots in the earlier Cornish domination of the mining industry. Tellingly, the visit of Harry Kneebone and his family to Cornwall was reported in the *Kalgoorlie Miner* the following month under the subheading ‘Goldfields Identity at Home’. The article went on to record the local Cornish reporter’s observation that ‘both Mr. and Mrs. Kneebone are Australian natives (not necessarily aboriginal) their parents all hailed from Cornwall, and went to Australia over 50 years ago’.¹⁹⁴ However, the *Kalgoorlie Sun* and the Perth-based *Sunday Times* picked up on the *Kalgoorlie Miner* and *Cornishman* article with the *Kalgoorlie Sun* observing, ‘Well, Well! Not aboriginal, and only escaped the odium of being Cousin Jacks by the matter of half a century’.¹⁹⁵ Arguably, the word ‘odium’ attributed to Cousin Jacks in the *Kalgoorlie Sun* article was a reference to Cornish mine managers giving ‘plum jobs’ to their kinsfolk. Indeed, the circumstances surrounding Kneebone’s own controversial appointment seems to have prompted someone at the *Kalgoorlie Sun* to assume that Kneebone was also the beneficiary of a ‘plum job’ from kinsfolk, namely the relevant minister, Josiah Thomas. Nevertheless, most contemporary observers outside Western Australia who criticised Kneebone’s appointment saw it only in terms of a ‘jobs for the boys’ political appointment, while ignoring the obvious Cousin Jack connection.¹⁹⁶ Under the circumstances it is not difficult to envisage someone at the *Kalgoorlie Sun* attributing the appointment of Kneebone to the ‘odium’ of a Cousin Jack network which often prevented ‘outsiders’ from gaining employment at Cornish-managed mines.

¹⁹⁴ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Items of News’, 18 September 1913, 4.

¹⁹⁵ *Kalgoorlie Sun*, ‘In Laborland’, 21 September 1913, 9. See also *Sunday Times*, ‘Notes and Comments’, 21 September 1913, 8. The word ‘odium’ was omitted from the *Sunday Times* version.

¹⁹⁶ *Sunday Times*, ‘Peeps at People’, 9 April 1916, 8.

The reaction to Harry Kneebone's London appointment points a degree of residual bitterness from those familiar with the workings of the Cousin Jack network. Nevertheless, the overwhelming sense is that the Cornish were highly regarded throughout Western Australia. Former miner Albert Ernest Thomas, who represented the seat of Dundas in the Legislative Assembly from 1901 to 1905, maintained this positive sentiment when he entered the political sphere. Thomas was the son and grandson of the famed Dolcoath Mine managers Josiah Thomas and Charles Thomas Jnr. His mother Charlotte Augusta (née Dunstan) was the daughter of Joseph Passingham Dunstan, a master mariner. Albert Thomas was also second cousin to Josiah Thomas, the federal member for Barrier in New South Wales. As a result of their long-standing managerial association with the Dolcoath Mine the Thomas family had become conspicuously wealthy in an otherwise economically depressed area. The family home, Tregenna House, was a large home by local standards and reflected their personal wealth. Consequently, Albert Thomas had something of a privileged upbringing, attending the same elite private school, Wesley Collage, Sheffield, as future West Australian premier, Frank Wilson. After Wesley College Thomas attended the Camborne School of Mines, which had been established in 1888, and from where Thomas received training in mining engineering and geology.¹⁹⁷ This, coupled with his impeccable mining background, provided Albert Thomas with the opportunity to travel extensively and he spent the next few years working as a mining engineer in Cornwall, Wales and the Transvaal. In August 1896 Thomas arrived in Western Australia to take up the position of general manager of the Hill End Mine at Broad Arrow and before taking on similar roles at the Vale of Coolgardie Mine and the Norseman gold mine. On two occasions Albert Thomas appeared before the Supreme Court in relation to serious injuries sustained by workers at the Norseman gold mine. In both cases the

¹⁹⁷ *Cornishman*, 'Death of Mr. A. Ernest Thomas', 30 May 1923, 4. See also Philip Payton, *The making of modern Cornwall*, 81.

Supreme Court found in favour of the defendant company and its manager Albert Thomas.¹⁹⁸

It is noteworthy that those summoned as expert witnesses were Cornish-born Richard Thomas Pascoe, the president of the Norseman branch of the AWA, Captain William Oats, underground manager John Williams and mine owner John Treloar. Following the testimony of the Cornish mining experts the Supreme Court found that the two seriously injured miners had been negligent and that no blame should be attached to either the Norseman GM company or its manager Albert Ernest Thomas.

After his appearances in the Supreme Court Albert Thomas embarked on a political career and was elected to the Legislative Assembly as an independent in 1901. His main goal was to see a railway line built to link Coolgardie with the port of Esperance, in the expectation that this would lower freight costs for mine owners and open the country to farming. In time his support for the Esperance rail link would earn him the sobriquet ‘member for the Esperance railway’.¹⁹⁹ At one point during his parliamentary career Thomas was harangued by Eliza Tracey, a noted local identity and habitual litigant, who stood on a soapbox every Sunday at the Esplanade to ruminate on the failings of Perth’s establishment figures. On one occasion she singled out Albert Thomas, allegedly performing a little ditty in his honour, although it was later claimed that another parliamentarian might have composed it.²⁰⁰

And Mr. Thomas, Gawd take him from us. And spank him well for a naughty child.
He’s a decent craycher but an awful praycher, Lord call him home for he makes me wild.
The verse(s) ends with: -Then come, me hearties, unite our parties. The
Esp’rance railway, and all that’s said. By the opposition and my petition. We’ll pass in
a lump on the Esplanade.

¹⁹⁸ *Norseman Times*, ‘Prestage v. Norseman Gold Mines, Ltd’, 29 August 1900, 2. See also *West Australian*, ‘Civil Sitings’, 11 June 1901, 3; and *Western Mail*, ‘A Norseman Mining Accident’, 15 June 1901, 22.

¹⁹⁹ *Kalgoorlie Sun*, ‘Sunbeams’, 2 August 1903, 4.

²⁰⁰ *West Australian*, ‘Memories of Parliament’, 14 January 1937, 23.

In a similar vein, the *Kalgoorlie Sun* was not averse to pointing out the shortcomings and idiosyncrasies of Albert Thomas, labelling him the most unpopular member of the Legislative Assembly because of his ‘boodling propensities, his personal obtrusiveness, and above all, his never ending loquacity’.²⁰¹ The *West Australian* referred to Thomas as the Cousin Jack member for Dundas while, at the same time, praising him for delivering ‘one of the best speeches that has ever been heard in Parliament’.²⁰² In 1904 the *Kalgoorlie Sun* again lampooned him, this time imagining two Cousin Jacks named Jan Tresidder and Richard James at the local pub discussing the merits or otherwise of the member for Dundas. The article in question helpfully provided the reader with examples of Cornish dialect words and their meanings, in order to help them understand the text. For example: ‘kust’, meaning can you not? ‘iss’, yes; ‘koor’, first shift; ‘ter’ it is; ‘wust’, would; ‘es’, is; ‘dustn’t’, does not; ‘passel’, parcel. The article’s intention, it seems, was to emphasise his alleged lack of substance and long-windedness, through mockery of his Cornish accent, ‘What’s think ov un, Sia, ee be cutting up er words brav’ an fine, baint ee!’ to which the other Cousin Jack replied, ‘Go’us home, Richard, ee be a bloomin’ Yank’.²⁰³ This open parody of Thomas’s Cornish background seems to have had a similar purpose to that directed at Harry Kneebone in 1913. It suggests, moreover, that the *Kalgoorlie Sun* was not averse to disparaging those public figures identified as Cousin Jacks.

The building of the Coolgardie–Esperance railway was the stated aim of another Cousin Jack politician, William Trezise Eddy, who was known to both Albert Thomas and Harry Kneebone. Eddy was born at Clunes in Victoria in 1864. His father, miner Andrew Eddy was from Penzance, and his mother Elizabeth Ann (née Trezise) was from St Just-in-Penwith.

²⁰¹ *Kalgoorlie Sun*, ‘Sunbeams’, 2 August 1903, 4.

²⁰² *West Australian*, ‘Abstract Principals’, 8 September 1901, 10.

²⁰³ *Kalgoorlie Sun*, ‘Cousin Jack Opinion of Thomas’, 20 March 1904, 4.

Eddy came to Coolgardie in 1894, working as a storekeeper and auctioneer, and was an active member of the Coolgardie branch of the Australian Natives Association and the Coolgardie Municipal Council from 1901 to 1903. Clunes was also the birthplace of Labor politician John Barkell Holman (1872) who won the seat of North Murchison at a by-election in 1901. Holman's father, Edward, had been born in Gwinear near Redruth in 1841 and his mother, Mary Annie (née Barkell), had been born in St Austell in 1837.²⁰⁴ It was at Broken Hill that laborite John Holman established his reputation as a no-nonsense trade unionist and activist for miners' rights and it was largely because of his union activities that Holman was allegedly driven out of Broken Hill and ended up in Western Australia in 1893, in the aftermath of the miners' dispute over contract mining.²⁰⁵

William Trezise Eddy first attempted to enter Parliament in 1904 when he contested the seat of Coolgardie but was unsuccessful. Albert Thomas was re-elected in the neighbouring seat of Dundas. Further Cornish success at the 1904 state election saw William Charles Angwin, who had been born in St Just-in-Penwith in 1863, elected as the Labor Party representative for the seat of East Fremantle. The Falmouth-born John Hicks won the seat of Roebourne as an Independent. However, he quickly relinquished any pretence of independence when he joined the Ministerialists to become the Minister for Labour under Cornthwaite Hector Rason following the 1905 election. The Moonta-born John 'Jack' Scaddan was elected to the seat of Ivanhoe, representing the Labor Party.²⁰⁶ However, Captain Samuel Mitchell running as an Independent was beaten in the seat of Greenough, coming in third, while Labor candidate Richard Buzacott, the son of a St Blazey farmer lost a two-way contest in the seat of Menzies.

²⁰⁴ Lekkie Hopkins, *The magnificent life of Miss May Holman, Australia's first female Labor parliamentarian*, Fremantle Press, Fremantle WA, 2016, 78.

²⁰⁵ Lekkie Hopkins, *The magnificent life of Miss May Holman*, 79. See also Geoffrey, Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 303.

²⁰⁶ *Daily News*, 'Yesterday's Poll', 29 June 1904, 1.

Buzacott was one of three Western Australian senators elected to federal Parliament following a half-Senate election in 1910.

The 1905 state election witnessed a reversal in fortunes for both William Trezise Eddy, who was elected MLA for Coolgardie, and Albert Ernest Thomas, who was defeated in the seat of Dundas, by the Labor candidate Charles Hudson. To what extent the *Kalgoorlie Sun* and its Cousin Jack articles contributed to independent Albert Thomas losing his seat is open to conjecture. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that elsewhere the Labor Party fared badly losing eight seats overall. Like Thomas, Eddy was subjected to questionable innuendo when one of the other candidates, Dr Henry Ellis, suggested that Eddy had links to former Albany MLA James Gardiner, who was then managing the controversial land-grant scheme for the Midland Railway Company.²⁰⁷ Eddy claimed that he had never met Gardiner, shared any of his political values or had any involvement in Gardiner's business interests. Moreover, Eddy made it known that he was fundamentally opposed to the idea of the private ownership of railways and that his intention was to help farmers by building railways from public funds when the investment was warranted.²⁰⁸ The row occurred at a time when there was growing disquiet over the Labor government's plan to buy the Midland Railway Company for £1.5 million. Indeed, the resultant furore over Labor's proposal saw John Holman replaced as the minister for railways because of his alleged failings as an administrator.²⁰⁹ Following his sacking Holman joined Albert Thomas in helping to defeat the Labor government's Bill to purchase the Midland Railway Company.²¹⁰ During the debate Albert Thomas articulated his opposition to the purchase on the basis that the terms of the sale were not equitable:

First, the land and railway belong to us at equity, seeing that we found the money to build the railway. Secondly, if they do not belong to us at equity, they are not worth

²⁰⁷ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Dr. Ellis' Candidature', 16 October 1905, 3.

²⁰⁸ *West Australian*, 'The Political Campaign', 26 October 1905, 5-9.

²⁰⁹ *Daily News*, 'The Political Situation', 7 June 1905, 3.

²¹⁰ *West Australian*, 'The Midland Railway', 18 August 1905, 5.

the £1,500,000 asked for them, according to the valuations given. And thirdly, if they are worth £1,500,000, I claim that we can spend that money infinitely better to the State of Western Australia elsewhere.²¹¹

As noted, the Ministerialists swept to victory at the 1905 state election largely because of the projected cost of purchasing the Midland Railway Company. Meanwhile, the newly elected member for Coolgardie, William Trezise Eddy, was challenged in the Supreme Court by the defeated Labor candidate, Charles McDowall, over alleged voting irregularities. To argue his case McDowall called upon the services of lawyer Cecil John Reginald Le Mesurier, who would later become a controversial figure in his own right for his questionable land dealings and his propensity to litigate.²¹² The Supreme Court upheld only part of the claim and declared the Coolgardie election result void and ordered that a by-election be held. In the second election William Eddy increased his majority from 23 to 100 votes over Charles McDowall.²¹³ Eddy was defeated by McDowall at the 1908 state election. In one sense it could be argued that Harry Kneebone have indirectly facilitated the election of William Trezise Eddy, because as returning officer for the PLP Harry Kneebone had disendorsed Charles McDowall for not abrogating his position as a trustee 14 days before the deadline for nominations.²¹⁴ However, McDowall successfully argued that the deadline was impossible to comply with given the length of time available to him after the election became public knowledge. In consequence the Labor Party overruled Harry Kneebone's initial decision and reinstated McDowall's nomination.²¹⁵ This prompted the other nominee, the sitting member Dr Henry Ellis, to resign and run as an Independent Labor candidate. The turmoil this created,

²¹¹ *West Australian*, 'The Midland Railway', 27 July 1905, 3. See also *Daily News*, 'The Midland Railway Reply by Mr. Thomas', 27 July 1905, 3; and Western Australia, Legislative Assembly, *Debates*, 17 August 1905, 797.

²¹² Michael Powell, 'Fragile identities: The colonial consequences of CJR Le Mesurier', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 11:1, 2010. Available at <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/378843>, accessed 28 March 2018.

²¹³ *Daily News*, 'Coolgardie Election Petition', 31 May 1906, 5. See also *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'The Coolgardie Election', 10 July 1906, 4.

²¹⁴ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Coolgardie', 24 October 1905, 27. This applied to branch rule 18.

²¹⁵ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'The P.L.P.', 16 June 1911, 3. See also *Westralian Worker*, 'The Coolgardie Seat and Dr. Ellis', 7 July 1911, 6.

in what was otherwise considered a safe Labor seat, split the Labor vote and allowed William Trezise Eddy to win both the election and the subsequent by-election.

In many respects Albert Thomas held similar political views to Frederic Vosper. Like Vosper his socialist and democratic values would have ordinarily placed him in the Labor Party fold. However, Thomas balked at what he perceived as the 'diktat' of the Labor Party oath and the requirement to abide by the decisions of caucus, regardless of one's own view or that of the constituents.²¹⁶ As Thomas found to his cost, it was difficult to remain in Parliament as an independent without the vestiges of a political party to help bolster your re-election prospects. The 1908 state election proved to be a watershed moment for Albert Thomas. Having failed in his attempt to re-enter parliament in his former seat of Dundas, he briefly resurrected his mining career in Western Australia before returning to Cornwall in 1910.

In a development that seems surprising given the events just described, Albert Thomas was soon reacquainted with the Midland Railway Company's agent James Gardiner in Cornwall. The New Zealand-born Gardiner had arrived in Great Britain on a mission to recruit suitable farmers for the railway company's 'Ready-Made Farms' scheme. The farms in question were situated on land 191 miles (308 km) north of Perth and centred on what would become the Shire of Carnamah. Meanwhile, Albert Thomas had given an effusive address to the members of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society at Truro on the prospects of mining in Western Australia. Part of his address also praised Western Australia's living conditions compared with those of Cornwall, while also referring to the large number of skilled Cornish miners who were then earning substantial wages.²¹⁷ As Gardiner observed on his return to Western

²¹⁶ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'The Independent Party', 24 October 1905, 3.

²¹⁷ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Notes from London', 4 October 1910, 3.

Australia, one of his major recruiting drives took place in Camborne where Albert Thomas had obligingly organised a meeting through the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce. The Camborne meeting attracted upwards of 90 Cornish farmers who evidently listened intently to Gardiner's advocacy of 'certain lands in the West'. According to Gardiner's own account at least ten Cornish farmers took up selections.²¹⁸ They were able to satisfy the Midland Railway Company's requirement that each of them needed £1000 in assets to be considered for selection. This was not the case elsewhere in Great Britain. In the north of England several Scottish farmers turned up at a Midland Railway meeting and complained that the £1000 required for selection was beyond their means. Evidently, the Scottish farmers had assets of £200 to £300 each, which James Gardener considered insufficient.²¹⁹ He advised them to approach the Western Australian government directly as its criteria offered more liberal terms.

It is unclear how many of the ten Cornish farmers who attended the Camborne meeting arrived in Western Australia as part of the 'Ready-Made Farms' scheme. There is evidence that some Cornish families did settle at Carnamah, which became a significant hub for the Midland Railway. The St Columb-born Henry 'Harry' Parkin and his family were one such Cornish family. Harry Parkin was the son of agricultural labourer Thomas Vivien Parkin and Mary Celina (née Tippet). The family had arrived in Carnamah in February 1912 and was joined by his wife Philippa Mary Parkin and their children Olive, Elsie, Maud, Tom and Millie in February 1913. Prior to arriving in Western Australia, the family was living at Wheal Hope, Perranporth where they owned and operated a bus and carriage company. Parkin's first job in Carnamah was as a railway fitter for the Midland Railway Company making him a convincing recruit of James Gardiner's visit to Cornwall in 1910. The local

²¹⁸ *Western Mail*, 'The Midland Railway Company', 1 October 1910, 50.

²¹⁹ *Daily News*, 'Sunshine!', 27 September 1910, 3.

records indicate that Parkin worked for the Midland Railway Company until at least 1919.²²⁰ The family also ran the local post office/store in Carnamah from their cottage known as the 'Gables'. Harry Parkin became something of a local entrepreneur maintaining a wide range of jobs and business ventures that encompassed such diverse occupations as blacksmith and undertaker. All of these occupations, plus the Carnamah electric light concession, came within the ambit of the company he established, Harry Parkin & Son, with his son Thomas 'Tom' Henry Parkin, who had been born in St Erme, Cornwall in 1905.²²¹ Harry Parkin died in 1958, aged 82, and was interred in the Winchester Cemetery in Carnamah.

The 'Ready-Made Farms' scheme was the first occasion that Cornish farmers were purposely targeted as opposed to Cornish miners of earlier recruitment drives. On the question of recruitment, it is clear that many returning miners had given their impressions of life in Australia which may have diverged in some respects from the idealistic view of professional recruiters. Nevertheless, presentations by successful returnees were important local events. An 'event' presented by Josiah Thomas MP at Camborne in 1913 was noteworthy for its cinematographic lecture on the Northern Territory.²²² Aside from the presentations given by Josiah Thomas, Albert Thomas and James Gardiner, the first government sponsored recruiters to target Cornwall were people like Edward T. Scammell. In keeping with many of his contemporaries, Scammell, who had previously been the secretary of the Exeter Chamber of Commerce in Devon, had come to Western Australia in the mid 1890s in pursuit of gold mining opportunities.²²³ After spending a few months at the Murchison Goldfields, Scammell

²²⁰ Carnamah Historical Society & Museum and North Midlands Project, 'Henry Parkin' in *Biographical Dictionary of Coorow, Carnamah and Three Springs*, Available: www.carnamah.com.au/bio/henry-parkin accessed, 14/12/2019.

²²¹ Carnamah Historical Society & Museum and North Midlands Project, 'Henry Parkin' accessed, 12/4/2018.

²²² *Daily Standard*, 'Northern Territory', 15 April 1913, 5.

²²³ *West Australian*, 'The Perth Chamber of Commerce', 10 January 1895, 6. See also *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Mr. Scammell On the Continent', 12 December 1898, 7.

took up the role of secretary at the Western Australian Chamber of Mines. It was in this capacity that he met chamber members, Captain William Oats, Albert Thomas, Frederic Vosper and Captain Samuel Mitchell, during various stages of his incumbency.²²⁴ Scammell was invited by George Randell MLA to present a paper to the Western Australian Chamber of Commerce on the subject of Australian trade and commerce. Near the end of his talk Scammell touched on the issue of immigration and suggested that a systematic approach be adopted to increase the colony's population by bringing it under the notice of the people of England and elsewhere in Britain. It is noteworthy that Scammell concluded his talk by urging the Western Australia government to consider combining an emerging Australian motto, 'Advance Australia Fair', with the Cornish motto 'One and All', to create a new slogan for Australia, 'Advance Australia, One and All'.²²⁵ While Scammell's use of the Cornish motto was clearly a nod to Cornish interests on the Eastern Goldfields, he also keen to see Australia prosper. It is perhaps no coincidence that soon after delivering his address Scammell was appointed Emigration Commissioner by the Forrest government, with a remit to tour England and present a series of lectures on the desirability of Western Australia as destination for migrants and business interests.²²⁶

The appointment of Edward Scammell was not universally accepted, however, and many Western Australians questioned his suitability particularly when Scammell began to espouse anti-federalist sentiment during his lectures, similar to those already expressed by Alexander Forrest.²²⁷ During his 1900 tour Scammell presented four lectures on Western Australia in Cornwall and he later recalled that his last lecture, at the Camborne School Mines, was the

²²⁴ *Sunday Times*, 'A pioneer Passes', 15 September 1935, 15. See also *Western Mail*, 'Presentation to Captain Oats, MLA', 22 October 1897, 43.

²²⁵ *West Australian*, 'The Perth Chamber of Commerce', 10 January 1895, 6.

²²⁶ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 9 January 1895, 4.

²²⁷ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Notes from London', 15 March 1900, 2.

most enjoyable of the whole tour, as the audience was composed almost entirely of Cornish mining men of standing and students from all parts of the world.²²⁸ As Scammell reported in the article based on his progress in England, '[t]he chairman, who is the doyen of the Cornish mining world, was Captain Josiah Thomas, father of Mr. [Albert] Ernest Thomas, [now] of Coolgardie'. The visit to Cornwall also proved memorable in another respect as Captain Josiah Thomas gave Scammell a personal tour of the famous Dolcoath tin mine and then offered him his full support to any initiative which would lead to the opening of a school of mines in Western Australia. Arguably, Scammell's report, with its particular focus on his visit to Cornwall, was a reflection of the close relationship that Cornwall then enjoyed with the Eastern Goldfields.

As argued in Chapter five, the importance of the Cousin Jack network made it possible for individuals with Cornish parents to derive a tangible benefit from their heritage. It is certainly not unreasonable to suggest that both Sidney Hocking and his brother Martin Hocking were employed at the *Advertiser* because John Langdon Bonython was known to be proud of his Cornish heritage. Likewise, when Sidney Hocking moved to the Eastern Goldfields as the *Kalgoorlie Miner's* mining reporter, he was able to draw on his Cornish mining knowledge to gather the information he needed to write his mining reports for the big eastern dailies. In politics the evocative use of the Cornish motto 'One and All' by Frederic Vosper was a direct appeal to the Cousin Jacks of the goldfields to stand with their elected members to ensure their grievances, including the alluvial dispute, were taken seriously by the Forrest government in Perth. Just five months later the *West Australian* was appealing to the people and parliament of the country to adopt the Cornish motto and to end talk of separation by working together. Another Cousin Jack, the Kadina-born journalist Harry Kneebone, who

²²⁸ *West Australian*, 'Lectures on Western Australia', 25 April 1900, 3.

worked for the *Coolgardie Miner* and, like Vosper, became its editor, was appointed press officer to the Australian High Commission in London in 1912. The federal minister of external affairs who had responsibility for Kneebone's appointment was the Camborne-born Josiah Thomas, who was no doubt aware that Kneebone's father also hailed from Camborne. This connection was obviously missed by observers in the eastern states who considered Kneebone's controversial appointment as another example of Labor Party cronyism. However, the *Kalgoorlie Sun* did make the Cousin Jack connection when it republished an article from the *Cornishman* that made much of the Kneebone family visit to Cornwall which coincided with the cinematographic lecture on the Northern Territory that Josiah Thomas presented at Camborne in 1913. It is not known if Harry Kneebone met his nominal boss while they were both in Cornwall, but the *Kalgoorlie Sun* was in little doubt that the Cousin Jack network was still a force to be reckoned with.

CHAPTER SIX: JOSEPH ALLEN AND WILLIAM ANGOVE

As noted in Chapter five, the Forrest government (1890–1901) was the recipient of an unprecedented investment boom as capital flowed into Western Australia from Great Britain and the eastern colonies as investors sought to profit from the gold rush. However, much to the chagrin of mining interests, John Forrest used loans raised in London and the proceeds of the goldrush to build much needed infrastructure. The Homestead Act, 1893, the Land Act, 1898 and the Agricultural Bank Act, 1894 were enacted to guarantee adequate food supplies for the colony's burgeoning population and to ensure the sustainability and profitability of the next generation of farmers.²²⁹ In terms of infrastructure the construction of Fremantle's inner harbour was started in 1892, after the outer harbour/breakwater proposal of Cornish-born Sir John Coode was rejected in favour of the one submitted by the Irish-born engineer Charles Yelverton O'Conner. Moreover, it was O'Conner who oversaw the design and early construction phase of the Coolgardie Water Scheme, which exposed him to criticism, much of it emanating from Frederic Vosper who, nevertheless, eventually declined to hinder the scheme's progress.²³⁰ The Forrest government's purchase of the Great Southern Railway and all concessions and rights attaching to it for £1,100,000 in 1896 paved the way for a renewed focus on opening up land for farming in southwestern districts and on the thousands of British settlers who were expected to purchase most of the homestead blocks. With the above in mind, this chapter will discuss the myriad roles that Cornish-Australians played in delivering some of these key infrastructure projects. However, before moving on from the goldfield Cousin Jacks it is worthwhile reflecting on the fate of some of them.

²²⁹ F.K. Crowley, 'Sir John Forrest' in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian portraits*, 86.

²³⁰ *Daily News*, 'Parliament', 29 October 1897, 4.

By February 1911 the once dominant position enjoyed by Cousin Jacks during the gold rush was largely over. The deaths of Joseph Knuckey on 17 February 1911 and of his friend Richard James Thomas on the following day were indicative of a diminishing Cornish presence on the Eastern Goldfields. Before he died, aged 76, Joseph Knuckey was something of a local identity because of his alleged presence at the Eureka Stockade revolt at Ballarat, and because he was reputedly the oldest unionist in Australia.²³¹ As he was one of the diminishing breed of Cousin Jacks, the *Sunday Times* was keen to recount his eventful life in an article published the year before his death.²³² By his own admission, the 20-year-old Knuckey was working on the Victorian goldfields in 1854 when he became involved in the Eureka 'riot', along with other Cornish miners.²³³ It was as a result of his Eureka experience that Knuckey began his long association with the labour movement as a member of the Miners Union. In 1860 he moved to Castlemaine, Victoria where he married the Lostwithiel-born Eliza Littleton. While living in Victoria the couple had six of their ten children. Knuckey became the mining manager for the Young Prince Company before moving to South Australia in the mid 1870s where the couple had four more children.²³⁴ After a period in Broken Hill, the family moved to Western Australia in 1894 although some of their older children remained in the eastern colonies. In 1897 Knuckey obtained an 'engineer's certificate of service' and became a member of the Boulder branch of the Amalgamated Certificated Engine-drivers Association.²³⁵ In 1899, during the engine-drivers annual ball held in Boulder, Knuckey was presented with a gold watch in recognition of his 50-year association with trade unionism. Summoned to say a few words he expressed the view that he had always felt it was

²³¹ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'The Western Argus', 21 February 1911, 16.

²³² *Sunday Times*, 'The Sons of Martha', 21 August 1910, 9. The 1841 UK census indicates that Joseph Knuckey was born in Gwennap in 1835 and that he was one of eleven children of copper miner Richard Knuckey and his wife Susanna.

²³³ *Sunday Times*, 'The Sons of Martha', 21 August 1910, 9. The Cornish miners who are readily identifiable include James Wearne, Joseph Penrose, John Pennaluna, Henry Read, Peter Ellis, William Polkinghorne, Thomas Trembath, John Tonkin, Thomas Bolitho and Joseph Knuckey. Available at <http://www.eurekapedia.org/Biographies>, accessed 13 June 2018.

²³⁴ *Mount Alexander Mail*, 'Mining Memoranda', 15 August 1865, 2.

²³⁵ *The Goldfields Morning Chronicle*, 'Engineers Examination Board', 28 August 1897, 5.

his duty to belong to a union and ‘that he had never gone back on a mate in his life’.²³⁶ In this Knuckey probably at a lot in common with the Stithians-born Thomas Dunstan who was the first president of the Coolgardie branch of the Amalgamated Miners’ Association. He was also another early unionist who remained active until his death in 1906.²³⁷ As one of a diminishing number of Cousin Jacks, Joseph Knuckey came to symbolise the end of an era. Indeed, the *Kalgoorlie Western Argus* endeavoured to contextualise Knuckey’s contribution and the qualities he brought to the trade union movement in Western Australia by observing that:

His early days were spent under circumstances calculated to develop self-reliance, as he was one of the now attenuated band who sought, at the Eureka stockade, to gain that redress of their grievances which was not forthcoming from appeals to constitutional resources.²³⁸

Another celebrated member of the Boulder community, miner Richard James (‘Dicky’) Thomas passed away the day after Joseph Knuckey. Thomas had arrived on the Eastern Goldfields from Broken Hill in 1893.²³⁹ He had been born in Moonta in 1869, the son of miner Henry Thomas from St Just-in-Penwith who arrived in Port Adelaide aboard the *Lord Hungerford* in 1856. Once ashore Henry Thomas wasted little time in moving to Burra where he resumed mining. In the following year he married the Bodmin-born Johanna Reynolds in Moonta. The couple would eventually have nine children. After moving to Broken Hill Dicky Thomas established himself as one of the best cornet soloists in Australia. He was especially noted for his ability to triple tongue, earning him the sobriquet ‘Triple Tongue King’.²⁴⁰ Like

²³⁶ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, ‘Engine-Drivers’ Ball’, 29 June 1899, 34. Knuckey’s 50-year connection with trade unionism in 1899 suggests he was 14 when he first joined a union. At 16 his occupation is recorded in the 1851 census as a wool carter.

²³⁷ *Westralian Worker*, ‘Death of an Old Unionist’, 19 October 1906, 5.

²³⁸ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, ‘The Western Argus’, 21 February 1911, 16. In this instance, Knuckey’s notion of ‘mateship’ clearly predates the First World War, which suggests the term had a long association with the mining industry.

²³⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Items of News’, 20 February 1911, 4.

²⁴⁰ *Evening Star*, ‘Bandsman’s Death’, 18 February 1911, 3.

many Cousin Jacks, Thomas quickly found work as a miner in Coolgardie. The subsequent ease with which Thomas gained employment was no doubt aided by Captain John Treloar's observation in 1897 that the Eastern Goldfields had 'a superabundance of clerks and professional men, many of whom, have not done a hard day's work in their lives'.²⁴¹ Once established Dicky Thomas joined the Boulder Mines Band (1896); it was claimed that the band improved immeasurably after he joined.²⁴² It is difficult to overstate the importance of brass bands and choral singing to the mining communities during this period, much of it stemming from Cornish and Welsh families.²⁴³ The immense popularity of brass bands was evidenced by the large crowds of spectators who attended major competitions like the annual Commonwealth championship held in Ballarat, where crowds of 25,000–30,000 spectators were commonplace.²⁴⁴ This popularity led to instances where the top players and conductors were regularly 'poached' creating a great deal of angst and bitterness between bands that often lingered for years.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'The Western Australian Goldfields', 16 June 1897, 3.

²⁴² *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'The Western Argus', 21 February 1911, 16.

²⁴³ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Musicians and Bandsmen', 6 August 1947, 3.

²⁴⁴ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'The A.W.A. Band', 22 November 1904, 17.

²⁴⁵ *Westralian Worker*, 'A.W.A. Band', 27 January 1905, 1.



Figure 12: The AWA Band, Dicky Thomas front and centre, 1903

(Source: *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 17 March 1903, 21.)

Apart from the evident joy that music brought, the most unpleasant role for miners and musicians like Dicky Thomas was playing at the funerals of deceased miners and fellow unionists. One such funeral was that of Samuel Eva and William James Thomas Gard who died as a result of suffocation following blasting at the Brown Hill Extended Mine on 25 August 1903. At their funeral the AWA Brass Band led the cortege playing ‘The Dead March in Saul’ during the solemn procession to the Boulder Cemetery.²⁴⁶ This funeral was indicative of the many funerals that occurred during this period and demonstrates the close bond that was a feature of the Cornish presence on the Eastern Goldfields and reminiscent of similar funerals held at Northampton. The mine manager at the Brown Hill Extended Mine was the Redruth-born Captain Walter William Johns, who was himself a bandsman of 25 years

²⁴⁶ *Western Mail*, ‘The Brown Hill Extended Tragedy’, 5 September 1903, 43.

standing with the Kalgoorlie Brass Band. Johns was charged by the inspector of mines but was cleared of any negligence in the deaths of Eva and Gard.²⁴⁷ As noted previously, Dicky Thomas was related to John Scaddan through his marriage to Emily Edwards. This relationship was established after Scaddan's first wife, Elizabeth (née Faulkner), had died of Bright's disease barely two years after their marriage. Scaddan, having won the seat of Ivanhoe in June 1904, had married Emily Edwards's sister Henrietta in that September.²⁴⁸

The life and career of William Gard was emblematic of the many Cornish-Australians who headed to the West during the gold rush. Gard was born in Bendigo in 1878. His father, William John Gard, was a Cornish miner from Lelant who had migrated to Bendigo where he married Ruth Yemmings Thomas, the daughter of Welsh miner Thomas Thomas.²⁴⁹ In 1902 William Gard married Elizabeth Mary Angove in Boulder. Elizabeth Angove had been born in Moonta in 1879. She was the daughter of Josiah Angove, a Cornish miner who hailed from Redruth, who had arrived at Port Adelaide aboard the *Gosforth* in 1865, aged 20. Angove had a relatively long career working in various mines in Moonta, Broken Hill and on the Eastern Goldfields. He died 8 months before his son-in-law Thomas Gard, as a result of a mining accident, and was interred in the Boulder Cemetery.²⁵⁰

The day before he died Dicky Thomas was working as usual at the Australian Mine in Boulder. However, he became unwell and returned home early on Friday, 17 February 1911, the day his friend Joseph Knuckey was to be buried in the Boulder Cemetery. Thomas was

²⁴⁷ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Bandsman's Social', 24 March 1903, 16. See also: *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'Kalgoorlie Brass Band', 7 February 1905, 21.

²⁴⁸ Marjorie K. Nairn, *John Scaddan, C.M.G.*, Mount Dandenong, Victoria, 1982, 3. The personal recollections of John Scaddan's daughter. Available in the Scaddan folder at State Library of WA.

²⁴⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'In Memoriam', 29 March 1911, 4.

²⁵⁰ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Family Notices', 4 January 1904, 4. Elizabeth Mary Gard and her sister Edith Emily Paull received £70 from their late father's estate. Edith's husband, William James Paull, was a Moonta-born miner and son of St Agnes-born parents. See *Western Mail*, 'Notes of the Week', 18 April 1903, 45.

not feeling well enough to go to Knuckey's funeral and so he had asked his wife to represent the family. On the following day the 42-year-old Dicky Thomas became progressively unwell and quickly succumbed to what was reported to be a 'heart complications supervening on diphtheria'.²⁵¹ At his funeral approximately 80 bandsmen from the district's three brass bands were in the vanguard of a large procession of mourners and, as Dicky Thomas himself did on many occasions, the combined band played 'The Dead March in Saul'. The loss of respected individuals like Joseph Knuckey, Josiah Angove, Thomas Gard and Dicky Thomas, who were buried in the Methodist portion of the Boulder Cemetery, with the Bodmin-born Isaac Goss acting as undertaker, was a major blow to the close-knit Cousin Jack mining community.²⁵² Nevertheless, their legacy, along with those Cornish miners already discussed, did much to reinforce the notion that Cousin Jack was self-reliant and community spirited despite the inherent dangers of mining in a period when 'health and safety' standards were non-existent.

The election of Joseph Francis Allen to the Legislative Council in May 1914 marked the last occasion a Cornishman would enter the Western Australian Parliament prior to Great Britain and her dominions entering the First World War. Joseph Allen arrived in Sydney aboard the *Northumberland* in October 1879 with his parents William and Salome and his five siblings from the small village of Perranzabuloe in Cornwall. The family settled in Sydney where Allen served an apprenticeship under Scottish-born architect Gordon McKinnon. After completing his apprenticeship Allen worked for Rhodes & Co., before moving to the British-owned Henry Simon Ltd, milling engineers in 1892.²⁵³ In 1896 the 27-year-old, moved to Western Australia where he secured a position with the government working under Charles O'Connor on the Fremantle Harbour project as an assistant engineer.

²⁵¹ *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 'The Western Argus', 21 February 1911, 16.

²⁵² *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Funeral Notices', 17 February 1911, 4.

²⁵³ *West Australian*, 'Mr. J. F. Allen Dead', 24 May 1933, 18.



Figure 13: Joseph Francis Allen

(Source: *Truth*, (Perth) 9 May 1914, 5.)

After 14 months on the Fremantle Harbour project, Allen started his own architectural firm. His first significant commission was the design for the new East Fremantle Town Hall which was formally opened by Premier Forrest on 21 1900.²⁵⁴ In that October Allen married Jean Symington Buntine at the East Fremantle Presbyterian Church. In attendance were Allen's three brother's – Peter Arthur, William John and Richard William Allen.²⁵⁵ On 26 March of the following year Forrest laid the foundation stone for the Allen-designed Fremantle Trades Hall. The building was completed almost three years later: it was formally opened on January 23, 1904.²⁵⁶ Other significant projects of Allen's included the Oddfellows' orphanage at Cottesloe, buildings for Strelitz Bros in Fremantle and Perth, the Victoria District Co-Op flourmill at Geraldton, and a grand residential property for Richard Strelitz. The Strelitz property was named 'St Just', arguably a nod to St Just-in-Roseland in Cornwall, and Allen's

²⁵⁴ *Daily News*, 'East Fremantle', 21 May 1900, 2.

²⁵⁵ *West Australian*, 'Social Notes', 2 October 1900, 2.

²⁵⁶ *Daily News*, 'Fremantle Trades Hall', 23 January 1904, 1.

former home.²⁵⁷ Apart from buildings Allen also designed a twin-screw steam vessel named *Westralian*. Evidently the first steel ship built in Western Australia when it was completed in 1905, it measured 129 x 16.8 x 7.3 ft and displaced 119.5 tons.²⁵⁸ After years living at 'The Brae' on Victoria Road, East Fremantle, Joseph Allen designed a new home at 1 Surbiton Street, East Fremantle, which was built on a hill overlooking Fremantle Harbour and the Swan River. He named the extensive property 'Harvose', possibly in reference to Harvose Farm and/or the adjacent Harvose Wood near St Stephen-in-Brannel, Cornwall.

Joseph Allen's work on the Fremantle Harbour project saw him attend the public ceremony celebrating the arrival of the first P & O Royal Mail steamer from London on 12 September 1900. The port of Albany had until the completion of the Fremantle Harbour works been the first port of call for the Royal Mail steamers until John Forrest and the Perth elites decided that Fremantle's proximity to Perth made more economic sense. Apart from Allen those present included the project's chief engineer, Charles O'Connor, Sir John and Lady Forrest, and the member for Yilgarn, William Oats MLA. The RMS *Himalaya* docked at South Quay where Captain William Leake Brown RNR received a vellum-bound illuminated address containing illustrations of Fremantle Harbour and related calligraphy drawn by Joseph Allen.²⁵⁹ This was the second occasion that Allen had been called upon to produce a congratulatory illuminated address. He had designed and produced one depicting views of the harbour for the Municipality of Fremantle, which was forwarded to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee in 1897. The *West Australian* observed at the time that Allen's work seemed rather more pretentious than the one produced by E.S. Wigg & Son for

²⁵⁷ John J. Taylor, 'Joseph Francis Allen (1869-1933)', *Western Australian Architect Biographies*. Available at <http://www.architecture.com.au/>, accessed 26 April 2018. Another intriguing possibility is that it was named for St Just-in-Penwith, the birthplace of his friend and political adversary, William Charles Angwin.

²⁵⁸ 'Rod Dickson, Ships registered in Western Australia from 1856 to 1969, 1906, *Westralian*', Transcribed, October 1996, Available at <http://www.maritimeheritage.org.au/documents/Shipping%20Register.pdf>, accessed 26 April 2018. See also *West Australian*, 'River Craft', 14 August 1948, 16.

²⁵⁹ *West Australian*, 'The British Mail Steamers', 13 September 1900, 7.

the Municipality of Perth.²⁶⁰ Despite this less than flattering assessment of his artwork, 12 years later Allen was asked to judge the designs for a memorial to Charles O'Connor who had ended his life on North Coogee Beach in 1902.²⁶¹ Allen and the other two judges selected the design submitted by the Italian-born sculptor Pietro Giacomo Porcelli.²⁶² His imposing bronze statue of Charles Yelverton O'Connor was erected on Victoria Quay, Fremantle and was unveiled by Sir John Forrest on 23 June 1911.

In November 1903 Joseph Allen was elected to the East Fremantle Council where he joined another Cornishman, the then serving mayor, and a founding member of the council William Charles Angwin. Angwin had been elected unopposed in November 1903 and received his oath of office from William Oats MLA and JP.²⁶³ Co-incidentally, in the adjacent Fremantle Council another Cornishman, Thomas Blamey Barratt, was the town surveyor. Barratt was the third son of Captain James Barratt, a former mine agent and farmer at St Buryan.²⁶⁴ The Redruth-born Thomas Barratt and his wife Edith, who was from nearby Hayle, arrived in Western Australia on 15 June 1885 aboard the SS *Delcomyn* to take up a position with the Public Works Department under John Arthur Wright.²⁶⁵ Soon after his arrival Barratt was given the task of undertaking survey work for the Bodmin-born Sir John Coode on his proposed outer harbour/breakwater for Fremantle. However, the inner harbour scheme submitted by Charles O'Connor was chosen in 1891 instead.²⁶⁶ In 1893 Barratt was given the responsibility for overseeing the Albany Harbour improvements. He left that position to

²⁶⁰ *West Australian*, 'The Queen's Reign', 5 June 1897, 6.

²⁶¹ *Daily News*, 'C. Y. O'Connor Memorial Fund', 16 September 1909, 2.

²⁶² *Daily News*, 'C. Y. O'Connor Memorial', 2 October 1909, 8.

²⁶³ *West Australian*, 'Municipal Elections', 11 November 1903, 5. See also *West Australian*, 'Municipal Elections', 3 December 1903, 9. At this juncture Captain Oats was still a member of the Legislative Assembly. However, in May 1904 he would move to the Legislative Council as one of three representatives of South Province.

²⁶⁴ *Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 'Cornishman's Death in Australia', 13 February 1924, 5.

²⁶⁵ *West Australian*, 'Fremantle Municipal Council', 3 May 1899, 6.

²⁶⁶ *West Australian*, 'To the Editor', 28 September 1928, 15.

become the town surveyor at Fremantle in 1896.²⁶⁷ In 1904 Barratt conducted an extensive tour of the eastern states on behalf of the council to report on the construction of macadam roads and other relevant municipal engineering works.²⁶⁸ After overseeing the expenditure of £100,000 on public works during his 11-year tenure as town surveyor for the Fremantle Municipal Council, Barratt left for a six-month visit to England and Cornwall in 1907.²⁶⁹ On his return he again worked for the Public Works Department and was involved in the Port Hedland waterworks and other similar projects in the south and southwest of the state.²⁷⁰ Barratt passed away in January 1924, aged 64. The prominent role that Thomas Barratt and the other Cornish-born engineers and surveyors played in the Fremantle Harbour project was probably no mere coincidence. As seen in the mining industry, it was another example of the global reach of the Cousin Jack network during the period under review.

Besides being on the East Fremantle Council Joseph Allen MLC and William Angwin MLA served concurrently as members of the Fremantle Municipal Tramway and Electric Lighting Board and the Fremantle Technical School Board.²⁷¹ Likewise, both were appointed members of the Royal Commission into the operation and control of the Wheat Marketing Scheme; Angwin was the chairman. It later emerged that Allen was privileging the interests of his former employer Henry Simon Ltd when he voted against the Bill that would have given the bulk handling contract to the Canadian firm John Metcalf & Co. Ltd.²⁷² Indeed, the so-called Metcalf agreement, had it been passed by the Legislative Council, would have seriously hindered British companies like Henry Simon Ltd from bidding for lucrative government

²⁶⁷ *Sunday Times*, 'Obituaries the Late Mr. T. B. Barratt', 13 January 1924, 16.

²⁶⁸ *West Australian*, 'A Municipal Engineer Abroad', 11 October 1904, 7.

²⁶⁹ *Western Mail*, 'Mr. T. Barratt', 8 June 1907, 33.

²⁷⁰ *Sunday Times*, 'Obituaries', 13 January 1924, 16.

²⁷¹ *Sunday Times*, 'Fremantle Technical School Board', 5 April 1914, 1.

²⁷² *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 22 June 1918, 6. See also *West Australian*, 'Bulk Handling', 30 April 1925, 13' and *Sunday Times*, 'Bulk Handling', 20 May 1928, 7.

contracts to design and build storage silos and bulk grain elevators in Western Australia.²⁷³

The Royal Commission was convened to look in to the matter. It began its deliberations on 21 July 1918 and submitted its final report to Governor Sir William Grey Ellison-McCartney on 10 December 1918. Somewhat predictably, given Allen's background, the Royal Commission recommended that British firms should be allowed to tender for the design and construction of silos and grain elevators.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, the appearance and testimony of former premier John Scaddan before Angwin and Allen again underscores the influence that Cornish-Australians had in the public affairs of Western Australia during the period under review.²⁷⁵

The historiography suggests that both Joseph Allen and William Angwin maintained more than a cordial relationship despite their divided political loyalties. Nevertheless, on occasion their political differences led to very public disagreements. Most of these disagreements were doubtless political point-scoring exercises such as the one linking Angwin to a possible Convention Bill that Allen suggested would lead to state and federal unification, which Allen claimed was official Labor Party policy.²⁷⁶ Perhaps the most notable spat between the two was Allen's proposal for a floating dock for Fremantle. The issue in question centred on the purchase of either a floating dock or the more expensive option of a graving (concrete) dock. In 1905 Angwin had been interviewed on the subject and he expressed a preference for a floating dock upstream of the existing timber Fremantle Railway Bridge (1881).²⁷⁷ By 1907 Angwin had become a key figure in the often acrimonious debate over the location selected for the now preferred graving dock at Rous Head. At first Angwin offered his qualified

²⁷³ *Primary Producer*, 'The Wheat Scheme', 17 May 1918, 1.

²⁷⁴ Western Australia, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Wheat Marketing Scheme, (1918)*, 351-403, Recommendation, 16, iii.

²⁷⁵ Western Australia, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Wheat Marketing Scheme, (1918)*, 388. John Scaddan was briefly the manager of a flourmill when the Royal Commission was conducting interviews.

²⁷⁶ *West Australian*, 'Convention Bill', subheading 'Mr. Angwin's Criticism, Rejoinder by Mr. Allen', 30 November 1921, 8.

²⁷⁷ *The Mail*, 'The Dock Question', 1 June 1905, 1.

support for the Rous Head site, the Moore government's preferred location, only to propose an amendment that would allow for other sites to be considered, including Angwin's preference for an inner harbour dock between the two bridges on the south side of Fremantle Harbour, which was located in Angwin's electorate.²⁷⁸ However, Angwin failed by one vote to have his amendment passed and the government embarked on the construction of a graving dock at Rous Head. It is a matter of record that after spending at least £200,000 the Rous Head graving dock had to be abandoned because of the porous nature of the underlying strata and what was deemed the prohibitive cost of designing and constructing an effective solution.²⁷⁹ While the Rous Head graving dock was shelved, the issue remained uppermost in many public forums, not the least of which was the Fremantle Business Men's Association.

In its editorial of 29 June 1912 under the heading 'The Dock Fiasco' the *West Australian* lamented the failure of the engineering profession and the state's politicians for not doing enough to stop the Rous Head project despite many of their number having profound reservations about the chosen site.²⁸⁰ Indeed, Angwin can be counted among those who expressed doubts about Rous Head. During the early part of its construction he was accused of maladroitness for attempting to wreck the project.²⁸¹ Nevertheless, when it was finally abandoned the same editorial suggested that the authorities should consider proposals for a floating dock not because it was cheaper, but because the porous nature of Fremantle's underlying rock would likely frustrate any attempt at a more permanent solution. No doubt with that notion in mind, and sensing a business opportunity, Allen approached Angwin in 1922 to ask him to present a floating dock proposal to Premier James Mitchell. However,

²⁷⁸ *Empire*, 'Fremantle Dock', 14 December 1907, 8.

²⁷⁹ *West Australian*, 'Fremantle Graving Dock', 28 June 1912, 5. See also *Evening Star*, 'A Dock Fiasco', 2 July 1912, 2.

²⁸⁰ *West Australian*, 'The Dock Fiasco', 29 June 1912, 10.

²⁸¹ *Empire*, 'Fremantle Dock', 14 December 1907, 8.

Mitchell rejected the offer on the grounds that the inner harbour could not accommodate the large floating dock suggested, a position that Angwin thought short-sighted.²⁸²

Following the landslide victory of the Labor Party on 17 April 1924, Joseph Allen again approached William Angwin, who now held the portfolios of Land and Immigration in the Collier ministry, with a revised and much cheaper floating dock proposal. After re-examining the proposal, which had previously been rejected by the engineer-in-chief, the Labor government asked the Western Australia agent-general in London to instigate inquiries in England to ascertain the dock's suitability for Fremantle. As this process was taking place Allen told fellow members of the Fremantle Business Men's Association at a meeting that he 'had expected that members of Parliament would have shown a greater interest in the matter'.²⁸³ William Angwin took umbrage with this statement: 'As the senior member of Parliament representing the Fremantle district, I take exception to these remarks, and, in doing so I believe I will have the support of my [Fremantle] colleagues' he told the press.²⁸⁴ Joseph Allen wasted little time in setting the record straight once the import of his comments became public. He hurriedly made a statement that in essence said that he had not intended to cast aspersions on either Angwin or the Labor member for South Fremantle, Minister for Works Alexander McCallum.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, Allen went on to say that it was generally recognised that William Angwin had always been keen on the floating dock proposal and he, like Angwin, was not prepared to recommend a dock unless he thought it was a good one. On that point Allen emphasised the one-third reduction in cost now made the proposed floating dock that much more attractive. The whole affair may have ended there, but the Labor member for Fremantle, Joseph Bertram Sleeman, assumed that Allen was accusing him of not backing the

²⁸² *Daily News*, 'Dock for Fremantle', 10 September 1924, 10.

²⁸³ *Daily News*, 'Dock for Fremantle', 10 September 1924, 10.

²⁸⁴ *West Australian*, 'Dock for Fremantle', 11 September 1924, 6.

²⁸⁵ *Daily News*, 'Dock for Fremantle', 11 September 1924, 10.

floating dock and issued a press statement pointing out all the work that he had undertaken in the interests of obtaining a suitable dock for Fremantle.²⁸⁶

Despite being publicly rebuked by three Labor representatives, Allen, as a seasoned politician and an astute businessman, continued to advocate for the floating dock proposal. However, when Alexander McCallum received a less than enthusiastic report from Captain Frank Winzar, the chief harbour master at Fremantle who inspected the dock in England, Allen conceded defeat²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the shared Cornish background of Angwin and Allen meant that they often found common cause on many issues that would have ordinarily militated against such an accommodation. Indeed, when Allen narrowly won the Legislative Council seat of West Province in 1914 the *Daily News* suggested that it was the result of an ‘unholy collusion’ between the Licensed Victuallers Association and Angwin, a noted temperance advocate, that conspired to defeat the Labor candidate William Somerville.²⁸⁸ While it is not possible to substantiate the claim that Angwin actively worked against the election of a Labor colleague, it does suggest Cornish identity was a powerful idea.

²⁸⁶ *Daily News*, ‘Fremantle Dock Controversy’, 13 September 1924, 1.

²⁸⁷ *West Australian*, ‘Dock for Fremantle’, 1 October 1924, 10. See also *Daily News*, ‘A Dock for Fremantle’, 4 June 1925, 4.

²⁸⁸ *Daily News*, ‘How the West Province Was Won’, 4 July 1914, 11.



Figure 14: William Angwin and Joesph Allen

(Source: garrygillard.net <https://fremantlestuff.info/people/allen.html>)

Moreover, a close friendship between the two political rivals can be discerned by examining family notices. For example, Angwin acted as pallbearer at Jean Symington Allen's funeral in October 1912.²⁸⁹ Likewise, when Allen's sister, Janet Elliott MacBriar, died five months later in March 1913, while staying with Joseph Allen, Angwin was again a pallbearer.²⁹⁰ Their friendship was maintained when Angwin moved to London as the agent-general for Western Australia in 1927, with a regular correspondence taking place on matters of mutual concern. One such letter sent concerned negative reports about Australia in the UK press that Angwin claimed were being written by Australian press correspondents for reasons best known to themselves.²⁹¹ However, the correspondence came to an abrupt end when Joseph Allen died on 23 May 1933. His body was discovered floating in the Swan River near the foot of East St,

²⁸⁹ *West Australian*, 'Manufacture of Munitions', 5 October 1915, 8.

²⁹⁰ *West Australian*, 'Funeral', 4 November 1912, 10; *West Australian*, 'Funeral Notices', 8 March 1913, 7.

²⁹¹ *West Australian*, 'Harmful Utterances', 7 February 1931, 14.

East Fremantle.²⁹² The acting coroner determined that Joseph Allen had drowned, but that a blood clot in his right ventricle may have been a factor in his death.²⁹³ William Angwin, who had just received the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) from King George V, was, at the time of Allen's death, ship bound on the *Otranto* after completing his term as agent-general. He was unable to attend his friend's funeral by a matter of days. Nevertheless, he ensured that his son Justus represented him at the Fremantle Cemetery, where the internment reportedly drew an assembly of over 1000 people from many spheres of public life, indicating the high standing that Joseph Allen had garnered during his professional and public life, largely spent in his adopted home of Fremantle.²⁹⁴

As the importance of mining was diminishing in the period before the First World War, farming was moving in the opposite direction. The *Sunday Times* observed that miners were now being asked to pursue a life far removed from the 'hard yacker' and 'clogged lungs' of life underground by embracing farming.²⁹⁵ The article noted that this change in occupation could prove equally beneficial to the miners' wives and children who would be spared the blistering heat that accompanied living amongst the ore and mullock dumps of Boulder and its surroundings. The land that Cousin Jacks were now being asked to farm was the holdings of the Denmark Railway and Estate which had been acquired by the Moore government for £50,000 in December 1907.²⁹⁶ The land in question comprised 45 km of railway line bordered by 26,731 acres (10 825 ha) of freehold land.²⁹⁷ In February 1908 Premier Newton Moore

²⁹² *West Australian*, 'Mr. J. F. Allen Dead', 24 May 1933, 18. At the time of his death Joseph Allen was considered the leading candidate to succeed Sir Hal Colebatch as a senator in the Federal Parliament. See *West Australian*, 'Senate Vacancy', 9 February 1933, 8.

²⁹³ *West Australian*, 'Mr. J. F. Allen's Death', 7 June 1933, 16.

²⁹⁴ *West Australian*, 'The Late Mr. J. Allen', 25 May 1933, 10. See also *Truth*, (Perth) 'J. F. Allen', 30 April 1927, 6.

²⁹⁵ *Sunday Times*, 'Peeps at People', 12 February 1911, 25.

²⁹⁶ *Albany Advertiser*, 'The Demark Estate and Railway', 13 November 1907, 3.

²⁹⁷ J. P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part 1, Its Origins: Politics and Administration*, 1988, 11-12.

embarked on a fact-finding visit to the Denmark Estate. He was joined by Minister for Agriculture James Mitchell, who would later become premier and the leading proponent of the Group Settlement Scheme. As well as the mayor of Albany, Cuthbert McKenzie, and his wife, there was the local member Edward Charles Barnett MLA and his wife, brothers William H. Angove and John Edwards Angove who were both land surveyors, and Emily Angove (née Ripper), the second wife of William H. Angove.²⁹⁸

William H. Angove, as will be recalled from Chapter one, was the secretary to the renowned evangelist Matthew Burnett in 1883. He was barely a year old when his family left Redruth for Tavistock in 1850, before leaving for Australia in 1861. His father Thomas Angove and his mother Mary Angove (née Mitchell) eventually settled at Clunes in Victoria. They were joined by William, Richard and John Angove, the Redruth-born brothers of Thomas. Being trained miners, they all gravitated to important positions at various mines in and around Clunes and Ballarat.²⁹⁹ William H. Angove trained as a land surveyor under the Illogan-born John Phillips at the Ballarat School of Mines. Phillips was one of two resident masters appointed there in 1870. He had previously worked as a contract surveyor at St Arnaud, a gold mining town in the Wimmera region of Victoria. Prior to his arrival in Australia, Phillips had established a mining school in Camborne while working as a mineral and land surveyor for Lady Basset of Tehidy.³⁰⁰ It was under Phillips's tutelage that William H. Angove received training in surveying, engineering, mathematics and mechanical drawing, disciplines that reflected those taught at the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society. Perhaps John Phillips most celebrated contribution to Australian mining history was his letter to Sir Roderick Murchison alerting him to the presence of alluvial gold in Victoria in 1847. It was this

²⁹⁸ *Albany Advertiser*, 'The Ministerial Visit to Denmark', 19 February 1908, 4.

²⁹⁹ *The Age*, 'Advertising', 27 September 1866, 1. See also *Mount Alexander Mail*, 'Advertising', 3 February 1862, 3.

³⁰⁰ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 'Cornwall', 12 November 1886, 8.

information that prompted Murchison to urge Colonial Secretary Lord Grey to provide government finance to fully explore and develop Victoria's alluvial gold deposits.³⁰¹



Figure 15: William Henry Angove

(Source: *Sunday Times*, 15 September 1912, 5.)

William H. Angove arrived in Western Australia around the time of the opening of the Geraldton–Northampton railway line on 29 July 1879. He spent the next two years working for the Lands Department before forming a business partnership with Alexander Forrest. Both were members of a small coterie of 18 licensed surveyors working under the purview of the Transfer of Land Act, 1874.³⁰² Late in 1881 his father Thomas moved to Western Australia after receiving a lucrative government contract to organise and manage prospecting teams looking for valuable ore deposits.³⁰³ Meanwhile, William and Alexander Forrest surveyed and purchased millions of acres on behalf of private investors before the partnership was

³⁰¹ *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 'Mr. John Phillips', 20 November 1886, 12.

³⁰² *Daily News*, 'The Daily News', 22 February 1884, 3.

³⁰³ *Ballarat Star*, 'Brevia', 19 October 1881, 2.

dissolved to allow them both to work independently as land surveyors for the West Australian Land Company.³⁰⁴ Under this arrangement Forrest ran his business from Perth while Angove concentrated on the south and west from his base in Albany. Initially they both concentrated on survey work for the Great Southern Railway, which involved establishing the 240-mile route for the Beverley–Albany railway line. In 1886 John Edwards Angove joined his older brother in undertaking much of the farm settlement survey work comprising selections east and west of that railway line to a depth of 40 miles in each direction.³⁰⁵ Also involved was a future premier, Newton Moore, who received much of his formal training as a surveyor from William Angove.³⁰⁶ The Great Southern Railway was officially opened on 1 June 1889. It was the first private venture railway constructed under the land grant system in Western Australia. Meanwhile, in 1889 Mary Angove (63) and Thomas Angove (66) passed away. It is interesting that Thomas Angove died shortly after writing to the *Daily News* to claim another Cornishman, James Treglown, had discovered tin ore on a station near Bunbury seven months prior to a report in that newspaper which had declared it a new find. Perhaps a tacit reminder, if any were needed, that the Cornish reputation for sticking together had substance.³⁰⁷

There can be little doubt that two government initiatives – the Homesteads Act, 1893 and the Agricultural Bank Act, 1894 – compromised the privately owned West Australian Land Company’s ability to attract enough overseas settlers due to the government’s more favourable terms.³⁰⁸ A government handbook on the objectives of that legislation demonstrate why the West Australian Land Company was unable to compete successfully:

They [the Homestead Act and the Agricultural Bank Act] indicate sympathy with the new arrival who has little or no means, but whose anxiety, to create a home for

³⁰⁴ *The Herald*, ‘The Week’, 14 July 1883, 3. See also *West Australian*, ‘The Week’, 7 March 1885, 3.

³⁰⁵ *West Australian*, ‘W.A. Land Company’, 22 April 1886, 3.

³⁰⁶ *West Australian*, ‘Sir Newton Moore’, 16 July 1910, 12. See also *Albany Advertiser*, ‘Personal’, 5 March 1919, 3.

³⁰⁷ *Daily News*, ‘The New Discovery of Tin Ore’, 26 October 1889, 4.

³⁰⁸ *West Australian*, ‘Editorial’, 17 April 1896, 4.

himself and his family, is thus relieved. He gets his homestead practically for nothing. He is advanced money to improve and cultivate on the security of the improvements and cultivation on which the money is to be expended.³⁰⁹

The notion of providing sympathy, relieving anxiety and providing a homestead at nominal cost would not have figured highly as concepts likely to return a profit to the West Australian Land Company investors. After failing to attract sufficient settlers to recover its investment the company decided to sell its entire holdings to a receptive Forrest government in 1896 for £1,100,000.³¹⁰ Even before the purchase was agreed upon, there were signs that the government's generous terms would fail to attract even a fraction of the almost 5000 British migrants expected annually under Anthony Hordern's original land grant railway proposal in 1883.³¹¹

Following the government's purchase of the Great Southern Railway and its associated land corridor, William and John Edwards Angove were appointed to government positions to inspect and classify land from their base at the Albany Land Office. John Angove would eventually spend the best part of 17 years in a horse and buggy traversing the bush in all weather conditions during his long tenure as a surveyor with the Lands Department.³¹² It was during the early phase of his survey work that the Western Australian government embarked on an advertising campaign to entice British farmers and settlers to take up land. To that end, advertisements appeared regularly in many Cornish newspapers from 1896 to 1898, aimed at 'Farmers and Farm Labourers of All Description[s]' and offering them the chance of obtaining 'Free Grants of 160 Acres' under the Homestead Act. The advertisements contained the offer of free passages for female domestic servants and assisted passages for labourers and

³⁰⁹ E.O. MacDevitt, *Handbook of Western Australia*, Perth, Sands & McDougall Ltd, 1897, 25. Available: http://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b1362040_1.pdf?agree, accessed 6 July 2018.

³¹⁰ *West Australian*, 'Editorial', 28 December 1896, 4.

³¹¹ *West Australian*, 'Editorial', 17 April 1896, 4. See also *West Australian*, 'Editorial' 22 July 1885, 3.

³¹² *West Australian*, 'Pioneer Land Official', 7 June 1939, 11.

railway workers.³¹³ In 1895 John Angove briefly left the bush to take up the position of draftsman on the harbour improvements at Albany. It is likely that Thomas Blamey Barratt, who had overall responsibility for the harbour improvements, offered Angove the job. Both played cricket, as did William and Thomas Angove Jnr, for the Perth Cricket Club in the mid 1880s.³¹⁴ Unlike his two brothers Thomas Jnr, spent the majority of his career working for the audit and the treasury departments.³¹⁵ In 1894 he married Alice Maud Lewis at Wesley Church, Perth.³¹⁶ In keeping with the groom's Cornish background, the wedding was solemnised in the presence of the Redruth-born Rev. George Edwards Rowe.³¹⁷

By April 1897 John Angove had succeeded brother William at the Albany Land Office, after the latter was appointed the surveyor in charge of the Albany and Katanning Districts.³¹⁸ One of William's first tasks was to remit all fines and extend the time that rents were due by two months as the government attempted to incorporate those who purchased blocks from the West Australian Land Company.³¹⁹ Thereafter, and as is made clear from John E. Angove's monthly reports to Commissioner of Crown Lands George Throssell, the sale of 160-acre homestead farms in the Albany District, as elsewhere, were lacklustre, compared to the take up of conditional purchase land.³²⁰ This suggests that fully three years after supplanting the West Australian Land Company the government scheme was likewise failing to sell the notion of homestead farms either at home or overseas. Nevertheless, some entrepreneurs were

³¹³ *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 'Public Notices', 14 January 1897, 8.

³¹⁴ *West Australian*, 'Sporting', 2 October 1886, 5.

³¹⁵ *Western Mail*, 'Personal', 30 March 1912, 24.

³¹⁶ *West Australian*, 'Marriage', 30 April 1894, 4.

³¹⁷ Chas A. Jenkins, *A century of Methodism in Western Australia 1830-1930*, Methodist Book Depot, Perth, 1930, 39. Rowe became the inaugural president of the Western Australian Methodist Conference in 1900.

³¹⁸ *West Australian*, 'Summary of News', 16 April 1897, 4.

³¹⁹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'General News', 30 April 1897, 8.

³²⁰ *West Australian*, 'Land Settlement', 2 April 1898, 10. See also *West Australian*, 'Land Settlement', 16 October 1899, 3.

not put off by the apparent difficulty in attracting settlers and securing a profitable return on their investment.

Before exploring that aspect further, it is worth recording the important role that William Angove played in finding a freshwater supply for Albany. Albany was Western Australia's principal port until supplanted by Fremantle in 1900. One of the reasons for this change was Albany's lack of readily available freshwater. Until a piped source of water became available in 1914, ships using Albany were required to replenish their water tanks by laying anchor in Frenchman's Bay and taking on water from a nearby spring, courtesy of lighters towed by two launches named *Bruce* and *Dunsky*.³²¹ Indeed, the need became so great that in 1897 a Mr Handley, who had surveyed southwest Albany and found water, offered to supply the town with 12 gallons per head per day for £5000.³²² Handley's source at Mount Melville and another at Limeburners Creek were found to be deficient in both capacity and quality and were not pursued.³²³ During John Forrest's visit to Albany in 1899 the premier was urged to do more to alleviate the town's water problems which, according to the locals, was affecting shipping revenue.³²⁴ However, no government funds were forthcoming.³²⁵

The situation remained essentially unresolved until the election of William Mawson as mayor in 1911. Mawson asked the council members if all water options had been explored and was informed that they had. Subsequently, Councillor William Angove mentioned a source of freshwater he had discovered near Two Peoples Bay in 1898. He had considered the site too remote and unsuitable and therefore had not mentioned it. The mayor and some council

³²¹ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Albany's Water', 3 June 1947, 5.

³²² *Western Mail*, 'Albany', 6 August 1897, 18.

³²³ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Albany Water Supply', 23 September 1897, 3.

³²⁴ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 'Country News', 13 January 1899, 13.

³²⁵ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Albany Town Council Ordinary Meeting', 23 November 1900, 3.

members went to inspect Angove's water source in 1911 and mayor Mawson, a devout Methodist, was so happy after tasting a cupful of water that he was moved to sing a hymn.³²⁶ After some delays and a general election, the newly elected Premier John Scaddan promised to instigate what was to be called the Two Peoples Bay Water Scheme. The scheme cost £54,694 and fresh water was first piped to the streets of Albany on 1 January 1914.³²⁷ Unfortunately, William Angove JP did not live to see the completion of the scheme he had set in motion. A short time after retiring Angove became ill and he decided to go to Melbourne to seek medical advice. However, on the voyage his condition worsened and he died aged 62 two weeks after the ship docked in Melbourne.³²⁸ His death came just six months after his brother Thomas had passed away at his home in Claremont. It is likely that William Angove's last professional undertaking was in April 1912 when he produced a report on the land to the east of the Kalgan River, past Mount Manypeaks, and ending at Cheynes Beach, which he described as patchy, but suitable for settlers and livestock.³²⁹ His contribution and importance to Albany and its environs are recognised by the naming of the Angove River and Angove Lake, as well as the Angove Creek Catchment Area, where those two features can be found. When John E. Angove died in 1939, aged 74, he was likewise eulogised in the *West Australian* for his pioneering contribution having 'played a worthy part in the development of Albany' in his official capacity as a land surveyor.³³⁰

Prior to this thesis there had been little acknowledgement of the contribution that Cornish professionals made to the economic development of Western Australia. The Perranzabuloe-born Joseph Allen was involved in the early project work on the Fremantle Harbour project,

³²⁶ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Albany's Water', 3 June 1947, 5.

³²⁷ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Local and General News', 3 January 1914, 2.

³²⁸ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Death of Ex-Councillor Angove', 14 September 1912, 3. Angove was appointed a justice of the peace for the whole state by Newton Moore, after first receiving a commission for Dundas from John Forrest.

³²⁹ *West Australian*, 'State Finances', 22 September 1914, 9.

³³⁰ *West Australian*, 'Pioneer Land Official', 7 June 1939, 11.

before opening his own architectural firm where he began designing some of the State's most iconic buildings, including the East Fremantle Town Hall, the Oddfellows' orphanage at Cottesloe, various buildings for the Strelitz Bros, and the Victorian District Co-Op Flourmill at Geraldton. There was surveyor William Angove who discovered freshwater near Two Peoples Bay in 1898, for which the infrastructure necessary to pipe that water to Albany was built by 1914. The work of John Angove, while not receiving the same recognition as his brother, was no less critical to future land settlement. He did much of the survey work for the Lands Department after the government purchased the Great Southern Railway in December 1896. There is every reason to believe that John Angove gained valuable experience from working under Cornish-born Thomas Blamey Barratt on the Albany harbour improvements, thus indicating the strength of the Cousin Jack network. Taken as a whole, the contribution of the people discussed in this chapter provides evidence of the important role that Cornish-Australians played in developing some of Western Australia's most celebrated early infrastructure projects.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MARY ANN JULEFF AND THE BRITISH IMMIGRANTS ASSOCIATION

In October 1905 future premier James Mitchell won the seat of Northam in the Legislative Assembly. His background as a banker and farmer immediately recommended him to the position of honorary minister with oversight of agricultural expansion under Premier Newton Moore. In the next few years Mitchell deepened his involvement with agriculture when he became the minister of land, agriculture and industry. It was during this period that Mitchell began to recognise the value of creating closely settled contiguous farms within a 7 km radius of a town and railhead. In order to validate this theory Premier Moore allowed Mitchell to revive the town of Denmark and its surrounds by purchasing the Denmark Estate for £50,000 and use it as the basis for a communal and allied farm development.³³¹ In due course surveyor William Angove and AG Hewby of the Agricultural Bank were tasked with valuing the town and the suburban-for-cultivation blocks. When Mitchell received their report he considered the valuations too low. Nevertheless, Mitchell saw the South West as prime dairy farming country, and he would devote the rest of his political career to framing a policy to develop 100–160 acre (40–65 ha) homestead blocks to sell to British immigrants on nominal loans. This government initiative attracted a lot of public interest and Premier Moore admitted that he was continually being presented with various land settlement proposals. One such proposal came from the Cornish president/secretary of the British Immigrants Association (BIA), Mary Juleff, who was also secretary of the Women's Auxiliary of the National Liberal League. In 1909 Juleff approached Minister Mitchell who was prevailed upon to release 20,000 acres of land at Cheynes Beach for a co-operative settlement scheme. Before discussing Mary Juleff and her contribution to Western Australia in some detail it is worth considering the work of her brother Thomas Clark Jnr who spent a lifetime trying to convince the Mines Department

³³¹ J.P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part 1*, 13.

that commercial quantities of oil and coal were to be found in the vicinity of Warriup and Cheynes Beach.

Thomas Clark Jnr was born in Truro in 1860. His father Thomas Clark was a self-taught geologist who spent his career working for the Truro Rural District Council as a road surveyor. Although Thomas Clark Snr did not possess a university qualification he was described by the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall as being in possession of a thorough knowledge of practical geology.³³² Indeed, the society presented him with the William Bolitho Gold Medal in 1901 in recognition of his contribution to the field of geology.³³³ While living in Cornwall with his parents Thomas Clark Jnr worked as a carpenter. Prior to coming to Western Australia he claimed to have passed an architecture course with honours at the Truro School of Art.³³⁴ In later years Clark admitted to a degree of frustration during his childhood because he was slow to mature, although he was an avid reader, particularly of books concerned with the fossil record.³³⁵ He arrived in Western Australia in 1890 with his Redruth-born wife Ellen Jane Clark (née Holman) and their two children. He began a carpentry and joinery business from a shop on Middleton Road, Albany.³³⁶ He also spent two years as the principal owner of the Bonanza Mine near Norseman, prospecting unsuccessfully for gold.³³⁷ He sold the mine in 1896 to buy the St Agnes Gold Reef Company for a four-figure sum. The St Agnes Gold Reef Company under Clark uncovered a rich gold ore body that realised £30,000. Unfortunately, the death in 1901 of his wife Ellen, aged 43, soon after the birth of their third child Beatrice in 1900 ushered in a period of prolonged ill-health.³³⁸ Despite his ill-health and having to raise three young children, Clark purchased a farm

³³² *Cornishman*, 'Royal Geological Society of Cornwall', 12 November 1908, 4.

³³³ *Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 'Truro', 6 September 1901, 7.

³³⁴ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Late Mr. T Clark', 4 July 1929, 2.

³³⁵ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Below the Great Plateau', 15 August 1906, 4.

³³⁶ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Albany Town Council', 22 June 1899, 3.

³³⁷ *Western Mail*, 'Norseman', 26 June 1896, 3.

³³⁸ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Late Mr. T. Clark', 4 July 1929, 2.

holding at Cheynes Beach from where he began a geological study of the South West. Clark's subsequent findings prompted him to submit reports to the government geologist in the Mines Department, Andrew Gibb Maitland, claiming that the Cape Riche area might contain substantial coal deposits. This excerpt from Clark's letter sent to the *Albany Advertiser* contains the nub of his hypothesis, which was formulated after he had discovered a fossil at a local Albany brickyard in 1901:

Knowing that I held a fossil of the Mesozoic era I gave particular study to the formations lying between his yard and the Porongorups [sic] and discovered both by wells and clay pits that under the highly ferruginous capping lay beds of fossiliferous shale or clay, almost in an unbroken line for several miles. This I considered a good omen for Albany. In other words, I felt certain that I had found the upper bed of a coal formation.³³⁹

It is clear that Thomas Clark Jnr considered himself a layman in terms of his standing as a geologist. His family background had fostered an abiding interest in geology and he probably developed a good practical understanding of the discipline from his frequent forays into the bush. He spent a large portion of 1905 attempting to prove his hypothesis by undertaking a hazardous journey on foot in the inhospitable country from Bremer Bay to the Stirling Range, which included a climb up Mount Manypeaks. He then trekked from Tenterden to the Collie River before heading to Cape Leeuwin and returning to Albany.³⁴⁰ On his return Clark submitted a report of his findings to the *Albany Advertiser* and the Mines Department. He claimed to have found a coal bed equal to anything in New South Wales, 6–7 miles from Albert Young Hassell's property at Warriup Station.³⁴¹ Two months later Clark oversaw an inspection tour by ten men – presumably investors – who were reportedly suitably impressed with what he showed them.³⁴² Indeed, the prospect of a discovery of either coal or oil saw some approvals for test drilling granted by the Mines Department, including one for Clark at

³³⁹ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Coal Prospects Around Albany', 3 October 1903, 4.

³⁴⁰ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Among the Boronia and Karri', 4 October 1905, 4.

³⁴¹ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Among the Boronia and Karri', 4 October 1905, 4.

³⁴² *Albany Advertiser*, 'The Coal Find', 30 December 1905, 3.

Cheyne Beach.³⁴³ After testing, however, Andrew Gibb Maitland concluded that the geology of the area explored by Clark did not indicate that commercial quantities of oil or coal were present due to the evident shallowness of the sedimentary rock above the granite floor.³⁴⁴

Nonetheless, as the weight of scientific evidence began to reveal that Clark's hypothesis was not supported, he reacted by writing articles for the *Albany Advertiser*, which he also provided to Maitland, beginning with 'Below the Great Plateau' followed by articles in 1908–09.³⁴⁵ However, the articles deviated from his earlier scientific approach to one that was punctuated with esoteric musings and the suspicion that his work was not being taken seriously because he lacked formal qualifications. Clark admitted as much by observing, 'We have a right to our own individual thoughts, for which no man should hold us in ridicule'.³⁴⁶ He also expressed regret at forwarding his work to Maitland who, he claimed, had failed to acknowledge that he had provided much information on the geology of South West. In 1927 Assistant State Mining Engineer Richard Wilson, who had trained at the University of Sydney, was asked to report on whether petroleum oil was present at Cheynes Beach. His report was unequivocal in stating that 'no geologist had ever examined this area at all closely'.³⁴⁷ In August 1908 Clark commenced nine articles comprising some 13,000 words under the heading 'Geology of the South and West'. As previously, Clark wrote about his geological research and noted that a less driven person may have given up, as he had himself considered doing, when confronted by individuals telling him to just accept 'a little job of carpentry; it is more in your line [or

³⁴³ *Daily News*, 'Coal and Oil at Albany', 22 January 1906, 3.

³⁴⁴ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Oil Prospects in Princess Royal Harbour', 9 January 1907, 4. See also T. Blatchford, *WA Department of Mines 1929*, 'Report of the Occurrence of Bituminous Material Which Mr. Hassell Collected from Cheyne Beach and Forwarded for Identification'. Available at www.dmp.wa.gov.au/Documents/About-Us-Careers/AnnualReport_1929.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018

³⁴⁵ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Local news', 30 May 1906, 3.

³⁴⁶ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Below the Great Plateau', 26 May 1906, 4.

³⁴⁷ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Prospecting for Oil', 7 September 1927, 3.

that he] had not the indispensable requirements for such important work or the wherewithal to obtain them'.³⁴⁸

Clark, although clearly driven, failed to convince the university-trained engineers and geologists in the Mines Department that his findings were scientific. The situation was akin to the marginalisation of Cornish mine captains following the arrival of Herbert Hoover in 1897. Indeed, as Hoover later revealed, his goal was nothing short of elevating mine engineering into the realm of science and dispensing with rule-of-thumb surveyors, mechanics and Cornish foreman.³⁴⁹ Hoover achieved this aim by promoting university-trained American personal and modern methods during his tenure as mine manager for Bewick, Moreing & Co. Moreover, Hoover's impact on the mining industry was so profound that he was hailed as the progenitor of the university-educated professional whose use of scientific methods was judged to be innately superior to on-the-job training.³⁵⁰ Nevertheless, as Thomas Clark freely admitted, he did receive unstinting support from one quarter, his gifted sister, as he described her, Mary Anne Juleff.³⁵¹

Mary Ann Clark and her twin brother William were two years younger than Thomas. In 1885 Mary married grocer Alfred Juleff at the Congregational Chapel in Truro.³⁵² By 1897 the couple had two children and a loan of £60, which they had obtained from a relative in order to open a florist/grocer's shop near the partially completed Truro Cathedral.³⁵³ The business did not prosper and, citing a lack of trade due to local competition, damaged fruit, stock losses

³⁴⁸ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Geology of the South and West No. 5', 8 August 1908, 4.

³⁴⁹ Herbert Hoover, *The memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of adventure 1874-1920*, The MacMillan Company: New York, 1951, 131.

³⁵⁰ Geoffrey Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, 202. See also Ron, Limbaugh, 'Pragmatic Professional: Herbert Hoover's Formative Years as a Mining Engineer, 1895-1908', *Mining History Journal*, Vol., 11, 2004, 50.

³⁵¹ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Below the Great Plateau', 15 August 1906, 4.

³⁵² *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 'Marriages', 20 February 1885, 8.

³⁵³ *West Briton*, 'Advertisements', 20 May 1897, 8. Truro Cathedral would not be completed until 1910.

and pressure from creditors, Alfred Juleff filed for bankruptcy in November 1900, owing £305 to 45 unsecured creditors.³⁵⁴ Much to the official receiver's surprise, Mary Juleff decided to relinquish any claim to the family furniture, which prompted the official to remark that it was a refreshing outcome for creditors. In March 1901 a final dividend of 4s 8d in the pound was declared.³⁵⁵ Alfred Juleff had left Cornwall on 30 January 1901 bound for Australia aboard the RMS *Moravian*. Thus he was absent from the Clark home where Mary Juleff was living on the day of the 1901 UK census.³⁵⁶ Their eldest daughter, Alice Marion, aged 16, married Edwin Fleet at St Pauls Church, Truro on March 31, 1902.³⁵⁷ Mary and their other daughter, Dorothea Grace, joined Alfred in Western Australia between April 1902 and October 1903: there is a reference to D. Juleff winning a prize at the Leederville Floral and Industrial Society in October 1903.³⁵⁸

Mary Anne Juleff first came to public notice when she became the secretary of the Leederville branch of the women's campaign committee for the short-lived West Australian Party in the lead-up to the 1906 federal election. The West Australian Party had been established by Sir John Forrest who had left his own Protectionist Party because of its alliance with the Labor Party. At a political gathering at 'The Bungalow', the residence of Sir John and Lady Forrest, Mary Juleff, as campaign secretary, was asked to address the meeting briefly. The report of the meeting noted that Juleff exhibited a 'bright and intelligent grasp of the subject' and, moreover, expressed the opinion that it was every woman's duty 'to take a keen interest in science, religion, and politics'.³⁵⁹ The day after, in the first of many letters to

³⁵⁴ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 'Creditors Meetings at Truro', 22 November 22, 1900, 8.

³⁵⁵ *The Cornish Telegraph*, 'Truro', 20 March 1901, 5.

³⁵⁶ Ancestry.com, *UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960* [online database]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012. See also *Register*, 'The Mail Steamer at Fremantle', 9 March 1901, 8.

³⁵⁷ *Cornishman*, 'Marriages', 10 April 1902, 6.

³⁵⁸ *West Australian*, 'Leederville Floral and Industrial Society', 9 October 1903, 9. D. Juleff was recorded as a juvenile participant and prizewinner.

³⁵⁹ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'The Federal Elections', 16 November 1906, 3.

the editor of the *West Australian*, Juleff expanded on the role of women by noting that a nation may have its sports and pastimes, but if women actively participated in science, religion and politics they would be contributing to the only criterion that actually determines a nation's true position in the world.³⁶⁰ She then paraphrased Jeremy Bentham by suggesting that her political beliefs matched those of the National Liberal League in that both wanted 'the greatest good for the greatest number, and that the platform the League supported was the most beneficial for this country'.³⁶¹ However, in a development that would cause a schism amongst the women of Perth's liberal elite, Mary Juleff became one of four paid canvassers working for Sir John Forrest during the 1906 federal election campaign.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ *West Australian*, 'Women and The Elections', 27 November 1906, 5.

³⁶¹ *West Australian*, 'Social Notes', 26 November 1906, 3. At the time the NLL were two entities known as the National Political League and the Liberal League based at 3 Halsbury Chambers, Howard St, Perth. It was still in Howard St, when the name was changed to NLL in April 1907. See *Daily News*, 'National Liberal League of W.A.', 17 April 1907, 9.

³⁶² *West Australian*, 'Social Notes', 3 December 1906, 2.



Figure 16: Mary Ann Juleff

(Source: *Western Mail*, 18 April 1908, 24.)

In 1907 the National Liberal League announced that it had established a women's auxiliary with 21 board members. Lady Forrest, who was based in Melbourne for three months of the year, accepted the role of honorary president. Mrs JM Hopkins was the first president, Ruth Gregory was one of three vice-presidents and Mary Juleff was appointed the honorary secretary.³⁶³ The creation of the Women's Auxiliary of the National Liberal League (WANLL) was acknowledged in the press as a desirable outcome for women in the Liberal movement.³⁶⁴ The introduction of Jessie Ackerman, the American-born social reformer, who expressed her delight at meeting 'some real live women citizens' had a marvellous effect on

³⁶³ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 10 May 1907, 4.

³⁶⁴ *Truth* (Perth), 'Movement at the 'National'', 15 June 1907, 4.

recruitment and by end of 1907 the WANLL had 255 members spread across several suburban branches.³⁶⁵ A notable aspect of the Forrest re-election campaign, which was continued by the WANLL, was the adoption of the 'At Home' as a means to disseminate information amongst its members. The Karrakatta Club was the inspiration behind this initiative as an invitation to an 'At Home' was *de rigueur* for the social elites of Perth, who took turns holding *soirees*, ostensibly to discuss issues over afternoon tea, while also enjoying the occasional recital.³⁶⁶ One such gathering took place on 9 January 1908 at the home of the new president of the WANLL, Ruth Gregory, the wife of Henry Gregory, Western Australia's minister of mines and railways.

This 'At Home' was to welcome Lady Forrest who had recently returned from Melbourne. In addition, there was a more formal purpose and Mary Juleff presented an extensive report of the work of the WANLL since its formation.³⁶⁷ In it she mentioned that eight board members, including herself, had met Colonial Secretary James Connolly to offer the co-operation of the WANLL in assisting in the reception of overseas immigrants. Independently of this, Mary Juleff advised those present that she had been in contact with Edward Scammell, the former emigration commissioner, to arrange a conference to discuss how the 'ladies' deputation committee' might contribute to Scammell's scheme which he had named 'Hands Across the Seas'.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ *West Australian*, 'Women's Auxiliary National Liberal League', 10 January 1908, 3.

³⁶⁶ *West Australian*, 'The Karrakatta Club', 5 August 1895, 5.

³⁶⁷ *West Australian*, 'Women's Auxiliary National Liberal League', 10 January 1908, 3.

³⁶⁸ *West Australian*, 'Women's Auxiliary National Liberal League', 10 January 1908, 3.

On 14 January 1908 Lady Forrest held an afternoon garden party at 'The Bungalow' for members of the WANLL. As was customary on such occasions, 'Adrienne' was present to report on what transpired for the readers of the *West Australian*:

The time passed most pleasantly on the lawns, the croquet courts being available for those who wished to play. A gramophone, through which some of the world's most famous singers could be heard, was placed on the verandah near the drawing-room windows and attracted many interested listeners. Delicious afternoon tea was dispensed on the lawns. A violin solo was given by Miss Pike, and a song by Miss Myra Franklin.³⁶⁹

As had occurred at the meeting at the Gregory's home, Juleff seconded a motion thanking Lady Forrest for her kindness and spoke about the progress of the WANLL. In June Juleff reported on the progress of the WANLL to a large influential meeting of the National Liberal League. She advised those assembled that the WANLL had held 24 meetings throughout the year and had formed branches in Victoria Park, Subiaco, West Perth and Maylands.

Meanwhile, the activities of the WANLL had not escaped the attention of the *Truth* newspaper, which relished the opportunity, given its mandate as the self-proclaimed 'People's Paper', of reporting that all was not well with the 'Petticoated Politicians' of the WANLL.³⁷⁰ The *Truth* published articles suggesting that there was internal division in the WANLL concerning the revelation that some members were receiving money for working as canvassers for the National Liberal League.

Mary Juleff had been a paid canvasser during the 1906 federal election campaign and there was disagreement between Juleff and Ruth Gregory about this. Following Gregory's resignation over the issue of paid canvassers the *Truth* reported that one disgruntled member was heard to remark, 'If Mrs Gregory wouldn't allow the poor women in the League to earn

³⁶⁹ *West Australian*, 'Social Notes', 15 January 1908, 3.

³⁷⁰ *Truth* (Perth), 'Petticoated Politicians', 8 February 1908, 5; and *Truth*, 'Truth in W.A.', 25 July 1908, 2.

an honest penny, well they could easily fill her place'.³⁷¹ Gregory's resignation was of a temporary nature and she was coaxed back to the presidency, only to get into a heated exchange with Mary Juleff six months later, over the latter's attempt to water down an outright ban on payments to canvassers who were also members of the board. After failing to get her original motion accepted without Juleff's amendment, Gregory, along with the Mrs Hopkins, Mrs Guy, Mrs Gutteridge, Miss Muller and Mrs Beatty all resigned from the WANLL.³⁷² Unsurprisingly, after only 16 months of fractious existence the WANLL was unceremoniously dissolved and replaced by another short-lived entity the Women's Liberal and Progressive League.³⁷³ However, the new entity was likewise riven with discord and lingering embarrassment following the *Truth's* gossipy exposé of the inner workings of the WANLL. The whole affair became something of an embarrassment for Sir John and Lady Forrest who wanted to start afresh and therefore sought assistance from Grace Watson, the Victorian organiser of the Australian Women's National League who came to Western Australia in early 1909 to inaugurate a Western Australia division of the AWNL.³⁷⁴ Remarkably, Ruth Gregory and Mrs Guy who had supported the ban on paid canvassers, were appointed to the executive of the West Australian Division of the Australian Women's National League (WAWNL).³⁷⁵ Moreover, Juleff joined her erstwhile colleagues in the WAWNL, but tempered her involvement by establishing, in conjunction with Edward Scammell, the Citizens Welcome League (CWL), a not-for-profit organisation founded on humanitarian grounds to help recently arrived British immigrants settle in Western Australia.³⁷⁶

³⁷¹ *Truth* (Perth), 'Toffy Turmoil', 25 July 1908, 3. See also *West Australian*, 'Women's Auxiliary of the National Liberal League', 17 January 1908, 6.

³⁷² *Daily News*, 'Women, Pay and Politics', 21 July 1908, 6.

³⁷³ *West Australian*, 'Meetings', 30 September 1908, 8.

³⁷⁴ Margaret Fitzherbert, *Liberal Women, Federation – 1949*, The Federation Press, Sydney, 2004, 93.

³⁷⁵ *West Australian*, 'Social Notes', 9 February 1909, 6. In June 1912 the title would again be changed to the Women's Liberal League of WA. See *West Australian*, 'Women in Politics', 5 June 1912, 7–8.

³⁷⁶ *West Australian*, 'Social Notes', 16 March 1909, 6.

In January 1908 Edward Scammell, who was then in Western Australia, outlined his plans for his proposed 'Hands Across the Seas' scheme. The scheme's stated aim was to support new arrivals in conjunction with the various churches and friendly societies under the banner of the CWL, with headquarters in Perth, and branches in Fremantle and Albany. Scammell proposed that the CWL should consider the needs of domestic servants and to that end he claimed to have been contacted by Mrs Ellen Joyce, the president of the British Women's Emigration Association, to present her proposals to the various state governments with respect to the reception of useful and reliable young women.³⁷⁷ Scammell's reticence on the last point raises some doubt over the veracity of his claim that Ellen Joyce had contacted him with respect to the welfare of domestic servants. Indeed, Scammell went on to acknowledge the work of Mrs O'Grady Lefroy and the Girls Friendly Society who already provided assistance to young women on behalf of the British Women's Emigration Association once they arrived in Western Australia. Joyce enjoyed a well-founded reputation in government circles for demanding the best care available for the young women under her charge.³⁷⁸ Moreover, from the arrival of the first 85 women selected by her in 1889, Mrs Joyce was effectively given *carte blanche* by Sir John Forrest to manage the process as she saw fit.³⁷⁹ Therefore, Scammell's claim that Joyce had asked him to act as her emissary seems scarcely creditable and Scammell may have made the claim in order to gain government backing.

In March 1908 Juleff, like many other middle class women, saw in emigration work a worthy outlet for her talents in administration, and she therefore accepted the role of acting secretary of the CWL.³⁸⁰ The CWL was totally reliant on donations to fund its activities and, as Juleff

³⁷⁷ *West Australian*, 'Hands Across the Seas', 25 January 1908, 2.

³⁷⁸ James A. Hammerton, *Emigrant gentlewomen, genteel poverty and female emigration 1830-1914*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1979, 150.

³⁷⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Girls for Australia', 18 February 1898, 2.

³⁸⁰ James A. Hammerton, *Emigrant gentlewomen, genteel poverty and female emigration 1830-1914*, 150.

was at pains to point out, the organisation did not give monetary assistance as none was required.³⁸¹ The assumption on Juleff's part was that British subjects would not accept charity if it meant that they were beholden to any one individual or organisation.³⁸² There was an expectation that the Western Australian government would provide some financial aid, however, it declined to do so.³⁸³ The government's rejection was arguably not helped by Juleff being highly critical of government-sponsored migration agents who she believed were selecting vulnerable people in Britain who were wholly unsuited for life in Australia. When Juleff led a CWL deputation to see Agent-General Hector Rason and Colonial Secretary James Connelly, the government made its position on funding abundantly clear.³⁸⁴ What was needed, according to Connelly, was an organisation based on the Canadian system that possessed a central office with branches throughout the state and was, importantly, self-funded.³⁸⁵ Connelly also claimed that speeches of welcome and musical interludes were of little value to new settlers.³⁸⁶

Whether this rejection was the reason for the early demise of the CWL is open to conjecture. However, Scammell had been under a financial cloud since 1895 when his Exeter-based builder's merchant business, which he jointly owned with his father, collapsed with liabilities totalling £8,782. Matters came to a head in December 1908 when Scammell received notice that bankruptcy proceedings were to begin against him in London, and he left Western Australia abruptly.³⁸⁷ The CWL had been closely identified with Scammell and so it appeared necessary to change the organisation's name: the new British Immigrants Association (BIA)

³⁸¹ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 28 March 1908, 10.

³⁸² *Daily News*, 'Migration Policy', 11 October 1921, 1.

³⁸³ *West Australian*, 'The Citizens' Welcome League', 27 May 1908, 2.

³⁸⁴ *West Australian*, 'Complaints from Immigrants', 29 March 1909, 2.

³⁸⁵ *West Australian*, 'Attracting Population', 8 December 1908, 5.

³⁸⁶ *West Australian*, 'Attracting Population', 8 March 1908, 5.

³⁸⁷ *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 'The Failure of E. T. Scammell', 24 March 1909, 6. The debt represented an amount owing to a building society when the business Scammell ran in partnership with his father was sold in 1892.

was born and Mary Juleff was elected its first president and secretary. Juleff soon relinquished the role of president to Lady Forrest whose acceptance suggests that neither she nor Sir John Forrest considered her responsible for the demise of the WANLL. Under Juleff and Lady Forrest the BIA expanded its role from merely welcoming migrants with tea and biscuits at its new clubrooms at 115 Barrack Street, Perth to providing employment advice and emergency accommodation. In order to fund these services, the BIA charged an annual membership fee of 2s 6d, while help in finding employment attracted a booking fee of 1s. The office bearers were not paid. In October 1909 the BIA published an 8-page booklet that named 54 full members and 46 associate members. It also contained a list of rules and four objectives that amounted to encouraging British settlers to take up land while retaining 'old country' organisations and British values.³⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that when Juleff became involved with the Cornish Association in 1920 she no longer believed that 'Britishers' could co-operate in the manner outlined in the BIA booklet.³⁸⁹ However, before reaching that conclusion, Juleff set out an ambitious goal for the BIA that was promulgated in the association's booklet. In it Juleff discussed establishing a British co-operative farming scheme, which she later described as the first Group Settlement Scheme in Western Australia, on 20,000 acres of land at Cheynes Beach near Albany.³⁹⁰

Before examining the scheme's salient features, it should be acknowledged that the BIA co-operative farming scheme was one of many such proposals that came across the desk of Premier Newton Moore. During a speech at Bunbury in May 1906, Moore admitted that he had taken a keen interest in the various proposals dealing with land settlement that had been

³⁸⁸ Anon., *British Immigrants Association: Rules and objects*, Clark Books, Perth, 1909, 6-7. See also *Western Mail*, 'British Migrants Association', 28 May 1910, 43.

³⁸⁹ *Sunday Times*, 'Migration', 29 April 1823, 13.

³⁹⁰ *Daily News*, 'Colonising the State', 19 January 1910, 3. See also *Daily News*, 'British Immigrant Association', 24 May 1922, 7.

presented to him personally or had been published in the press.³⁹¹ Nevertheless, he went on to reiterate, the government's preferred outcome was to attract both moderately resourced British farmers and their counterparts from the eastern states. His government was not prepared to offer similar encouragement to people who simply wanted to settle in Perth or in other large towns in the state.³⁹² During his time as Western Australia's emigration commissioner in London Edward Scammell had presented his own five-point plan for land settlement.³⁹³

1. The survey, sub-division, and classification of the land in large or small areas, according to climate, soil, location, etc.
2. The ringbarking of a portion of the timber in selected areas.
3. The clearing of a sufficient area of land to enable a settler to make a start as soon as he is ready to do so.
4. The digging of wells, construction of dams, or location of soaks, especially in dry districts.
5. The erection of a cheap and convenient house and the fencing of a selected portion of area, if required. The cost of such work should be at the lowest possible contract rates and paid by the selector at once or by instalments.³⁹⁴

Although very general in outline, Scammell's plan required that most of the preparatory work be undertaken on a contract basis for the lowest feasible cost. This outcome could only have been achieved with convict labour, which was precisely what Mary Juleff outlined in her proposal, demonstrating a degree of commonality between their respective schemes.³⁹⁵ However, Scammell did not share Juleff's enthusiasm for a co-operative approach to land settlement. Instead, like another government migration agent/lecturer, Alfred Drakard, Scammell saw land settlement in strictly commercial terms. That is to say, 'for the investment of such capital or the settlement of the men, we may send overseas, we require to receive a sufficient financial return to cover our expenses'.³⁹⁶ However, unlike Scammell and Drakard,

³⁹¹ *Blackwood Times*, 'The Policy Speech', 23 May 1906, 2.

³⁹² *Blackwood Times*, 'The Policy Speech', 23 May 1906, 2.

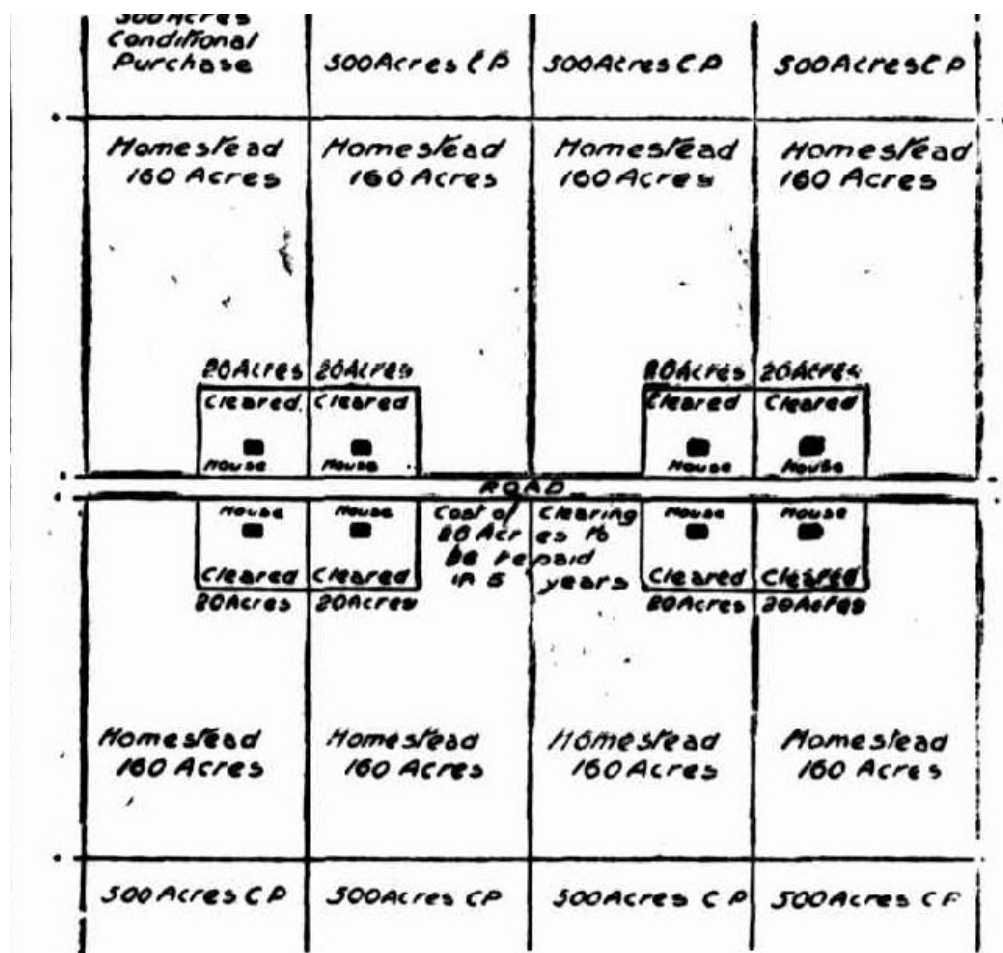
³⁹³ *West Australian*, Perth, 'Mr. E. L. Scammell on the South West', 22 February 1908, 4. The Homestead Act, 1893 and the Land Act, 1898 had clearly delineated the acreages offered to each settler and this aspect remained remarkably consistent throughout the whole period leading up to the Group Settlement Scheme.

³⁹⁴ *Great Southern Herald*, 'Land Settlement, Mr. T. E. Scammell's Proposals', 28 March 1908, 4.

³⁹⁵ *Daily News*, 'Land Settlement and Immigration', 15 February 1909, 9.

³⁹⁶ *Daily News*, 'Interest in England', 19 January 1910, 3.

Juleff believed the gregarious nature of human beings might be used to advantage if closer settlements were established with small bodies of men working co-operatively for the greater good. Moreover, the BIA attempted to involve both the Caledonian and Cambrian societies in the venture, which further reinforces the argument that the co-operative BIA farm scheme inspired the later Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme of the 1920s.³⁹⁷ Indeed, the first public airing of Juleff's BIA proposal in 1908 places it in the same timeframe as the government purchase of the Denmark Railway and Estate under Premier Newton Moore in December 1907, which Gabbedy noted was later acknowledged by Geoffrey Bolton in his book on Alexander Forrest, as bearing a family likeness to James Mitchell's Group Settlement Scheme.³⁹⁸



³⁹⁷ John Selwood and Mark Brayshay, 'From one room to another in the Great House of Empire', 478. See also *Daily News*, 'Land Settlement', 16 October 1909, 12.

³⁹⁸ J.P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part 1*, 12.

Figure 17: The Mary Juleff Scheme.

(Source: *Western Mail*, 26 December 1908, 8.)

In December 1908 the *Western Mail* published Juleff's sketch and brief overview of her scheme. It shows 8 homestead blocks of 160 acres with one corner of each comprising a smaller 20-acre section where the farmhouse was to be built.³⁹⁹ In an attempt to set her scheme apart, Juleff observed that 'closer settlement schemes, I believe, are of all the schemes to be most advocated, because they supply the possibilities of co-operation and sympathy from one's fellow men'.⁴⁰⁰ As noted, there were other land settlement schemes in the early 1900s. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was the one that became known as the 'Drakard Scheme', the brainchild of Alfred Drakard. On his return to Western Australia in January 1907 Drakard claimed to have outlined a settlement scheme to Walter Hartwell James and his successor, Hector Rason, during their respective terms as Western Australia's agent-general in London. However, Drakard declined to elaborate further until he had seen the relevant minister, presumably Premier Newton Moore who held the Lands portfolio in 1907. After an interval of three years and now working for the federal government as an advertising agent in London, Drakard finally announced his settlement scheme through the auspices of the '*Standard of Empire*', a weekly companion to the *Standard*, a forerunner to the *London Evening Standard*, edited by AJ Dawson.⁴⁰¹ It is worth noting that Drakard was a controversial figure in Western Australia following his appointment in 1906 as an 'immigrant agent' earning £400 per annum, plus £100 a month for living expenses.⁴⁰² Given that many workers were earning less than £1 a week, the salary paid to the Lincolnshire-born Drakard

³⁹⁹ *Western Mail*, 'Land Settlement and Immigration', 26 December 1908, 8. Mary Juleff canvassed the possibility of a further 500 acres being allocated to each block if the settler so desired, which the sketch also notes.

⁴⁰⁰ *Western Mail*, 'Land Settlement and Immigration', 26 December 1908, 8.

⁴⁰¹ *Daily News*, 'Colonising the State', 19 January 1910, 3. The primary goal of the *Standard of Empire* was to encourage emigration and investment in the Dominions. See also *West Australian*, 'The Search for Immigrants', 16 September 1910, 5.

⁴⁰² *Sunday Times*, 'Lame Lecturers', 18 February 1906, 8.

was a controversial subject.⁴⁰³ Perhaps even more controversially, Drakard had spent less than three months living in Western Australia, the state he was expected to promote.⁴⁰⁴ The continual sniping from sections of the press in Western Australia ensured that his appointment was destined not to last long. Drakard maintained that Western Australia was ripe for settlement and this perhaps explains the major point of difference between him and Mary Juleff. While Juleff talked of co-operation and yeomen farmers, Drakard and Edward Scammell saw only the commercial potential of settlement schemes. Asked to comment on Drakard's scheme Mary Juleff made following observation:

Whatever method is adopted in the future, there is nothing but co-operation that can tackle the clearing of the vast areas of agricultural land yet in the hands of the Crown, and whether the operations are conducted by private enterprise or by the assistance of the Agricultural Bank, it is for those deeply versed in 'securities' to ponder over.⁴⁰⁵

In the end the question of financing became irrelevant as the Agricultural Bank refused to lend money to societies like the BIA. This rejection merely confirmed the bank's founding principal of lending only to individuals (farmers) on easy terms, a policy that required the prospective farmer to apply in their own name in an effort to thwart land speculators.⁴⁰⁶ In November 1910 the *West Australian* reported that Drakard was preparing to leave London with a number of suitably qualified settlers to start a small 'colony'.⁴⁰⁷ However, after less than a year Drakard's attempt at establishing a rival colony at Mount Barker failed and he returned to England, prompting Mary Juleff to attribute Drakard's failure to his use of compulsion instead of co-operation in the scheme's administration.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰³ Western Australia, Legislative Assembly, *Debates*, 'Sweating Inquiry Recommendations', 16 October 1907, 187.

⁴⁰⁴ *Evening Star*, 'Immigrant Agent', 16 March 1906, 3.

⁴⁰⁵ *Daily News*, 'Co-Operation Best', 19 January 1910, 3.

⁴⁰⁶ *Daily News*, 'Interest in England', 19 January 1910, 3.

⁴⁰⁷ *West Australian*, 'Our London Letter', 26 November 1910, 5.

⁴⁰⁸ *West Australian*, 'British Immigrants Association', 4 July 1911, 8.

In contrast, the BIA scheme, while not reaching any great heights, did achieve a modicum of success. On 12 August 1909 Juleff met William Paterson, the manager of the Agricultural Bank. It was at this meeting that Paterson confirmed that conditional purchase blocks would remain, as per the bank's policy, under individual ownership.⁴⁰⁹ However, he did agree that the production and sale of produce from each block could be part of a broader co-operative undertaking. Juleff then approached Minister for Lands James Mitchell who was prevailed upon to provide 20,000 acres of Crown land near Waychinicup River and Cheynes Beach, to the BIA..⁴¹⁰ By the time the second annual meeting of the BIA was held at Smith's Chambers, Barrack Street, Perth on 30 June 1911, Juleff was able to provide an extensive report on the settlers' progress after 18 months. She first thanked James Mitchell for the free selections at Waychinicup River, and then overseer Frank Lane for coordinating the BIA's efforts on the ground. The report submitted by Lane noted that hand implements would suffice for the first year and that there were ploughs although, paradoxically, these and three horses owned by other settlers could not be borrowed. Despite this apparent lack of co-operation Juleff hoped that an influx of younger settlers might develop a level of trust in each other that was missing from the older generation who preferred to work as individuals.⁴¹¹

Juleff's largely positive report noted that 16 blocks, the equivalent of 3000 acres, had been taken up with more settlers due to arrive over the coming months. After a further 12 months Juleff was able to inform members at the third annual meeting of the BIA that a government surveyor, probably John Angove, had commended the settlers for their hard work in clearing 12 miles of country from Waychinicup River to Albany. Not only was this effort praiseworthy in its own right and beyond anything that other settlers had achieved so far, it was also soon

⁴⁰⁹ *Daily News*, 'Interest in England', 19 January 1910, 3.

⁴¹⁰ *West Australian*, 'British Immigrants Association', 4 July 1911, 8.

⁴¹¹ *West Australian*, 'British Immigrants' Association', 4 July 1911, 8.

bettered by other BIA settlers who built a road and a receiving shed at Cheynes Beach so that supplies and produce could be ferried in and out on the mail steamer.⁴¹² The provision of a steamer service owed much to Mary Juleff who wrote to the responsible minister to request that the SS *Ferret* call at Cheynes Beach during its regular service from Albany to Eucla.⁴¹³ In the event, the *Eucla* was tasked with delivering the twice-weekly service to Cheynes Beach. During one visit in December 1912 renowned journalist Daisy Bates FRAS, noted the experimental nature of the Cheynes Beach settlement in a newspaper article about her trip:

Our first disembarkation occurs here (Cheynes Beach) for the British Immigrant Association has started a farm at this place for young Britishers to learn the colonial system of mixed farming, and the managers of the concern are rightly on the spot to personally conduct the experiment.⁴¹⁴

It is not difficult to discern from the account of Bates the pivotal role undertaken by the BIA and Juleff in pioneering co-operative farming and guided training at the Cheynes Beach settlement. Unfortunately, the BIA experiment came to an abrupt end late in 1914 as a result of the outbreak of the First World War, which drastically reduced the number of potential settlers. Indeed, Western Australia's annual intake of immigrants declined from 7708 in 1913 to just 635 in 1915 (see Appendix One).⁴¹⁵ In April that year at the BIA's fifth annual general meeting, Juleff was already grappling with the lack of potential settlers and she acknowledged that the settlement could accommodate many more people.⁴¹⁶ This observation may also indicate a level of frustration with British immigrants more generally as most preferred to stay in Perth instead of making the most of the opportunity that the Cheynes Beach settlement presented. Moreover, Juleff mentioned that the clubroom had to be closed during the past year

⁴¹² *West Australian*, 'Cheyne Beach', 12 August 1912, 5. See also *Sunday Times*, 'Steamer Service on South-East Coast', 15 September 1912, 9. Concerning a settler complaint about the cost of the new service.

⁴¹³ SROWA, AU WA S675-1-Cons752 1910/4840, British Immigrants Association, letter asking that mail steamer 'Ferret' deliver mails at the whaling station for settlers at Waychinicup River.

⁴¹⁴ *Western Mail*, 'Along the South Coast to Eucla', 27 December 1912, 12.

⁴¹⁵ Australia. Development and Migration Commission 1927, *Annual Report*, Govt. Printer [Melbourne] 2nd Volume, Appendix III, 48.

⁴¹⁶ *West Australian*, 'Immigrants' Association', 4 April 1914, 12.

because committee members – hampered by the sporadic work available in Perth – could not be relied upon to cover her absence when she was at Cheynes Beach coordinating the settlement.

The BIA settlement scheme ended in 1915 as the impact of the First World War and the corresponding lack of immigrants and internal migrants conspired to make the role of the BIA redundant. Nevertheless, Mary Juleff had a myriad of other interests to occupy her time, including her work as treasurer of the WA branch of the Royal Society of St George, which she helped form in 1910. Juleff played a pivotal role in organising the society's event ceremony in King's Park on 23 April 1910 in honour of England's patron saint. Its first ceremony was attended by Governor Sir Gerald Strickland and Lady Strickland, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Edward Stone and Lady Stone, and most of the leading figures in the state.⁴¹⁷ Juleff also had the time to act on behalf of the Women's Christian Temperance Union to highlight the growing impact of intemperance on young mothers and its perceived threat to the young nation.⁴¹⁸ She also took on the roles of a migration representative for the WA National Council of Women in 1914 and honorary secretary of the WA Women's Congress under President Bessie Rischbieth. She was continually engaged with the issues of the day.⁴¹⁹ Moreover, without Juleff's drive and leadership the BIA would not have been revived in 1921. It was largely through her efforts that a small advisory board comprising former premier John Scaddan and Frederick Teesdale, the member for Roebourne, was formed.⁴²⁰ However, by then the BIA was just one of several organisations offering support to

⁴¹⁷ *Western Mail*, 'St. George's Day', 30 April 1910, 44.

⁴¹⁸ *West Australian*, 'Grocers' Licences', 19 May 1909, 2.

⁴¹⁹ *Daily News*, 'W.A. Women's Conference', 10 June 1914, 10. See also *West Australian*, 'Welfare of Immigrants', 15 October 1921, 7.

⁴²⁰ *Daily News*, 'British Immigrant Association', 24 May 1922, 7.

immigrants who now had to operate under the umbrella of the New Settlers' League of Australia.

In 1909 Mary Juleff wrote to the *West Australian* to praise the Australian people for their loyalty to Britain, in offering to fund the construction of a Dreadnought battleship during a period of heightened tension with the German Empire in what came to be known as the 'Dreadnought Scare'.⁴²¹ Juleff observed that if the German intention was to 'strike fear into the English heart then Australians should not hesitate to say to the Motherland, and that in a voice that shall not be misunderstood, we will stand by you'.⁴²² The German people, she ventured, might not be willing to endure the financial burden that any challenge to the Royal Navy would demand. It is hardly surprising, given her stance on England and the British Empire, that Mary Juleff became a leading figure in the short-lived All-British Association (ABA). The ABA was a xenophobic pressure group dedicated to the imperial cause and the less well-intentioned goal of confining all 'enemy aliens' to internment camps.⁴²³ The ABA came into being in May 1915. One of the organisation's leading spokesmen was the same Cecil John Reginald Le Mesurier mentioned in Chapter 4 in relation to the Midland Railway, who would assume the role of chairman of the All-British Co-operative Society, an offshoot of the ABA, formed to promulgate the association's views on enemy aliens through the publication of a newspaper.⁴²⁴ By August 1915 the ABA was said to have attracted a crowd of over 1000 people to the Esplanade to hear speakers like Mary Juleff support a resolution that called for the dismissal of 'alien enemy subjects' from government service.⁴²⁵ Soon after this

⁴²¹ Martin Pugh, *State and Society*, 140. The crisis was based on erroneous notion that the Germans were planning to build fourteen Dreadnought-type ships, when Britain had six and was only intending to build four a year, leaving it at a numerical disadvantage.

⁴²² *West Australian*, 'Correspondence', 31 March 1909, 8.

⁴²³ Bobbie Oliver, "'All-British" or "Anti-German"? A portrait of a Western Australian pressure group during World War I', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 12, 1991, 36.

⁴²⁴ *Sunday Times*, 'The All-British Movement', 5 December 1915, 11.

⁴²⁵ *West Australian*, 'All-British Association', 9 August 1915, 8.

meeting Juleff turned to print to lambast those Australians inclined to give people the benefit of the doubt:

We are sick and tired of the spineless Australian German apologists, for which I think all reasonable-minded people must have a supreme contempt. So many do not read, but are led away by what others say, and so I have ventured to place as concisely as possible the true aims of the German brotherhood before, perhaps, many who have never yet studied the matter at all.—Yours, etc., Mary A. Juleff.⁴²⁶

Shortly after warning of the dangers of the German brotherhood and its apologists, Mary Juleff became embroiled in the ‘Shugg’ controversy, where the limitations of her own native understanding of Cornish surnames became readily apparent.

In December 1915 the first edition of Le Mesurier’s newspaper published an article under the heading ‘German School Teachers’ in which it was alleged that Henry Gervase Shugg was unfit to teach impressionable children.⁴²⁷ Le Mesurier had identified Henry Shugg, the headmaster of the Bayswater State School, as a German by consulting the electoral roll looking for German-sounding names. As soon as Shugg became aware that he had been identified as a German he sought to clear his name by bringing a libel action against the All-British Co-operative Society. Shugg’s libel action sought an apology from Le Mesurier, the publisher, together with damages for pain and worry caused by the article’s publication.⁴²⁸ The case was heard in the Supreme Court on 24 May 1916 before a jury under Justice John Rooth. At the outset, Henry Shugg maintained that as far as he was aware his surname was of Cornish origin and while he had been born in the appropriately named hamlet of Newlyn near Creswick, Victoria in 1871, his father, James Shugg, had been born in St Ives in Cornwall in 1826.⁴²⁹ However, Le Mesurier, argued that the name Shugg sounded German and that it

⁴²⁶ *Daily News*, ‘German Apologists’, 14 January 1916, 5.

⁴²⁷ *Truth* (Perth), ‘Bawl-British Libel’, 23 September 1916, 5.

⁴²⁸ *Daily News*, ‘Shugg V. All British’, 25 May 1916, 7.

⁴²⁹ *Daily News*, ‘Shugg V. All British’, 25 May 1916, 8. Note: James Shugg married the Hampshire-born Fanny Lilly Yeomans at Geelong in 1849.

should be spelt Schugg to better reflect its German roots and, therefore, the article was fair comment. Le Mesurier then called various members of the ABA who, likewise, considered the name German. It is presumed that Mary Juleff, as a member of the society and being Cornish-born, was considered something of an authority on the matter. She informed the court that she had never heard of Shugg as a Cornish name. Moreover, she had been born in Truro, 25 miles from St Ives, and to her mind the name suggested someone of German origin.⁴³⁰ The prosecution introduced the St Ives-born John Langford to counter the evidence of Juleff. He claimed to know several families by the name of Shugg when he lived in St Ives. In his summing up Justice Rooth observed:

to pronounce a man a German three years ago would have been a very slight offence but in the present state of affairs to dub a Cornishman a German and pass remarks about German atmosphere permeating his school is a horse of a different colour.⁴³¹

When the proceedings concluded the jury was satisfied that Henry Shugg was not of German extraction and awarded him £75 in damages and costs.⁴³² The verdict was appealed and subsequently dismissed by the Full Court which awarded additional costs of £250 to Shugg. Despite winning the case, Shugg did not receive either a public apology from Le Mesurier or the costs awarded to him as it emerged the All-British Co-operative Society was insolvent with only £1 17s 6d in the bank at the time of the appeal hearing.⁴³³ The lack of contrition from Le Mesurier and compensation from the society was eased somewhat when the Department of Agriculture appointed Shugg to the principal's position at the State Farm at Narrogin on an increased salary of £336 per annum.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁰ *Daily News*, 'Shugg V. All British', 25 May 1916, 7.

⁴³¹ Bobbie Oliver, "'All-British' or 'Anti-German'? A portrait of a Western Australian pressure group during World War I', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 36.

⁴³² *Sun*, 'Groperdom Gossip', 24 September 1916, 5.

⁴³³ *West Australian*, 'Libel Action Recalled', 20 September 1916, 9.

⁴³⁴ *Western Australia Government Gazette*, 4 May 1917, 662.

Although the Cornish surname Shugg aroused anti-German sentiment among the members of the ABA, Mary Juleff's role demonstrated that even those born in Cornwall were not immune from making ill-informed judgements from a position of alleged authority. Using available sources one can readily establish that the name Shugg as translating to chough or jackdaw in English while Juleff translates to gay or pleasant.⁴³⁵ The jury, without the benefit of such a source, was , unable to state categorically that Shugg was a Cornish name, but the jury did agree that it was not of German origin.

Not long after the Shugg affair, in her capacity as the secretary of the Perth Recruiting Committee, Juleff was asked to write to Major Corbett of the Intelligence Department to alert him that it was the intention of the Labor Party to fly a red flag at a public meeting on the Esplanade in Perth on 27 October 1918 in contravention of the War Regulation Act.⁴³⁶ The lack of any reports of a red flag being raised on that date suggests the threatened action did not take place and unlike the red flag riots in Brisbane in 1919 the meeting probably passed without incident.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ G. Pawley, White, *Cornish surnames*, Dyllansow, Truran, Redruth, 1984, 34, 50.

⁴³⁶ NAA: PP14/1.

⁴³⁷ Bobbie Oliver, *War and peace in Western Australia: The social and political impact of the Great War, 1914-1926*, University of Western Australia Press, 1995, 79.



Figure 18: Mary Juleff's letter to Major Corbett, 25 October 1918.

(Source: NAA: PP14/1)

The anti-German sentiment that had given rise to the ABA saw another Cornish-Australian accused of being of German descent. In this instance Alfred Colenso Kessell, the secretary to former premier Sir Newton Moore, the agent-general, claimed that Moore had written to Premier Frank Wilson informing him that he was disloyal and that he should be dismissed from the public service. The similarity of his surname to that of a Prussian general, Gustav von Kessel, adjutant to Kaiser Wilhelm II, made any claim of German ancestry hard to refute.⁴³⁸ As with Shugg one can easily establish a Cornish etymology for Kessell – Kestle means earthwork or castle.⁴³⁹ Alfred Colenso Kessell was probably unaware of the meaning of his Cornish surname. Indeed, he would later claim that his family were forced to undertake

⁴³⁸ *West Australian*, 'The Characteristic Kaiser', 9 August 1915, 7.

⁴³⁹ G. Pawley, White, *Cornish surnames*, 36. Colenso comes from *ke lyn (du)*, the dark hedged pool. It also refers to Colenso Manor in the parish of St Hilary near Penzance.

their own extensive research during the First World War in order to prove their Cornish ancestry to the Intelligence Department (see below).

As private secretary to six premiers, Alfred Kessell was one of the most prominent public servants in Western Australia prior to the First World War.⁴⁴⁰ He was originally from Adelaide where he had been born in 1867 to Cornish parents, Edwin from Gulval and Sarah (née Chirgwin) from Paul near Penzance. He first arrived in Coolgardie from Ballarat in July 1895 taking up a position at the WA Goldfields Company in an administrative capacity before moving to Perth upon the death of his mother in 1898.⁴⁴¹ After working as a member of the Hansard staff in the parliament, Kessell became the private secretary to Premier Sir Walter James following a recommendation from Sir Langdon Bonython the Cornish-Australian owner of Adelaide's *Advertiser*.⁴⁴² Kessell served under the next five premiers – Daglish, Rason, Moore, Wilson and Scaddan – until 1914 when John Scadden recommended him for the position of secretary to the Western Australian agent-general in London.⁴⁴³

Newspaper reports indicate that Kessell's appointment was not universally welcomed. The *Daily News* went so far as to condemn the public service commissioner for overlooking more capable candidates and ignoring the regulations: 'The service has not yet ceased to wonder why he was successful'.⁴⁴⁴ Nevertheless, in 1917 Alfred Kessell, aged 50, was deemed an 'excess officer' and he was immediately retired without prior warning from his post in

⁴⁴⁰ *Critic*, 'Adelaideans in the Golden West', 7 August 1912, 9.

⁴⁴¹ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Local and General', 2 November 1898, 4. See also *Ballarat Star*, 'Western Australia', 4 February 1904, 1.

⁴⁴² *Sunday Times*, 'Men I Remember', 22 August 1937, 11.

⁴⁴³ *Western Australia Government Gazette*, 29 December 1922, p. 1839. Royal Commission into retirement of Alfred Colenso Kessell from Public Service and other matters, *Report*, Statutory Declaration, 15. Available at [http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/intranet/libpages.nsf/WebFiles/Royal+Commission+retirement+of+Alfred+Colenso+Kessell+1922/\\$FILE/6707.pdf](http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/intranet/libpages.nsf/WebFiles/Royal+Commission+retirement+of+Alfred+Colenso+Kessell+1922/$FILE/6707.pdf), accessed 27 September 2018.

⁴⁴⁴ *Daily News*, 'Agent-Generals Office', 11 March 1914, 3.

London. Kessell would claim the reason for his dismissal was his insistence on the proper oversight of the expenditure incurred by the agent-general and that Sir Newton Moore had levelled the especially egregious accusation of disloyalty as a pretext to get rid of him. The charge of disloyalty was keenly felt by Kessell who spent his spare time working as a volunteer at the Woolwich Arsenal and whose family lived in constant fear of the threat posed by the Zeppelin raids on London.⁴⁴⁵



Figure 19: Alfred Colenso Kessell helping out at the Woolwich Arsenal.

(Source: *Sunday Times*, 26 August 1917, 9.)

⁴⁴⁵ *West Australian*, 'England In War Time', 1 December 1915, 5.

As the Shugg controversy clearly demonstrated, the charge of disloyalty was difficult to counter even for the most adroit members of society at a time when anti-German sentiment was widespread. Unlike school principal Henry Shugg, Kessell's high profile meant that there had been occasional references to his Cornish background in the local press that should have quelled any doubt. Amongst these references were two newspaper articles prior to Kessell's London appointment, one covering his mother's funeral and the other reporting on golden wedding anniversary of an aunt and uncle, which clearly refer to the Kessell family's connection to Penzance.⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, in 1910 when Alfred Kessell was in London with Premier Newton Moore, he organised a family reunion for 40 guests at the Holburn Restaurant. There does not appear to have been rancour between the premier and his secretary then, as the Moore graciously provided fruit from Western Australia for the enjoyment of those at the reunion.⁴⁴⁷

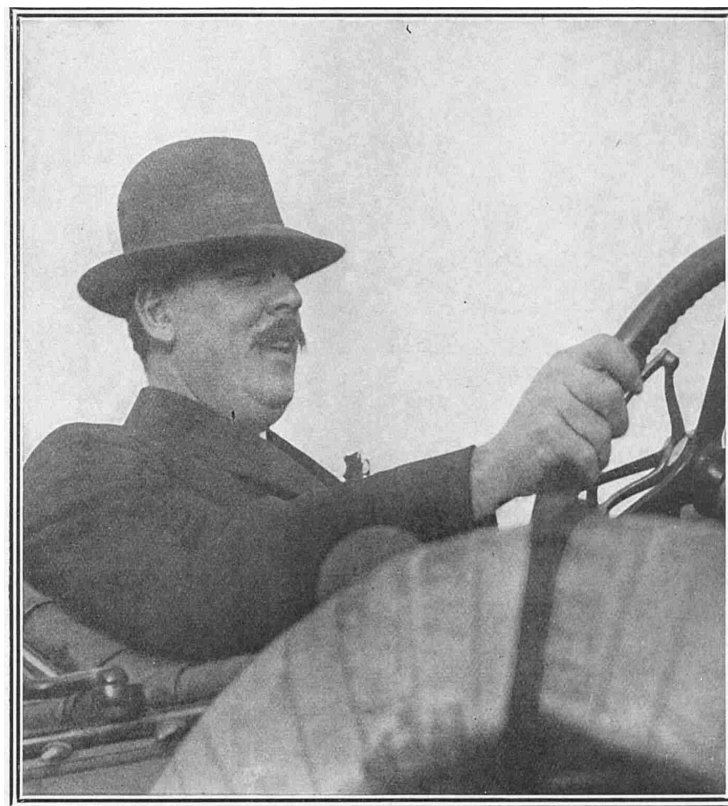
In 1913 when Kessell was in London, this time as private secretary to Premier John Scaddan, they drove down to Cornwall to visit Scaddan's relatives in Camborne and Kessell's in Penzance, respectively.⁴⁴⁸ With great fondness Scaddan remembered his visit to the birthplace of his parents and the civic reception that he and Kessell received at Penzance. On their return to Western Australia, Scaddan was not only confronted by the effects of a severe drought, but he also had to deal with increasing anti-German hostility directed at people with German sounding names and businesses with alleged links to Germany. Anti-German hysteria was so prevalent that the premier's wife, Henrietta Scaddan (née Edwards), was spat at in a Perth

⁴⁴⁶ *Coolgardie Miner*, 'Local and General', 2 November 1898, 4; *Daily News*, 'Mainly About People', 7 January 1914, 5.

⁴⁴⁷ *Advertiser*, 'A Remarkable Family Gathering', 13 June 1910, 6. Newton James Moore was knighted shortly after this event.

⁴⁴⁸ *West Australian*, 'Notes from London', 27 March 1913, 5.

street because of an unfounded rumour she was related to the Strelitz family. The attack on his wife forced Scaddan to publicly display his wife's parent's wedding certificate at the Premier's Office in order to mollify those convinced of her German origins. Marjorie Nairn, the daughter of John and Henrietta Scaddan, recalled that her father was amazed at the large number of people who came to see the marriage certificate for themselves.⁴⁴⁹



A MOTORING ENTHUSIAST

Our snapshot shows the Hon. John Scaddan, the Premier of Western Australia, at the wheel of his car during a recent visit to his native city, Penzance, where, by the by, he was accorded a civic welcome

(Source: *Tatler*, 19 March 1913, Available: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk)

On his return to Australia in 1917 Alfred Kessell embarked on a long campaign to clear his name and to resume his career in the public service. This campaign culminated in the member

⁴⁴⁹ Marjorie K. Nairn, *John Scaddan., C.M.G. An Outline of His Private Life and Associations*, The author, Mount Dandenong, Victoria, 1982, 5.

for Leederville, Captain Lionel Lewin Carter MC, reading Kessell's statutory declaration calling for a review of his forced retirement in parliament on 31 August 1922. Carter omitted two clauses from the statutory declaration: clause 36 hinted at a high-level conspiracy and clause 38 claimed Kessell had been 'the victim of insidious secret correspondence and personal spleen by certain persons'.⁴⁵⁰ The removal of these clauses suggests an agreement was reached between the government and Kessell which paved the way for a Royal Commission into his 'retirement' and an end to his long-standing grievance. Perhaps the suggestion that a knight of the realm and the premier of Western Australia might have been involved in a conspiracy to dismiss a public servant was reason enough to warrant clauses 36 and 38 being omitted. In any event, once they were removed the Royal commissioner was not obliged to consider any matter related to the issues contained in them. After a brief interlude, a Royal Commission into Kessell's 'retirement' and subsequent treatment by the Western Australian government was held before Magistrate William Ardagh Gardner Walter on 2 October 1922.

In retrospect, the Royal Commission's narrow focus on the events surrounding Alfred Kessell's 'retirement' meant that his more damaging claims with respect to the conduct of Sir Newton James Moore were never seriously considered.⁴⁵¹ Indeed, it could be argued that the verdict that cleared Moore of any impropriety was foreshadowed by Premier James Mitchell who, in recommending a Royal Commission, expressed the view in parliament that he did not believe there was an atom of truth in the claim that the former agent-general had misused public money. Moreover, the premier further intimated that Kessell, in objecting to the agent-general's use of public money, had exceeded his station and therefore considered himself

⁴⁵⁰ *Western Australia Government Gazette*, 29 December 1922, p. 1839. Royal Commission into retirement of Alfred Colenso Kessell from Public Service and other matters, *Report*, Statutory Declaration, 15.

⁴⁵¹ At no stage was Sir Newton Moore or other witnesses in England asked to give evidence. Premier James Mitchell refused to sanction a trip to Britain by the commissioner to conduct the interviews.

higher in importance than the agent-general and the Western Australian government.⁴⁵² Be that as it may, the claim of disloyalty made against Henry Shugg and Alfred Kessell highlight a little known Cornish facet to the anti-German hysteria that saw upwards of 80 people investigated by military intelligence officers for alleged disloyalty to the British Crown during the First World War.⁴⁵³ Alfred Kessell, in his closing remarks to the Royal Commission on 25 October 1922, recounted his family's experience:

My relatives in London were so upset by the suggestion of our not being loyal to the British throne that the one who happened to have funds at his disposal took his motor car, and, with his relative went to Cornwall, and I am in the position to tell you, Mr Walter that for 600 years the whole of our family connections were proved to be Cornish, and came from Penzance and round about.⁴⁵⁴

The Royal Commission determined that none of Kessell's allegations against Sir Newton James Moore came within its remit, except those that may have pertained to his retirement and subsequent treatment. However, its findings with respect to Kessell's thirteen claims for financial compensation were not resolved until January 1924, seven years after Kessell was deemed an excess officer. James Mitchell then waived the £160 said to be owed by Kessell, reinstated his full pension, and offered him six weeks' pay for the time spent returning to Western Australia with his family.⁴⁵⁵ Regardless of the veracity of Kessell's claims, there can be little doubt that Kessell was labouring under a strong sense of injury as Commissioner Walter noted in his summing up.⁴⁵⁶ In the final analysis, Kessell's persistence only provoked exasperation from most members of parliament who only wanted to see an end to the

⁴⁵² Western Australia, Legislative Assembly, *Debates*, 31 August 1922, 515. Available at [http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/vwMainBackground/19220831_Assembly.pdf/\\$File/19220831_Assembly.pdf](http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/vwMainBackground/19220831_Assembly.pdf/$File/19220831_Assembly.pdf), accessed 2 October 2018.

⁴⁵³ Bobbie Oliver, "'All-British' or 'Anti-German'? A portrait of a Western Australian pressure group during World War I", *Studies in Western Australian History*, 37.

⁴⁵⁴ AU WA S4696 –Cons 1820, Transcript of Evidence - *Royal Commission into Retirement of Alfred Colenso Kessell from Public Service and Other Matters*, 1902. Note: Kessell claimed that he was called upon by Sir Newton Moore to prove that he was neither German or Austrian and that his family were likewise questioned by Military Intelligence in Perth. See: transcript, Royal Commission, NI, 25 October 1922.

⁴⁵⁵ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes', 11 January 1924, 8.

⁴⁵⁶ *Western Australia Government Gazette*, 29 December 1922, p. 1839, Royal Commission into retirement of Alfred Colenso Kessell from Public Service and other matters, *Report*, 14.

matter.⁴⁵⁷ In the wake of the settlement and notwithstanding the hostility of some members of parliament, Alfred Kessell was able to resurrect his career with Westralian Farmers Ltd in an administrative capacity.⁴⁵⁸ In his spare time he served as the president for both the Church Cricket Association and the Mt Hawthorn Ramblers Cricket Club. He died at his home in South Perth on 27 February 1945, aged 77.⁴⁵⁹

As many commentators have acknowledged, there were few families in Western Australia who were not impacted to some degree by the First World War, whether that was the return of a family member with a physical or mental impairment or, in the worst case, through the death of a loved one. This applies to the Cornish in Western Australia too. It is not possible to record every instance in this thesis, but it is perhaps appropriate to focus on one family in order gain some understanding of the impact that the First World War had from a Cornish-Australian perspective. In 1912 Harry Holder and his wife Grace arrived in Western Australia from their home in Ludgvan near Penzance, accompanied by their nine children whose ages ranged from 13 to 26. Grace Holder was the daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Bennetts. Richard was a mining engineer who had spent much of his career in California and Victoria before returning to Cornwall to become a publican. In 1884 Grace, aged 22, met and married market gardener Harry Holder, who was aged 29 and originally from Prestbury near Cheltenham in Gloucestershire. The couple married in Ludgvan.⁴⁶⁰ As was the case with many families, the couple lost four of their children during infancy and early childhood. The last death, Ethel, in 1908 will have given the parents pause for thought as soon after her death the decision was taken to start a new life in Western Australia.

⁴⁵⁷ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Kessell Commission', 20 October 1923, 1.

⁴⁵⁸ *Daily News*, 'Cricket', 18 October 1929, 5.

⁴⁵⁹ *Daily News*, 'Death of Mr. A. C. Kessell', 28 February 1945, 6.

⁴⁶⁰ National Archives of the UK, *Census returns of England and Wales, 1911*. The National Archives of the UK, Kew, England, 1911.



Figure 21: The Holder family prior to leaving Cornwall.

(Source: Ancestry. Com)

At the beginning of the First World War the Holder family was living a comfortable existence in Subiaco. Three members of the family – Harry Snr, Harry Jnr and 23-year-old James (Jim) Bennetts Holder – were working as gardeners. Jim Holder was the first of the family to enlist, joining A Company of the 11th Battalion AIF on 26 August 1914.⁴⁶¹ Following embarkation to Egypt and posing in front of the iconic Great Pyramid of Cheops photograph of the 11th Battalion, Jim Holder took part in the 25 April 1915 assault at ANZAC Cove.⁴⁶² His service record indicates that he was admitted to hospital in Alexandria on 30 April 1915 for treatment of a bullet wound to his left arm. He rejoined his unit on 13 June and was again wounded in action, this time more seriously as the result of an explosion which necessitated the

⁴⁶¹ NAA: B2455, Holder J B 54. Available at <https://discoveringanzacs.naa.gov.au/browse/records/243097>, accessed 22 October 2018.

⁴⁶² Allegedly, the first Australian officer to fall at Gallipoli was Captain William Richard Annear of A Company of the 11th Battalion, who was born in Ballarat in 1875 and who had enlisted at Subiaco. He was the son of Cornish parents John and Ann Annear (née Harris) from Gwennap and a distant cousin of the author. His remains are 'Known unto God'.

enucleation (removal) of his right eye. He was invalided back to Australia aboard the *Euripides*, arriving on 24 September 1915. He was formally discharged on 4 April 1916. Although deemed fit enough to work on the land, Jim Holder never fully recovered from his injuries. Suffering from the occasional haemorrhage and the effects of tuberculosis, he died on 30 August 1921.⁴⁶³ William Holder, aged 20, enlisted on 1 January 1916 and joined the 28th Battalion AIF as a signaller. The 28th Battalion participated in many of the pivotal battles of the conflict, including Pozieres, Bullecourt, Menin Road and the German Spring offensive of 1918. The extent of William Holder's participation in these battles is unclear. His service record indicates that he was attached to the Australian Divisional Base Depot at Le Havre, and the headquarters of the Australian Infantry Base Depot until August 1918. He ended the war as an electrician with the rank of Engineer Sergeant.⁴⁶⁴ His marriage to a French schoolteacher, Laine Eugene Duiree Massot, at Harfluer on 12 April 1919 and the birth of his son Harry Georges explains why he did not return home until May 1920. Upon his return, his new family moved next door to his parents at 107 St Leonards Avenue, West Leederville. In 1926 the couple had another son Frances Roger. William Holder died in 1964, aged 69. John Leggo Holder, aged 18, who along with his four youngest brothers was enrolled by General Baden-Powell in the Boy Scouts Association, was the next to enlist on 26 April 1916.⁴⁶⁵ He was assigned to the 51st Battalion AIF. John was killed in action during an attack on German positions near the French village of Noreuil on 2 April 1917. He was buried at the HAC Cemetery at Ecoust-St. Mein.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶³ *Daily News*, 'Obituary', 5 September 1921, 5.

⁴⁶⁴ NAA: B2455, Holder W 5026. Available at <https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=5844027&isAv=N>, accessed 23 October 2018.

⁴⁶⁵ *Sunday Times*, 'Perth Prattle', 15 February 1920, 6.

⁴⁶⁶ NAA: B2455, Holder J L 2431. Available at <https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=5844014&isAv=N>, accessed 23 October 2018.

Harry Holder, the eldest of the children, enlisted on 13 September 1916. He was assigned to the 16th Battalion AIF, after previously being rejected on dental grounds. After arriving in England in late March 1917, Harry Holder was taken ill at the AIF training camp on Salisbury Plain at Codford, Wiltshire. He was admitted to the New Zealand Hospital at Codford at 6 pm on 27 April but died the following day at 6.20 pm. The cause of death was recorded as ‘Cerebro-spinal Meningococcal’, a parasitic infection that was endemic in some military camps during the First World War due to overcrowding, poor ventilation, cold and the effects of fatigue. Harry Holder was buried at St Mary’s Cemetery, Codford on 2 May 1917.⁴⁶⁷

Among other documents attached to Harry Holder’s service record is a letter from his mother, Grace Leggo Holder, dated 3 October 1921, written shortly after she had suffered a stroke. The letter was in response to an Australian Army request concerning the erection of a permanent headstone on her son’s grave. Grace attempted to explain the confusion over her son’s religion. She confirmed that he was an Anglican and not a Roman Catholic as stated at enlistment. However, she further explained that Harry was a practicing Theosophist who may have stated ‘Catholic’ to indicate that he was tolerant of all religions. Indeed, Charles Webster Leadbeater, the leading adherent of the Theosophical Society, which was founded by Helena Blavatsky in 1875, had first lectured at the Perth Town Hall in 1905. By 1914 Leadbeater had moved to Australia and was raised to the ‘episcopate’ of the Old Catholic Church by James Ingall Wedgwood in Sydney in 1916.⁴⁶⁸ He went on to found the Liberal Catholic Church in 1918, becoming its presiding bishop.⁴⁶⁹ While not definitive, the preceding suggests that

⁴⁶⁷ NAA: B2455, Holder H 7251. Available at

<https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=5844264&isAv=N>, accessed 23 October 2018.

⁴⁶⁸ *Western Mail*, ‘Lecture on Reincarnation’, 18 November 1905, 50.

⁴⁶⁹ *West Australian*, ‘Bishop Leadbeater’, 2 March 1934, 18.

Harry Holder could well have been influenced by Leadbeater's writings on occult topics at the time of his enlistment.⁴⁷⁰ Nevertheless, one of Harry Holder's brothers, probably William who was in England at the time, insisted that his late brother should receive an Anglican service.⁴⁷¹ In her letter Grace Holder asked for the Star of David to mark her son's headstone. She said that the Star of David, a denominational emblem of the Theosophical Society, would have had considerable meaning for her son as an 'Astrologen and Occultist'. Despite this request and its significance to the Holder family, the Australian Army did not accede to this request and Harry Holder's headstone was inscribed with the AIF symbol and the Christian Cross.

Of the two remaining sons, Walter was rejected for military service on medical grounds due to shortsightedness. Like others who were deemed medically unfit to serve, Walter signed up for Home Service. Unlike the military personnel there was no uniform so to avoid any unpleasant confrontations for people engaged on Home Service duties, they were issued with a lapel badge to avoid any suggestion that the wearer lacked pluck.⁴⁷² After the war Walter went on the land, establishing a farm and bungalow at Gutha, 275 miles north of Perth. He became a justice of the peace in 1924 and was an active member of the Morawa Roads Board.⁴⁷³ The youngest son, Albert, enlisted on 15 April 1918, aged 19, and was attached to W3 Reinforcements and was aboard the last Australian troopship to leave for Western Europe. The HMAT *Boonah* was on its fourteenth trip to England, with 900 troops on board, when it left Fremantle on 29 October 1918. When word reached the ship that hostilities had ceased on 11 November, the vessel was turned back to Durban, where it arrived three days

⁴⁷⁰ *West Australian*, 'Bishop Leadbeater', 2 March 1934, 18.

⁴⁷¹ According to William Holder's service record he was not posted to France until 22 May 1917.

⁴⁷² *Northern Times*, 'Issue of Badges', 1 July 1916, 3.

⁴⁷³ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'Local and General', 21 June 1924, 2. See also *Geraldton Guardian and Express*, 'Morawa Road Board', 1 June 1929, 2.

later.⁴⁷⁴ It is believed that in Durban the ship's complement of sailors and troops was exposed to pneumonic influenza or 'Spanish Flu'. As a result, on the voyage back to Fremantle some 400 people became infected with the virus and 26 of these would later die. Albert Holder was one of the soldiers taken ashore at the Quarantine Station at Woodman Point, south of Fremantle, where most of the fatalities occurred, including the four nurses who had volunteered to serve. Albert Holder survived the 'Boonah Tragedy' and following his discharge from the Army in January 1919 he, in concert with his brother Jim, was able to acquire a block of land at Koolanooka under the provisions of the Soldier Settlement Scheme.⁴⁷⁵ Like Jim, Albert was dogged by ill-health as a result of his war service. He became progressively more ill and so abandoned farming and became a commercial traveller. He died at Northam on 29 August 1933, aged 34. The Holder family suffered its great misfortune as a result of the ravages of the First World War. When Grace Holder, the Pendene-born mother of nine children, died in 1937 the *West Australian* reported that she 'was an outstanding personality despite the supreme sacrifice made by four of her sons, and her own later affliction'. Grace Holder, a keen politician and Empire patriot and was imbued with a cheerfulness that belied her own misfortune before she suffered a stroke in 1921, that led to her eventual blindness.⁴⁷⁶

To conclude this chapter, the time period in which the events described took place spanned almost 30 years from 1900 to the late 1920s and included the First World War. The early part of the period reveals a degree of enthusiasm in Western Australia for various land settlement schemes, which were encouraged by successive governments from 1905 onwards. One co-

⁴⁷⁴ Arthur Wilberforce Jose, *Volume IX-The Royal Australian Navy, 1914-1918* (9th edition, 1941), Appendix 6 – Merchant Ships Employed in Government War-Service. Available at <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1416851>, accessed: 29 October 2018.

⁴⁷⁵ *West Australian*, 'The Boonah Tragedy', 10 March 1919, 5.

⁴⁷⁶ *West Australian*, 'The Late Mrs. G. L. Holder', 8 December 1937, 7.

operative scheme that showed a degree of promise was that instigated by Mary Juleff and the BIA at Cheynes Beach between 1909 and 1914. It is hard to dismiss the notion that James Mitchell's involvement in approving the 20,000 acres allocated to the BIA's co-operative venture had some bearing on the Group Settlement Scheme which would come to dominate Mitchell's career as premier of Western Australia. In the years following the Constitution Act Amendment Act 1899 which granted Western Australian women the right to vote, there emerged women's groups such as the Women's Auxiliary of the National Liberal League in which Mary Juleff played a leading role. Internal division saw it dissolved and its successor, the Women's Liberal and Progressive League, also foundered quickly, and a Western Australian branch of the Australian Women's National League took its place. Mary Juleff became the branch's secretary, and a leading proponent for a greater role for women in local government.⁴⁷⁷ In 1917 the dislocation caused by the First World War saw John Scaddan, the Labor Party leader, resigning over his pro-conscription stance. It also opened cleavages in Western Australian society over the treatment of so called 'enemy aliens' in government positions. It was remarkable that two of the most high-profile cases of 'enemy aliens' involved public servants with Cornish names, Henry Shugg and Alfred Colenso Kessell, who both worked vigorously to clear their names. In these matters the xenophobic All-British Association, and notably Mary Juleff, and its offshoot the All-British Co-operative Society under Cecil John Reginald Le Mesurier did much to foster an atmosphere of mistrust and fear of others. With the end of the First World War and the obvious difficulties associated with former servicemen and women and their families readjusting to civilian life, the focus of government policy shifted to getting the main breadwinner back to work through the expedient of the Soldier Settlement Scheme.

⁴⁷⁷ *Western Mail*, 'Australian Women's National League', 10 June 1911, 16.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE CORNISH AND GROUP SETTLEMENT

The concluding chapter of this thesis will discuss the role of the Western Australian Cornish Association and its relatively unknown attempt to facilitate the immigration of Cornish miners in 1920. Although this effort was unsuccessful it did encourage an officer in the Royal Engineers to propose a scheme that became the Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme of 1924. This chapter will show that the Cousin Jack network remained politically active through the auspices of the association whose members tried to promote the advantages of Cornish immigration. As was the case with the mining industry, the evidence presented in this chapter is based on outcomes rather than absolute proof of favouritism towards Cornish immigrants. It is noteworthy that while the Cousin Jack network during the gold rush, and to a lesser extent in the political and professional sphere, was an informal male-dominated ethno-occupational construct, the Cornish association was broad-based with rules and a diverse membership which included many women.

In 1919 the Western Australian government again turned its attention to land settlement after the return of most of the AIF from Europe. However, not all immigrants were welcome in Australia. As Prime Minister Billy Hughes made clear in a policy speech in Bendigo on 30 October 1919. The Australian government would now place a greater emphasis on the calibre of immigrant permitted to settle in Australia than was previously the case. While conceding there was an urgent need for more people in Australia to secure the country's long-term survival, Hughes cautioned that unless the government selected the right sort of migrant and placed them in the right areas Australia risked becoming a dumping ground for

undesirables.⁴⁷⁸ The Prime Minister encapsulated the government's future immigration policy thus:

The Government clearly recognizes the urgent need for more population. And it is going out to get it. We shall seek the right kind – Britishers, soldiers, and farmers especially.⁴⁷⁹

Just after the First World War the Western Australian government joined the other states in establishing its own soldier settlement scheme. As has been argued the soldier settlement schemes were partly an expedient to relocate returned servicemen away from towns and cities where idleness due to the scarcity of paid work might create the conditions for civil unrest.⁴⁸⁰ However, this policy merely transferred a potential problem to the bush where amenities were few or non-existent. Despite the potential pitfalls it was assumed that after enduring years of trench warfare the rigours of the Australian bush would not prove insurmountable to ex-servicemen who had performed so valiantly overseas. While soldier settlement schemes were still in their infancy, the prime minister remained committed to finding 'the right kind of Britishers', particularly those with some farming experience. By 1921 Hughes had been persuaded that Cornish people were indeed the 'right kind'. The Cornish, after all, might have some knowledge of farming given the Duchy's predominately rural setting. Perhaps the weekend spent at St. Michael's Mount, near Marazion, as the guest of Lord St. Levan the President of the London Cornish Association, had alerted Hughes to the economic distress in Cornish mining districts caused by low tin prices and the high cost of coal. The crisis had arisen following the abandonment of Wheal Grenville near Troon which, for a brief period in the late 1890s, was the most profitable mine in Cornwall. It was also a major employer in Camborne and Redruth until its closure in early 1920.⁴⁸¹ The situation had become so dire that

⁴⁷⁸ *Argus*, 'Mr. Hughes's Policy Speech' 31 October 1919, 7.

⁴⁷⁹ *Argus*, 'Mr. Hughes's Policy Speech' 31 October 1919, 7.

⁴⁸⁰ Bruce Scates, Melanie Oppenheimer, *The Last Battle, Soldier Settlement in Australia, 1916-1939*, 3.

⁴⁸¹ Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, 122.

relief funds were sought from the across the globe, including the Cornish diaspora in Australia.⁴⁸² The Cornish diaspora in Australia had then in its midst some very influential people such as Sir John Langdon Bonython in South Australia and Minister for Defence George Foster Pearce. Moreover, it is worth recalling the prime minister saying, ‘Cornish people ... have become most estimable citizens’, after meeting with Lord St. Levan to discuss the plight of Cornish miners.⁴⁸³ While it could be argued that Hughes was merely being diplomatic in praising his host during his brief visit to Cornwall, in June 1921, the more plausible reason was that Hughes had gone to Cornwall at the behest of members of the Cornish Association to see the situation for himself and to gauge whether Cornish miners might be brought to Australia to work as farmers.⁴⁸⁴

It is remarkable that the Western Australian Cornish Association was not created until 1920, 30 years after South Australia had established a Cornish Association. The impetus for the Western Australian Cornish Association occurred after the visit of HRH the Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VIII, in 1920. It is no coincidence that the Royal visit prompted the Cornish association’s establishment after a member of the Australian Senate had failed to mention the title ‘Duke of Cornwall’ at a joint sitting of the Australian Parliament on 27 May 1920. As Hansard revealed, the introduction of the Prince of Wales to the Australian Parliament by British-born Senator Edward Millen, the minister for repatriation, omitted the Prince of Wales’s second most important title, the Duke of Cornwall. The omission was brought to the attention of the speaker by Senator Josiah Thomas, from New South Wales. After claiming the omission was not intentional, Millen thought, ‘His Royal Highness will regard it as one of those accidents which will occur in even the best regulated

⁴⁸² *West Australian*, ‘Cornish Miners’ Distress Fund’ 14 December 1921, 9.

⁴⁸³ *Telegraph* (Brisbane, Queensland) ‘Cornish Immigrants’, ‘Good Type for Australia’, 15 June 1921, 4.

⁴⁸⁴ *Daily Herald*, ‘Unemployment in Cornwall’ 27 October 1921, 4.

circumstances'.⁴⁸⁵ However, not all Cornishmen were easily assuaged as Sir John Langdon Bonython explained to the editor of Melbourne's *Argus* on 29 May 1920:

Cornishmen, the world over, are proud of their duke, and would they will, I know, be forgiven if they take exception to formal addresses which omit, even by accident, the title 'Duke of Cornwall'.⁴⁸⁶

Bonython's letter was widely disseminated around Australia and in Cornwall where the *West Briton* reported that the Prince of Wales was proud of the title Duke of Cornwall and had given his assurance that such an omission was not likely to be repeated.⁴⁸⁷ On 29 June 1920 the *West Australian* published a letter from 'A Cornish Woman' in which the author expressed the hope that Senator Pearce and John Scaddan would reaffirm the loyalty of Cornish people in the West to HRH the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cornwall, by forming a Cornish Association in Western Australia.⁴⁸⁸

John Scaddan mentioned this letter as the impetus for his involvement in the Western Australian Cornish Association, when he was elected its president at a meeting in the Methodist Central Mission Hall, Perth on 10 July.⁴⁸⁹ As the Cornish community in Perth was very close, Scaddan knew Mary Juleff from as early as 1909 when both were appointed to a committee convened to end capital punishment following the hanging of Martha Rendell on 9 October 1909.⁴⁹⁰ Indeed, the involvement of Thomas Coombe, John Holman, William Angwin and Rev. Thomas Allan, in attempting to end judicial executions, suggests that Cornish Methodists were strongly opposed to capital punishment.⁴⁹¹ It is likely that Mary

⁴⁸⁵ Federal Parliament of Australia, *Senate*, Address to His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales, Hansard, Eighth Parliament, First Session, May 27, 1920, 2450.

⁴⁸⁶ *Argus*, Melbourne, To the Editor, 'Omission of Duke of Cornwall' J. Langdon Bonython, May 29, 1920, 22.

⁴⁸⁷ *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 5 August 1920, 4.

⁴⁸⁸ *West Australian*, 'Where are the Cornish folk' 29 June 1920, 8.

⁴⁸⁹ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Cornish Association' 22 July 1920, 1.

⁴⁹⁰ *West Australian*, 'Capital Punishment' 19 October 1909, 6.

⁴⁹¹ *Sunday Times*, 'Petitioned for her Reprieve' 17 December 1950, 7.

Juleff wrote the letter ‘Cornish Woman’ letter in order to distance Scaddan and Pearce from any suggestion that forming a Cornish association was politically motivated. Likewise, the tabling of a letter from the Duke of Cornwall at the inaugural meeting wishing the association much success, and the presentation of a signed portrait photograph of the duke, is redolent of an earlier commitment to forming a Cornish association then is intimated by Scaddan’s version of events.

At the first meeting of the association Senator Pearce, the mayor of Perth, William Lathlain, and William Angwin MLA, were elected vice-presidents to John Scaddan. William Angwin moved the motion, ‘That an association of Cornish folk be formed in Western Australia’.⁴⁹² Other notables in attendance included Perth councillor Arthur Berryman, the former commissioner of railways John Tregerthen Short from St Ives and Mary Ann Juleff.⁴⁹³ The prominent positions held by Pearce and Scaddan, in particular, meant that the Cornish Association was not immune from political turmoil such as that which accompanied their defection from the Labor Party over the issue of conscription. Indeed, Angwin, who remained in the Labor Party, was criticised in the press for associating with Labor Party renegades.⁴⁹⁴ Instead of associating with rats, one writer opined, Angwin should invite the secretary and president of the Fremantle National Waterside Workers Union, Llewellyn Williams and James Henry Smith, as the correspondent understood they were of Cornish descent. While the thrust of the correspondent’s grievance was clearly political, his claim that both union officials were Cornish is not borne out. Williams was a former coal miner from Wales who had worked on the goldfields under Captain Beaglehole, while Smith, who had worked as a

⁴⁹² *West Australian*, ‘Cornish Association’ 20 July 1920, 8.

⁴⁹³ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, ‘Cornish Association’ 22 July 1920, 1.

⁴⁹⁴ *Truth*, (Perth) ‘The Cornish Association’ 18 September 1920, 5.

coal miner, was from Yorkshire.⁴⁹⁵ It is significant, nonetheless, that long after the Cornish ceased to be the dominant force on the Eastern Goldfields, the myth of Cousin Jack was so persistent that former coal miners like Williams and Smith were understood to be Cornish despite evidence to the contrary.

Soon after the letter criticising Angwin, another letter from Joseph James East, the brother of the late Captain William Henry East, the former mine captain at the Lake View Mine, in Kalgoorlie, was published. In his missive Joseph East openly objected to being called an employee of the WA Oil Exploration Co. by John Scaddan during a debate in the Legislative Assembly. East referred to Scaddan's position as president of the Cornish Association, which East well knew as he was also a member. East had been born in Calstock on the Cornish side of the Tamar Valley in 1856. The crux of East's letter was directed at Scaddan for allegedly lying in a Legislative Assembly debate over the Oil Bill and East was keen to stress that his connection with WA Oil Exploration Co., was professional and done for a fee. East claimed that his comments on the Oil Bill were his own and not those of the company. He ended by acknowledging Scaddan as a fellow Cornishman and using, in his words, 'the Cornish method' to make his final point, 'You are paid to do this, is my surmise. Go's along Jack! Dawnt tell such lies'.⁴⁹⁶ As feared the Cornish association was becoming politicised so Scaddan and George Pearce decided to step back from their prominent roles in the association.⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, there was the small matter of the association focusing on Cornish migration and it was perhaps deemed prudent for Scaddan and Pearce to avoid any suggestion that they were privileging people from Cornwall. The request made by Prime Minister Hughes, that Scaddan represent Western Australia at a conference in Melbourne of

⁴⁹⁵ *Westralian Worker*, 'Miners' Union Attacked in Supreme Court' 28 June 1918, 3. See also: *The Messenger*, 'Murchison Brieflets' 4 April 1895, 10.

⁴⁹⁶ *Daily News*, 'The Oil Controversy' 3 December 1920, 3.

⁴⁹⁷ *West Australian*, 'W. A. Cornish Association' 5 October 1921, 8.

Commonwealth and state immigration officers to discuss co-operation on immigration matters tends to support the preceding assumption.⁴⁹⁸ However, the proposed date of 15 December 1920 proved unsuitable for Scaddan and Isaac Crawcour the secretary of Western Australia's Immigration Department attended instead.⁴⁹⁹

The first annual meeting of the WA Cornish Association following its formation in July 1920 was held at the central Methodist mission hall in Murray Street, Perth, on 4 October 1921. At the start of the meeting John Scaddan formally relinquished the role of president in favour of Arthur Berryman. However, before taking his leave Scaddan suggested that those present might give some consideration to forming a Cornwall and Devon Association. The new president, Arthur Berryman, wholeheartedly embraced the suggestion. Mary Juleff was elected publicity officer while public servant John George Wallis Wilcox was elected honorary secretary. Mary Emma Holder, the second oldest of the Holder children, became the Cornish Association's assistant secretary.⁵⁰⁰ A formal resolution was then passed to join other kindred organisations in facilitating the reception of immigrants.⁵⁰¹ To that end Berryman and Wilcox were subsequently given the responsibility of representing the Cornish Association at all future meetings dealing with immigration matters.

John Wilcox was the son of John and Grace Wilcox. Grace (née Wallis) was a former safety fuse maker from Illogan who had emigrated to New South Wales in 1872, aged 28. In 1875 she married John Wilcox at Carcoar and John George Wilcox was born in the following year. One of the first references to Wilcox in Western Australia was in 1897 when he was

⁴⁹⁸ NAA: A2, 1920/3893, Telegram from Premier James Mitchell to Prime Minister, 10/12/1920.

⁴⁹⁹ *Daily News*, 'Immigration' 9 December 1920, 8.

⁵⁰⁰ *West Australian*, 'W. A. Cornish Association' 5 October 1921, 8.

⁵⁰¹ *Daily News*, 'Welcoming Immigrants' 5 October 1921, 4.

appointed as the government's assistant mining registrar at Mt Magnet.⁵⁰² While working at Mt Magnet Wilcox married Margarette Jane Brand at Geraldton in 1898.⁵⁰³ Margarette Brand was the first cousin of Albert John Brand, the husband of Captain Samuel Mitchell's daughter Hilda, the parents of a future premier David Brand. In 1900 Wilcox was transferred to Norseman before leaving to hold similar positions at both Coolgardie and Cue.⁵⁰⁴ Wilcox then moved to Nannine in 1904 again as mining registrar.⁵⁰⁵ Over the next few years Wilcox was given additional responsibilities as a clerk of police and local courts, the registrar for births, marriages and deaths, an electoral registrar; by 1907 he was on a salary of £230 per annum.⁵⁰⁶ When he took on the role of honorary secretary of the Cornish Association in 1920, Wilcox was working for the Crown Law Department and living in Mt Lawley.

On 8 February 1921 John Wilcox wrote to Senator George Pearce thanking him for arranging a meeting with Henry Somer Gullett, the recently appointed Commonwealth superintendent of immigration in Australia, and to ask whether the various state representatives might be attached to the Office of the High Commissioner in London 'to deal with the County people directly concerned'.⁵⁰⁷ The Commonwealth government had taken over responsibility for immigration, which included recruitment, under the provisions of the Joint Commonwealth and States Scheme of 1921. Gullett's powers increased considerably following the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. This Act facilitated an agreement between the Imperial government

⁵⁰² *West Australian*, 'The Executive Council' 24 December 1897, 5.

⁵⁰³ Note: The name Margaret Jane Brand is also recorded on some documents. However, I have used Margarette the name on recorded on her birth certificate.

⁵⁰⁴ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Items of News' 14 July 1902, 4.

⁵⁰⁵ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes' 19 September 1904, 4.

⁵⁰⁶ *Western Mail*, 'The Public Service' 27 July 1907, 14.

⁵⁰⁷ NAA: A457, E400/5, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon. Letter to George Foster Pearce Minister for Defence, from John George Wilcox Hon. Secretary W. A. Cornish Association, February 8, 1921.

and several of the Dominions to share the cost of resettling agriculturalists, farm labourers, domestic workers and juvenile migrants.

All previous the Western Australian governments had assiduously resisted offering financial support to welcome organisations like the CWL and the BIA. However, Henry Gullett had been empowered to engage as many members of the broader community as possible in welcoming immigrants and growing the population to a level that Prime Minister Hughes, and others, considered necessary for Australia's long-term security in the Asia-Pacific region.⁵⁰⁸ For Gullett's visit to Western Australia in February 1921 to establish what community support might be available to assist new arrivals, meetings were scheduled with John Wilcox (Cornish Association) and Mary Juleff (BIA).⁵⁰⁹ In due course Gullett met John Wilcox but failed to keep his appointment with Mary Juleff. Gullett had written to both with his offer to hold a meeting of all interested parties in Perth to coordinate their contribution towards the reception of migrants from the British Isles.⁵¹⁰

It is clear from the letters that John Wilcox sent to Senator Pearce and later to John Prowse that he was particularly keen to offer his services to the Commonwealth government as an immigration officer for the Cornish.⁵¹¹ It is also clear from the correspondence that Henry Gullett was not persuaded that his office needed Wilcox to organise and recruit immigrants from Cornwall. During the meeting with Wilcox it appears that Gullett advised him that the Cornish Association could help the immigration movement by becoming part of the New

⁵⁰⁸ Jacqueline Mary, 'Stockdale, Empty spaces and smiling faces: The New Settlers' League and Australian Immigration', PhD thesis, James Cook University, 2016, 3.

⁵⁰⁹ *Daily News*, 'Immigration' 19 February 1921, 9.

⁵¹⁰ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes' 25 August 1921, 6.

⁵¹¹ NAA: A457, E400/5, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Letter to George Foster Pearce Minister for Defence, from John George Wilcox Hon. Secretary W. A. Cornish Association, March 9, 1921.

Settlers' League of Australia. Indeed, Gullett wrote to the prime minister to appraise him of the discussion:

I recognise that such a body as the Cornish Association would be an invaluable ally to immigration if it engaged in the nomination of Cornishmen, and immediately the New Settler' League is formed in all States, consideration will be given to the special activities of particular bodies such as the Cornish Association.⁵¹²

At the same time as Gullett was addressing the concerns of Wilcox and the Cornish Association, he was meeting with Premier James Mitchell to discuss a role for the Ugly Man's Voluntary Workers' Association of WA (UMA). The UMA had a great deal of experience in settling returned servicemen and caring for widows and their children since its inception in 1917.⁵¹³ The 'Uglies' had an excellent working relationship with the Commonwealth Department of Repatriation, which doubtless contributed to the UMA being chosen as the Western Australia affiliate of the New Settlers' League. Furthermore, in a move that would have repercussions for John Wilcox and the Cornish Association, Gullett agreed to consider appointing up to three state government officials to Commonwealth government staff positions in London and to pay their salaries if circumstances demanded it.⁵¹⁴ After returning to Melbourne, Gullett informed Billy Hughes that the UMA possessed all of the necessary prerequisites to act for the New Settlers' League in Western Australia. In due course Gullett invited the UMA to send delegates to the first interstate conference of the fledgling NSL in Melbourne from 25 to 27 October 1921.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² NAA: A457, E400/5, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Letter to the Secretary Prime Minister's Department from Henry S. Gullett Superintendent of Immigration, April 7, 1921. Note: Minor changes were made to copy of Gullett's letter that was then forwarded to George Pearce, by way of the Prime Minister's department.

⁵¹³ Rita Farrell, 'A History of the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of W.A. Incorporated, Honours Thesis, Murdoch University, 1993, 1.

⁵¹⁴ NAA: A457, E400/49/3, Letter to the Prime Minister William Hughes from James Mitchell Premier of Western Australia, April 7, 1921.

⁵¹⁵ Jacqueline M. Stockdale, Empty spaces and smiling faces: The New Settlers' League and Australian Immigration, PhD Thesis, 65.

Suffice to say, the response from those associations overlooked by Gullett's decision was swift. Delegates from the BIA (Mary Juleff), the British Settlers' Association, the Cambrian Society, the Thistle Society, the Cornish Association (Arthur Berryman), and the Northumberland and Durham Association met on 10 October 1921. The United British Immigrants Association was formed from this determined lobby group. At a subsequent meeting the new association resolved to telegram Henry Gullett demanding that they alone should represent British settlers and that the UMA was first and foremost a charitable organisation unfitted for the role it had been given. They further demanded that three of their number should be allowed to attend the Federal Immigration Conference in Melbourne.⁵¹⁶ In the event only Arthur Berryman attended the conference after only one delegate was approved.⁵¹⁷



Figure 22: The New Settlers League delegates pictured in Melbourne, October 1921.

(Arthur Berryman is pictured standing, 11th from the left: Source: State Library of SA. Available: <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+280/1/37/358>)

Gullett decided to adopt the support structure set up by the UMA as the model for the NSL in WA. The existing entity became the New Settler's League of the Ugly Men's Association. In

⁵¹⁶ *The Australian*, 'United Settlers' Immigration Societies' 7 October 1921, 1.

⁵¹⁷ *Western Mail*, 'Immigration and Land Settlement' 24 November 1921, 29.

all other respects the structure and objectives of the UMA remained largely unchanged. To emphasise that nothing had changed Joseph East's son Verney 'Vern' Lyndhurst East, who was formally the secretary of the Ugly Man's Voluntary Workers' Association of WA (UMA), was appointed by Henry Gullett, as the secretary of the New Settlers' League in Western Australia on a salary £416 per annum.⁵¹⁸

In the Legislative Assembly the retitled entity drew a mixed response. The member for Yilgarn, Edwin 'Ted' Corby, was one who believed that the state government should maintain control all facets of immigration, including the reception of immigrants. He also expressed the view that it was wrong for the UMA to form the New Settlers' League from within its own ranks, no matter how benevolent their intent.⁵¹⁹ Meanwhile, the member for East Perth, John 'Jack' Simons, thought that immigrants should receive little or no government support and observed that many of those sitting in parliament had succeeded in this way:

The member for Collie has the burr of Scotland in his speech. The member for Claremont has a less pronounced burr, but has likeable characteristics just as emphatically Scotch as the member for Collie. On the Ministerial bench I see an Englishman in the person of the Minister of Works. On our own side in the Deputy Leader of the Opposition we have a Cornishman, as well as an Englishman in the person of the member for Kanowna. Not one of these men in the course of their rise from ordinary 'pommies' to a seat in this Chamber, who have done so much to build up the parties to which they belong, and the State of which they have made such good citizens, went whining to the Government or begged assistance of them.⁵²⁰

This suggests that there was little unanimity on how best to respond to British immigrants once they had arrived in Western Australia. For John Wilcox the only organisation equipped to welcome people from Cornwall was the Western Australian Cornish Association. On that

⁵¹⁸ NAA A458, G154/18 Part 1, Letter to Prime Minister from Henry Gullett, 2/11/1921. In the letter to the P.M. Gullett observed that a number of other bodies in Western Australia were 'somewhat' antagonistic to the Ugly Men's Association.

⁵¹⁹ Western Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly Vol. 66 (Hansard), 23 August 1922, 359.

⁵²⁰ Western Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly Vol. 66 (Hansard), 23 August 1922, 361.

point it would appear that Senator George Pearce was officially non-committal and was prepared only to pass on the concerns of the Cornish Association to the prime minister. Wilcox, therefore, turned to another Cornish-Australian federal parliamentarian for support.

In December 1919 John Henry Prowse JP, a former mayor of Perth and the chairman of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Board, was elected to the federal parliament as the member for Swan.⁵²¹ John Prowse had been born in 1871 at 'Cornish' town, a small enclave in the mining hamlet of Adelong in New South Wales. He was one of 14 children born to James Prowse, a miner from Penzance, and his Irish-born wife Mary Ann. In 1903 Prowse arrived in Western Australia to take over the management of the United Insurance Co. Ltd. His first foray in politics was as a member of the Subiaco council. By 1913 Prowse had been elected or of Perth. He began his parliamentary career as a member of the Farmers' and Settlers' Association, the forerunner to the Australian Country Party.⁵²² In parliament Prowse took an active interest in immigration matters and during a debate concerning the cost of building Australian House in London he bemoaned the lack of material support for new arrivals, while extolling the opportunities that existed for immigrants away from the towns and cities:

There are any number of Crown land areas which are eminently suitable for the settlement of new immigrants. In the electorate of Swan there are hundreds of thousands of acres which could be made available – excellent fruit-growing and dairying country upon which grows a wealth of timber to-day. If a railway were run into that locality and the land were cut up and ear-marked by those who have known the country all their lives, so that the various blocks might be devoted to the purposes for which they are best suited, prosperity would certainly become the portion of the settlers thereon.⁵²³

⁵²¹ J. P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part I, Its Origins: Politics and Administration*, 1988, 33.

⁵²² *Daily News*, 'Pen Portraits' 18 August 1930, 4.

⁵²³ HOR Official Hansard, no.47, 1921, Loan Appropriation Bill, John Prowse, 23 November 1921, 13105.



Figure 23: John Henry Prowse

(Source: Ancestry.com)

Significantly, Wilcox wrote to John Prowse on 27 January 1922 asking that he intercede with the prime minister on behalf of the Cornish Association to ensure that the association had representation on the New Settler's League. To underscore his suitability for the role, Wilcox revealed to Prowse that he had been providing the editor of the *Western Weekly News* – a newspaper based in Plymouth – and the president of the London Cornish Association, Lord St. Levan, with regular reports on the WA Cornish Association's involvement in the immigration movement.⁵²⁴ The *Daily News*, was one local paper that had reported the flattering terms used by the *Western Weekly News* to describe the work of Wilcox to make Western Australia more known to the people of Devon and Cornwall.⁵²⁵ In a similar vein, Mary Juleff forwarded a copy of her revived co-operative immigration scheme on behalf of

⁵²⁴ NAA: A457, E400/5, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Letter to John Henry Prowse MLA, from John George Wilcox Hon. Secretary W. A. Cornish Association, January 27, 1922.

⁵²⁵ *Daily News*, 'Cornishmen and Cornishwomen' 28 September 1921, 5.

the BIA to Cornwall County Council and Sir Arthur Carkeek, the chairman of the Cornish Miners Distress Fund.⁵²⁶ Supporters of the BIA in Britain were able to hold conferences in Devon and Cornwall, including one at the Liberal Club in Plymouth in early October 1921, to hear about ‘a certain tract of land being set aside for British immigrants’.⁵²⁷ The revived BIA scheme foreshadowed the establishment of a co-operative settlements at three potential locations at Esperance, another east of Goomalling and east of the Kalgan River.⁵²⁸

The newspaper that had published the reports of Wilcox and Juleff the Plymouth based, *Western Weekly News*, had emerged through the amalgamation of the *Devonport & Plymouth Telegraph*, the *Naval and Commercial Gazette*, and the *Western Counties Advertiser* in 1863.⁵²⁹ As a consequence the new paper had strong historical links to Devonport and the service personal of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines. So it is not hard to see where the Devonport-based Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart Francis Newcombe of the Royal Engineers got the idea to send 1200 ex-naval personal and possibly some of the 1500 unemployed Cornish tin miners to help build the proposed Esperance-Norseman railway before settling on the land after its completion. Indeed, there is a distinct possibility that the information provided by Juleff and Wilcox to the *Western Weekly News* encouraged Newcombe to present his own settlement scheme in late 1922.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁶ *West Australian*, ‘News and Notes’ 26 January 1922, 6. See also: *West Australian*, ‘Cornish Miners’ Distress Fund’ 14 December 1921, 9.

⁵²⁷ *Daily News*, ‘Cornishmen and Cornishwomen’ 28 September 1921, 5.

⁵²⁸ *Daily News*, ‘British Immigrant Association’ 24 May 1922, 7.

⁵²⁹ Old Plymouth. UK, Available: <http://www.oldplymouth.uk/Western%20Weekly%20News.htm> Accessed: 5/02/2019.

⁵³⁰ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, ‘From One Room to Another in the Great House of the Empire’: Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia’, *Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1998, 485-486. Note: Newcombe presented his scheme in a paper titled ‘Migration to the Dominions’ at the Devonport library on November 3, 1922.

Whatever level of enthusiasm had existed in state government circles for Mary Juleff and her co-operative venture, it had been supplanted by the time Cornwall County Council had been appraised of the BIA's scheme. By March 1921 Premier James Mitchell had inaugurated the first group settlement at Manjimup. Further settlements were opened in the South West at Karridale, Kudardup, Pemberton, Augusta, Margaret River and Busselton.⁵³¹ Somewhat tellingly, Mary Juleff and the BIA considered the South West, and Pemberton in particular, too wet and heavily timbered to be suitable for inexperienced British settlers.⁵³² In December 1922 the premier dispatched selection officer John Robinson to the goldfields to recruit 50 miners following the 20 who had been already dispatched to the group settlement at Margaret River.⁵³³

The issue of which organisation should welcome the expected flood of British immigrants to the group settlements remained contentious. Arguably, the most contentious was the recruitment and reception of Cornish immigrants. In response to a letter from John Prowse on behalf of John Wilcox and the Cornish Association, the prime minister appeared to distance himself from Gullett's decision to let the Ugly Men's Association manage immigration in WA. While Billy Hughes acknowledged that the Cornish Association was capable of rendering considerable service to the Commonwealth, he reasoned that he was scarcely in a position to influence the composition of an independent body like the New Settlers' League of the Ugly Men's Association.⁵³⁴ Whether Gullett considered the prime minister had failed to unequivocally endorse his selection of the UMA to manage immigration is open to conjecture. Nevertheless, in February 1922 Gullett resigned from his role as the superintendent of

⁵³¹ I. L. Hunt, 'Group Settlement in Western Australia: A Criticism', *University Studies in Western Australian History*, Vol. 3(2), 1958, 9.

⁵³² *Daily News*, 'British Immigrant Association' 24 May 1922, 7.

⁵³³ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes' 6 December 1921, 6.

⁵³⁴ NAA: A457, E400/5/104, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Letter to John Henry Prowse MLA, from Prime Minister, March 11, 1922.

Commonwealth immigration. However, no sooner had he done so than John Wilcox wrote to John Prowse to ask him to forward his name for consideration if Gullett's former position became available.⁵³⁵

An indication of the strength of Cornish cultural and political influence in Western Australia was apparent when Arthur Berryman and John Wilcox were afforded a meeting with Senator George Pearce who had been appointed the minister for home and territories in December 1921. The Cornish Association's meeting with Pearce took place in Perth on 12 May 1922. President Arthur Berryman, whose Cornish father had been killed in a mine accident on the Lachlan and Emu Creek Goldfields near Forbes in 1875 when Berryman was aged 10, expressed the view that were men in Cornwall of a good type willing to come under the immigration scheme.⁵³⁶ John Wilcox pushed for Cornish Association representation on each of the state New Settlers' League committees, while again suggesting that an individual from the Cornish Association should be appointed to the London office to facilitate the recruitment of suitable migrants from Cornwall.⁵³⁷ Pearce was assiduously non-committal on the points raised, but he promised to bring them to the attention of the prime minister on his return to Melbourne. Billy Hughes in his reply to George Pearce made the point, as he had with John Prowse, that he would not pressure the executive of the New Settlers' League to give special representation to any particular organisation. As for a Cornish Association representative in the London office, Hughes would bring the matter to the notice of Percy Hunter, the director of migration and settlement in London.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ NAA: A457, E400/5, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Letter to John Henry Prowse MLA, from John Wilcox, March 7, 1922.

⁵³⁶ *Evening News*, 'Grenfell' 20 March 1875, 3.

⁵³⁷ NAA: A457, E400/5, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Record of interview between Rt. Hon. G. F. Pearce and President, Councillor Berryman, and George Wilcox, Hon. Secretary the Cornish Association of Western Australia, March 12, 1922.

⁵³⁸ NAA: A457, E400/5/ 205, Immigration. Encouragement of Migrants from Cornwall and Devon, Letter from Prime Minister William Hughes to Rt. Hon. G. F. Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories, July 11, 1922.



Arthur W. Berryman

(Sunday Times 16 Oct 1921, 8.)

While the official correspondence represents the official position of those concerned it does not show the many 'off the record' interactions. Indeed, the official record shows that the hierarchy of the Commonwealth public service was steadfastly opposed to John Wilcox being appointed to the London office. Yet Wilcox was posted to London in October 1922, albeit to the Western Australian agent-general's office, ostensibly to coordinate Cornish immigration. The rancour caused by Wilcox arriving in London was to last nearly two years and prompted the prime minister to cable the high commissioner to warn him not to allow Wilcox to join its staff (See: Appendix 2).⁵³⁹ It would appear that James Mitchell had taken advantage of Henry Gullett's earlier undertaking that the Commonwealth would consider adding an additional officer to the two already allocated to Western Australia should conditions warrant it. Suffice to say the Commonwealth felt that Premier Mitchell had exceeded his authority by effectively

⁵³⁹ NAA: A432, 1934/726, Western Australia South West Division Group Settlement Scheme, Document H, I.400/3/128, Cablegram from Prime Minister William Hughes to High Commissioner's Office, March 7, 1923.

demanding that Wilcox be given a position when his services were not needed. The new prime minister, Stanley Bruce, wrote to the premier in March 1923 to advise him that the Commonwealth government would make all future staff appointments and that Commonwealth staff would come under its sole authority.⁵⁴⁰ The issue remained unresolved until a letter from Stanley Bruce in May 1924 to the new Premier Philip Collier reiterating his view that the Commonwealth must control the appointment of all staff in order to maintain efficiency and the proper carrying out of its work, and that an additional officer at this time would be ‘unquestionably superfluous’.⁵⁴¹ After receiving the prime minister’s letter Premier Collier decided not to pursue the matter and Wilcox was ordered back to Western Australia. Wilcox arrived home accompanied by his wife and daughter in July 1924 and he resumed his position in the Crown Law Department.⁵⁴²

Some insight into James Michell’s reason for wanting Wilcox in London can be gleaned from his personal letter to William Angwin during the premier’s visit to Great Britain in April 1922. After discussing the British government’s alleged reluctance to relocate its surplus population to the Dominions, Mitchell revealed that he was ‘negotiating to take out a hundred Cornish miners; though mining here, they are willing to go on the land in Western Australia. We shall have to build a large number of houses’.⁵⁴³ It seems likely that Wilcox was sent to London to arrange for the transportation and reception of these Cornish miners and their families. However, this initiative was rendered mute when the Labor Party received the Royal

⁵⁴⁰ NAA: A432, 1934/726, Western Australia South West Division Group Settlement Scheme, Document O, I. O.23/600, Letter from Prime Minister Stanley Bruce to Sir James Mitchell, Premier of Western Australia, March 8, 1923.

⁵⁴¹ NAA: A432, 1934/726, Western Australia South West Division Group Settlement Scheme, Document X, B. I/30/187, Letter from Prime Minister Stanley Bruce to Philip Collier, Premier of Western Australia, May 6, 1924.

⁵⁴² *Daily News*, ‘Mainly About People’ 18 August 1924, 7.

⁵⁴³ AU WA S36-Cons 1496 1922/0541 Letter to Hon. William Charles Angwin from Hon. Sir James Mitchell, April 8, 1922.

Commission report into the mining industry under the chairmanship of the Redruth born mining engineer C. Kingsley Thomas. He found that the gold mining industry in Western Australia had declined markedly from its peak output of almost 2100000 fine ounces in 1903 to less than 500000 fine ounces by 1924.⁵⁴⁴ Armed with this knowledge the incoming Labor government declined to support Mitchell's initiative preferring instead to support the Devon and Cornwall settlement scheme. As to whom Mitchell was negotiating with, it was either members of the London Cornish Association, the Cornwall County Council or Sir Arthur Carkeek, the chairman of the Cornish Miners Distress Fund. As noted, Juleff and Wilcox had already been in regular contact with Carkeek and representatives of these organisations following the closure of Wheal Grenville Mine in early 1920.

An unrelated factor, but possibly of consideration is that John Wilcox had been anxious to go to London because his daughter Clarice Wilcox BA, had won a prestigious post-graduate P&O scholarship entitling her to three years tuition at a university in London or Paris.⁵⁴⁵ Nevertheless, when one considers all of the above it is evident that much of the groundwork for the Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme had been instigated by Mary Juleff and John Wilcox, in the early 1920s.⁵⁴⁶ As far as the official record is concerned the contribution of Cornish-Australians George Pearce, John Prowse, William Angwin, John Scaddan, Arthur Berryman and Sir William Lathlain in attempting to bring Cornish miners to Western Australia remains frustratingly ambiguous.

⁵⁴⁴ Western Australia, Report of the Department of Mines for the year 1926, 1-251, 3.

⁵⁴⁵ *Daily News*, 'Mainly About People' 18 August 1924, 7.

⁵⁴⁶ NAA: A547, E400/5/465, Letter from Duke of Devonshire, Victor Cavendish, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Australian Governor General Henry William Forster, March 5, 1923.

Despite the lack of official correspondence, preliminary discussions did take place between the prime minister's office, George Pearce, John Prowse and Premier James Mitchell on Cornish immigration. James Mitchell's admission in a letter to William Angwin in April 1922, that he was negotiating to bring out a hundred Cornish miners suggests that general agreement was reached. This prompted Mitchell to send John Wilcox to London, although, the Commonwealth would not sanction the posting. Meanwhile, a Mullewa based northern railway guard named William George Nancarrow was doing his level best to deter his compatriots from emigrating to Western Australia.⁵⁴⁷ In 1922 the Penzance born Nancarrow had written to Cornish newspapers urging his fellow 'countrymen' not to come to Western Australia because of the high unemployment he had witnessed in the course of his work on the railway.⁵⁴⁸ Despite Nancarrow's untimely intervention Mitchell's trip to England was hailed a great success. This was based on the secured loan of £6,000,000 at less than 2% interest that Mitchell had negotiated with the British Treasury to fund the establishment of between 6000 and 7000 new farms and the 75,000 British immigrants expected to farm them.⁵⁴⁹ The publicity surrounding Mitchell's funding bonanza prompted Lieutenant-Colonel Newcombe to propose his own settlement scheme. In the beginning Newcombe's scheme was conceived as an investment opportunity with potential investors projected to double their money after ten years.⁵⁵⁰

The draft scheme states that; It is proposed to form the Western Australian Devon and Cornwall Society, Ltd., with capital of £1,000,000 4 percent debentures guaranteed by the British Government, and 1,000,000, ordinary 1-pound shares of savings certificates repayable after ten years at 32s, guaranteed by the Western Australian Government.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ AU WA S36-Cons 1496 1922/0541 Letter to Hon. William Charles Angwin from Hon. Sir James Mitchell, 8 April 1922.

⁵⁴⁸ *The Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 'Emigration to Australia' 11 October 1922, 3.

⁵⁴⁹ *West Australian*, 'Sir James Mitchell's Coup' 1 July 1922, 11.

⁵⁵⁰ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'From One Room to Another in the Great House of the Empire': Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia', 486.

⁵⁵¹ *Sunday Times*, 'A Migration Scheme' 8 April 1923, 2.

It appears that Newcombe's scheme failed to attract any investors and its success then became dependent on donations and the financial backing of the Western Australian government. In all other respects Newcombe's settlement scheme shared many of the elements of the BIA co-operative venture presented to the citizens of Plymouth in 1921. This is borne out by Newcombe's suggestion that his 3000 British settlers might be settled in the Esperance area.⁵⁵² This suggestion mirrored that of the BIA scheme first shown to James Mitchell in early 1922, which also proposed establishing co-operative farms in the Esperance area.⁵⁵³ It is noteworthy that the agent-general for Western Australia James Connolly wrote to Newcombe in January 1923, both personally and in the press to strongly urge him to consider the government's scheme in the South West.⁵⁵⁴ The government also placed great store in self help and thought by placing people from the same general area of the British Isles on to specific group settlements that a level of cohesiveness might be achieved. However, only those people from Devon and Cornwall, the north of England, and crofters from the Outer Hebrides were grouped in this way.⁵⁵⁵

Premier Mitchell and James Connolly were focused solely on establishing the government's Group Settlement Scheme in the South West. To that end, Connolly wrote to William Angwin to suggest the Cornish Association join with the people from Devon to form a Devon and Cornwall Association. Almost immediately a meeting of the Cornish Association executive was held on 9 February 1923 with the result that, the new association was formed under the chairmanship of Mary Juleff and Thomas Ford (Devon).⁵⁵⁶ In the interests of promoting

⁵⁵² John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'From One Room to Another in the Great House of the Empire: Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia', 486.

⁵⁵³ *Daily News*, 'British Immigrant Association' 24 May 1922, 7.

⁵⁵⁴ *Daily News*, 'English Settlers' 9 January 1923, 5.

⁵⁵⁵ Timothy S. Forest, 'Whiteness on the frontiers of Empire: Hebridean Scots and Group Settlement in Western Australia 1923 -1928', *Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 96, Part 1, June 2010, 11.

⁵⁵⁶ *West Australian*, 'News and Notes' 12 February 1923, 6.

group settlement members of the newly formed Devon and Cornwall Association, including the deputy-leader of the state opposition William Angwin, were on hand to welcome Lieutenant Colonel Newcombe and his wife when they arrived in Western Australia on 5 April 1923 to begin a fact-finding mission to the South West. A subsequent event held on 26 April, in honour of Newcombe and his wife at the Cabaret Tea Rooms, saw the attendance of Mary Juleff, and speeches by Arthur Berryman and Sir William Lathlain, suggesting the Cornish Association was very much in control of the merged association. On that basis its creation appears to have been largely a political expedient and was undertaken to align the local association with that of the Devon and Cornwall Migration Committee in Plymouth, whose membership included Viscount Astor, the Earl of Fortescue, Lord St. Levan and Lieutenant Colonel Newcombe.⁵⁵⁷ In an attempt to underscore her role in Newcombe's scheme Mary Juleff wrote a lengthy letter to the press stressing her role in establishing Western Australia as the preferred destination for west country immigrants. After spending 16 -years welcoming immigrants from all corners of the British Isles, Juleff believed that associations like the Devon and Cornwall Association were best placed to help arrivals adapt to their new environment. She concluded her letter by recalling that it was her reports to the *Western Weekly News* and to Sir Arthur Carkeek that had paved the way for Lieutenant Colonel Newcombe's Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁷ *The Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 'Australia for Cornish Emigrants' 2 January 1924, 4. See also: *The West Briton*, 'Miners on the Land' 1 March 1923, 2.

⁵⁵⁸ *Sunday Times*, 'Migration' 29 April 1923, 13. See also: *Daily News*, 'Devon and Cornish Association' 28 April 1923, 9

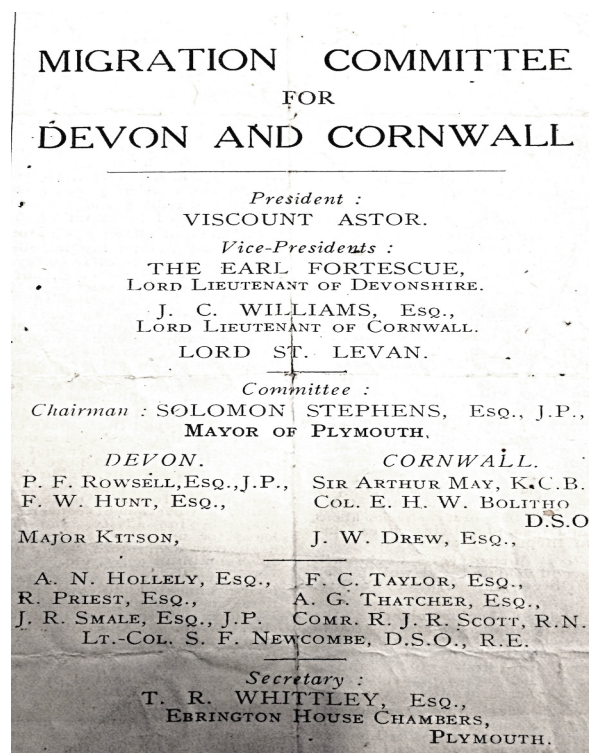


Figure 25: UK Migration Committee.

(AU WA S675-Cons 752)

While Mary Juleff maintained the view that Newcombe had based his scheme on her work there can be little doubt that the Devon and Cornwall Migration Committee in Plymouth, played the greater role in providing financial assistance to poor families who lacked the wherewithal to pay for their own passage to Western Australia.⁵⁵⁹ As is well documented the first cohort of settlers from Devon and Cornwall arrived at Albany aboard the *Sophocles* on Friday 7 March 1924.⁵⁶⁰ Three more vessels – *Diogenes*, *Themistocles* and the *Demosthenes* – brought 359 more settlers until the programme was suspended by the new Labor Premier Philip Collier in July 1924, pending the findings of a Royal Commission in to all facets of the Group Settlement Scheme.⁵⁶¹ It fell to Deputy Premier William Angwin to appoint the members of the royal commission. Much of the information concerning the abysmal state of

⁵⁵⁹ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science*, 129, 1997, 210.

⁵⁶⁰ *Albany Advertiser*, 'New Settlers for the State' 8 March 1924, 3.

⁵⁶¹ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' 211.

affairs on the groups came from a young head teacher at Nuralingup, John Trezise Tonkin, whose grandparents William Tonkin and Charlotte (née Trezise) were from St. Just in Penwith, the birthplace of William Charles Angwin.⁵⁶²

Most of the Devon and Cornwall migrants were placed on three groups settlements (113, 114 and 116) with a small number were placed on group 139. Several factors conspired against the Devon and Cornwall migrants making a success of their new venture. For a comprehensive analysis of the Devon and Cornwall group settlements three papers written jointly by Mark Brayshay and John Selwood cover the scheme from its inception to its failure to deliver the lofty goals envisioned for it.⁵⁶³ As Mary Juleff predicted the heavily timbred country around Denmark with trees often exceeding 56 meters in height and over 6 meters in diameter made clearing the blocks a long and arduous process, which many British settlers were ill-equipped to handle.⁵⁶⁴ Thomas Melrose Coombe, the son of Lostwithiel-born Thomas Coombe, the Perth timber and iron merchant, believed the harsh reality of group settlement would not hinder people from Cornwall as he made clear when he was in London to receive a knighthood in 1924 from George V:

The Cornishman is just the right type of settler for this promising new land. He readily accommodates himself to his surroundings and is a splendid pioneer. My countrymen, I think, are more homely and human than most other folk.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶² J. P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part 1, Its Origins: Politics and Administration*, 1988, 211.

⁵⁶³ See: John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' (1997) and John, Selwood, Mark, Brayshay, 'From One Room to Another in the Great House of the Empire': Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia' (1998).

⁵⁶⁴ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' 217.

⁵⁶⁵ *The Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 'Cornish Immigrants in Australia' 21 May 1924, 3.



Figure 26: School house at No. 6 Group Nuralingup, John Trezise Tonkin far left.

(Source: SLWA, 2890B/88, Available: <https://www.slwa.wa.gov.au/images/countryman/000884d.jpg>)

Like many Cornish-Australians discussed in this thesis, theatre owner Thomas M. Coombe appeared to believe that Cornish people were uniquely equipped to thrive in Australia, while other Britishers seemed to struggle. As a noted philanthropist and advocate for the welfare of ex-servicemen, their families, and soldier settlement, Coombe met most of the leading figures in England and Cornwall. He had returned home convinced that many Cornish immigrants would come to Western Australia.⁵⁶⁶ Apart from imploring his ‘countryman’ to settle in Australia, Coombe appears not to have visited the Cornish settlers at the group settlements, although as patron of the Devon and Cornwall Association in 1927, he had every incentive to do so.⁵⁶⁷ Mary Juleff, however, did visit the Cornish migrants at Denmark after giving the Devon and Cornwall Association an undertaking that she would visit at the first opportunity.

⁵⁶⁶ *Daily News*, ‘Soldier Settlers’ 11 February 1925, 5.

⁵⁶⁷ *Sunday Times*, ‘Perth Technical School’, 12 June 1927, 35.

In March 1926 the visit of Salvation Army Commissioners David and Minnie Lamb to Perth was marked by a civic reception at the Town Hall. Following a speech by her husband, the Camborne-born Minnie Lamb, who was an experienced social worker, spoke about the value of the work being done to redistribute the Empire's population. Moreover, she lauded the work of the pioneers in Western Australia:

I venerate, the men and women who have blazed the trail here for such a heritage as you have. She had been charmed with what she had seen in Australia, and of the humanity of its people. The British Empire is human above all things else.⁵⁶⁸

The following week Mary Juleff attended a 'At Home' at the Karrakatta Club in honour of the visit of Minnie Lamb arranged by the former premier's wife Lady James Mitchell and Edith Cowan OBE.⁵⁶⁹ The month Mary Juleff wrote a lengthy report for both the Devon and Cornwall Association and the Western Australian National Council of Women about her visit to Denmark, which was published in the *Sunday Times*.⁵⁷⁰ On her visit, and before reaching the Scottsdale Group Settlements and the settlers at Group 113, Mary Juleff recalled stopping at the farm of Cornish-born Thomas Tonkin who had supplied fruit and vegetables to the Juleff grocery business when they lived in Truro, Cornwall. Thomas Tonkin and his family had left their 40-acre leasehold farm at Truro in 1913 and, after gaining experience with Australian conditions, he began buying land at Denmark. At the time of Juleff's visit Tonkin had purchased 175-acres of land and thirty head of dairy cattle.⁵⁷¹ There is every indication that Thomas Tonkin and his family were singled out by Premier Mitchell as representing the sort of people the state wanted. After an earlier tour of Tonkin's farm the Premier was presented with an 8ft high example of white clover grown on the farm and used as cattle feed which the Premier took to John Scaddan, the Minister for Industries, who was also chair of

⁵⁶⁸ *Daily News*, 'Army in New Light' 3 March 1926, 8.

⁵⁶⁹ *Call*, 'An Impressive Address' 12 March 1926, 1.

⁵⁷⁰ *Sunday Times*, 'Denmark Groups' 21 March 1926, 6.

⁵⁷¹ *West Australian*, 'Pommy Advices Pommies' 10 April 1923, 8.

the Perth Empire Exhibition, where it was displayed as an example of Denmark's fertile soil.⁵⁷² While on a tour of the group settlements in early 1924, William Angwin, along with the Labor member for Brownhill-Ivanhoe John Lutey, were told that a Cornishwoman from Land's End was on a nearby group. Intrigued, given that Land's End is near where William Angwin had been born, they both sought her out. When they found her, it transpired that both her mother and John Lutey's father were sister and brother and they were therefore first cousins, as a newspaper duly reported:

That was the first time they had ever heard of each other, but, you see, it is almost impossible to prevent a Cornishman from tracing cousins.⁵⁷³

At group 113 Mary Juleff visited two-room shacks that had been built by the settlers and noted that many of them were inadequate in keeping out the worst of the weather. She did observe that the women were generally very brave and were willing to stand by their husbands in order to make a home for their children and for that reason Juleff considered the scheme too important to fail.⁵⁷⁴ Although she did question the cost to the taxpayer if the scheme failed and noted the responsibility had now accrued to the hardworking Minister of Lands, William Angwin, to ensure that group settlement was a success.

⁵⁷² *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'British Empire Exhibition' 18 June 1923, 8.

⁵⁷³ *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 'Personal Items' 1 July 1924, 4.

⁵⁷⁴ *Sunday Times*, 'Denmark Groups' 21 March 1926, 6.

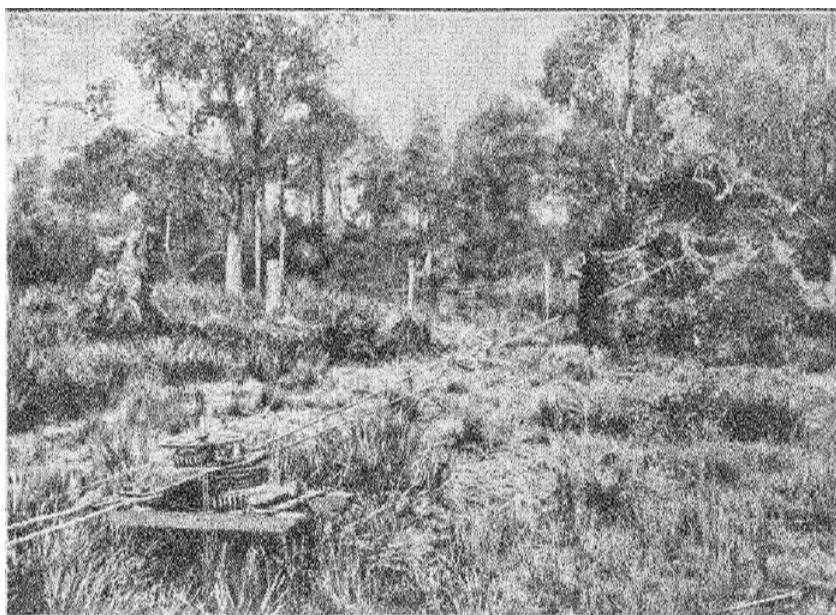


Figure 27: Trehwella horse tree puller as used on Groups 41 and 42

(*Trehwella Bros Booklet*, Source: State Library of Victoria)⁵⁷⁵

In July 1924 the incoming Labor Premier Philip Collier suspended the Group Settlement Scheme pending the findings of a Royal Commission.⁵⁷⁶ This occurred as Lt. Colonel Newcombe and the Devon and Cornwall Migration Committee in Plymouth were attempting to recruit more settlers. In January 1924 the Plymouth committee had received a cable from the outgoing government advising them to increase the quota from twenty families per month in January, February and March, to one hundred families per month for January and February. Evidently, Newcombe, thought this might tax the committee's resources but he nevertheless expressed his delight at having to send so many settlers.⁵⁷⁷ The hard work of the Devon and Cornwall Migration Committee, overseen by secretary T. R. Whittle, saw in excess of £700

⁵⁷⁵ *Albany Despatch* 'Williams Bay Notes' 16 July 1923, 3. Note: The Lelant born Benjamin Trehwella and his brother William founded Trehwella Bros Pty Ltd., at Trentham Victoria, in 1888. (Source: State Library of Victoria) Available: http://digital.slv.vic.gov.au/view/action/singleViewer.do?dvs=1577681623369~374&locale=en_AU&metadata_a_object_ratio=10&show_metadata=true&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/singleViewer.do?&preferred_usage_type=VIEW_MAIN&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=10&frameId=1&usePid1=true&usePid2=true accessed: 11/10/2018.

⁵⁷⁶ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' 211.

⁵⁷⁷ *Daily News*, 'Immigration' 4 January 1924, 8.

allocated to assist emigrants meeting their medical expenses. The committee also covered the £10 landing fee and the cost of some incidentals.⁵⁷⁸ After the Labor government abruptly suspended group settlement Lt. Colonel Newcombe expressed his disappointed and as befitting a British officer he implied that he thought Western Australians had more fortitude than was evidently the case.⁵⁷⁹ The response from William Angwin the Minister of Lands and Migration was equally terse, he called Newcombe's claim that group settlement was a failure as 'baily' rot and that Newcombe was 'talking through his neck'.⁵⁸⁰ Despite the understandable frustration of those members of the Plymouth based committee it would take until October 1925 before a renegotiated Migration Agreement was in place so that a resumption of group settlement could be contemplated. Nevertheless, apart from a small number of families from Truro, Exeter and Plymouth who were recruited as replacements later that same year and another small group in 1926, the Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement Scheme was not revived.

In November 1926, a British Empire Parliamentary delegation headed by the Marquess of Salisbury, Sir Evelyn Cecil, and British parliamentarian Arthur Henderson, toured the Busselton, Manjimup, Pemberton and Bridgetown districts where they met settlers and received numerous complaints.⁵⁸¹ The delegation was accompanied on its inspection tour by William C. Angwin and George F. Pearce. Pearce had recently been appointed vice-president of the Executive Council and given the task of establishing the Development Migration Commission.⁵⁸² Prior to the British delegation tour W. Catton Grasby, a reporter for the *Western Mail*, conducted his own extensive tour of the groups and his findings were

⁵⁷⁸ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' 210.

⁵⁷⁹ *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 'The Group System' 13 September 1924, 5.

⁵⁸⁰ *Daily News*, 'Immigration Mr. Angwin on Col. Newcombe' 15 September 1924, 6.

⁵⁸¹ *Beverley Times*, 'Empire Parliamentary Association Delegation' 10 December 1926, 4.

⁵⁸² *West Australian*, 'Empire Parliamentarians South-West Trip', 17 November 1926, 9.

published in a series of articles under the headline 'Talks with Group Settlers'. On the occasion of Grasby's visit to the settlers of group 110 the reporter admitted that despite Minister Angwin's laudable Cornish tenacity in persisting with group settlement he had been given a thankless task in trying to manage all of the complaints directed at him by the press. Grasby noted that:

Every petty squeal from a malcontent with a 'dole' mind that will never recognise a 'fair thing' is given prominence in the Press, and every politician with an axe to grind seems to take pride in employing such labour to turn the handle of the grindstone.⁵⁸³

In a later report Grasby discussed the impending departure of Angwin to London as Western Australia's agent-general. After acknowledging that Angwin had attempted to fix the problems plaguing the Denmark groups, it was now necessary for him to address the issue of the suitability of the immigrants being sent from England.⁵⁸⁴ It is apparent from Angwin's comments following a glowing speech from John Curtin at the his farewell function that he harboured some resentment at the refusal of the Commonwealth to accept a third state officer at its London office as was originally agreed between Premier Mitchell and Henry Gullett. While Angwin did not venture an opinion on the matter or mention John Wilcox, Grasby was under no such constraint as he asserted that eastern state agents had made poor choices on behalf of Western Australia and that the State should have been given more control over immigrant selection.⁵⁸⁵ James Mitchell's private correspondence reveals that he too received many letters of complaint from those involved with group settlement about aspects of the selection process. A letter from Dr George Barber the deputy director general of medical services in Western Australia, on 8 February 1922, indicates that many of those selected in London were only fit for light duties and that some were suffering from tuberculosis and were

⁵⁸³ *Western Mail*, 'Talks with Group Settlers' No. 110. 16 September 1926, 8.

⁵⁸⁴ *Western Mail*, 'Talks with Group Settlers' No. 130. 3 February 1927, 10.

⁵⁸⁵ *Western Mail*, 'Talks with Group Settlers' No. 130. 3 February 1927, 10.

already in receipt of British government war disability pensions.⁵⁸⁶ It would appear that many of those deemed unfit by Dr Barber, were part of the 31% of overseas migrants who, according to the Royal Commission, abandoned the groups along with 42% of the Australian ‘groupies’.⁵⁸⁷ From comments made in the British Parliament it was clear that the British delegation had returned with a greater awareness of the enormity of the task confronting British settlers. In one instance William Mackinder MP, recommended extensive military training at Catterick for intending settlers in order to prepare them for the rigours of the South West of Western Australia. However, he noted the comments of one ex-soldier who provided his considered view during Mackinder’s visit to the groups as part of the British Empire Parliamentary delegation:

Here we are with 125 acres of uncleared bush land. Bush land might suggest plantations four or five feet high, but these were up to 150 feet high and often 30 feet in girth. They said this was bush land, and by the time they had got the 125 acres cleared they were of the opinion that the knowledge they had gained at Catterick would very largely have been forgotten.⁵⁸⁸

William Angwin was second only to James Mitchell in terms of promoting the idea of group settlement to interested parties in Great Britain. Certainly, members of the British Parliament such as Viscount Burnham clearly believed this.⁵⁸⁹ On 23 March 1927, Angwin addressed the Empire Parliamentary Association at Westminster Hall on the subject of the Group Settlement Scheme in Western Australia. The Empire Parliamentary Association featured many of the leading figures of the British establishment including former and future prime ministers, Stanley Baldwin, Herbert Asquith, Ramsay MacDonald, David Lloyd George, Arthur Balfour and Winston Churchill. Angwin politely admonished his hosts for creating the circumstances

⁵⁸⁶ AU WAS36 Cons1496 1931/0093.

⁵⁸⁷ J. P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part I, Its Origins: Politics and Administration*, 1988, 223.

⁵⁸⁸ House of Commons, Debates, Empire Settlement, 23 March 1927, Vol. 204, cc 482-530. Available: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1927/mar/23/empire-settlement> Accessed: 5/03/2019.

⁵⁸⁹ Report of Proceedings at a Meeting of the Committee of the Empire Parliamentary Association on ‘Migration and Land Settlement within the Empire’, held on 23rd March 1927, in the Rooms of the Association, Westminster Hall, London, 21.

that necessitated the Labor government under Philp Collier suspending the Group Settlement Scheme, pending an agreement with the British government that encompassed the financial requirements of both the state and Commonwealth governments. Angwin also expressed disappointment with the quality of the immigrants being sent and repudiated the notion that British settlers could work co-operatively.⁵⁹⁰ The stated goal of establishing a stable community of settlers from Devon and Cornwall on farms in the South West was, at best, only partially successful.⁵⁹¹ Moreover, as Angwin well knew, social tensions in Group 114 had produced serious difficulties and antagonisms between the settlers which saw more than 40% of them leave within two years of arriving.⁵⁹² Angwin finished his address, and as much as it evidently pained him, he conceded there had been some failures:

but being an Englishman myself (and a Cornishman), I rarely admit that anyone coming from this part of the world is a failure, although I have to do it sometimes, I am sorry to say'.⁵⁹³

By December 1928 Mary Juleff was losing her sight and in recognition of her work for many organisations including, the Soldier's Welcome Committee, the Silver Chain Nursing League, the National Council of Women, the Women's Immigration Auxiliary Council of the National Party, the Cornish Association, and the Industries League, a fundraising bridge party was held at the Karrakatta Club Hall in her honour.⁵⁹⁴ Around the same time Juleff sent an article to 'Tre, Pol and Pen' for the 1929 Cornish year book, which gave an account of the Devon and Cornwall Association and a short report on the pioneer work of the Cornish folk on the group

⁵⁹⁰ Report of Proceedings at a Meeting of the Committee of the Empire Parliamentary Association on 'Migration and Land Settlement within the Empire', 5.

⁵⁹¹ John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' 235.

⁵⁹² John Selwood, Mark Brayshay, 'Devon and Cornwall Group Settlement in Western Australia in the Interwar Years' 237.

⁵⁹³ Report of Proceedings at a Meeting of the Committee of the Empire Parliamentary Association on 'Migration and Land Settlement within the Empire', held on 23rd March 1927, in the Rooms of the Association, Westminster Hall, 10.

⁵⁹⁴ *West Australian*, 'Woman's Interests' 13 November 1928, 5. Mary Juleff was also the Hon. Secretary of the Bahai Spiritual Assembly, Perth. See: *Westralian Worker* 'Religious Freedom in Russia' 29 October 1926, 2.

settlements outside Denmark.⁵⁹⁵ The following year her brother Thomas Clark died in Perth aged 69. Clark had spent much of his life, along with business partner Cecil John Reginald Le Mesurier, trying to convince the scientific establishment, with little success, that there was commercial quantities of oil to be found in the vicinity of Cheynes Beach.⁵⁹⁶ Perhaps hoping that posterity would vindicate her brother Mary Juleff devoted her time to collating 25 years of her brother's work before presenting it to University of Adelaide Professor Arnold Richardson, the first director of the Waite Agricultural Research Institute. Despite the scientific value of Thomas Clark's work being questioned it was reported that Professor Richardson was pleased to accept Clark's geological research.⁵⁹⁷ Mary Juleff was quoted as saying:

It is very strange that in the earlier periods of my life previous to my marriage that I should have devoted so much time to compiling my father's work in that science in the great mining country of Cornwall, and that now again, after 40 years, I should again be compiling the work of my late brother's research work in the same science, who had for his field of labour the south coast of West Australia.⁵⁹⁸

On 15 February 1931 Mary Juleff died from viral myocarditis perhaps as the result of an earlier bout of bronchitis. She was aged 69. Mary Juleff was buried with her late husband Alfred who had predeceased her by ten years. The Rev. Charles Jenkins, who came from a Cornish family, conducted the Methodist service at the Karrakatta Cemetery.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ *Daily News*, 'Devon and Cornwall Assn.' 26 January 1929, 6.

⁵⁹⁶ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Late Mr. T. Clark' 4 July 1929, 2.

⁵⁹⁷ *Albany Advertiser*, 'Social Chatter' 20 May 1930, 2. Note: Copies were also sent to the Carnegie Institute in Washington and the Geological Society of London. See: *Mount Barker and Denmark Record*, 'Social Chatter' 21 May 1930, 2.

⁵⁹⁸ *Narembene Observer*, 'Scientific Research' 6 June 1930, 3.

⁵⁹⁹ AU WA S34 cons 3403 1931/195, Probate. Note: Mary Juleff's will indicates a parcel of land at Ambleside Avenue, Mount Hawthorn and a block at Swan location 673 plan 2099, which were left to her daughter. However, a number of insurances policies allegedly paid by Cecil John Reginald Le Mesurier on behalf of Mary Juleff, were denied, as the transfer of ownership could not be verified.

The Group Settlement Scheme was not the success that many hoped it would be. Of the Cornish-born ‘groupies’ at Group 16 who received their deeds in 1930-31, Charles Vigus from Antony, William Bowden Ould from the parish of Mawnan, Thomas Pascoe from Roche and William Edmonds from Redruth appeared to be the most resilient.⁶⁰⁰ At Group 114 Albert George Pomery and his large family from Liskeard were often lauded for their success to the extent that William Angwin became very emotional whenever he visited their neat and cheerful home.⁶⁰¹ By 1928 the Labor government instigated a valuation board to determine and fix the value of each block so that the government could handover responsibility to the Agricultural Bank. On 1 October 1930 the process was completed effectively drawing a line under government funding of the Group Settlement Scheme.⁶⁰² Angwin would go on to serve as agent-general for Western Australia from 1927 until 1933. On the completion of his term he was awarded a CMG. After returning to Western Australia William Angwin was appointed a member of the Fremantle Harbour Trust in 1934, and in January 1935, he became chairman of the Royal Commission on the bulk handling of wheat.⁶⁰³ In 1941 Angwin’s wife died. Their eldest son Lieutenant Benjamin Angwin M.C. had predeceased his parents when he died in 1919, as the result of injuries sustained in the First World War.⁶⁰⁴ On 9 July 1944 William Angwin died and was interred with his wife at the Methodist section of Fremantle Cemetery. Those in attendance included the then Premier John Willcock, his predecessor Philip Collier and John Trezise Tonkin, the Minister of Education, who as a teacher at Nuralingup had been critical of the incompetent officialdom managing group settlement.⁶⁰⁵ Angwin’s death did not mark the end of a Cornish presence in the Western Australian

⁶⁰⁰ NAA: A786, X22/5 Development Western Australia, Group Settlement, Part 3.

⁶⁰¹ *West Australian*, ‘Group Settlement’ 12 December 1929, 16.

⁶⁰² J. P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part 1., Its Origins: Politics and Administration*, 1988, 213.

⁶⁰³ *West Australian*, ‘Mr W. C. Angwin’ 10 June 1944, 4.

⁶⁰⁴ *Call and WA Sportsman*, ‘Notes of the Week’ 12 December 1919, 10. See also: *Daily News*, ‘Mrs Angwin Dies’ 10 April 1941, 2.

⁶⁰⁵ J. P. Gabbedy, *Group Settlement, Part 2., Its People: Their Life and Times – An Inside View*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, W.A. 6009, 1988, 328.

Parliament.⁶⁰⁶ The Lerryn-born Victor Doney MLA, who was elected unopposed in 1928 was a member of the Country Party for the seat of Williams-Narrogin. When the seat was abolished in 1950 he transferred to the new seat of Narrogin and served that constituency until his retirement in 1956. In 1953 Albert Redvers George Hawke, became the first of three consecutive premiers who came from Cornish families. Hawke's grandfather James Renfrey Hawke had been born in Kea, Cornwall, in 1837 and had arrived in South Australia with his parents in 1851. The next premier David Brand was the grandson of Captain Samuel Mitchell who has been discussed in detail in this thesis. The grandparents of John Trezise Tonkin, the twentieth premier of Western Australia, were from St. Just-in-Penwith.

⁶⁰⁶ *Daily News*, 'Mr W. C. Angwin Buried' 10 June 1944, 11.



Figure 28: William and Mary Ann Paull

(Source: Ancestry. Com)

In conclusion it is appropriate to reflect on the lives of Redruth-born William and Mary Ann Paull of Pinjarra, as being representative of the Cornish experience in Western Australia, during the period reviewed in this thesis. Mary Ann Paull's longevity prompted the *West Australian* to write an article about her life under the banner of 'Women's Realm' in 1936. The interview took place just a year after her 93-year-old husband, former miner William Paull, had passed away. The article revealed that Mary Ann Paull had more than a 100 living descendants, including 8 living children, 42 grandchildren, 56 great-grandchildren and a great-great-grandchild. As a former *bal-maiden* Mary Ann Chapple had married William

Paull at Illogan in 1868, aged 16. They would have two children at their home in Illogan Highway before leaving for New Zealand in 1872. They stayed in New Zealand long enough to become unsettled by the frequency of earthquakes before leaving for Australia. In Victoria William Paul worked as a miner at Ballarat before taking the family to Moonta in South Australia.

In 1891 the family moved to Western Australia and established a home in North Fremantle, where they had their tenth child. At Fremantle William Paull carted stone for the builders of the Fremantle Town Hall before moving to Southern Cross where he supplied drinking water to the miners for a shilling a bucket. After the children had left home William and Mary Ann Paull established a farm at West Coolup, Pinjarra, where two of their children and two of their grandchildren also established farms and where William and Mary Ann Paull were laid to rest in the Pinjarra Cemetery. Although it could be argued that both Mary Juleff in 1908, and William Angwin in 1924, brought a unique Cornish perspective to the question of land settlement and intensive farming. It was perhaps Cornish people like the Paull family from Illogan that Billy Hughes had at the forefront of his mind when during his visit to St. Michael's Mount when he declared:

For a long time, I have been impressed by the splendid qualities of the Cornish people who have made their homes in Australia. They reside on nearly all the great mining fields of the Commonwealth and everywhere they have become most estimable citizens.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁷ *Telegraph*, (Brisbane, Queensland) 'Cornish Immigrants', 15 June 1921, 4.

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to offer an explanation as to why Australian Prime Minister William Hughes went on the record to praise the Cornish and to claim that they had become most estimable citizens. At the time Billy Hughes made this claim he was negotiating with the British government over the type of immigrant that Australia wanted to settle in its sparsely populated rural areas. To satisfy its need Australia wanted able young farmers with capital, precisely the sort of people Britain wished to keep. But the British government wanted to alleviate the high unemployment in its towns and cities by sending its townfolk to Australia. Unfortunately, as events would attest, most urban British settlers who participated in Western Australia's Group Settlement Scheme were wholly unsuited to farming the heavily timbered country that had been allocated to them. The Cornish, as Hughes rightly pointed out, were known more for their mining prowess rather than their ability as farmers. It was in order to answer that contradiction that this thesis first looked at Western Australia's mining industry through the lives of several Cornish-Australians to determine what, if any, were the 'splendid qualities' that Cornish people possessed that marked them out as suitable candidates for land settlement.

After some preliminary research it became evident that the prime minister was not alone in praising the Cornish. Indeed, there were Cornish-Australians actively promoting the Cornish as the right sort of migrant for Western Australia's Group Settlement Scheme. Like Hughes much of the praise emanating from these individuals rested on the alleged pioneering qualities of the Cornish miner as exemplified in the myth of Cousin Jack.¹ The genesis of the myth of

¹ *Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, 'General News' 1 October 1920, 2.

Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny in Australia can be traced to 1841 and the first metalliferous mine in Australia, the aptly named Wheal Gawler ('Wheal' meaning 'a working' in Cornish), at Glen Osmond. The vital contribution of two Cornish emigrants Hutchins and Thomas places Cornish miners at the epicentre of Australia's embryonic mining industry.² That admitted, it was perhaps the Victorian gold rush and the discovery of the two largest gold nuggets ever found by Cornish miners that added lustre to the myth of Cousin Jack in Australia. A quote from the *Mount Alexander Mail* two months after the Welcome Nugget was discovered in 1858 illustrates the high standing that Cousin Jacks were held in: 'as a class, ... [they] are equal to any in ... persevering enterprise, and form a most valuable addition to the industrial element in our population'.³ Western Australia did not become part of the international mining frontier until the early 1850s when the imperative to mine at depth at the Geraldine Mine prompted the mine's owners to reassess the value of convict labour and to engage a Cornish mine captain, John James. As Payton has argued, it was at this juncture that the interests of capital and labour would merge around Cornish miners and the 'tribute' and 'tutwork' system of employment and remuneration that they introduced to Western Australia. The adoption of the Cornish system to Western Australia offered both capital and labour the opportunity to prosper through the skill, energy and enterprise of the self-employed miner, and paved the way for capitalist organisations to dominate mining and investment in Western Australia from the 1850s onwards.⁴

As was the case on other mining frontiers, the Cornish imbued with a strong sense of their own ability as miners *par excellence* soon established distinct mining communities in Western Australia. Of these Northampton (1864) remains the most well-known. But the research

² Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended*, 8. See also: Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, 161.

³ *Mount Alexander Mail*, 'Fryer's Creek' 20 August 1858, 4.

⁴ Philip Payton, 'The Cornish Diaspora, 1815-1914' in *British and Irish Diasporas: Societies, Cultures and Ideologies*, 2019, 290.

undertaken for this thesis shows that Cornish mining communities briefly flourished at Cue, Greenbushes, Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie and Norseman. As the first Cornish town in Western Australia, Northampton retained its Cornish character longer than most due largely to the Hosken and Mitchell families. Captain Martin Hosken, who arrived at the Geraldine Mine in 1852, and Captain Samuel Mitchell, who started work at the same mine in 1867, were instrumental in developing most of the major mines in the district including the Geraldine Mine, Wheal Fortune, Wheal Ellen and the Whim Creek copper mine. Not only were both men largely responsible for establishing lead and copper mining in the Mid West, but their families also played an influential role in the socio-economic development of the region. Indeed, the tenacity of Annie Hosken at the Railway Hotel and Hannah Hosken at the Geraldton Hotel, who both successfully took over as licensees following the untimely deaths of their husbands, suggests that Cousin Jenny was no less capable than her male counterpart. By the 1890s Northampton as a centre for lead mining was in decline, a process that gathered pace as first the Murchison Goldfields and then the Eastern Goldfields drew away many Cornish miners like Richard Cory. Northampton was left with only James Reynolds, Samuel Mitchell, and to a lesser extent Edward Lanyon and Arthur Teague, as the last representatives of a once thriving Cornish mining community.

In 1889 Captain William Oats was appointed the first manager of the Fraser's South Mining Co. property at Southern Cross. The discovery of gold at Coolgardie in 1892 and Kalgoorlie in 1893, heralded the arrival of a number of Cornish managers from the Eastern colonies most of whom took up underground managerial positions. Unlike previous occasions the Cornish were joined by hundreds of colonial Cousin Jacks from eastern Australia, many of whom retained the Cornish dialect of their parents.⁵ Although the precise number of miners claiming

⁵ *Daily News*, 'The Cousin Jacks' 27 April 1927, 7.

Cornish heritage is difficult to ascertain John Michael Finnerty's observation in 1889 that nearly all mine managers were Cornishman and that a Cornish miner coming from anywhere was almost sure of getting a job, suggests that a significant proportion of them were Australian born.⁶ Allied to this pre-eminence in mining was the possibility that Cousin Jacks would be more likely to sustain serious injury or die from mining accidents. The extensive list of Cornish underground managers on the Eastern Goldfields is indicative of the early reliance on Cornish expertise to drive production, while mine safety remained a third order concern during much of the period under review. Moreover, the prevalence of the 'miners compliant' (silicosis) ensured that very few Cousin Jacks in Western Australia enjoyed a healthy or lengthy retirement.

As argued in this thesis, the strength of Cornish identity and its significance to Western Australia, as in other places, was defined initially through the possession of discrete mining skills. Furthermore, the notion that the Cornish miners were 'clannish' or as James Jupp opined, 'remarkably homogeneous and culturally distinct', is supported by the comments of Warden Finnerty in 1901.⁷ The institution of marriage and religious expression were other areas where Cornish tradition decreed an inward-looking attitude that many outsiders found impenetrable. The findings in this thesis confirm that the Cornish in Western Australia were considered ethnically distinct by other Australians. It also suggests that the Cornish were willing to participate fully in all facets of life in Australia. It was arguably this ability to adapt so readily to the rigors of the Australian frontier that impressed politicians like Billy Hughes and those Cornish-Australians raised on the myth of Cousin Jack and Cousin Jenny. Such as, John Scaddan, Jack Holman, William Eddy, George Pearce, John Lutey and John Prowse who

⁶ *Evening Star*, 'Mining Managers Association Social' 8 March 1901, 3.

⁷ Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children*, 163.

all came from mining towns with a significant Cornish presence like Adelong, Bendigo, Ballarat, Broken Hill, Charters Towers, Clunes, Cobar, Forbes, Kadina, Kapunda, Moonta and Wallaroo. William Charles Angwin, for one, although Cornish-born, would often assert his commitment to Australia in parliament and elsewhere while maintaining his essential Cornishness. He amply demonstrated the importance of his Cornish identity when as agent-general for Western Australia he addressed the prestigious Empire Parliamentary Committee in London as a proud Cornishman. This was at a time when most Australians considered England 'home' and the cradle of the British Empire. However, for conservatives like Mary Juleff the question of ethnic identity was seemingly less contested but was nevertheless more divisive in its expression as her involvement with the All-British Association and the Shugg affair amply demonstrates. Juleff's leading role in inaugurating the annual St George's Day commemoration at King's Park in 1910 indicates that for many empire loyalists in Australia, 'England' and 'Empire' were indivisible.

As noted earlier one aspect of the Cornish experience in Western Australia not shared by the other states of Australia was the arrival of hundreds of Australian-born 'Cousin Jacks' and 'Cousin Jennys' from the eastern colonies during the goldrush. This aspect of Western Australia history is conspicuous by its absence from the prevailing historiography and this thesis is a timely reminder that Cornish-Australians were an important demographic in the social and economic milieu of both colony and state. While this demographic was indisputably Australian, they did cultivate a Cornish identity when it was in their interests to do so. Chiefly to secure work in Cornish-run mines. This thesis has highlighted many instances where the Cousin Jack network was used to advantage beyond the confines of the mining industry. In the political sphere, for example, the emergence of influential Australian-born politicians John Scaddan, George Foster Pearce, John Barkell Holman and John Lutey of the Labor Party, Independents William Trezise Eddy and Richard Buzacott. John Henry

Prowse of the Country Party, plus their Cornish-born counterparts, William Angwin, Joseph Allen, William Oats, Fredric Vosper, Samuel Mitchell, John Hicks and Albert Thomas. Underscores the reach of the Cousin Jack network and its potential to influence government policy in a number of ways, especially the mining lobby and group settlement. On the goldfields Cousin Jacks played a leading role in preventing the introduction of non-white labour by supporting the Anti-Asiatic League under charismatic politician Frederic Vosper. Respected mine captain William Oats also used the threat of non-white labour to advantage in his own political career as did George Foster Pearce, the secretary of the Trades and Labor Council. It is clear that under their leadership and with the support of the Cousin Jacks on the Eastern Goldfields the Immigration Restriction Act, 1901, or the 'White Australia Policy' was a genuine attempt to appease the miners.

The Truro-born Mary Juleff revealed herself as a significant figure in Western Australia from the moment she arrived with her grocer husband and daughter in the early 1900s. She first introduced herself during a political gathering at 'The Bungalow', the home of Sir John and Lady Forrest, in 1906. A reporter noted that Juleff exhibited a 'bright and intelligent grasp of the subject' and that she expressed the opinion that it was every woman's duty 'to take a keen interest in science, religion, and politics'.⁸ Juleff would continue in a similar vein for the rest of life becoming a prolific writer to the editor on many subjects while helping arrivals from Britain to settle in Western Australia through the auspices of the BIA. She would later claim, with good reason, that her 1908 scheme to create a co-operative farming settlement near Waychinicup River and Cheynes Beach was the forerunner to the Group Settlement Scheme introduced by James Mitchell in the 1920s. Indeed, Mary Juleff was the first to realise that mature British settlers were difficult to manage and that most of them preferred to work as

⁸ *Geraldton Guardian*, 'The Federal Elections', 16 November 1906, 3.

individuals. This led her to believe that sending people from the same region to a specific group might engender a greater level of co-operation than hitherto been her experience at Cheynes Beach. Perhaps aware of the importance of identity Juleff, along with John Scaddan, formed the Western Australian Cornish Association on 10 July 1920.

One of the Cornish Association's first tasks was to provide financial aid to families in Cornwall who were suffering hardship because of local mine closures. To that end, the association's honorary secretary John Wilcox approached both George Pearce and John Prowse to garner their support for his transfer to London so that he could facilitate the recruitment of unemployed Cornish miners for the Group Settlement Scheme. Premier James Mitchell, having established the first group settlement near Manjimup in April 1921, left for London with a similar objective in mind. In March 1922, in a letter to William Angwin, Mitchell discussed the possibility of recruiting 100 Cornish miners and their families for one of the groups at Denmark. To aid the recruitment process Mitchell unilaterally decided to send John Wilcox to London. However, the Commonwealth public service refused to accept Wilcox and he remained in limbo for two years as both the state and Commonwealth governments argued over his ongoing status. After failing to reach an agreement Wilcox was sent back to Australia in 1924. In the final analysis John Wilcox symbolised the difficulty in coordinating a coherent immigration policy from Perth, Melbourne and London. Wilcox, therefore, became an unwitting pawn in a battle of wills between James Mitchell and Billy Hughes and his successor Stanley Bruce over which government was determining immigration policy. The non-appointment of Wilcox and the poor calibre of immigrants recruited by the Commonwealth were cited by William Angwin as major reasons for the failure of the Group Settlement Scheme.

In conclusion, the aim of this thesis has been to reveal the vital role that Cornish born, and Cornish-Australians made to the early history of Western Australia from 1850 to 1930. To that end, it has focused on several individuals to show how crucial Cornish-Australians were to the economic growth of Western Australia from the earliest mines in the Mid West to the Eastern Goldfields and to the development of the Group Settlement Scheme. Furthermore, the scale of the Cornish contribution to the wealth and prosperity of Western Australia and to its society was a major reason why Billy Hughes was able to single out the Cornish for special praise in 1922. This thesis is an overdue reminder of that contribution.

APPENDIX III.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.—ARRIVALS OF ASSISTED MIGRANTS.

Calendar Year.	New South Wales.	Victoria.	Queensland.	South Australia.	Western Australia.	Tasmania.	Federal Capital Territory.	Australia.
Prior to 1860	131,521	86,225	..	47,933	..	..	..	286,138
1860	3,089	1,736	660	972	..	17,008*	..	6,457
1861	1,589	2,682	799	21	..	583	..	5,091
1862	2,631	4,728	1,908	611	..	170	..	10,461
1863	4,633	8,622	1,143	1,499	..	100	..	16,067
1864	3,977	6,631	2,282	2,647	..	92	..	15,637
1865	2,717	5,104	1,485	4,625	..	53	..	14,023
1866	1,204	4,194	1,157	3,891	..	56	..	10,499
1867	944	3,202	1,075	349	..	56	..	5,626
1868	470	2,871	391	..	..	28	..	3,788
1869	47	4,219	1,878	87	..	342	..	6,259
1870	..	4,341	2,540	..	..	9	..	7,223
1871	357	3,212	3,285	..	..	199	..	6,863
1872	326	1,093	2,540	..	..	28	..	4,158
1873	140	863	7,445	226	..	18	..	8,702
1874	1,080	149	8,877	2,152	..	16	..	12,276
1875	973	102	1,288	2,067	..	48	..	4,446
1876	1,463	71	1,965	7,730	..	7	..	11,277
1877	6,018	17	1,544	4,947	..	44	..	12,533
1878	5,190	18	3,018	4,250	..	56	..	12,520
1879	5,731	15	3,890	3,235	..	52	..	12,927
1880	3,134	5	3,229	808	..	59	..	7,228
1881	2,577	..	3,914	783	..	141	..	7,333
1882	3,233	2	12,003	1,122	..	598	..	16,501
1883	8,369	..	24,955	4,132	..	949	..	38,054
1884	7,568	..	14,148	968	..	582	..	23,633
1885	5,554	..	10,301	293	..	168	..	16,730
1886	4,081	..	11,397	..	3,451†	183	..	15,646
1887	1,362	..	10,042	..	1,529	32	..	13,116
1888	528	..	8,798	..	50	19	..	9,408
1889	431	..	6,872	..	161	3	..	7,488
1890	376	..	3,453	..	82	..	..	3,914
1891	190	..	2,801	..	134	..	..	3,125
1892	179	..	853	..	317	..	..	1,349
1893	120	..	..	..	186	..	..	306
1894	67	..	..	..	199	..	..	266
1895	37	..	..	..	144	..	..	181
1896	17	..	..	..	136	..	..	153
1897	35	..	..	..	180	..	..	215
1898	5	..	..	..	97	..	..	102
1899	9	..	1,532	..	49	..	..	1,590
1900	..	..	3,507	..	124	..	..	3,631
1901	..	..	1,385	..	125	..	..	1,510
1902	..	..	843	..	160	..	..	1,003
1903	..	..	241	..	196	..	..	437
1904	..	..	166	..	206	..	..	372
1905	..	..	223	..	322	..	..	545
1906	680	..	464	..	655	..	..	1,799
1907	2,845	127	1,176	..	949	..	..	5,097
1908	2,896	360	1,975	..	1,136	..	..	6,367
1909	4,308	652	3,501	..	1,359	..	..	9,820
1910	5,058	1,690	6,918	..	3,115	..	..	16,781
1911	9,922	6,772	12,875	665	9,562	..	..	39,796
1912	14,956	15,112	6,462	3,212	6,970	..	..	46,712
1913	9,860	12,146	4,757	2,759	7,708	215	..	37,445
1914	6,655	7,496	4,096	644	1,729	185	..	20,806
1915	1,695	1,724	1,599	79	635	64	..	5,796
1916	649	327	300	..	103	18	..	1,397
1917	259	146	91	..	26	2	..	504
1918	199	101	100	..	26	..	..	426
1919	67	139	39	..	..	..	..	245
1920	3,211	2,763	1,272	..	1,499	314	..	9,059
1921	4,980	3,987	1,147	572	3,381	615	..	14,682
1922	7,087	9,145	1,711	1,531	4,373	411	..	24,258
1923	5,006	9,504	2,377	1,711	7,654	394	..	26,645
1924	6,211	8,721	1,788	1,375	6,715	226	..	25,036
1925	8,788	8,589	2,318	1,292	3,701	139	..	24,827
1926	12,830	8,586	3,669	1,993	4,030	152	..	31,260
1927	10,260	8,847	3,504	2,420	4,879	189	24	30,123
1928	8,732	5,149	2,178	1,623	4,485	203	24	22,394
Totals	339,105	252,185	234,150	115,224	82,638	24,826	48	1,048,076

he total for Australia shown on line "Prior to 1860" includes those figures shown for Western Australia against year 1860 and for Tasmania against year 1860.
 * Prior to 1862.
 † Prior to 1867.

APPENDIX ONE (Development and Migration Commission 2nd Annual Report 1928)

COPY - FF

DOCUMENT "M".

COPY OF CABLEGRAM ADDRESSED TO PRIME MINISTER'S
DEPARTMENT RECEIVED 3RD MARCH 1923 FROM THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE DATED 2ND MARCH 1923.

AMENDED COPY

"9886. For Hunter. Connolly draws attention
arrangements made with Prime Minister regarding appointment
three Western Australian Officers for Migration advise
instructions received from Premier to transfer Wilcox recently
arrived from Western Australia to position third officer -
have replied correspondence this Office does not confirm his
statement - Western Australia have right to place three
officers in Migration Department, and as Mr. Wilcox' services
not required at present, regret unable to make arrangements
for his transfer - advisable you should get this troublesome
matter properly cleared up - meantime no possibility Connolly
controlling Department. SHEPHERD".

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